

## A Third Way Alternative; Critical Assessments from the Model of the Yugoslav City

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To the people of Belgrade,  
Sarajevo and Skopje and their energy which creates.







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jana



## Abstract

This dissertation aims to demonstrate the development, meaning and significance of cultural infrastructure in the cities of Skopje, Belgrade and Sarajevo (1945-1991). In the historic context, culture became the fundamental critical tool with which to yield a vivid cultural scene, and it coincides with the emergence of remarkable *cultural artefacts* - including 'the right architecture'. The thesis recognizes a common (Yugoslav) *Creative Model* behind this 'movement', which stimulated and anticipated the emergence of the elements that eventually form the *cultural artefacts*. For the purpose of studying the strengths and weaknesses of the model, the exercise investigates the extensive body of cultural creations which emerged through the model. As such, the thesis highlights *the flow of creativity*, and the particular understanding of creativity as a 'life quality' in support of the theoretical *concept of balance* which emerged in the local context - striving for equilibrium between the man-made, the human (civic) and the natural environment. The aims of the research are threefold. Firstly, to understand the objectives on which the model is created; secondly, to reposition the object – *cultural artefact* – as a departure point of analysis of the model; and thirdly, to analyze the evolution of the cultural infrastructure in the environments to trace the transformations of the model. To that end an analysis of the entire cultural creation of the epoch has been carried out in relation with the specific interest of the thesis. The exercises are conducted by drawing from the primary data sets (the press: both architectural and cultural magazines) and the secondary sets of data (original documents and testimonials with the protagonists: wider cultural milieu). Bridging the epistemological gap in the academic discourse, exemplifying the selected cities not as isolated case studies but in comparative synthesis, the thesis positions these rich cultural, spatial and social qualities (collected in the form of a critical archive) and their common *Creative Model* as the possibility to depart from the neo-liberal paradigm still affecting regions globally and to re-imagine our own current models for human settlements in ways more open to people, nature and culture.

Keywords: #alternative\_creative\_model, #the\_right\_architecture, #cultural\_artefacts, #critical\_archive, #cultural\_climate.



## Résumé

Cette recherche tend à démontrer le développement, la signification et l'importance de l'infrastructure culturelle en s'appuyant sur les villes de Skopje, Belgrade et Sarajevo entre 1945 et 1991. Dans ce contexte historique et géographique, la culture devient un outil critique fondamental pour recevoir la vivacité de la scène culturelle qui voit l'émergence d'artéfacts culturels remarquables, incluant aussi les créations architecturales. La thèse reconnaît ainsi un *Creative Model* (Yougoslave) qui sous-tend ces créations, stimulant et anticipant l'émergence des éléments qui forment les *artéfacts culturels*. Afin d'étudier les forces de ce modèle, la recherche examine les nombreuses innovations culturelles qui en émergent. En tant que tel, la thèse positionne le flux de créativité et l'entendement particulier de la créativité comme composants de la qualité de vie, afin de soutenir le concept théorique d'équilibre, qui est apparu dans un contexte local à la recherche d'une pondération dans la combinaison de l'environnement artificiel, social et naturel. L'objectif de la recherche est triple. En premier lieu, il s'agit de comprendre les intentions sur lesquelles le modèle est créé ; deuxièmement, il requiert de repositionner l'objet – l'artéfact culturel – comme point de départ de l'analyse du modèle; et enfin, troisièmement, il s'agit d'analyser l'évolution de l'infrastructure culturelle dans chacun des trois environnements (Skopje, Belgrade et Sarajevo) afin de retracer les transformations du modèle. À ces fins, une analyse de l'entier de la créations culturelle de l'époque, en lien avec l'intérêt spécifique de la thèse, devra être menée. De plus, les recherches ont été basées sur une compréhension d'un premier ensemble de données issues de la presse (à la fois architecturale et culturelle) et d'un second ensemble constitué de documents originaux et de témoignages d'acteurs appartenant à un milieu culturel étendu. La thèse vise à combler le vide épistémologique auquel le discours académique fait face, en faisant des trois villes sélectionnées un exemple : plus que des cas d'étude isolés, leurs qualités culturelles, spatiales et sociales (collectées sous la forme d'une archive critique) ont été devancées par leur *Creative Model* et représentent une possible clef pour repenser l'actuel modèle impacté par le paradigme néo-libéral qui affecte les villes à l'échelle globale.

Mots clés: #alternative\_creative\_model, #the\_right\_architecture, #artéfact\_culturels, #archive\_critique, #climat\_culturel.



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**\*BELGRADE, SKOPJE AND SARAJEVO\***

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## Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic and current environmental crisis have presented both challenges and opportunities to rethink urban planning and human culture as one whole. They drive both urban planners and policy makers to seek alternative planning paradigms for a healthier, more satisfying and more sustainable environment in big cities and regions. At this stage, creativity still lacks recognition as a concept for making a positive environmental impact. Creativity and the so-called ‘cultural industries’ are not sufficiently in the debates on sustainable urbanism. They are more treated as separate issues, within the competence of creative individuals, rather than as collective matters. The thesis challenges the question of creativity and space against the ongoing multi-dimensional planetary crisis. Acknowledging the influence of culture on space development in the man-made environment, it aims to shed light on how a disrupted balance between the two affect men, penetrating all socio-cultural activities of a society and leading to the cultural crisis. These ongoing spatial challenges are caused by density, overpopulation as well as by spatial and societal segregation.

Cities are experiencing processes like gentrification where architectural projects are created under the premises of beautification, thereby following the underacknowledged general monotone ‘neoliberal impulse’ which reflects on the environment. In all that ‘architecture’ is a ‘cultural artefact’ which is also created by the overall logic of the current ‘creative city’ mechanism. The mechanism is shown to influence not only the ‘cultural artefacts’ but also the entire way of doing things. We use post-war Yugoslavia’s architecture as a reference to focus on the less studied urban development unique model which emerged independently from the western capitalist cultural politics but also in a relative freedom from the cultural influence of Soviets. Accordingly, the thesis detects that the Yugoslav Creative Model operates upon different *modus operandi* such as the ‘concept of balance’ which differently challenges the man-made environment. Moreover, the Yugoslav Creative Model introduces different planning paradigm *Culturally Led Development* as an overall movement. For these reasons the thesis has a rather universal value. *Culturally Led Development* can serve to re-think the development of cities and regions within Europe but also it adds relevance beyond it. Therefore, it adds to the existing practices in the postcolonial politics of development.

In this thesis, we are also guided by the ambition to add to the current knowledge in the field by understanding the role of creativity in re-thinking the existing cities. Yet, we depart from contemporary definitions—often judged for being one-sidedly profit-oriented—of ‘creative city’.

The thesis uses the Yugoslav Creative Model to explore the criteria's of evaluation of the space created within the paradigm. Socialist Yugoslavia's architecture has been in the center of public attention from the start in numerous local architectural editions, magazines, and newspapers. It has been presented in several coffee books and exhibitions that focus on the aesthetical point of view. Yet, post-war Yugoslavia's architecture has often been received nothing more than a provider of authentic experience of space. By contrast, the scope of this thesis is to show the complexity of cultural and ideological processes surrounding the emergence of Yugoslavian architecture. Turning our engaged lens on cultural infrastructure allows us to discover common qualities across different cities of socialist Yugoslavia. The emergence of remarkable cultural artefacts and the affirmative cultural climate in the selected environments have been of our particular attention. They confirmed the existence of a particular model discovered by this thesis. The qualities are referred to as part of a common 'creative model' of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo in this thesis. Each city had particular topography and represented a distinct political power within the Yugoslav Federation. Above all, they offer diversity deriving from their build fabric and environmental armatures, adding to the model analysis. For instance, the city of Belgrade has both new (built in the Yugoslav era) and old man-made environments. If Sarajevo is mainly an old city, Skopje has a relatively new built fabric. Hence, notwithstanding some obvious differences between them, the study of these three spatial examples may contribute to identifying the common strong points of the model. Furthermore, it allows us to see what types of spatial qualities emerge in each city, and what logic the model follows.

In this thesis, we are dealing with a common Creative Model which emerged and shaped within the Yugoslav historical context. More precisely, we study its relationship with the cultural artefacts. As a Creative Model is noticed to have inspired multiple cultural artefacts, we investigate a plurality of disciplines including but not limited to architecture. For it also impacted the cultural artefacts in fine arts, industrial products, sculptures, movies, landscape design, and spatial planning. We try to show the development, purpose and relevance of cultural infrastructure in the cities of Skopje, Belgrade and Sarajevo in post-war Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1991. This implies drawing attention on more than cultural instances only. Social, political, environmental and economic settings are also considered in our study of the model and its creative inventions to observe art-ambience in the public space (i.e., spatial ideas forming a theory of spatial relations). We even go so far as to research the effects of the model in the neo-liberal settings from 1991 to the present (see Chapter 5). By examining and recording the Yugoslav cultural project we hope, on the one hand, to show the significance of cultural policy in the space production and, on the other hand, to shed light on both strengths and weaknesses of the urban planning defined by the cultural policy.

To investigate the Creative Model of Yugoslavia – a cultural project of the Yugoslavian political and ideological system—a broad range of data collected through archival research, testimonials, and visiting the above-mentioned cities has been used. With focus on primary sources—mostly unpublished—I have sought to shed light on and analyze the entire cultural creation in the country along with spatial examples emerged in the selected city-regions. I have intentionally avoided using secondary sources – the interpretations dominating the academic discourse which emerged in the Anglo-Saxon world. For by investigating Yugoslav example, the thesis aims to offer theoretical knowledge about the concept of the ‘Creative City’—an alternative of what has emerged in the Anglo-Saxon context.

#### Research Question

By addressing the question of how *cultural artefacts* (objects-buildings) are developing a common point (found in the extensive body of art) of convergence which emerges in a *Creative Model*, two main hypotheses are defined:

**H1:** Different cultural contexts anticipate the emergence of different *cultural artefacts*.

This means understanding how the public space is a mediator between the society – architecture.

**H2:** The ambience in the cities is more than just a context around the architecture, it positively contribute towards spatial creation and play a formative role even structural role in the relationship of cities and their regions.

Addressing these hypotheses will help to clarify the dynamics between the social-spatial transformations and their various stakeholders, and to understand theoretically how dialectic space and stakeholder participation are factors of development in the model and for whom. Moreover, addressing both of the hypotheses will clarify how the development of spatial ideas is preconditioned by the environmental ambience in which the artistic tendencies are mediated and vice versa.

The following steps have been taken in addressing the aims set by this research:

#### Desk research:

Data sets have been analyzed as ‘desk research’. To grasp original Yugoslav data and to interpret the model by using information and the contextual knowledge that emerges from it only locally found sources have been used. Moreover, I have collected the data in all of the (ex-) Yugoslav languages (Macedo-

nian, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian) and translated them by myself into English for this thesis.

Field research:

(a) Testimonials (or 'oral histories')

A set of testimonials with protagonists who lived and worked for the model has been prepared. The testimonial questions have been tailor-made in accordance to the background of the interlocutor, and interviews were later conducted mostly in-person in each of the places of interest - the cities and regions of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje - but also eventually online (due to COVID-19). They have been held in the protagonists' native languages such as Macedonian, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian, and later transcribed and translated by myself. These fragile oral stories provide rare and valuable material because they are coming from those who were actively involved in the processes that the thesis investigates. The interviews were held with the participation of a wide body of individuals with diverse profiles such as architects, artists, spatial planners, designers, philosophers, researchers and politicians. The list includes people from Belgrade: Branko Bojović, Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Branislav Mitrović, Stevan Zutić, Ljubodrag Dimić, Ana Panić, Nenad Markuljević, Milena Dragičević Šešić, Latinka Perović, Jerko 'Ješa' Denegri, Miško Šuvaković, and Mladen Vujović; from the city of Novi Sad: Živan Berisavljević; from the city of Skopje: Mimoza Tomić, Predrag Penuslivski, and Robert Alagjovovski; and from the city of Sarajevo: Asim Mujkić, and Zenit Dozić. I had the opportunity to exchange ideas in several occasions with Georgi Konstantinovski, Risto Stefanovski, Jordan Plevnes, and Antoanela Petkovska. In this way, this thesis aims to encompass the original Yugoslav 'voices' (of both female and male protagonists who experienced first-hand and worked for the Creative Model), but also 'raw' documents and visuals with the intention to give them the floor.

(b) Archival research

Archival research covered a selection of materials from several archives in the Balkan region. The interests lay in collecting original photography, visuals, maps, documents, reports, programs, sets of architectural, spatial planning and cultural magazines, congress books, festival catalogues and other materials significant for the entire cultural creation of the epoch. The archival research was conducted with difficulty because of the scarcity and unavailability of the materials, which are often in a 'raw' state. While some places provided an easy access to archives, others did not. For instance, the archives in Belgrade were more accessible than the ones in Skopje and Sarajevo, depending on the archivists' mood. Nevertheless, the press has proven to be the most accessible and effective primary source everywhere. In the city of Belgrade I managed to access The Yugoslav Archive, The Historical Archive of Belgrade, The Archive of the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, The National Library of Serbia, The Institute

for the Study of Cultural Development, and The Archive of the Urban Institute of Belgrade. In the city of Skopje, I had a reach to The State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia, The Archive of the City of Skopje, The 'St. Kliment Ohridski' National and University Library, archives from the Faculty of Architecture (Chair: Prof. Minas Bakalcev). In the city of Sarajevo, I visited the archive of Ars Aevi Gallery, and The Historical Archive of Sarajevo. In addition, I requested materials from the National and University Library in Zagreb. Besides the physical archives, certain online archives were reviewed for the purposes of the research. For instance, the archives of [www.docomomo-serbia.com](http://www.docomomo-serbia.com), [www.urbel.com](http://www.urbel.com), [www.monoskop.org](http://www.monoskop.org), among a few. The archives of [www.easterneuropeanmovies.com](http://www.easterneuropeanmovies.com) and [www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com) offered an access to popular sources. Moreover, the personal archive of the author obtained from the family library proved to be very resourceful. Other sporadic (online) sources were further included namely the TV presence of the protagonists, articles regarding the Yugoslav model in 'foreign' popular magazines, etc.

(c) Field research and academic context

On several occasions the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo were visited in order to observe the man-made environment (and its evolution across time). The cities of Belgrade and Skopje were visited on occasion in 2018 due to the annual research trip of the Arts of Sciences Laboratory (LAPIS). The visit was useful to observe how the creative flow impacted the Yugoslav man-made environment. In mid-2018, I visited the city of Sarajevo as part of a workshop investigating the current cultural challenges of the city. In mid-2019, I visited the city of Belgrade to collect the archival materials and the oral testimonials. Later in 2019, a field trip study was conducted with the Laboratory of Urban Sociology (LASUR) in the city of Skopje thanks to which about 25 cultural buildings were visited in Skopje. In early 2020, I visited the cities of Belgrade and Sarajevo for the annual LAPIS research trip. The maps below show what parts of the cities and which buildings have been visited.

In the three cities, I have examined different types of buildings (and typologies) ranging from residential buildings to civic ones namely theatres, community buildings, and schools as well as public spaces. For instance, in the city of Belgrade, the entire New Belgrade was visited along with the visits made to the Centre Sava and several individual buildings in the old part of Belgrade. In the city of Sarajevo mostly residential buildings were visited such as the Centre Skenderija as well as what is known as the heart of the city – the 'Baščaršija' Bazaar. In the city of Skopje, the visit included the entire built fabric from the Yugoslav era as well as cultural and civic centers built in the neighborhoods. The Museum of Contemporary Art on top of the Kale Hill in Skopje has also been studied.



[Fig.1] Map, observed buildings and areas in the city of Belgrade. Source: The author.



[Fig.2] Map, observed buildings and areas in the city of Skopje. Source: The author.



[Fig.3] Map, observed buildings and areas in the city of Sarajevo. Source: The author.

Two laboratories where the doctoral research has been conducted – LAPIS as primary, and LASUR as secondary – contributed to the innovation of the subject of the dissertation and its scope of interest. Moreover, the synergy with LAPIS was of great interest in “deconstructing” the Yugoslav architecture, public space, and the cultural artefact, and to address the question of the flow of the creativity within the design process. Moreover, LAPIS has provided the contextual understanding and its necessary global positioning. The collaboration with LASUR has been beneficial in positioning the thesis critically, where the question of creativeness received its primary interest. Moreover, LASUR has contributed towards the acknowledgment of the Yugoslav Creative Model and its usefulness to provide possibilities to depart from the current one.

This dissertation is composed of two parts. The first is written and the second is iconographic. Divided in 5 chapters, the first three ones analyze different aspects of the model between 1945 and 1991. The fourth chapter applies the knowledge on the selected spatial examples. The last chapter – the 5th one

(in the time frame between 1991 and 2017) – examines the transformations of the socialist model in neoliberal times and its role in the current neoliberal city.

The first chapter is conceived as a *Thesis Manual* since it aims to offer the necessary ‘tools’ to navigate the reader through the other chapters. The chapter contains an introduction of the early Yugoslav contextual (cultural and artistic) understanding. Moreover, it offers a set of testimonials – with the original protagonists who worked and lived in the model (oral-history) – and an iconographical set (visual history), i.e. a selection of about 400 visual documents titled ‘*CRITICAL ARCHIVE of the Creative Model of the Socialist City*’.

The second chapter sets the ground for the ‘cultural investigation’ that the research performs. The chapter firstly tries to understand the common beliefs which circulated within the environment and glued the model. Secondly, it sees how those driving forces shape the understanding of quality and how that particular understanding of quality is embodied in the man-made environment. Thirdly, it examines a couple of spatial cultural artefacts (such as an apartment, building, neighborhood, and city) to discover the driving forces which pushed towards their materialization.

The third chapter ‘deconstructs the model’ through applying ‘critical axes’ onto the Yugoslav environment. The mapped Yugoslav cultural system is investigated through the ‘critical axes’ such as: ‘heterogeneity’, ‘unity-resemblance’, ‘novelty-modern form’, ‘trace-heritage’, ‘popular-disseminated’ and ‘concentrated-rare’. Therefore, the cultural dynamics which they create impact the man-made environment.

The fourth chapter analyzes and defines the Creative Model of the Socialist City. Firstly, the chapter offers an analysis of the elements which constitute the model. Secondly, it applies the knowledge from the previous chapters on selected case studies: three selected buildings (located in the three selected cities). Moreover, the analysis examines the evolution, significance and sedimentation of the cultural infrastructure in the cities and ‘tests’ the model upon the three selected cities. Lastly, the chapter aims to define the position of the cultural artefact in the model and the model itself too.

The last (the fifth chapter) explains ‘Why this thesis?’. The reason for the thesis at the same time raises the question of the issue which was spotted in the current reality in the (post) Yugoslav context. Therefore, the chapter examines the transformation of the creativity from the socialist to the current neoliberal model.

The Appendix outline 14 micro stories, which were actual and which existed in the model. The idea of the chapter is to take small pieces of ‘real occurrences’ from the model and individually analyze their meaning and significance. Moreover, the micro stories are at the same time ‘proof of concept’ since they reveal segments of the reality in which the model functioned. That is why they are also a valuable source for understanding the model. The 14 micro stories should open up new topics for discussion in the architectural discourse through evoking different and new perceptions.

**I**  
**THESIS MANUAL**

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## I.1. TOOLS FOR THE READER

### I.1.1. GLOSSARY

#### Linguistic explanation

In Chapter I the word ‘culturnic’ has been used. The word has Slovene origin (*kulturnik*) and means a ‘man from the field of culture’ (as used in the Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian languages). In informal engagement, the expression *čovek iz kulture* or *čovek od kulturata* [човек од културата] (literally ‘man from the cultural field’) is used. The same expression in the English language is *cultural worker*. The term ‘cultural worker’ is linked to the concept of the *creative industries*, where culture is regarded as an industry.

The verb *proektiranje* [проектирање] (in the Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian languages) is equivalent to *design* (in the English language), however if we translate *proektiranje* in the original form it would mean *to project* or *to render*. *Dizajniranje* in the Serbo-Croatian language means *to design*, but it is rarely used in the field of architecture or spatial planning. For example, you can design a costume, a necklace or a bike, but you *project* or *render* a house, an apartment or a neighbourhood. Architects viewed *dizajniranje* in a slightly negative connotation since they thought *dizajniranje* embraces merely stylistic artistic skills. They preferred to use *to project* or *to render* as a more honest approach when imagining architecture.

The word *namena* [намена] in the Serbo-Croatian language is used to describe the program which will be implemented on a free parcel. Such a program could be from the category of housing, culture, commercial, industry, etc. When translated, the word *namena* means *a purpose*. In popular (informal) architectural engagement, in the local language, the word *namena* of the parcel indicates the type of program classification that the parcel has, and it shows what typology on this parcel will be constructed.

The term ‘building from the field of culture’ in the Serbo-Croatian language is *zgrada iz oblasti kulture*, and in the Macedonian language it is *zgrada od oblata na kulturata*. In the English language, the term *cultural building* usually embraces museums, galleries, theatres, etc. The term *zgrada iz oblasti kulture* (in time of Yugoslavia) embraced the whole palette of civic buildings

and areas of the city that embodied ‘social services’ – a concept described in the Appendix.

In the original data, the protagonists frequently used the term *field* [област] to classify the diverse cultural activities. For example, ‘the movie, literature and the art field’ in the Serbo-Croatian language is *u oblasti filma, književnosti i umjetnosti*. As such, *field* covers a larger scope of artistic activity, which means that it is part of a larger system. It also embraces that the outcome of it is a *creation*, differently than today’s use of *the industry* (e.g. the *movie industry*). This impacts the importance since the phrase the *movie industry* focuses on the *cultural product* itself, while *field* focuses on the *creation*.

The term *cultural propaganda* in the Serbo-Croatian language is *kulturna propaganda*. However, the expression had a different meaning back in the day compared to today. The expression was used as the word *commercial* is used today. Moreover, after criticism from their American colleagues, the Yugoslav artists started to move away from the word since they condemned it as ‘undesirable’ and close to the USSR cultural model. Considering the criticism, they started using the word *advertising*.<sup>1</sup> Later *advertising* was also valorized as negative. For instance, the document *The Program for the Development of the Cultural Activities in The City of Skopje* (1981) suggested a ‘restraining strategy’ to economize on the unnecessary *advertising* (p.354).

In the local context, the names of the Yugoslav institutions had ‘People’s’ as a noun included in the name of the institution. For example, *People’s Theatre* in the Serbo-Croatian language means *Narodno Pozoriste* [народно позориште]. When translating into English the institutions added the noun *National*. For example, *Београдско Народно Позориште* in English is the *National Theatre of Belgrade*.

The word *Creation* is a crucial word for this thesis because it currently has a completely different meaning and significance in the English language compared to how it was used in the Yugoslav context. In the Serbo-Croatian language the word is translated as *Stvaralastvo* [Стваралаштво], which is closer to the English word *to Craft* rather than *to Create*. The word in the local context is not associated with the *Creative Cities* and creative industries, where the creation is an industrial product, but rather the creation is a *cultural artefact* which emerged from crafting. Therefore, this thesis uses the *Creative Model* [Стваралачки Модел] upon the local Yugoslav understanding of the word.

#### Commonly used terms

(1) *Ambiental values* – used to valorize the cultural qualities that an environment had reach of. This acknowledges that different environments had

1 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, Design for the new world, Museum of Yugoslavia, 2016.

\*Extract from the video: “[...] same thing happened with the term propaganda. An American came here telling us that ‘propaganda’ is a political term, something the Russians or Goebbels did. Then we try to change the term to ‘promotion’.”

different cultural characteristics.

(2) *Ambience* or *cultural climate* – the overall feeling in a place. It acknowledges that the *ambience* or *cultural climate* had the capacity to change the character of the cultural artefacts.

(3) *Cultural hotspots* – in the Serbo-Croatian language: *kulturni žarišta* [културни жариишта] – used to describe the artistic power and significance of the building for culture for the environments where they were positioned. Moreover, the more significant the cultural hotspot was, the greater cultural reach it emitted.

(4) *Systematic construction* – a systematic and planned construction of the facilities in a city.

(5) *Action* – a concept introduced by the Yugoslav state. The concept aims to capture the peak of the enthusiasm and convert it into such a moment of continuous and organized initiatives for development of the community. *Action* is also a characteristic of the selected cities and *action* becomes a tool for their *cultural development*.

(6) *Cultural development* – a development in which the human advanced their capacities for creativity and their spiritual beliefs.

(7) *Street* – a symbolic term for public space.

(8) *Yugoslav architectural system* – the eco-system which organized the field of studying, practicing, and physically building architecture.

(9) *Yugoslav cultural system* – the entire eco-system which organized the broad field of cultural activities.

(10) *Cultural creators* – those people who created the *cultural artefacts* and who participated in construction of the Yugoslav cultural system. *Protagonists* are the cultural creators who were interviewed for the purposes of this thesis.

(11) *Cultural creation* or *cultural artefact* – the creation which emerged from the creative process.

(12) *Creative field* – was used to describe the broader scope (the totality) of all artistic activities, the visual arts, the music, the movies, the architecture etc.

(13) *Event* – a point of action when the course of directions can be shifted in one way or another.

(14) *Accompanying or Ancillary Facilities* – the supplemental facilities to the housing facilities and industrial facilities.

(15) *Seeing in their visual range* and *visual effect* – terms which emphasize the visual aspect.

(16) *Creative scene* – a metaphorical space created by all the cultural creators and protagonists active in an environment.

(17) *Authentic environment* – a vibrant environment which contained the original quality of life and offer original experiences.

(18) *Communication network* – the network which enabled the information to be sent or received.

(19) *Infrastructure for culture* – an infrastructure which supported and anticipated the development of human creativity.

- (20) *Reality* – everything factual which surrounded the humans.
- (21) *The uneven network of creative content* – equal spatial distribution of facilities which stimulated development of the creative fields.
- (22) *Micro everyday narratives* – little stories shared between the people in the daily public discourse.
- (23) *Socialist inventions* – original concepts, ideas, which emerged in the Yugoslav socialist paradigm.
- (24) *Socialist impulses* – the desires to act upon the collective socialist driving forces.
- (25) *Popular evidence* – visualization which acted as proof, such as photography, drawing, documents etc. They serve to reveal the architectural drawings, documents and studies as popular evidence: both highlighting meaningful differences and as instruments enabling a common purpose.
- (26) *City* – a political and cultural environment in which intellectual and artistic ideas are born. The city is an opportunity for the cultural scene to meet, exchange and organize itself; it is a cultural phenomenon; it is an environment in which several environments emerge (the man-made, the natural and the human/civic environment).

#### Definition(s)

This thesis nominally positions *culture* (grasped from the Yugoslav context) as human worldviews, a human set of beliefs, the driving forces which shape the vision for the world. Defined by Raymond Williams: “culture is what makes things meaningful to men – the power to judge, to valorize, to interpret, to see, to value (...). In this manner culture is linked to and actively pushes us towards our own understanding of the human ideals: it is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values”, and Yugoslav theoreticians positioned culture: “as a bridge between utopia and reality”, emphasizing the human capacity to use creativity as the engine for making the imaginative – real. Therefore, culture is an active and dynamic formative category which evolves, changes and adapts as the daily transformations take place too.

*Creative Model (of the Socialist City)* is a complex system which constituted all the fragments participating in and moving towards the realization of a human (creative) idea. Moreover, the *Creative Model* had cultural, political and economic instances which actively shaped the model. Such dynamism had an impact on the *cultural artefacts* which emerged from the model. The *Creative Model* also provided the conditions in which architecture (as a cultural artefact) emerged too. The agents that took part in creating the model were the investors, the cultural creators, and the beneficiaries.

The *Socialist City* is a city which developed its *Creative Model* and which further fabricated itself upon its developed logic (the logic/cultural issue) and

the Urban Culture created by the investors, the cultural creators, and the beneficiaries. The Socialist City thus was not a city with a particular physical representation (and specific kind of architecture), neither was it focused on specific use of technology or materials, but it was a city which was focused on its ability to self-reflect, criticize, adjust, change, and reform its physical environment with a critical capacity. The Socialist City was a critical city that had a dynamic attitude (permanent action) to develop by applying a certain critique. Moreover, the Socialist City is not an opponent of the Capitalistic City and they are not contrast dichotomies. The Socialist City rather it developed itself as applied criticism upon the issues discovered in the Capitalistic City (in the same manner as the socialist model emerged as criticism of the capitalistic model).

#### Acronyms

National Liberation War (NLW) – Народно Ослободилачка Борба (НОБ)  
 Building Committees (BC) – Одборе за Изградњу (ОИ)  
 League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) – Савез Комуниста  
 Југославије (СКЈ)  
 Federal Ministry of Spatial Planning (FMSP) – Савезно Министарство  
 Просторног Планирања (СМПП)  
 European Union (EU)  
 Faculty of Electro-Technical Engineering (FETE) – Електротехнички  
 Факултет (ЕТФ)  
 Faculty of Civil Engineering (FCE) – Грађевински Факултет (ГФ)  
 Faculty of Architecture (FA) – Архитектонски Факултет (АФ)  
 Faculty of the Arts (FA) – Факултет Уметности (ФУ)  
 Student Centre (SC) – Студентски Центар (СЦ)  
 Youth Tribune (YT) – Трибина Млади (ТМ)  
 Institute for International Cooperation (IIC) – Институт за Међународну  
 Сарадњу (ИМС)  
 Community of Culture (CC) – Заједница Културе (ЗК)  
 Civic Fonds (CF) – Друштвени Фондова (ДФ)  
 Ideological Commission (IC) – Идеолошка Комисија (ИК)  
 Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (ACNLY) –  
 Антифашистичко Собрание за Народно Ослободување на Југославија  
 (АСНОЈ)  
 Contemporary Art Museum (CAM) – Музеј на Современата Уметност  
 (СУМ)  
 Yugoslav Contemporary Art Museum (YCAM) – Југословенски Музеј  
 Савремене Уметности (ЈМСУ)  
 National Liberation Army (NLA) – Народноослободителна Војска на  
 Југославија (НОВ)  
 National Liberation Movement (NLM) – Народно Ослободилачка Борба  
 (НОБ)  
 Anti-Fascist Front of Women (AFZ) – Антифашистички Фронт Жена

(АФЖ)  
Committees for Culture (CC) – Комитет за Култура (КК)  
Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) – Движење на Неврзаните (ДН)  
Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (YASA) – Југословенска Академија  
Наука и Уметности (ЈАНУ)  
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) – Социјалистичка  
Федеративна Република Југославија (СФРЈ)  
Committee for Culture and Art of FNRJ (CCAF) – Комитет за култура  
и уметност на СФРЈ (ККУС)  
United States of America (USA)  
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)  
Yugoslav Standard (YUS) – Jugoslovenski Standard (JS)  
Yugoslav Federation of Architect (YFA) – Jugoslovenska Federacija na  
Arhitekti (JFA)  
Centre for Housing (CH) – Центар Становања (ЦС)  
Belgrade School of Housing (BSH) – Београдска Школа Становања  
(БШС)  
Council for Science and Culture of SFRY (CSCS) – Совет за Наука и  
Култура на СФРЈ (СНКС)  
Department of Culture and Arts (DCA) – Одељење за Културу и  
Уметност (ДЦА)  
Self-governing Communities of Interest (SCI) – Самоуправне Интересне  
Заједнице (СИЗ)  
Zagreb Institute of Rural Sociology (ZIRS) – Zagreb Institut za Ruralnu  
Sociologiju (ZIRS)  
Economy Council of Government (ECG) – Савет Владе за Привреду  
(СВП)  
Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture (FSEC) – Савезни  
Секретаријат за образовање и Културу (ССОК)  
Ministry of Culture (MC) – Министарство за Културу (МК)  
Federal Committee for Construction (FCC) – Савезни Комитет за  
Изградњу (СКИ)  
Committee for Culture and Arts (CCA) – Одбор за Културу и Уметност  
(ЦЦА)  
Federal Committee for Culture and Arts (FCCA) – Савезни Комитет за  
Културу и Уметност (СККУ)  
City Shopping Mall (CSM) – Градски Трговски Центар (ГТЦ)  
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)  
Human Development Index (HDI)  
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) – Српска Академија Наука  
и Уметности (САНУ)

## I.1.2. CRITICAL UPRISING

The first traces of acknowledging Yugoslav common artistic expression appeared at the beginning in the 20th century. In 1904, the first common Yugoslav exhibition was organized by the students of the *Great School* in the city of Belgrade, following the initiative of the architect and professor Mihailo Valtović. This exhibition anticipated and contributed towards solidifying the ‘Yugoslav idea’.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the first exhibition outside the Balkan region was held to present to the ‘Western audience’ the Balkan art. Such is the example of the *Balkan Expo* in London (1907) where the ‘western audience’ became familiar with the art derived from the ‘Balkan States’ (primary from Serbia), [fig.001]. The exhibition came at a critical moment when critical thinking permeated the region and the search for the Yugoslav common ground was noticed.

The start of such critical reflections in the Balkans (and in the (-Pre) Yugoslav states) firstly appeared several decades earlier (in the second half of the 19th century), around the *Socialist-Anarchist Movement*, which emerged gradually from different points across the Balkan territory and as a result of the ongoing global tendencies (p.147). According to Todorova, such visions to seek a better future became popular in the Balkan region, leading to it gradually becoming a movement. She emphasized that importance should not be placed on the name of the movement, but rather on understanding why the majority of the people felt the need to achieve a better future closer to their ideals:

“[...] and it doesn’t matter how they called their dreams: they could be liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, happiness, hope, socialism, communism, social democracy.. The important thing is that they were involved in a movement which is the focus here – which worked towards their ideal”.<sup>3</sup>

The emergence of the movement on the (pre-) Yugoslav states is also a subject of the book *Anarchism in (Ex-) Yugoslavia*, [fig.002], in which the origin of *socialist thinking* has been traced and linked to the rise of the ‘socialist sentiment’ in the Balkan region. In fact, something similar appeared during the second half of the 19th century, among a group that self-identified itself as *Southern Slavs*. Moreover, according to the book, the ‘first socialist’ in the region was Svetozar Marković (“an organizer and theorist of the Serbian labour movement”).<sup>4</sup> Additionally, this book presents that movement that emerged during the studies of its founding members in Switzerland<sup>5</sup> and in coordination



Fig. 001| Catalogue Cover, Exhibition, *Balkan States, Earl's Court*, 1907, London

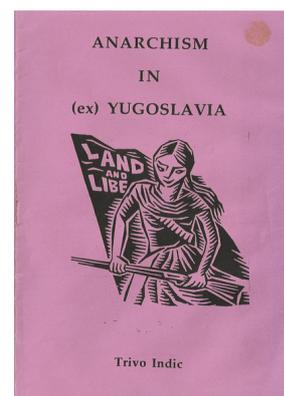


Fig. 002| Book Cover, *Anarchism in (ex) Yugoslavia*, Trivo Indic, 1990, Belgrade

2 Jasmina Milanović, Cultural collaboration – examples from the past Yugoslav exhibitions 1904-1912.

3 Maria Todorova, *Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of European Socialists at Europe's Margin*, 1870s - 1920s, 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pvFC-gBUD-w>>.

4 Anarchism in (ex) Yugoslavia, Trivo Indic, Umanita Nova, 1990.

5 Todorova, *Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of European Socialists at Europe's Margin*, 1870s - 1920s, *Op.cit.*

with the anarchist from the canton of Jura:<sup>6</sup> the first event of *Southern Slavs Socialists* took place in Zurich in 1872. It was a gradual process of the group growing organically, and it became a popular way to express the anti-colonial liberation, which in the region occurred both from Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires.

Therefore, the Socialist-Anarchist Movement started in 1875, and the lefties movement emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the name of *Young Bosnia Group* [*Mlada Bosna*], in Slovenia the group *Rebirth* [*Preprod*], and the anarchist in Macedonia gathered around the newspapers *Voice* [*Glas*], [fig.003], and *Otmachtenie*, which were both published in Geneva (1897 and 1898) and pushed for Macedonian national liberation (from the Ottoman Empire) through the *Macedonia Secret Revolutionary Committee* (MSRC).<sup>7</sup> The assassination of the Franz Ferdinand in the city of Sarajevo was the event which instigated World War I and symbolically announced the start of the de-colonization processes in the region.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the Anarcho-Socialist groups from across Europe, such as from Italy, Austro-Hungary and USSR, individualistically helped and supported the local *Balkan Socialist-Anarchist Movement*.<sup>9</sup> The main goal of the movements was to overcome the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires' cultural influences and to develop an independent (and critical) thought, linked to an independent artistic expression. Consequently, the movement dispersed the voices which were slowly opening the pathways for both intellectual and artistic independence: "Between the World Wars, the anarchist movement in the Yugoslavia of King Alexander was unable to prosper on account of its republican, federalist and socialist ideas that were openly repressed by the King's dictatorship. Yet around 200 people traveled from Yugoslavia to fight for the Spanish Republic and among them were many who professed a libertarian socialism".<sup>10</sup> A group of young people motivated by change engaged in the socialist ideas, which was fashionable in Europe and on a global scale back in the day.<sup>11</sup> Such revolutionary attempts were inspired by the socialist-utopians (such as Fourier and Owen) and needed to be followed by appropriate spatial inscriptions to manifest them in the physical world too.<sup>12</sup>

"- The fight against an exploitative society, economic liberalism and the existing city of conflict and fragmentation – as their expression;

6 *Ibid.*

7 The group was organised by Goce Delcev, Vasil Glavinov, Petar Mandzukov, Dame Gruev, Jane Sandanski, Nikola Karev etc.

8 PhD Thesis Haris Piplas. ETHz.

9 Anarchism in (ex) Yugoslavia, Trivo Indic, Umanita Nova, 1990.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Todorova, *Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of European Socialists at Europe's Margin, 1870s - 1920s*, *Op.cit.*

12 *Ibid.*



Fig. 003| Magazine Cover, *Voice*, No.1, 1898, Geneva

- Collective work, common settlement, common life, joint ownership of means of production, construction land and buildings;
- Settlements are both industrial and agricultural; there is no division into village and town; each settlement has a limited size and sufficient arable land;
- Upbringing and work are integrated and children are brought up together;
- The population of the settlement only manages the settlement and all the inhabitants are employed in joint affairs;
- The aspiration towards order and structure of the settlement and rationality in its organization is distinct (industrial age!);
- Without striving to equalize all people and their living conditions, all without social segregation; in architectural design there is no absolute and everything is subordinated to man and development”<sup>13</sup>

The first avantgarde magazine emerged in the Balkan region in 1921, in the city of Belgrade, under the name *Zenit*; the circle around the magazine created the *Zenitism Movement* – a movement which urged for artistic independence and avantgarde aesthetics recalling the oppressed and barbarous nations, [fig.011, fig.012, fig.157], which were under colonial power to unite themselves. The magazine also introduced the audience with the art and architectural actualities in Russia from during the *October Revolution*, [fig.004, fig.005]. The founder of *Zenit* was Ljubomir Micić, a writer, who back in the day was the strongest opponent of the surrealist artistic groups active in the city of Belgrade.<sup>14</sup> Back in the 1920s and 1930s the magazine was not quite noteworthy, signifying a strong reference to the paths of the artistic maturation which organically grew in the Balkan region as it grew in the rest of the world as well. Then, in the 1960s the heritage from the *October Revolution* and the *Constructivists* remained to be a significant artistic legacy and was later referenced in the public discourse of the Yugoslav architects (p.177):

“We truly live in a great time – in a time that breaks the walls enclosed by science and art. Just as cosmology cannot be imagined without the synthesis of mathematics, physics, biology and medicine, so in public life the true achievements of art are created in the synthesis of monumental typography, graphics, sculpture, architecture, botanical gardens and music, says the architect Vasilj Aleksanrovic Petrov, the chief artist of the city of Leningrad in 1967. He talks equally romantically as the Constructivists 50 years ago [...]”<sup>15</sup>

When addressing the architectural preferences, the Modernism and the so-called ‘international style’ entered largely in the art and architectural ‘vocabulary’, thus the ‘international style’ became the dominating artistic style and visible in the built-in fabric of the Balkan cities. Once established, a critical thought ensued, communicating in the public discourse that artists and architects from the region should give their own contribution to the ongoing global trends and invent its specifics (emerging from their origins) when it came to the ‘international style’: “We have reached a sturdy international level, but we have

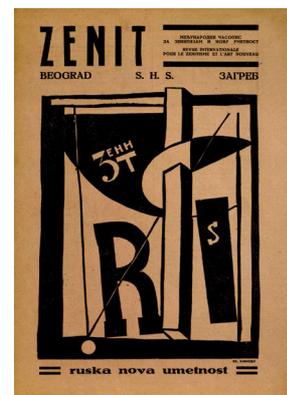


Fig. 004| Magazine Cover, *Zenit*, No.17-18, 1907, Beograd - Zagreb



Fig. 005| Page 52-53, in the magazine *Zenit*, No.17-18, 1922, Beograd - Zagreb

13 Branislav Krstić, ‘Architecture and us’, *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1959).

14 Testimonial Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, 2019 (p.117).

15 ‘The signals of October’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1968).

not yet contributed almost anything to the revival of an already established procedure called ‘international style’<sup>16</sup>.

### **I.1.3. THE ICONOGRAPHICAL SET - THE CRITICAL ARCHIVE FROM THE CREATIVE MODEL OF THE SOCIALIST CITY**

The Critical Archive (See book PART II) from the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, is an iconographical set of around 400 visual documents. The visual documents have been collected in the various visited archives in the selected cities, and some online achieves too. The visual documents (popular evidences) are also used as primary sources for the purposes of the research. The archive (as gathered documentation) aims to serve as the starting point of the exploration of an alternative (and critical) Creative Model, and act as a basis to recognize its existence.

16 Krstić, ‘Architecture and us’, *Op.cit.*

### I.1.4. THE TESTIMONIALS

#### “KEEP THE CULTURAL FIELD IN ONE CITY AS A WHOLE”

August 23, 2018

His home, the city of Skopje, 11:00h-13:00h pm

Predrag Penuslivski, (Skopje, 1940s), responsible for the SCIs for culture of the city of Skopje,  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

The name of Mr Penuslivski was always familiar to me. The reason being that Mr Penuslivski was a family friend and a close collaborator of my grandfather Milos Konstantinov. Therefore, Mr Penuslivski knew him very well and often visited him at his home. Besides the introduction, Mr Penuslivski could not recognize me directly since years have passed. Nevertheless, he greeted me warmly at his home in Skopje and we had a nice chat.

**JK:** What was the role of culture in society?

**PP:** In that period (Yugoslavia), culture played a significant role among other social activities (it was considered as one of them). It was considered equal with education and health. The culture was considered significant especially when it needed to represent Yugoslav identity. Differently from today, back in the days, it had another place within the society. We talk on a Yugoslav level. There was a lack of communication between the individual Yugoslav cultures but within each of the Yugoslav republics, it played a significant role. Precisely, characteristic for that period – the equal accent was given to all independent units of culture, especially in the theatre and visual arts.

**JK:** Why were these areas considered important?

**PP:** It was considered that the national features of the independent republics should be protected and not be melted with each other. If I speak about the theatre, for example, the opera or the dramatic arts - they were very advanced. There was the idea that each of the Yugoslav republics should preserve their uniqueness besides the unity of the Yugoslav community. No one should lose anything – the Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Montenegrin and Bosnian cultures.

**JK:** Were the policies the ones that stimulated that? How did they influence the development of culture?

**PP:** Every individual national unit had its statute, and through that, we had the opportunity to preserve our Macedonian nationality. We paid attention to keep the specifics about the different nations. Every nation represented itself through the national unit. The goal was through the Yugoslav community and togetherness to keep the specifics of each republic. That was the highest goal of culture.

**JK:** This notion was officially said by upper politicians to you or?

**PP:** I was responsible for the culture on the level of the city of Skopje. My position and the institution were considered more powerful than the national Macedonian institute of culture. This occurred because it was insisted for culture to be concentrated in urban communities. For example, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje. The individual societal specificity was kept through the urban units.

**JK:** So, you were responsible to create the culture of Skopje?

**PP:** Yes, in that period Skopje was divided into five separate municipalities, which later united into one city unit. The highest position was *Head of Culture* (of the city of Skopje). At one moment they were called society units and later they divided into specific units such as the department of culture (in the city of Skopje). We had cultural units in each of the municipalities that were organized by the major city one. I was the first person in the field of culture in the city of Skopje.

**JK:** How was the cultural ambience in Skopje?

**PP:** We insisted to keep the specifics around the cultural field that existed even before Yugoslavia. We also insisted to merge the municipalities. For example, if you could position the health or education to separate municipalities, with the field of culture you cannot do that, it is much wider as a societal field. We insisted to keep the cultural field as a whole in one city. In culture you can't separate the individual units, it always goes as a whole. For example, the theatre can't go separately because the cultural community is one whole - it is one large network of institutions. When we go to the theatre there are people from every municipality. For example, people from every part of the country visited the *Macedonian People's Theater* which was the most significant institution in this field. We couldn't separate these institutions by municipalities, so even the policies were created in this direction. The theatre was not associated with urban communities like Skopje's or Bitola's or Kumanovo's, it was considered with state significance. As a consequence, the municipalities could only keep the fields of physical culture and education but they lost the significance in the broad artistic cultural field.

**JK:** Did you influence the construction of the buildings of culture? What were the regulations about? Did people participate in the process? Did the artists participate in that process?

**PP:** In general, in some of the specific units of culture (sports and arts), the city was responsible for constructing its infrastructure. They kept the whole urban landmark. These cultural landmarks represented an undivided urban network, especially in the functions they performed. The most striking example is the example of the building Opera and Ballet, which was a large and significant unit so it couldn't be initiated at the municipality level. The building is looked at from a city level. For example, the *Museum of Contemporary Art* was a decision approved by the city. Contemporary art and the museum covered functions that couldn't be separated on the municipality level – an urban whole level. The contemporary art field always goes beyond the borders of the city. They were named like that – *Museum of the city of Skopje* and besides the juristic territorial divisions – it needed to represent the people of Skopje. We had a group of buildings that never changed their large scale character even under different juristic territorial divisions.

**JK:** Were spatial aspects seen as an element considered important to this development?

**PP:** Yes, because we insisted that we will not take municipality by municipality but rather convey spatial ideas as a whole of the urban territory. Therefore, even if we go on the level of architecture we cannot see it as a separate field. We need to consider it as a whole on a city level, even when we talk about the artistic, architecture or cultural grass-roots. They were never considered to be separated by municipalities, rather they were active for the whole territory.

**JK:** Were you responsible to accommodate and build the places where the artist can live and work? Their residential spaces and workspaces?

**PP:** Yes, we built residential units for them to answer their artistic needs. We thought about this not only for the artist but for everybody that worked in the field of culture, the cultural workers as well. For the artists, we needed to think extensively because their residential space is very specific.

**JK:** Can you tell me where we can find these examples?

**PP:** Yes, whenever the construction was responsible for the city we needed to develop these types of typologies, and they were interesting for the other residents of Skopje. They become live museums in the neighbourhoods. We strived to fulfil some capacities for the artists and we were doing this because in that space they produced art, they needed it for a purpose.

**JK:** Can you tell me some examples in Skopje?

**PP:** For the last 25 years since the independence we don't have such examples. In Yugoslavia, we built these blocks and we gave them to the artists. We have such an example in City Wall – which is a typical residential block, but importantly the apartments were designed in a way that can easily accommodate fine artists. A different example is the music artists – they need to be in separated units (houses) to function well. Honestly, this was short-termed and it did not remain a long-term strategy for the city. It was just an experiment and a very expensive practice. They were constantly under attack because of finances. “Why should the artist get this space?” – was often asked. There was lobbying for which artist would be considered important enough to earn one of these apartments. In reality, it was expensive to satisfy the need of an artist because you cannot easily limit his square meters and the amount of light for him. For them usually, we built blocks where they can only exhibit their work but not reside. The price played a role and it was a problem because some of them changed being furtherly involved in artistic life. Another example is the neighbourhood of Vodno – this neighbourhood (neighbourhood on a hill in Skopje) was considered a place only for A-class politicians and political representatives, but we built some houses for A-class opera singers and other A-class artists. Some years later, the proletariat did not favour this idea, so the practice did not remain for a long period. The politicians were given individual houses there, so A-class politicians and A-class artist were living next to each other.

**JK:** How did you develop amateur art within the territory of Skopje? Did you develop a network of community artistic spaces?

**PP:** Yes, we developed small community spaces, and we paid attention for them to be different, so an exchange between them can appear. If one neighbourhood had a small theatre, we would build an art gallery in another.

**JK:** Did Yugoslavia produce high-quality art and architecture?

**PP:** That can be only considered in specific areas of culture, but not in all of them. We can't separate architecture. All the republics wanted to create architecture by their cultural landmarks.

**JK:** Was the development of art by chance or?

**PP:** No, just the opposite - it was pushed and stimulated. For example, a chance was given to Macedonian architects to express themselves, and this left a mark on the city tissue even after the split of Yugoslavia.

**JK:** Was there unity in the artistic expression of Yugoslavia?

**PP:** Yes, because of the slogan by Tito – “cheering for unity”. The famous architects expressed themselves according to the inherited specifics of their country. Why was Skopje considered different in a cultural sense from the rest of the Yugoslav capital cities? The same tactic was played for the capital cities as well. We needed to figure out what we have in Skopje and to stimulate it. Through that process Skopje could become specific for something. Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo had cultural landmarks that Skopje could and would follow but it created its own.

**JK:** Did you receive a ready program for the development of culture in the city of Skopje from a Yugoslav level?

**PP:** No, we needed to define our objectives, and to create our program. Each capital city was like that since each capital had its cultural inherited landmarks. We needed to bring a program for culture which is innovative and works specifically for Skopje. There wasn't copy-paste or impositions. We needed to emphasize the specifics of the inherited art and culture.

**JK:** Did you have consultations or meetings with your Yugoslav colleagues?

**PP:** Yes, we had them usually in Belgrade, and sometimes rarely in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The Yugoslav idea did not live in this area. I mostly collaborated with the colleagues I met during my studies in Belgrade, they became my connections throughout the whole of Yugoslavia.

## “IMMENSE CULTURE ZEST”

June 17, 2019

Offices of the magazine *Construction*, the city of Belgrade, 11:00h-13:00h pm

Branko Bojović, (1940, Belgrade - 2020, Belgrade) retired architect, spatial planner, both theoretician and practitioner, long term collaborator of *Construction*

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

Mr Bojović, despite his medical condition, greeted me at the offices (the offices from the newspaper *Construction* [*Изградња*]) where he was continuously working. In the offices, there was standard Yugoslavian interior and furniture, a rich collection of literature, and the whole edition of *Construction*. There were two other collaborators, one of them served our coffee. Bojović, initially surprised by the knowledge that I came across his work, slowly showed openness to discuss the related topics. His figure looked to me as an example of a prototype Yugoslav architect, profound, strict and honest.

Jana, you are young, and to you, fairy tales about Yugoslavia were told, but Yugoslavia was going from crisis to crisis...

**JK:** Hello Mr Bojović, can you tell me more about yourself?

**BB:** I am born in Belgrade, on 10th of April, 1940. I also finished all my school years in Belgrade. Here, I studied at the *Faculty of Architecture* – and I graduated in 1963. I was the only one in the generation that got the diploma with expertise in the field of ‘spatial planning’. For my diploma work, my official grade was nine out of ten, since no one could have achieved ten. It was impossible. For the diploma work, I was guided by professor Mihajlo Radanović. The topic was *Reconstruction of the mobility network in the municipality Stari Grad in Old Belgrade*. Radanović was the first schooled Serbian urbanist. I also had a significant collaboration with professor Nikola Dobrović. With Dobrović, even from the time when I was a student, we had opposite views on many issues, but we respected each other a lot. I was studying urbanism from Nikola Dobrović and Branko Maksimović. According to me, in the sixth decade of the 20th century, there were three significant books for the area of spatial planning. They influenced me a lot. The first one was Frederic Gilbert – *Town Planning*, written in the English language, but personally, I had it in the Russian language. The second one is from the *Academy of Architecture* – SSSR, from a group of authors. It was published somewhere around 1946, 1947. The editor of the book was a man who was responsible for the reconstruction of the city of Yerevan. He was an important Russian urbanist. The third one is from Branko Maksimović, a European textbook on urbanism.

**JK:** How were your first professional steps after finishing the studies?

**BB:** When I finished my studies in 1963, the whole generation of students went to France. I sent my diploma on the 12th of July, and by the 1st of August, I was already employed. I took a job in the communal services of the urban planning section of the municipality of Čukarica. This job was not a high-quality expertise position. But I learned a lot there, especially, what the meaning of urbanistic policy is. I learned what the difference is between the given ‘urbanistic norm’ or ‘planned’ and in opposite what is the ‘reality’. Since urbanism interested me, after the studies I subscribed, as a first-generation, in the year 1966 to an additional course organized by Borko Novaković. This course was extremely good. We had a very serious approach, studying from economy, to sociology, law, electro-economy, water management, horticulture, housing hygiene [*хигиена становања*], normative factors in the field of spatial planning etc. Professor Borko organized this excellent course. From the municipal job (that I had for three years), I went further to work in the *Federal Institute of Urbanism* (FIU), and the *Communal Residential Architecture* (CRA), [*Комунална Стамбена Архитектура* (КСА)].

**JK:** This was a paid job, or an internship (unpaid) one?

**BB:** No no, there I was a full-time employee. In the first years, we only worked on research studies. I was responsible for two or three programs that were very important. One of them was the Planning Atlas *the Spatial Planning of Yugoslavia*. Brana Krstić was the formal leader of this institution since he was employed in the *Federal Executive Council* (SIV), [*Савезно Извршно Веће (СИВ)*], so he opened the door for us in the institutions. There, I worked on establishing the first Yugoslavian norms who were elected in Arandelovac, in 1968. They were published in four gray colored books.

**JK:** Why did you establish these Yugoslav norms?

**BB:** We established these norms since the politics were: unification of the urbanistic practice in the Yugoslav territory. Yugoslavia since its existence in 1918 had great territorial differences. The differences were on level of knowledge, education, planning, organization, the level of income etc. We tried with this Yugoslav initiative, where individual urbanistic institutes were working on several Yugoslav norms. For example, Belgrade's one was working on the "basic parameters of the territory", such as the density, the population etc. In the city of Novi Sad, they were working on the schools, in the city of Zagreb, they were working on something else and so on. The *Economic Institute of Belgrade* was working on norms for trading, hospitality etc.

It was a big action which lasted for three years and brought great result. We had two big examples. The first one was that the norms from the *French New Neighborhoods*, it was No. 95, or somehow like that "the equipment of the new neighbourhoods". The others were the SSSR norms who were done by the institution called *SNiP for Construction* who were done by their *Construction Institute*. With these two basic examples and with some more activities that we undertook, for example, I went a couple of times in Scandinavia, to visit one of their leading figures of the spatial planning of the city of Stockholm. At the time this figure was also responsible for the *Stockholm Institute of Urbanism*. Further, the *Institute for Planning of Centers* in Copenhagen, etc. We also used the Czechoslovakian term plan. One branch office was in Prague, another one in Bratislava. We also worked on very serious studies such as "illegal building (construction)", "housing in high rise buildings", studies for the new neighborhoods in the city of Sarajevo, Novi Sad, etc.

**JK:** What was the difference to be an urbanist in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje?

**BB:** The difference was huge. Since in that time, in Belgrade, there was a strong group of spatial planners. In Sarajevo, there was only one person – Architect Ivan Taubman, who was brilliant but he acted alone. I was lucky to meet this person. He was quite an exceptional man. For Skopje, for example in the "study for the high-rise buildings", I analyzed the high-rise buildings of the city. For this purpose, I visited Skopje, but I was not much informed about our profession there. My visit was two years after the earthquake in 1963.

**JK:** All the Yugoslav norms, were prepared in Belgrade?

**BB:** No, they were done under the premises of one big group called the *Big City Institute* (BCI), [*Велики Градски Завод (БГЗ)*]. This institution had branch offices in the city of Ljubljana, Zagreb, Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Belgrade etc. Everything that was done by this *Federal Institute* when the director was Ranko Rajić, was done in a way, with significant collaboration among all relevant institutions [*заводи*]. For example, in Maribor, there was one group, very important people who gathered around the architect Franjo Vetrlih. They also participated in preparing the norms. All those projects were done as Yugoslavian projects, with the best people we could have in Yugoslavia.

**JK:** Did you collaborate with the other republics?

**BB:** Absolutely.

**JK:** Were the relations with the colleagues informal or more formal?

**BB:** That's a bit more complex question. Yugoslavia in 1965 went bankrupt, then they created the famous story about the *economic reform* [*привредна реформа*]. The bankruptcy of the state could be found in several aspects among others – abolishment of: *FIU, Federal Administration for Civil and Air Navigation* (FACAN), [*Савезна Управа за Цивилно и Воздушно Пловидбу* (СУЦВП)], *Federal Geological Institute* (FGI), [*Савезни Геолошки Завод* (СГЗ)], *Federal Geodetic Administration* (FGA), [*Савезна Геодетска Управа* (СГУ)]. A whole set of Federal Institutions were abolished. With this, the expenses in the state budget could be reduced etc. Moreover, thanks to one group of our urbanists, headed by one Slovenian named Sasha Sedlar, who was the president of the *Federal Institute of Urbanism*, they went to Tito and they give him a proposition of a model of self-financing instead of abolishing the institute. Tito accepted that. A financial problem occurred since the institute wasn't part of the budget anymore. We had a list of 30/40 employees and the *Federal Council* refused to finance us anyhow. The Institute in a condition without any funding employed Rajko Rajić, who was also assistant of the general secretary of the *Permanent Cities Conference* [*Стална Конференција Градова*]. At that time, the president of the conference was Dragutin Braco Kosovac from Sarajevo. Furthermore, the institute managed to survive since it transferred itself to a self-financing model. Rajko Rajić took the position of general manager. This company, in the beginning, was complete without staff, there was only the woman from the administration, then I joined and the architect Jovo Ilicić came afterwards. Even though the women had not much work to do, we did not fire them and for three or four years they were giving food to the pigeons since they did not have any work to do. But we knew that if we keep them they will be very productive for the work of the institute latter. Rajić than told us (to the spatial planners), 'you need to make money to sustain the whole institute'. And it was like that, we entered in one scary regime of work. We employed new people, we enlarged the scope of our work. But also, the informal friendship among the Yugoslav spatial planners was very strong. The federal institute in the next ten years functioned on the market very successfully. Back in the days was a leading institution in Yugoslavia that worked in this filial system, through collaboration with colleagues from different regions of Yugoslavia etc.

**JK:** How was your everyday in the institute organized?

**BB:** It was like this. Every morning at 7:00 am there was a meeting of the collegium. Here we gave updates for the projects, for potential new jobs, and all other news, for example, who was guest on the TV, who is writing an article for the newspapers, who gave an interview, who meet who, who talked to who, etc. Normally this was until 10:00 am and then everybody went back to their projects. The best result and efficiency occurred after noon, so we stayed the whole day in the institute, when the meetings were done when everything becomes quiet etc. We had complete personal freedom to go whenever we want, to come whenever we want. We only needed to inform the director of this, and the only condition was that the project will be finished by the deadlines. I could say to the director, that today and tomorrow I will work from home, that I will not be in the institute. But the work needed to be done. At that time we didn't have computers and we only had writing machines, three dactylographer's, we functioned very well, like a supermarket. It was very intense, and productive. Most of the people also got a scholarship for further education. Rajko Rajić was also solving the housing question of the employees etc.

**JK:** How were the urbanists responsible to create the cultural life of the Yugoslavian cities? Were they aware that they are creating a certain cultural life?

**BB:** Here there is one big problem from a higher rank. Look, we had one law from 1931, *construction law* [грађевински закон] which in its nature was an urbanistic law. Its author was Ivo Senjanović. He was an architect from Split. This law treated the spatial planning practice as a whole in the 'first Yugoslavia' starting from 1931 and up until 1948 when it was abolished. From 1948, they established something which was called *General Regulation* [генерална уредба] in the urbanistic planning.

The urbanism with this policy was reduced to the production of plans. You can create a very good plan, and then you give it to the municipality. Later, what they do with it, you have no idea. This was the main evil, in the whole urbanistic policy of Yugoslavia. So, again it's about the difference between 'the normative' and 'the reality'. You will make a good quality plan, they will adopt it, but what the executive power will decide, you can only wonder. You can't influence this anyhow as an urbanist. There is one anecdote about the nature of this - My college was working for *Adi and Moll* project, near the border of Hungary. He was a very good architect. They needed an architect, they employed him, they found a job for his wife, they gave him an apartment etc. So, he works on one urbanist plan, they adopt the plan, he works on a second urbanist plan, they again adopt the plan, he works on a third urbanist plan, they again adopt the plan. And in one moment they are starting to change literary everything, and he starts to rebel against them. Then they ask him: are you happy with your salary? are you satisfied with the fact that your wife works too? yes, yes everything is good, he says. We adopted the three plans you made, that's also good, they say. Then why do you rebel? you are doing it wrong, he said. They told him like this "listen Lav (we called him Lav), we gave you the freedom to work as you wish, now please let us work as we wish". So that was one part, where the spatial planner wasn't questioned further. You are designing a plan for New Belgrade and you are predicting, theatres, operas, cinemas, and they are building apartments and there is nothing else. Then New Belgrade becomes a sleeping neighbourhood [спаваоница]. For this phenomenon, everybody blames the urbanists. But why, it's not that the urbanists are building anything. The urbanist is not capable to construct a food market. So, this is why there was this constant conflict among the urbanist as a profession and the state including its politics.

You have this housing fund [стамбени фонд] which was dedicated to constructing the buildings, they need to build the food market, and they did not build it in New Belgrade. The people were brought by buses all the goods from old Belgrade. There was one company which was called *Belgrade Movie*, responsible for the network of the cinemas, yet there was no cinema in New Belgrade. Spatial development can't solve this, this can be only solved by the authorities. So, it came to desynchronization in the development. They were constructing the apartments as their priority and then the rest will be one day when it will be decided.

**JK:** So traditionally the cultural life stayed in the old Belgrade?

**BB:** Exactly. There was a need for time, for institutions there to be developed. But this has nothing to do with the urbanists, this has to do with city politics. It has to do with the policy that finances the institutions of culture and for this, no one asked the urbanists.

**JK:** Is it because the intellectuals of the city lived in the old Belgrade?

**BB:** In a way yes, the old city is the traditional cultural centre. Latter something else occurred in Belgrade. For example, Madlena Janković was very active, she made her private theatre in Zemun. These things occurred at one point, but in these processes the urbanists were incapable to influence. Only later they built some cinemas in the periphery, in the neighbourhood of Voždovac in Čukarica, etc. But all this was with withholding of twenty to thirty years.

**JK:** Did the *Local Community* (LC), [Мјесна Заједница (МЗ)], influenced anyhow this process?

**BB:** No, not at all. They were only dealing with the everyday of the people. Questions like communal hygiene, etc. The citizens in our society never had the capacity, neither the knowledge, neither anyhow influenced the strategic development of the city. It's was like this, you go as a spatial planner to the assembly [збор] with the citizens in this LC, and there, there is some group of housewives' who were saying that they would like to have a 'pie crust' shop in their neighbourhood. So, as you know I can't open this shop, it needed to be someone who will have an interest in this also, for example, some local baker. I really can't do anything about it.

**JK:** But as an urbanist, you were part of those assemblies [збор] in the LC?

**BB:** Yes. Exactly! We were regularly there to hear the thoughts of the working class. We were there to hear the people, but as you know, I will give you an example: I don't see very good with my left eye. What can you do about it? nothing! In the domain of planning, we could only find them a location and that's it. And this doesn't guarantee that someone will realize the project on this location or not.

**JK:** How was the cultural atmosphere of Belgrade?

**BB:** Belgrade at that time was in an immense culture zest. In 1960, *FEST* was established, and Mila Trailivić and Jovan Ćirilov (my friend) made *BITEF*. In those years in New Belgrade, the *Museum of Contemporary Art* (MCA) was established. In those years there was one deputy mayor of Belgrade, one exceptional man called Milan Vukos, who passed away recently. All those big cultural actions in Belgrade, like *Belgrade Music Ceremony* (BMC), [*Белградске Музичке Свечености* (BMC)] etc., were supported by this deputy mayor, Milan Vukos, who was a man from the exceptional cultural format. He was a city official, who was responsible for the culture. He took that job very seriously, and in the HR policy [*кадровска политика*] who was then conducted, brought up the top people to be the first faces of our institutions. For example, Lazar Trifunović became the director of the *National Museum* (NM), [*Народни Музеј* (HM)]. Immediately they brought the great Van Gog exhibition to the *NM* and the exhibition became a European sensation for those days. Those years, on the street Narodni Front, beneath the tower Beograđanka, another exhibition was held, from the collection of *European Surrealism*. Artists like, Rene Magritte, Salvador Dali etc. It was an excellent exhibition. That was a segment of cultural politics. We were building the city on another line. In that way, Belgrade had two agencies for construction. The one was the agency responsible for the old Belgrade, the other was the agency for the construction of the New Belgrade. You understand that this neighbourhood of New Belgrade and the neighbourhood which are in the periphery such as Banica, such as Braće Jerković, such as Marija Bursać (today is called Kalvarija), such as Nova Galenika were built with standards of construction very close to the European standards. For example, our blocks in New Belgrade didn't have any difference with the construction which was done for example in Sweden. I can confirm this since I was very often a guest there etc.

**JK:** How did the architects influence this rich cultural life?

**BB:** We had huge exhibitions of architecture let's say. Since the construction of the apartments was intensive, they were constructing around 10.000 apartments per year. Because of this, the construction of the apartments [*станоградња*] was a subject of great media attention. They comment the quantity of the construction, on the quality of the construction, the people were involved in the process. The opening of architectural columns in the newspapers was in some way the contribution of the architects in let says the cultural life of Belgrade. We had also huge exhibitions that presented foreign architecture. The Danish, the Swedish, the Finnish, the British. Also, there was an exhibition by the big artist Henry Moore. We had the opportunity to see all of this. This represented a big opening of Yugoslavia towards the world. Yugoslavia was an open country back in the days. Travelling was easy, you could go wherever you wanted. I didn't have the luck to have a scholarship but I was travelled up to twenty days due to the so-called expert travelling, or information traveling, etc. As much as the institute could afford.

**JK:** How did the question of the life standard become a question of spatial planning in Yugoslavia?

**BB:** The life standard is a question from an economic – development background. We can contribute as much as we can, as long as there is a societal will to permit us to help. Let me tell you the essence of it. The most important factor of each society is the apartment. Since the apartment is creating the men. The biggest industry, which in general exist in the world, in the kitchen. As much as there is a societal will to construct apartments, neighbourhood, sports centres, industrial centres, commercial centres so much we will do our part too. It depends from the fact how much society is capable to invest. I will tell you one thing which you cannot lose sight to. After World War II in the west, which was a rich society, they were resolving immediately two things. The renewal of the economy, and at the same time, they paid tremendous efforts to renew the residential fond. Those were their two first priorities. And they were finished with them in the three or four years after the war. Just after that, they started building the big system of roads, since Europe got auto mobilized. Just after that, as a third priority, they were building commercial centres, and construction of the buildings for culture. In this, leaders were the Scandinavian countries and Germany who constructed fifty theatres in such a short time.

Our development was much different. We were a poor country. Up until the 1960s, we were developing our industry. Imagine, for 15 years. Then just after that we started with residential construction [*стамбена изградња*], and then just after that, we had the question of infrastructure, culture, etc. We had a completely different approach than the west has. For example, Switzerland was not destroyed at all. They could do, what we could only dream about. Germany had tremendous help from the Marshall Plan, something we didn't had. Germany, reconstructed their industry for four years. We were constructing our industry for fifteen years. We had completely different dialectics in the situation, which was different from the west. All this influenced the life standard, the cultural standard, the residential standard, the system of cultural needs etc.

**JK:** How did you spend your free time and with whom?

**BB:** I didn't have free time at all. My profession was my hobby, so I was lucky enough to work on something I loved. Over twenty-five years I didn't take any holiday. I have around one thousand published titles. I worked on around a hundred spatial planning elaborates. To have an idea of how this work looks like, I am currently clustering it. I am now in the final years of my life and everything that I worked on, in my profession, I am putting in some hundred thematic clusters. From the problems in spatial planning, infrastructure, planning method, spatial politics etc. The materials from this thematic cluster I am arranging in hundred fifty folders, to give them to the *Museum of Science and Technology*. That's my story.

**JK:** Would you like to give me some reference, that inspired you?

**BB:** I will give you two texts from Nikola Dobrović. So, he was Serbian from the father side and German from the mother side. He wrote books in total two meters long. He had tremendous knowledge, tremendous education, a choleric character often very unpleasant, but he left the biggest trace in my life. He designed the building of the *Yugoslav Ministry of Defense*. He also had a very unique life. I saw his books in the first year at the faculty. Later, I made a collection from all the books he wrote. He wrote these books from 1946 that you couldn't find anywhere, so I was collecting them from the antique stores. I studied him, and his work very seriously. He gave tremendous theoretical and practical development of Serbian architecture. In this photo over there, you can see us together on our excursion in west Africa, with all the students from the *Faculty of Architecture of Belgrade*. The photo was taken in Greece, in Crete, but the excursion was held in West Africa. Here I am, as a student of architecture (showing me a photo), I was part of one of the work actions that we organized nearby Demir Kapija in Macedonia. We worked and held a manual job as a brigadier. Moreover, I had the opportunity to meet some big architects such as Aljosa Josić our guy in Paris, from the group Candilis-Josic-Woods. He was originally from Belgrade. In Helsinki, I met Alvar

Aalto, I had the opportunity in Moscow to meet their chief architect, Posokhin, and the chief architect of Leningrad, Baranov. In Köln I met Uhrig etc.

**JK:** What was the major difference between USSR and Yugoslavia?

**BB:** There is one huge different dimension. USSR had 200.000.000 people, huge migration towards the city, and they could resolve this individually on a case by case as us. In 1950, they even bought some French systems etc. Their architecture was disaster, but their neighbourhoods were done nicely. I had an opportunity in Moscow to see the neighbourhood of Nova Tresnja, which was very European. But the quality of the architecture was low. Here, there is also another important factor. They have a very short construction season. They have long winters, and in the very short time they need to make the montage. On the contrary, in the theoretical field, from the revolution, they had much more progressive architecture than Europe. Functionalism, the constructivism, are all Russian innovations. Try to find the book *Russland*, from El Lissitzky from 1929. But unfortunately they were so poor so they couldn't bring this into practice. Chericove was working on the question of industrial architecture. That was the 'world top' back in the days, but unfortunately, they didn't realize anything from it. They were poor.

**JK:** Which document should I reflect on, from this interview?

**BB:** For your thesis, the most important is the *Congress of Yugoslav Architects* from the 1950s. There was a decision to neglect the *Socialist Realism* and to follow the European path, towards modern architecture. This was a politic coming from the highest state power. This bloomed Yugoslav architecture. They were doing that because of political reasons, but for the architecture, it turned out to be helpful.

## “THE HOUSING INFRASTRUCTURE COMMUNICATES WITH THE SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE”

June 18, 2019

Conference room in the *Institute for Recent History of Serbia* (IRHS), 14:30-16:00h

Sanja Petrović Todosijević, (1977, Šabac), a historian in the *IRHS*, focus on the ‘Socialist pedagogy’  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Ms Petrović Todosijević in the meeting room of the *IRHS*. Ms Petrović Todosijević is an active person that showed great enthusiasm to conduct the testimonial with me and to discuss several other topics outside the envisaged questions.

**JK:** Can you tell me more about your background?

**SPT:** I am born on 3 July 1977, in the city of Šabac. Šabac is located in north-west Serbia, as a centre of the Mačva District region. That region is called Srem District, in the Vojvodina Region. I am born in the city, in a family where both of the parents hold a faculty diploma in the field of economy. My father finished higher economic school and my mother is an economical technician. My father is born in Šabac too, the members of his family are factory workers. My mother is born in a village, in a rural family, from the same part of Serbia. Her father was a rural worker, but he died early so her mom emigrated to the city and took a job as a factory worker. I am thinking that in that generation – the generation of my grandfather and grandmother, who were young people just after World War II, and the generation of my parents who were young in the 1970s, we can notice one immense social mobility. The biggest step going towards the city in my family was done in the generation of my grandparents.

The whole generation after World War II - as low qualified workers could easily find jobs in industrial regions near their homes. So, they all found jobs in the city of Šabac, which after the war became a large industrial city. Šabac had factories, large chemistry industry, especially the factory *Zorka*. and we can say about this factory (besides the fact that Šabac is an old city), that in large scale contributed to the modernization and emancipation of the city. When I am referring to modernization for me is that not every modernization is emancipation. I can say that our societies (ex-Yugoslavia) even until today are being modernized. So now we can sit under air-conditioning (joke). Back to the conversation, this society today we can say is a good example, for some sort of contra revolution and tendencies. This is probably the case today for the whole territory of former Yugoslavia. We have vulgarization and primitivism of the public space also degradation of the public space in probably each of the cities of ex-Yugoslavia.

**JK:** What does the term ‘emancipation of the city’ mean for you?

**SPT:** For me, an emancipated city is a city that is a good place for the life of its citizens. A city that follows some sort of lifestyle, in the everyday tempo and the routines are clear. An emancipated city is a city that has a clear state of its politics, education, manners. Emancipation of other city is not in the buildings and monuments where you are passing by every day. It is a city whose infrastructure, whose symbols of that city are embodied determined values. I grew up in Socialist Yugoslavia, which had the ambience of anti-fascism, international co-existence and tolerance. Those are cities that have tendencies for abstract forms. They represent ideas rather than particular people. In their space, there are no figural compositions. In this sense, these cities are not only in communication with the people who live there but also with the people who are coming there.

**JK:** When you are mentioning values, to which values are you referring?

**SPT:** First of all, let's say the infrastructure. Those are cities which have urban structure. So, for example, the city where I used to live, is a city that was built with clear defined urban politics. So, everything was designed, such as the distance between buildings, the streets etc. Those Yugoslav cities not only did they have housing infrastructure but also strong social infrastructure. The housing infrastructure communicates with social infrastructure. So nearby the housing, there is a sufficient network of schools, kindergartens, green spaces and playgrounds for children. In this sense, we cannot talk for two different separate units, because this makes one whole. For example, I live in New Belgrade now, this is a whole city in which there was an idea, that in this city, the socialist citizens will live. Besides the fact that New Belgrade is in devastating condition, and we live in a completely different time, where we have the values on which this new society is based or even values that negate the socialist heritage and even the Yugoslav heritage.

People are not aware of the fact that in New Belgrade your kindergarten is from your apartment only three minutes, and the school is from the apartment at a distance of five minutes and where from your windows you can see your children in the park. The building where I live today which was built for the upper-middle-class workers is a building that from both sides looks towards the green playgrounds. The idea is that from the windows you can see your children. This means that as a mom you are not obliged to take care of your child every second. This is the additional infrastructure to raise and educate your child. Like that, as a woman, I will have more time to work on something else too. Maybe this is the reason why women today stay at home and don't work, especially among the younger generations. Ok, the economic reasons are also a factor. However, it was a society that also paid attention to include education for woman and their progress in a later professional career. This is present even today. The school system, the social system even some other systems are still present because they are based on a very strong basis. When you have strong institutions, it is very hard to break them down. So, they are falling more gradually.

**JK:** How was the city of Šabac in the times when you grow up, was there culture present in the industrial city?

**SPT:** Yes, there was a strong cultural life. So, Šabac is a city between 60.000 and 70.000 people, which is for Serbian standard, a solid city. Smaller than Belgrade, Niš, Kragujevac but more in the rank of Kraljevo, Čačak. Very interestingly my father even though he worked and even though he had a family, took a part in a music orchestra and played an instrument. The name of the orchestra is *Bisernica*, part of the cultural-artistic association *Abrasevic*, which was strong in Šabac. So, even before he got married, like a child coming from a modest family, thanks to his talent and his engagement, he was part of *Bisernica*. Access to *Bisernica* was free. This practice existed in all parts of Yugoslavia. They travelled to the rest of the federal republics and outside Yugoslavia too. If he was alive he would share the story of how he sang on the birthday of Tito and met Tito. I want to also say that the families lived with modesty in Yugoslavia, and they couldn't afford something special for their kids, but they could be part of these artistic associations.

Also, there was largely developed infrastructure for children (which parents realistically were in bad economic condition) to make their life better than their parents. I believe that this was a light motive for the parents, expecting that their children will live a better life. As a parent, I wish this was the case today. What changed in parallel to the generation from the one before us, is the subscription in Faculties. Today there are many more students. Also, today I live better in financial terms than the generation of my parents, because I work on many other projects besides my work. My mom for example could not find a job for a long time because of the crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. We lived only of one salary. Today I can't even imagine how it would be in my family if we only have one salary. Maybe we could succeed but much harder than my parents did it. Furthermore, during the breakup of Yugoslavia, I was finishing high school. That was a time when the war was introduced in the space of ex-Yugoslavia. Most importantly the war in Bosnia. The biggest and the ugliest war in 1995 was already done. At that moment the situation in Serbia was a little better than in 1999, but it was a complete disaster in an economic and every other way.

In the crisis of the 1990s when the companies were breaking up, my father opened a private business. So, he opened an agricultural pharmaceutical store and my family lived much better than the rest of the people around us. I did not experience the general poverty as other teenagers have. We only changed where we were going to spend our holidays. From the Adriatic Sea, we started going to the Aegean Sea. Moreover, Serbia in that period became super closed for the external world, so we needed visas everywhere. In that period the educational system started to decline. During our night outs, we saw our professors performing music in bars. For them this was degradation and for us, it was strange because the role of teachers was always a profession of the highest rank in Yugoslavia. They had a social reputation which meant if you work for a school you don't need to work extra and you only need to focus on your work. It was the beginnings of the collapse of the system.

Jana, even in high school, I was part of the drama student association and during the darkest times for Serbia, I spent my time in school. My school was the gymnasium in Šabac. There we had professors who were motivated to take us on excursions in Belgrade, to the theatre and to museums. In the 1990s the *Yugoslav Drama Theatre* was very popular, they had fantastic plays and I remember that we watched the premiere of one particular show, which was played after twenty years (since the Yugoslav censorship). It was great. We had a rich cultural life even though the industry collapsed, and many people lost their jobs. So, I came to Belgrade in 1996 and as a student, I lived the same as everybody else at my age. In the first years, I lived in a private apartment (sharing with others) and since I received the status of a good student, I could apply for a room in a student dormitory. Like that, I became a citizen of the *Student City*, in New Belgrade. I liked the idea. For me, coming to Belgrade meant coming to many opportunities. Belgrade - a city that gives many possibilities to people. As a student, I used these opportunities to the maximum. I was part of the drama section in high school, I loved theatre and I even had the idea to study drama. Belgrade's theatres in the 1990s were fantastic. That was some sort of resistance towards Milosević and his regime. So, among the cultural workers, the actors, the screenwriters there was only a super small amount of people who supported Milosević's regime. I am sure there were, but among those which we liked and appreciated, there were not. I believe that even Milosević thought that he needs to give some sort of valve since you need to give to the people a small amount of freedom.

I think that the individual theatres needed to fight, for their status, to individually create their program and their repertoire. In the *Yugoslav Drama Theater*, *Zvezdeni theatre*, *Atelje 212* even and the *National Theater*, you could enjoy their quality programs. This was due to giving critiques to what is happening in Serbia, and even beyond our borders, also to what is happening elsewhere in Ex-Yugoslavia. So, everything was questioned, the role of the war, the genocide in Bosnia, the patriarchal, traditional values. At that moment, I was studying history. I believe the faculty was in some better era than what it is today. I can tell you, that today, the *Faculty of Philosophy* is a more traditional place than it was in the middle of the 1990s. I was amazed by the *Faculty of Philosophy*. The first course was an introduction to historical studies. I had the luckiness to study by the young assistant – Dubravka Stojanović. Dubravka, came to work in the faculty when I started studying. I will never forget how she talked to us and the literature she gave us. Literature, not only written by historians but by sociologist too. For me, this was an excellent approach. This captured me in that faculty. So, I was sure I am in the right place. The ambience in the faculty was created by the people who were professors there. They shaped us.

1996 was the most significant year because there were immense protests in Belgrade. I can say that from 1996 until 2000, the entire years while I was studying at the *Faculty of Philosophy*, were years marked by those student protests. In 1996, and 1997 there were mass protests, and the faculties stopped working including my department. So, every day we were on the streets. Probably this influenced the whole generation. 1994, 1995 and 1996 were years of big rebellion. Then in 1999, there was the bombing. For me, this was the first moment of defeat. I returned to Šabac, but those three months were the ones when I felt so desperate. It was as in a nightmare. The bombing came and after the bombing, everything continued as it used to be like nothing had happened. When I reflect on this later, I felt very strange. At some later period, I couldn't understand what happened. That trauma I couldn't understand.

**JK:** The protests only occurred in old Belgrade?

**SPT:** No not necessarily, we were going to New Belgrade too. The majority of the activities occurred in the city center, in old Belgrade, which is understandable since protests are always in the centre of the city. In the later phases, the route was organized also towards New Belgrade, up until the *Student City* [Студењак].

**JK:** When we see how many activities, faculties, events there are in old Belgrade, and the activities in the New Belgrade, it looks like there is not much communication among the two?

**SPT:** I wouldn't agree. The organizational team of the protests was always thinking that the goal of the protest is – to block the city, to get the attention. New Belgrade is extremely hard to be blocked. Since if we block one boulevard they will transfer everything to another. It's simple as that – to make chaos in New Belgrade, you need to have the whole population of Serbia. 10.000 people are invisible in New Belgrade. There is always some sort of exit to be found there. It's impossible. You need to get the crowd and then move towards protesting in New Belgrade. 10.000 people in the city centre look a lot and 10.000 in the open space is nothing. I know that those who organized the protests took care of this so that the impression can be more beautiful. Honestly, the protests today, can't be compared with those from the 1990s. When we were crossing the *Branko's bridge*, the bridge was shaking. We needed to transfer the group into smaller parts to avoid disaster. There was enormous energy of the people's rebellion. It was a time when we expected a lot from that if we can stop the regime of Milosević.

**JK:** Did the *Faculty of Philosophy* have some influence on the city?

**SPT:** Yes, because it was a symbol of rebellion. And in that time, there was a strong unity among the different units at the faculty. Today it's not like that. Today, the *Faculty of Philosophy* is much more on the front line of traditional and nationalistic waves. Maybe because the downfall of Slobodan Milošević showed that Milošević is not our, only problem, but that our society has much more difficulties. First of all, the newly elected government after the regime of Milošević, the democratic government, as a government that we all supported back in the days, showed some continuity with the politics of Milosević. Also, among them, there were more nationalists than in the government formed by Milosević. The leaders of the new democratic party were also very nationalistic. For example, the law, to make equal the partisan's movement with the chetnik movement was the beginning of the story. This never occurred in the times of Milosević, or Aleksandar Vučić. Those things occurred during the democratic power. They are broth anti-communist, anti – Yugoslav, anti-free narrative. Even though the politics of Milosević were nationalistic. You have the same tendencies in all the spaces of ex-Yugoslavia, where there were wars but also in Serbia too.

**JK:** The *Faculty of Philosophy* was an antithesis of all this?

**SPT:** Yes, exactly!

**JK:** Can you tell me other types of critical thinking institutions which emerged back in the days? Is the *Faculty of Philosophy* traditionally involved in these types of activities?

**SPT:** Yes, I will tell you. Yes, the *Faculty of Philosophy* was always involved but not in this manner. In different times of the existence of Yugoslavia, there were different institutions. We can't forget that the Socialist country is created out of a war. It's completely normal that in the decade of the 1940s – 1950s – 1960s, the narrative was 'construction' and 'building', not only referring to the construction of physical projects but also the construction of a society. This construction included the construction of a society that was less rural and became more industrial in which women have the same amount of rights as men do, children as a social group too, thanks to the development of the educational policy, social policy, health policy, so they became visible as a social group.

In the years up until 1968, there wasn't an institution that specially highlights itself with some rebellious character. This is not because it was not possible. Some societies were even more totalitarian and, in those societies, there is the possibility to rebel. In Yugoslavia, the rebellion was on an internal level in these institutions. This aspect 'built' those institutions. I wrote my doctorate on the topic *Policy of Yugoslavia for education and child upbringing*. And for this purpose, I was reading reports from various comities, on which there are debates among various profiles of people. So, there were a lot of debates. It became very clear at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s that there is a serious ongoing crisis. The crisis was always a manifesto on how the institutions are functioning including the people who are 'making' those institutions, and the system in which those institutions are part.

If we are talking about cultural institutions just right after 1968, the *Student Cultural Centre* was of great importance. When we are talking about rebellion in Yugoslavia or dissidence you need to consider that it was a controlled rebellion. The rebellion was possible because on a political level there was consensus, that the rebellion should be permitted. That was not a rebellion without the control of the state. So, it is very important to be said that on top of the Yugoslav institutions there was an extremely good management team. They had the opportunity to create a quality program. They aimed to step forward, to go out in the world. That opening of Yugoslavia towards the world was important. I studied one policy for upbringing a child and for example, that policy is just one of the policies that yield many other societal processes. For example, creating authentic Yugoslav culture for children, the concept of song creativity for children, prose for children, movie creativity for children.

Moreover, Yugoslavia won the *Biennale of Venice* for the first time in 1949 with a movie titled *The Pioneer and the Bad Mark*. A movie that has in its title an extremely ideological determinant. That says that Yugoslavia had aesthetics that can communicate with the world. On one side west of the Berlin wall and the other on the east side from the Berlin Wall. It was a policy that was created but also inherited from the cultural infrastructure before World War II. Many historians are referring to this 'continuity' when we are talking about Yugoslavia. Also, if we analyze specific segments of society, I am always referring to my topic where I am an expert. So, when you are analyzing the policy of education and upbringing you realize that the policy from 1958 for the whole territory of Yugoslavia, established a unification of primary school with a duration of eight years. So, this is how school was organized from Triglav (in Slovenia) to Gevgelija (in North Macedonia). This model was not anyhow similar to the model of the USSR or any other western model. You can see these traces are from the end of the 19th century when Serbia for example, had educational reforms that were created from Stojan Novaković.

**JK:** Is this the period of the first policies in the field of cultural infrastructure?

**SPT:** Yes exactly. I see this as some continuity. I was debating about this a lot, but according to me the model of the USSR was not adopted, for sure there was an example but it was never directly 'borrowed'. Also, the model of the USSR was not unified. I think those are our judgmental statements of the USSR. They also had plural tendencies. Which is very normal. We can't also relate to the western models, because it is not that they have only one model. Maybe the policy was part of an international effort or even a global effort that was promoted among different agencies all close to the United Nations. Above all, I am referring to UNESCO. Since it was the main institution for education, science and culture. UNESCO developed all those new policies for education and upbringing of a child across the world and everywhere in Europe. All the reforms were implemented among the countries after World War II. From France to Eastern Germany, Japan, the USA, Yugoslavia and USSR. This is normal since all the debates elaborated on what happened, 70.000 dead people, scenes of dead children, where humanity is being exterminated in the worst possible ways.

So according to me, this opened the debate to understand the education the World War II, and to analyze them as guilty of what happened during the war. Because of this, schools after World War II became far more liberal institutions. It allowed the policy of education to go out of the classroom to the streets. To treat not only student problems but the problems of their parents too, problems of the societal environment and the heritage. Their aim was not only to think about what happens with the child in those 4hours when he is in school but also how the child is

spending their free time and at home. It became clear that the subject is not only the student itself. That is a time when in Yugoslavia 'the education' becomes the top subject of interest. So, everything became on polemics, from the patriarchal tendencies in the family to remove the burqa from women in Sarajevo, and all other possible emancipation practices. It was a time when men and women needed to be defined equally as secular entities. For sure they can express their beliefs in their spare time, but that can't be expressed in public space, or through public expression. It was impossible to see a journalist on TV with a gold chain and across, or the 'star of David', or a half-moon on it or any other religious signs.

**JK:** Is it a type of abstraction?

**SPT:** Bogdan Bogdanović, is a perfect example since he made heritage became part of one contemporary interpretation. It was not the only characteristic of Bogdanović, but for example when we are talking about the constitution of difference, places of memory. Big memorials that were built after World War II are linked to places that are linked to some other wars that occurred before that. So those old memories were incorporated into this new monument. That was part of the continuity on which the communist insisted. Continuity of the liberating spirit of our Balkan people. So that's why in all the history books we could still find the names of Vuk Karadžić, Dosite Dimitrije 'Dositej' Obradović, David Gaš, Karađorđe, Miloš Obrenović when we are talking about Serbia, or you have the example of Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia. All those talks about the liberation traditions that are linked to wars with the Turks or even from World War I. World War II showed that in history we were Slavic brothers and we always tended to be free, different, and independent.

Currently, I am working on the *memorial Boško Buha* in Jabuka. It's a memorial that occurred in 1959 and it's a memorial close to the idea of Pestalozzi in Switzerland, where they constructed as an idea to become a children's village. Where children come and socialize in summer and winter, they ski also, but in some dominant anti-fascist surrounding. Recently I was reading what there was in part of the memorial. The official program says that there were three memorials that occurred in that space, one from 1875, 1915, and 1914 -1918. Those are small monuments, who are not that visible until you come near them. The importance is that the person who defined that said that those monuments will be part of the *Boško Buha memorial*. On the monument of 1914 – 1918, there are motives of peasants and the monastery Meleseva. This monastery is close by. So, we can see a need (religious sign such as a monastery to be attached to the antifascist narrative). The monastery is not only a religious sign but some cultural hotspot to attach to Boško Buha, who does not have anything to do with a monastery from the 13th or 14th century.

I am sure you already saw all the monasteries on the Yugoslav territory (when you see the materials) are existent in the narratives. So even my mother recently reflected, they talk a lot about Kosovo, but for me, I would even see Kosovo if there was no socialism and Yugoslavia. The monasteries of Kosovo (which I never saw) I saw in a brochure as a student in primary school. When we are talking about that cultural infrastructure, for example, my mother met the most famous prose artist from that epoch - Desanka Maksimović in her village. Maksimović was visiting schools back in the days, travelling across Yugoslavia. Her songs address a larger population than the songs of today. Even today those narratives stayed since many festivals are not national but regional festivals. There is not a festival that is not regional, and when I am referring to regional I am thinking about the space of ex-Yugoslavia and eventually Bulgaria. I want to be thankful for that heritage and the narrative of co-existence. Today we have defined national countries and, on another hand, we have a clear indication that space functions as a unity. When we work on science projects, on international projects first of all we invite our colleagues from the region. This is completely normal since the subject of our interest are subjects for experts existing in this regional space.

**JK:** Were there any state regulations in Yugoslavia, which defined the notion towards the memorials?

**SPT:** No, there are some recommendations through messages across the schools, across the media, but not an official one. In Yugoslavia for the culture of memorizing the responsible was *Alliance of the National Liberation War Veterans*

*Association* (ANLWVA), (veterans' organization), which developed in several phases. ANLWVA was not the same in 1950 and in 1970. In the 1950s it was towards the generation which passed the war on their skin, so the soldier's victims were the most important, on another hand the civil victim on the monuments found links as a victim of fascist terror. The monument of Bogdan Bogdanović built in 1950 which was dedicated for those who suffered from the Nazi regime was the first monument not only important for the city of Belgrade and the whole region but also the first monument on the territory of Europe which indicated the victims of the Jewish community. With that Yugoslavia recognized the holocaust as a crime unlike, the others.

In some surveys from the late 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, the opinion of the new generation Yugoslavians showed. This generation did not have personal experience of the war. Besides the fact that they were studying it in the schools and were surrounded with symbols who are indicating it. They concluded that the way this shows, or promotes particular events, is that it doesn't communicate enough with the new generation. This generation did not understand these memorials, neither the message, neither the rituals. The state needed to find other ways to communicate this part of history. In 1965, they brought a law in which the whole culture of memory needs to be dedicated the future generations. With this, they constructed all the big memorials. Until 1965 the memorials were smaller and more discreet etc. The goal was not only to come to those places and visit them but to stay awhile, to have activities there, to study there etc. The symbols of the antifascist struggle in public space started to be promoted as a symbol of popular culture. For example, the songs after the war were about the revolution and considered Pop music. The songs of Zdravko Čolić 'Druze Tito mi ti se kunemo was a patriotic' song but done in the pop genre. This is how my generation perceives it. Completely different than the song *Tito goes across Romania* [*Иде Тито преко Рومانује*]. This is also why many movie spectacles in Yugoslavia looked like Hollywood spectacles. They wanted to talk about the language young people understood. For example, the poster for Neretva was done by Pablo Picasso. In the movie *Boško Buha*, the director Branko Bauer who back in the days was the most prominent movie director in Yugoslavia, the song was from Oliver Dragojević a Yugoslav top pop star. Dusko Radović wrote the lyrics – one of the most prominent songwriters for children.

**JK:** What were the symbols of the cultural infrastructure of Yugoslavian cities?

**SPT:** I think today we can see that the symbols are not enough. For simple reasons, even today we still have the symbols, we did not erase the monuments from the cities, but my child does not have an idea what these symbols mean. I want to say, that the symbols in one society 'work' when they are filled with some content and values. When you take out the content and the values they become stone objects which don't represent anything to anyone. Maybe they mean only something to us because they meant something to us in the past. For example, you can't take care of the anti-fascist narrative when in public speech you have unclear relations to the anti-fascist heritage. You can't label yourself as an antifascist if you have a state which has a law that equals two monuments: the partisans and the chetniks. This doesn't mean that we should not talk about the chetniks movement and their role in Serbia. This doesn't mean that new subjects should be open for discussion, unless if revision is the goal and the tendency. I think this is the problem of the symbols in Serbia today.

Let me get back to the question. Culture was a subject that mattered in the public sphere. It was financed only by the state and society. Today, every cultural institution is on the market. They are forced to behave market-oriented. If the state doesn't have an interest and money to finance culture, it starts to prostitute itself. A big problem in the cultural sphere is the management too. Very often in the top management of those institutions we see people who are not educated in the cultural field. They have no connection with the sphere yet they need to manage it. I will say that in Yugoslavia this was not the case. Today this is a phenomenon that is more and more present. Moreover, cultural institutions are specific in many ways. They are specific because they don't function like factories. By that logic – they can't entirely produce their funding. This doesn't mean that they need to be treated as some elite institutions, but if you want a quality program for those who visit, in the theatre you need to work the most, and in such case you need the most funding to create a great infrastructure. The problem is that they became introversive too. It is a capitalistic tendency.

I will refer to a Swedish movie called *The Square* who won a *Golden Palm* in Cannes in 2017. The focus is on a contemporary art museum. The whole idea is to show how distinguished the museum is from Swedish reality. The movie shows the class struggle inside the museum management team too. Also, they show how hierarchical, the management is distinguished by the audience, in society. The banalest part is when the top curator needs to visit the suburb of Stockholm to get something from someone. It's a precarious part of the city, where migrants live, where you have the poorest classes of people. So, in Serbia today we have the same type of pain that this cultural institution has. The most positive and negative point about it is what differentiates the situation from the West, is that here there is no funding. Don't forget that today we talk a lot about the location of the old fair in Belgrade. There is a palette of holocaust facilities that today became kindergartens or restaurants. There is a large community of Syrian migrants and the Roma community which lives there completely illegally. If they build a museum there they will displace the community without taking it into an account. With this, we would create some new fascism. For me, it's better if the space remains empty and undefined than to shock it with a new museum or new memorials.

## “ARCHITECTURE IS NOT ISOLATED, IT IS A DISCIPLINE IN WHICH EVERYTHING AFFECTS”

June 19, 2019

In his architectural studio, 10:00h-12:00h

Branislav Mitrović, (1948, Bar), practitioner architect, lecturer and professor at the *Faculty of Architecture* in Belgrade  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

Mr Mitrović greeted me at his architectural studio located near the botanical garden in Belgrade, where he practices architecture alongside his small team of architects. The generous character and his excellence as an interlocutor reminded me of my professors at the *Faculty of Architecture* in Skopje– who belonged to the second generation of Yugoslav architects.

**JK:** I am focusing on the Yugoslav period...

**BM:** Oh, that was some different ambience. We believed in that country.

**JK:** Can you tell me more about yourself and your background?

**BM:** I am born on the Montenegrin coast. My childhood was there. My father was a politician. He was a revolutionist. In the past, in my family, there were a lot of priests. My father in 1948 was arrested and became a prisoner at Goli Otok. With my mother, we moved to the Montenegrin coast in the family house, a big old house. We moved due to political reasons out of our apartment with my mother and grandmother. It was a big family drama. My growing up was in the shadow of this political situation, which was caused by my father in Yugoslavia. He took a position, an idea, the origin of the idea - a communist idea, an international idea was compromised. That was his view, but his view influenced unfortunately the life of our whole family. In the beginning, up until my 4th grade in primary school I was near the sea coast. That was such an interesting period, to grow up with those colours. An interesting micro ambience. The coast was still not devastated. Afterwards, my mother took us to Titov Grad for better education, where I finished my primary and high school with attention to the languages department. I had brilliant professors. One of them was an artist. In one period, he influenced me a lot and I prepared myself to study at the *Academy of Arts*. My parents were completely against that. They were scared of all the uncertainties that go along with that professional profile. Afterwards, the idea of architecture came into the discourse. I attended architecture classes, but I didn't believe I would pass the introductory exam because of the mathematics part. The opposite happened. In the meantime, I subscribed to the *Faculty of Philosophy* because I was sure I will not enter the *Faculty of Architecture*. However, the *Faculty of Architecture* was not completely my decision from the heart. My idea was to study one year of philosophy and at the end of the year to transfer my documents to the *Academy of Arts*.

But the story about architecture started...

**JK:** How were the architectural studies organised?

**BM:** Back in the days our *Faculty of Architecture* was excellent. There were a lot of similarities with the faculties in Zagreb and Ljubljana. Sarajevo had some other profile. Sarajevo was interesting because it had great teachers there, they were interesting architects. Skopje was also a center. A lot of my friends from high school tried to enrol on the *Architectural Faculty* in Skopje, but Belgrade at that moment was considered the center of all this. A city is interesting for all of us. In 1967 when I enrolled on the *Faculty of Architecture*, it was also the year when the *BITEF* festival

started. Belgrade was very active and a lot of events occurred during those years. Belgrade was an exceptionally cosmopolitan environment, very attractive as a center in which a lot of interesting things occurred. There was an accepting ambience for the young people, who were starting with their studies.

**JK:** What type of diploma do you possess?

**BM:** *Dipl. Ing. Arch* – and in that moment the faculty was organised as a polytechnic school. I can say that it was very similar to the program of ETH in Zurich. My friend Slobodan S. Bekvalac, in 1984 went to New York where he applied to nostrify his diploma, thinking he will have big troubles. The authorities told him, there is no problem since you have a diploma from *Belgrade School of Architecture*, which is stronger than *Columbia University*. This is what he told me, although I cannot testify this - I was not there.

**JK:** Did you participate in student associations?

**BM:** For sure Jana, there were a lot of activities. My memory is now a bit bad but I remember *the Club of Technical Students (CTS)*, who published student news, texts from Le Corbusier, the texts from the first big congress of the *Union of Yugoslav Architects (UYA)*, initiated by the modernists. I remember Bruno Zevi's texts and other theoretical texts in that exceptionally affirmative ambience. We all shared this 'look forward' theory, looking towards a better, more beautiful and interesting future. At that moment, the doors of Europe for us as Yugoslavians were open. For example, Germany had its wall and the east had its wall. In Yugoslavia, we had a completely open situation. We could travel, for example, as a student, I worked on the beach of St. Stefan in Montenegro and I had contact with many tourists and people from all over the wealthier world. They all had respect for the Yugoslavian youth who earns money during the summer to study.

**JK:** How did you begin the story of your professional practice?

**BM:** At that moment I had luck. I finished this so-called *Belgrade School of Housing (BSH)*, [*Београдска Школа Становања (БШС)*] which was serious. The *BSH* was the best reference throughout the whole area of ex-Yugoslavia. I was lucky that my professors were Mate Bajo, Brana Milenković, Branko Aleksić, Aleksandar Stjepanović, a whole pallet of people who influenced the wave of construction of housing architecture. There were this incredible Mihailo Čanak and an exceptional gallery of those architectural profiles. At that moment the biggest accent in the Belgrade School was given to the problematics of housing. Moreover, I was very lucky to pass through this school because I believe that the problematics of housing is the basis for architectural education. The new investors all think that they know how to design an apartment. I believe that the analysis, the functional scheme and the architecture of the housing question are much more complex and important for the life of the people. It's necessary as a basis for architectural education. I was lucky because all these personalities in the latter student years, Urus Martinović, Ivan Antic, Mira Mitrović, Ranko Radović, Bogdan Bogdanović are in a way a platform of different opinions. They were all professors at the faculty and they all had different opinions, but somehow, they unified. For example, Bogdanović when he came from the USA he proposed a new school and they started different wars at the faculty. However, this was a professional struggle for architectural quality and quality for education.

The first year at the faculty there were protests. It was 1968. For me in the beginning it was an identification with Woodstock. Even later you can see in my projects the idea of reflecting Kubrick – and *A Space Odyssey*. In general, I think It was an affirmative global period. Even the United States of America (USA), was an interesting destination with the hippy movement and all the rest that occurred, all those activities, all those global events – because architecture is not isolated, it is a discipline in which everything affects. I think that those events profiled my architectural personality. The role of the professors, the heritage from my childhood at the sea coastline, the ambience and colours, the topography of the terrain, the walls and all the primary elements as a composition of artefacts. I remember that

in Belgrade after that, Mira Trailović and Jovan Ćirilov created the show *Kosa*. *Kosa* was the first show in the world which was produced outside of the 'primary house' [матична кућа]. It was all due to the artistic profiles of the guys who founded *BITEF* – Mira Trailović and Jovan Ćirilov. I want to say that Belgrade in those years with all the night-life and parties, with diverse young people from all over the world, made the city an exceptionally affirmative space. I think that time will never allow this ambience again. For sure people change also, today we have other priorities, other inspirations and some other positions.

**JK:** How was the transition from a student to the professional world?

**BM:** It was easier to find a job back in the days as a young architect. A lot of young architects took positions outside Yugoslavia as well. I started to collaborate with my professors at the *Institute for Architecture*. For me to witness how they work and what their methodology of working, was the most important. The financial part was not the most significant to me. Luckily, my parents were in a good mood to support me. They moved from Montenegro to Belgrade. I had family support and I was privileged. Moreover, I was not forced to enter some corporate system like the company *Energo Proekt*, as in a large house that profiles you and gives you some other rhythm. I tried for a couple of months there but I quit. Afterwards, I started to work through the student cooperative in the biggest 'designer house in Belgrade' [пројектантска кућа], named *Srbija Projekat* by a recommendation from my professor Ivo Antic. Afterwards, he became a partner with Ivanka Raspopović and Bane Mihajlović (who long lived in France and that influenced him). So, at the time, I was entering competitions and had some small collaborations. For me, the most significant of architectural education is student's competitions. I was also later working on professional architectural competitions. The competitions were city competitions, republic competitions and Yugoslav competitions. During my studies, I started with the competitions. I was also curious about graphic design, and graphic symbolism. I even won some prizes. I believe that my work in the field of graphic design was also significant since those are small interventions where you need a function to translate into a message. One symbol says everything that the brand needs to be, this is represented with one small graphic.

At the beginning of my career, the partnership with my friend Vasilije Milunović was also significant. That moment was significant in my career since Vasko came from a famous artist family. His father is the famous artist Milo Milunović, his mom Olga was a painter also. I worked with Vasko and with his brother Koljo who was a sculptor. With Koljo we worked mostly on the preservation of monuments. We worked on a series of competitions for those 'monument complexes' [споменичке комплексе]. The prizes were given to the sculptor Zivković etc. The diversity was in my interest, all those parallel activities were very significant because that's how a man grows up all levels, on the artistic level, on a functional level and a design level. In my team's and my case, this was important to continue architectural education. It is a good opportunity to think about the different aspects of the space, the surrounding etc. Vasko and I won a lot of competitions. In total, we worked on around 150 – 200 competitions. We achieved around 100 prizes. It was interesting to win a competition in Slovenia since they were very active.

The most important thing was that through the competitions I have met the Yugoslavian space [Југословенски простор]. This is important for your story. So, if you are working on competitions while you are here, you are in your own space. It's very hard to make competition is some other environment. So, at that moment those Yugoslav competitions which were at a federal level were the most significant for us to get familiar with that space. So, while working and winning in the competitions, I got familiar with Yugoslav space and also compared myself with the architects from other environments. I believe that for all those environments it was a very important aspect for architectural evaluation, for architectural comparison, for learning the other's cultural environment and cultural milieu. It made one mix which elevated the quality of the architectural production. This is my hypothesis. Also, with those competitions, I met architects from the other Yugoslav environments and got to know what is happening in their environments. All those participants experienced the same architectural ambience. For example, for one particular competition in Serbia, Marko Musić came from Ljubljana and he won the first prize. Vasko and I were studying his graphics, his drawings, his reduction and his whole presentation. We surely took out what seemed useful for us. The things that we took were important for our architectural development.

**JK:** What was different to be an architect in different cities?

**BM:** Every environment has its particularities.

The ambience was different too. For example, Sarajevo, has an architectural school that was led by prof. Neithard, Jahija Finčić, the team of Janković, Muhasilović and they were responsible for the sports centres across Yugoslavia. Skopje was interesting because after the earthquake it became a polygon. It started with the project of Tange and that made the base for all the architectural competitions that came later. I think that it was the golden period for Skopje. Some serious architects came out of that, Konstantinovski for example, Zivko Popovski with his team and the *City Shopping Mall* (CSM), [*Градски Трговски Центар (GTC)*] project. Skopje had the most of the competitions and that influenced the whole ambience. I have to criticize the current situation with the new architecture that was recently built in Skopje. I believe that at that moment, in the 1960s there was a push by a large front from architects and without them it could be hardly done. Today we have this project *Belgrade on the Water* here. This type of project was impossible to occur back in the days because first of all, the scale of construction would be a question for one big international competition. If we are talking about the ambience, Yugoslavia did not interfere with its interest in this manner. I have a feeling that the professional attitude was much more consulted.

**JK:** Can you tell me some references from that time? Exhibition, text, book etc.

**BM:** If we are taking literature, I was into Russian classics. They influenced me in high school and I read them because my high school direction was in the field of humanities. It was compulsory and it seemed boring for us, but compulsoriness sometimes can be significant. It can give you working ethics and a working habit. It disciplines you. It was also a time when Belgrade opened itself. There was a big wave of movies which we explored - The movie *the Strawberry Statement* (1970), the movie *Mesh*, the movie *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1969), the cult theatre show – *Kosa* and then everything that occurred around *BITEF*. I believe that all this was a reference that influenced us to form our professional profiles. Not necessarily an architectural profile but also a cultural profile. Architecture must absorb signals from the surroundings from parallel fields such as literature, art and design. To perceive them not only as a sculpture but also to interpret them in individual methods of design of the space. If I mention people, it would be my professors Uros Martinović and Ivo Antić. I believe that the competitions, which I made an accent on, allowed you to work on different tasks so that you are not only focused on one topic. I worked extensively on designing “cultural centres”, the theatres or the opera houses. We worked on the Opera in Bastille in Paris with Vasko and the *Islamic Cultural Centre* in Madrid. Those diverse tasks impact architectural development and give you a consciousness of your capacities. Somehow, I felt I am becoming more secure in my opinion. When you have a real-time situation whether professional or personal you are aware of how to act.

**JK:** How did Yugoslav architects contribute to the urban ambience? Were they conscious that they are part of this cultural infrastructure?

**BM:** For sure, Ivan Straus made one of the best projects the *Aeronautical Museum*, Marko Musić made his masterpiece the *Cultural Centre Kolasin* inspired by the mountain houses. Slovenian architects intervened in Skopje post-earthquake for cultural infrastructure. Ivo Antić projected the swimming pool for the Mediterranean games. At that moment he worked on a couple of swimming pools because in Belgrade there was a world cup for swimming. He worked on the project *25 of May* – a swimming pool and some other sports complexes. In Split one of those projects was made by Ivo Antić. Slovenia and Croatia were a little more closed environment. Sarajevo in its nature was much more of an open environment. They had Zlatko Ugljen, Janković I Muhasilović were working on sport and cultural centers. They worked on *Spens* (SPC Vojvodina), a sport center in Novi Sad. So, you have authors from

one environment working in another. Lots of Belgrade's architects were working on hotels in Montenegro. Sarajevo's architects worked on the Croatian coast, for example, David Finzi.

**JK:** Was it stimulated?

**BM:** I can't say that this was a state policy but there were partial tendencies. For sure every environment defended its position. In general, in Belgrade, there was also a lot. Arnautović from Ljubljana worked on housing blocks in New Belgrade. Ravnikar from Ljubljana won the whole urban planning competition for St. Stefan. He worked on a masterpiece hotel there too.

**JK:** Was it some particular law?

**BM:** There was no law, that was normal. It was not defined by the law on a federal level. For sure there was a federal law that was equilibrated with the national law but not for this matter. I had no barriers besides the human factor. I had no formal law barrier to work in Ljubljana, Skopje, etc. It was a wide space – multicultural, with various cultural layers. That overflow [*преливање*] was very significant. As this was especially visible in the movies.

**JK:** Was it a state idea for architecture to become part of that cultural planning?

**BM:** Professor Dobrović and the guys around him influenced that. Many of them came from the victory of the anti-fascist war as partisans. 1945 - in one devastated country, you have a cultural profile of architects from the Prague school of architecture. They had influences from Germany, to Vienna to some French students. Professor Pantević was a Le Corbusier student. Pantević and Ravnikar went together at Le Corbusier and they had mutual respect, they were friends. Those are all personalities, which influenced the political power in Yugoslavia, to understand that there are reference addresses on which you can refer to. Yugoslavia also gave a lot of trust to the artists. I believe this was part of the cultural policy – the policy of opening.

With all the limitations, such as the price limitations, the limit of opportunities in this society that just started to develop, there was much less political influence on the profession, where the politics merge with the profession. I believe that after some determined points who were strategic – the state made politics where power did not influence in that manner, the architectural product. The knowledge of the architect mattered. We had New Belgrade which after Brasilia was planned in that manner. All the architects who designed it were euphoric to be a part of this new idea. That idea belonged to one affirmative world. From today's point of view, I see the architecture of Yugoslavia and I can conclude that it's on the same level of quality as around the world, or close by.

In the architectural production of Yugoslavia, there was no amplitude (like there is one today). It was a straight line, like a heart line before dying. In Belgrade, in the 1960s and 1970s, you have one level of production which you can abolish professionally. You can easily say that something was not a masterpiece but that it was one objectively high-quality average level. I can say that the *MCA* in Ušće, is one of the best projects "behind the red line". 'Red line' – where capitalism and socialism impose. Today's politics not only in Serbia but in general in the world too, is a policy which is a scary policy. Today we are not living the same life. Today we have corporate terror. Look at the project *Belgrade on Water*, it looks like you came to some Chinese province in the south of China, which I recently visited. We were begging politicians to announce it as an international competition and to let the professional sphere say its opinion.

**JK:** Why did they consult the architects in Yugoslavia?

**BM:** It was a state which had an aspiration to recognise itself as a good cultural space. I designed for the army. I am sure, you believe that the army is a rigid investor. I built a housing unit for them, which in Europe would be classified as social housing. It wasn't sub dimensional housing but rather rationally financed, with a wish that the product will be with the best functionality and design results. One rational approach. In, Belgrade today we have housing with sub dimensional standard. You have the real estate agencies (they are merchants) who are pushing the m<sup>2</sup>. Studios are up to 30m<sup>2</sup>. That's a different standard from what was built in Yugoslavia. We have all those financial corporations from foreign countries which are using our bad financial moment and formulating the m<sup>2</sup> of the apartment, according to the market power of the unhappy parents who are sending their child to study in Belgrade and to avoid *the landlady*. For me, the landlady was the best cultural institution that ever existed (haha). I had one while studying. She was a professor of the French language, a good mathematician and I treated her like my second mother. She was more supportive than my mom since my mom criticized me.

Today's housing production is not a quality resource. We as architects should create resources for the future. The apartments, built in Belgrade between World War I and World War II, and after World War II, were a great resource, flexible. Yes, there is space for correction, however, they will remain a resource for the future of this country as a base for quality architecture. Many of the new apartments are with bizarre m<sup>2</sup> and are done with weird materials. I can't compare the quality. Even in the other ex-Yugoslavian states, the situation is the same. Maybe Slovenia is different because they solved this more responsibly towards what they leave for the future. It's simple - everything that I design today with good quality will be a good basis for valorisation in the future.

**JK:** I have a feeling that they promoted high culture as housing units wanted to give?

**BM:** It's a responsibility towards the future and towards the person who will spend their lives there. If the environment allows him, I will not only say the government but rather the cultural ambience. If the environment allows him and trusts him, he will bring good quality production. When you have one framework in which one project is born, and this framework is affirmative, the product will be good too. It wasn't a governmental decree, but the government yielded one ambience. I have a lot of negative points on that country but the country yielded one ambience develop one professional activity and be active on a profoundly correct level. The professionals had the right to say their opinion, since the officials who were reading understood that the opinions are needed to elevate the country. That was an exceptional ambience - an ambience of hope. For example, it wasn't a problem for me to drive my car to Zagreb to party, neither to sleepover in Trieste to buy shoes or to travel to the *Biennale of Venice*. When you have a feeling, let's say a dimension of freedom of movement, or respect towards yourself, you have a personality who creates in some other way.

**JK:** Were there some recommendations that you were using?

**BM:** I gave guidelines for the construction of housing projects. For example, the size of the living room should not be smaller than 18m<sup>2</sup>, room 12m<sup>2</sup>. That was all.

**JK:** How about the artistic expression?

**BM:** Maybe after World War II, this was the *Socialist Realism* era- that period I don't know very well. I am only talking for the duration of the period when I was professionally active. We did not have those types of recommendations. Jana, I simply felt professional freedom. The competitions were my architectural chalk. We talk architecturally about the competitions, there was "winding", but not a state winding rather professional winding. The quality needed to be visible on the surface. You couldn't win the first prize in winding. I remember the most important prize in Yugoslavia, the *Borbina Prize* [*Борбина Награда*]. Every year it was obligatory that the winner from the previous year is a member of the jury. From a jury of eight people, politics couldn't get involved in the decision process.

## “SYSTEMATIC DETERMINATION IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE”

June 20, 2019

Her office in the Archive of Yugoslavia, 10:00h-11:15h

Branka Doknić, (1953, Montenegro), doctor of political sciences, cultural scientist, historian of policy in the field of Culture, an employee at the *Archive of Yugoslavia*, and at the *Faculty of Political Sciences* in Belgrade  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

Ms Doknić warmly greeted me in her spatial office at the *Archive of Yugoslavia* on a hot summer day. The institute is located on the outskirts of Belgrade and it's situated in a typical building dating from the 1930s. The office of Ms Doknić had massive wood furniture typically used in 'representative' spaces during the Yugoslav period. After the conversation, Ms Doknić introduced me to the work of the archive.

**JK:** Ms Doknić, can you tell me more about yourself?

**BD:** I was born in Montenegro in 1953. My father was an army professional. Both of my parents are born in the city. I grew up in Slovenia and Croatia, but my education was in Belgrade. A true Yugoslav child (haha). Afterwards, I studied Political Sciences and Journalism. When Tito died, I worked at television production, in the 'documentary unit' but I did not have a permanent working contract (as the practice back in the days was). When the Archive of Tito was established, I moved there as a co-founder, together with four-five colleagues. With that archive, I came to the *Archive of Yugoslavia*, and from here I will retire. I finished my master thesis on the problematics of the *Sociology of Knowing*, the problematics of utopia and the problematics of a specific utopia – cultural politics of Yugoslavia. I wrote a book about the achievements of socialism in the cultural field.

**JK:** Were you a part of some student associations?

**BD:** No, I was only a member of the *League of Communists* (LC), [*Савез Комуниста (ЈИЛ)*]. To avoid conflict with society, all good students needed to be part of the League. Personally, because I did not attend the meetings, they expelled me (haha). They kicked me out when I was in the 3rd year of my studies.

**JK:** Was this hard for you?

**BD:** Not at all, this was in 1977 and simply it was not in my interest. When I started to work at the Archive of Tito and the archive was a classic political organisation, I needed to bring a document that showed I am part of the *League of Communists*. I went back to the faculty and asked for my old document to prove this. I did not oppose their work, but there were only some boring debates that lasted for hours.

**JK:** Would you like to give me some reference that inspired you? A movie, book or some exhibition?

**BD:** We were students who were competitive with each other. It was a time when we were competing who would read more, who would go to a better exhibition and who would see the latest movies. In the journalist department, there was only one competition - who had the best knowledge. We did not have any other way of communication or conversation. When it came to sports as well. To sum up, it was a super poor society with equal possibilities; The maximum was to go on the sea with your parents or in winter to visit Kopaonik under very hard conditions. There

were some hotels where you can stay up to seven days for skiing. I did not go skiing (for pleasure) even though it was almost for free for students, because the toilets were in horrible conditions. Students could go to all theatre shows, to all exhibitions and student sports resorts for very little money. You would get a ticket for the last row or even watch it standing because the theatres were full. The identification card of Belgrade's faculty opened so many doors to us. All cultural events were accessible to us. Today, the student identification card doesn't mean anything and the students are not competitive in terms of knowledge.

**JK:** How was culture organised in that period in Belgrade?

**BD:** We thought that we were at the centre of the world.

In the 1960s there was *FEST*, there was *BEMUS*, the exhibition of Henry Moore etc. Not only in Belgrade but the whole Yugoslav area was filled with European ranged events, especially in the art field. There were incredible artists and movie directors, such as Dušan Makavejev, Vlado Petrić etc. In this direction, the Yugoslav culture was equal with creators from France, Switzerland etc.

**JK:** How was this organised in the city? Was it planned or spontaneous?

**BD:** It was planned for sure. There was *Secretariat for Culture* (SC), [*Секретаријат за Културу* (СК)] and *Ministry of Culture and Education* (MCE), [*Министарство Култура и Образовање* (МКО)]. Outside of their jurisdiction nothing could be planned. There was no private sector, private galleries or private theatres. Everything was planned in the secretariats on three levels, the city, the republic and up until 1978 on a federal level. After 1978, culture was managed decentralized— the state culture of Yugoslavia (who was a synonym for Yugoslavia) reduced from a federal level to a national level to a republican level. So, one cultural system was developed in Slovenia, another in Croatia, another in Serbia etc.

**BD:** Jana, I am going to ask you, when did you move to Switzerland?

**JK:** In 2013.

**BD:** I am asking this to understand what you experienced from the before mentioned because you were born when Yugoslavia disappeared, but the way of life stayed to this day and I can assume you are familiar with its nature. In Serbia even today the communist way of life and the communist way of behaving is still present. The system of values is identical in your generation too. The biggest change was in the field of economy and the field of culture. The politics stayed communist. In the capitalist economy the *culture in free creativity* [*култура у слободно стваралаштво*] unfortunately did not flourish.

**JK:** Are the policies different today?

**BD:** No, the biggest problem of contemporary culture in Belgrade is that due to other emerging problems such as the economy, they neglect the cultural questions. It's not only that the funding is an issue but also there is a lack of motivation to revise that cultural space. As we were afraid of communism regarding too much influence from the state, today there is not even the minimum of influence. In my opinion, it's necessary to make a systematic determination in the field of culture to make sure that the priorities are given in the right direction, being in film or theatre. If there is funding, it has to be given in the right direction.

**JK:** Was this the case for Yugoslavia?

**BD:** In Yugoslavia, everything was systematically made. We all knew the rules of the game so that we can participate in this framework. Maybe you won't succeed but the rules were clear to all. Due to the foreign credits, Yugoslavia became a rich country, which could afford to create its own culture. The built fabric was unprecedented. The architecture was of high quality. For example, the motels on the Adriatic Sea were photographed by the best photographers, some artists made art in the lobbies or on the facades. Today, this would be an impossible case. It was a wish for the power of the system to be represented, but not only on a functional level but also in an esthetical connotation too. The thesis was: culture is accessible for all! That system of equalities was the basis of communism. This meant that they all have the same opportunity to study, they all have social and health security and they all have the same opportunity to access culture and aesthetics. Some accepted this and others didn't. I mean, understandably, you can't send two opera singers to a factory and the workers all of a sudden are happy to listen to that. For them, it would be boring but that was the way culture could be enforced to the masses.

**JK:** Was it a model that was taken from other countries?

**BD:** No, not really. Possibly a little. In France and generally in the west there always was an elitist culture.

The communist countries wanted the contrary to what that elitist culture expressed to the people. Yes, I believe that there was a communist attempt with similar tendencies elsewhere. *Bolshoi Theatre* which is now impossible to get a ticket was created across Russia to be free for their workers. In essence, communism was the same everywhere. You can see enormous buildings which are abandoned in Bulgaria, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania. Only Russia succeeded to protect and use those buildings. With those buildings they were showing the power of the system - the system is strong therefore the use of concrete as a material. Today, there is no ideology but it is even more dangerous because there are no rules to the game. You need to distinguish two axes: one is the 'state culture' and the second is the 'creative creator' [*креативни стваралац*]. The country must have a system in the field of culture, but the artist or architect do not need to have a system. That's a personal achievement and an achievement of his creativity. The state must make the culture equal to the economy. It has to have a system in the field of culture too. The culture is an identity for the country to survive.

**JK:** What was different in Slovenia and Croatia in terms of culture?

**BD:** Ah, the differences are enormous. In 1945, 90% of the people in Slovenia were literate, while in Kosovo 90% were illiterate. So, it is normal that those two cultures could not exist in parallel. In Kosovo, they put an accent on making the people literate while the Slovenian culture jumped huge steps to go forward in the field. On a federal level, they would give them equal funding but the money in Kosovo goes for education while in Ljubljana it goes to the amateur theatres, to constructing a philharmonic, big theatres, universities and they just upgraded. The results were not satisfying, in the middle of the 1970s, 40% of people in Yugoslavia were still illiterate. These conditions influenced the development of culture. Education is the basis of culture. You also can't develop the economy with illiterate people.

The authorities wanted to show their achievements, so in the 1950s you have all these Yugoslav exhibitions in Paris and the rest of Europe. The construction of 100 new theatres, 100 new cultural houses, established associations and artistic colonies showed one big freedom of expression. It was only impossible to touch Tito. In the 1970s there was the entrance of western music. The Yugoslavian government did a lot to improve the state of culture rapidly. We are not talking about the parts in Croatia, Vojvodina etc. who were under the Austro-Hungarian educational system for years but I am referring to the south of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Macedonia who were a different story. They forced building school there in their language which was important. The children needed to study in their language.

**JK:** Were there planners in the cities who were working on it?

**BD:** Yes, the whole culture was centrally planned. They knew exactly what type of theatre they are going to open, which building will have which function and for which activity, what type of institutions they need, whether you need an opera or not. Everything was decided on a political level, or in most of the cases for the bigger cities, it was brought in the *Ideological Commission* (IC), [*Идеолошка Комисија (ИК)*], (part of the central committee). Although the *IC* is not the federation, it's the party. From there, they gave instructions to the *Republican Central Committee* (RCC), [*Републички Централен Комитет (РЦК)*] to the ministries. Afterwards, the *Ministry of Culture* just executed the decision of the party.

**JK:** How did they have the idea of establishing the *IC*?

**BD:** It was their basis for everything.

**JK:** This *IC* was an idea of Tito or Kardelj?

**BD:** It's a Soviet program or a program of the *Comintern* [*Коминтерна*]. It's the communist way of thinking - It's not even Yugoslav. It became active from the illegal period. In 1919 when the Communist Party was formed in USSR, there already was the existence of the *Comintern* which acted as one illegal communist party. There was only one ideology. The ideology – changing society by the system of Communism. Communism has many positive things in its description such as all people having equal rights, small differences between the richest and the poorest until it was killed because of too much control. This is why communism failed.

**JK:** Who were the shadows of Tito? Is it interesting to see Kardelj there?

**BD:** All the artists were around Tito. That's nothing new. They had state artists from middle age. State artists were a whole institution that was present from middle age. They are always near the authorities. Artists, writers and architects which are glorifying the patron who is giving them money. In the communist system, the money is given by the state, so all those profiles need to glorify the system – what that country represents. The advantage of Yugoslavia was that it was open to the world. So, our artist, architects and writers won prizes internationally. Initially, they become internationally famous and afterwards Tito chose whether to accept them or not as a commodity. The state artists, state movie directors, state writers, received nice compensation, good apartments, good salaries and good positions. They forgot their primary cause since they became active in the field of ideology.

**JK:** It's interesting to see that they also lived nearby the politicians?

**BD:** Petar Lubarda received a house in Dedinje (the most elite neighbourhood in Belgrade). When the president of Brazil came to Belgrade, he wanted to visit him because Lubarda won the *Art Biennale of Brazil*. Tito ordered to empty one house on Dedinje so that they can place Lubarda there. He did not want anybody to know that Lubarda lived in a basement in the city centre. Some other artists and writers were living in Dedinje because they were state artists. It's not something unusual. Every system has artists who are glorifying their power. To summarise, the system achieved quality because of the competitions. Especially the competitions in Architecture and for all type of exhibitions. The competitions were all international so the public eye can see them. In the jury, there was a little bit of favour but the best ideas got the first prize. Also, critical thinking was high - the critics in architecture, the critics in art, the critics in literature. The critique played the role of public discourse. For example, Danilo Kiš was never

popular among the authorities, but the critics judged his work highly and he reached the stars. On another hand, you have the work of Antonije Isaković who was a political writer and today his work isn't valued. The critique was partly ideological but it became stronger and stronger. It reached the peak in the middle of the 1970s and up until the 1980s. All the artists were afraid to express their opinion from the critique.

**JK:** What else was innovative?

**BD:** The culture of Yugoslavia was on the same level as the European one. This wasn't only our opinion but the west was claiming the same too. Also, we saw the transition from monasteries to museums when other policies came through the system in the 1950s – when the first cultural policies were brought. From the middle of the 1950s, there were laws to regulate education, the movie industry, the doctorates and the status of free artists. Before that period, there was a period when everything was semi-legal. The culture was built according to priorities. In the middle of the 1950s when the state stabilised economically, the cultural policy came into the framework. So, they started arranging how institutions would function, who would be employed and they defined their collaborations with the big and small instances.

The system of education became unified in 1956 when they established eight years of primary school. Also, they established movie productions in all of the republics. Every republic had its own company to produce movies and distribute them. We had big censorship on importing foreign movies. There was a special commission who first travelled, saw the market of the movies and then brought copies to Yugoslavia. From there the party would revise it and then afterwards they would enter the cinemas. In the 1950s the USA were joking on our behalf. They gave us money for culture and education but in return they wanted us to buy their movies. The people loved their movies and the lines for the cinemas were always super long. In that way, they forced us to watch their movies and their music. They brought their music into the country but only started selling it as soon as the authorities were sure that it's not making any trouble.

**JK:** How did the self-management system influence the cultural field?

**BD:** This occurred in 1974. There was only one formal ministry of culture (with no big influence) where the power was given to the *LC*. The official date for this change was in 1978 and it was called *self-management and retaining the field of culture*. The big step forward was that public funds for culture were formed. Every *LC* had a fund for culture. According to the law, every company that earned profit was forced to invest in the fund of culture. With the system of competitions, this funding was allocated for exhibitions, buildings, books etc. Individuals weren't the ones who can apply for these funds but rather the institutions. For example, a gallery applies for funding on a country level or a community level to organise an exhibition. Besides the state, until 1985 there was no culture? Individuals couldn't sell their paintings, they weren't able to publish their work or they couldn't have a permit. Everything was done at the country level. The country completely removed itself from the field of culture in 1989. Everything transformed into private financing. All publishing houses collapsed. 90% of the museums were closed. The big influence from the country resulted in complete vanish. If we take Serbia only in the last five-six years, the country opened for some collaboration with the institutions and tried to direct the culture in some identity background. They took it from a bottom line to the surface.

**JK:** The meaning changed?

**BD:** The *MCA* was closed for fifteen to twenty years. Last year they re-opened, before that they did not have any function. Only the theatres lasted since they already have a self-sufficient principle of financing. If we talk about the quality of the program, that would be a different question.

**JK:** How did this affect the ambience of the city?

**BD:** The city became a peasant. Less cultured. The culture pushed the margins on every individual. I have to say that in Yugoslavia traditionally people spent more money on cigarettes and rakija than on culture. Families were giving 5% of their income on cigarettes and 3% on culture. The educated families were giving 8% of their income for culture up until the 1980s. Today families are giving around 1% for culture. The biggest problem is that we don't have any kind of research. Back in the days, there was much more available information and statistics too. There was an institution that followed the cultural development. This institution exists today but it's much more focused on the level of the city or with general questions. They just re-started to work on a national level. This matter needs to be on state funding and not on city funding. Without this type of research, you can't know what happens in the field of culture. This type of research in Yugoslavia was done more frequently, especially in Slovenia. They know exactly where there is a lack of instruments, where there is a lack of dressing room etc. The last were always Montenegro, they would not even apply for funding since they had no idea what they already have.

**JK:** Were the cultural workers meeting with each other on a federal level?

**BD:** Every country had its institutions. They were individual institutions but they were obliged to collaborate. Their communication was not very strong. There was never a cultural elite in Yugoslavia, there was only a political elite and this elite created all elites. Communism doesn't have an economic elite, there is no privately-owned company that can finance culture and decide where to invest. Another thing was that there was a policy – income according to the number of sold books. Branko Ćopić had an enormous salary so he could afford an apartment in the city centre. He had a bigger salary than Tito. I believe this is why Tito was so annoyed by him. He did not know where to spend all that money and this made him completely independent.

**JK:** Where is the place of kitsch in all this?

**BD:** It changed a lot from the time in Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, there was a special *anti-shund* [антн шунд] commission. We considered kitsch if in magazines they wrote about some American actress who owns three fur coats, has five lovers or a house with a swimming pool etc. They considered this as kitsch since they believed that they are brainwashing the youth with the value of material possessions. If someone brought a doll from Italy that talks and they put this item in their house it was also considered as kitsch. People were so afraid of kitsch, completely unnecessary. People just wanted to warm up their lives.

## “YOU CAN’T CREATE SOMETHING CREATIVE IF YOU ARE NOT CREATIVE YOURSELF”

June 24, 2019

FP, his office at the History Department, 12:00-14:00h

Ljubodrag Dimić (1956, Zemin) historian, full-time professor at the *Department of History, FP*  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Mr Dimić in his small office at the *Faculty of Philosophy* (FP). Mr Dimić has excellent narration skills and made the conversation pleasant. Besides his hospitality, Mr Dimić expressed his interest in the subject of the thesis and showed his encouragement.

[...] Who is stepping right there?

Left!

Left!

Left!

V. Mayakovsky, Left March 1918

**JK:** Tell me more about yourself?

**LD:** I was born in Zemun, in 1956 to a family of education workers. I have a sister, which is three years older than me. I went to primary school in Zemun and the gymnasium in Belgrade. I enrolled at the *Faculty of Philosophy*, (FP) in 1975. Here I finished my diploma work, my master degree and my doctoral studies. In 1980, I was employed at the *Institute of Contemporary History of Serbia* (ICHS), [*Институт за Савремену Историју Србију* (ИСИС)]. In 1985 I became an assistant, a docent, an associate professor, then I became a full-time professor at the *FP, Department of History*, in 2002. In 2012, I became a correspondent member at the *Serbian Academy of Science and Art* (SASA), [*Српска Академија Наука и Уметности* (САНУ)]. In 2018, I became a regular member of SASA.

**JK:** How were the studies organized and what type of diploma did you obtain?

**LD:** I studied history in the framework of the *FP* in Belgrade. This was in a time when the *Department of History* was the strongest department at the *FP*, and maybe even the strongest department in the university. This is in the 1980s. My professors Andrej Mitrović, Draguljub Zivojinov, Sima Cirković, Branko Petranović had the biggest impact on me. One of them chose me to be his assistant. I had the honor to be his student and to collaborate with him in some period of his life. I also succeeded him, when his career finished in the early 1990s.

**JK:** Were you part of some student organisation etc.?

**LD:** We were all part of some student organisations. We were all part of some sports associations at the *FP*. I was very passive, without any particular role and I didn't have any meaningful political or societal engagement. The epoch of the 1970s and the 1980s was very interesting. Most of us weren't interested in any way in politics but later in the 1990s, we all became infected. We were interested in life. In Yugoslavia, we had a nice life. We had a nice life standard. Every day was better than the last. The student life was rich.

When we came to the *FP* in Belgrade, our whole world changed. Our first impression with the faculty was with the professor who was teaching *History of the Antics*, Slobodan Dusanić. He greets us one day, and asked us which one

of you read *the Iliad and Odyssey* - we were all quiet. He said, “are you quiet because you didn’t read it?”. Some of us were very shy to say that we read the book because in high school we only replied if someone asked something directly to us. He simply said, “Listen, tango requires two people. Since I have no partner, Goodbye”. At that moment, I understood that this is not a school where you do things because someone else is giving you an order. Like when your professors or your parents are forcing you to study etc. I understood that I came to a school which gives you all the opportunities, a school that only demands to know what you want and what you are looking for. Not only for me but my whole generation, this Odyssey started, through the magic world of history which we were constantly thinking of.

The basic characteristic of the *FP* back then was that the professors needed to encourage you to have a critical opinion and to reach the results by yourself. I remember some exam from my master studies, where I am explaining my position to the professor for one hour, and the professor, in the end, told me “Listen I don’t agree with anything that you said. But this is 10 / 10.” I want to say that there was openness from the professors, which came from their professional security linked to tremendous knowledge. They only tried through their instructions to help us not get lost in this huge ocean of knowledge. This is how entire generations were brought up at the *FP* – to think critically. Even for a price to disagree. This meant that we will develop the skill – to listen to others and their opinion, also to work on our arguments. Somehow in this school, the knowledge was shared through this generational friendship, from going in *Kafanas* with the professors to the lectures which sometimes took up twice of the planned time.

**JK:** How was this policy stimulated?

**LD:** No, there was one highly positive ambience in the *Department of History*, which in the meantime was lost as many other things were lost after the split of Yugoslavia. There were many disagreements, many wars and many conflicts inside the faculty in the 1990s. Many people became deaf and blind to something which was our responsibility before – critical thinking etc. I am not far from this also, that school stayed in my memory as something very generous. Afterwards, I was encouraged to pass this on to my students. I wanted to pass to my students – to become free people, free thinkers, to be critical but also self-critical towards others, towards the resources for research etc. Another thing that was a characteristic of this school for decades and we also adopted this – this school is the school of free-thinking. If you have good arguments, you can think freely. You shouldn’t be surprised that the biggest critic of Yugoslav socialism, later in the period of Slobodan Milosević and even today the resistance towards the authorities and the opposition comes from here.

**JK:** What reference is your inspiration?

**LD:** There was a lot in the 1970s. Those were the years, that were the last years, of the power of Josip Broz Tito. Those were the years when we felt that some opportunity window is opening to refresh the air. Those were the years when we had large forums with oppositional thinking at the *Kolarac People’s University*. Those forums were full, as students, we were sitting there on the stairs and we listened to our very active professors. We were listening to professors from the *FP*, we were listening to professors from the *FP* who were dealing with literature, even some professors from the *Faculty of Theology* came. I remember this huge debate between Nikola Milosević and Amfilohije Radović regarding the work of Dostoevsky for example. I remember all these forums which were about the basis of socialism or the debate in which sense the educated youth need to enrol in the future of some ideas, some country and some world. For sure, after the 1990s this changed in many aspects. In general, before the 1990s it was an interesting time. For example, you go on a date with a girl to eat cake and at the *Kolarac People’s University* you listen to a debate between people who were possibly retired, but they were important figures in Belgrade’s intellectual life. This was so pleasant. I miss this.

**JK:** What do you mean by intellectual life?

**LD:** When we were students, the school was a place that satisfied our intellectual needs and pleasures with lectures, forums and meetings. When you are a student and after your studies, you are not alone in this intellectual world. You can follow some movements and even the disagreements of the cultural elites, those clashes between the official and the eventual; among the official and the improvised etc. Belgrade had an extremely rich intellectual life at that time, somehow the critical opinion was very high. There were some very smart people which went out of the socialist system and sometimes they were even in conflict with the official authorities. They were part of this official power and in the last decade of Yugoslavia, we could categorize them as people who were able to think. Back then, Belgrade was very interesting in an intellectual sense, which is quite different from today. We had the opportunity to listen to Svetislav Stojanović and the whole *Korčula Summer School* who visited from time to time to give a lecture at the *Kolarac People's University*. We could attend the promotion of their book as well.

**JK:** Did you attend *Korčula Summer School* as well?

**LD:** Svetislav Stojanović, Dragoljub Micunović, Ljubomir Tadić and some other leftist professors were often guests at *Kolarac People's University*. They established contact with students and it was such a pleasure to listen to them. When I think about it from today's perspective, they recommended to us many things but back then we were too young to understand. Life somehow returns to you through some comments, some words, some lessons, some experience from one generation which was brought up differently than ours. We also attended lectures by Mihajlo Marković and Nebojsa Popov, all significant professors. I am telling you that the *Department of History* was very strong and qualitative. Every published book by our professors was followed by the students, independently even if the book was about the history of antics or the history of the 20th century.

Some spontaneity existed in some of the cultural institutions in Belgrade. That spontaneity was due to Tito's socialism which was very specific and it had some values as priorities. Through this values, he tried to affirm his power. This meant, you would be able to talk, you would be able to make polemics and to develop a national consciousness but to some extent where everything is monitored through some state service. For us historians, these services are very important today since we are using their material to write about that time. Thirty years have already passed yet the documentation is available today. To summarize, I want to say that; Yugoslav socialism is not as people imagine in the west. Yugoslav socialism is full of specificities. For me, the most interesting specificity is the "intellectual life" that I am referring to, which was occurring in Belgrade, without any consequences. When you are young and curious about many things, you go and you listen. No one asked around the corner, what were you listening to there. I can testify this, especially because I was active in those decades and I participated in almost every forum in the city.

**JK:** Which are those buildings-institutions that were significant for this intellectual life?

**LD:** The *Faculty of Philosophy*, the *Kolarac People's University*, the *Cultural Center of Belgrade*, *Belgrade Youth Center*, which all had a brilliant program, a movie program, many forums, especially literature forums where you can hear all these people at the same time who were labelled from the authorities as people who wanted to 'destroy socialism' etc. All those specificities in intellectual life contributed to raising one very free intellectual generation. The war in the 1990s destroyed this generation if I can express like this, it divided it and split their opinions. Those who back in the days were in two, three columns or a letter were appearing in some impossible combinations. That's how life is perhaps. I want to point out the *Association of the Writers* which was based on Francuska street. This was a place where we can see and hear the people which books we were reading.

**JK:** How was the informal circle around you?

**LD:** The informal circle around me were my friends from high school, from the faculty and the institute. The change that occurred in 1980 was best seen at parties. My group, who were turning the lights off to dance with girls, at one moment stopped turning the lights off and we only talked about politics. We entered a phase of serious illness that erodes our youth. The time politicized us. In the beginning, that time spoiled us thankfully to the loans. In Tito's socialism from the time that we were kids, every day was better than yesterday. All this emerged in a time when socialism started to show the last deep crisis which afterwards led to its collapse. We saw this in certain aspects of life and at parties that looked just like I explained. When we started to go out, we were arguing around boys and girls afterwards we were arguing about politics and political views. The characteristics of the circle around me are that when I moved, we never lost each other, we stayed friends until today. These high school and faculty friendships are the best thing that occurred in our life, the best thing we saw in life. In professional circles, there is only interest, and from interest, you can live a certain time but from love, you can live until the end of life.

**JK:** Where was the place of culture in this system?

**LD:** Culture had an enormous conscious and unconscious space in our lives. I grow up in a family with parents that worked as educational workers. My sister was three years older. In our house, the culture was present. We use to go to the theatre, to go to concerts and to read books. My sister read a lot. High school seemed boring to me at times. I enrolled at the *Faculty of Philology* to read many books with various styles by various authors next alongside my sister since she influenced me a lot. She had a circle of friends-poets around her and they came frequently to our house. As a young child, I was sitting in the back and listening to people who later build up nice scientific and artistic careers. They became famous writers and professors at the faculty. My sister became a professor at the *Faculty of Defectology* and she gives a language course at the *Faculty of Philology*.

We were in a circle of people who read a lot, and what was important when we are referring to the Belgrade parties. It was prestigious at those parties to discuss books. After the 1980s translated books came, so we were discussing Czech writers for example Milan Kundera. It was a privilege to discuss them with girls or with your friends. We all read the literary newspaper, we all followed literary critics and the books which were promoted at the Belgrade fair came quickly into our hands. I wouldn't say that this was typical, I was lucky. We are still talking about a society in which 50% of the people are illiterate. You have this brilliant quote from a famous Serbian writer, who says the following "Listen if I loved to read, I would only read, but since I don't like it, I don't have anything in my hands". Back in the days, we use to live in a society where 9% of the population was illiterate. In the 1970s and the 1980s, computer literacy was close to 0.

**JK:** So, were you a part of the intelligence?

**LD:** I would lie to you if I say I was looking at myself like that. I experienced myself as a curious young man, who goes and hears something, reflects upon it and retells it until the next event. I experienced myself as a man who at his house has a big library. From my mother, my father, my sister and even myself, we collected around 10.000 books from which I was able to be informed. I read magazines too. I wouldn't say I was typical. In another hand, things were so crazy at that time, people were losing time to cheers sports, basketball, going to discos and going for summer holidays. For example, we would go for about forty days on a holiday and we would call our parents once or twice to ask for a little bit more money. Usually, they didn't give us. We use to go in a tent, one bread and 200grams of salami (the most basics ones) to the sea, we lived a very modest life. When you spend forty days at the sea, you save on food so at night you can have a Coca-Cola in some hotel, or some club, or some terrace where you can hear music etc. The time was like that, and let's say it simply – Belgrade was a creative city, a city in which you can hear and see a lot. That creativity which my generation felt was before the clouds came, in which everything good will end with the end of Yugoslavia.

The most interesting decade for your scientific interest is the decade of the glorious 1960s. A decade that started with a lot of hope and ended up with a lot of pessimism. In that decade if we zoom out, not only in Yugoslavia but the world was reintroduced with the concept of war. First of all, in Asia, Vietnam and Cambodia. Children were killed in the jungles of South America, leading some guerrilla revolutions. That was a time when you have all those riots at the university campuses in the world but also in Belgrade. In the year 1966 / 68 the turbulence of consciousness occurred and this generation was born. This generation didn't want to live the flow which their parents left them. They wanted to create their flow.

That was a decade when socialism had the last big chance, according to me as a historian. That chance was to execute – the shift of generations. Let's say to shift from one side who emerged from World War II and whose educational level was hastily trained. Averagely, the execution cadre of Yugoslavia was twenty years old. The same people in the second part of the 1960s were forty-five years old and through a lot of force, behind them, there was already great work. Nevertheless, the authorities didn't know how to reform Yugoslavian socialism or to give a chance to Yugoslav socialism in a new form. They didn't understand, that revolution doesn't represent sitting around a fire and telling how it was as grown-ups do to the youth. Also, we don't live the historical scene until the end of our lives and they should have given a chance to the younger generation who were more educated, more prosperous, who grew up in socialism, who had leftist opinions and who had leftist conviction. They were never given a chance.

The elders who had the power, were in years when they needed to give the baton to the next ones because they didn't understand that revolution is one big energy. This energy needs to be fulfilled with every new generation, with new a program and new facilities. In the 1960s this turning point – was a turning point for the destruction of Yugoslav socialism. The passing of the baton to the younger generation didn't happen and this led to the destruction of the future of Yugoslav socialism. Furthermore, in 1968 parents opposed their children. This was something that left a strong trace. In the 1960s, we were living in an ambience where you wait for the transmission of Cassius Clay from the USA, we all wanted to follow these big events, to follow the riots on the campuses, to follow the Vietnam war etc. Yugoslavia was very active with its own opinion. This new youth was captivating knowledge from good schools, from a university which in the 1960s was a world-class university. In fifteen years through good education and good scientific policies, they lifted universities in the rank of other European universities.

All was lost with the dissemination of Yugoslavia, and she used to have a leading place in the region. That educated generation did not receive their chance. They were pushed to the side and skipped. That escalated in the 1960s when the energy from propulsion resulted in some other forms in the direction to the radical left. Belgrade students were singing songs from the Russian revolutionists. For instance, they were singing, “[...] Who is stepping right there? - Left! Left! Left!”<sup>17</sup> In 1968, the Belgrade University gave a critic that Yugoslavian society went far away to the right. In 1968, a name day holiday was given to Karl Marx. They wanted to affirm the origins of socialism. The students were criticizing their parents that they forgot the flows of socialism, that they forgot what they were fighting for and that they forgot the reason that their friends were killed. They were referring to freedom and a more equal society.

In that sense, in the 1960s, young people were the reformist power of Yugoslav socialism. Simply, a reformistic power that did not receive its chance. This movement was destroyed, and their ideas were a sign of the past. The USSR helped a lot in this. This riot lasted for a month and a half in June 1968. Tito cut them off with his TV appearance, where he stated that – the students are right. This speech caused panic among the party officials, especially in the lower branches, since Josip Broz Tito with his speech realized that the future is not in his hands, but rather in those that are coming. This big movement in its opinion surely succeeded to brake the students and isolating the ones which were the most extreme. The majority of the students danced the so-called *kozaracko kolo* in the *Student City* (SC), [*Студентски Град (СТГ)*] and sang songs that are dedicated to Tito and the revolution etc. I must mention that this movement was a leftist movement in Belgrade. At the same time in Zagreb, there was a right-wing movement that was related to the catholic church and was behind several weeks to the one in Belgrade. The Zagreb movement had a completely different nature. Contrary to the international dimension of the Belgrade protest, in Zagreb, they entered

17 V. Mayakovsky, Left March, 1918.

a nationalistic and cleric dimension in which the roman catholic church interfered. They thought that it's a good moment to regain some space in Croatia, and to return to what they had before World War II. The political colours of Belgrade and Zagreb were very different, one university was red and the other one became black.

**JK:** How was the ambiance in Skopje, Sarajevo?

**LD:** The universities in Skopje, Sarajevo, Podgorica and Pristina had no movements. This doesn't mean that there weren't people who were coming to Belgrade and Zagreb to attend them. For many of them, those seven days in June were the most important thing that they ever had in life.

After the words of Tito – which indicated that this generation will gain its chance, came a military intervention in Czechoslovakia on the 21st of August. This war intervention in Czechoslovakia was prepared for a long time and Yugoslavia took place in the preparation process. Tito visited Prague, gave support to the Czechoslovakian authorities and the reforms that they were trying to impose. That 21st of August is understood as a great danger to Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav type of socialism. The same day Tito gathers the whole membership of the *Central Comity (CC)*, [*Централен Комитет (ЦК)*], at the Adriatic coast since they were on holidays, on the island of Brioni. In Brioni, they held a night session and after two days the *CC* held another session in Belgrade. During those two sessions, they decided on the course on which Yugoslavia needs to go towards in the future.

This didn't represent an anti-USSR flow but rather demanded a more dogmatic approach in the communist party. The following events, thankful for the party propaganda created one big fear, not only in the narrative of the politicians but also in the narrative of the regular man, indicating that there will be some foreign intervention. This also woke up immense patriotism. The party that was worn down in the years between 1945-1948 suddenly opened the door for the younger generation. No one was interested in the party. At that point, in one hundred days, there were 175.000 new subscribers. Out of those, 125.000 were student youth. In this manner, the party received a transfusion from which she could live in the next ten years, adjusting to the death of Tito without any big changes.

Tito brought back the old personnel in Serbia and also became more tolerant towards nationalism. He tolerated Croatian nationalism up until 1971, but then he recalculated himself. The idea was that if the Serbians receive a slab, the Croatians must receive a slab too (haha). After that repression of the nationalists in Zagreb, the extinction of the liberals in Belgrade followed (the ones who were followed by Latinka Perović and Marko Nikezić). Yugoslavia lived on the concept of a balance. Balance into fear, balance into influence, the balance of political power. This balance was kept in the 1970s too. The basis of this balance can't be defined as anti-Serbian party politics. It was based on one conviction coming from USSR practice since Tito was a USSR student and he never succeeds to free himself from the dogma. This meant that the biggest Republic (Serbia) needs to be suppressed because of the size, number of citizens and the tradition of revolution. He came up with the concept of creating provinces to maintain this balance.

Serbia in 1972 took off around 5000, let's say in today's vocabulary 'managers', to fit in the Yugoslav story of the 1970s. The goal was to avoid rebelling or whenever unnecessary any criticism. Simply, there wasn't the need for someone to step out. The Croatians were calmed by their nationalistic tendencies and the Serbians from their technocratic ones. That balance was kept until Tito died. We then came into a position where the 1960s and 1970s exploded in our faces. This led to the defeat of Yugoslavia as a defeat from separate national countries. It became a country that was destroyed due to national conflicts. The defeat of Yugoslavia as a socialist creation. Yugoslavian socialism died in the second part of the 1980s and disappeared after the fall of the Berlin wall.

The crash of Yugoslavia came since as a country with its dimension, couldn't withstand what future united Europe asked for. That space was fragmented in the 1990s, but the essence of the processes that were led in the 1990s developed in the 1960s. As a historian, I believe that the 1960s is the most important decade in the life of Yugoslavia. The decade of a lost chance. If we are analyzing the internal plan, that decade started with the crisis of socialism. In April 1962, Tito asked the question: can this country survive and live? He then asked every member of the *CC* to give his

opinion whether it can or it can't. It showed that Yugoslav socialism can survive if the economy is re-organized. They then started to articulate the idea of the reforms in the economy. This came into a discourse on the daily agenda a couple of years later in 1965. The tragedy of Yugoslavia and Tito himself was that at the moment when they adopted this economic reform, Tito and the party already knew that this reform could not succeed. They entered into a highly dangerous concept. We need to dig for answers around 1962 and 1965/68 for the things that occurred in 1990. An answer for the unrestrained nationalism, the hatred which we didn't recognize since we use to live in one harmonic world and the bestiality that protrude from the soil, from the blood, from the hole of the civilization occur. Above all, we felt some unknown primitivism and some strange ways of revenge, etc. It is a complex story.

**JK:** You describe Belgrade as a creative city? What was creative here?

**LD:** Belgrade was the centre of Yugoslavia. As a centre of Yugoslavia, it was a space in which the others were watching (the ones from Slovenia, the ones from Montenegro, the ones from Macedonia, the ones from Croatia etc.). Belgrade was a city in which you are happy to come. Belgrade also changed the structure of its citizens. We can state that only in the first decade of the Yugoslav cities, especially towards Belgrade, 9 million people migrated from the countryside. Belgrade had an exceptionally good education, a strong university. At that sense and a political sense, it became a starting place, from where everything else would be created. At the same time, you can't create something creative if you are not creative yourself – in a sense to radiate. Belgrade was a city that radiated towards the whole Balkan at that moment even in comparison to Athens, Sofia and Bucharest. Belgrade was not the only metropolis, those cities are also significant and big centres. Belgrade is something special, even when Yugoslavia is not there. Even today Belgrade is something special.

When you ask our colleagues, there is simply some gaze towards this city which were felt in the years of socialism. It was a pleasure and honour to take a job in Belgrade, to travel to Belgrade, to be in Belgrade, to go back home and to say I was in Belgrade. I saw it and I heard it. Those creations can be separately researched, what you saw, what you heard, what you think you saw and what you think you heard etc. Simply, it was one big centre of one big country. We can't forget that both, the first and second Yugoslavia represented a big integration. The biggest integration in the Balkans. That big integration had a chance. What didn't succeed in 1918, everybody thought that it would in second Yugoslavia from 1945. In the end, everything disappeared in a big civil war from which we can't recover even today.

**JK:** In the 1990s, was Belgrade a creative city?

**LD:** Belgrade in the 1990s was a sad city. Let's say from the total Yugoslavian space, around 200.000 young people left with a diploma. For each of those young people, Yugoslavia invested around 350.000 dollars in their education. If Yugoslavia was accepted in the circle of European countries, it would not have this destiny which was with intention. This is not only the destruction but the breaking up of the Yugoslav country. Europe gave credit only to the educated youth. Let's calculate 200.000 by 350.000 dollars each and you will see many millions. You are waiting in Belgrade, in Zagreb, in Skopje and in Sarajevo who experienced one special tragedy small credits for help in solidarity from the European fund. You destroyed yourself because your story was a farce created by the smart guys in Europe and the world, who were telling you that you can make your own country. In that country, you will be united and major. We later saw that all that was a farce. The tragedy is that Yugoslavia was better for anyone of us rather than the gains of separation.

**JK:** If we see New Belgrade and old Belgrade, the cultural infrastructure is quite differentiated. How would you explain this historically?

**LD:** Absolutely! In the intellectual sense, New Belgrade had only one significant point – the *SC*. The *Student City* was significant because of its forums and its library. I am not counting the city network of libraries or the municipal

library etc. In New Belgrade, there were two brilliant high schools, the 9th and the 10th high school. In Zemun, there is Zemun High School but the essence of higher education was linked to the city centre and related to Belgrade's university. Belgrade's university was later branched, so some faculties were established in New Belgrade too. For instance, the *Academy for Dramatic Arts* (ADA), [*Академија за Драмски Уметности (АДУ)*], the movie centre and the television.

However, the city core was in old Belgrade. It represented as a centre of some gatherings, some reflections, some protests and some new experiences. These experiences were the major cinema, the major theatre, the major spaces to hold forums and promotion of books. In old Belgrade, you have these old universities - philosophy, law and institutions which had an opportunity to change or force society to change. New Belgrade was one big 'sleeping room' [*спаваоница*]. This changed in the 1990s. Now I am referring to it as an economic centre, since the intellectual centre is still in the old Belgrade, the New Belgrade is dominating. When you go to work in the morning, you can see that the traffic jam is from old Belgrade towards New Belgrade. Back in the day, it was the opposite. This says that force moves and that the centre moves.

There is one more thought that is present in the subconscious of the people of Belgrade. The consequence of World War II. Don't forget that the independent country of Croatia was on the other side of the river Danube and the river of Sava. Zemun and Srem were a part of that country with a camp that was near the city fair as a centre of this quasi-state. This territory gives fear to some or a habit to think that this is Serbia and that over there is Srem. Something that doesn't guarantee absolute security in the legal sense. History sometimes knows to teach us or to restrain us for something, which I believe is the case in this question.

The buildings have some spiritual capacity. They have their power. When you see the development of Belgrade, you will see that in the 19th century it moved towards the rivers, but traffic communications stopped it. In the 20th century, you see that people wanted to go back near the river and going back near the river was only possible from the side of New Belgrade. New Belgrade at the time was neglected. In that context, New Belgrade is a big product of socialism. It is constructed on top of the sand and later slowly got a soul. This city needed to experience 70 years to become a city. One generation had to be born and die to receive its own identity. Slowly, the significance is bigger. Belgrade has this configuration to be on the two biggest Balkan rivers, Sava and Danube.

When you go to Kalemegdan and when you stand next to the *monument Pobednik*, which looks towards New Belgrade and the other coast of Danube, it gives you an impression that Europe goes up until here. The side where you stand is where the Balkans starts. The destiny of this place is to be geographically divided. If you go to Ljubljana and you ask where the Balkans are, they will tell you in Zagreb. If you go to Zagreb and you ask where the Balkans are, they will tell you in Belgrade. If you go to Belgrade and you ask where the Balkans are, they will tell you in Sofia and Skopje. This is the rejection of some civilization which is filled with different colours, different noises and different tastes. This is the advantage of the people who are born here and come from this area. This advantage thankfully to Europe turned into our complex. Healing that complex is where your doctoral dissertation will contribute. The Balkan is a part of Europe and I believe that the time to learn from the Balkan nations is here.

The fear from the unknown (since these nations were late in some cultural forming) is paying the price. Sadly, Europe respects your word at a continually decreasing rate. My dear, we are coming to something sad today but was an advantage in the 1960 – strong education. In 1958, the reforms in Yugoslavia reformed the educational system and made the concept of a gymnasium. This concept produced brilliant students. This gymnasium sent brilliant students to all of the Yugoslav universities. These students could go to Europe and not be ashamed of their poor knowledge. Today we are forced to be a part of an experiment, wherefrom the educational system they are producing a moron generation, where they are blunting this new generation. What is the characteristic of the Balkans today? We are creating a generation that is less educated than their parents and not the other way around. That is a consequence of the treatment that this area has from the wars that were induced. They came from our craziness but they were also intentionally induced here. Their purpose was to divide us to be established as non-important or non-significant in one big space – European space and the European integration.

**JK:** Are you analyzing the Balkans as part of the cultural infrastructure of Europe?

**LD:** Yes, exactly, with this cultural infrastructure you are representing something marginal. Even the things that you used to have, you made them senseless, destroyed them, and lost several generations of young people. Many of them migrated towards Europe without any significant education, young people left their bones on the Yugoslav battlefield and you have young people who have mental scars from which they can't recover. They became nationalists, the ones that hate and not those who love. Also, we have the USA which is showing itself more and more as an evil for Europe which is bright towards its future. Let's stop Europe where their link is the weakest – the Balkans. Where flames can easily ignite. For 20 years, you give Europe a chance to have fun in its misery, resolving the problems of the Balkans by showing its capability. The first student protest in Yugoslavia was in 1954. The period that you are interested in is the 1960s when everything is generated when you have the student riots (including those against the war in Vietnam). The students and police were violated.

**JK:** How did the struggle between the city and the village influence Yugoslavian cities?

**LD:** You have an eternal struggle between the city and the village. The famous Dusan Kovacević, wrote a story about the legendary play - *Radovan III*, where a person came to the city but dreams about the village. Radovan throws his garbage from the 13<sup>th</sup> floor, steals the plugs from the building so his enemies-neighbours get struck by electricity and steals lightbulbs from the elevator. At the same time, he dreams about the west. The second phenomena are that you have the Yugoslav cities as concentric circles. In the core, there is this people's class that converted itself in its closeness. Then in the second circle, you have the people which parents came to the city, their children are born there and they always travel from the city centre to the periphery where they live. Now you have this new ring with neighbourhoods that are not hygienic, such as the neighbourhood of Kaluderica. They go every day towards the city centre, but the ones from the city center never go towards Kaluderica. Simply, the development of the city is so intense that this poor society and these poor states can't follow it. In these neighbourhoods, you have a whole new generation that is educated in *Kafana* (traditional restaurant) and they rarely go to the city centre. If they go to the city centre, they go collectively and assault someone.

**JK:** Is that kitsch?

**LD:** Let's say it's a form of behaviour that provokes the appearance of kitsch. I believe it's something older than kitsch.

## “THE ONLY EVENT IN THE 1990S”

June 25, 2019

Cafe at the *Museum of Yugoslavia*, 12:30h-13:30h

Ana Panić, (1978, Belgrade), historian of art, curator at the *Museum of Yugoslavia*.

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Ms Panić in the newly renovated cafe at the *Museum of Yugoslavia*, where she works.

**JK:** Can you tell me more about yourself?

**AP:** I am born in Belgrade in 1978. My parents were both art historians. My mother never worked. My father worked in Sremska Mitrovica because he couldn't find a job here. I have a brother. I studied the history of art because it seemed like the most appealing profession to me and I was acquainted with the work of my dad. It looked creative, it looked as if you are making some narratives, storytelling etc. Every exhibition is a new story, you need to meet a lot of people, it all seemed interesting to me. I wasn't disappointed, it's really like that. I started with studies in 1997. The studies weren't perfect. The professors didn't pay too much attention. I studied in the 1990s which were a difficult time. They said that there is not a lot of money for practical studying so we rarely visited the museums, it was all based in classrooms. There were some exceptions but it was all difficult. In the end, I earned the title *Dipl. historian of art.*

**JK:** Did you have classes at the museum?

**AP:** Yes, from time to time, that was positive. Especially the ones in the *National Museum* and some excursions to the monasteries. It's much better to analyze in front of a master piece rather than from books. The studies were much more theoretical with a lot of literature. It was a completely different system than the one today, with much less practical work. The first internship I had was in the *Museum of the City of Belgrade*. It was an unpaid internship but because of that internship, I got a recommendation to come to the *Museum of Yugoslavia* which is my first paid job. With the internship, I entered professional life.

**JK:** Were you a part of some organizations apart of your studies?

**AP:** Not really. All the standard, I was a part of the association of historians of Serbia, the association of museum workers, ICOM and that's it. We didn't have many options at the faculty. In the 1990s we only had protested as an activity.

**JK:** How was Belgrade when you started your studies?

**AP:** Filled with rebellion. Like it is again today. All of my upbringings were marked with demonstrations and protests. The bombing occurred so for one semester we didn't have any classes. We all went to those protests before 2000. My first disappointment in life.

**JK:** Why did you focus on the Yugoslav period?

**AP:** It wasn't part of the plan. Simply, when I started working here it became much more interesting to me. The first time I visited the house of flowers is when I came here. Within my studies, there was nothing from Yugoslavia included in the discourse as part of the program of the 1990s. We had specific moments from Serbian history that we studied, for example, Nadežda Petrović, but we didn't learn about alternative art. I needed to study all those aspects by myself when I came to the *Museum of Yugoslavia*. It was strange that we did not study the biggest Yugoslavian artists. We only learned the Serbian part of Yugoslav art. For example, the Macedonian artist Nikola Martinovski was unknown to me, Mitricevski also. I needed to buy books to learn all this. We evaded many affirmed Yugoslav artists in our studies. We learned about Ivan Meštrović because there is some national background in all of this. At the museum, they gave me the job to lead the Yugoslav art collection so I needed to learn all these Yugoslav artists, their work and what else there is in the fond of the collection. It became more interesting to me to discover all these different aspects of the Yugoslav period. I was glad that I didn't stay at the National Museum since it's more of a classic Museum. Here I discovered this whole new area for which I didn't know anything. I am born in Yugoslavia but my studies even from high school were turned to a nationalistic character - around Serbian artistic history. The Yugoslav part was missing and you are not aware that it's missing. For example, Antun Augustinčić was an unknown name when I finished my studies.

**JK:** Would you tell me a reference (movie, exhibition, cinema) from the time when you were studying?

**AP:** A book that was referring to an exhibition titled *One possible history of modern art: Belgrade as an international art scene 1965-2006* [*Једна могућа историја модерне уметности: Београд као међународна уметничка сцена 1965-2006*]. It's about an exhibition that happened at the SCC. It was the only event in the 1990s. There weren't any other concerts or exhibitions. That book showed me that back in the days we were a part of the world and it interested me. It is written by a professor that I respect a lot even today – Ješa Denegri. A man with a deep dimension.

**JK:** Who were your friends? Your informal circle?

**AP:** People from the faculty. Also, after I came to the *Museum of Yugoslavia* my horizon opened to meet people the region and from ex - Yugoslavia. We had an exchange, exhibitions, we wrote texts together, conferences and we had meetings regularly.

**JK:** How was the cultural infrastructure of Belgrade organized?

**AP:** SCC was extremely important, even in the 1990s. Today it exists but it's completely invisible. In the 1990s there were still some important events and for me, it was an important thing to attend. There were some concerts in the garden and today there are none. Today I think people don't even know what SCC means for Belgrade. It was very important in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The Belgrade *Youth Center* (YU), [*Дом Омладине (ДО)*] is also important and somehow survived the transition but it became a platform for some commercial events. There are some uncommercial, educational, scientific, debates [трибини] events too. *Mixer House* for us was very important at some point, today unfortunately it doesn't exist. It was in Sava Maala where they are building the *Belgrade on Water* project. Maja Lalić was the founder, but in the end, they went bankrupt. I don't remember the exact years but at that moment it was extremely important. On *Dorćol Platz* there are a lot of events today. *Zadruga Oktobar* is also interesting – there are debates, conferences. The *Center for Cultural Decontamination* (CZKD), is extremely important and it functions today equally good. They are important and relevant and they have a good program.

**JK:** What do you find interesting when you see the cultural infrastructure of Yugoslavia?

**AP:** That it was planned. Today we only have some random initiatives that are closed very soon after they emerge. For example, the *MCA* emerged as a planned project. In Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, Skopje it was clear that all the big cities have to have a museum of contemporary art. The *Houses of Youth* [Домови Омладина] was part of political planning, but planning with good ideas and good intentions at the end. The *MCA* was closed for fifteen years. How is it possible for this to be allowed to happen? Even in the smaller places, where we have the houses of culture, there was a variety of events. That infrastructure was very carefully planned and the programs had a clear intention. Today that happens randomly or by chance. Something opens then it closes. It seems *SZDK* is the only one that survived, but it's because of Borka Pavicević who is responsible for that. A woman with desire, energy and knowledge. When she dies it will be hard to know how they are going to proceed with it. It's not planned as it used to be.

**JK:** How was the relationship with politics?

**AP:** It was an idea to represent Yugoslavia as a modern and contemporary country that can participate in many international exhibitions such as the *Biennale of Venice* etc. Yugoslavia is not along with the USSR and the eastern bloc anymore so it needs to represent itself as a contemporary country that looks like the west. In the end, it was constructed very well. The cultural institutions influenced the citizens because they were connected to the education of children, different from today. It's very hard today for us to bring the children to go to the theatre or museum, it was part of the educational curriculum. Today that is a personal initiative, it's not organized or planned. Today it's a set of circumstances. If we organize something like that it would be by chance. In Yugoslavia, this was key to the planning of the teaching agenda for primary and high school as part of the practical part of the education. We use to have a sports day.

**JK:** What did culture mean for Yugoslavia?

**AP:** Yugoslavia represented itself through culture. It was very important and that's why they invested so much in it. If we take the monuments, in the first phase they were communist and in the second they were completely modernist. It's very important to show that we are not narrow-minded. They are very important from today's perspective due to the importance of the antics. Their ideology doesn't apply today and they are with 'empty meaning' [испразнети значења], however, they are an important piece of art. They invested a lot in culture. For example, the *Yugoslav Pavilion Expo 58* and its appearance was carefully planned.

**JK:** Was it part of the plan to make high art accessible through architecture?

**AP:** It's true. Modernization of life. What's most interesting is that the people who were the biggest consumers of modernity afterwards became the first ones to stand in line with nationalism. The ones who most benefited from the system, who got apartments in the best blocks, who needed to learn the modern way of life, were the first ones in the 1990s who overnight became nationalists. Is it the story of insufficient education or unfinished modernization? They never accepted the modern way of living until the end. Perhaps they didn't adapt until the end. As the country fell apart they only took the first in line that came – nationalism. Maybe not enough years passed by, so the third generation did adapt to this lifestyle. Modernism was like a new concept – the square surrounded by cars etc. Going to the museum was part of this new lifestyle that was offered.

**JK:** You believe that the museum wasn't accessible or understandable to them?

**AP:** It's hard to understand modern art. The statistics showed that most people are consuming culture through television or *kafana*. It's not that most of the people went to museums. No. Perhaps it was just a preparation to educate the upcoming generation, but that period was too short.

**JK:** Was the museum elite?

**AP:** It's true, most people feel this even today. They feel stupid when they enter the museum and they don't understand. It's not explained well to them since they wouldn't try to understand and there is not enough time for it. They will simply leave the museum since it's easier.

**JK:** How was the quality of Yugoslavian cultural infrastructure established?

**AP:** Establishing many museums. The number before the war of museums was small. So, for a short time many new museums opened, not only for contemporary art but also memorial houses for the artist, for writers etc. For example, Tesla's house in Smiljan, Božidar Jakac, Sava Šumanović in Šid, a great number of cultural institutions.

**JK:** What were the weak points?

**AP:** It was forced. Especially in contemporary art, abstraction was forced. It was ideologically considered non-problematic and at the same time presented the country as modern and contemporary. Abstraction fit the image in this. The form is not problematic and it goes well with the world's trends. Other types of art didn't succeed at the same level. The art of Mića Popović wasn't approved at all. His painting with Tito and a monkey standing next to Richard Barton was censored. On the contrary, abstract paintings didn't make any harm.

**JK:** What was different in the Serbian, Macedonian and Bosnian artistic activities?

**AP:** In art and sculptures there was no difference. Somehow there was one common Yugoslav cultural space. You can't identify through the painting if the author is Macedonian or Serbian. Maybe in Architecture, there was, for sure in the details which come from some heritage, for example, *Raška Architectural School*. In art, it's impossible to detect the region of the painting. In some commissions, there was a quota that there should be at least one artist from Macedonia, Croatia etc.

**JK:** How did art influence architecture?

**AP:** They thought of it as a total design project. The *Museum 25th of May* had some mosaics than the fountain and two painting inside. All that was done through internal collaboration. The topics were given to the artists. For example, the mosaic on the front façade shows "brotherhood and unity", there are three armed male figures from one side and another in the construction trolley. It was made by Bosko Karaljivac, who shows the re-building of the country. Inside there are two paintings, one shows the travels of Tito and the other is the life, the work and the suffering of the region where he is born. The museum is ideological. It needed to show and glorify his figure. This was the idea for establishing the museum. In the building *SIV*, we can also see this in the interiors, in each of the halls. Each republic had their hall with the identity of the republic. In the halls, some paintings show the identity of each of the republics of Yugoslavia. In the interiors of *SIV* – today's *Palace of Serbia* you can enter only on the *Night of Museums*. They are not open to the public. The interiors show the identity of each of the nations and their unity too - Yugoslavia. The artists who worked on them were from different republics. We have the Lubarda fresco, we have Matija from Slovenia etc.

**JK:** Were some of the artists close to the communist party?

**AP:** Some of them were, like the so-called 'party artists' Đorđe Andrejević-Kun, Antun Augustinčić, Frano Kršinić. Today in the buildings there is no art and, in the parks, there are no sculptures. In New Belgrade, there are a lot of statues in public space.

**JK:** What does quality mean to you?

**AP:** There is quality today too, but the artist doesn't exist in the public discourse and he is closed in galleries or by private collectors. In that time, the sculpture in the public park would reach many people. The public discourse was affirmative for art and architecture.

**JK:** There was a policy that made art integrated with the public space?

**AP:** The big Yugoslav companies had art collections. In the 1990s it was very complicated what to do with the collections since the companies became private. For example, the *factory Jugoeksport*, the *factory 1 maj Pirot* (the textile industry) in their complexes had sculptures. Even the workers were painting often. For example, the workers in the *factory of Zelezara Sisak* (Croatia) had their art colony, they produced their sculptures which were in the yard of the factory. It's was amateur art but still very important to note that it was a way to get closer to the space for creation. The sculptures were located in the garden of the factory, they passed them every day and they were proud of their piece of art. In the privatization process, it became very complex what to do with these collections. The factories had their collections which are public cultural goods and they can't be sold. Some colleagues from *the MCA* wanted to valorize the collection of Genex for example. They bought all of the art pieces. There is another example – the collection of Tartus. The new owner of the Yugoslav *factory Sintel* wanted to give it as a present to the *Matica Srpska* but there is a law to pay taxes. The new owner wanted to give a present and was expected to pay taxes for this. So, the country made an exception for the case and today they are in the gallery *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad. The question is really that it's not in the consciousness, even if you want to give a present you need to pay taxes. Today you have also examples where foreign companies are buying art to profit, to buy cheap and sell one day for more. The motives are completely different from the ones from socialism.

**JK:** What were the motives in socialist times to buy a painting?

**AP:** To affirm the art. The companies didn't have any profit from that. It was somehow normal to purchase art, today no one is doing it. For example, in the hall of the *Genex Tower*, there is a Mural from Vujaklija. Today nobody invests in art when they construct buildings. I believe that it's one of the ways to get in touch with people. Even if you don't know anything about the artist you pass through there every day. It's the same for the parks too. If you are at the park every day I am sure that the sculpture affects you (even unconsciously). Life space [Животни простор] influenced the people. It's not the same if you live in 20m<sup>2</sup> or 70m<sup>2</sup>. The competitions were more transparent than today. I am referring to art competitions. For buying new art pieces and to choose the artist. In Belgrade, there is no international competition for art.

**JK:** Were there ateliers for the artists?

**AP:** Yes. There was a lot in this Boulevard Vojvode Putnika, in the direction towards the *Museum of Yugoslavia*. Today you can see the atelier of the artist Petar Lubarda, it was his atelier. He won a prize in Sao Paolo and one day a delegation from Sao Paolo came and wanted to visit him. Tito immediately gave him a house, so the delegation doesn't have to meet him in some basement. He got this amazing villa with an atelier. Kun lived close. They worked in their gardens which were important for their development. In the privatization since their location was nice, most of them were bought by other people, their families sold them. The new owners constructed residential buildings on

the premises etc. Unfortunately, the tradition didn't continue. There is nothing for the young artist today. It wasn't recognized as heritage. In the 1990s there was this policy of purchasing the house (for a small amount of money) and after that, you can sell it. Most of them were abstract artists, like Daniel Glid and Đorđe Andrejević-Kun (*Socialist Realism*) etc. There are still some competitions which give the artist rooftops. This still exists. Interestingly, the artists lived close to the politicians.

**JK:** If we compare the cultural infrastructure in New Belgrade with the one of old Belgrade, what can we conclude?

**AP:** New Belgrade, was not planned as such. It was planned as an administrative centre of the city. In 1948 an idea evolved for it to become a residential area, where cultural institutions weren't calculated. There is the *MCA*. There are two cinemas near the school. There is a worker university close to *Student City*. We also need to say let's "go to the city" when we want to go to the old parts of Belgrade. Even afterwards nothing was planned, they did not build any theatre although they were talking about an opera and ballet the building never occurred. There aren't any galleries and only the *MCA* is there but with a low number of visitors.

**JK:** How about the kitsch?

**AP:** The kitsch became 'IN' in the 1980s again. In music, there was the turbo-folk. This is the same group of people that I was referring to before that turned to nationalism easily. In the 1960s and 1970s, they weren't ready to express themselves but in the 1980s they slowly showed their tendencies. Kitsch explodes in the 1980s and the 1990s it became mainstream. In the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s the kitsch was not forbidden but simply it was considered invalid or non-significant. So, this group of people needed to hide their true cultural preferences. Most of them liked kitsch since they couldn't understand the high culture. It was pushed in the 1980s and in the 1990s it exploded. Dzej and Ceca were very popular in my high school. Today we have a mix of everything.

**“IN ART THERE ISN’T ONLY ONE FLOW, THERE ARE FLOWS THAT CAN GO IN A DIRECTION OF CONFRONTATION AND THERE ARE TIMES THAT ONE FLOW BECOMES A DOMINANT ONE”**

June 26, 2019

His office at the *Department of History of Art, Faculty of Philosophy*, 10:00h - 10:45h

Nenad Markuljević, (1966, Veliko Gradište) historian of art, professor at the *Department of History of Art*  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Mr Markuljević in his office at the *Faculty of Philosophy*. At first Mr Markuljević, expressed his opinion that the testimonial contains too many personal questions. Nevertheless, slowly during the testimonial, he opened up the floor for more profound discussion.

**JK:** Can you tell me a little bit more about yourself?

**NM:** I was born in 1966 in Veliko Gradište, Serbia. I don't think this is a subject for further conversation. This information doesn't mean anything in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia offered something that is not the western model, neither the model of today (which is here). I'm referring to the question between the citizens and the generations and how their social class was overcome. In the generation in which I was brought up, the economic situation of the family wasn't important. It all depended on the individual, whether the individual aspires towards culture or he does not. This is regardless of the economic status. You can be from the wealthiest family in Belgrade and don't have a link with culture. You can be from the village and when you moved to Belgrade you could become an artist or proactively participate in the field of culture. That's what we called '*social mobility*' [*социјална проходност*] in Yugoslavia. This was significant in Yugoslavia and differs from what we have today in the ex-Yugoslav cities or the west. In England for example you can't reach the door of the university if you come from a lower stratum of society or let's say your chances are significantly lower. In Yugoslavia, this possibility was completely open. I am not saying that the society was ideal but this question wasn't a valid question to be discussed. The most common situation was that your parents don't understand what you are studying. For example, you have a lot of people in the artistic world and their parents were in the army. Their children became eminent artists, writers etc. Reproduction existed only in the craft professions such as the architects. For the art historians that didn't mean anything. Maybe in Macedonia, this was different, there were a couple of artistic dynasties there. Maybe over there it was different.

**JK:** How were your studies organised?

**NM:** They were organised in a manner that we had 4+1 years of studies, then 1+1 year of masters and then you apply for a doctorate. The system was old, they were saying that it was a mix of Russian and German. It was an intense program and it required a lot of studying etc. Not a lot of people concluded their studies. It wasn't an obligation that a lot of people need to finish. So, in the *Department of History of Art*, there are fewer people who finished their doctorate from the period between 1945 – 2010 than in the period from 2010 - until today. No one attempted to do PhD so easily.

**JK:** Were you part of some student association or club?

**NM:** No, not really, not in that way. I took a student internship before I worked on my master diploma. The internship was mainly fieldwork.

**JK:** How was Belgrade at the time?

**NM:** It was a time of crisis. I received my diploma in 1991. At that moment, you could feel the ambience of crisis, we were entering a war, etc. It was shocking because it drastically changed the course of the beginning of my studies in 1986. From 1986 – 1990 the ambience was heavier perhaps.

**JK:** How was the cultural infrastructure in Belgrade organised?

**NM:** There were a couple of museums that were important for me. There were some galleries and the cinema was the most common activity since it was cheap. The cinema wasn't expensive as today, it was the most affordable fun. There were a couple of points in the city which allowed you to see different things. We can say that it was 'one branded product – Yugoslav experience' which lasted up until the 1990s, then the crisis came, the wars etc. Let me name some of them, the *MCA*, the *NM*, and the *YFAM*. At that time there was a cycle of movies that I liked. It wasn't a program of the newest movies, but a program made from artistic movies. It didn't matter if they were newer or older.

**JK:** What was different from the ambience of Skopje, Sarajevo?

**NM:** I think that there are two directions here. The first one was modern art as something common for all. Those art schools in different cities had their specificities but it's in the level of education. The second one is that all the countries had national and nationalistic culture. For example, I travelled a lot in Macedonia, I was like a student in the city of Ohrid. I attended some concert and all of a sudden someone started to shout – 'Macedonia, Macedonia'. We had no idea at that moment why he did that since that type of nationalism in Serbia didn't exist. No one shouted here – 'Serbia, Serbia'. In the 1980s this became stronger and stronger in all of the republics. In 1989, this became an important fact, since it was the sixth anniversary of Kosovo Polje.

**JK:** Was this phenomenon an opposite tendency of modernism?

**NM:** In essence, they are on the opposite side. They flow in different directions. You need to understand, that in art there isn't only one flow, there are flows that can go in a direction of confrontation and there are times that one flow becomes a dominant one.

**JK:** How was quality achieved?

**NM:** The quality was high. You have artists which achieved international affirmation. For example, Marina Abramović became globally famous. This did not come out of the blue. Belgrade in the 1970s had one big alternative scene which started to emerge. For the young people, pop culture was super important, for example - the comics, the gramophones, the new design etc. The design of these covers was done by Mirko Ilić. His work was catalogued by the *MCA*. This means that the pop culture of our youth is established in the world. After Zagreb, Ilić continued his career in New York.

**JK:** Was it stimulated or was it not?

**NM:** No, it wasn't, it was free. The system wasn't like that. The system tolerated personal development. The ambience of freedom that existed in the 1980s on a Yugoslav level came with the appearance of *Yugoslav Black Wave* [*Црни Талас*], which contributed towards that.

**JK:** Would you like to give me some reference, movie, book or an exhibition?

**NM:** There were a variety of things. It was a time full of contradictions and I can refer to different things. I am thinking about what from that can be scientifically valid. Since the society was open, we could travel, so we have attended the most modern exhibitions in art. For example, we saw the Italian avant-garde in Ljubljana. You were allowed to be up to date with world news. In Belgrade, there was a festival called *FEST* – festival of movies. You can see Tarkovsky and some other cult movie directors etc. There was one gallery in Knez Mihajlova street called *Sebastijan* and they were the first to sell designed products in a contemporary way. They also had exhibitions from the latest artistic practices in the postmodern period. There you were able to see different things, from intelligent objects to objects with low quality.

**JK:** How was the evolution of the cultural infrastructure in the city?

**NM:** You have continuity. The Yugoslav society became richer and richer. In the 1960s that cultural infrastructure was still poor. According to all analyses, the best period for culture was at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Sometime before the death of Tito, and sometime after the death of Tito. This period was the best in economic and cultural terms too. For sure there were good things in the 1950s too, but in the 1980s most of the things started to function.

**JK:** Are there relations between the development of the cultural scene and the development of society?

**NM:** That was a time of transformations in the city and overall transformations of the society. The society transformed itself, there was the construction of cultural buildings and there was a new educated generation. The culture was becoming more and more present and then you have the democratisation of culture. In a cultural sense, there is never a section, something which occurred all of a sudden. The socialist society had many negative flows but in comparison to the capitalistic society there is something very interesting – they saw culture as the ‘right of everybody’. This meant that in the field of culture, experts needed to talk and not the politicians. Politicians controlled culture through some *Committees for Culture* (CC). In general, there was a strong tradition of liberal intellectuals, not the Stalin’s lefties, but Euro lefties – which created the ambience of tolerance. There were problems, like the censorship in the 1970 – the example of the *Yugoslav Black Wave*. In the 1980s this was overpassed. *Yugoslav Black Wave* criticized socialism and that’s why it was censored. Socialism was proclaiming about progress, beauty and development, while the *Yugoslav Black Wave* showed the dark side which was hidden from the society in the 1960s and 1970s - such as social misery, marginalisation, destruction etc. The communists were against this work of art for sure.

**JK:** How was the relationship between the experts and the public discourse?

**NM:** In Macedonia and Serbia the party members have a lot of power today. Back in the days, if ten architects publicly said that *Belgrade on Water* is a bad project, no one would dare to build it. It was impossible to ignore the experts in socialist times. Everybody came from the same party. They did not have a competition with other parties, so if the experts from the party said: listen this is not good, they would listen to them.

**JK:** When we see the cultural infrastructure of New Belgrade and the old Belgrade, we can see a drastic difference.

**NM:** New Belgrade and New Zagreb were built in the same manner as ‘sleeping neighbourhoods’. These projects were never fully completed because the crisis came. In New Belgrade, there is the *MCA* and the *SC* with a cinema and

gallery. The cultural content was built in old Belgrade. For example, in Zemun, there were two cinemas and today there are none. I am referring to the 1980s.

**JK:** How did “culture for all” convert from theory to practice?

**NM:** They invested in culture. The artists had determined social positions, they had ateliers, the status of ‘free artist’ [слободни уметници], etc. This was some sort of semi-protection, it was not like in the western world. The artist was socially secured. This is one of the segments, the second being the movie industry.

**JK:** On the level of aesthetics?

**NM:** It’s modernism. The modernist axe in the *Faculty of Architecture* was strong.

**JK:** How did they bring modernism closer to the people?

**NM:** Some architects had that vision but also the politicians - I am not so sure. It was like one general mantra – modern buildings and modern apartments for modern life. So, there was no difference between the apartments in the city of Tetovo (in Macedonia) and the ones in the city of Čačak (in Serbia) for example.

**JK:** Was this a part of ideological planning?

**NM:** The ideology was that modernism and socialism go together. The Yugoslav socialism did not have Stalin’s aesthetics, it always had modern aesthetics. The most important were the consumers of culture. In the 1980s the main consumers of culture were young people. Today, the young people consume only turbo-folk on the rafts by the rivers [сплавови]. That is why popular culture was so important back in the days.

## “THEY IGNORED THEIR EXISTENCE”

June 26, 2019

The cafeteria at the *FDA*, New Belgrade, 15:00h-17:15h

Milena Dragičević Šešić, (1954, Croatia) full-time professor of Cultural Studies and Cultural Management, UNESCO consultant for culture etc.

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Ms Dragičević Šešić at the busy cafeteria of the *FDA*. She immediately expressed informality and gave me the impression that I have already met her somewhere. Ms. Dragičević Šešić generously replied to the several e-mails with all of the additional information I had requested from her.

**JK:** Ms Dragičević Šešić can you tell me more about yourself?

**MDŠ:** I started studying at the *FDA* in the section entitled *Organization of scenic, cultural and artistic activities*. Today, the same section is called *management in the field of culture*. My diploma work was dedicated to the festival in Aranđelovac – *Marble and Sound*. Analyzing the organization and realization of artistic syncretism. It was a little complicated but it opened the question of a specific festival in one city. The name of the festival is *Marble and Sound* since it was imagined as art in public space. Each year, around five sculptures from this international symposium appeared in the public space of the city. Since then, this topic started to be my interest.

I continued to attend specialized studies in France and there I worked on the subject of “forms of cultural animations in different urban neighbourhoods in Paris”. I picked five case studies from worker suburbs, which back in the days was called Boulogne – Billancourt. This neighbourhood today is completely gentrified. I took one residential neighbourhood like Dedinje let’s say in Belgrade, then I took Evry Nouvelle Ville as our New Belgrade. Choisy le Roi is like our Zemun, one old city with a completely urban small structure but today it’s part of the agglomeration of Paris. The fifth neighbourhood I took was a village some twenty km away from Paris. Here, for the first time, I came across urban anthropology and I was very happy. I also came across other authors in the field of urban sociology, mainly in the French language. I did not have this before as part of my study program in Serbia, Yugoslavia. I defended my thesis in 1977 at Paris 8, today the Faculty is located in Saint-Denis. My master thesis was on the topic “French cultural policies” and more precisely “the institutional system of French cultural policy”. I defended my doctoral thesis at the *Faculty of Philology* in Belgrade in 1990.

About my scientific work, I have several circles of interest close to the courses that I teach. My scientific work is in the area of ‘cultural policy’, ‘cultural management’, but also urban studies since I am actively involved in the question - culture in the city and cultural identity of the cities. For example, I am interested in the creation of cultural politics and the creation of urban identity. One of the first researches that I undertook was in 1980 when I actually took the position of assistant in *FDA* and it was dedicated to analyzing the cultural life in New Belgrade. At the end of our study, we gave a proposition, which said that the municipality of New Belgrade (let me be clear that the proposition was never adopted) can be defined as a ‘museum of architecture under the open sky’. This intended to protect the villages around New Belgrade, (since back then the municipality of New Belgrade included several villages, like Surčin I Bežanija etc.) and their rural architecture – like the one in the Vojvodjanska street, which today is threatened to be demolished. Also, preserving the brutalist – modernist architecture including the modernism from the 1930s (For example the building of the *Air Force Headquarters-Ikarus*). There were many architectural projects who deserved preservation and valorization but the idea was declined for this ‘museum of architecture under the open sky’ and unfortunately, some of the buildings that we identified were destroyed, some of them are abandoned or poorly maintained. For example, the ‘old fair’ including the memorial centre is a significant architectural project from the

modernist period, for which we proposed reconstruction (the project was built in 1937). Today, they want to build a memorial centre there but it goes very slow and in an unclear manner.

**JK:** How was the culture in Belgrade organized?

**MDŠ:** Belgrade's culture was shockingly very centralized. In spatial terms, the stretch from Kalemegdan fortress to the hotel *Slavija*. Some institutions of culture are aside, for example, the *Salon of MCA* (in Pariska street), only fifty meters away from the pedestrian street. This Salon had significantly fewer visits and audience than any other gallery in the street Knjez Mihajlova. It's simple, the audience did not have the habit to walk further from the zone nearby Vasina street where the *Ethnography Museum* (EM) is located or the *NM* in Belgrade, the *National Theatre*, so this was considered a centre of events. There was a little shift for this to expand in the 1980s when socialism allowed 'private initiatives' [приватни иницијативи]. The first private initiative in the field of culture was dedicated to the galleries. The first one was the gallery named *AZ*, nearby hotel *Slavija*.

**JK:** What do you mean by private initiative?

**MDŠ:** It meant that the gallery had a private owner. We didn't have the possibility because everything was considered social. This meant that one person was allowed to have an antique store or gallery. In the 1980s the movement started to expand to the street Vuk Karadžić and the street Pop Luka. So, again in the city centre. If we zoom out, it's still in the stretch between Kalemegdan and hotel *Slavija* but with a little part of the side streets.

**JK:** Is this related to the policy-1974?

**MDŠ:** Not that much. It's related to one special policy which came into force only in Serbia in 1978 and did not apply for the other territories of SFRY. The policy/law was titled the *temporary and permanent community of artists in Serbia*. At that time a lot of working communities were established, especially in the field of movies. I even think that the idea came from the filmmakers who self-organized themselves and started to make movies. For example, with some colleague's we made an organization called the *Signs of Culture*. We were based in Obilićev Venac (we always moved since you need to find a space and someone who is willing to rent their space), which is in the city centre. It was impossible to find on Knjez Mihajlova street, but we still were very close by.

For the architects, the most significant *working community* [радна заједница] was the one which worked in the field of revival, located on street Ivo Lola Ribar, today called Svetogorska street close by the *Atelje 212*. This working community at the beginning of the 1980s was working on some performances etc. Our organization was an initial group of six people. Later our organization contained 20-30 members depending on the period. The group consisted of one scenographer Bane Komadina, the artist Visnja Postić, me as a manager in the field of culture, Nada Vukov also a manager and Rada Vukosavljević applied art artist. We made a lot of applied art (we sold the art similar to a small company), for example, we made toys for children since the factories did not produce those soft or wooden toys. The designers made them. We also made a program for celebrating March 8<sup>th</sup>. Afterwards, other companies started hiring us.

All this in Yugoslavia was called *free exchange of labour* [слободна размена рада]. This is related to the activities of the famous shift of the policy in 1974. New economical concepts were introduced. *Cooperatives* [Задружарство] were in the same manner supported. However, our organization had the title *Permanent working community of artists and cultural workers*. In the movie field, the most famous was *Art film* with Aca Stojanović (a famous movie director who made several working communities). We can mention Goran Marković, another movie director. *Nova Osecajnost*, a very significant NGO based in *Pivara* (industrial building), in Skadarlija. In 1984 they were the first ones who entered a post-industrial building. Back in the days, the mayor of Belgrade was architect Bogdan Bogdanović.

who had a sense that *Pivara* (which stopped working as a factory) should be given to a group of artists. I will send you an interview which I conducted with Borka Pavicević, who explains what they were doing in this building, who were the stakeholders and how space was used etc. This is important for you since it's also related to the field of urbanism. It was a plan of thinking about how to revive Skadarlija, which needed to attract the artist and not touristic kitsch. Even then as it is today, Skadarlija is touristic kitsch. The story turned around when everything became active around Pivara, the authorities saw that there is money in 'urban rent' and in the transition (the 1990s) they kicked the artists out of Pivara.

**JK:** Why is it that in your group there are six people (the co-founders), all from various backgrounds and active in different disciplines?

**MDŠ:** Because we were friends. We were informally together until we saw that we can work on something together. We also worked on projects in the field of cultural tourism. We made a project for *Montenegro Express* – which was a state-owned company. They hired us (not as individuals, but as *Signs of Culture*) to make a program for cultural touristic development for upper and lower Lastva, in the city of Tivat. For you, another important actor would be the *Center for Urban Planning* (CUP). So, CUP was the architectural urbanism office located in street Luk Vukaljović. Each year, they organized *days in the street Luk Vukaljović* together with the neighbourhood. Today we call this 'community' design. Those days we didn't have that name, which in western Europe was called participative art. They made murals alongside the people that lived there. You can still see them near the main Post Office next to the Boulevard Revolution [[Булевар Революција](#)]. There are parts of that murals that remain undestroyed. That CUP had a big festival which was called *Communications* and Festival of urban planning that happened every year. I attended them a couple of times. The location was in Cveti Uzorić in the Street Luk Vukaljović. I think you can find this magazine *Communications*, which was published by CUP in the 1980s in the library. This was amazing in terms of urban studies and cultural studies, totally opposite of the engineering way of thinking about the city. Let's say, culturally thinking about the city of Belgrade. Upon invitations they worked in many other cities in Serbia. This contributed to one participative engagement and communication with the community and the population. It was an initiative by a group of architects and it was related to the policy of *temporary and permanent working collectives*.

I don't know what there was on a federal level because this was specifically a Serbian policy (since the policies on the level of culture were a responsibility of the republics). I know that a similar thing existed in Slovenia, since they first had these type of groups – collectives. The theater *Glej, Upilija I Upilicki* etc. In Macedonia they had some alternative such as *Young Open Theater* (MOT), [[Отворен Театар Младу \(ОТМ\)](#)]. Those independent troops were guests in Belgrade. *KPGT* for example is also registered in Belgrade. The troop was established by Ljubisha Ristić. *KPGT* means *Kazaliste Pozoriste Gledaliste Teatar*<sup>18</sup>. There were Macedonian actors that participated in that - they based themselves in Subotica in 1984. Ratko Pović from Slovenia and Rade Šerbedžija from Croatia were also there. People came from all the republics of Yugoslavia - that's why their name was titled *KPGT*. They were registered as an independent and not a civic institution [[друштвена установа](#)]. I think that there were only Serbian and Slovenian policies. They didn't create them in Bosnia, Croatia, neither in Macedonia and Montenegro – Montenegro is small there is nothing there.

**JK:** How did this policy influence the cultural scene?

**MDŠ:** Well, it revived the artistic scene, since the institutions of culture had a limited number of employees. It gave complete freedom to artists so that they can self-organize. For example, to establish their own galleries. For sure, there were associations of artists who had official galleries but this policy was for those who associated with two three members, or five, or just one. For example, the curator Vida Gostuški (art historian) opened her own gallery,

18 *Kazaliste* (the word 'Theater' in Croatian), *Pozoriste* (the word 'Theater' in Croatian), *Gledaliste* (the word 'Theater' in Slovenian), *Teatar* (the word 'Theater' in Macedonian).

which was the first private gallery. Afterwards, the second one came named *Lada* but unfortunately, they don't exist anymore. I am referring to people who were 50 years old back in the days. Somehow, they dreamt to do something their whole life and this policy gave them the possibility. On the other hand, private bookstores were still not allowed. Since the possibility for private propaganda through books was considered more dangerous. It was not possible to be a private publisher or to own a bookstore. You have Slobodan Masić, who made independent editions – titled *Slobodan Masić*, using the law that allowed the authorization of every author to print their own book. He signed contracts with individual authors so that in front of the law the publisher was the author and he was just a designer. In reality, all of those independent editions were designed and published by him, but in front of the law, the author was the publisher.

That started in 1968 and we had independent editions since then – *Slobodan Masić* (private editions as a project). This is the case for *the library 20th century* of Ivan Colović as well. This project started in one of the houses of culture but as he published the first book in that edition about Ivan Cosić which was considered a dissident, they kicked him out. He asked if he can take his own private edition and they replied: they allowed it but didn't want to declare that this cultural centre published it. Ivan Colović, as an individual person, can't be a publisher and always found some 'civic publisher' [друштвеног издавача] who signed it for him. There was always the name of the library of the XX century on it. He was under *BIGS*, *Prosveta*, *Duga*, up until the 1990s when in the transition that became free and he published by himself. His *library 21st century* exists even today, he is alive and you can interview him too. I see you have the book of Dubravka Stojanović with you. Dubravka wrote a book called *Foot in the door of the XX century* about that library. You won't find a lot about architecture and urbanism in it, but you can find something about that scene, how people succeeded to realize their private initiatives and how that functioned in reality.

**JK:** Which are the hotspots that were activated with this policy of initiatives?

**MDŠ:** The area of Skaradrija, the area with Pivara and the Sava Maala area going slowly towards Vuk Karadžić street, Pop Luka street with all those small galleries, but still everything is in the city centre. Up until the 1990s when other things occurred like the initiative of Ljubisa Ristic who went to *Šećerana* on Banovo Brdo.

**JK:** How was culture organized in Belgrade?

**MDŠ:** Every municipality had their own cultural centre and their own library containing an enormous number of library branches. There were around twenty to thirty library branches in each of the municipalities, which means Belgrade has around a hundred libraries located in seventeen-city municipalities and one official city library etc. Every municipality had a house of culture, which can be called 'house of culture' or 'workers university' or 'peoples university'. However, it was a polyvalent cultural centre. Some of the municipalities had, such as mine, where I grew up, a *house of social organizations* [дом друштвених организација], located on Požeška 73. On the same spot today, there is a gallery there. Let me explain to you the meaning of those houses of social organizations. We had *LC*, but it was a small space and when we needed to organize something bigger, we went to the house of social organizations since they had a stage for theatre. We paid nothing for this since it was a *house of social organizations*. You only needed to book the space on time and to check the date for availability, etc.

**JK:** Were the people who were employed members of the communist party?

**MDŠ:** More or less. They were employed by the municipality. There were all registered as a *social organization* [друштвена организација] since Yugoslavia was not a state property but *social property* [друштвена имовина]. In each of the municipalities, there was a *Cultural Education Community* [Културно Просветна Заједница]. It was a network. The network was established in 1952, all across Yugoslavia. They had the magazine *Cultural Worker* or *Cultural Life*, I can't remember. Every republic had their own *Cultural Education Community* [културно просветна

*zajednica*]. Additionally, there was the *Federal Cultural Educational Community*. I don't know how active they were in Macedonia, but in Serbia, they were very good. They gave a lot of support to amateurs. They did counselling, training for folklore associations and choirs. It's wasn't only musical entertainment but it gave power to someone in the village education on how to start an artistic association etc. Everything he would need to do in order to organize this, so that choir can be active there etc.

In times of socialism, we never had a problem going to some company, for example, I am from Banovo Brdo and we went to the factory of Rakovica (who wasn't a separate municipality but a part of Čukarica back then) and we asked for a bus from the workers so that we can go to visit the lake of Bor. They would give it to us because they somehow understood that it was an obligation of the factory to help the young people. There was not even a question to pay for it and it's not that we had the funding either. It was some kind of exchange because afterwards, we would make an event [*приредба*] for the children of the workers for the new year. I call that *free exchange of labor* [*слободна размена рада*]. For example, our collective *Signs of Culture* didn't have a problem to have its own space in some LC. No one had the idea that space could be rented, since space was considered – social, societal [*друштвено*]. The society [*друштво*] paid for it, so if it's not used, the youth should use it. I am not idealizing this but for example, my son is a musician today and the schools where they rent a space ask them for payment of the rent. If the housekeeper comes in Saturday to open the door for them they need to pay him extra – privately, since it's a Saturday. Back in the days, no one would ask for money because it was considered black humour.

I will give you one more example of what the party meant. When we graduated high school and when the professors told the best students to become members of the party, it was the last thing on their mind. I graduated in 1972 and only three students accepted the offer but their parents were army members. After five years when we saw each other for small celebrations, they all had the narrative: I will become a member of the party. I was shocked. Nobody in the socialist system rushed to get their diploma on time. They all finished in five/six years since they wanted to use the student credit and all the benefits longer. They subscribed to become party members in order to find easier employment on the market.

**JK:** So, you wanted to become member of the party too?

**MDŠ:** Not really. Personally, I have never been a party member. My mom for example was an advisor to the secretariat for work – equal to the minister of labour, as a non-party member. No one from my family was at the party. My family didn't oppose but they were not communists. My mom was not happy what I was studying since she knew that culture is close to politics.

**JK:** Why did you make the decision to study that?

**MDŠ:** I always wanted to be close to art, to organize and to be creative. Even in high school, there wasn't an *artistic club* [*секција*] in which I was not a member, from dramatic arts to literature etc. I took the opportunity to travel to the United Kingdom in high school and they asked me how did you learn English – to which I replied in school. I never attended a private class for English and for them it was shocking since they all studied French in school and no one could actually use the French language. This happened because our professor in primary and in high school was very good. After twenty-thirty years when we met again with the students from high school on a celebration, they all started to talk about the professor of astrology. I was surprised that I didn't remember him, because the professor was great guy but his criteria weren't and I didn't learn anything about astronomy. That's why from our high school no one went to study astronomy in college. You go for something which inspires you. In high school, my literature professor studied my faculty and she was brilliant, she gave us the basic information about the program of organization of culture.

**JK:** What are the specificities of Belgrade?

**MDŠ:** Belgrade is very specific since the city centre is one bourgeoisie structure with only two municipalities; old City and Vračar. Savski Venac is residential and here we have Dedinje which doesn't have the urban structure. All other municipalities, Voždovac, Čukarica, Zvezdara, Zemun are like small provincial cities and you have the ambience of a small city - one big main street. For example, in Voždovac - the street Vojvode Stepe, in Banovo Brdo - Požeška and life is organized around the big street. They had their own cultural centre, local cinema, library and local high school. So, you have one established community life. Afterwards, we were friends with guys who came from smaller cities such as Čačak rather than the guys who were from the city centre such as the 5th gymnasium etc. They had other means of socialization and living than us. We have New Belgrade which is completely something else, as a third entity. So, you have the city centre – bourgeoisie, the small provincial neighbourhoods and you have Zemun. For example, if you are born in Zemun in your ID it says place of birth Zemun and not Belgrade. So New Belgrade is like - a world on its own. Most of Belgrade's citizens did not know New Belgrade at all. I started the Faculty on Knjuz Mihajlova and in our second year when they told us that we are moving to New Belgrade it was a shock for all of us. We commented: why are we going there, it's far away, it's a sleeping neighbourhood, you have all the culture in street Knjuz Mihajlova, the theatres etc. It was all nearby. In New Belgrade buses were rare. We were sixteen students in my class and we only had two cars. When we went to some events, we would fit six people in the car and it was very uncomfortable.

**JK:** Is it because New Belgrade did not sediment easy?

**MDŠ:** They wanted to build the *Campus of Dramatic Art* so that New Belgrade isn't a sleeping neighbourhood anymore. Today, New Belgrade is not a sleeping neighbourhood but the most important centre of the city. In the morning, the traffic jam is from old Belgrade to new Belgrade and never vice versa. Most of the working places are in New Belgrade. All working places, all European organizations, all marketing companies, the gaming industry, sound studios, all IT companies, the creative industry are located in New Belgrade. They also built a small theater. Zemun also made its own cultural infrastructure. The turning point was building the *FDA*. At the same time, they built the *FDA* and the cinema *Yugoslavia*. Afterwards, they built *Sava Centre* which became a cardinal institution of culture. Usually the premiere of *FEST*, *BITEF* is there. Imagine the hall that has a capacity of 1000 places. When we had the documentary movie festival and the foreign movie directors found out that the movie will be watched by 1000 people– they were left speechless. They never experienced that. They were fascinated. The price of m<sup>2</sup> in New Belgrade is the same as in the city centre, around 3.500 euros.

I came from old Belgrade to New Belgrade, because of my children. I had all my prejudgments for New Belgrade, but after our second child came, we realized it would be better for us if we move there. For example, we are in *Block three*, our child goes to school in *Block four* and he doesn't pass any street. The children went alone to school by the age of four. In the city centre it's impossible, you take your child to school up to the age of eleven since there is a lot of traffic. Imagine the chaos of the 1990s on top. We came here because of comfort. I also worked here, my husband worked in the cultural centre in *SC*. This is a significant institution in the field of culture. Belgrade has something very special, which I think most of the cities in the world even Amsterdam doesn't have. That's *private rafts [СПЛАБОВИ]* on the rivers. On the islands of Ada Ciganlija and Ada Medica, you have these small rafts, from 4m<sup>2</sup> or 6m<sup>2</sup>. They are on a stretch of 20km from the river of Sava and the river of Danube. My family has one, on the Ada Medica and it is perfect for the weekends. You can sleep there, swim, make the compote, barbeque etc. The water is clean. Unfortunately, the industry in Bosnia collapsed in the 1990s and the water became clean. There is fish. It's important for cultural infrastructure because it gives the possibility to live on the river. There is a theatre above the river in *Block Forty-five*. The riverside was done in the 1970s by architect Olga Divac which specialized them. On Ada Ciganlija there is always some musical or cultural event. There is also this active *Museum of African Art* which was built with tendencies to revive that part of the city. I want to say that this is quite unique and specific. Almost all of Belgrade's citizens or their friends have a small house or small raft. Since there is no water or electricity we have gaslight. On Ada Ciganlija you have, but on Ada Medica you don't.

**JK:** Was this planned and stimulated?

**MDŠ:** It started spontaneously between the two world wars. You have Ivo Antica Zeka who talked about Ada Ciganlija. After the World War II people started to build and after 1968 the new generation started building even more and more. Medica is the border between Austro-Hungary and Turkish Empire. The architect Pedja Ristić and the composer Zoran Hristić stated inhabiting Ada Medica since it was crowded on Ada Ciganlija for them. Just like that, they started to move towards Ada Medica. Back in the days in order to have a house in Ada Medica, you would need a small boat too. Now there is public transport. We have our own small boat. We used to had one from wood but today we have a plastic one. I recommend visiting because these houses are really cute. The old houses are from the start and the bigger they get it's those new rich people who want to show off (haha).

**JK:** Today we have all those buzz words, such as Creative Cities and creative industries etc. Can I ask you what was creative in Yugoslavia?

**MDŠ:** I think it's exactly this that we are discussing now, "the possibility". It will be very hard for you to explain this in Switzerland. The possibility to form 'private initiative' was impossible in other countries. For example, in 1968, the people that had houses in Ada Medica were considered as dissidents. Pedja Ristić for example was called 'Pedja the Christ'. He is still alive. Zoran Hristić, was also considered a dissident. At one moment, they formed the association '*lovers of Dunabe and Sava*' and interested people could become members of this *association of citizens* [*udruženje građana*]. They asked for a permit which they received for the association of the people and they became managers of that island. Even today we are self-managing that island. Some other association of citizens manages Ada Ciganlija, but only the part with the private rafts. There is a company Ada Ciganlija since there is a lake now and it became touristic. You also have Ratno Ostrovo which is an ecological protected site since there are birds. They only gave the freedom to a small group of people to build something there.

**JK:** What type of power did you gain forming the association?

**MDŠ:** The right to control the number of rafts. We also manage the island and for this, we pay membership to the association. We brought water, pumps and we take care to plant more trees. We are responsible and we have a lot of freedom. This was established in socialist times and no one re-questioned it. I will tell you why, by law, the island is protected from commercial exploitation since it's very specific. None of the commercial investors doesn't want to invest here since it's a risk for them. For example, we had a flood and my husband took care of this young tree by repairing it step by step. The investor wouldn't be interested in this manner to protect the nature. The self-organization on the island is high. I believe that the independent scene (the NGOs) is strong since it exists, even in times of Yugoslavia too. I recommend you to go to the *Cultural Centar Magacin* if you haven't visited it so far. For example, Borka Pavicević formed the *Nova Osecajnost* (1983), later the same person opened the *CZKD* in Post Yugoslavia from (1995) which exists even today. They gave her space nearby Hotel Slavija since in the 1990s this neighbourhood was considered an oppositional neighbourhood.

**JK:** What do these cultural networks of Belgrade consist of?

**MDŠ:** So, it's not only the buildings but the ambience too. You know that in Belgrade, there is an institution which is called *CSCD*. Sarajevo had one from 1985 but the war soon started. Croatia had one too, but in the 1990s they closed it down since they thought that it's a 'communist innovation'. So, this institute doesn't exist today and also their magazine *Cultural Worker* closed, but in Belgrade, it survived. In the Croatian one, there were these great architects such as Ivan Rogić and Andrija Mutnjaković. The Belgrade Institute had a *Cultural Atlas* that was produced in Bel-

grade because we were inspired by the French. We always envy the French. France was the first country to have this type of institution, which was called *Service des etude et la recherche* established in 1962 while ours was established in 1967. Andreax Marleux was the Minister at that time. At that time, they made this atlas of the culture of France.

**JK:** What was different with the Yugoslav atlas of culture?

**MDŠ:** Ours was even better even though the French made the innovation, their maps were not as rich as ours. They had fewer categories. Don't forget that France while working on the atlas was incredibly centralized and their map was empty. You didn't have any cultural infrastructure. When Marleux came to power the situation was a disaster. They didn't even have the concept of a 'public library'. He established some sort of 'central borrowing libraries', they didn't have the concept of a 'community library'. They had a 'city library' and a 'national library' but never a 'community library', not to mention a 'library in the worker associations or 'library in the school'. Marleux slowly started to transform the situation. You see the library in Lyon only opened around the 1960s or sometimes. For us, this was very bizarre since we started building them even before World War II and forced them from 1945 up until 1955. In the 1960s every municipality had their own *house of culture*. The villages even had their own 'houses of culture'.

**JK:** How do we compare the Yugoslav cultural system with the one of the USSR?

**MDŠ:** Russia was an inspiration. The difference is that in Russia the system was hierarchical and centralized – as a pyramid. Ours was decentralized. Don't forget that the ministries of culture were under the Republics from the 1950s. The Federal Ministry was abolished in 1953 and after that culture was decentralized on a republican level. For example, the *Yugoslav Drama Theater* was on a Federal level and in 1953 they abolished its federal status, also they gave it to the city of Belgrade to manage and not to Serbia. We had an enormously decentralized system and, at that time, all the institutions were under jurisdiction of the cities or under the municipalities. Only a small part was under the Republics responsibility. Maybe it was different from Macedonia since in 1945 their national identity was about to be established. In Serbia, it was completely the opposite situation where they needed to decrease the national identity since Serbia was always the judge for Unitarianism, great Serbianism, etc. So, in Serbia, everything that was established was under the jurisdiction of the cities. As an example, the *Yugoslav Dramatic Theater* dropped to a local level while the *National Theater* was the only institution under Republic responsibility.

Everything that was built, was built by the municipalities. If the municipality was poor, they gave support from the political side. For example, the *magazine Politika* built the house of culture in Krupanj as a gift. As you probably know, Krupanj is a small municipality and they didn't have any industry so naturally, they didn't have the funding. When I was working on my diploma work in Arandelovac for this festival that I already mentioned, the whole festival was financed by the companies of Arandelovac and organized by the municipality of Arandelovac. You can say that everything was decentralized from 1953. The year 1974 was only important because it gave more autonomy politically but that doesn't have anything significant to do with the field of culture.

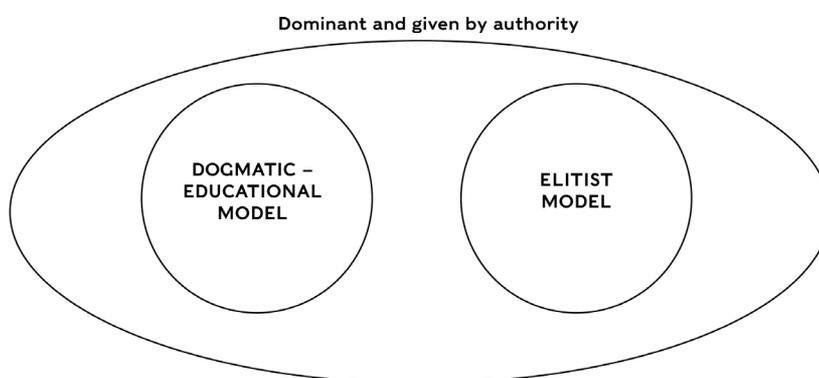
The constitution of 1974 mostly influenced the status of Yugoslav citizenship. In 1974, you could become a citizen of the Republics and not a citizen of Yugoslavia. It's was political decentralization. The 'life decentralization' [животна децентрализација] was done in 1953. In Serbia, we did not understand the constitution of 1974, since they hid it from us. Serbia would have been against it. When I gave birth to my child in 1981 (consider that I am an intellectual), my husband went to register our baby and they told my husband that his wife needs to come too, since his wife is a Croatian citizen and he is a Serbian citizen. You will need to decide if your child will be a Croatian or Serbian citizen, based on agreement. My husband looked at her completely shocked asking what type of stupidity is this. In our passports it said that we are all Yugoslav citizens, so how come they are asking this type of question. The woman explained to him – listen all the republics are happy to make this choice and in Serbia, no one knows about this so everyone is still very confused as you are. We registered our child as Serbian and we forgot about it.

When the split-up of Yugoslavia came, I was in the car and I was driving towards home. Nearby my house there was this institution *SIV*. In front of the institution, I saw a lot of people waiting in line. I questioned what are those people doing here. One woman told me that the refugees from Croatia are waiting to gain Serbian nationality. It came into my mind, that I also have Croatian nationality, so I need to wait in line too. Shocking. I received my Serbian Nationality in 1993. The Croatian refugees received it in 2001. Slobodan Milosević did not give nationality to anyone. He blocked everything. It was only easier for us because we worked and lived here. Horror story. The people weren't aware that in 1974 the Federal state was politically divided.

I will go now back to the topic that in 1953 when they abolished thirty theatres. Most of them were in Serbia and Montenegro since they shifted from a Federal budget to a municipality budget and small municipalities were not capable to support them. I don't know about Macedonia, since they were building their own cultural identity. They needed an institution where you are able to talk in Macedonian and where you can gather Macedonian literature etc. Sarajevo was a big centre already. They had a lot of funding but in the smaller municipalities of Bosnia, I am sure that they closed down cultural centres. There is a document – strategy for the cultural development of the so-called Republika Srpska [Република Српска]. It was brought two years before. In that document, the significant thing was (they also consulted me - I said it's a stupid idea) to re-open the small theatres which were established in Yugoslavia. Imagine that today they have even fewer citizens in these municipalities and a bad economy also. If they couldn't manage them in the 1960s when the economy of Bosnia was much more solid, how do you plan to do it today? There is no industry. The cinema doesn't work yet there is the budget for it. It's not real – but they want it.

**JK:** Where is the space for esthetics in this cultural infrastructure?

**MDŠ:** For that, I have my own theory. I recognized two cultural models. Both of them are dominant and given by the authorities. The first one is dogmatic – an educational model, this one builds the cultural houses, the cinemas etc. The second one is an elitist model. This one, makes *BITEF*, the Festivals, the significant Yugoslav cultural institutions etc. The authorities developed those two types of institutions in parallel, two types of projects. Projects which are for the masses, on a municipality level and projects which are for the elite. In the elitist model, you have the *magazine NIN* and in the other, you have the *magazine Borba* and the *magazine Communist*. Both are official and in school, they teach you both. They have the literature which belongs to the elitist culture, such as Krleža, and they teach you folklore songs too, like the one *Kosta Abrašević*. In school, we had both, from the ones for the masses to Shakespeare.



[fig.4] Diagram from the testimonial of Dragičević Šešić, (Diagram draw by the author)

Then you have these three dominant models in the power of the masses. The first is called the 'Standard Citizens Cultural Model' where you have most of the educated people, like people who work in banks. They are not in the elitist model but they still read a book (they read a lot back in the days). They are the middle class (which was strong back then in cultural terms). They have festivals like *Opatija* and they listen to popular songs from Ljupka Dimitrovska etc. Then, you have the second model called the *Rock Pop Culture* as a mass culture of the young people. They listen to The Beatles, the Yugoslav pop-rock scene, etc. They have their own pop-rock festivals etc. Then you have the third model called 'Newly Composed Culture'. This group is the biggest. When you see the media, they only have one

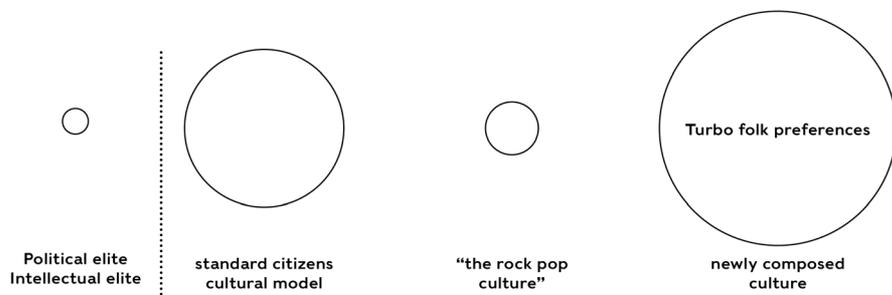
radio station – *Radio Šabac* which means that most of people prefer this genre of music but you don't see anything on the TV for their taste. The production of their music is the most intense. It's enormous production. All of those models are allowed by the state. There are several other models such as the cultural models of the dissidents but I am not going to focus on them, they are not important. In the third category, we have the workers and the people who lived in the rural part of the country. For example, punk culture is not something you find in a small city like Ohrid for example but you can find it in Ljubljana which is a bigger cultural centre. The paradox is that the children of the elite formed the second group called the *Rock Pop Culture*. Gregor Tomc (Slovenian sociologist and activist) wrote a book about who are the punkers in Slovenia and they were the children of the elite. Those children had the money of their parents, went to London and copied it. That has nothing to do with London. In London, that's was for the workers class etc.

This question is interesting for housing since no one wrote about this. The first two groups: 'The Standard Citizens Cultural Model' and the 'Rock Pop Culture' waited for social apartments [друштвене станове] and they got them. Part of the first one even received villas in Dedinje. The political elite. The third category 'Newly Composed Culture' waited for an apartment in the suburbs or built their own. That's how illegal housing came into the discourse. Sometimes they constructed illegally and sometimes legally. Be careful, it only looks like it's illegal because there is no façade on some of these houses. The thing is that if your house is not finished, you don't have to pay the communal taxes. So, they all declared that their houses are still in construction in order to avoid taxes, but their houses are legal. However, modernism only addressed the first two groups. No one cared about the third, they were situated in the suburbs anyhow.

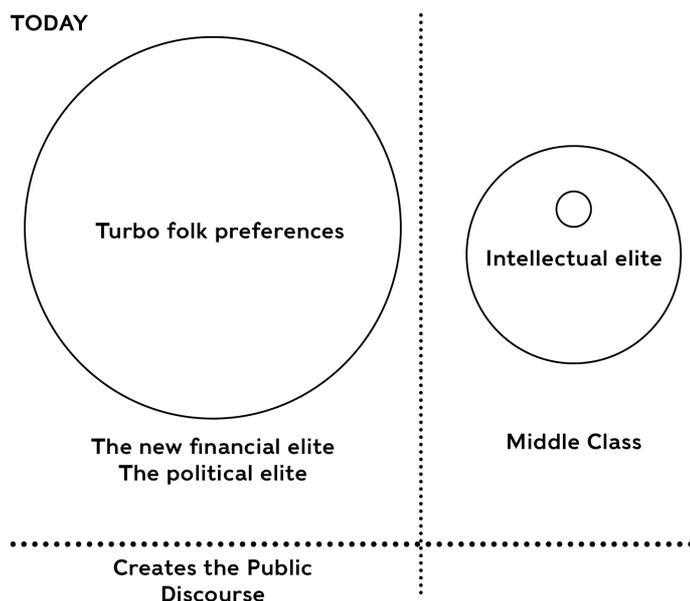
I was a student when a group of Mexicans came and they said that they want to go to the favela. I told them that we don't have the favela in Belgrade. They asked how come – there is not a capital city in the world without a favela. Another story is from when I was in Leningrad with colleagues from the faculty. We conducted a small experiment - to travel to the last metro stop. When we exited the metro, we saw that misery and we were shocked, it looked like a disaster. So, I am just saying let's make the same experiment in Belgrade. You will find out that that's where the workers live, they all have houses, flowers, gardens, the houses are not big and they have no façade but it's not harsh. Those Mexicans said: where does the worker class live and I said in New Belgrade.

For example, my block in New Belgrade has five buildings which are all the same. Two of them were private. The third, the fourth, and the fifth were for the workers who built them from the construction company. We bought them as *Cooperative [Задружа]* and all the people took credits etc. Those three recently needed to be renovated, since their ownership was civic and no one took good care of them. The inhabitants were the poor workers and in the other two, it was the middle class, which was not a part of the political apparatus. The middle class mainly bought in Konjarnik, Šumice, Voždovac. They bought apartments with 40-50 year loans. They never built their houses since they didn't have the skills and if they hired someone it would have cost them a lot. In 1960 a four-member family had the right to buy – 64m<sup>2</sup>, in 1970 – 72m<sup>2</sup>, in 1980 – 82m<sup>2</sup>. The standard rise. The “newly composed culture”, got apartments in the suburbs which were in the same rank as the quality of the apartments of the middle class. Ok, the middle class would receive two and a half room while they would receive a two-room apartment.

[fig.5] Diagram from the testimonial of Dragičević Šešić, (Diagram draw by the author)



The 'Newly Established Cultural Model' always dominated by size. Today the 'Newly Established Cultural Model' dominates financially as well. You don't have the dogmatic educational cultural model today but you have the 'turbo-folk elite'. The new elite gained capital from entrepreneurship, crime etc. Their taste is still the same but they now belong to the 'political elite'. For the Yugoslav middle class, it was very hard to imagine entrepreneurship, but the workers in the factories who lost its job needed to open a private business. If he was smart enough in the embargo, he would do any kind of business. Educated people wouldn't do that, since they didn't want to participate in it. That's the new elite. You have a book from Mile Prodanović, called *Transitional Products* [Транзициона Галантерија]. He talks about the new kitsch and the transitional esthetics. In Yugoslavia, the elite wanted to influence the taste of this class but they didn't succeed.



[fig.6] Diagram from the testimonial of Dragičević Šešić, (Diagram draw by the author)

What made this group stronger is the following. Be careful because this is important for Switzerland. On the radio in Yugoslavia, there was this Folklore Music, but this music wasn't that dominant. What established turbo-folk was the influence of the *Gasterbiter Culture* [Гастрабајтерска Култура]. They had their own music. In the 1960s they had strong emotion for the homeland and like that they became a market of their own. For example, Muharem Serbezovski had his market there, mainly in Switzerland, Germany and Austria. The money was there. The main concerts were there. In socialism, we didn't hear them anywhere, since no media would play them. They only had one radio - *Radio Šabac*. They weren't supported by official institutions, they got their support by the market. The question is how do we all know this type of music. We know it from gatherings like weddings, army events and *kafana*. If you see their covers on the internet, for example, the singer Mica Trofitaljka, you would see that they did not wax their legs, they were real *Kafana* singers. The elite circle would never listen to them. They ignored their existence.

The 'Newly Composed Cultural Model' became today's most dominant model and the new financial and political elite. Also, there is no more intellectual elite in public discourse, they moved to the middle class. Milošević told the intellectual elite: you are important to me as an agricultural cooperative is. Vučić believed the same, they have no significance to him. I talked with the sociologist Mladen Lazević who is working on the question of the elites. He wrote one book about the financial elite and a second book about the political elite, so I said great the third book will be about the cultural elite. He simply replied: that doesn't exist anymore. The cultural elite doesn't have any power or societal position today. For example, no one asked the architects about any urbanistic plans. The cultural elite today are all against the project *Belgrade on Water*, the architects, the urban planners, everybody. The authorities did not even bother to listen to their opinion. An elite without influence on public opinion, public discourse, in the media is no longer an elite.

I will give you one more example for Yugoslavia. When the working union gave free tickets for some cultural event, only people like the engineers, like the public administration would be interested to go, the working class would never be interested to take a free ticket. I conducted research in 1975 in a factory in Pančevo. I asked the workers: ok so you don't want the ticket, but why don't you give it to your child. Take the ticket and give it to your children. To which they replied– “we have no interest”. No one took care of this phenomenon. Ok, the *Animators of Culture* [Аниматори Културе] existed in every *Working Organization* [Радни Организацији], but they only worked with those people who wanted to be part So, mainly the administration of the factory and the engineers. The workers were always in the periphery, physically too. Maybe they attended some small cinemas, but the quality of the program was never the same as the one in the city centre. However, today they are slowly moving to live in the city centre.

## “PEOPLE DOESN’T EMIGRATE ONLY BECAUSE OF EXISTENTIAL REASONS BUT THEY LEAVE BECAUSE THEY CAN’T ENDURE WHAT YOUR REFERRER TO – THE AMBIENCE”

June 27, 2019

The home of Ms Perović, neighbourhood of Vračar, 9:30-11:15h

Latinka Perović, (1933, Kragujevac) historian, former politician and leading figure in SFRY  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

Quickly after my call, Ms Perović greeted me in her home in the neighbourhood of Vračar. The apartment had an exceptional ambience with many books and some modernist art pieces. Her working desk was in her kitchen where she works daily. She seemed open to discussion. As I finished my notebook, Ms Perović gifted me one.

**JK:** What was the meaning of culture for Yugoslavia?

**LP:** The Yugoslav culture is a very complex phenomenon. First of all, it was very nationally heterogeneous. This is often lost from sight due to the different histories of all those different national cultures. It’s one culture that had different levels between the patriarchy and modern forms.

This means that after 1948, it was one big opening towards the world, towards the USA and especially towards Europe. After World War II, this culture needed to glue the unity of the country, especially in the defence of its independence after the conflict in 1948. They emphasized the factor – unity. When scientists today come back to this period, as its done in individual parts of ex-Yugoslavia (the independent countries today) you can see that it is very complex and specific, with all those national particularities of the separate countries. I am referring to one very complex phenomenon which needs to be researched in the future.

Also, you had different political tendencies. You had the integralism which tends to unite Yugoslav culture. It needed to be a position as some sort of supra culture above all national cultures. This brought a lot of resistance and I must say it was a very sophisticated resistance. So, everyone defended its own particularities and its identity. At the same time, one strong thing occurred – a collaboration among the whole cultural space of the Yugoslav territory. There were many common events, such as *Festival Kunst*, *Dubrovnik Summer Games* etc. There were also several scientific projects, such as the *Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia* from the *Lexicographic Institute*, directed by Miroslav Krleža. In general, that was one live space. In this space, all these particularities were kept. Those particularities were the expression of the richness of that culture and not only in her openness in the borders of Yugoslavia but also outside - towards the world.

**JK:** How did culture become significant for the Yugoslav politicians and the Yugoslav country?

**LP:** It became significant for one society that was in development. The country paid great attention to cultural development. They established a whole new set of institutions, museums, cinemas, galleries, theatres etc. In that communication, life occurred towards a whole new branch of art that emerged – such as the movie. Movies had a great development. Furthermore, there was party intervention, especially in literature and in the art field. This passed through several conflicts and repressions but not to the extent to which the dissidents later represented it. In 1948 it really came to this shift of the society paradigm. This meant distancing from the USSR type of socialism and imposing one other variant. In historical terms, this didn’t mean rupture through the model of socialism that was formed in Russia, through the revolution and afterwards. For people’s lives, this meant a lot. If you read the USSR authors today and our people that researched the USSR then, you will see that Yugoslavia even with all its restriction

in some way was – a promised land if I can express myself like this. You could travel and you could create. Those were the two aspects that made this culture very dynamic, very diverse and very rich. One other important aspect was that many new talents emerged in all cultural fields, especially in the artistic creation [умјетничко стваралаштво], mostly in the literature, art and I must mention in architecture. In this monumental sense of culture, you had all those great architects. One of the biggest and world-renowned was Bogdan Bogdanović. His great monuments were later destroyed in the wars of the 1990s, but they were carefully written about in the books which are later published in Austria.

**JK:** How did those new talents emerge? Did the state stimulate this? Was it part of a plan?

**LP:** First, there was a departure from USSR and it was very productive. Second, it was some sort of collaboration between the democratic orientation in the party and the artists. Thirdly, it was their openness towards the world. They travelled and stayed abroad. This created one important image of Yugoslavia and a variant of socialism that is open towards the world through art. It even started like that, Krleža in the exhibition of 1948 in Paris, gave an answer to the famous '1948' giving importance to *Medieval Art*. I think there was a conflict between one democratically oriented axe inside the party and one tendency among that power that the artist is a collaborator and not an antagonist. In Austria, before the death of Bogdan Bogdanović there was one big retrospective exhibition. He used to live next to my house and we were friends. I use to work on a book about him. After this exhibition, he told me, "After the satisfaction that I received from this exhibition in Austria, the rest of my life looks irrelevant to me".

There is this permanent exhibition in Jasenovac where his greatest monument is located. He gave a collection of drawings to Jasenovac as well. The biggest part of his archive is in Austria, in Vienna with around 12.000 drawings. These drawings are classified, processed and are accessible. These days in Zagreb they opened an exhibition dedicated to him. This exhibition contains artefacts from his apartment in Vienna. He passed the years of the war in exile in Vienna. There you can find his texts, his letters and his drawings. I just found out he gave all those objects as a present to the city of Zagreb. He was tied with Croatia. That monument tied him, the monument in Jasenovac. He also wrote a book about this monument. That's a very interesting book – it's about the history of an intellectual and individual catharsis opposite of a collective catharsis which might be absent.

If we are referring to architecture, there are two important levels. The first, a battle for more modern urban culture which won't be the grey architecture that only intends to satisfy the existential needs of the people. So, modernisation of the cities. The second or in parallel, developing individual creativity through monumental cultures, such as the work of Bogdanović. Today, in this sense, there is a strong decline. From today's perspective, these achievements look impossible. It isn't by chance that in all this rejection of history, the architecture got devastated.

**JK:** Krleža came from the field of culture, how did culture begin?

**LP:** Not only that. Let me say, in our wild nationalist battles, we lost objectivity. I believe a lot in science. There are new fronts on the basis of the research. For example, Zagreb was always at the forefront of the publishing activity. When Yugoslavia split, I said "I am sorry first of all for the books with which I grew up" since I was tied for these Croatian editions. The 1945-1948 period is confirmed in all historical researches that the paradigm of *Socialist Realism* was in some way an official tendency. When you look at today's scientific research, you will find out that this paradigm was not "absorbed". It was the only official art. In Croatia, they only wrote two novels in the *Socialistic Realism* style.

It is true, one resistance existed which for sure was linked with the circle of Krleža, for the circle of the *Surrealists* [*Хаòреанисму*] in Belgrade, for their magazines, for their polemics in the party, against the instrumentalization of the art and the conversion of its function as a political tool. So very quickly after the break up in 1948, from the *Congress of the Writers*, you have the report from Krleža, where he positions culture in a new way. Here he talks

about the freedom of cultural activity and its autonomy from politics. These movements are very complex. For sure, the regime and above all Tito as a historical figure, a man from one world, one ideological variant of one party saw danger in this freedom of cultural activity for the political unity of the country. This is why he knew to intervene in the tendencies of modernism in art and in literature. For sure there were bans, but in these bans, nothing stayed definite. In comparison to today's decline and cultural poverty, one of the Serbian writers Zivojin Pavlović, said "that era looks like Pericles era in the field of culture".

Also, the cultures in Yugoslavia were different. The Slovenians with their cultural circle, with three generations of intelligence in the left movement. The Croatians, with Krleža and with the artist Krsto Hegedušić. The Macedonian culture was something else - it was in emergence, from a fundamental level like the language with Blaze Koneski. Then we had the culture of large minorities, like the Albanian minority which had the task to become literate. There were challenging battles to establish institutions like the university. So, all this represents one heterogenic picture of the culture of Yugoslavia. However, a picture that shows internal richness, internal dynamics and one constant incline.

**JK:** What was Belgrade and which were the institutions that created something like this?

**LP:** There were several cultural centres. I see them as three cultural centres. One was linked to the magazine *Young Fighter* [*Млади Борци*] which started to be published even during the war. In this magazine, the main editor was Dobrica Ćosić. From that circle, especially after 1948 when *NIN* got renewed, they started debates and discussions about the essential questions in art and culture. The second one was around *Simina 9A*, where there was a group formed mainly from nationally oriented people. The third circle was around the magazine *Praxis* with a group in Belgrade and group in Zagreb. For sure, there was a collaboration among the groups between the one that was in Belgrade and the one in Zagreb. Today's research shows that Zagreb was more oriented towards philosophical questions while Belgrade was more oriented towards political questions. I must say that in all these circles Dobrica Ćosić played a very important role. He was a man from the party, he was a member of *Central Comity* and he had authority.

I was about to say; the political conflicts were linked to the conception of the country. Yugoslavia was not re-questioned with its existence, even from 1918 from it is the creation and not even after 1945. The real question was how will it be regulated. Whether it will be a centralized and unitary country which was preferred by the side of the Serbians as the largest community. They had a lot of victims and they believed that the victims are the main basis for the maintenance of the nature of the country. The second question was will it be some sort of federal country. Around this and further divisions, it was clear who created the field of culture. Today, I believe that after all the wars, catastrophes and devastation that the societies in the Balkans are more open than the countries politics, especially in the field of culture. There is a lot of collaboration.

Zagreb continues its very active publishing activity. We are reprinting and presenting those books here. In Zagreb, in Sarajevo and from last year in Belgrade, there is one manifestation called the *Festival of History*. Here the historians have meetings, there are debates, round tables, presentation of books etc. This year I visited Zagreb and Sarajevo. In Sarajevo, I gave one lecture titled *Nationalism and Political Culture*, where I explained two streams in historiography and in real history. In the essence, you will see that in the 1990s there was a renewal of National Romanticism. It even goes back to the 19th century, when there was an establishment of the national country of the Serbian people, which led to tensions, conflicts and wars. This also played a significant role in this para historiography, which for sure is outdated since the 19th century. If it was outdated it could not be renewed in the 1980s with force and it couldn't receive great support from national politics. I said back in the days that we shouldn't only concentrate on the historiography and its responsibility for the situation linked to the split up of the federation but rather study the literature narrative. Through the literature narrative, we said that history is repeating itself and with this, some historical facts were relativized. One ambience which is called populism was created and I am dealing with this my whole life.

That populism is *national* [*народњаумство*] and it is linked to Russian nationality. At the same time that also became a symbol for the new Post – Yugoslav nationalism. It's important to study this literature narrative, especially by Dobrica Ćosić. He is a very important figure. I wrote about him and it's not that we need to dehumanize him and disqualify his work. He had one mission. He was the ideologist behind the new Serbian nationalism. He finished his life with the idea that if the Serbian society wants to survive, it still needs an ideology based on the past, which is often constructed to determine geopolitical position. He was wrong since we can see that the world showed you can be bypassed with new associations (such as 'the economic' and 'military') and on the contrary, you will simply remain one hole in the Balkans.

**JK:** How did the Yugoslav ideology determine the vision in terms of art and culture in the period after World War II?

**LP:** There was one vision – it was an ideological vision about progress and unity. Yugoslavia for one small country achieved great results. For the first time, that space was found on the page in world's history. It was achieved with the antifascist war when the nations were divided but the Yugoslavs nations were united in the battle against Nazism. This brought the communists into power. That's not a process that occurred in 1941. It is linked to the re-questioning of the national politics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 20th century. This vision liberated in a way. You also need to understand that here freedom is always freedom from the other party. Not only the freedom from inside the boundaries but from the outside too. Yes, there was a vision that existed. In my opinion, this vision kept some of the ideological characteristics which were already there. Ok, for sure this vision was always linked to the generation which was raised in times of Fascism, Nazism or even before the *October Revolution*. It never crossed that question of property relations and it never raised the question of capitalism. At the same time, that vision formed life, it formed everyday practice and freedom was gained by artists, scientists, individuals, so it's one complex process.

**JK:** How did the intellectuals become a part of the Yugoslav public opinion?

**LP:** First of all, they were present. Their opinion was considered relevant. Those people were present a lot in the public life. It is not true that the authorities had the power to ignore them and to get into conflict with them. In some sense, they were the creators of a new palette of institutions. For example, one of the founders of the *MCA* in Belgrade was the Serbian painter and writer Miodrag B. Protić. I want to say that these people did not function outside of the system. They were a part of the institutions of culture, publishing houses, movie's companies. The creators were all over the cultural space.

**JK:** How was success and quality achieved?

**LP:** Yugoslavia was a country in which one party had power without competition, but you had a highly developed 'expertise life' inside. You had a lot of professional organisation. As you know I worked a lot from the 'inside' and the narrative of the power was never 'nevertheless' as it is today. They paid a lot of attention on what the west thinks about their procedures and public opinion. Also, it was not just left aside about what the expert public opinion thought in those republics. The party was involved in all of this. Often, it also influenced the solutions in order to keep the Yugoslav balance. I believe that there was one hierarchy of values in the organization which today would be unimaginable. If you see the current intellectual milieu of Belgrade, there is not a lot of people who can oppose and those who oppose are completely irrelevant. That represents a sinking of the country in one dangerous anarchy which in the end could be formalised with dictatorship. The authorities today only have the power to strengthen but they don't have the capacity to bring one rational solution. This goes well with the story of the European integration of Serbia with one rhetoric that becomes more transparent – to bring Serbia further from Europe and its values.

**JK:** How did the level of education enter the public discourse?

**LP:** The experts played a significant role since they were a part of various *Civic Councils* [*Друштвени Савети*], particularly in the cultural and scientific institutions. At the same time, that militant part of the intelligence after the death of Tito set a goal: to shift the relationships in the Balkans and this played a fatal role. This goal burned out every established value. We can scientifically discover this today, but they were deeply devastated.

**JK:** What is the role of the kitsch in all of this? Is it involved in all of this?

**LP:** The kitsch is a part of it. The communist party fought against it but in one society that is big in proportion, that sphere is still very divided. We have high art and the culture of the masses. Kitsch even played some sort of democratic function, as the demagogy did in one phase since it represented freedom from taboos etc. It can be described as one phenomenon or tendency in the society but not as an axe that determines the cultural paradigm.

**JK:** Can you refer to a reference, a book, a paper or an exhibition that was significant to you?

**LP:** You always think about one fact or one book but honestly the process is more important to be discovered. You have these identifications of the processes. Here, you can take the work of Danilo Kiš into account, who explained the depth of Stalinism and its terror. You have the interpretation of Krleža, which was done by Stanko Lasić in Croatia also. His interpretation was different from the one of Andrić which was more canonized and passive.

If you want a reference from me, a reference that I placed on a cult symbolically is the book *Small Town Philosophy* – or the *Philosophy of Parochialism* [*Филозофија Паланке*] from Radomir Konstantinović. This book was always highly attacked, politicized and so on. He didn't invent parochialism, he only followed up on the Serbian realistic prose. Later Danilo Kiš, Vege, Filip David and Mirko Kovač were influenced by his work. He was the one to detect the 'closeness' of the Serbian society. The narrative, "please don't be interested in what could be behind your fence" is a notion that leads you gradually to Nazism. He was under permanent attack because of this. His work is only published today and it shows that his relationship towards heritage was very complex. It wasn't so pragmatic or utilitarian. This book will help you understand our societal destiny. Back in the days, this book provoked different reactions. It was written in 1971 and it is the only text which can enable us to decode our historical societal situation.

**JK:** Is it useful for the future also?

**LP:** Yes, it's useful for the future too, whether you keep this closeness or not. If you follow the speech of the political core today, it's an unimaginable image of this 'closeness', not taking 'the others' into account. Whether we are talking about the ethnicities, the political opponents, the fear towards our neighbours or even the opposition from inside your circle, the language is unbearable. I work here alone all day and in the evenings I follow the debates on TV. I have an opinion that it's one deep degradation of public discourse and the 'criteria of thinking', if I can express it like that. They think that with their position of power they can disqualify everyone. It's a society that doesn't have a future in my opinion. I am not in favour of the hypothesis "everywhere among the (post) communist territories it's all the same". No, it's not. I travel a lot across ex-Yugoslavia. Slovenia today is one very respectable European state. Slovenia had the same position in Yugoslavia too, all the innovations came from there. You have Croatia where the revision of history is brought up. You have Neo Ustaše Movement, but Croatia has a very dynamic life. I would like to clarify that I am referring to cultural life. People are not informed about this. They publish important books and important research. There you are still able to make a difference between the country and the society.

You have Bosnia and Herzegovina which is in one difficult position because of the Serb Republic. The Serb Republic is openly announcing their secession and unification with Serbia. This brings confusion. You have Radovan Karadžić who is condemned to life imprisonment for the same things that can be openly found in the speech of Milorad

Dodik. There are no deep shifts. You have the Bosnian elite which is obsessed to see itself as a victim, a potent elite. However, this creates a lively cultural life. You have Montenegro, which is in great incline. Montenegro became a member of NATO and aspires to become a member of the EU. It wants to become Europeanised. In this area, modernisation always meant Europeanization. It doesn't only mean new technology, but also new values. It means regulation of the rule of law, security of the individual, equality to all, the choice of power, its control, the voting system etc. We are too far from all of this.

You have Serbia which is frustrated. No one had the capacity to destroy Yugoslavia as Serbia did. Yugoslavia was ruined primarily because of Serbia. They had all of the secret services, the military, etc. You have these territorial parts of Serbian people in Bosnia, in Croatia, in Montenegro. You have Macedonia which passed one very difficult phase but slowly found itself out. So, in the end, it's not true that it's the same everywhere. You have one public discourse that identifies Croatia with the Ustaše Movement, but Croatia is not an 'Ustaše country'. Croatia is part of the EU and it will chair with the EU. It mobilised the society in order to resolve one big democratic problem. It's dangerous to disqualify Croatia like this.

Another thing that shocks me is the public discourse about the Albanians which is unbearable, racist and unfriendly. This passes all. Yes, it's true that in evolution it is the last nation in Europe, but when our Prime Minister said that Albanians are jungle people it's absolutely tragic. If that's your position in thinking, it's very tragic. I want to say that the situation is different everywhere. You have the consequences of the war everywhere and you can sense them. They strive to reach the level of development when they entered the war, from the late 1980s. You can feel the consequences of the war, the large migration of people, the change in demography but also the different intensity in the presence regarding the orientation towards Europe. The stories that Europe is collapsing, that our perspective is not in Europe but rather in some Euro Asian union is a loser perspective for the society.

**JK:** Can you explain something that you already mentioned "the fight for modernisation of the urban culture?"

**LP:** After World War II it was to determine the way how to overcome brutal reality. After the war, you had massive migration of the population and massive movements towards the city. In one urban environment, a situation that was particular for Vojvodina is that many people came from the Serbian community in Bosnia, Croatia etc. Society constructed these typical buildings, grey ones, to satisfy the existential minimum. Aside from this, there is one critical tendency that occurred. In the field of architecture (referring to the Yugoslav cities) the debate was how it should be urbanised. Whether should it be built in a more modern way. For all this, they looked for references in western Europe. You can see today that the architecture is chaotic since the country is not legally regulated. I am talking about the usurpation of the space. The tendency towards a modern architecture that satisfied the need of the urban population existed from the 1950s.

**JK:** How did the question of aesthetic become a political question?

**LP:** Firstly, they resolved this through the level of symbols, through the construction of individual institutions and individual settlements. In some way, that orientation legalised itself. Not everything is about having a roof over your head. They created life by building educational facilities, faculties, sports centres. It's a socialistic policy which by definition is egalitarian. They also took care of the allocation of apartments for the workers, etc. In Russia, from the 1930s you have this parallel culture that needed to show instant power in the country. I also recognise something from this in Belgrade. To destroy everything and to dismiss each remark etc. It's not rational. They built for the existential minimum which was necessary but the standards were always raising. You have New Belgrade which was built with this paradigm.

**JK:** How did the ambience shift in Belgrade prior to the split of Yugoslavia?

**LP:** In the 1980s you have all those riots that occurred. Everything happened on the streets. In this ambience, there is no debate and the rational evaluation at a minimum. Everything that was done, was in the name of the masses. Due to these massive riots, the ambience changed. In the definition, a protestor was a-modern, he was ruining the institutional and all the quality etc.

**JK:** How did *Praxis School* become part of the global cultural infrastructure?

**LP:** *Praxis* had the reputation of an oppositional bulletin. At the same time, the country supported and financed *Praxis*. It participated in the financing of the *Korčula Summer School*, where all the world intellectuals came. It was one ambivalent relation. I don't think it had influence outside Serbia and Croatia. In the end, *Praxis* wrote about the separation and the national questions. *Praxis* and its intellectuals are very uncritical. They refused the fact that two people in their Belgrade group were the closest collaborators of Dobrica Ćosić and his national project. I am referring to Mihailo Marković and Ljubomir Tadić. One of the *Praxis* members, Svetozar Stojanović was a close collaborator of Dobrica Ćosić too. They were rejected by the Croatian group when they showed ambition to "rearrange Yugoslavia".

When they came up with the national project to rearrange the constitution of Yugoslavia with the idea (one person - one vote), the Croatian group said: but wait, that's a blow to Yugoslavia in its roots. They had support from the lefty movement in the universities across the world because they were in opposition to one party. At the beginning of the war in the 1990s, they lost that prestige. For sure no one in the academic circles did not agree with the idea for them to be excluded from the Belgrade universities. No one approved their affection towards the politics that were personified by Slobodan Milošević. In every case that I remember, their rejection for a dialogue with the liberal axe in the communist alliance was done with conservatives in their nationalistic program.

**JK:** Was urbanism or architecture somehow linked with the work of Karl Marx?

**LP:** No, Not in direct manner. Bogdan Bogdanović wrote a book about the culture of the city. Bogdanović in one moment was the mayor of the city of Belgrade. He could have done something, but those things did not depend on individuals. They depended on the mentality of the collective and the material funds. When we refer to Yugoslavia and those dogmatic interpretations (which were in reality, far away from that dogma, far away) were pragmatic movements in the framework of urbanism and architecture and in which the experts took place, in that idea. There was a lot of critique about expensive construction. Those apartments were built for the world that came to the city. You have conversations between Krleža and Enes Čengić in a published book on this topic. They walk in Zagreb, and Krleža says: "who lives here and what will they do one day?". Those are the uncertainties about "those people" and what their values are. I want to say, when our people started to go abroad as workers, it was very often for them to gain some habits and capital. When they returned to Yugoslavia, they would have an idea to do something, for example, to build some road etc. This was obstructed a lot, I am referring to the ambience. So, they invested their capital in tombs and in some completely irrational and unproductive things. They instead should have been given the opportunity to invest capital where it would develop the environment. For example, when you travel across Serbia - in the city Šabac or the city of Kragujevac, most of the libraries are located in old buildings, which were privately owned before 1945 and in one moment they were nationalised. There weren't immense investments, apart from the public library of Belgrade.

**JK:** Which buildings have the most influence in Belgrade for Yugoslav cultural infrastructure?

**LP:** The *MCA* was built; the *NM* was updated and the *NT* was updated too. They built hotel spaces across Yugoslavia. They constructed bridges. It was the 'Parochialism' that experienced expansion after first Yugoslavia was built and especially after second Yugoslavia was built. It was still one poor society, which invested in the army and needed to

elevate their level of education. This is one of the weak points of Serbian society. In Serbia, today you have around one million people without elementary school. Serbia in comparison to other countries in Europe has the largest number of functionally illiterate people. That means they can sign a paper and nothing more. With this type of material, just calculate that there are democratic elections with different program orientations. It's everything that people lost from the perspective.

I read a lot and I am still reading these columns from sociologists who advocate revolution. But wait, it's the 21st century where you have new technological revolutions and you are advocating a political revolution from the 19th century. Where is the subject and what are the goals of this revolution? To me, this looks very shallow. This is the intellectual and moral drop that Serbia experienced at the end of the 20th century and we are still feeling this today. The question is how do we get out of it. You have a technological revolution. The changes are very rapid so why are you advocating this political revolution. The goal can't be to change the authorities only. What will happen with this? It will only change the power to people with the same capacity. For me, this is dangerous anarchism that disoriented the people. You have this paradox situation, you lead this situation and when the elections come, this power will win with a high % of the votes. You can't say that it's only a result of the people's fear. It's simply the mentality. Also, our society is an elderly society. Serbia is one of the countries with the oldest population. Young people are emigrating. Each year from Serbia there are 30.000 young people that emigrate. Those are the real problems. I must say that the majority of the people doesn't emigrate only because of existential reasons but they leave because they can't endure what your referer to – the ambience. The ambience of devaluation of the values, of the culture and the civilization. One total exclusion from the world.

**JK:** Was this ambience created with a plan or did it come in a spontaneous manner at the end of Yugoslavia?

**LT:** If we are talking about the preparation of the wars in the 1980s, that ambience was planned, but it came through resonance also. It was supported, it was accepted and they made one big consensus that Serbia needs to hit from the inside of Yugoslavia in order to re-define its position. This led to the horrible war and you have the catastrophe. Afterwards, we had the defeat of that project. Then we had one chance with Zoran Đinđić, who was a modern intellectual but he was killed. It was one limit that made Serbia stagnate. Instead of Europe and integration, it went back to traditional culture. The fall of communism masked many things, it was the trend. That was a universal movement but with that, you renewed one traditional model of society. You had the acceptance of the multi-party system. Serbia accepted that multi-party system last in Yugoslavia. You had numerous parties with a similar program that oriented towards the economy and the parliamentary system of power without any clearly defined goals. Those parties divided into different fractions but in one moment they united in one party, which in essence is nationalistic in its genesis. They guided the Balkan wars, they took place in World War I, got defeated in World War II and finally got restored with the fall of communism. It's a process that you need to detect if you want to find out what happened here.

As a scientist, look close to the processes and the chronology. Yes, Yugoslavia was unitarian, united by the charisma of Tito but in one moment everyone was waiting for him to go. He surely is a historical actor, but he also had limits that he couldn't overcome. He was a man which was determined by the Russian revolution. He constructed the party – with the notion of this revolution. For him, this represented power. Everything needed to be analysed with complex processes. When you listen to the president today, he uses imbecilic language. He doesn't want to take any remark into account. This fact is impossible. I have one book which is called *Between Anarchy and Autocracy*. It explains that you have one razor in society. The masses, the people become unsure and they are looking for a way out of a dictatorship. Young people are emigrating with uncertainty and for them, the uncertainty is better than here, where everything will end in some sad story. The Serbians are modern people and they have some responsibility for their history. They are not only objects. For me - that mental circle is defeat. When you see Skopje, it's the same responsibility. That is a falsification. That's pseudo-history. For the young people (since I work a lot with them) it meant a lot to be open towards the world, the conferences etc. – instead they feel the regression. It's not that the authorities would like to brainwash the masses, the authorities are also part of that stupidity. You see such a small space around you, it's an emancipation problem. The question to protect the workers was brought up. Today, every other day some

worker is injured on a construction site. Something isn't functioning. Since I am surrounded by young people a lot, I know that that the university is self-destructive, the professors are all divided.

**JK:** How did you meet Bogdan Bogdanović, was it a formal collaboration?

**LP:** Circumstances brought us together. Bogdan Bogdanović and also Rade Konstantinović were my friends. I wrote about them and we all lived on this same street. We often had meetings and discussions. That attitude towards World War II brought us very close. You have my book *Dominant and Undesirable Elite*. We all had our independent practices, but we were orientated towards the idea that Yugoslavia is possible. Today, it is one great catastrophe to make this intense shift.

**JK:** I see a lot of artwork in your apartment, who are the artists?

**LP:** The sculptures are from Marko Nikezić. He was in the first front of the party, marked as a liberal. He studied architecture before the war. After the war, he went into diplomacy because of priorities. He was an Ambassador in Egypt, Czechoslovakia and in the USA. Later he became *Minister of Internal Affairs* and leader of the Serbian party. He was my closest collaborator. We collaborated in the Serbian party from 1968 up until 1972. We were personal friends and collaborators, we shared the same destiny etc. The painting is from Miodrag B. Protić.

## “THE *MINISTRY OF FINANCE* BELIEVES THAT CONSTRUCTING NEW BUILDINGS IS GREAT”

June 8, 2019

Meeting room Government of Macedonia, 12:00h – 13:15h pm

Robert Alagjovovski (1973, Valandovo), National Coordinator of Culture, Intersectoral Cooperation  
Luca Pattaroni (LP), Vincent Kaufmann (VK), Laurie Daffe (LD), Garance Clement (GC), Guillaume Drevon (GD), Jana Konstantinova (JK), Laboratory of Urban Sociology (LASUR)

I invited Mr Alagjovovski to a panel session titled *Balkanize!* (2018, as EPFL) to discuss the cultural infrastructure in the (post) Yugoslav cities. Alagjovovski became the first minister of culture in independent and democratic Macedonia that came from the field of culture. Moreover, he showed great interest in discussing the current reality in the country and expressed enthusiasm to bring reforms to the field.

**RA:** Yes, this is our smallest room. There are some jokes that there are so many employees in the government that there is not enough space in any of the meeting rooms (haha).

**JK:** Robert, you come from the alternative cultural scene and at one point you become a politician. How did you perceive that shift?

**RA:** It was not all that sudden. I had training becoming acquainted with politics and the institutional system. This was not easy for me, because I have my background in what is called an “independent cultural scene”. NGOs and publishing activities mainly connected with the critical culture. On one side the critical culture and on the other side implementing politics mainly supported by foreign foundations, which were opposite to nationalism, contrary to the so-called ‘national concept’ of culture. Working with European partners, especially with regional partners from the whole Balkan region, removing barriers and things like that were all common for our activities. I had a very critical approach to what was ‘institutional culture’ at that time.

Moreover, the policies and politics of the previous government was quite opposite of everything that we stood for. Since 2011, not as a party member (and still not a party member), I have been presiding the *Comity for Culture* for seven years in the line of the oppositional social democrats, which are now in power. Since then, their strategy was that as a sole party they cannot win the strongly authoritarian and autocratic regime of the previous government. They needed to open up to the whole society and put everyone critical to the government at that time, to become present on the front line. Moreover, being a public figure, I was among the first who joined but this trend continued. In 2015 there was an official coalition between the opposition and the NGOs, and this collaboration in 2016 became the so-called Colourful Revolution. This is how the huge civic front was formed.

Afterwards, it led to some members of the civic organisation entering both parliament and government as soon as the social democrats won the majority of the votes. So, this is how we entered. It means that all these years I was aware of how the party system is working and I was aware of the institutional system in the field of culture too. You know it was hard to accept since it was quite the opposite of our professional ethics, enthusiasm, values in the civic society and the independent sector. When I became minister all of a sudden, I had to manage this system. Part of the fact that we were slow on reforms is actually because it turned out that both the party logic and the institutional behaviour is much worse than we could imagine. What all governments and especially the last government did was employ people in institutional culture and the state administration that think that employment is a reward for their party activities. Like that, the professional spirit was at the lowest level, and the request for all kind of privileges was over. In this atmosphere, you cannot take some issues, processes and bring them to an end. It was very hard. So, what I could do,

I did. I enrolled in the ministry and I insisted that the national institution should involve more collaborators with the civic society. Through this, they would have the mingling of working attitudes and hope for a positive change.

It was going hard because the institutional system is quite defined, and the position of the state servants and employees is quite protected by law. You cannot easily replace people or change people. On one side they kept their formal position in the system and you can't avoid them, and on another, they were slowing down the whole system. Now, we are fighting with these two ethics. From one side the civic society who regardless if they entered the state system or not, hope for a professional working attitude, competence, avoiding corruption, avoiding client logic, nepotism etc. On the other side, some structures would still prefer if somebody wants to be employed, they would try to be nice and to meet their expectations. In my view, this is the basic struggle, and this is the biggest challenge for the government if they are willing to be reformistic in the upcoming years. It's very clear that the declaration is - yes, we must change the way society is structured, and all the state institutions. On another side, all these forces of inertia are so strong and so slow, that sometimes they are schizophrenic and go in the opposite direction. Everybody is ready for professionalism but when it comes to the real practice of institutional life and culture, there are established habits already.

**JK:** These days we visited several different types of cultural centres, from the community ones to the official national institutions mainly built in Yugoslavia. How would you explain this transitional period from the (post) socialist city and the system of culture?

**RA:** I believe that the peak of development of Macedonian culture was in the middle of the 1980s. The general social crisis began at the end of the 1980s, but the previous system had still been functioning. Let's not put so much accent on political life which was not a democratic life. People would say that in the single-party system there was much more debate, there was much more criticism, and much more critical treatment of things. Afterwards, in the transitional phase, generally the politicians, and the parties in power were not very willingly accepting criticism. The critical debate even nowadays is not regarded as something positive but rather seen with condemnation and as something that needs to be put aside. Have in mind that the Macedonian society entered the story about the fall of communism a little bit later. The societies thoughts reflected the politics afterwards, and that's why the early and middle 1990s were a time when Macedonia was a bright example because we didn't have the Balkan wars and conflicts. We hoped for a moderate dissolution and re-unification of Yugoslavia, and later when we became an independent state we gained it in a much more peaceful way.

However, I think that because of the failures of the ex-communist party that afterwards transformed into the social democrats, their economic failures and overall ambience allowed nationalism to rise in the Balkans, and in Macedonia, the nationalistic rhetoric prevailed. At the end of the 1990s, there was this "change of things". So, the nationalistic parties came to power by promising economic reforms and social justice, unlike the party in power whose elites got destructed with people. So, as soon they come to power, nothing changed in the economic field, they ruled in the same way, but they installed the nationalistic rhetoric and the right policies to support this in the system. Therefore, they ruled from 1998-2002, and later from 2006-2017. In the second term, the nationalistic euphoria was even sponsored by the state, and by the official policies. Moreover, it was strange that all of a sudden, the people who were saying that Yugoslavia was good in the 1990s, were now the main protagonists of the nationalistic logic.

Some will say that the 3rd generation of people is not able to change their attitude. On the contrary, it showed that the 3rd generation changed their logic, and are the biggest supporters to these nationalistic youngsters who as a 'party youth' were pre-engineered to support nationalism. This is what we have in Macedonia for the last 10 years, where unlike the 1990s we were the bright example, and we became the centre of nationalistic tendencies. Luckily there are oppositional civil society forces that want to overthrow this attitude. At the moment, we are regarded as a positive example in the international community since we made compromises with our neighbours, and we have moderate democratic policies which are building momentum in the creation of the strategy to stimulate *one society with inter-culturalism*. This strategy was drafted and I was responsible for the process. The strategy will soon be in

its final version. We hope that it will be implemented in the whole society and system. It is expected to convert the logic of a divided society in every aspect. Also, it will bring inter-culturalism, respect for others, and inclusion of all differences in society. We must admit that we are doing it with a very hard and harsh struggle. Half of the population is up for one intercultural society and the other half hopes for greater nationalism.

The majority of Macedonians are still nationalistic and associated with the oppositional party which is due to the sentiment that we made a compromise with the change of the name. They accuse us that we have changed the identity. No, the identity is legally there and you have to fight for your identity. Nationalist Greeks are also saying that they are the true Macedonians, so this is also a social struggle. There was no surrender of the identity issues in the *Prespa Agreement*. We just saw last week, the handball team Vardar winning the European cup and they staged a huge and almost fascist celebration of the team. Some of the sports heroes are nationalistic, they align with each other. Just two weeks ago, we also had great success with the Eurovision song, but our attempts to celebrate failed. We don't have the same structure, the same approach, the same hierarchy, or the same influence on our supporters as they have. The nationalistic machine is very efficient.

That was my point, in socialist times the cultural system functioned quite well, and it was decentralised. It was also a system of institutional careers. With the transition, one side was let's say "refreshing" the employments and the human potential of the institutions. At the same time, by employing not very capable, or not very hard-working individuals, we have given the system many challenges. The maintenance is a big problem, a lot of these buildings are not renovated and even their sanitary area is a problem. The technology is very anachronistic. The employees don't have the right skills nor do they practice international cooperation, it is just based on individual attempts and not a collective effort from the team. There are insufficient funds and misuse of funds too. However, they say that the funds are small, but whenever we send an inspection, we see that the director was not spending the money properly. They are paying huge costs connected to production and honorarium. They are not using these funds to buy new equipment, or establish new infrastructure. There is very little autonomy for the directors.

The previous government established the practice of building new buildings, so we have seven or eight brand new buildings. Each of these buildings costs around 20 to 40 million euros. Imagine that budget for a small and poor country like ours. For example, for the cost of one building, we could renovate half of all other existing buildings. Unfortunately, we have a very unfair system where you have the brand-new renovated building like the Theatre of Minorities on one side and the *Comedy Theatre* that remains in the same old barracks on another. In Tetovo, they are building a new library, and the theatre which is next to it will remain in an old building which is under decay. This goes quite well with the logic of inertia. It's very hard to change the policies when the Ministry of Finance believes that constructing new buildings is great, and it goes well with the 'capital investment' strategy which is positive for the rise of the GDP, while refurbishment is not considered as good for the economy. The question is also related to the raising of the GDP and the economic trends which dictate this prevailing logic.

With our new strategy for culture which we brought in 2018, we tried to implement the renovation of existing infrastructure, new technology, hopefully, better employments, and especially cooperation with the civil society sector. We are fighting to bring a new law in Culture as soon as possible, which will oblige the national institutions to have at least 30% of their programs done with other users such as private individuals, or NGOs. It means that the programs will bring better mingling of the NGO logic with the public institution logic. We are changing the system of giving support because up until now it was very centralistic. So, the *Ministry of Culture* through the system of commission approved every funding and now we would like to go with a delegate system of funding. This means that we will reserve the budget for them, and they will have the autonomy for the whole annual program, with an only obligation to have 30% of the program with other partners. They will not have the excuse of the insufficient funding from the Ministry, they will plan and manage their plans better. We also have centralised state funding by the *Ministry of Culture* which is not a good situation for the ministry since it's the sole financier of all its activities. Every institution that you visited, will apply to the ministry of culture for funds. You have a demand of three to four times bigger than whatever the funding budget is (haha). However, you obtain the funds and you will always be criticized that you didn't give enough support.

Also, we will like to decrease the decentralisation, but this will be a slower process. We would like to have more of the national institutions under municipal authorities. At the moment we have around 65 national institutions, and we would like for 40 of them to become municipal institutions, theatres, houses of culture, cultural centres, galleries etc. We would like to give fiscal decentralisation to the municipalities so that through the state system of “block dotation’s” they would have bigger funding for their institutions. In 2004, 60 institutions that were on a national rank became municipal institutions, but the system of block dotation was so rigorous that it deteriorated the situation of those institutions. They became less capable to employ new people or receive funding. Each year, they received a limited amount of money so they couldn’t invest in anything and that’s why there is this big fear of decentralisation which is actually due to bad conditions that are criticized by the central government. We believe that the system will be fair this time since we learned the mistakes from the past.

Also, there is a problem that their product is with problematic quality always. There are only a few exceptional artworks, the scarcity of the audience, lack of program development, and the community-based institutions are also very rare. So, we have a very elitist, self-centred and even in a way autarchic cultural system, which is very artist-driven and cantered yet not audience-driven. We are aware of all that – and now we are trying to change it.

**LP:** Was it the case of a socialist system because of the management? Was it more community-based?

**RA:** Yes, I believe so. I believe that the previous system with self-management was very decentralised, and that is why I said that the end of the 1970s and the 1980s was the time when the Macedonian cultural institutions boomed. Many of the institutions and the manifestations that we still have now are created then, and they had their peek five or ten years after their creation. So, the *Jazz Festival*, the *Youth Open Theatre*, the *Youth Cultural Centre*, *Ohrid Summer Festival*, *Struga Poetry Evenings* are institutions that we still have in the system but they have shrunk.

**LP:** We talked about the nationalistic tendencies, but you talked about independent culture. Was it developed by self-management?

**RA:** All through the 1970s and the 1980s there were independent cultural groups. At the beginning of the 1970s, there were independent theatres groups, and for the first time, there were naked artists or things like that. From this group, an actor became a national actor, and from these directors in the academia, some of them became directors of institutions. So, the previous system didn’t have the problem to transform these people into the national system. The mingling of the official and non-official system was ok.

In the 1990s the phenomenon of the civil based cultural scene came. This was mainly associated with the work of foreign embassies, foreign foundations like “*Open Society*”, the *Swiss Cultural Program*, so let’s say there were very strong cultural players, and the non-institutional scene was only incidentally involved with the official system. It is not a habit as a system of career like it did before.

We would like to change that but there is always this fighting logic as explained in the beginning. I know in 2013 when this group received funding to make an LGBT exhibition in the *National Gallery*, it was only because of big pressure from the Swedish embassy. When I was a minister, I opened the pride weekend in 2017, and 2018 when the new minister which came from the Albanian party insisted on conservative values. We had a big fight and he decided not to support it. We are on the same block, we are coalition partners, but he said “No, even with the price of my resignation I will not give them money”. Last weekend it opened without the support of the ministry which is a big scandal. We go backwards steps. Luckily, they went to the *Museum of Contemporary Art*, but if the director of the *Museum of Contemporary Art* was coming from the Albanian party he would reject this program. In the end, it’s very individual, and you never have continuation when you have a political power structure. It’s the same government but as you see there are different world views in it.

**GC:** Do you feel the construction of these elites? Do you feel this new generation moving from Macedonia? Do you think you are losing this kind of future culture elite?

**RA:** We are losing young people, and we are losing people on every scale. The spoiled system that we have in the country is the biggest reason for that. On the other side let's say we are a little bit stunned by the European Union. Of course, for us EU is the standard, the domestic discourse says "Europe is great" "Europe is great", then people acknowledge since it's great, let's go to this Europe. "That's where life is". This is the counter effect of our propaganda which is good because if we are not pro-European the nationalists will turn to Russia and autocratic systems. However, the biggest reason is this unfair system, which doesn't give a chance to the best, but different structures. As long as there is sufficient funding coming from foreign institutions, there will be life for "noninstitutionalized culture". If we can get more, better and balance to support cultural activities for the civil society they will stay longer.

On another side, in the last 10 years, the previous government opened and decentralised the educational system, but at the same time, they lowered the quality. Now, all of a sudden you have many young people with a diploma, their knowledge doesn't value anything and their skills are weak. Officially they have diplomas. We have five movie academia's but you can't get a good film director or a good editor or a good director of photography who is highly skilled. Many of them have a diploma formally, so then you make a call for them to enter the institution, they don't know how to work. So, from this aspect, we do have an educated young generation, but we doubt the quality of what they can produce here, and also what they can produce outside. The majority of them are emigrating and finding scholarships to continue their education in western academia so that's how they make progress. Unfortunately, these people don't come back. As I said, young people go for any job in the western countries, this is for labour work which has nothing to do with their formal education.

They might have a diploma in law or sociology but they work as waiters or plumbers in western society. As I said, this is a sociological phenomenon and I think about it a lot recently. Ok, we don't have the perfect system, but we have democracy, and people can say what they want to say. This government is not willing nor is it even capable to make a stronger system to control and repress. There is a steady growth of the budget so the monthly wages rise from 300 to 500 euros, although people would like to have a 1000 euro salary nowadays to be able to have savings. In Macedonia, this is not possible. I think we must put a sociological perspective and be aware of the existing quality in this country, also to be able to measure it and enact it. There are so many things in the country which you can have without money or for little money too. Yes, in the west you earn more, but you also spend more, so the cost is bigger. This should be the difference.

**VC:** Linked to what you say, where does the middle class stand in the whole story?

**RA:** There were some studies. According to an index, we are among the worst countries in social equality. There are very few who are earning a lot and then there is a big quantity of unemployed people or people who earn less than 200 euros. I can assume that the middle class are people who earn more than 250 euros and up to 550 euros. These people can exist. If we define the middle class in a Macedonian condition like this, yes, they can exist. Although basically, the middle class is in the state system and the public administration is quite huge (more than 10 % of the official population works for the public administration). Also, all economic activities and services are based on the state budget. It turned out that the state is the biggest mover of the society, so independent businesses are little and they don't generate middle-class people but rather low-income employment. The owners buy new cars but no one will raise the salary of their employees 10% or 20%. They face big problems as the workforce is fast-moving and they cannot have steady employment. They have a contract within a factory but they survive up to a year, and after a year they will change, so new people come and this affects the quality of the products. However, the majority of the owners who are not associated with public funds, never invest in salaries or better working condition for the whole class.

**JK:** What do you think about Turbo-Folk?

**RA:** We condemn it and we don't support turbo-folk at all. In the past, there were even petitions from the *Ministry of Culture* to put an extra fee on turbo-folk, but expressional politics are never accepted well. In the subculture, it's very strong. Some mayors invite the biggest folk stars for the summer music festivals, and they give them public money for the funding. We try to discourage it, but it's hard since they are very populist.

**JK:** In which neighbourhood of Skopje are you born and how was cultural life in your neighbourhood?

**RA:** I was not born in Skopje, I was born in Valandovo, which is a small city of 5.000 inhabitants. The central institution in this town was the cultural centre, and this was "the light for everything". In this institution, there were some exhibitions but they were of very bad quality. That is the reason why I picked literature, plus I had a good professor and this is how it entered into my artistic way of life. It made me come to Skopje at the age of 16, and when I came to Skopje I was overwhelmed with cultural life. The cultural life in Skopje in the 1990s was pretty much linked with the old system, which meant that there was an active audience to the shows and the program. In my view, it was much better than the one of today. At the end of the 1990s, I worked as a cultural journalist, so I remember there were at least 10-15 events from Monday to Friday, and each of them had 300 to 500 visitors. For the time being it was great.

Tuesday and Thursday were considered exhibition nights. One group moved from exhibition to exhibition but there were newcomers too. In 1998 the system was changed by the right-wing party and they wanted to refresh the system by appointing new directors. The new directors brought new people and from then we have the spoiled system. The state had scars and the quality dropped. On another side, we have individual institutions that perform great because of their capacities. Moreover, Valandovo, is a small town, with a large Roma and Turkish community, but there was a mix in the social system. For instance, I was one of the best students in my class but I was always seated next to a person of Roma ethnicity. My social role was stimulated by my teacher, and this role was that I should mix with Roma and Turkish people from low and marginal bases so that I could be an example to them. I am not sure that the system is like that anymore. Starting from my arrival in Skopje, it was easier for me to mix with the inter-cultural society which is part of my beliefs.

## “WE WANTED ARCHITECTURE TO BE SOMETHING MORE”

November 13, 2019

Mr Mušič architectural studio, 18:00h – 20:00h

Marko Mušič (1941, Ljubljana), architect, vice-president of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, SAZU  
Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Mr Mušič at his architectural studio located on the last floor of a building in the centre of the old city of Ljubljana on a cold winter day. At the point when I arrived on the last floor, I was pleasantly surprised to see the number of drawings and models Mr Mušič had. Moreover, he kindly greeted me and showed enthusiasm to conduct the interview.

**JK:** How did you experience living and working in Yugoslavia?

**MM:** Jana, it's quite important to take into consideration the larger context. I can personally testify regarding the situation. The strange thing was that with all the problems that we faced back in the days, as a country that was destroyed after World War II and with all those political doctrines that came after the war, the situation remained strong and certain. I think that culture even before the war, and in the period between WWI and WWII was on an impressively high level and diverse in all of the various environments of the new Yugoslavia. For example, there was one strong cultural environment in Zagreb, another one in Belgrade, and Ljubljana especially in the field of architecture, but in other fields as well. Here, we had Jože Plečnik and his school. Zagreb had Viktor Kovačić, and his protagonist, Belgrade also had its protagonists etc. I believe this continuity transferred after the war too.

I am very interested in the context of architecture too. Also, I am interested in the period when I was working. I was very young in comparison to the other architects who emerged in that period, like Georgi Konstantinovski and Zlatko Ugljen. That is another fragment. I ask myself how it's possible that this *ideal creative fragmentation* occurred at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. This particular creative ambience couldn't come out of anywhere, there must be some particular reason somewhere. My view on the matter is that the politics after World War II had a tough task to occupy themselves with work and with more important things. They simply did not have the time and the power to intervene in the field of architecture. Maybe this applies to other types of arts as well, excluding the ones that were in the USSR somehow banned, like abstract art etc. After the war, there is an extraordinary fragmentation for the sculptors. They created a lot, and they commissioned as much as they wanted after the war, but only the realism sculptors were able to do that. If you analyze the same thing later, in the period when I am working (the end of the 1960s), you will witness one big shift. Some sculptors like Dušan Džamonja became abstract artists. They started to create sculptures that previously only the realist sculptors did - that is one incredible shift.

**JK:** How did that influence your profile as an architect?

**MM:** I will link this with the previous statements. As much as I think about it and I am often asked by people this question since I witnessed that period, politics did not have the time either the interest to mess with architecture. This is the reason why they invited me to take part in the recent exhibition at the *Museum of Modern Art*, MoMA. Furthermore, I think that the political leaders in World War II and maybe even before that were quite often prominent architects or people related to culture (luckily). For example, you have Bogdan Bogdanović who is a war hero, who was injured in the war and who was a friend of Tito. He was an exceptional personality who after the war said to Tito and the other politicians on the top: “Listen architecture is significant, we will do like this and that”, and they trusted him.

In Zagreb this person was Vjenceslav Richter, he was also involved in the *National Liberation War*, a *NOB* hero, an exceptional architect and a graphic designer. Those people, and Juraj Neidhardt in Sarajevo, had quite a lot of significance. We have the father of Zlatko Ugljen also. Everywhere, there was the creation of young architects - creators who had a close relationship with the top of the political establishment, and not with some municipal secretaries, but directly with Tito. In literature, you have the example of Miroslav Krleža. Tito and Krleža were very close. Ok, Miroslav Krleža thought that it will bring him the *Nobel Prize*, but I believe that was the reason he did not receive it. However, Tito and Krleža were always together. There are other examples, and they are interesting facts that are hard to explain, although there is the logic behind it. In Slovenia, there was the case of the students of Plečnik, who in the war took the highest positions and highest military ranks, like professor Hilc for example. We all talked during our studies about how he saved Tito's life during the war. He was physically there, close to all that. He was from the school of Plečnik. There were other people too [kulturnika] who were also very close to *NOB* veterans, who gained high ranks, and at the end of the war already had established influence. I can't say that Bogdan Bogdanović had an impact on the politicians, but even they were listening to him. This is a phenomenon.

After the war, there is a creation of a climate that cannot immediately give birth to fruits. Ten years and even more was needed, so in the middle of the 1960s, those fruits could be harvested. In the sculpture area – they labelled the so-called 'realistic sculpture' as some non-sense portraits and sculptures of failed partisans or mother who cry etc. Then, the contemporary global sculptor was born. This was very nicely represented in the exhibition of *MoMA*. That also occurred in architecture in one incredible way. People who had contact with politicians could influence and convince them that - architecture is significant for politics, for the people and for the feeling of life happiness meaning that the house, space and that city was worthy of having a war. They somehow succeeded to talk to the milieu of politicians who did not have the chance to have expertise in the field of culture after the war. They had other enormous problems in the years after the war. The statement was that architecture is one significant element that can help politics to become closer and more pleasant to the people, and for them to start to believe in socialism. In the mid-1960s, at the beginning of the 1970s, 20 years after the war, I figure out something more - those people made architecture closer to the politicians and the ideology since they said architecture will somehow bring the ideology closer. The ideology somehow understood that it is important for its success. I know this period precisely because I entered the scene at that time.

Those people succeeded with one tool in their hands, the institution of public anonymous competitions. The public anonymous competition was the main drive or the main activator of one creative voltage that becomes incredible. What is very interesting is that with the competitions, especially the big ones, the Yugoslav ones, all of the environments of Yugoslavia were connected. It was clear in the jury that there should be someone from Zagreb, from Ljubljana, from Belgrade, from all of the republics. It was clear that one jury, who is composed of those experts from different schools and different environments had to be objective. You couldn't find five friends that will vote for you since they came from Zagreb, Skopje or any other city. That was one *phenomenal fragmentation* which unfortunately stopped around the end of the 1980s. They shut down the local competitions in each of the republics. They started one trend with the new architects which did not succeed in maintaining this incredible fragmentation. There were no Yugoslav competitions any more.

**JK:** How was quality achieved?

**MM:** I will come back to the fragmentation of the 1960s. At one moment there was a huge amount of competitions that opened for significant buildings. Those Yugoslav competitions had great juries, they were all professors, and eminent architects from each of the independent republics. We had these competitions and there was the fact that if you win, you will be the one who realizes the project. This was a big thing. We destroyed that in Slovenia now, if you win in the competition you won't be the one who realizes the project. These are some new strange things.

Some will say that the architects in Yugoslavia were not informed what of was happening in the world. Yes, Yugoslavia was cut from the west in a way, but the architects knew exactly what was happening. The literature was here, some institutions had up-to-date magazines and books, we travelled a lot to the west, especially in Scandinavia etc. Georgi Konstantinovski went to the USA for example. So, it's not true that they didn't know what was happening outside of Yugoslavia. They had one advantage to the west. This advantage was that they had complete freedom. They found themselves in this space – where they could do whatever they wanted. That is how the jury also chose the winners. It was not about how the building was thermally stable or whatever but about who had the best idea, the quality that has to impact the people and to give people (when we refer to the public buildings) some feeling of grandiosity and homeliness. The Yugoslav competitions started to produce incredible projects. So, in each of the republics, there were talents. For example, in Sarajevo Juraj Neidhardt and the younger generation - Halid Muhasilović, Zlatko Ugljen, and Ivan Štraus etc.

**JK:** What was different to be an architect in Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje etc.?

**MM:** It was a completely different situation because of tradition. The tradition was extremely important, I believe that the younger generation does not understand (or you don't understand) it as something positive. The parole *brotherhood and unity* and the notion that we are all Yugoslavs and equal is something completely different, don't mix them. I am referring to tradition – since all of the republics had a history in a cultural sense. This wave was formed between World War I and World War II. The Zagreb architectural school with Viktor Kovačić had its specifics that are close to *Bauhaus*, to the European architects. A lot of Zagreb students studied in Europe. Drago Ibler for example. The Belgrade school had specifics that they respect the form a lot. The form is very expressive, look at the work of Bogdan Bogdanović.

We had Skopje with its tradition. When I worked on the University Campus I lived there for a year, and I saw that it is a city with significant architectural tradition. Unfortunately, because of the earthquake, a lot of those buildings were destroyed. In the renewing by Kenzo Tange, a lot of those structures were destroyed but that's another question. When we refer to Ljubljana, you have Jože Plečnik with his school, and it's not only him but some young architects who worked with Le Corbusier, like Marjan Tépina, Edvard Ravnikar, Juraj Neidhardt from Sarajevo etc. This is even before the war. Even for me, it's very hard to understand this. You see that it is very complex and very connected. This enormous wave of culture that occurred even before the war had the role of overcoming the horrible consequences of the war. It has its protagonists. For example, Janko Konstantinov in Skopje. In Zagreb and Ljubljana, there was a whole group of excellent architects, including the older generation that even before the war was super informed.

**JK:** Were the artists somehow influenced by the architects?

**MM:** It's wrong to think like that. For example, I was by myself when I worked on competitions dedicated to some of the monuments. There were some projects at the beginning in which I collaborated with Drago Tršar. I also collaborated with other sculptors. My conclusion was that the projects were not so good. It resulted in a surrogate of two authors since each of them has some personal ideas. For the monument in the village of Kozara (we won 2nd place) I learned a lot from Drago Tršar, who became a professor back then, he was an excellent sculptor. I was against that. What happened in real-time was that the sculptor made a cake and around that cake the architect worked on the ambience, the spaces for experiencing, places for a walk and places for records to understand the whole piece. With time I realised that it is very wrong and I hated it later. I only worked by myself afterwards.

Like that, I won Jajce – an enormous competition and project. I won the competition without collaborating with a sculptor. The president of the jury, Bogdanović said that this is the high peak of Yugoslavian architecture. In the newspapers, the association of the partisans and other groups wrote stories about how unhappy they were because of it. They were against my projects since there was no sculptor involved. You have to understand that conceptualism

was there. For conceptualism, it's clear that the sculpture is an artefact that you locate somewhere, the concept by itself is significant. With the offered concept you have to understand the tragedy of the concentration camps and the horrible killings which occurred in Jajce, where a lot of people suffered. Later there was an enormous competition for Teharje, Teharje is in Slovenia. Originally that was a German site, where the Germans prepared during the war. At the end of the war, the place became empty.

**JK:** So, you saw the relationship with conceptualism?

**MM:** There was a sculptor there, but I won without the collaboration of a sculptor. The public discourse was full of complaints, critique came from everybody - from the cultural field, from the church etc. "How is it possible to win without a sculptor?". However, from today's perspective, it's clear that the sculptures wouldn't be able to keep up with the times. They are passing their time so easily. They are not long-lasting. Architecture is eternal. That is how that creative fragmentation started in the mid-1960s. As a student, I won one of the competitions in Zagreb for those cultural houses and later I specialised myself in them. Every region that is considered underdeveloped received money to build them. There were a lot of competitions, I participated in around twenty-three of them. Around five of those competitions were realised, for example, the Kolašin one, in Bosnia.

**JK:** Did that attempt come from the state?

**MM:** The country gave money and politically organised the idea to develop some of the underdeveloped regions, like Kolašin which is a region in Montenegro (it's still underdeveloped today). There were important events that occurred there in the time of the war. They gave us money so that we can build some universal hall, a little museum, a small library. Nothing was with political background or with bad intention. It was not a communist memorial for the party. NO! it was completely logical. Maybe there was some template of the program for those cultural houses, who were built massively. Maybe the link was that there was a Workers club in Russia—the task of the architect Melnikov if you remember him. He built some of them, later some were destroyed. I recently saw a beautiful book about them, at an exhibition in Vienna. Maybe the idea came from there, to build for example a cultural house in Šamac that does not have anything. One lost location, between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to say let's build a cultural centre there. They were given names of projects like memorial houses, but that's not important. What was important there was what was inside of them. They said we need one universal hall - for the theatre, for the cinema, for a concert, maybe we need a sports hall as well. At the core, we need a small museum, a library, and we need an educational centre.

**JK:** Were the architects the ones who were building them?

**MM:** Yes, there was a group of architects which were specialised in that period. They were able to construct a program for those cultural centres. They were doing that very carefully by calculating the square meters. In the competition framework, you needed to follow those m<sup>2</sup>, the program etc. You could change something but still, it needed to be within the framework.

**JK:** Did the initiative come from the architect or the state?

**MM:** The architects initiated this. They had some support from the state in the sense that it also wanted to participate so that one environment can affirm itself politically. So, the state organised all that. There were these *Building Committees* [*Odbore za Izgradnju*], which always had one high profile political figure on the top of their hierarchy. There was always a member that is from the presidency of Yugoslavia, a People's Hero or a member of the Federation.

It was a pleasure to work with those people because they believed that you know what should be done. This is the best thing that can happen to one architect (laugh). The investor trusts you in what should be done. He doesn't know. He only knows that one building should be made with a program and the building should be given some political name, to show the people that somehow the periphery is rising even more. This was a grand idea. You had one political structure which was in preparation to construct a cultural house in North Bosnia and at the top Cvijetin Mijatović, the husband of the actress Mira Stupica. He was one cultivated human being. On one occasion he waited for me to come from Ljubljana with a plane, while he was the Chairman of the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia. He waited for me at the airport since his bodyguards could not recognise me, he waited personally to take me on his plane, so we can travel to Sarajevo or somewhere else.

**JK:** Was that because of developed mutual trust?

**MM:** Yes, he was one highly cultivated man, who knew that the architect knows what he is doing. I never had a problem with any one of them. Today I have 1000 problems with every fool. There was not even one problem in that societal political structure, [*drustveno politicke stukture*] which was the official investor for the construction of a project. I don't remember one conflict. I will tell you another thing, which will probably shock you as it shocked others. At the end of the 1970s, the info bureau took a strong offensive in the communist party, which needed to strengthen its role. It occurred in one complicated international situation for Yugoslavia. Everyone became a subject for examination. Everybody was re-examined, who is who, and who is in the party of communists, who is not etc.

I was 27 years old when I started working on a project for the University in Skopje. With the university, everything was very simple since the 'comity for building' was formed by eminent professors – and there was no political connotation. This one was one excellent collaboration. When I am referring to those cultural houses, the political figures were the investors and at the top of the committees. The committees at the top of their hierarchy had one political figure – a highly 'cultivated' Yugoslav man. It was a political project – the party built it. The money was from the state – it gave the money and it cared about the building process. The committee was one political structure. The architects - eminent professors were on the sixth or seventh places in that lists of the members of the committee. The architect's profession is only at the end important, on top of the list it is the political core.

I was very young when I started, and there wasn't a time that someone would say – Mušič how are you not a party member yet you are building a political project. No one. Everybody knew that I am not a party member. No one disputed that. For example, if Mijatović had trouble with some fool – some local party secretary that would ask him why the architect (me) is not inside the party, Mijatović would invite me to dinner and he would say: "Listen, Marko, I understand I understand no worries about your status". If they asked me to be a party member, I would agree – why not? No one dared to ask, no one even mentioned it. How was it possible for Mušič to be the main creator of a political project and not be a member of the party. The party members had the parole – you are with us or you are not!

**JK:** Did you advised the politicians, beyond the architectural ones?

**MM:** No, never. I sometimes attended those party sessions with other highly political figures from Belgrade – but they were rare. I was never consulted for a political decision, but no one requisitioned my architectural motives. Some local architects wrote critics about my projects but that was it. So, to sum up - It was one ideal period for creation. That's how our architects created.

**JK:** Where was the role of kitsch?

**MM:** At that time, there was very little kitsch. I believe your generation of architects has a very wrong opinion on what Yugoslavia represented in those 15-20 years after World War II. It was one very primitive and even strict country with a lot of problems. The situation was devastating in cities and the country in general. It was indeed under the influence of Soviet cultural politics. People could not believe that in Yugoslavia there were so many international music festivals organised, which were not in the western countries. For example, the neo-avant-garde film festival in Novi Sad, with the actor Dušan Makavejev. There were exhibitions, like the Biennial of Graphic Arts, where authentic artists emerged from Ljubljana, and some of them afterwards became global stars.

You had the art that was influenced by realism, and in one moment the abstract art penetrates the work of Miodrag B. Protić, in Belgrade. Protić had his role in NOB, and after the war, he became the director of the modern gallery. With architect Ivan Antić they built this incredible museum in New Belgrade. You need to understand that this is a complex situation. You have one incredible artist who is from a global format – which politicians could hate, but he has been in the war with them and he was marked as on their side. Petar Lubarda is a NOB significant figure that after the war focused on abstract paintings. In Belgrade Protić, Lubarda and Richter positioned abstract art in paintings, quite early on. Their only problem was the literature. It was a problem because it was under censorship until the end of Yugoslavia.

You won't believe that in 1991 – 1992 – 1993 the censorship was still active in Ljubljana. Now you can see the documents from the archives that show that the censors were prominent writers. Some for money and others for the party were writing documents against their colleagues. It was an ideal time for architects since a lot of money was invested there. We built galleries, houses of culture, and universities with the big Yugoslav competitions. The kitsch came from the USA since nothing positive came from there. I will say that until the 1980s there was not kitsch at all.

**JK:** Were architects paid well?

**MM:** Excellent! I lived from receiving prizes in architectural competitions for a long time. I worked as a student in those competitions and some of them were paid very well. You have to take into consideration that it's hard to know what a good salary in Macedonia is, and what a good salary in Sweden is. In general, it was paid well. The problem was when you win a competition, there was a policy which said that if you win the competition you can build the project, but the projects that had individual architects as winners had a problem registering a company to realise the project. There was this component that regulated our status as 'free cultural workers'. I had no chance to realise a project since I needed to give the project to some company. The country wanted all companies to be state companies. That was the obstacle. So, I brought work to these companies.

**JK:** Did you draw by hand as a student?

**MM:** No, I loved to draw even before. I was inspired by my father who drew excellent. Also, many students from the Plečnik school were excellent painters. Sometimes I also travelled with my father since he became a consultant for UNESCO and that inspired me even more. I saw how beautifully he drew. The drawing was alpha and omega from the start.

**JK:** Something that today would seem extraordinary but was normal in Yugoslavia? How was this achieved?

**MM:** It was the overall mantra. That was the vision: "Architecture has to be the main core of one project". I am not talking only about the art form as a visual component, some extravagant form, yes that was significant too, but I am talking about architecture as a whole, as a space for people. Space where you have some experience, a space that accepts your rising, and a space that leads you. As architects, we were competing with ourselves in the authenticity of our projects. I wanted my project to be different from another project, and everyone was seeking personal authentic-

ity, one uniqueness, or let's say one individuality. After all the years we learned who worked in those competitions. I can recognise the language of Ivan Štraus. Every creator had their vocabulary and their language. It was great.

The fact you said at the beginning is true. We wanted architecture to be something more. The quality was to experience the space, the architecture to be emitted in a larger space, to form it, and to have the same aspects in the interior too. When I was in New York, for the exhibition of MoMA, the world was shocked, they did not know this architecture was possible. In the west, there were entire periods where nothing occurred in the field of architecture. In the USA for example, they built a lot but there was not a lot of good architecture, there were a few architects only. Even today it's like that there.

Remember that it was different because every politician knew, for example, what Štraus is doing, or that Konstantinovski was building the *Dormitory Goce Delcev*. Politicians were informed for example that Bogdan is working on a monument in Jasenovac. The Architecture was IN. It was something that everybody discussed. It is super interesting that we had all those architectural editions, magazines, and newspapers that don't exist today. Like *Man and Space* [*Covek i Prostor*] and *Architecture* in Zagreb, *Architecture and Urbanism* in Belgrade, in Sarajevo there was *Arch*, in Slovenia, there was the magazine *Sinteza*, *Architectural Bulletin* etc, many exhibitions etc. To sum up – the architecture was IN. It was the core of what people were interested in and they were talking about it. Today architecture is completely marginalised and no one is interested in it. It changed with the introduction of private capital. The private investor sees the bank in their project. The prices are high for such an approach. This is how in reality we have the worst architecture today.

**JK:** How was quality archived on the level of neighbourhoods? How was the anatomy of the communist neighbourhood planned?

**MM:** That is interesting. I was never fascinated to design housing projects. It was not a challenge for me.

**JK:** Why?

**MM:** There were strict standards about the program. Every square meter was initially prescribed. Those square metres were always on the minimum. There were given constructive systems, there were norms etc., there was the height that was also fixed, the modules, etc. No challenge. I only drew one housing skyscraper in my life.

Other architects worked on the neighbourhoods. They worked until perfection. In a neighbourhood, they planned the central space for schools, kindergartens, education, culture, shops, hospital. Around them, there is housing in greenery. Mobility was also planned very good. We don't have a "neighbourhood" anymore today, they disappeared after the break-up of Yugoslavia. Today, we have buildings that are standing in space in a non-sense manner. Everybody can do whatever they want. There are no urbanists anymore. No one respects the urban plans. This is an absolute monotony in space that you can feel and see. I am not referring to this monotony in a spatial sense but also in a programming sense. You don't have the programs today too.

**JK:** Today we use the concept of creative cities, how was creativity in Yugoslavia treated?

**MM:** First of all, creativity was high. It was not given as a task and it was not specialized only for experts since for example, in the competitions everyone could participate. For the competitions, it was not required to be a licensed architect. It was titled *Basic Yugoslav Competition* [*Opsti Jugoslovenski Konkurs*], where everyone could participate - from housewife to bus drivers to peasants could work on their project. Yes, for success you needed to have some

qualifications, but not formal ones. It was more informal since the documents you submitted did not decide if you are good. You needed to convince the jury with your project. The jury was objective. This was the quality control.

**MM:** Who was in your circle of friends?

**JK:** I was never friends with architects. I hated them. (laugh). I was a friend of the musicians since I was also a musician. I play the piano. I was a friend with the dramatic art artists and with the ballet artists - some women who were important to me (haha). Never with the architects. When you have a meeting with an architect it started to get complicated. It is hard to discuss with a colleague, you have your vision, he has his vision. It's nice when you compete, you are both anonymous. I knew all the prominent architects – like Konstantinovski, Štraus, Ugljen only by their names. I never met them in real life. I only met them personally when we became old, around the 1980s. I wanted to be surrounded by artists – like Janez Bernik. I was very young when he called me to work on his house etc. We travelled together towards Bled and there I met a whole circle of artists with whom I wanted to socialize. The debate is deep when it's interdisciplinary. The conversation does not go professionally, but it constructs a network. I wanted to be surrounded by philosophers too. Their wide-open view on questions was interesting for all of us. The meetings with the architects were poor. Architecture is one big philosophy, without architecture philosophy can't exist. Architecture can't be successful, and any building can't pass even as a medium if it is not philosophically thought beyond. The architect who wants to be a good creator [stvaralac] must know philosophy perfectly. Not just the basics.

**JK:** Should we mention Praxis which was active in philosophy?

**MM:** Yes. They were powerful because they were always connected with philosophers outside of Yugoslavia and they regularly had seminars, symposiums. Milovan Đilas was very significant, a member of Praxis.

**JK:** Building for culture is interesting because there is no standardization.

**MM:** Exactly, it's not a hospital or housing. A cultural centre – like the University in Skopje is an amazing challenge. Firstly, the concept is very important and how you distribute three faculties with enormous square meters. We are talking about 40.000 – 50.000 m<sup>2</sup>. How are you going to create the main square that connects them? How are you going to connect and disconnect the public part where all meetings occur, from the amphitheatres that are semi-public and some intimate segments for seminars, the library, the space for the professors. That was the challenge. You have this whole diverse palate of programs and parts of the buildings. Some are extroverts like the hall, and the academic hall that needs to say “come inside people, you are welcome here”, the info point, the meeting point. I was so happy to see people seating on those terraces. They were full of students. That is one extrovert ambience and they lead you towards the amphitheatres that are a more intimate space. On the other side, everything is introvert, the lecture rooms, the offices for the staff etc. So, the question of communication was quite significant. They are enormous challenges. You give space that offers young people to start their imagination early on and to motivate them. It was not a cold airport building or a hospital.

**JK:** Did those buildings have relations with the city?

**MM:** Sure. The public buildings were emitting that culture in wider space. That was the quality of those buildings for culture.

## “WE ARE THE REAL HEIRS OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION”

February 14, 2020

Lobby in Hotel *Moscow*, Belgrade, 14:30h-15:45h

Jerko Ješa Denegri, (1936, Split) art historian, curator at the *MCA*, and professor at *Faculty of Philosophy* at the *Department of Art History*

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Mr Denegri in the lobby of Hotel Moscow in Belgrade, on a cold winter day. The warm attitude of Mr Denegri quickly opened the floor for interesting discussion. While conducting the testimonial, several other people passed by to greet Mr Denegri.

Jana before we start, I want to tell you that in Macedonia I have contact with several amazing people. I can mention Sonja Abadziewa Dimitrova, Boris Petkovski who is the co-founder of the *MCA*. Also, Zoran Petrovski and Nebojša Vilic. Zoran Petrovski, was a historian of art, and Nebojša Vilic came to us to conduct his doctorate at the time when I was a professor at the *Faculty of Philosophy* in Belgrade. He worked in some non-governmental institution, I believe it was linked to Soros or something similar. He has a Serbian name and surname, but by origin, he is from Skopje and he is Macedonian. I knew many artists from there, those were my connections with Skopje. Those people were always very pleasant, very nice, when I was working at the *MCA* here in Belgrade, we had connections with the *MCA* in Skopje. We exchanged exhibitions, and we attended their exhibition openings too.

**JK:** Was there an exchange between the republics?

**JD:** For sure, these people often lived here in Belgrade. Today it is completely different. However, I have to say that was one cultural space, we can say decentralized but still one space – one country. This made these connections ordinary or regular.

**JK:** Where was your first professional employment?

**JD:** My first employment was at the *MCA*. Recently, there was the exhibition of Marina Abramović, and that was an occasion that brought many people from the region together again. I worked there from 1965, which is even before the building was completed. At the time, the building was in the process of construction, and it was opened in October 1965. There, I worked as a curator for 25 years. Later, I moved to the *Faculty of Philosophy* and I became a professor until my retirement, which was ten years ago. Since then, I am a pensioner (haha).

**JK:** How was the ambience in Belgrade in 1965?

**JD:** I came to study in Belgrade from Split (since I was born in Split). Coming to Belgrade as the big city, with permanent events that were happening from the morning until sunset was something else. There was diversity in those events, from sport to all other ordinary ones. I really liked Belgrade, and since I found an opportunity, I stayed here, I also got married here (haha). The ambience was incredible since the 1960s were a decade on the rise. This elevation was – material, spiritual and even political. In this ambience, the museum was created. It was a great privilege to have the chance to work there. I also developed relations with other cultural centers, like Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo became very interesting centres, even Skopje became interesting (especially after the earthquake that occurred in

1963). They established the *MCA* which originated under some initiative that after the earthquake in Skopje a new institution should be built— *MCA*. Thankfully to that earthquake, the museum was born. This initiative came from the artists directly. In that manner, Boris Petkovski was the first director, and there were a couple of young people around him.

**JK:** Did the ambience evolve by collaboration?

**JD:** The collaboration among museums, was in principal - we bring Serbian art to them, and later they organize a Macedonian art exhibition in Belgrade. It was within the republic borders, and for sure among the republic centres. The interesting thing that occurred with that was the understanding of the Yugoslav space of culture when we opened the question: what is that? I needed to mention this also. The last time I was in Skopje, I gave a lecture by invitation from Prof. Velickovski, at the *Faculty of Philosophy*. The contacts were not only among the museums but also among the various university departments, even though the countries were already independent. My last visit was in 2006, so many years passed since then.

**JK:** What was the difference to be a curator in Skopje, Belgrade, and Sarajevo for example?

**JD:** The difference was huge, since our museum had a new building, and at that time the museums were creating their own collections and permanent exhibitions. The museums worked for many Yugoslav exhibitions and for representing Yugoslavia at the *Biennale of Venice* or the *Biennale of Sao Paolo*. One year, the museum in Skopje got the opportunity to be the organizer of the Yugoslav performance at the *Biennale of Venice*, which was somewhere in the 1980s. From Belgrade, the artists were Predrag Nesković, Dragan Morović etc. The museum was one very active institution. We also engaged with science. We also did retrospective exhibitions of the 1920s, 1930s etc. Many contemporary exhibitions were showed, and among them, there was also Macedonian artists, like Petar Hadzi Boskov, Petar Mazev, Dušan Percinkov, Tanas Lulovski, Gligor Čemerski, Risto Kalcevski, Dimitar Kondovski, Aneta Svetijeva. I am sure there were more, and we were all somehow connected, we formed one scene, we felt that we are colleagues from the same institution, we had many informal meetings too. The museum also bought some of their art, and we had them in our collections. This is the period from the 1960s up until the end of the 1970s. After that many changes occurred which rearranged how things were done, like a change of the museum props, change of a generation which was inevitable and new people came. We needed to establish new contacts all over the republics, and I am not sure if we succeeded.

**JK:** What were the cultural hotspots in Belgrade?

**JD:** The *MCA* and the *Salon of the MCA* where contemporary exhibitions occurred too. The advantage of Belgrade was that it was the capital city of Yugoslavia, and the cultural politics were that Belgrade played a role of a mediator between Yugoslavia and many other countries. This was organized with the help of something that was called – *Commission for cultural relations abroad*. With their help, Yugoslavia signed acts for intercountry cultural exchange. In that exchange, we received exhibitions, which normally we wouldn't be able to receive (financially and logistically) since those countries were our partners, and in return to some of those countries, our exhibitions were sent to them. I personally worked on this. There was one exhibition which was sent on a tour in Germany, Luxembourg, in Belgium for example the artist Petar Hadzi Boskov, and the Macedonian artist who lived in Zagreb - Ordan Petlevski etc. So, to work in my profession was an international activity on a daily basis.

At one moment, which later became a legend in Belgrade, there was the activation of the gallery *Youth House* (YH), [*Дом Омладина* (ДОМ)]. Also, the gallery of the *SC*. The gallery booms came a little later in Sarajevo. Another one was the *SCC*, which became very active in the 1970s. There was one researcher from Austria, who learned Serbian for this occasion. Her doctorate was published in Vienna. Imagine the significance of this space. Thankfully, we could

receive Picasso, German expressionism, Italian futurism, exhibitions from Paris. I wrote a book about the exhibitions that occurred between 1965 – the 1990s. Belgrade was the capital city, and an important destination for the *Non – Aligned Movement*, so our partners felt that it's very important to exhibit here. Some of those exhibitions went to the other Yugoslav centers, some had independent activities mainly in Zagreb and Ljubljana. Skopje participated in this when the building of the MCA was built since you really need an institution that will be able to organize these exhibitions and experts who will work on them. Overall, it was one fulfilled period.

The difference we can say was the political position, and the interests of those environments there - to exhibit something from their ongoing projects and values here. We are only talking about art. If we talk about other areas, like what made Belgrade famous, it was *BITEF*, one incredible movie festival. That additionally created one very intensive cultural life, including art, literature etc. It will be very hard to recreate this again. I usually don't want to say this to young people, because this could mean that I am a pessimist. Let's say that this did not only happen because of some particular people. In time other centers including Skopje developed their own initiatives, activities etc.

**JK:** Do you think people became more active?

**JD:** They consumed this infrastructure – at the *YH*, and especially when *SCC* was opened (it was open 24/7). There, youth pop culture evolved, like some rock groups, like the *New Wave* etc. The generations who were 'activate' there, gained more knowledge from there than by studying at the Faculty or at the Academy, etc. I think this was done on a big scale. Maybe that energy can be transferred to some other places, in which the young people today are socializing but certainly not in the same manner and not in those places. In another hand, the museum was one specialized institution with a budget directly from the Republic of Serbia. This opened many questions after the 1990s: whether it was a Federal Institution or a Republic institution. If it was a Federal one - there would be a problem with ownership etc.

**JK:** Did the ambience evolve?

**JD:** A lot of time has passed. I can only talk about half a century ago. So many events happened, I have a feeling that I lived 3 or 4 lives, not only one (haha). This is not subjective fiction but it is really like that. We have to understand the Yugoslavian cultural space, I worked on this topic. I believe that these questions will be interesting to you – what is the Yugoslav scene? You need to start to detect that. This was a sensitive topic, not many people found it easy to collaborate when we are talking from the stance of cultural politics or even just pure politics. We can ask the question: How was that scene constituted? Is the scene unique? Is the term 'Yugoslav art' and 'Yugoslav culture' legitimate terminology? and if we are able to take this burden off of our shoulders. I wanted to introduce the term, which I thought would be beneficial to others too – Yugoslav cultural space or Yugoslav artistic space. This would mean that we are talking about a unified area since it's one country, we used languages which could be understood aside from the differences, we also used the same currency which meant that we can buy art with the same type of money. At the same time, it's also clear that the different environments had their own specifics, that life in them is formed by specific relations and that it is one homogenous space, but at the same time decentralized.

In practice that meant: the things that occur in Skopje should not be in the shadow or in the second plan to what occurred in Belgrade or Zagreb. It had to have the same significance, because the protagonists for what happened in Skopje, the people who lived there too, the scene which they formed, they had the right to it, and no one should give them the framework of acting or the criteria for valorizing etc. In my opinion, it was the only relevant concept that the Yugoslav space was decentralized. The unification was due to the fact that it occurred in the same country, and this country in the outside world represented itself as homogenous under the name Yugoslavia. When we were exhibiting at the *Biennale of Venice*, for the foreign artists it was completely irrelevant whether the artists were Croatian, Serbian or Macedonian. They saw the label of Yugoslavia, they saw the artist's work and its quality. We can see that on our territory this was one neurotic situation, which was usually resolved in the *Commission for cultural relations abroad*.

They had representatives from all of the six or seven republics. The problems there were not easy to resolve at all, they continued with the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. This included Macedonia with all its problems until it resolved them, as North Macedonia. I know for sure that they had the feeling they are marginalized in comparison to the other centers like Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Our Macedonian colleagues, historians of art, the artists, had the feeling that they are a second plan to the centers that had more developed institutions, especially before the *MCA* was established. I know for sure that they had the feeling they are marginalized in comparison to the other centers like Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Our Macedonian colleagues, historians of art, the artists, had the feeling that they are a second plan to the centers that had more developed institutions, especially before the *MCA* was established.

**JK:** Did it come to this because there was more tradition in Zagreb and Belgrade?

**JD:** That's another relevant question. It's how domestic traditions influenced the valorization of the debate that caused so much struggle. Do we need to look to local traditions which are very ancient and rooted? Or do we need to go 'up to date', which have more international character. In regards to this question, we have a lot of polemics even today. The question is what is needed here, whether the tradition where we have relations with some historical moments, or we need the latest trends in art. For this, you can only ask the artists. There were thousands of problems, but those problems could be resolved in a more tolerant atmosphere.

**JK:** How did this reflect the other environments?

**JD:** For example, this is why the museum in Macedonia was built. There could be two motives – the first could be that we have to have a museum, and our work instead of being in galleries, should be in a museum where it can be represented as a cultural good of our environment. The second could be, we need one active dynamic space with a professional institutional background to connect and put us in contact as artists from this environment with other centers. Without that museum, they could collaborate only on a federal level – through the *Comitee of Yugoslav Artists* with other artists from Yugoslavia, which was one Stalinist way of collaboration. That approach would be top to bottom, this collaboration would be selective and not highly professional. Then, the museum was established. Also, without the museum – Macedonian art could not be placed outside of the borders. That's why every environment had its own museum. Our problem in Belgrade was whether the museum was Yugoslav or not. If it was Yugoslav, why is it not Serbian. If it was Yugoslav it would mean that it would leave less space for the Serbian artists. Some extreme circles often had those nationalistic visions or values. They constantly criticized that the museum has to be Serbian and its activity - Serbian art. There were so many problems.

**JK:** Was this a part of the political discourse?

**JD:** Yes, you need to see the political aspect too. It's a history that occurred in all of the Yugoslav environments - the crisis of the Yugoslav socialist self-management came, and then the crisis of the *NAM* too. It was followed in most of the environments especially when they started to occur in Slovenia and then Croatia or the political choices that were going towards the independence of those environments. Another thing was the death of Tito, even though there was a parole 'after Tito – Tito', it was clear that it's not the same story. Something happened and the political problems came. The same questions were asked: what is Yugoslav cultural space? In Serbia Aleksandar Ranković was put aside, in Croatia – the Croatian spring occurred. Macedonia was special, they were doing great in the 1990s, they did not have a war on their territory. The country could have problems on the inside but the politicians were stable, like Lazar Mojsov, Vasil Tupurkovski, they weren't advocates of some special separatism. They did not force it in the first plan. Also, they did not have problems as Bosnia had, but I am sure that the war in Bosnia left traces on the cultural and artistic scene in Skopje too.

Belgrade became one isolated scene, they were not in contact anymore and there were theories— what is an art to a closed society in a time of globalization. The Serbian society was a closed society since all the connections with the international scene were shut down. This is another enormous thematic. After the 1990s, a new generation came, and this generation wanted to work on their integrity being present on the international scene. They are currently fighting for themselves, they feel like they need to obtain their chance, and they are scared that they will be surpassed by time. That gave them dynamics in those heavy moments, not only in the art circles but also in people circles too. People have to survive. Institutions that are formed need to be maintained, besides the fact that everything has been changed including the people that are employed there, they have to continue working etc.

**JK:** How did philosophy play a role in all of this?

**JD:** This is important. It was a hot topic in Yugoslavia among other topics. The most significant story here is – the *Praxis* philosophy. You have a lot of books, and research on this. What was the *Praxis* philosophy? It became visible in some international scenes, not only because of the ideas but also because of some events that happened here. It said that philosophers will be the most important people in the world. You have the *Korčula Summer School* which was attended among others by Herbert Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno and all the important philosophers from that time. Those philosophers were establishing themselves as new – neo-Marxist philosophers, which saw Yugoslavia as the core for their ideas. They are independent intellectuals, but they didn't see the realization of their visions in the highly developed western society, which tolerates their existence and highly appreciates their work that can't be applied there. When they were coming here, they thought that this is the environment in which their life views can succeed.

**JK:** Is there a relationship between the *Praxis* and the artistic circles?

**JD:** Well, this relationship is not documented directly. It's not that *Praxis* wrote about the artists, architects, or if they visited their lectures. No there is no such thing. Those are two independent sectors, but one thing is in common - they share the culture, the spiritual climate of the time period, and they had something familiar in their goals which were emancipation. The term self-government was even compromised if we can say it like that but in the essence, it suggested the following: you are the one who controls your own life, your own education, your own work and that nothing is forcibly given to you. The idea that someone forces you was an idea that was active in the east. That's why Yugoslavia was interesting at the time, since it was promising, it was holding some utopian idea. A country that gave the promise, and in the end betrayed its own ideas, especially when people understood that it fell apart from those national conflicts. People were shocked - "what is this now? where did this come from?". On one side the promises that they were big and on another the betrayal which was even bigger.

**JK:** What were the inherited narratives from the past that were relevant in the artistic, cultural, and intellectual discourse?

**JD:** After World War II we were close to the model of the USSR. Those relations were significant on the cultural level but also in the spatial and architectural too. From 1945 up until 1950. there is a period that can be classified as *Soc-Realism*. The *Inform Biro* resolution came in 1948, which was a problem with the USSR model. This is the time when one big shift occurred. The intellectuals began to engage with that shift, and in some circles, they thought in the following manner: "What you find here, in this particular environment on the space of Yugoslavia is autochthonic. How can we move away from the model of the USSR?" One big exhibition was organized in 1952 in Paris. The introduction text was written by the writer Miroslav Krleža. He formulated the title *Medieval Art of the Yugoslav Nations*. It's a very important exhibition. I am not sure if you can find the catalogue, but however, he uses the term Yugoslav nations instead of Yugoslavia, which meant that they have different traditions and different religions. It was done in three segments. The first segment was the Medieval frescos from all of the regions. The second was the big

roman and gothic cathedrals on the Croatian coast. The third segment was the Bogomil steps that are a completely different culture, even before these civilization spheres were formed.

From those three models, we can generate what is most authentic about this environment. They formed this story very successfully. To understand how important this was, in 1953 they successfully obtained space to make the exhibition in Paris, at one prominent institution like *Palais Chaillot*. The international public discourse became impressed by it. This was thought by leftie intellectuals who were part of that option, the option that stood with the people's rural battle and was part of the battle against the occupation and against fascism. That great promise that a new epoch came is highly controversial today. It brought one evolution, that back then was titled 'renewal and construction'. That country was devastated after World War II. For example, New Belgrade did not exist back then. In order for it to be built, they constructed it with *youth working actions*. It came as the enthusiasm of one new generation which had a vision. Thousands of young people were working on it for months. This formula also appeared in other environments with a smaller amount of people.

**JK:** Was Krleža the philosophical guru of all this?

**JD:** Krleža was a writer. That type of writing between the two world wars came as one important event, which was called 'the conflict in the literature lefties'. There was a very active conflict inside the left. Not a conflict between the right and the left, but between the left and the pro-communist waves. This generated everything that occurred after World War II. As a result of that conflict, the autonomy of the intellectuals came. The intellectuals were able to create their artwork alone and they had active involvement in what the politics were predestinating. Krleža was a part of that autonomy of the lefty intellectuals, that were engaged by their own will. Politics did not force him to be engaged, he was a liberal free man who is able to decide for himself. When the war was over, that wave received its public presence and it became a dominant force. That is the spirit in which the new institutions were built. The people who worked on the cultural renewal were fans of the so-called Krleža model. Now, if we are discussing if he was a philosopher or a writer, he was nominally a writer. He was a type of intellectual or a type of writer that is not a writer for some closed circles. His literature treats the society and threatens the life of one society that is on the rise. So, it's one enormous dynamic that had oppositional waves. It wasn't homogenous.

**JK:** Where was the place of the Russian avant-garde?

**JD:** This is related to *Zenitism*. Zenitists knew about the Russian avant-garde, but the Zenitist at that time were not mainstream. They were some small apartheid group. The newspaper *Zenit* which was published in the 1920s was published and edited by Ljubomir Micić. At that time even though he was active, no one knew about his work. He died as an anonymous. The phenomena around the world later brought interest on his work. On another side, Russian avant-garde was studied in Yugoslavia. There were people and books that we're studying. The artists and the architects knew about the development of the Russian avant-garde, but on another side, the Russian avant-garde was highly suppressed during the USSR. The Russian avant-garde was a taboo topic in Russia. There is some mythology that it is something very special but not a lot of people knew about it since it was suppressed. There is no literature about it, there is no knowledge about the artists and their work, and their masterpieces are all in bunkers and not in the museums. In time this was explored and received one affirmative position, especially when the term Russian avant-garde became an ideal. For example, Kazimir Malevich and El Lisitzky received affirmation as big artists in the western world as well. The western world realized that those artists were fighting against the USSR ideological views. The west asked the east: "How is it possible that you don't appreciate the best things from your environment? We will support you to acknowledge them in order to demit the current way of seeing the things". In Yugoslavia, they acknowledged it from the start. In the *Zenit* newspaper, there is one whole edition (No.17 -18) that was edited by El Lisitzky. It's not that they translated it or found it somewhere, they wrote it for Micić. In the following editions, there were translations by other authors from the Russian avant-garde.

**JK:** Ginsburg talks about the architecture, the space and the transformations of the city. Was he relevant for our architects?

**JD:** Our circles knew about the architecture of the USSR, they were brought up with that knowledge, but you have to understand that the knowledge was not direct. There is no opportunity to confirm it in this way, but it functions as an ideal to their visions. If we take for example new Belgrade - the ideal was that it's the new society. They thought that the new order came and it needs to build new environments. Our architects had conflicts among themselves and not with others. From one side, they respected the big revolution, but at the same time, they also realized that it has these big repressive elements which are highly intolerant. Expert circles knew all that to a certain extent, but they did not have the opportunity to travel there etc.

One other thing is also under question - what really happened in the USSR at the time? When it came to the conflict between USSR and Yugoslavia, many political circles from here will tell you: "We are the real heirs of the *October Revolution*, and the Stalinists –deformed and betrayed it" That is why they took the references from the most popular Russian avant-garde. In general, you can't take it over directly from their territory but you can translate it in a way if you need to build a New Belgrade. For this idea, you need to mobilize the young people who don't have a clue that the idea of a new city is a big idea of the world revolution. They came to work and to physically place themselves in some new space. The idea – to create new city after all the repressive regimes – such as fascism was also a revolutionary idea at the moment. Therefore, the idea of revolution by building this city could only come from the ideals of the *October Revolution*, which originate from the USSR. We were sure that we are the right inheritors of that idea, and that the USSR are the ones that betrayed it. That is the significance of our area. Who knows if it's really like that. It's never one reference, it's the whole ambience that was colorful. I am talking from a position as someone who was employed at the museum as a curator and as a historian of art etc. Each industry has its own references. Just imagine those who were in the industry of the movie production, when they saw Sergei Eisenstein or any other Russian documentary from the 1920s - they were inspired by the heritage.

**JK:** How was that destroyed? Why was it not developed further than this?

**JD:** This is one painful question. As the 1990s came, the processes followed – the destruction of Yugoslavia and its separation to individual environments. You won't find one consensus on how people interpret it and their viewing point on that. Some will say that we needed to save it, and the others will say we were seen as secessionists that forced the split etc.

**JK:** Why did they have the merging of all activities. For example, in urban planning magazines, there was a lot of art and art tendencies. Why was this synthesis between spatial planning and art?

**JD:** Architecture is the fundamental area since all this has to occur in one physical space. If we didn't have that space, we can't exist. The parole of that period was 'renewal and construction'. The architecture needed to be in the first plan. You need to build physical space such as the sport terrains, hospitals, cultural institutions, or you need to adopt and adapt the already existing spaces inherited from the previous epochs. Look for this reference, it's a very interesting exhibition in Croatia titled *Socialism and Modernity*. The circle that worked on that exhibition had the idea, that modernist architecture and art were established in the context of socialism as a societal order. This is a leftie idea that was not absolutely accepted in that environment. Today, in that environment, they see socialism as a repressive system, the same as they see Nazism and Fascism.

## “THEORETICAL AND ARTISTIC RESERVE”

February 14, 2020

His office, *Faculty of Media and Communication*, Belgrade, 14:30h-15:45h

Miško Šuvaković, (1954, Belgrade), contemporary aesthetic, art theorist and conceptual artist. Professor of Theory at the *Faculty of Media and Communication*.

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Mr Šuvaković at his office, during a busy working day. Despite the intensity of his daily activities, Mr Šuvaković kindly greeted me at his office to conduct his testimonial.

**JK:** Tell me more about yourself?

**MŠ:** I was born in 1954 in Belgrade. More or less I spent my whole life in Belgrade, apart from the ten months that I was in Skopje for army duty, and up to two or three months on professional and private travels. My formation took place in Belgrade. I finished primary school here, and I graduated from the 4th gymnasium of Belgrade. Afterwards, I studied at the *Faculty of Electro-Technical Engineering*. The building was located on the *Boulevard of the Revolution* back then. It is the building of the technical schools. In the same building, other faculties were stationed too, such as the *Faculty of Civil Engineering*, the *Faculty of Architecture* etc. I did my doctoral studies at the *Faculty of the Arts in Belgrade*.

**JK:** So, you shifted from one profession to another?

**MŠ:** Yes, I shifted from one profession to another. My doctoral thesis was in the field of theory of aesthetics in visual arts.

**JK:** What was the trigger to this radical shift?

**MŠ:** The faculty was chosen by chance. I chose it as a nicely groomed Belgrade kid, even before I had my artistic career in the field of visual arts. This was between 1973-1980. The technical field was just because it was close to my family structure. To start at the *Academy of Art* was impossible back then if you belong to the ‘conceptual arts’.

**JK:** Was this linked with the policy that came out in 1970 which was further linked with the opening of *Student Cultural Centre SKC*?

**MŠ:** Yes, our group had the name *SKUP* group. *SKC* was opened in 1971. We were one of the most prominent so-called Belgrade *Six artists*. The group consisted of Marina Abramović, Raša Todosijević, Neša Paripović, Zoran Popović, Radomir Reljić, Gergelj Urkomc. There were ten other groups or individuals with whom we collaborated on some research etc. These collaborations occurred in the framework of the festival *Extended Line* [*Проширена Линија*].

**JK:** So, you got infected with art through SKC?

**MŠ:** Yes, I got infected through SKC. I was a member from 1975 in the conceptual group called *Group 143*.

**JK:** What was the power of SKC back then?

**MŠ:** SKC was a *theoretical and artistic reserve*. In other words, there were exceptional political positions in Socialist Yugoslavia to “Make reserves and development of the new artistic praxis, or even theoretical if you want, and they will be isolated from the public opinion and discourse by being placed in the student and youth houses.”

**JK:** The country opened the path for the alternative?

**MŠ:** Without the country, it would have been impossible. For instance, in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Russia this was private. Here, it was part of the official country politics, and the country guided this ‘balance policy’ between the east and the west. In that ‘balance game’, the country cared to have big controlled art that served the party, the country, and ideology, they were the big monuments of the revolution, the artists like Petar Lubarda in Serbia, or Edo Murtić in Croatia that was working on modern art with socialist ideas. Besides this, there was a constant race with the west, and in this context, it meant support for alternative artistic practices. From one side it was organized through festivals - like the music biennale in Zagreb, or like *BITEF* theatre festival in Belgrade. In that context, it came to the creation of the policy ‘opening of cultural centres’, which will be for the students and for the youth. For example, in Zagreb there was the *Student Centre* [*Студентски Центар*], in Novi Sad it was *Youth Tribune* [*Трибуна Млади*], in Ljubljana it was *Škuc* [*Шкуц*], in Belgrade there was the *Student House* [*Дом Омладине*], the *Student Cultural Center*, [*Студентски Културен Центар*], and later the *Student City*, [*Студентски Град*] was opened too. All those centres, developed their own movie programs, music programs, artistic programs, theoretical or civic political ones in which there was the development of a specific artistic practice.

**JK:** Were those active on the level of the city, the country, or the federation, or even Europe?

**MŠ:** For example, the one in Zagreb and SKC in Belgrade were active on the level of Yugoslavia. They also had larger international activities, foreign artists came there, and foreign theoreticians too. For example, in SKC Stefan Morawski came, one of the leading Polish philosophers and theoreticians, and Joseph Beuys as an artist came too. *Youth House* in Belgrade had a similar program, the one in Zagreb too.

**JK:** Why did you call these institutions *reserves*?

**MŠ:** Inside of them, it was free - you could work and do whatever you want without control, without censorship and without supervision. At the same time, you can exit from these centers, the creations in the institutions for the public were controlled by other institutions. Very often those practices were described by the media as pro-western, pro decadent etc. and from another side, they were financed by the country. This was one of the paradoxes of Socialist Yugoslavia, and playing politics between the east and the west.

**JK:** What was the public discourse for those centres on TV?

**MŠ:** Good question. They were informed about our work but they were always negative, up until the end of the 1970s when a new program was opened called *Friday at 22:00h* or the program *TV Gallery*, led by Dunja Blazević, that was open to these new practices. However up until the 1970s. they were not accessible to public discourse, at least not in a positive sense. This was the case if the opinion didn’t come from the *Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade*, or the *Gallery of Contemporary Art* in Zagreb, or *Modern Gallery* in Ljubljana, or *Museum of Contemporary Art* in Skopje. They were presenting that type of practice, and they presented it as part of some larger context.

**JK:** On a level of the city, do you believe that they were influential? Was there any pre-selection?

**MŠ:** There was no pre-selection, for example, I came there as a high school student and I stayed in that space. Those were open, and they were treated as youth or student cultural spaces. Those spaces were also treated as lower culture in comparison to the upper high culture, which was developed in the museum, in the theatres, etc. That is the same politics which you had in movies. You had the country organize and pay for the movie *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* of Dušan Makavejev, to finance the work of Želimir Žilnik, but those movies you would never watch in the Yugoslav cinema. For example, the *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* in 1969 was financed by the country. It was not possible to shoot a movie if the country doesn't give you a budget for that. I watched that movie in 1976 for the first time at the *Museum of Contemporary Culture* in London, and not in Belgrade. In another word, those movies participated in international festivals and they were projected in international institutions, but they were not shown to the public here. They were shown much later.

**JK:** Why did this ambiguity occur?

**MŠ:** This was that *double game* [dvostruka igra], that was planned. This came with the separation from the Soviets, and a double game politics was guided.

**JK:** Was this because they did not want to be associated with the USSR model?

**MŠ:** Yugoslavia was obsessed with the USA, and it believed it was the USA of the east. That was the general policy. The cultural politics that were implemented at the end of the 1950s and the mid-1960s were alternatives. For example, an exhibition of American abstract expressionism, French modernist abstract art, and then USSR - *Russian Socialist Realism*. In a culture of young people, western culture dominated. The Russian art came sporadically with the *Neo Avant-Garde Movement*. For example, on BITEF, they presented theatrical shows of the Russian Neo Avant-garde, or let's say radical and modernistic authors. On some exhibitions, there was participation from experimental artists. You used the word 'movement', while the most influential experimental group was called *Movement* [Движение]. It was led by Lev V. Nusberg, one of the artists who through the idea of movement, gave an answer to the American, German, and French that they were engaging with experimental art. They had their art at the exhibitions *New Tendencies* in Zagreb, and we worked very well in Belgrade too.

**JK:** Was this a long tradition that was started by the *Zenit* maybe?

**MŠ:** No, there was a huge disconnection between the Avant-garde and the Neo Avant-garde as two separate directions, simply there was no continuity. *Zenit*, stopped being active in 1926, and back then, the *Surrealists* [Надреалистму] had the support of the country. They were members of the communist party of Yugoslavia, they were active in the liberation movement, and later they became active cultural workers that were close to the politicians. The leader of the *Surrealist Movement*, Marko Ristić was the first Socialist Yugoslav Ambassador in France. At one point he was 'turned off' because of his nationalism, and radicalism in the field of Art. He died completely marginalized at a hospital for abandoned old patients in Pančevo in 1971.

**JK:** Can you tell me more about the discontinuity of the Avant-garde?

**MŠ:** The discontinuity of the Avant-garde happened due to World War II and the communist revolution after the disagreement of Socialist Yugoslavia with the USSR, in 1948 or more precisely everything around 1952. Let's say that the people who were leading cultural politics in Yugoslavia, were leaning towards links with prewar modernism

rather than with the Avant-garde. Some of the artists were members of the *German Communist Party* before World War II, and in principle were active in Germany. After World War II they became leaders in the creation of cultural policies. They published several texts in Socialist Yugoslavia which talked about *Socialist Realism*, and they were one of the advocates for *Socialist Realism* as well. At the same time or some year later they published texts in the west that were dedicated to the Neo Avant-Garde.

**JK:** In *Zenit*, they wrote about the Russian Avant-Garde, was there a connection between the two?

**MŠ:** I don't remember that. Maybe in No. 17 which is dedicated to the *Russian Avant-Garde*. *Zenit* was a Yugoslav movement in the time of the Yugoslav royalty. It had a Yugoslav and international character, but in the period before World War II. *Zenit* was established in 1921 and lasted up until 1926. The conflict was present even then. In a way there was a rivalry between the *Surrealists* and the *Zenitists*. The *Surrealists* were Belgrade's rich children, who became communists afterwards. They were educated at the most prestigious and expensive French schools. For them Micić, Aleksić and others from *Zenit* were the outsiders, people that came from Croatia to Belgrade. They became competition not only in an esthetical and artistic sense but also for local identity. *Dada* and *Zenit* had Yugoslav character, while *Surrealism* was a Belgrade movement linked to the Paris Surrealism and Breton's school.

**JK:** Did the evolution of creating artistic elites seem to influence the local context?

**MŠ:** Sure, the *Surrealists* were the kids which parents had entire neighbourhoods, factories, banks etc. before the war. The father of the poet Buli had a bank, and he financed the Surrealists. The street next to the faculty where we are sitting is called *street Koco Popović* and this name was given because his family owned the whole area. He was the founding member of the first proletariat brigade. So, to sum up: nothing comes up if we don't relate it with something else. Why did you move from Skopje to Switzerland? That's why those people went to foreign countries. Ok, Micić didn't come from a rich family, he was mainly financed by his wife which came from a rich family and she brought her wealth in the marriage.

**JK:** How was culture organized in Belgrade at the time when you became professionally active after your studies?

**MŠ:** If we are looking at it historically, after the disconnection with the USSR in 1948, the culture of Belgrade became modernized. One of the political concepts of the communist party of Yugoslavia and the newly established institutions such as the Institute for International Cooperation was to connect the local art scene and the architectural scene. For example, architects travelled and studied in France, and in the USA. With that, the environment became contemporary. They organized big exhibitions like the one for MoMA for example. A particular type of revitalization occurred, and after the 1950s it received special significance with the project New Belgrade, and the political building in New Belgrade the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia (known as Palace of Yugoslavia). If you want to study the history of Socialist Yugoslavia you should visit that building, which is not that hard to enter. It has salons that are rooms where each of the republics from Yugoslavia are represented. Inside the most significant artist from each country made a masterpiece of work. This building looks like an American building. Why is that? Because the format of a painting is five on ten m<sup>2</sup>, this format is not a European format, it is an American format.

**JK:** In which direction did the ambience evolve?

**MŠ:** The 1960s were years of enormous emancipation. This included the establishment of institutions, big festivals, exhibitions, studying abroad also took. Not only for studying but also the 'first Gastarbeiter' went to the west since there was a big unemployment crisis. When Yugoslavia entered in market socialism it also welcomed an economic crisis. The problem was unemployment. You have the brilliant movie of Živojin Pavlović, *When I Am Dead and*

*Gone* that talks about the economic crisis in this real socialism or let's call it 'the self-governed' socialism. Belgrade became the capital of the country, which meant that institutionally it had the responsibility to cover not only Serbian culture but also Yugoslav as well. The *Museum of Contemporary Art* opened in 1965, and it is a museum of *Yugoslav Contemporary Art*. This museum had the authority to buy artwork from Macedonia, Albania, Vojvodina, Bosniak artists etc.

**JK:** How was quality achieved?

**MŠ:** One of the positive sides of Communism was that it believed in technocrats and bureaucrats. It means that they employed people who will be professionals in their field of activity. For example, when they needed to build the *Museum of the Contemporary Art* in Belgrade, the future director Miodrag B. Protić which was professionally a lawyer, but by interest one big modernist artist and theoretician got a scholarship to study the MoMA museum in New York, and he went there. He didn't build that museum on the basis as he thought it should. The decisions for the museum were not brought by party members who don't understand art. He positioned the work as a chance to learn and research about how one real modernist museum functions, such as MoMA, and later he applied it to *Belgrade Contemporary Art Museum*.

**JK:** So, this is the cliché, the right people were at the right place?

**MŠ:** That sounds reductive. There were right and wrong people. It was one complex hybrid selection. You need to understand a fact that Yugoslavia was a country of 20 million citizens, which differs from today's countries in post-Yugoslavia which are countries up to several million citizens. For example, Montenegro has 500.000, or 600.000 citizens, and Serbia the most populous with 6 million. The difference is huge if we compare it with a country of 20 million citizens. Therefore, it's a country that needs to have a big technocrat and bureaucrat apparatus which in the bigger part was formed professionally. In the control of the apparatus, there were the party institutions, or in another word they were not completely free, but there was professionalism contrary to the first period just after World War II. In that period things were led by revolutionists who sometimes were people without education.

**JK:** How was your everyday life in the 1970s?

**MŠ:** It was good since we started this story. One big change that occurred in Yugoslavia was in 1968. Today we see 1968 from some romantic prism in regards to the student rebellion and the student movements. It was a big experience of the American new left – the hippies, the rock music, and the contemporary Neo avant-garde art from that time. On another hand 1968 is when the Soviet powers entered Prague and Yugoslavia had enormous fear, that it will be the next one on the list to be attacked. This situation influenced the Yugoslav political power to take a sharp axe and to introduce censorship which until then was not existent, or it was very mild. Around the 1970s a lot of political persecutions occurred. In 1971, Praxist's were fired from the *Faculty of Philosophy*. This happened to a lot of professors from the *Faculty Dramatic Art* because of their movies, and among them was one of the most important directors, Saša Petrović. On another side, the country made a balance with the opening of the *Student Cultural Center* in Belgrade. That was also a game, and the game was called - balance. For me, it looked like as one Russian poet described it at the beginning of the 20century: in one box there are two live flies. One lives on the wall of the box and it cries that it is in prison, while the other fly in the box says: I am free. That was exactly how it was like the game between the two flies.

**JK:** When you mentioned Praxis, why were they significant for cultural life?

**MŠ:** I think they were not significant. Today everybody thinks that they were significant but they were not. They were serious philosophers and sociologists who accessed humanized Marxism, which meant an overhead on German critical theory linked to Theodor Adorno. In an aesthetical sense, they were conservative modernists. The *Neo Avant-Garde* is not something close to them in an experimental sense. They supported artists like Murtić and Lubarda, but they did not support groups like *Gorgona Group*, *Group OHO*, *Rock magazine*. For them, that was considered trivial amateur art which should be taken seriously in an analysis. They were influential philosophers. When they were fired from their faculty positions, they did not lose their jobs, they were just transferred from faculties to other institutes and they received the status of dissidents. It did not mean that you are a dissident if you support emancipated artistic practices. In the middle of the 1970s, the most prominent dissidents were the nationalists, and they were against *Modern Art*, *Neo Avant-Garde* and everything contemporary. They were pro-traditional and had national modalities. It is interesting that the Croatian Praxists were unquestionable Marxists while the Belgrade Praxists were going towards liberal thinking and nationalism etc. A small number of them like Zagorka Golubović, Miladin Životić stayed with a strong premise. Mihailo Marković was the prototype of nationalistic thinking. He was the biggest Yugoslav philosopher from the 1980s towards the 1990s that entered the paradigm of nationalism.

**JK:** So, the dynamics of the philosophical circles influenced the local identity too.

**MŠ:** Yes, what does that means? The philosophers were reactionary, conservatives, communists and Stalinists. Afterwards, they became nationalistic, but they were not prone to modernism and its radical thinking. If you take the theory of one of the biggest aesthetics - professor Danko Grlić and his four books on aesthetics, he talks about the death of aesthetics. For him, everything which happened in the 1960s in the field of art, architecture or culture, he saw explicitly as the end of aesthetics with the radicalization of the art, and the artistic experiment. The philosophers from Praxis did not have emancipation potential in the sense of politics, but rather in a sense of modernization of the society. Modernism was their border. To see that, please read the original text and not the interpretations, since the interpretations in several moments are different. In Croatia, there were big polemics with the authors who saw differently from *New Tendencies*, *Gorgona Group*, and art with big modernism. Adorno had a big influence on art, but artists which today we recognize as *Neo Avant-Garde* (the Group Zero, Joseph Beuys and others) were critics of Adorno. Adorno in his last book, which was published post mortem, posted an interesting view on aesthetical theory. His first sentence in the book goes something like this "Art is not something which could be understood by itself anymore, the right needs to be re questioned." That's a philosophical perception that showed sceptical thoughts towards the *Neo Avant-Garde*. Only later people like Peter Burger starts to actualize the Avant-garde. Philosophy in its representation looked very conservative. Aesthetics looked like it had nothing to do with artistic and architectural practices. This didn't mean that the Adorno text about the function in architecture wasn't important to the architects about re-questioning the function. He always talked about the architects of the previous generation and not about the architects who were active at the time when he worked. So, we are talking about the 'function in architecture' which was developed as a topic in the 1920s.

**JK:** Were aesthetics developed in Yugoslavia on a philosophical level?

No, which philosophers you are referring to? Kardelj, who you mentioned was a political activist, and before the war, he was a teacher. Kardelj was a big politician, he invented the practices of self-governance.

**JK:** How did kitsch enter in all of this?

**MŠ:** Kitsch was an integral part. When you have high art you have to have kitsch too. When you have control from the party, and it says the art will be massive, you have the appearance of kitsch. Today kitsch lost every meaning and it actually means nothing. Today there is no kitsch, meaning that with the invention of popular culture everything became the same, so we have the only culture for the masses.

**JK:** Did the culture of the masses start in the 1960s?

**MŠ:** Jana, instead of kitsch I would use the term: popular culture. In Yugoslavia, popular culture appeared in the movie *Love and fashion* for the first time. That was the entrance of popular culture. In the 1950s, the jazz culture was considered a dissident practice in Yugoslavia and USSR, and this lasted until the end of the USSR. At the beginning of the 1960s they were liberating jazz practice, and with that the rock culture also penetrated.

**JK:** How was Belgrade in the 1970s and how is it today?

**MŠ:** The difference is large Belgrade is much bigger than it used to be. Today, it is a city that has between 2 million to 3 million citizens, but in the 1960s and the 1970s Belgrade had something different than today's size – it was the capital city of Socialist Yugoslavia. Today it is the capital of a national country. Belgrade is like all other capital cities of national countries. The difference between a multinational country and a national country is huge. When I was in high school, the Macedonian and Slovenian language wasn't foreign languages for me. Today the Macedonian and Slovenian are foreign languages to me. Especially after the split of Yugoslavia, each country cleaned its language through the invention of rules to transit it to national languages. Today when someone asks me what type of language I speak? I answer Serb - Croatian. In the generation that I teach, their language is Serbian. We don't use the same words and we don't conceive ideas in the same way or even the nature of the sentence is different. Therefore, you have this difference between Belgrade from that time and Belgrade today. Belgrade today is a provincial city as every other city in east Europe. It was provincial in the 1960s and the 1970s but the multicultural situation of Yugoslavia and the politics of the communist party (to see Yugoslavia on par with the USA or USSR, and with the non – aligned movement) made Belgrade an international city.

**JK:** Most of those spaces for culture don't exist today. How would you describe this phenomenon? For example, *Local Community* [*Mjesni Zajednica*] etc.

**MŠ:** *Local Community* and similar don't exist anymore, and if they would exist they wouldn't have the same political or social function as some organs of the territorial units. It is the same if you think about it in this manner - you have huge city districts that were linked to industrial centres, yet today those factories don't exist. As a young man, I worked at the factory Ivo Lola Ribar, which had 10.000 workers. That factory today, the same factory has 200 workers, and keep in mind that around that factory there was an entire city. Today that city is either abandoned or some strange gentrification is taking place.

**JK:** On the level of aesthetics too?

**MŠ:** The aesthetics of Yugoslavia were planned. In 1979 in *SKC*, I made one small exhibition dedicated to *Bauhaus* and the pedagogy of Paul Klee. That exhibition was a replica of art where there were photocopies which I placed on the wall. At that exhibition, a lot of students from the Faculty of Architecture came, because, at their study program, no one taught them about *Bauhaus*. In other words, there was no censorship which the country explicitly gave by decree as there was in USSR, but there were acceptable and not acceptable things in public opinion. Professors knew what they need and should teach even though no one told them about it. It was part of some ambience and some general public opinion. Like even today, you know that you shouldn't give a lecture against nationalism even though it's the biggest evil in the world. At that time, it was clear that you should teach about *Figurative Art* and not about *Abstract Art*. *Abstract Art* was acceptable only if in their paintings you could see the perspective, space etc. Architecture is somehow the synthesis of all this, there is the traditional, the local, and the modernistic architecture. The

building of CK (Ušće Tower) was the most modern building in Belgrade. Generally, there were all those boundaries on what you could study, so that is why the Student Centers were spaces of alternative culture.

**JK:** How was your everyday life in SKC? Did you have a salary or were you an intern?

**MŠ:** Those terms employee or intern had no significance back in the days. Those words belong to the 'neoliberal dictionary'. SKC was a centre for realizing professional, amateur, and student's practice. The biggest group was the student one. Some were employed by the centre and it was usually one editor per program. They told us that they have received a budget for each of their imagined programs, but the budget was for the realization of the projects and much less for the artists. The finances were for the designers of the leaflets and catalogues, the translators, or invited lecturers but not for the artists. The artists worked as one type of 'free activity' and we were all, more or less happy than if someone financed what we were working on.

**JK:** How did they manage to survive then?

**MŠ:** The students were helped by the parents, and the artists were supported by their partners (haha). I am joking as you know, there was some compensation but it was symbolic. It was impossible to live from art. For example, with *Group 143* we were chosen to attend the *Young Artist Biennale* in Paris. There were the *Biennale of Venice*, *Documenta*, and *Biennale in Paris*. Since we attended the *Artist Biennale in Paris* as a country regularly, a recommendation from their side was to ask for funding from the Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture told us that they would finance half of our travel tickets and half of our expenses there. We asked for four days and we got two days. No one understood the message because we were young. The message was clear: "go but please don't return" yet we all came back. On another side, there were the big socialist painters which when they sold for the collection of the museum or as a decoration for a new building, they could buy a house, car, etc. They were enormously financed.

**JK:** Was this alternative scene different in Sarajevo, in Belgrade and Skopje for example?

**MŠ:** They were very similar. The country gave them space, and if some progressive ideas emerged, then here they would collect the things. The Belgrade, the Novi Sad and the Ljubljana were very similar. I am not sure about Skopje, Podgorica etc. In Sarajevo it came very late, the story started in the 1980s.

**JK:** Did you collaborate, or have friends from these environments?

**MŠ:** Sure, I did and I do. We had a close collaboration with the gallery in Zagreb. People travelled vice versa, it was all part of Yugoslav politics.

## “EVERY CREATION IS IN SOME WAY A CONQUEST OF FREEDOM”

February 15, 2020

The working room at his home, Novi Sad, 14:00h-15:45h

Živan (Zika) Berisavljević, (1935, Srem), politician, former *Minister of Culture* in Yugoslavia, diplomat, initiated several gatherings in the field of culture, including festivals such as FEST, BITEF, BEMUS etc.

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

During my stay in Belgrade, one day I took the bus and went to Novi Sad to conduct a testimonial with Mr Berisavljević who lived there. After carefully checking my intentions, Mr Berisavljević kindly agreed over the phone to welcome me for the meeting in his home in Novi Sad.

When I was *Minister of Culture*, (1973) the nationalists were contenting the Macedonian identity since that question was current – recognition of the Macedonian orthodox church; So the communists were brave and had the power back then to support the creation of the church.

**JK:** Can you tell me more about yourself?

**ZB:** I belong to this other “lefty Serbia”. I was always interested in the philosophical and ideological basis of cultural politics. Today I will also give you a present on this topic - my book titled *Cultural Action*, which I wrote when I became Minister. The book is related to this topic. I will also give you this precious article from one of my collaborators, one of the best Vojvodina Croat writers. His name is academic Tomislav Ketig. His academic writing is titled *Common Cultural Identities: on National Cultures on the Space of Former Yugoslavia*. He analyses what glues together the national cultures in an identity sense, in which you can also find interesting illustrations. He was President of the Vojvodina Editorial Staff of the Encyclopedia of Krleža.

**JK:** Why did this encyclopedia become significant?

**ZB:** In that encyclopedia, you can find the section dedicated to the development of a culture of the Balkan Nations. In my mandate as Minister, we had misunderstandings with Mr Krleža, since the Serbian Nationalists were blocking and obstructing the work of the encyclopedia. The orientation in this encyclopedia was a leftie, in the interpretation of the politics and cultural sense, and in sense of what is the general picture of the Yugoslav Nations. Krleža was operated from nationalism. The misunderstanding of why they can't sell nationalism in the encyclopedia resulted in him arranging a meeting with me and discussing all of this.

He came to Belgrade and he wanted to talk with a representative of the country. Back then I was the young Minister of Culture. I was among the hundred and twenty who liked to talk to him about this subject. He only insisted to talk to me when I became the official and titled representative. I told him – please, Mr Krleža does not think that the encyclopedia in Serbia is receiving an obstruction because of the use of the Latin letters. That's naïve. Those in Serbia who were at the level to read an encyclopedia, are also able to read the Latin letters too. There was a lot of critique in the sense of equality. The polemics were about which persons, which events from the Serbian culture are about those in the Croatian culture. With that, we needed to sit and think about the new critical edition of the encyclopedia. You can't do this in the same manner as it would have been made while Yugoslavia was centralist. You must decentralize the work from the encyclopedia – since the country became decentralized too. He accepted the idea. In addition, we formed country divisions. Mr. Ketig, became the President, an active member of the committee in Zagreb, and the President of the Vojvodina Department. Such a brilliant intellectual and writer. He wrote in the field of drama. He

was also an encyclopedia oriented intellectual and he made brilliant things, such as this oration that I am showing you now.

The second important event is the *Cultural Congress* which happened in October 1971. After the Congress, I went to London to study the English language. The Congress of Cultural Action indeed had the intention to stir up the cultural circle around me - as Minister. We made an evaluation that we can't organize well if the *League of Communists of Yugoslavia* did not stand behind us. Latinka Perović understood this immediately. This Congress was one of the best operational and political axes for "affirmation of the current thesis of the inside avant-garde" within the communist party. This was the thesis of our party - we should not judge the field of culture but rather congregate the most progressive among us and with their help construct the politics. Therefore, the progressiveness was based on this thesis, which Latinka understood brilliantly. Along with me, she lobbied that the whole cultural top will come to the event, including the liberals who were later expelled from the party. Including me, since I was anarcho – liberal. They kicked me out and they gave me a nice position in diplomacy, a Yugoslav Ambassador in England. They tricked me in this manner.

**JK:** How was the cultural climate while you were in the position of Minister?

**ZB:** I was the youngest Minister in history probably in all the socialist governments. Even after the fall of socialism, after the 1990s, I am not sure if someone was younger than me in this position. In that period, starting from 1945 the party was exiting from one horrible situation. You have to understand something Jana, where did you finish high school?

**JK:** In a Gymnasium in Skopje, called Josip Broz Tito, and I finished in 2006.

**ZB:** I don't know how they teach you and your generation, but after the fall of Communism and the fall of Yugoslavia just after 1945, there was a period which is shown in bad image today. The evidence is completely the opposite, that period back then, today is signified as a period in which the civilization and cultural sense made one huge progress. In the history of the civilization, or if you call it "the development of the civilization", for every nation from Yugoslavia, the Croatian, to Serbian, to Slovene, the biggest progress was made. Also, the nations confirmed their national identity in socialism, including the Montenegrins, the Macedonians, and the Muslims. The other three nations were self-recognized in this period. This is pure knowledge - if we are taking aside the ideological views about them, all of us can have their interpretation, but in the period from 1945 up until 1990 in anticipation of the Yugoslavian split – they all experienced a dramatic positive shift in their own culture and civilization development.

**JK:** Was this planned?

**ZB:** This was the basic concept of the communist party, even before World War II - Yugoslavia will become federal. Back then this period is called - illegal period because they were an illegal communist party. The next generation in this political sense is a generation to which I belong. We have three or four periods, that as historical experience formed, three or four profiles of the Yugoslav communist. The first one is the illegal period. Practically that party is linked to the communist international base in Moscow which belongs to that narrative strongly linked party. In that generation, there were also no careerists since careerists did not want risks. In that entering, within the communist party were signed documents that if the regime proves that they are working against them– they will go to prison. That type of document only people with significant integrity could sign. In another part, those were the people who were the most impoverished workers who spontaneously joined the party – as Marx will say, "as a blind power of the history" became communist, on class premises. The intellectuals who were entering the party were fanatics. They were primarily motivated by ethical reasons. For example, one of the richest people in Belgrade, Koča Popović entered the communist party and later joined the Spanish revolution.

He thought of his country at Sorbonne in Paris while he educated himself. This is this heroic generation, which entered the war. This was still not my generation. I was born in 1935. My father was by vocation a craft man, but he was left-oriented. Part of the first generation he had a type of atheistic religion. That generation entered the war since the communist were leading but they were not ideologically oriented people. They entered because of patriotic reasons, and without cause of why they did not want socialism. Their motivation was: to liberate their country from the German occupation, and other occupations too. Like the Bulgarian occupation in Macedonia, and part of the South of Serbia, Muslims Ustashe in Bosnia etc, from the Slovene Belle Garde etc. Those are the communist which through that war were moving closer towards the goals of the party. In some parts, they became a real avant-garde, always putting their head at risk since in war it's always clear: you can't be heroic without risking your life. That is why they were putting aside careerism and bureaucratic relationships.

Then we are coming to the pre-war period which was the most controversial period of communist Yugoslavia, and the communist party. This period for sure is different in different republics, but it was a period whereby all means of politics, including the repression, and the retaliation the socialist orders needed to have 'safe' grounds. Since the period of the war was also – social revolution, and the culture was emancipation you had liberation movements in Serbia - for example before the communist period, but the communist movement – in the same time came as a civilization and emancipation movement. Yes, the communist movement is a cultural movement too, but primarily because it shifted differently the nature of the relationships in the society.

In the contemporary capitalistic society, you have thousands of anti-communists reasons, or let's say - all going in function towards the liquidation of all lefty ideas that are emerging. In this situation, you practically eliminate the class organization of the society, and you can't impose the theory of eliminating the class differences. Having said that, the ones who were proletariat back then are today prevaricated, and this prevarication has no chance of standing up against the exploitation. It became a proletariat thanks to the history flow, because of both backs at the day's capitalism and the communism. Communism is the child of Capitalism. Only capitalism could give birth to the communist ideology and Marxist Theory. The Theory has been born as a critique, which opposed to the current reality and the current ideologists are trying to hide everything that is left-oriented. I am referring to the dialectics of the things, of the relationships, talking on a philosophical level, not on a political one. If we observe capitalism we can have the epochs of darkness and deadlock, but before them, the Renaissance occurred and after that the French Revolution. We are currently living in a period in which the lefty rebellions are completely out of place. This is the motto of the ideologists who are spreading the idea that what we have today is the best that we can have. You must know this better than me since you live in such a society – Western Europe.

When I was in England, the nation capital – or as it is called in the theory of Marx “The Surplus Value” I was distributed in the following manner: 10% of the citizens, owned the 90% capital. Furthermore, if you only analyze that 10%, you will find out that only from them, the 3% are having 99% of the capital. You can count on two hands the large political dynasties who were in control of the national capital, and that layer is afraid of communism, the riots of the lefties, new revolutions etc. They were launching the theories that came from the most influential people in the USA. The logic of the historical processes is that there are always going to be new theories and some new consolidations. However, the precariat is not the working class of the proletariat- In the precariat they have put all of the working people, not only the workers, but much more. You are not going to find the dirty working costumes - they have a new form now – the informatics intelligence and the digital one. However, the relationship of exploitation is the same.

That's why today in every capitalistic country you have more billionaires than you had in classic English capitalism. That means that the distribution is drastic, and that is why, when one social revolution occurred, it had a different distribution of the capital. This opened many opportunities for a large part of the population that lived here. The ruling class in power practically was consolidated in a form of a communist party, which ideology was – that there should not be longer class power. Communists went down with the historical power. They were thinking they needed to control those who wanted to rule upon others. My thought is, that in this first face you had a communist who

injected peace and that opened space for careers, where the risks are getting smaller and then there is the start of the moral deformations specifically in this context the communist party as a real Avant-garde. When it gained power, it became larger and it more attractive for all those who wanted to enter since all the power was bringing them some sort of privileges, and that number was getting bigger and bigger. World War II, was a party with a couple of 100 members, and in the time when Yugoslavia was dissolved, they had over 1 million members. I remember this well. Among them, for sure some had nothing to do with the socialist ideology, but surely there was also the core that was caring about that party. Those people entered the party after splitting with Stalin, which means when refusing the Stalin Model, you need to experiment to find your way, for some model that was the Socialistic model, which won't be like the Model of Stalin. That was the case for the whole of Eastern Europe, not only the USSR. From there, the searching story for self-management organization of the society started.

This was predicted. Yugoslavia falling is not only one of the socialist countries that fell, but also as one country which represented the 'Euro Communism'. There were parties formed in France and Italy after the fall of Stalin. They are a live example of that. Their basis has been that they are interpreting Marx as a humanist and young Marx, which means more on the anthropological and ethical principles and less of the theory of the basis of the industry etc. That is why that communism was called – communism with a human face. I am referring to that segment of reality. In reality for sure, there were a thousand bad characteristics which appeared from our underdevelopment, or national structures, but in that segments - the cultural and humanity patterns, with the attempt to resolve some problems, here in the emancipation processes were evolving. In the end, the line is the culture.

**JK:** Are these specifics only for your generation?

**ZB:** My generation was the following of this previously mentioned. The other species of the *League of Communist* is that, in Ljubljana, in 1948 they adopted a program of the *League of Communist of Yugoslavia*, in Zagreb. On the 6th Congress, the party transformed the League of Communist to develop itself not as a party with power but rather as an Avant-garde which is seeking progress. They had opened towards other social forces who were neither communist nor socialist but all together they had agreed that they will build something. This in Europe was presented as The Second Communist Manifest. That is the generation in which Latinka Perović was a part of – a woman that I admire. We were formed with that communist program and we profiled as politicians. In that program and its content, there was a sort of communism that cannot be called anything else but "Titoism", on the level of theory. The one before this, was only a USSR replica of communism, including Marx on the level of theory, and communism as applied practiced on the level of governance or even on an economic level.

We had tragic results on that type of collectivization which differed from the Russian collectivization. In Russia, the collectivization has been made in the manner of those enormous properties taken, and re-distributed to the farmers. In Yugoslavia, they only had a small amount of land, and they forced the rural people, which supported the revolution. The revolution was successful because it was supported by 88% of the rural population. With bad management, they hit the social constraints of collectivization. With that said, they created economic problems, but also political and moral ones. The latter was trying to fix with programs for the development of the village etc but in my opinion, the period from the split with Stalin until the second communist program was made was a form of Titoist Communism. In Yugoslavia, before this, we did not know about anything else so this new program had some sort of Titoist interpretation of the Stalinist faction. Here I was relating more to the political stances.

**JK:** How was this on the level of culture?

**ZB:** When we are talking about culture, Socialism conveyed a big chance. In sociology, this is called – 'social mobility'. This meant that each individual up until the year when it is entering the society can reach as high as possible. It was a society of big opportunities. No one was as dependent as my grandchildren are today - according to their parents and grandparent's financial situation - for example - to be accepted on this or that Faculty. Everything

that exists in society was available for the people if it meant quality. Practically, I experienced this empirically. They did not believe I was coming from a family where my grandmother was illiterate. In England, you needed the 18th generation for you to be able to become “royal garden from a rural child”. That is how it is in these capitalistic societies – there is no fast prosperity. Even the promised land, America with its parole – a chance for everyone. It has been like that maybe from the time they were taking the land of the Indians. Once we structured as a capitalistic society, you know exactly which children are going to Yale and which children are going to be precarity. The communist had – which was the rule for all the Balkan societies had some sort of natural tendency to be one nation, to have one leader – some sort of populist organization.

We all had one big advantage. On the other hand, we were taking these highly societal positions, according to some criteria to affirm something. We had the opportunity by some contribution. When I was young I was the main co-editor of the *Youth Forum [Tribina Mladi]* in Novi Sad, and I became the *Minister of Culture*. Žilnik was also the main co-editor of the Youth Forum and became one of the leading institutions in the area of culture. The title was “The Co-Editor Of The Youth Forum Became A Prominent Figure In The Eastern World”. Even if you are looking in Macedonia, the biography of interesting people, you will see that all of them have some high school starts, they were fighting for something and later they became something more. I am talking for my generation, which only remembered the war in some segments of childhood. My father was leftie so I was probably pre-destined to become who I am. There is something more - the morality was significant that my father was a lefty. I was not embarrassed by my father like Koča Popović. You have to have that thing in mind too. Practically, when you became gain some political function such as *Minister of Culture*, you need to engage even more so you could prove that the ones before you were not as good as you are.

In my situation was the opposite, my Predecessor (a young man, a bit older than me), was one brilliant mind. By the sense, he took in a very modern manner of cultural politics. He established a sequence of good programs and when he gave me the new duty we continued working together, in various segments. I was not seeing this as an opportunity to destroy his work but I was analyzing it, and I asked myself how can I bring something better, new, or more creative? and that is the real advantage of these relations - you have the same system of goals. Starting from 1945, the generations on the basis set up big goals for all of the generations to come. That ideology did not change. The generation changed – and also the conditions in the environment in which the communist was working, but the goals did not.

For example, changes in the level of education. My Ministry was covering that also – science, culture and information, one of the biggest resorts in the government. In different areas, we had different tasks. In science - establishing basic infrastructure, in education - opening as many possibilities as possible for the young generation to be able to obtain holistic education. I have to mention this also, up until the year 1963, Yugoslavia was a centralistic country. Those programs were Yugoslav, and then when the decentralization came into the discourse, the first thing that occurred was that those programs were transferred from the level of Federation to the level of regions. This was the case for the area of culture, education and science also. Still, the goals were clearly explained coming from the federal level. For example – expansion of education, creating infrastructure in the field of culture, creating infrastructure in the field of science, enlarging the network of houses of culture, socialization of the cultural values, development of the media, the development of the publishing sector, literacy of people etc.

This was particularly important for Macedonia. In the Southern parts of Yugoslavia especially Macedonia and Kosovo, enormous differences were compared with all the rest of the countries. Here in Vojvodina, the development was different because of the presence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Vojvodina, the problem of elementary school, for example, was a resolved task for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When I became the Minister in 1967, in Kosovo I faced the truth which was that every year (in the part of the country where 99% of the people were illiterate), 25% of the children could not go to school – elementary levelled. We needed to resolve all this, in the framework of educational politics. How can you bring the education in as a country Vojvodina even closer to the European model and also do that in the Southern parts. By doing that you will be able to capture and close the circle of the new illiterate. After that problem, however, came another one - civilization shift - the transfer from village to city.

In 1945 we had around 20% of the people living in the Yugoslav cities. The process of industrialization opened the process of urbanization rapidly.

One can say we received a lot of people who were illiterate in the city. As an urban politics – it was an affirmation of these people in a sense that they can educate themselves and de-ruralize themselves. On another side, there were enormous problems within the cities themselves. Novi Sad for example, once called a “gentlemen city”, with a large literate middle-class people with a rural population around itself. At one point, all people seemed to be coming to the city. That process of industrialization put all types of politics, cultural politics, educational politics, and urban politics in front of a big challenge - how can we satisfy the people’s needs rapidly and at the same time also develop and build these cities as a fairly good human live environment? Here is an example since you are an architect. To The Congress Of The Cultural Action (the one I already mentioned to you), one of the main tasks that needed to improve was cultural politics in every form, including the working culture and the culture of life. They have exposed themselves in the front line or in the self-management system, to introduce that we all need to stimulate the synthesis between art – workspace. At one-point, different types of murals occurred in the factories. The architects started to introduce the work of art. The idea for it was not being just functional but also esthetically pleasing.

**JK:** Why were esthetics important for the officials?

**ZB:** First of all, I did not feel I was an official. I felt like I was a representative of the new generation communist and revolutionary ideals, who had a task to fulfil my sector with fresh ideas. Whatever I’d done I’d done it for the society where I belonged to, for the class the party represents. Be aware that in socialism there are others besides the working class. You have a communist middle class but it belongs to the working class as well. The whole world is a working world. So, when you are resolving a problem you are not resolving it according to the classes, but for the society, for the individual, for the human. This was the motivation. I sense, everybody who took this type of high duty came with the expected motivation that everything works like that. I could not judge the person on how much he/she was creative or not, consistent nor successful. Neither one of those who had become ministers after I didn’t have another motivation different from this one. *This Congress of the Cultural Action* was significant because it gathered the dissidents, usually the nationalist ones, everything that was elite at that moment in Serbia. Everything was in the small local level elite. Why did we call this cultural action? The answer is - We needed to. Dealing with lack of material capital to fill in, combined with an initiative of the enormous amount of people being on the front line. For example, when I become a Minister I will go to one underdeveloped village or municipality.

In one village, the school is small but an example for the human was painted with great greenery around. In another school, there might have been a not so ambitious Director, so the picture was completely different. We wanted The Congress, to encourage cultural development in every Yugoslav environment. We did not want politics to overcome the State in each segment of society, but rather to awaken those powers that exist in every human being so that they can define and articulate their cultural aspiration. The need for help from the people as a global society was needed so that they could be able to implement this as much as possible. This gave seriously great results bearing in mind that this did not come from the communist party ideology. It came from my circle of friends, and the people who were in the republican institute of culture, where brilliant intellectuals had been working, following a program from the European integration process in which Yugoslavia with all of its Republics was a member. Yugoslavia could have become a full member of the European integration, but rather we accepted the interest of Europe to integrate with us as much as possible so that we could be less threatened by the Russians since Russia was always a danger to Europe.

We were always following what was happening within the organization of *the European Developing Countries*. They had very modern concepts, which the western world had applied as models of development. We were crossing them with our communist ideology and that was also the case for the culture. For example, with UNESCO the President, which was also the Minister of Culture - Andre Malraux, formulated the notion of cultural politics, as cultural action. I often went to the conferences of UNESCO, and I came across that conception and his talk. It was a challenge for us on how we can bring this into the socialist paradigm. For example, Edvard Kardelj, who had seen our need to

decentralize the country and develop the commune. Where was that element, the most developed one in Europe? In Scandinavia - so he went for three months in Scandinavia on a study trip. The second man of the country went on a study trip, to interpret that Scandinavian model in our country, and give its socialist soul. We were interpreting all of that from capitalistic level to socialist one, but we were coping with the models. I had an opportunity to mention this in Venice, at the Conference of UNESCO.

While there, I also mentioned that we are in the preparation phases of the *Congress of the Cultural Action*. This brought positive attention because until then, only big countries could have afforded it. They had been restrained because of the funds, but we could have mobilized the whole society with small funds. If you see the photos in the book of the congress, you will find everyone who at that time was significant for the culture of Serbia. The intellectuals, the politicians, the journalists, the economists, everyone came. It was one enormous agreement between the party and its personnel who held positions in the state institutions, with the most influential people from the civic space, like council presidents and associations, agreeing in which manner they will develop the cultural politics in the next 20 years. That's why it became one very significant event. Only after 1990, it was discontinued.

**JK:** What happened to nationalism?

**ZB:** Nationalism is anti-communist. We had two types of critical thinking towards the *reality*. The first one being "the left" which occurred within the party, combined with some extreme Avant-garde members of it. The party wasn't later Avant-garde, it became too massive, but inside the Avant-garde prevailed. What I am referring to in this Avant-garde axe is that one of the 20%-30% of the communist who was constantly looking for creative solutions often are unsatisfied and are always critically examining the current real situations. Some of them caused personal conflict with me since they had a problem with Aleksandar Ranković, a great man, who was a national bureaucrat. My thought is that he was not – anti-Titovist, but he represented the big break of the emancipation process in Serbia. I felt that, from the Ideological Commission. One part of my circle of friends believed that the problem with Ranković is the problem with all the Serbs, and that manifested itself as nationalism. That was the moment when we parted; the nationalist's critique was always objectively finishing in anti-communism, or anti – lefties. There is no such thing as lefty nationalism, this wave manifested itself as national chauvinism.

**JK:** Did you predict the plan of the cultural action – that this tendency will occur, and how you would deal with it?

**ZB:** All those who were opponents of the Congress up until the stage in which they don't want to participate any more, Perović and I were pursuing every person by talking with them to make sure they all were going to take a part of it. In Addition, Latinka wrote this in her books - the conversation in the Serbian literature community (association). I won't go into details, but it clearly shows how we had been battling with this. They declined our invitation since they believed that The Congress is a communist manipulation organized by Tito, to mess with the Serbian intelligence. We are talking about a program – which was practically attended to optimally engage everything that can be engaged in cultural development.

It was ironic because these types of Congresses were not held in other Yugoslav Republics, they were only held in Serbia. I believed that they did not make it. It was a question of time. Afterwards, some other political battles inside the party occurred. However, we had delegations from the other Republics who attended the Congress. I remember from the Republic of Macedonia Matej Matevski came with his team, and they were fascinated by how we succeeded in making the Congress, or some of our friends – the most prominent intellectuals from Croatia. What was this witnessing? It was a gathering on which we saw that one big potential could be missed if we did not act on it. Unfortunately, they even supposed this potential for liberal flirt with the intelligence later. That dimension of the political process became bureaucratically dogmatic. Nationalist, they have put me the label that I am a manipulator of the

national elite in the name of the party, and the bureaucrats inside the party will accuse me of practically giving that intelligence in with too much freedom by flirting with them, and that I messed up the whole situation.

Here you need to have one more thing in mind and we can finish the conversation (if you are asking me). There is one injustice, in the live political processes. I talked about this in some of the events. So our country Yugoslavia opened towards the world in need of being culturally open towards the values of the world on a global scale. With that said, we thought we were going to practically erase the provincialism thought. This provincialism was a part of many societies, it was closing inside itself, and according to it, every intellectual looked like a genius. When you impose it with the global spirit it was behaving strangely. By that openness, we wanted to incorporate an action plan inside the culture or to have institutions that are going to provide axes in both ways. This means, doing everything that we are in the global context but also needing to obtain as much as possible with its worthy values. We can provide that only by having them in our individual existing.

We thought that we need that type of institutions that will bring global values to our terrain. That's how *BEMUS* was made, that's how *FEST* was made, that's how *BITEF* was made. The idea was to bring European global quality and also expose our home quality. Moreover, to see what is the most significant in the global culture, art, and specific areas of that art. We did not have time but the idea was there to make a 4th art which needed to be like the model of the Biennale of Venice, bringing the newest artistic tendencies every four years. We did not have the time. Have in mind, during your reading about the interpretation of cultural history - You read that the politics were horrible, there was censorship, it was bureaucratic –thousands of stupid interpretations. For example, when Želimir Žilnik, received the first prize in Oberhausen, The President of CK Serbia, gave a task to his Chief of Cabinet to write an essay about it and from Pula, I congratulated him in person. So, we had tremendous inside battles in the party among those who were in for bigger freedom and those who were in for more interventions, bureaucracy and banning as a type of politics which were all for the production of intellectualism.

If it wasn't for those battles, they wouldn't be able to produce all that. You won't find that as a fact because they are saying that the President of the city organized an initiative group to yield *FEST*, in agreement with the Ministry of Culture. They were willing to finance all that, imposing their imagination, creativity contribution of Colić (who was a movie critique), who wanted to brainstorm and to make *FEST* as Mila Trailović made *BITEF*. They were realizing our needs, but also they often had initiatives towards us and were telling us what was needed, so we could be recognized and supported from the political side. That's why it was called cultural politics as *cultural action*. I don't know who was the inventor of the *BEMUS* formula or *BITEF*, but I know it was aligned with our politics against provincialism of the nation, and we could hardly wait one initiative like that to be born so we did everything to help it.

I think I opened the first festival *BITEF*, but it would be non-sense if I say I am the creator of *BITEF*. *BITEF* could not exist if there wasn't someone like Zika Berisavljević who had the sense to understand the decision-making process. The black wave could not exist if we did not introduce self – management forms of financing in the field of culture. No one could ask Zika Berisavljević about the type of production; my task is to secure a system. I wouldn't be asking what type of decision they should have made. At that moment they decided that they would like to make some black movie. I agreed. However, I didn't agree with most of the comments, and views exposed in Black Wave, but one thing was for sure – it was better to have the *Black Wave* than a *White Wave*. I wanted to express: say that you always have. Let's mention this example - the group which was politicly involved in CK from the party was very quickly put aside since it was somehow special. That's how they kicked me out since I was anarcho – liberal. They were even gentle when they were kicking me out (haha).

**JK:** How do you see the situation today?

**ZB:** Today we have that accident showing that there is no continuity. Serbia is very far away from the capitalistic societies in which the major questions were consensually resolved. Every government that comes, can contribute towards the politics, whether it is a worker's party – worker's interests, capitalistic - more capitalistic policies etc.

For example, in England, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said: “The type of party that will be ruling England can influence the foreign politics only about 2% or 3%. Since the national strategy is confirmed and they only follow it.” We don’t have that – we have different politics from one party to another, or most often we don’t have politics. It has become a spontaneous level. This is now on the level of facts, some initiatives are occurring and you can participate in some competitions. There is one novelty – the representatives of that authority, as the worst authority which can occur in Serbia had personal representatives of power. They came into power as one of the strongest ‘reaction of the Serbian spiritual elite’ – the church, the state, the memorandums from Dobrica Ćosić elite and that part. They are often enforcing *Reactionist Politics*. I don’t know how much you are following what’s happening today, but the most often word used in politics of culture, or the cultural trigger, as a term if I can use – is the *tradition*. They are going to the strongest primitivism – organizing some sort of a pie festival [*nusmujada*] to reflect on non-existing tradition etc.

Today, when you are mentioning the Minister of Culture as something traditional, he is immediately ready to open his wallet. As a Minister of Culture, I never personally decided which project should be financed, as we had the *Community of Culture* [*Зajедница Културе*], and all the projects were passing through their commission – there was one very active *decision-making process* (using the term in English). I could only decide on the important things if there was something attractive to draw attention to, but I could never give something directly to the *Community of Culture*. Then I would organize a meeting and I would tell them – have in mind, that for this thing we have a political interest, but this is without obligations. To give you an example, back then somebody came to the Ministry to ask if the Black Wave should be censored. The *Commission for Censorship* immediately declined this request. As a Minister, I did not have the right to influence them. They had full authority to be independent by law. I also said to everybody – listen we created a system here and please don’t play games with it. I said that the system can’t be played according to our statement. Those people have their obligations in front of the public and we cannot force them to bring decisions as we are having personal beliefs in the party. They called on responsibility for one person who signed some document in which the tone was nationalistic. I said, wait a minute here. Until I was the *Secretary of the Ideological Commission* I called upon that person to criticize him since he was a policeman, but for me as a Minister and him as the biggest literature critique of this time, I could not decline his request if he was asking for a position.

**JK:** You are asking me for responsibility as to why he got the position - I was in shock, what type of Ministry is this?

**ZB:** Secondly, you need to know one more thing - when I started my position, I have sworn to the *Yugoslav Constitution*. I put my hand on that – I said I will respect it and the constitution gave me the responsibility to collaborate with the people, those people were from all profiles: nationalistic, primitive ones, with Irish origins, highly intellectuals etc. They were all within those segments. We needed to have a relationship with them since we were a type of party, which made this type of country. With that aspect, they should decide in self manner why it was not questionable. A writer, prominent one from my generation also a big nationalist Matija Bečković, but a brilliant poet got two children at once, twins. So that year Matija Bečković, wrote to us, that he would like to receive an apartment. From the political segment, there was one big river of negative critics that came towards me, as to why should we give him an apartment. I said to them let’s agree on something, please make a public forum, where you are going to ask the Minister to give his personal opinion on the topic “Matija Bečković as a political figure”. I will attend this with great pleasure, but not to give him an apartment, that is not socialism – so we prepared a program. It was a time when big debates and conflicts came discussed around the topic of freedom, and we were referring to elementary freedom. I also initiated that – if someone is making false statements, he should also take up consequences. For example, if they say me that I’m a member of the *Black Wave* and I am not a member of the *Black Wave*, then this should also be recorded.

**JK:** What was your role in the *Ideological Commission*?

**ZB:** I was young at the time. This commission was active between the end of World War II and 1954. So, The *Ideological Commission* was a control body, on which everything occurred publicly that was not part of the party idea,

in this generations period. In that *Ideological Commission*, the work was more about how to organize something to work and a little less about censorship. We were discussing making things work, but the commission was formed the inside in the party. The authorities expected we will be – what they expected us to be. Besides all that, we had the biggest dissident with us, and we worked on the program of the party. Milovan Djilas, who lead the *Agitprop*, was the censorship of the culture. He was an intellectual, a creative one. The cynicism to be bigger, they were putting pressure on us to censor less. Moreover, Cosić was pressuring us as an *Ideological Commission* to decide in favor of the so-called modernism way in the culture, rather than for *Socialist Realists* ones. That wasn't our function, we were not there to set up artistic expression. Sure, on *Youth Forum*, I was always including and promoting the modernist writers, but that was my affinity. Once I became Minister it was impossible to force your personal beliefs and affinities on bringing value for things. There are principles, which are not giving you this right. Just one big NO.

**JK:** What was the idea behind the *Youth Forum* [Трибуна Младу] in Novi Sad and in general?

**ZB:** *Youth Forum*, here in Novi Sad was an idea to de-provincialize the youth in Novi Sad. Having said that, the forum developed itself as one movement taking part in all of Yugoslavia. It occurred as a need of the party, to de-provincialize the young generation, and then that new generation had a new sensibility and developed a new idea. I am the co-founder, but there were some other young brilliant intellectuals. As personal sensibility - I never transferred a measurement of the values, since I was on a political function that was giving me the power to pose the measurement of the values. I could be the measurement of the values until my position was allowing it. It is not true that there was no law in the socialist country. It is not true that the socialist country was an anti-law country. There was more justice than in this multi-party uniformity; even so, it was not the party thinking but only one man. It wasn't like that even in a Stalinist era.

**JK:** How did the *Youth Forum* evolve, is it still acts as an institution?

**ZB:** *Youth Forum*, today is a super nationalistic institution, controlled by the nationalist pioneers.

**JK:** But it still exists?

**ZB:** Yes, unfortunately only nominally, the party transformed in its opposition. It is also endangered objectively with the financing. Moreover, you had the biggest thinker at that time when I was the Minister Radomir Konstantinović as my adviser, but today you have a Minister who took Bora Čorba for an adviser. You must admit that the difference is enormous. So, the new ministers are saying that we are going to support the traditional Serbian values but for sure not replace Radomir Konstantinović. Today in Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia, there was not only one anti-socialist revolution that occurred but also one anti-civilization. It was the worst and the consequences are now evident. For sure, the problem was that Yugoslavia did not have historical power to be held, but socialism too did not have historical power. The civilization went backwards to justify it as democratic progress which is scary. This is the dominant stream in the public discourse.

**JK:** It looks like the cultural system changed its role and significance?

**ZB:** That is an interesting observation. The institutions in the field of culture were manipulated. So they worked with the same intensity, but they changed their worldviews. For example, if you are analyzing the last public statements of the Black Wave, Pavlović and Makavejev will tell only now, referring to the time when those movies were created that the cultural politics of Yugoslavia created the Pericles era. Every creation is in some way a conquest of freedom. In socialism, this creation – its raison d'être was the freedom. All our progress, and the emancipation processes which took place, also occurred inside the party which is in power. You don't emancipate the creator [стваралац]. It is not

that personal. Zika needs to believe in freedom of critical creation but if he does not have that freedom inside of him he couldn't have made any move to contribute to the cause. The problem is that everyone has to be aligned with the critical creation for it to occur. From the people who are setting the conditions, to those who are insuring the funding etc. They all needed to be open to endure such creation [стваралаштво]. If they don't have the right mindset and openness, they will never support this type of critical creation.

**JK:** How does the near future look to you?

**ZB:** Jana, in Serbia the question is not the physical infrastructure. It has to be open to politically-historical and essential debate to be able to break 'the concept of Serbian nationalistic lifestyle, culture, the interest of the people etc. Secondly, the big social life questions need to be redefined, like the 'world of work', for it to become the priority of the society again. The Serbian nationalist is a contrasting revolution and succeeded to transform the man from a citizen to working professionally in a 'Serbia man'. Therefore, on everyday questions, he reacts to everything as a 'Serbian man'. He goes to Montenegro to defend the Serbian church but he isn't active when there is a strike of the work councils. I am only talking figuratively but you understand it is the example for all the ex-Yugoslavia countries, except the case for Slovenia, which succeeded in keeping this richness of a civic society. Moreover, globally everywhere you have this indifference about the social difference. There is a global economic conception to make an economic strategy based on the logic of cheap labour. You can't make such a strategy and ignore the civic basis.

From a country where the working class had the opportunity to keep its rights, you made the ex-Yugoslav countries serve the global economic strategy to obtain cheap labour. In such a country, how was it possible to make a complete set of factories look economically incapable to sell afterwards when for years they were active in socialism and they were bringing profit and prosperity. Just in Novi Sad, we had factories that had export around 150 billion (today's EU currency) annually with no one helping them. Simply they were self-organized. For example, today it's a great success when Vučić pulls his hands for some capitalists to open some small factories with 20 people. He is begging them to open units like that by offering them free land - free from paying taxes, no law for cheap labour. That is under the level of the elementary function. If this was happening 40 years ago we would not even be taking the time to talk about such small investments. Between 1945-1955 only in SR Serbia, 200 factories were opened. We as politicians did not even know about them. We were discussing only important and significant decisions.

**JK:** Seems like the city also changed the character? New content entered which influenced the life of the people differently?

**ZB:** Yes. The political power in Novi Sad wanted to destroy the cultural sports centre – Spens. The centre was one of the most beautiful constructions at the time. Why did they sell it? Because they made a profit through some company of Milorad Dodik in Bosnia. We had swimming pools there, our children were thought how to swim and all of that was given to the people for free. That was financed by the *Civic Fonds* [Друштвени Фондова]. Today you can't enrol a child on a volleyball class if you are unable to pay for it. Everything is hyper privatized, commercialized and pre-calculated. You know what type of humiliation it is when the Prime Minister comes and says we will give a prize of 50k. You don't achieve the first prize globally you just receive money. If it's a serious Country they will be proud to play for it. I am not against giving them a money prize but you can't make a market out of that. It's outside the humanistic conception.

## “A BALANCE WITH THE SURROUNDING”

December 24, 2020

Online, 16:00h – 17:30h

Asim Mujkić, (1968, Brčko), philosopher and sociologist, a professor who studies the areas of ethics, phenomenology, philosophy of existence, philosophy of identity, social and political theory, and theories on ethnicity.

As conditions could not turn positive because of the COVID 19 outburst, I met Mr Mujkić online. Besides the conditions, the interview went smooth and informative.

**JK:** What comes to your mind when I am referring to our *Yugoslav cultural space*?

**AM:** Jana you used the word ‘our’ when describing the common Yugoslav scene. By that, you meant ‘our’ common space. What does ‘our’ mean when we use it. I always hear the same thing when I am communicating with colleagues from Slovenia, Macedonia or other Yugoslav environments. This means that we had something in common not only in the cultural sense but also in the life sense too. Therefore ‘common’ is already in the foundation of expression. This is why I often say a bigger country gives a more open perspective and as such the country is more important for the cultural development of the community. On another side, today we are in individual countries but our space is claustrophobic. You can feel it in our physical public space too. Our public space today has all those ‘ethnic and urbanistic’ marks which are directly attacking ‘healthy thinking’, and the urban sense that developed in these cities.

**JK:** Can you tell me about your studies when and how they occurred?

**AM:** I finished my studies in 1987 when in Sarajevo there was an explosion of ‘urbanity’. It was a period when a whole new branch of art called *New Primitivism* emerged. Also, that period was characterized by a new wave of democratization that penetrated the society. Firstly, I engaged in creating the content of the newspaper *Valter*, which was media for the young people, not only to discuss old socialist tendencies but to open new perspectives. At the same moment, the whole country experienced a wave of nationalist revival – which was per se anti-communist. Even so, this wave was significant, young people still identified themselves as anti-fascist. So, in general, on the whole Yugoslav territory, you could find strong anti-fascist circles, which signified a strong urban power at the moment when the country collapsed. Those circles were not only signifying anti-fascist signals but also liberal and cosmopolitan ones.

**JK:** Were they the only ones?

**AM:** The change of the regime brought new nationalist in power that received the biggest resistance from the urban areas, where this important anti-fascist heritage was the most present. What I believe our biggest mistake at the moment of the creation of the new countries was that the politics resolved the questions in a top-down manner in each of the republics separately when we desperately needed unity in the action. Even so, the anti-fascist commitment in the urbanity of the ordinary Yugoslav city was on a high level, and the rural parts of the country were holding a stronger power. I will try to give you my interpretation of this. If you look at the average worker’s town such as Zenica for example (which was created by top party officials), you will understand that all those workers were hired to execute the industrialization in Yugoslavia. The workers were forced to leave their rural homes, move into the new worker’s cities, and placed in worker neighbourhoods and workers houses [[radnicke barake](#)]. Those people were not happy for sure, and this is how nationalism won. Those people were the holders of the new nationalistic power –they created the spirit or climate in those worker cities.

**JK:** How did you enter into the professional world?

**AM:** I got my position as an assistant at the *Faculty of Philosophy*, where even in the incredible time of the beginning of the 1990s we still felt freedom and expressed solidarity but we could not sense that soon we would need to mobilize ourselves. At that time, I was a member of the *League of Communists of Yugoslavia* but for sure I never went to their meetings, since for me it was more fun to play in my music band called *Still Crazy*. The war started as a rural creation. During the war, under the siege, I worked as a journalist and reported on the war front. After the war, I found a position at the *Federal Ministry of Spatial Planning* in an administrative unit. From there I came to the faculty and I stayed in the academic field until the present.

**JK:** Were you in private or professional contact with colleagues from the other socialist republics?

**AM:** After 1998 I started to regain contacts with colleagues from the region. It happened at a conference organized in Budapest, where we quickly learned who we are and we hanged out in the informal parts of the conference, smoking cigarettes etc., even though, we were in the war until yesterday. I must say that I have active cooperative academic contacts with many colleagues from the countries of Yugoslavia, and honestly, I can say 'I can count on them'. Some of us will say that the closeness is because of the language, but this is not so true. For example, the Macedonian language is different but in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we still use the expression – "If you visit Macedonia, don't worry you will not stay hungry" (haha). This means that somehow you will find your way because of the cultural closeness. On another hand, nationalist powers are contributing to something different. Firstly, they preoccupied people with politics. If people are not preoccupied with nationalistic politics they would never turn towards each other naturally. I am not talking only to the intellectuals, I am referring to everyday regular discourse among ordinary people. In this manner, you can see the example of Kosovo and Albania. They talk the same language but people will tell you that they differentiate themselves. The ones from Kosovo feel and subtly express their Yugoslav identity.

**JK:** What were the important cultural hotspots in Sarajevo?

**AM:** For me, there were several, for example, the *Coffee Gallery Zvono*. The waiter in this bar was the famous writer Semezdin Mehmedinović. Also the circle around the magazine *Odjek*. *Odjek* was the intellectual matrix.

**JK:** How do you see Sarajevo today?

**AM:** I would say that these cities lack civilization identity today. Skopje is an incredible example of that. After the famous earthquake, the regime invited the most progressive world urbanists and architects to design the city. If that catastrophe occurred today, the political power I am sure would invite the closest architects to them to design it. The communist power organized Tange to work in Skopje. Today all those Yugoslav cities have this counter nationalistic invasion. From Sarajevo to Belgrade to Skopje. Look at the topography of Skopje and Sarajevo. They are both cities with a similar topography since both of them are based on a basin. You can understand that the spatial planners in Yugoslavia wanted to create a balance with the surrounding, to equilibrate the environment and to make balance with nature etc. Today Skopje, Sarajevo and Belgrade are the most polluted cities in Europe.

**JK:** How did it come to this?

**AM:** The cities are in transition. The class gaps and differences widened so the poor people started polluting as a consequence of it. You will see shiny skyscrapers and then slums next to them. These are all the products of the transition.

**JK:** How did this yield?

**AM:** This all started to occur when the private initiative in Yugoslavia was enabled in the 1980s when the first corruption tendencies occurred. It started to be clear at the time when the Olympic games were held. Nevertheless, traces in this behaviour of the people could be found in the 1960s and 1970s. Something which I think is still important to understand is that back in the days we had a Marxist understanding of nature. An ideology that teaches us about harmony. Harmony of the resources. It is quite different from the religious understanding which teaches us to reproduce and to multiply etc. God tells us to use the resources, this is not ecological. Back in the days, we had a Marxist approach to nature. We thought about how we would not abuse the resources, and live in harmony with what we have. The war on the contrary wanted to destroy all the human, cultural and green spaces the city had. If you see Grbavica, a city which architects complain that looks ugly as an ugly worker neighbourhood, yet it contains all the socialist criteria for a good neighbourhood. It has green spaces and a nice *House of the Culture* [*Dom Kulture*]. Today we have clan thinking and sell-off of the public goods. This story reminds me of a video where Putin explains to some factory workers and shows a small road where people can protest. This means that the public space shrank.

The 1990s are described as a capital breakthrough and how corruptive capitalism bought everything that was civilly owned. Everything that was socially owned was privatized by the new respective countries and later sold to private owners. The workers who previously owned the factories could not believe that their factory was closed down so that their new boss could buy a nice car. The same became very clear to me in 2014, when we arranged a protest in front of Centre Skenderija against bad societal conditions. Skenderija was civically built and owned in Yugoslavia. In 2014 the new country required from us 2000 EUR to allow us to protest in front of it. Can you believe this, pay to protest?! Later through connections with international bodies and pressure on the local powers, they gave us the space for free. This tells you something very important, that the public space for critical thinking was shrinking too.

**JK:** Was this part of a larger movement of state privatization?

**AM:** We can ignore many things but by analyzing architecture things can't be ignored. It is all visible (haha). This is why a good quality culture can't emerge when there are ethnic politics that have no deeper value. This is why public space should not be on the market, it should be to resolve our collective questions in our collective civic community. This is why you can't charge with the same price list a civic protest and a concert from some of our turbo-folk stars. There should be proper evaluation. This also means that you need to revive the civic community in parallel. In Yugoslavia, it was meant to establish some healthy competition. Each environment should be designed for the development of its criteria. Events and conference spaces should establish their individual social and cultural criteria.

**JK:** How was Sarajevo under the siege?

**AM:** Sarajevo under the siege was a struggle for the cosmopolitan spirit. Its objective was trying hard to keep the unity in the differences and to produce resilience, which was hard to be produced.

**JK:** Why does Sarajevo produce good humour?

**AM:** Sarajevo has good humour because there is a lot of irony in everyday life. This is why it is successful and because it tries to deal with existential moments. As existentialism is in a crisis it reflects on the quality of humour. This is why the Macedonian and Bosnian people are funny.

## “WE DELIVERED COMPLEX MESSAGE TO THEM IN A VERY SIMPLE WAY”

December 24, 2020

Online, 16:00h – 17:30h

Zenit Đozić, (1961, Bugojno), actor, member of the satirical comedy group *The Top List of the Surrealists*, member and founding father of the artistic movement *New Primitivism*  
 Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

I met Zenit Đozić several years ago at one of the conferences of *Urban Think Tank* which emerged around the project of Haris Piplas and their involvement in the Balkan Region. Therefore, I contacted Đozić to conduct his testimonial and he accepted it. Mr Đozić is a person which is known well by every citizen in the region because of his popularity through the sitcom *The Top List of the Surrealists* [*Top Lista Nadrealista*]. Nevertheless, he has an open and friendly approach coming from his original perspectives on the region, on Europe and the world in general.

**JK:** Where and how did your life journey start?

**ZĐ:** I was born in the city of Bugojno (on today's territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina), in 1961. It's not that I have family heritage or relatives from there, but in that time (in socialist times) the practice was the some of the professional staff was allocated in different specific cities etc. My father was a bank employee, and they transferred him to be the manager of the bank branch in the city of Bugojno. Before this, my family was based in the city of Jajce where my older brother was born, and then they came to Bugojno where I was born. We lived there until I was in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade of my primary school. Moreover, the city of Bugojno is interesting for the type of image you try to reconstruct through your thesis. First of all, Bugojno is a small rural city, without any big energy or any other type of potential. It has only 20.000 – 30.000 citizens. In today's terms, that city would be doomed, but in the times when we lived there, it was one very interesting city. There was the army industry in the city, which meant that a lot of expert engineers were based there. The city attracted people from all over Yugoslavia, for example, in my early childhood, my two best friends were two twin girls from Pula.

It is also interesting that my mother gave birth to me with the help of doctor Waldegg. He was a German man who stayed in Yugoslavia after World War II. Waldegg married a Bosnian girl and stayed around. His son Petar Waldegg was my professor at the art academy and he was a very good graphic artist too. Let me get back to Bugojno, the city had this specific army industry. At the same time, Bugojno was a point where the nationalistic powers were strong, such as the Serbian component, the Muslim one etc. This is why Tito visited the city several times. When I was a child he came three or four times (haha). What is important for Bugojno is that in the 1970s a terrorist group was inserted near that region - an Ustaše group. I believe they were eleven people who were trained in Australia. The group came to Bugojno with the belief that they would attract sympathy with the Croatian people, to prorogue and to crash the system etc. The regime wanted to put an end to the group, but not directly. They tried to test if the people would have a real resistance to this terrorist group, and because of this a lot of people died. I think Tito pardoned one of them, a man which was underage at the time. So that is the context of the environment of Bugojno. A developed army industry from one side, sceptic international relations from another and great nature from a third. There is one beautiful river where I loved to swim.

We are coming to the point why Bugojno was personally so important for me. In Bugojno they were shooting one big scene of the partisan movie the Battle of Neretva. The shooting of the movie ran two years late, because of the thousands of materials that needed to be assembled. I participated in the movie set which depicted a scene from World War II. The shooting of this movie scene lasted two years, and it made all these incredible happenings in my life.

First of all, the top elite Yugoslav stars such as Ljubiša Samardžić, and Bata Zivojinović, (complete top acting elite) came to Bugojno. My brother and I acted as cameos in the movie. Around us, there was always an incredible number of tanks and machine guns. It was also incredible because in the air there were so many traces of the weapons. It was one incredible spectacle, and I think that type of spectacle no one has ever experienced. That was one huge budget.

**JK:** Was this your first paid (professional) working experience?

**ZĐ:** Yes. They paid for it, we had some money.

What is interesting is that the poster for the movie was made by Picasso, and Orson Welles acted in the movie. So, it's was a comic situation that in Bugojno I acted in the same movie with Orson Welles (haha). I want to say that I was amazed by all this since it occurred in the small city of Bugojno. I don't know how you are going to interpret this but I was very young, just a child. At one point it was hard to understand if I was really part of World War II or if I was just dreaming about it. Everything was so convincing. For example, across the building where my father worked, a war scene was shot with a lot of wounded soldiers, bombs and all that. I participated in that particular scene. During the scene, Veljko Bulaić (the movie director) always gave directions to the assistants to put explosive as much as possible so they can be more convincing. So, at one point, for the movie, they destroyed the building near my father's office. At that moment I was at my father's office, which is the next building and when the explosion happened, I fell on the floor because of the intensity. It was incredible because you could see the glass around was all broken. I believe that one of the camera guys died at the shootings. As you can understand, my childhood was closely related to this happening. The 'smell of the movie' made me remember it for the rest of my life. How can I say? That was one ambience that was very incredible to work and live in.

**JK:** How was *The Top List of the Surrealists* born?

**ZĐ:** I started attending high school in Sarajevo and there our joint mission started (thinking of *The Top List of the Surrealists*).

**JK:** Were you all a part of some school artistic section?

**ZĐ:** No, no, it wasn't like that. Sure, we had some drama clubs in the *Local Communities* [*Mjesni Zajednici*], but they did not give a lot of results. Like all the local football teams, only once in a while, somebody will become a star. Our story was different. We started when we were teenagers, as I remember we were fifteen years old at the time. We started by exchanging movies, books, and a lot of music. I think our first 'media appearance' was on the school wall which was dedicated to posters. Those walls had the characteristic of what today we call multimedia. Those posters were a mix of photography, design and text. We mostly used them for – May 1<sup>st</sup> (*Labor Day*) or November 29<sup>th</sup> (the *Independence Day of Yugoslavia*) which as you know was the socialist tradition. Anyhow, we started using them (with the group of *The Top List of the Surrealists*) for our mission – as some sort of a joke. A subversion of the system started like that. Be aware that it was not a subversion in the sense that we positioned ourselves as important rebels, but it was simply our criticism of what was happening around, the meaning of that, and positioning some of our ideas about life etc. Those posters were also our first problem with the system (haha). First, they took us to our school psychiatric office to analyze us (haha) and then we went to the director, he tortured us furthermore etc. In this case, I can say that this is how it started. We can't say that it was one continuous work from then on, but those were our first touches between us, and I think our first touches were a crucial thing. We became who we were due to one synergy in the society that occurred, a collective that gathered young people. 'Hanging out' was the most crucial thing to develop all of those ideas. I am underlining this. We saw that we have some common interest in music, then we organized our band and we created our studio in a basement of a building in the city centre.

**JK:** Did you pay for the basement studio?

**ZĐ:** No. We got that from the house council, and we relied on our parent's connections, so they gave us one preliminary permit. In the neighbourhood, not all of them were happy that we were there (haha). The apartments which were the closest found it impossible to isolate themselves from our music.

**JK:** Were you the only band in the neighbourhood?

In that period, the ambience allowed a huge amount of newly formed bands. In every neighbourhood of Sarajevo, there were music bands. Everybody wanted to be a member of a band. We were the generation after *Bjelo Dugme* and *Indeksi*. You know that they were the legendary bands that yielded this ambience. For example, in our neighbourhood Koševo Brdo, there were three or four bands that were training. Most of them became significant bands. For example, *Tifa* was singing in the group *Top, Zabranjeno Pusenje, Znak Sreće*. I still have the posters from that time and the commercials in the newspapers etc. You can see on those posters that around twenty bands participated in concerts that took place at the youth centres. The socialist system had a significant valve where the system wanted to offer young people to be recorded and to be seen. At the same time, it wanted to represent itself as system-oriented towards young people. The west thought that the system forbids us from being creative, and on another side, our system wanted to show that it was not forbidden. Our rebellion towards the system was written in the texts of the songs. It was some socially engaged music.

**JK:** How was Sarajevo back then?

**ZĐ:** Yes, let me get back to Sarajevo. It was once a vibrant scene. There was a large number of concerts for the youth. All of those concerts took place at the youth centres, the Center Skenderija was built for that purpose. The point was that bands emerged since they believed that they would have a place to appear. The central hall was at the Center Skenderija, and the second one was at the Youth House. The second hall was a bit smaller with a capacity of 1500-2000 people. The concept was that if you can appear at Center Skenderija and fill it with the audience, you could eventually say that as a band you are ready to perform on the Yugoslav scene. This meant that if you have 1000 supporters in Sarajevo it would mean that you would have supporters in Belgrade, in Zagreb, in Skopje etc. That is how Skenderija was a measurement to tell you what level of musician you are. In Skenderija we had spaces in the basement to play and to practice our music, we could record music there and they were for free. So, it was very important for a scene to be created, and the scene was created. That scene was self – sufficient. A scene that can nurture itself. On one side, you have people that would love to play and on another side, an audience that would pay for a ticket to listen to rock and roll. That is how the scene was created. The bands wanted to be successful, to be front runners etc. That scene in Sarajevo, I believe it functioned in the same manner in Belgrade or Skopje, Pula, Maribor or Zagreb. That was at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s.

**JK:** Did the same trend follow in the 1980s?

**ZĐ:** Let's talk more about the 1970s. The 1970s were the years when *Bjelo Dugme* (trans. *White Button*) came out on the scene. For us, they were similar to *Led Zeppelin* or the *Beatles*, which in the western world was considered as the establishment. At the beginning of the 1980s punk started to show up. In England, it signified that they wanted to demolish big names, as a new idea to enter the scene. The same happened in our scene too. For us, for example, *Bjelo Dugme* was one huge enormous barrier – in a creative sense. Let me explain this better. What happened is that

a lot of bands tried to succeed with the same formula as *Bjelo Dugme*. They wanted to make music similar to *Bjelo Dugme*, and as such, they were not appealing. Our decision was not to follow their path but to create our 'authentic expression'. This meant to ask ourselves who are we, what we are good at, and what type of music we need to create. A lot of our colleagues followed the punk trace. We respected punk, but we wanted to insert our note. This is how we chose folk music, and this is how we created the movement New Primitivism. We saved our Sevdalinka (Bosnian folklore songs). The 'new primitive language' which occurred on the streets, the elements of punk and rock created our synthesis. This is how we came to our 'authentic expression'. What we are proudest of today is that we got a place on our cultural map since we developed our authentic product.

The fact that we first had our radio show and later we developed our TV show that was called *The Top List of the Surrealists* was most attractive for us. It had its specific breakthrough and original expression. I don't have the official statistics but I saw somewhere that it was the most popular program in the history of Yugoslavian television. Again, that incredible mix between rock and roll, between radio, TV and art gave our unique expression and created one incredible picture for the rest of Yugoslavia that in Sarajevo something really big was occurring. It was colored with immense creative energy. With *The Top List of the Surrealists*, we gained a lot of sympathy across Yugoslavia, in Slovenia and in Macedonia for example, which is the most special for us. This is important since those two countries are not from our language area but still, we were 'big stars' there. Those times were the highest 'cultural upswing' of the city of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Let's come back to your idea. It is very interesting in the whole story that we did not succeed in commercially exploit our work. We did not even closely succeed to charge of what we had done. First of all, because of some of our beliefs, maybe we were not that interested in money. I always ask myself why was it like that. First of all, our socialist system discouraged the participation of the individual, it gave more advantages to the collective. For example, even though we were the biggest TV stars, there were situations when our salary was a little bit bigger than the cleaning service that worked in the TV building. I am saying this because we had the most viewed show in the history of Yugoslav TV. Don't mention owning an apartment or something like that. The game was that the socialist system gave us the idea that we cannot obtain money (let's put it simply haha). Sure, you will have where to sleep and to eat etc., but don't dream that you will become rich.

**JK:** How did you perceive commercialization?

**ZĐ:** We were cautious about the 'commercialization of the creation'. The biggest taboo was to work on a commissioned job. This meant that you sold yourself for money. That's why no one liked Brega (Goran Bregović). He made so much money. I remember well how he explained that the country taxed him with 90% taxes. He said, "they took everything". The country did not allow us to become rich, but it offered us some other things that came for free.

**JK:** How did you organize your life back then?

**ZĐ:** We were the early ones to announce what is happening today in the Balkans. We all lived with our parents. Moreover, the problem was that our funding was not consistent. The problem was that sometimes you make a lot of money and then you have months and months with nothing. Don't forget that we had some troubles with the country too. Several times we were forbidden by the country. They banned us and they put us in court around various affairs based on allegations that we took drugs and we were associated with underage girls etc. Some authorities wanted to stomp us with their feet. If we began five years earlier I am sure that they would have succeeded with it. They would bring us under their control. With this, I am finally coming to summarize the most two important things for creation back then. First, it was the worst to work for money and second to work for the country. In the second case, you were some sort of propaganda. For example, someone who created a revolutionary song to celebrate

Tito etc. For us, this was the lowest point of the quality of creation. The same was with the creation that was done to obtain money. This was maybe some naive reflection of the hippy movement.

Overall, we did not reject the idea of money. We would love to get rich (haha), but in that system it was impossible, so we said “Forget about that – let’s not lose energy and focus on creation itself, getting rich will simply never happen”. The idea was not to try and lose our energy on that. What personally attracted me the most was ‘the excitement of creating’, when the synergy is made from several ideas and something good happens. I think that creativity was enabled by collective work. That team behind the *Top List of the Surrealists* as a collective work, for me, was the biggest value. We can call it even civilizational value. I honestly doubt that any one of us could individually create something. To a certain point maybe, but not until completion. The happiness we came across from a good song or when we shot something funny brought me the most joy. I can say even today it’s like that.

**JK:** I am interested in how you developed your critical thinking – you mentioned at the beginning of your testimonial that it’s needed for humour too?

**ZĐ:** I must say that we did not start creating with the idea to break the system down, it was not that direct. That conclusion came much later when I reanalyzed the videos which were produced back in the days. Yes, we were interested in topics with which we had personal problems. These problems in the socialist system were a rigid economical system that does not function, thousands of civic problems, crisis, lack of products etc. In the society, there was nepotism, corruption etc. Those were the things that were our reality and once we analyzed all those things we came across an absurd. We noticed absurd things. We had that talent to pick those absurd things and then repack them in a humoristic sense. We wanted it to become clear for everybody, not only the various nationalities in Yugoslavia but also the people coming from different backgrounds, different ages etc. To conclude, only much later we understood how precise we were back in the days. We understood that we simply ‘hit the hot topics’ efficiently and that became our trademark. We always expressed those problems without the intention to educate others but simply to find the funny component in all that. If you analyze humour, in the core it has one very strong component that if it’s successfully presented, it has the power to unite the problem and to show it in real light. Humour takes the essence out of each idea. Humour is exactly that, and it has to be very simple. If you can succeed to make a very complex situation simple – you have succeeded in humour.

**JK:** How did you understand all this? Do you think you were somehow special?

**ZĐ:** At that moment I thought I knew everything (haha).

In principle, it’s hard for me to tell you what I was thinking back in the days about that. We were all under the influence of the global scene, and the popular movies too, such as *The Strawberry Statement*, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, but also the eastern influence. What they would say Toastoevski (haha), I am kidding, I am thinking of Tarkovsky. I want to say that we had an interest in art and a lot of that left an impression on us. It was a wish to understand who we are, and what kind of world we live in, etc. We were interested in what we can do with it too. It is important that as a group we never had any strategy and we never had propaganda like the NGO of today have. Their propaganda says “we will do the things in this and that way”. The best of all these things was that we were spontaneous. It is completely crazy that we succeeded in that spontaneity and that we did not fall apart. Often things that developed in that manner spontaneously fell apart.

We did not fell apart because of some things that we already determined. This was our work on the radio. The radio is a great media and you rely on words. So, if you want to explain a scene then you must be vocal. For example, if you have a movie then you don’t need to explain anything. It is always clear, there is a particular scene, for example, a war scene, with a lot of weapons, tanks etc. If you are on the radio, you need to create a mental image for the audience,

and to work with symbols. So, you need to learn how to make every noise of those tanks. The radio helped us to be successful in TV shows and music afterwards. What is more important is that we never had formal education in acting etc. It is really strange how we started the show on the radio. We asked everyone if we could have a small show but no one wanted us. We only required 15 minutes of public presence but no one wanted to give us space. Then, one kind woman which had this TV trash folk program was very friendly and said "Sure you can come and you can do your program within my program". So, it was us, the underground revolutionaries that entered the worst possible trash show, which was a marginal side program. Also, this program had the worst possible timeframe, it was shown on Thursday at 8:00 am - the worst TV time. Everyone back in the day wanted to be on the afternoons of Saturday or Sunday, and not in the morning of a working day. Our energy did not merge with the trash program. We synthesized it very well with our satire, but this is how we approached the audience which was naturally so far away from us. This is how our audience was both the intellectuals and the popular. We also had a young audience and an aged audience. We delivered a complex message in a very simple way. That was one huge success for us.

**JK:** Maybe your motivation was nationalism which occurred in the 1980s? I am curious to hear what was on the street when you mention "on the street"?

**ZĐ:** Ok. Nationalism became reality on the street in the second part of the 1980s. Until that point, it was not visible. One would state that it was suppressed, but I think there was not much to provoke it or to make it alive etc. Anyhow, as Tito died the nationalist variants came. People saw nationalism as something that can get them out of the whole situation. Others saw nationalism as an opportunity to gather, to be dominant, and to become a dominant force on that scene. For example, our first series was shot in 1984, and our second in 1989. In the second one, you can strongly see the topic of nationalism. You know the video National detector - instead of those detectors for metal at the airport, you have a detector with which you can detect who is a nationalist (haha). The joke was that by basically testing the members of the communist party we can figure out that they were all nationalists. We wanted to say that nationalism is also present in the communist party. Most importantly, this meant that we felt that nationalism strongly and step by step it became the main topic of our videos. The series of 1993 was completely dedicated to our fear of the upcoming nationalism and we wanted to influence the consciousness of our people, to tell them to stay away from that nationalist scheme since we knew that it will be hard to resolve.

We sensed that nationalism is a formula that will eventually lead to bloodshed in our Balkan region. If we go down that path it would come to it. We mentioned that in many of these satirical shows. Even today we are famous for that. Do you remember the episode where we showed that Sarajevo will be divided into two parts with a wall between them? We went even further than Bosnia and Herzegovina. We understood that nationalism is present in Europe and that Europe will 'balkanize' over time too. We showed that in our video titled *the last Yugoslav* where Europe is watching everybody in the Balkans trying to kill each other. Finally, when there is only the last Yugoslav left, the European Union and EU, decides to let him IN. Nevertheless, when he goes to the EU, he understands that the same nationalist forces are on the scene there, he sees how nationalism is the biggest threat to one collective project, and he believes that Yugoslavia was a similar project to the EU.

**JK:** If you say that young people had the desire to participate in the common cultural scene, then it's strange where nationalism came from?

**ZĐ:** Yes, I get the question. I believe that it is a complex question. On this, I can only support some of the existing theories which you probably already know. Maybe it will be more useful if I can tell you one different perspective on things from my angle. I also believe that this is the opinion of my generation too. I believe that nationalism was always here and not something that came all of a sudden. I also believe that we decided to ignore it and to consider it insignificant. To ignore it was the condition for our collective action. For example, in our humour group, people with different ethnic backgrounds were involved, and we all had different family situations too. Creation from this

type of group needed conditions as in some sort of computer language. For example, there must be a 'code' of living' and a 'code of behaving'. It was necessary because we could do jokes on everything we wanted, like Nationalism, and religious faiths (Serbian orthodox or Muslim). We were sure that we can do all those jokes because it was the feeling of freedom. Since we saw each other as Yugoslavs, the only thing which was not exposed in the jokes was Yugoslavia. This was because we did not see the need to make jokes about it.

I believe that if we saw the need to talk about it, we would probably include it in our jokes too. In a completely spontaneous way, without any pushes or any restrictions, simply in a natural way we tried to ignore the history of our different nations. That was one fantastic formula and it freed up our spirit. It freed us from our heritage and gave us incredible creative energy. The result of that creative energy was the work that is ranked as the highest quality of Bosnian creation. Let's go further. The internal harmony was imbalanced when an individual started to think that it's more important to belong to his religious faith, or his nation and rather than to belong to one creative group - that's when the problems emerged. That imbalance allowed unimpeded passage, let's say as "at once the dam bursts" and nothing can stop the damage. In those arguments between each other, some fragments stayed on the same position and the same ideas, but our significance was getting lower and at one point we became insignificant. I believe that if a synergy between that nationalities emerges again it would be the only way for something new to occur. To be honest, I don't expect too much from all of these separate nations. I believe that we have one complete collapse – a creative, philosophical, and economical collapse. I believe that the common creative energy was the crucial civilization progress we had on this territory. I am commenting on the short period which you are analyzing through your thesis.

**JK:** How was the ambience of Sarajevo in the 1990s?

**ZĐ:** Sarajevo in the 1990s was (takes a deep breath) a strange place. It was a strange mix, there was everything, from one creative energy to a feeling of an upcoming catastrophe. I don't want to enter the myth of Sarajevo as one perfect city. Sarajevo was good enough to create a myth about itself and there were reasons for such a myth. That myth we need to say was partly created by some creative people. From today's perspective, I blame many things. (Pause) Sarajevo was the last victim of Nationalism. This nationalism originally emerged in clean national environments such as the city of Belgrade and Zagreb. Those cities were clean national environments. It was much easier for them to express their dissatisfaction and to state that they are some 'endangered nation'. The term 'endangered nation' is the funniest term I have ever come across.

In general, Sarajevo was in the last place of the sequence of events. Through our TV shows, we wanted to express conciseness that we understand what awakening nationalism brings. We knew that this would be a catastrophe for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We planned to warn the audience about that. For example, I wrote a humour piece for a *hidden camera*, in which I was an expert. In 1991, the ambience was that they were creating the Serbian Paramilitary forces, the Muslim body was the second front and the Croatians were the third. So, the state was facing a catastrophe, the government collapsed and the army was here. For the everyday citizen, it meant that if you go to army training you are on the side of the Serbs, or if you don't go to army training then you are Bosnian or Croatian. In our hidden camera, we fake called citizens to join the army (haha). In that piece, you can see many everyday people confronting this call to join the army. You can watch this piece on *YouTube*, it's titled *hidden camera* or *fake call to join the army*. We wanted to wake people from this dream and to warn them about the catastrophe, but we did not succeed. This tells you the power that art has on people. People loved us, they thought we are funny, they laughed at our jokes but they were not ready to change their opinion. They were not ready to change their opinion even when you gave them all the arguments to do so. The whole situation reminds me of today's situation too. I saw that in the USA, people who are on their death beds in the hospital from COVID 19, still say that the virus does not exist. It reminded me of the whole mentality we had in the 1990s. The people could see everything enough but they wanted to see nothing (haha). They did not want to change their opinion. If the family or the church installs something, it's very hard to change your opinion.

**JK:** What were the important points in Sarajevo?

**ZĐ:** The Olympic games were very important for Sarajevo. Sarajevo with its condition was a small closed Yugoslav city before the Olympic games. At one moment, it received the opportunity to organize something like that, where the whole of Yugoslavia puts an effort to invest in one cultural lifting of that city and to make it more appealing etc. The city transformed in all senses, it changed the squares, it installed different sources of energy for heating, it built hotels etc. It can be said that “one opening of the brain” occurred. The bars had permits to stay open until eleven. A new culture came, the culture of disco clubs and concerts etc. The city Europeanized itself in a way, and that gave us a specific cultural upheaval. It was great for our generation since something new occurred every other day. We had the impulse of cities like London or Paris, where you have a different concert or a new place pop up every day. Epic places were opened, and I participated in the opening of some of those places - like club Kuk, which was a part of the faculty of medicine. We had a concert by *No Smoking* [*Zabranjeno Pušenje*] on opening day. KUK became a cult place. There was Cedus – which was a student association. As you see, all those places included students which means that the country helped us to develop them. Afterwards, some capitalistic places (haha) like Club Bosnia and Club 99 opened.

## I.2. YUGOSLAVIA – THE EMERGENCE OF EUROPE’S ALTERNATIVE

### I.2.1. ISLANDS OF RESISTANCE

The anti-colonial sentiments followed by the emerging *Socialist-Anarchist Movement* gradually flourished in the Balkans (p.22). In the region, bottom-up grassroots, which were linked to the movement, started emerging, [fig.006], and as such those grassroots took over the whole territory of the Balkan region and all of the territories in which the (Pre-) Yugoslav nations (p.262) were based. Smaller *Islands of Resistance* were steadily growing and in 1941 induced the *Yugoslav Uprising*, [fig.007], led by the *Partisan Movement* (1941-1945) and their organized *National Liberation Army* (NLA) (*National Liberation Movement*), which as part of the Allies in World War II, was seeking to liberate the Balkan region from the Nazi Occupation which had taken place in 1941.<sup>19</sup> That year, the bottom-up resistance among the people remained strong and the *Socialist-Anarchist Movement* played its part. This resistance for the people then signified freedom and liberation from previous colonial (both present in the Austro-Hungarian region and the Ottoman Empire, but also to critically depart from the forces of the European colonialism) and (Pre-) Yugoslav bourgeois society, as well as from the popularization of the ongoing growing capitalist premises. Even the new socialist paradigm emerged as a consequence of the ongoing trends, and it was understood that the socialist paradigm was the main opponent of the capitalist paradigm, and rarely considered as its ‘consequence’, [fig.008].

Locally (in the context), all the acknowledged ‘consequences’ were interpreted, so the different (Pre-) Yugoslav nations recognized *the Socialist-Anarchist Movement* as a common unifier, while the *Axis* led by Nazi Germany was recognized as a common enemy. In the year of 1942, the symbol of the *Yugoslav Uprising* arose as a result of the public hanging of Stjepan Filipović



Fig. 006| Map, ‘The emergence and development of the labour movement in our countries until the First World War’, Srba Nikolić, in the magazine *Decje Novine*, 1975



Fig. 007| Map, ‘Uprising in Yugoslavia: September 1941’



Fig. 008| Scene from the movie, *The elusive summer of '68*, Goran Paskaljević, 1984

<sup>19</sup> Ivo Banac, Yugoslavia, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 1084-1104.



Fig. 009| Photo, Stjepan Filipović – everlasting symbol of anti-fascism, Valjevo, 1942

(aged 26), who was shouting the partisan parole “Death to fascism, freedom to the people!”<sup>20</sup>, [fig.009]. Therefore, the battle of the *Partisan Movement* against the Nazi Occupation continued and remained strong, where around 1943, it was already visible that the *Axis* were ‘knocking it out of the park’ in the Balkans<sup>21</sup>, [fig.010]. Consequently, the (Pre-) Yugoslav call for independent critical thinking, [fig.011], which was initiated by the artistic circles, started to show tangible results, later impacting the future of the region (creation of Yugoslavia), yet also the future of Europe (departure from the Nazi dominance). As the priorities of the *National Liberation Movement* (NLM) were to overcome *cultural slavery* (cultural dependence<sup>22</sup>) (p.350), they remained present in the public discourse and gradually became popularized over time. Moreover, the artistic circles (including the architects, [fig.012]) took part in the *NLM* and battled together with the Partisan leaders and later Yugoslav politicians, [fig.013], which can be confirmed by the new links between the cultural creators and the politicians:

“I think the politics (luckily) in World War II and maybe even before that, the political leaders, were quite often prominent architects or people related to culture. You have Bogdan Bogdanović, who is a war hero, injured in the war, and a friend of Tito’s. He had an exceptional personality, and just after the war said to Tito and the other politicians on the top: ‘Listen, architecture is significant, we will do this and that.’ And they trusted him.

In Zagreb, this was the case with Vjenceslav Richter, who is also an *NLM* hero, and an exceptional architect and graphic designer. Those people like Juraj Neidhardt in Sarajevo, had great significance. In addition, we have the father of Zlatko Ugljen. Everywhere there was creation of those young architects – creators who had a close relationship with the top of the political establishment, and not with some municipal secretaries, but directly with Tito. In the literature, you have the example of Miroslav Krleža. Tito and Krleža were very close”.<sup>23</sup>

Hence, a new link between the artistic circles and the new politician elite (the partisan’s leaders) was created, as such emergence of ‘atypical links’ became possible after World War II and ‘served’ as opportunities for new friendships<sup>24</sup>, [fig.014]. An example is the friendship which thrived between Krleža and Tito, [fig.015], impacting the flow of the country, the position of the artistic disci-



Fig. 014| Photo, The Marshal performs the national dense



Fig. 015| Photo, Miroslav Krleža - photo taken by the president Tito

- 20 Stjepan Filipović was executed in Valjevo by the Nazis, in 1942, ‘ever since he became the everlasting symbol of anti-fascism’ - <https://libcom.org/history/stjepan-filipovic-everlasting-symbol-anti-facism>.
- 21 As seen on the popular evidence, [fig.005], hotspots of resistance emerged in different territories in the Balkan Region.
- 22 The same were detected in the (Pre) Yugoslav context. As seen on the popular evidence [fig.013].
- 23 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.151).
- 24 The battle field gave the opportunity new egalitarian woman – man, bat also men – artist relations to emerge. As seen on the popular evidence [fig.014], man and women attempt to create a cohesive society. Moreover, read (p.151) to understand how culture kept the Partisan Movement ‘alive’ during the liberation years.

plines in the society, and the final outcome of the *cultural artefacts*, which were later created in the new *reality*:

“Tito and Krleža [...]: Tito [...] spoke of the great mission of the intelligentsia, of progressive intelligence as a historical ally of the working class, of communists and anomalies in cultural life, of national relations in the field of culture and education, of a close cultural plan and of the struggle against the ideological influence of the class enemy”.<sup>25</sup>

Tito, through fostering a kind friendship with Krleža, brought the artistic (modernist) circles closer to the spatial decision-making processes for which the politicians had their power of decisions, implying that a new link between the cultural creator and the environment had emerged:

“The close connection of architects with fine artists, writers and other public workers of advanced orientation gave security for actions, especially to those who, with their attitude, could resist an environment that did not create a favorable climate for modern aspirations”.<sup>26</sup>

The same links arose between members of the *Socio-Anarchist Movement*, e.g. Edvard Kardelj (the founding father of self-management), who became the closest advisor of President Tito, [fig.016]. Naturally, Kardelj (as a member of the *Socio-Anarchist Movement*) envisioned that in the newly formed country, each human being will be able to govern themselves (the leading message of the self-management system) and that new qualitatively better life should be offered to the citizens (the basic socialist idea (p.172)). Thus, architects started to reflect on what type of environment should be offered in order to follow the ideas of Kardelj:

“In the first post-war years – we often tended to think that there was neither the time nor the opportunity to talk about man’s immediate environment and the organization of space in the environment. These words of Comrade Kardelj reveal him to us as the creator of the organized action of the new people’s government in terms of caring for his working man to raise his standard, to ensure his material and other needs, i.e. to care for a fulfilled life. Today, thirty years later, the visionary thought of Edvard Kardelj has been confirmed by practice, but it has remained a signpost to all efforts to make human life meaningful in the living and spiritual space”.<sup>27</sup>

This statement mirrored the way of thinking of architects: that they need to find an adequate spatial expression of the idea that people could govern themselves in the self-management system:



Fig. 016| Photo, President Tito discussing with Edvard Kardelj, 1964

25 Svetislav Pavicević, ‘The Art of the Labor People’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1961).

26 ‘Contribution of architects to the twentieth anniversary of the Socialist Revolution’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1962).

27 Fredor Kritovac, ‘The Art of the Labor People’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

“That is why even the smallest residential settlements or neighborhoods should be planned as a whole, as a picture of the world, the city as an expression of individual or collective will, the will of citizens to govern themselves”.<sup>28</sup>

The Yugoslav architects (as cultural creators), from that point, could engage with each other from a position of equality and friendship with the politicians, and were free to express their developed critical thinking. The architects also shared the overall critical thought of all of the cultural creators which shared the objective of the *Socio-Anarchist Movement*, e.g. the article *The Work Among Students in the Eyes of War* describes that the students of architecture and their Professors were developing their lefties’ group.<sup>29</sup> The newly gained position of the cultural creators and power can be confirmed from the letter which President Tito sent to the architects to encourage their upcoming “responsible work”, [fig.017]. Below is a paragraph excerpted from the memoir of Bogdan Bogdanović, in which the architect narrates his experience from the presentation of the Čačak Monument (1976-1980) to the authorities:

“The questions were mostly naïve. They concerned extremely secondary details. The *Minister of Defence*, who may have been an electrician in his youth, sternly questioned me about short circuits in the sculpture. When I reminded him, that cemeteries are generally not illuminated at night, he gasped in wonder. Koca Popovic, the *Minister of Foreign Affairs*, a pre-war *Surrealist* writer, was at ease when asking me in a low voice: ‘And where are your terracotta figurines?’ ... I could already talk to him in my own way. I kindly informed him: ‘They were bad, so they stayed at home.’ [...] Josip Broz was a bit milder, but it was the first time. He probably realized I wasn’t sitting idly by. And maybe he was dazzled not only by the multitude but also by the skillful processing of massive models. He himself mastered with passion. All over Yugoslavia, in his residences, he had small workshops in which, in his free time – and he had a lot of free time! – he made all kinds of trinkets. He especially liked to ‘drax’ the keys, the ideal, platonic keys from a non-existent lock. The decisive change of my mood in my favor occurred just as he was staring at the large-scale model of the entire complex and felt the wide-headed nails that marked the trees. ‘Look at this, sticks instead of a forest – colossal!’<sup>30</sup>

This excerpt makes it clear that the cultural creator felt comfortable to express their critical thinking in front of the political elite, in addition to the idea that they did not need to ‘marketize’ its cultural creation; rather it is a conversation in which there is a verbal battle, ‘as a game’ in which the cultural creator wants to beat the power (p.182). The overall developed critical thinking contributed towards the mission to convert the region into a culturally ‘self-reliant’ place (read IV.1.2.2.) since the civil society felt the famous Popov expression: “The East doesn’t like us; the West doesn’t care”<sup>31</sup>, [fig.018]. Hence,



Fig. 017| Page 2, Letter to the architects, from the president Tito, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.2, 1960, Beograd



Fig. 018| Scene from the movie, *Happy New Year '69*, Stole Popov, 1949

28 Selected by: S.Dakic, “Planning for man”, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1977).  
 29 Vjencisla Richtet, ‘About work among architecture students in the moments before the war’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1956).  
 30 Bogdan Bogdanović, *Haunted Builder* (Ukleti Neimar) (Novi Sad: MediTerran, 2011), p.155.  
 31 Stole Popov, *Happy New Year '49*, 1986.

Yugoslavia established its cultural creation as independent from the foreign influences and created by the newly gained Yugoslav authentic double critical filter from the one of the East, [fig.019] and the one of the West, [fig.020]. Popular evidence, demonstrates that the country, approximately thirty years after its formation from the emerging grassroots, [fig.006], showed its first tangible results – the political system, and buildings, [fig.021].

### 1.2.2. POINT 1945

1945 is the year in which the new socialist political paradigm became an official political choice of the newly emerged country – the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – as a point in which the political paradigm of the society was drastically and artificially changed. However, the transformations which established the new political paradigm took place gradually over the years of the liberation from German occupation (1941-1945), when the development of the events was ‘forecasting’ the upcoming changes, i.e. these years of liberation were forecasting the position of culture in the new society since the intensity of the rich cultural life never stopped besides the heavy reality of the circumstances of the war. Some of the pre-war cultural institutions and artistic collectives which functioned in them continued to function during the war. They organized cultural events in their original institutional buildings or the working collectives from those institutions joined the *Partisan Movement* and the battlefield. This was the case for the members of the *Yugoslav National Liberation Theater*, which took the photo while on the battlefield in 1944<sup>32</sup>, [fig.022], as shown by popular evidence. Moreover, there were collectives which established their activity during the war years; such being the case of the first Yugoslav journalist agency *Tanjug*, established on the battlefield in Jajce in 1943<sup>33</sup>, [fig.023]. During the liberation, the *Partisan Movement* regularly organized their assemblies which contained a cultural program.<sup>34</sup> This shows the importance of culture for the later newly established country SFRY and for the pre-Yugoslav cities<sup>35</sup>, [fig.024].

Despite the heavy war circumstances, they did not put a stop to the rich cultural life already existent in pre-Yugoslav times. According to the protagonist, such pre-Yugoslav rich cultural life in the cities presented a foundation for the same life to develop in the Yugoslav epoch too. Many cultural institutions



Fig. 019| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 020| Poster, *BITEF 10*, 1976, Beograd



Fig. 021| Map, ‘The new constitution of SFRY’, Srba Nikolic, in the magazine *Decje Novine*, 1975



Fig. 022| Photo, The members of the theatre on the *National Liberation of Yugoslavia*, Ticevo, 1944

32 Mika Haravan (from the book of memories of the fighters of the First Proletarian Brigade), Published by www.yugopapir.com.

33 Front, 1973, Published by www.yugopapir.com.

34 Such is the case of the second assembly of the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (ACNLY), organised in Jajce in 1944. The meetings followed by cultural program in which the artistic collectives from the individual Yugoslav republics took place.

35 Testimonial Predrag Penušliški, Skopje, 2017 (p.25).



Fig. 025| Scene from the movie, *Innocence Unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968



Fig. 026| Scene from the movie, *Innocence Unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968



Fig. 027| Scene from the movie, *Walter Defends Sarajevo*, Hajrudin Krvavac, 1972

in Yugoslav cities stayed open and even achieved success during the war years<sup>36</sup>, [fig.025], leading to the interpretation that culture received “a special place and a special social significance”<sup>37</sup> since the cultural institutions also took part in the socialist revolution of the country and gave their significant contribution; at *Point 1945* they changed their meaning and significance, as the same was already aroused in the Yugoslav cities:

“[...] and accepted the museum of his city as a civic necessity and an imperative, and not only a cultural policy. Resistances were broken and dilemmas were overcome in pre-war Belgrade. The museum, as the City Museum, separated from the library in 1940, and from then onwards it exists as an independent institution. Since 1945, it has been called the *Museum of the City of Belgrade*”.<sup>38</sup>

Keeping the cultural institutions open and active for the local population presented a gesture of rebellion and show of resistance to the German Occupation, which had the ambition to keep the cultural institutions open and run the cultural life of the city in order to falsely illustrate normality in the situation, [fig.026]: “The occupying authorities in Belgrade sought, especially in the first year of the war, to create the illusion of normalizing the situation in the city. Thus, they did not formally stop working in their native cultural institutions”.<sup>39</sup> In that manner the Yugoslav cities became the largest obstacle and the main enemy of the German Occupation since they had already had their developed critical mechanism (and strong logistical power) to resist the cultural politics of the co-curator, who also had their cultural ambitions, [fig.027]:

“The cultural policy of the occupier and his servants was an important component in the organization of the occupying system, and the work of cultural institutions is certainly a special subject of interest of the occupying authorities. While the German military force was on the offensive, it paid attention, of course, with a certain goal and certain issues in culture”.<sup>40</sup>

Once the war was over and the cities were formally liberated, cultural life could quickly return to its full capacity and new flow of its activation. The Yugoslav victory over Naziism was declared and SFRY was established at the Second Assembly of the *ACNLY*, held in Belgrade in 1943.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the cities were formally liberated too, followed by welcoming marches of the *Partisan Movement*. It was then that the new country – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) – was formed and organized as a federation of seven

36 Theaters in the Balkans were ‘an opposition’ entities to foreign powers which occupy the region. For instance, the theaters in the city of Skopje make their program to oppose the presence of the Roman Empire.

37 Richtet, ‘About work among architecture students in the moments before the war’, *Op.cit.*

38 Gordana Harisić, historian of art, ‘Museum of the City’, *Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1975).

39 *Ibid.*

40 *Ibid.*

41 An Interview with Gal Kirn, ‘How Yugoslavia’s Partisans Built a New Socialist Society’, 2020, <<https://jacobinmag.com>>.

independent socialist republics and two autonomous provinces, and the city of Belgrade as a capital city and administrative political core of the country, [fig.028, fig.029].

SFRY distinguished itself on the basis of “the country not being registered as a state property but rather as a *civic property* [друштвена имовина]”,<sup>42</sup> and each of the individual socialist republics had their individual political organization. The cities also received their individual re-administrative planification and their new administrative divisions, [fig.030]. *Point 1945* and the installation of the new political socialist paradigm also meant introduction to new land politics: all of the land became a collective civic property which needed to be at the disposal of the citizens and their needs. Such a shift was part of the socialist concept where the private land and properties on it had been nationalized and collectivized. The same type of nationalization and collectivization was applied to the cultural institutions and buildings in which they took place. The individual private properties, though, became Yugoslav, Republican or belonging to the individual cities, so the new land policy needed to stimulate the envisioned ‘democratization’ processes, which according to the architectural criticism was necessary for becoming the country’s basis:

“The problem of imaginary relations in our society is quite neglected and unsolved. I would even say that today land relations are more conservative than in capitalism, where private property is sacred. Our land policy should be based on a long-term basis”.<sup>43</sup>

The cities at the end of war needed re-programming and integrating into the existent cultural infrastructure, with the newly established political socialist paradigm:

“One of the first problems in the field of culture was the creation and consolidation of state cultural institutions. Old theatres, operas, orchestras, philharmonic orchestras and other music ensembles, galleries, etc. had to be started and reorganized there. If organizing a number of new institutions of that or a similar type you needed to organize state care for cultural workers; renovation and reorganization of old art schools and creation of new ones; it was necessary – together with mass organizations – to organize institutions for public education (people’s universities, cultural centers, etc.)”.<sup>44</sup>

New challenges also arose from the situation: “[...] without adequate premises, without sufficient funds for their maintenance and functioning, as well as without the necessary qualified staff [...]”.<sup>45</sup> Such challenges stimulated



Fig. 028| Extract from the page 8, Map, *FNRY, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 1, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 030| Extract from the page 13, Graphic, *The region of the city of Belgrade*, *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 1, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

42 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

43 Dakic, “Planning for man”, *Op.cit.*

44 ‘From the work of the Secretariat Commission for Ideological-Political Work’, (Archive of Yugoslavia, 1947).

45 ‘State and perspective of cultural activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina Council for Cultures - SR Bosnia’, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY,



Fig. 031| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 032| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 033| Scene from the movie, *When I am dead and gone*, Zivojin Pavlović, 1967

the cultural creators to start thinking in the direction of investing to achieve a better society (one that they were fighting for) and shifting the narrative from spending to investing. Nevertheless, *Point 1945* also aimed for departure of the pre-war period in which culture was a subject of the well-off urban families, as depicted in the movie *Dancing in Water*, where the story evolves around a group of boys (portrayed in a nice and cool manner) who come from pre-war affluent city families who had access to culture, yet also shows the newly created communist elite as less ‘cool’, more rigid, and often from rural backgrounds, [fig.031, fig.192]. This movie paints a picture of the first challenges of the society after *Point 1945*, where in the privately-owned pre-war houses (of the well-mannered bourgeois), subtenants were moving in (as part of a post-war policy (p.268)) as they did not have their own space, and as a result of this, new tensions were created among the owners of the houses and the new subtenants, [fig.032]. In spite of this, cultural life continued to flourish in the Yugoslav environment, [fig.033], which also gradually transformed itself as a consequence of *Point 1945*. In conclusion, such shift of the political paradigm also transformed and shaped the model in which the *cultural artefacts* (including the architecture as an object) materialize themselves, thus having an impact on the development of the cities (environments).

Consequently, this affected the Yugoslav cities (the research aims to demonstrate how), which through the newly adopted political paradigm of socialism was determined to place the human being in the center of the architectural and spatial planning action: [...] and we have neglected the question of man, and the question of the possibility of his harmonious full and meaningful development in the cities we create.<sup>46</sup> For that reason, architects joined the efforts to create a balanced environment for human development, which according to them, was an abandoned idea.

### 1.2.3. “NEW PEOPLE WON’T GO BACK TO OLD HOUSES”

As new ‘rules’ were imposed, the socialist political paradigm required an adequate space to accomplish its mission and vision, and in the Yugoslav case this meant arranging the space around the envisioned self-governing socialism<sup>47</sup> and the new socialist quality of the offered life. So, the cities and the space of the environment needed to support the socialist paradigm too: placing the

No. file 128, 1956-1967).

46 Vojteh Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1967).

47 Milos Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1978).

human being in the centre, [fig.034]. Such instances are depicted in the movie *You Love Only Ones* (p.254) in which the main protagonist, Slobodan (a good communist) refuses the idea to move in with his family into the pre-Yugoslav bourgeois houses which contain space that cannot support the ideas of the socialist political paradigm. Tomislav stated that: “New people won’t go back to old houses,”<sup>48</sup> referring to the idea that socialist people should have different priorities and develop a different lifestyle rather than require a personal service, which is normally present in bourgeois houses, [fig.035]. In fact, the movie exemplifies a point of criticism: that the pre-war cultural creators quickly became a privileged elite in the newly established country, as also shown in the movie *Underground*, where at an inauguration of a new cultural centre, the cultural creator is already giving a public speech (opening ceremony) in new and fashionable cloth from a comfortable and privileged position, showing their newly gained societal (and economic) power [fig.379]:

“The supreme power in one of the most stagnant countries (thinking of Yugoslavia) in Europe provided Tito and his closest associates with living conditions suitable for the highest European aristocracy, with separate hunting grounds, special holiday islands, free villas, services, travel and the impression that they would follow due to great efforts in the service of prosperity for his people”.<sup>49</sup>

The extract above demonstrates that besides the good intentions to create need for alternative (socialist) lifestyle, the elite aspired to the classic privileges and the lifestyle which was previously only available to the bourgeois. The cultural creators (including the architects) then started reflecting on the idea of what kind of space can host the new political paradigm and the lifestyle which people need to develop as a consequence of such a shift. Architects understood that they needed to seek a new type of space for the spiritually liberated socialist people: “We cannot invest in architecture for saving the old way of life, but we must turn it into planning for the future”.<sup>50</sup> Two detected components – one dealing with organization of the space and another for its aesthetics – were deemed significant:

“We primarily work for the organization of society, but also for the aesthetic design of its space. They need to distinguish spatial form from social structure even though they are collaborative processes”.<sup>51</sup>

The shift of the political paradigm influenced the form and typologies of architecture as well, i.e. rethinking everything that was created as pre-Yugoslav modernism – normally applied on the individual villas: “In the earliest phase,

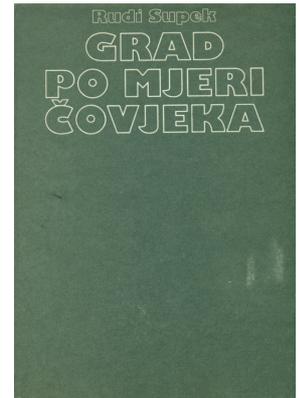


Fig. 034| Book Cover, *City Tailored to Man*, Rudi Supek, 1990



Fig. 035| Scene from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981

48 Rajko Grlić, *You Love Only Ones*, 1981 <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.

49 Branka Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963* (Belgrade, Serbia: Sluzbeni Glasnik, 2013), p.119.

50 Pravoslav Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

51 S. Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1967).

modern architecture breaks through advanced architectures through advanced architects, and in relation to the investor in a certain number of enlightened bourgeois (villas and residential houses)<sup>52</sup>. Modernism started to be reevaluated in the framework of the collective housing, civic buildings and the other newly emerged architectural typologies (p.535). In that vein, architecture became a civic issue (a question of the civic development) of the Yugoslav cities: “The construction of new housing today is a significant civic problem in our country and in the city of Zagreb”.<sup>53</sup> Cities needed to seek their spatial development within the new envisioned civic paradigm:

“[...] the current situation requires even more economical solutions, this time even at the expense of the usual comfort, but still – within the limits of ensuring a healthy physical and mental life and the development of our working man”.<sup>54</sup>

The *Local Community LC* then became “socio-psychological” units in which a certain ambience was created, influencing the whole environment, so these *LC* needed to address and transform the ‘lagging behind’ sentiment which existed in the region (p.167), [fig.036], and to re-position the Balkans towards prosperity and a future, [fig.037]:

“*LC* is defined as a specific socio-psychological ambience whose cohesive element is a larger or smaller pace in which they live together and which, as a function of normal co-existence, is formed as a whole”.<sup>55</sup>

The spatial development needed to provide an answer to the Yugoslav criticism towards the development of the city, reinforced by the ‘theory of economic growth’:

“Revealing the partiality and authority of all previous value systems, created and applied in class societies, Zivotic especially criticizes the urban ideology which subordinates the conception and development of the city to economic growth [...]”.<sup>56</sup>

The same criticism bore upon the ways of perception of quality and valorization of the space itself, showing that each *reality* (and each moment) has its individual characteristic of valorization of the space:

“In her presentation – ‘The apartment as a social value and its social evaluation’ – Dusica Seferagic warns of the duality in our housing, where in addition to self-management, which is the basis of socially-oriented housing, there are still socially uncontrollable forces of general urbanization in our society:

52 Vjencislav Rihter, ‘Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

53 Stjepan Boltizar, ‘Instead of 100 investors’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1957).

54 *Ibid.*

55 Ratko Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

56 Fredor Kritovac, ‘The characteristics of the current valorization of an apartment’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).



Fig. 036| Scene from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



Fig. 037| Scene from the movie, *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1981

socially-oriented housing construction has offered some new qualities: social communication among participants in all phases, synchronization and continuity of the process, the possibility of end users to influence the design of their future living space. The results would be manifested in a fast, cheap, and more complete construction for known users”.<sup>57</sup>

In such general idea of the Yugoslav model the new space not only needed to affect the people but also create new relations between the investors, cultural creators and beneficiaries; this would identically affect the space on its own, as an object created (and as a *cultural artefact*).

#### 1.2.4. THE RIGHT TO AN AUTHENTIC CULTURE AND (ENGAGED) ARCHITECTURE

The 20th century represented a period in which the Balkan region aimed to overcome the century-long cultural shortages (p.167) and to create all the necessary conditions for a new and authentic culture to flourish; such a stance gradually emerged during the war years (1941-1945), which were the predecessor of the upcoming wave of cultural interest in the region. Popular evidence confirms this, as can be seen from the cover page of the *First Congress of Cultural Workers of Croatia [I. Kongres Kulturnih Radnika Hrvatske]*, displaying a partisan pictured with a weapon in one hand and a book in the other [fig.038]. This Congress was held in Topusko in 1944, on liberated territory, and it aimed reinforce the progress of culture besides the “darkness of the fascist tyranny”<sup>58</sup>:

“It should be noted that other branches of art were seriously represented in various sectors of the liberated territory, so the general picture will be complete if we add to the artists members of theaters, writers, architects and musicians who individually, in groups or in coordination, worked to create a c u l t u r a l climate on the liberated territory. This culminated in a spectacular way at the *First Congress of Cultural Workers of Croatia* in Topusko in 1944”.<sup>59</sup>

The underlying idea of the *Partisan Movement* was that creation of an authentic culture can push the region outside the century-long (cultural) oppression from the foreign powers (p.168), which is also depicted in scenes from the movie the *Battle of Neretva*,<sup>60</sup> where the Partisan leader commands his soldiers to carry the book of a writer during the battle, [fig.039]. As explained by the

57 *Ibid.*

58 ‘First Congress of the Cultural Workers of Croatia’, Published by the Institute for history of the workers movement in Croatia, Zagreb, 1976.

59 The First Congress of Cultural Workers of Croatia (Topusko, June 25 - 27, 1944): Experience and Appropriations, Intellectuals and the war 1939–1947 Proceedings of the Right Encounters 2011, Drago Roksanđić, 2012.

60 The Battle of Neretva, is movie with the hugest budget and it aimed to transmit pedagogical and moral messages.

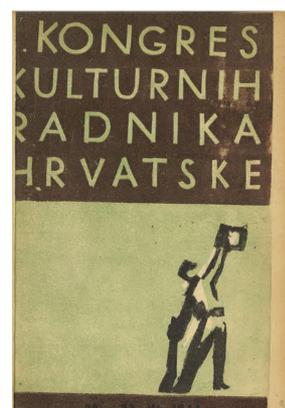


Fig. 038| Book Cover, *First Congress of the Cultural Workers of Croatia*, ed. Ivan Jelić, 1944, Zagreb



Fig. 039| Scene from the movie, *The Battle of Neretva*, Veljko Bulajić, 1968



Fig. 040| Scene from the movie, *The Marathon Family*, Slobodan Šijan, 1982

commander: “A nation without poets and language cannot win freedom by fighting”,<sup>61</sup> emphasizing the importance of culture for one nation to be recognized. Such actions of *Cultural Uplift* aimed to ‘artistically respond’ to the mentioned cultural shortages, [fig.040], with the creation of an authentic culture. It was indispensable for the network of culture to be advanced among the individual socialist republics, especially among the ones in which the network was the least developed, such as Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>62</sup> The cultural policy was pursuing cultural affirmation (and authenticity), i.e. prioritizing the needs of those who still lacked them:

“The cultures of some nations, for example, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian nation, have their traditional century-old affirmation different from the recent affirmation of the Macedonian and Montenegrin culture, etc. Which are going fast thanks to the national republics, but here I will now speak as a Bosnian and as a Muslim – we are arriving at quite a sensitive point in this issue”.<sup>63</sup>

Authenticity of culture in context needed to be sought in the active and dynamic role of culture rather than the traditional conceptions, where culture is something merely inherited and static: “culture always stands midway between conception and realization, between the ideal and reality, between the new and the already attained”<sup>64</sup>, [fig.041]. Authentic culture needed to emerge as “[...] a surrogate of action, ‘as an engagement’, ‘as a creation’, ‘as an experience’, culture is a permanent, and especially in its time, an active act”<sup>65</sup> (p.227). For the protagonist, the environment in which the activities are held, become an important aspect having an impact on the humans, and therefore it needed to “satisfy the taste of a normal cultural criterion”,<sup>66</sup> from there, certain envisioned Yugoslav cultural criteria organically were embodied in the work of the cultural creators and their *cultural artefacts*.

This could be possible since culture and art had already obtained a significant position within the society, as noticeable during the war years (1941-1945), (p.513), so by the end of World War II, the position of art also needed to be redefined. It was expected that the new art be better integrated with the new mission of the society, hence the emergence of new socially engaged art, with different specificities and different “aesthetic values”, [fig.042, fig.043]:

- 61 Veljko Bulajić, *Battle of Neretva*, 1969 <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.
- 62 ‘Elaborate the development of culture in FНРY’, Secretary of Education and Culture, 1957-1961 (Archive of Yugoslavia, 1960).
- 63 ‘Materials for the ideological commission’, 1971, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File k-49, Files from SK SKY, Ideological commission (VIII), II/4-a-(68-79), Ideological Commission, 1969-1971).
- 64 Zagorka Golubović, *Culture as a bridge between the utopia and reality*, Praxis.
- 65 Živan Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1972.
- 66 Mita Miljković, ‘Tribune to cultural life - Aesthetic design around us’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1959).

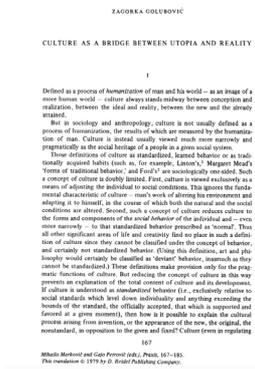


Fig. 041| Page 167, *Culture as a bridge between utopia and reality*, Zagorka Golubović, Praxis: Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences, 1979



Fig. 042| Page, ‘Instead of Social Art’, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.2, 1960, Beograd

- “• That it is engaged;
- That it is a social, not an aesthetic act, from which the values of evaluation arise, which are, for the most part, unaesthetic, social: such as the benefit, the realization of class interest – and not aesthetic value;
- That it is quantitatively complex or profound;
- That it is, mostly naïve, non-artistically built;
- That there is no (high) artistic level of art;
- That it can be valued according to non-aesthetic values that they affirm, and to which the most significant values can be attributed to the class struggle, which deviates from the real criteria of artistic evaluation”.<sup>67</sup>

Such art needed to be blended with the everyday life of the people to help in the creation of new and different valuable (socialist) lifestyles (p.175), which further needed to provide a more meaningful and qualitatively richer life – the primary objective of the socialist paradigm (p.166). In the Yugoslav context, art needed to assist the envisioned concept:

“It is now argued that art must not be an empty pastime, a stimulus to the nerves, a privilege of the rich and lazy, but it must teach and perfect, encourage action, and set an example. It must be pure, true, inspiring, contributing to the happiness of a wide audience, and becoming the property of the entire nation”.<sup>68</sup>

Art needed to take an active role and anticipate the creation of different cultural values envisioned by the socialist paradigm:

“It is not created with overwhelming aesthetic ambitions, but with social ones: aesthetic motives are in the function of affirming the social interest. In practice, it highlights the raging social problems of the position of the working class, the system of (unjust, false) values of the bourgeois society, etc. – by which they acquire as a basic, attribute of a social act. It often denies the values of bourgeois society, and as an ideal, affirms the moral and humanitarian values of man, in order to prove the justification of its political action. Due to its predominant character, it is named a social art. Even such a name, after all, suits it, emphasizing its social and not artistic character”.<sup>69</sup>

A particular new vision and need for creativity was required to achieve a qualitatively better everyday life:

“What should people (or staff, horrible words) do in cultural and educational action? Encourage clarification, communication and stimulation of creativity, considering both spaces – work and local. They create conditions in which individuals and social groups may perceive problems or unresolved issues, seeking to raise an individual’s awareness of the world and society in which he/she lives; they act towards the general public, in neighborhoods, zones, and in rural areas”.<sup>70</sup>

67 Pavicević, ‘The Art of the Labor People’, *Op.cit.*

68 Vojislav Vukicević, ‘The culture of a victorious outcome’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1962).

69 Pavicević, ‘The Art of the Labor People’, *Op.cit.*

70 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

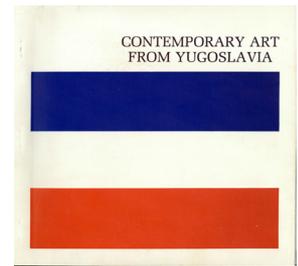


Fig. 043| Cover Page, 'Contemporary Art from Yugoslavia', exhibition, shown at Auckland City Art Gallery, 1978, Auckland

Moreover, questions arose regarding whether the profession of the artist should be professionalized in the new context: “Professional artists (although we can’t rightly call them professional artists to the end: there is no paid profession in the division of social work, the profession of a creative artist)”.<sup>71</sup> Several critical points (as mentioned above in the sub-chapter) were mapped as being essential to be transformed for the purpose of achieving the desired art, i.e. “The goals can be achieved if the artistic creator is involved in the productive process of our production, if art is connected with everyday life, if the old centuries-old aesthetic forms are liquidated and replaced with new modern forms that correspond to the new life”.<sup>72</sup> The existence of such close links between the artistic creator and the production (produced for the Yugoslav market, and distributed locally) made Yugoslavia culturally and artistically self-sufficient<sup>73</sup>, with an artistically authentic man-made environment.<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, architecture needed to be re-assessed too, to become ideologically colored: “Architecture – we must approach it as an ideological fact, we must be interested in the conceptual content of architecture and urban planning”.<sup>75</sup> Therefore, the architecture (and the cities) also became the subject of ‘ideological analysis’, taking account of the analysis of ‘conceptual content’ of the *cultural artefact* (including the architectural object). In fact, the role of the architects was to be re-defined: “The importance of architecture as the renewal and creation of a new human world brings us directly to the question of the social responsibility of architects”,<sup>76</sup> hence posing questions which can create *socially engaged architecture*:

- “- Do we have socially engaged architecture?
- Can we label all urban phenomena in our area as consistent with the goals of socialist development?
- What are we doing to democratize space?”<sup>77</sup>

For such *socially engaged architecture* four aspects emerged to be reconsidered and reimaged:

“1. Architect formation;

71 Pavicević, ‘The Art of the Labor People’, *Op.cit.*

72 Lazar Licenovski, ‘Applied art and industrial aesthetics’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1957).

73 As explained through the angle of Bohme – of cultural sustainability.

74 As mentioned in presentation of Lapis for VeTU, Yugoslavia had total branded environment, from authentic designs of the houses, to the everyday domestic items to the available toys, etc.

75 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

76 ‘Social responsibility of architects’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

77 *Ibid.*

2. Social position of the architect;
3. The relationship between engineer and architect;
4. Synthesis of plastic art and industrialization”.<sup>78</sup>

As such, the man-made environments (under the influence of the new political paradigm) needed to anticipate the new relations among the people envisioned by the new political paradigm. In terms of *cultural creation*, those new relations not only addressed the links between the investors, the architecture and the *cultural artefact*, but also all the relationship within the society were re-questioned. This meant that the newly established political paradigm had an impact on all social formations in bottom up manner. For example, as part of the general socialist paradigm, new equality relations (and friendships, [fig.044]) developed between the men and women (p.176), also impacted by the equality which followed during the war years, when two million women joined *the Anti-Fascist Front of Women (AFZ)*, and battled alongside men on the battlefields, [fig.045, fig.046, fig.047].

The women, however, who stayed continued to organize the society and run the institutions of everyday life, such as schools, hospitals, and the like, significantly supporting the development of women’s managerial skills and their confidence as rising managers, should they organically be positioned in leading roles in those institutions after the war. The results from the war were devastating for Yugoslav women, where “25.000 women died in the *NLW*, more than 40.000 women and girls were wounded, and 280.000 were taken to concentration camps”.<sup>79</sup> With the end of the war, the role of the woman was transformed, entering the first constitution of the country, from 1945:

“Women are equal to men in their areas of state, economy and social-political life. For daily work, women have the same salary as men and enjoy special protection in a random relationship. The state especially protects the interests of mothers and children by establishing maternity hospitals, children’s homes and kindergartens and the mother’s paid leave before and after childbirth”.<sup>80</sup>

New and progressive socialist efforts to provide women with a better position in society were noticed after the war years, yet despite women being promoted to positions in the political life of the country, the numbers were still not promising: “In the Federal Assembly 13.6% are women, and in the Republican Assemblies there are slightly more – 16%!”<sup>81</sup> Some argued that the traditional role of the woman in the family remained even the efforts were made, as it was calculated that on average each woman yearly “[...] washes about



Fig. 044| Photo, the friendship and collaboration between Latinka Golubović and Marko Nikezić



Fig. 045| Photo, Croatian Partisan Women in liberated Split, 1944, Split



Fig. 046| Extract from a page 10, *The Women’s Antifascist Front*, in the magazine *Yugoslav Institute for Urbanism and Housing*, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 047| Photo, The iconic Kozarčanka (Women from Kozara)

78 Stjepan Gombos, ‘Third UIA Congress’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1954).

79 Kekec, 1978, Published by [www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com)

80 ‘Interesting information about Yugoslav women - Tito: Women not only in the kitchens, but also to rule’, *Practical Woman*, 1980, <[www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com)>.

81 Kekec, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 049| Extract from the page 9, 'From the working meetings', in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No.51, 1979, Belgrade

3,220 plates, 1,870 glasses, 1,710 cups of black coffee, 2,000 sickles, pots and tins, irons about 4,160 pieces of rubies and cleans about 23,000 square meters of the apartment [...]"<sup>82</sup> Such criticism emerged because it was argued that women could not be fully professionally engaged if the domestic work is not split among the members of the household (a trend noticed by many). Striving for the socially engaged (equal) and ideologically colored life (and *cultural artefacts*) needed to offer new qualities where both men and women were required to develop "a filled life with intense content and making a person satisfied that they experienced it all, of course, only if in the end everything is well done".<sup>83</sup> "Otherwise it would be a shame to pass life and not live it intensively".<sup>84</sup> Such a position of engaging with life in an intensive way motivated women to activate themselves and be engrossed in several roles simultaneously or to develop a new socialist life where they can become an active member of the family, a mother, and also to strive for professional activation. In that strive the Yugoslav woman emerged as a cultural creator.



Fig. 052| Poster, 'Woman architects - Skopje, Exhibition', Centre for Culture and Information's, 1976, Skopje

The pre-war architectural profession as a male-dominated one, steadily transformed since many women graduated at the *Faculties of Architecture*, [fig.048], later becoming active members of the architectural offices, [fig.049], and some of them also formed their work collectives. Such an example is the architectural office *Lik*, which was founded by four women and one man, who were working in equal partnership, [fig.050]. Moreover, *Lik* focused on the position of women in professions, declaring "That women are equal and that's what we had at that moment – after the war".<sup>85</sup> Women (as cultural creators) formed their own art and architectural organizations, organized exhibitions dedicated to 'women in art and architecture', [fig.051, fig.052], and also took participation in the public discourse, i.e. in the overall cultural creation of the country, [fig.053].

82 *Ibid.*

83 'The Germans held us in Sarajevo', architect Aleksandar Deroko, TV News 1978, <[www.yugopir.com](http://www.yugopir.com)>.

84 Kecec, *Op.cit.*

85 Atelier LIK: Success followed by women's solidarity, 2016 <<https://www.zua.rs/st/>>.

# II

CULTURAL ANALYSIS

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### Introduction

This chapter aims to better understand the driving forces of the Yugoslav common beliefs which pushed towards realizing the imagined ideals, likewise shaping *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize. Those ‘driving forces’ also motivated and influenced the objectives of the cultural creators to create *cultural artefacts*. Therefore, the chapter offers ‘cultural examination’ (probing the ‘perfections’ of the cultural creators) of *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, as an exercise to be done for deeper understanding of the commonalities *the model* had and for studying the worldviews of the cultural creators, thus acknowledging them as significant for creating ideals. As such, this exercise represents a bottom-up analysis since it examines the thinking of the cultural creators and offers an interpretation of *the model* from a Yugoslav perspective and through ‘using the Yugoslav lens’. Moreover, the chapter will tackle how the Yugoslav cultural creators saw both *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, but also *the model* which stimulated emergence of the cultural artefacts in the capitalistic (western) societies.

It can be observed from the readings that the worldviews of the protagonists have evolved over time, which combined with the common beliefs and objectives do not persist in a monolithic state but rather constantly move in a new direction, i.e. incessantly transforming and changing over time. In this context, *the model* itself has been adapted, moulded, and designed. Moreover, from the 1960s until the late 1980s, when the model was ‘alive’, the criticism was much sharper and more vibrant, while from today’s perspective, the protagonists<sup>86</sup> express less critical stances and focus more on emphasizing the positive aspects of *the model*, due to the fact that at present the protagonists incorporate knowledge about the current ongoing condition of the creative model of the Balkan cities. This chapter will present several ‘mapped’ common beliefs that gradually shaped *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, those being:

- Yugoslavia is possible;
- Critical thinking is possible in one socialist country;
- ‘Being’ is more significant than ‘having’;
- You control your own life (no more geopolitical influences from the outside);
- The artist is a collaborator rather than an antagonist;
- Marx is used as general mantra – applied only on an ethical level;
- Next-level socialism – overcoming the subjects of history and the exploitation of the workers;
- The importance of creation of a free ambience for creativity.

86 Testimonials with the Yugoslav cultural circle, for the purposes of this PhD thesis, 2017-2021.

Furthermore, this chapter studies what the creators saw as perfection (their ideals) since it is considered to be significant for the formation of the ‘common reality’ (which the thesis acknowledges as noteworthy for the emergence of the *Yugoslav cultural artefacts*). Additionally, it aims for more profound understanding of how (or if) the ideals shape not only the thinking of the cultural creators but also their role in the overall creation of the environment. For those reasons, it will further curate an array of examples between the created ideals by the cultural creators, on the one hand, and the design decisions made to shape the environment, on the other hand. Also, such a viewpoint overlaps with the local understanding of culture. For instance, Zagorka Golubović in *Culture as a bridge between utopia and reality* suggests utopia as a tool for exercising new possible scenarios developed by exercising culture, which further impacts human imagination and shapes human worldviews, moreover positing culture as a resourceful ‘motor’ for the development of a given society. In a similar vein, Raymond Williams positioned the ideals as essential for culture as well since among other things they explain what was perceived as perfection and by that, one can understand the values which create the understanding of perfection:

“There is, first, the ‘ideal’, in which culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values. The analysis of culture, if such a definition is accepted, is essentially the discovery and description, in lives and works, of those values which can be seen to compose a timeless order, or to have permanent reference to the universal human condition”.<sup>87</sup>

To summarize, this chapter will firstly deal with the general common beliefs upon which the common ideals emerged (and what the protagonist identified as perfection) and how (the origin of the values behind that identification) the Yugoslav society constructed those ideals. Secondly, what will be examined is how those common beliefs and worldviews are translated into particular values, additionally influencing the understanding of what makes up quality, and from that point the system of valorization influencing the *process of materialization* (and the creation) of the man-made environment.<sup>88</sup> Thirdly, the exercise will focus on theoretically testing the above-mentioned on several concrete cultural artefacts, such as the ‘apartment’, ‘the building’, ‘the Neighborhood (unit of **Комуна**)’, and the ‘city’. To clarify, this exercise does not aim to valorize the successfulness of the application of the ideals in practice, but rather to acknowledge their utility merely by their existence.<sup>89</sup>

87 Reynold Wiliams, *The Long Revolution*, Chatto & Windus, 1961.

88 As Herbert Marcuse underlines that authentic socialist society strives for development of particular quality of life – where labour is not anymore measure of wealth and value (as in the previous formations), (<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7B2q1Fszhc>>).

89 Course VeTU, Lapis, EPFL, 2020 – “utopia is not a destination is a direction” – so the direction is also significant to be studied too.

## II.1. THE DRIVING FORCES

This sub-chapter aims to portray in detail what impacted the principles for the creation of the Yugoslav common beliefs. In general, the socialist paradigm emerged as an exercise that critiqued the existing, i.e. the socialist paradigm employed critical thinking, which is the reason behind why the socialist society is often described as a utopian society, since “utopia is constructed as a critique of the existing world”.<sup>90</sup> In the context of the Balkans, the ‘socialist sentiment’ arose at the beginning of the 20th century, when foreign powers fully withdrew from the Balkan region, leaving the area scattered with semi-formed nation-states<sup>91</sup>. In fact, this was a response to the lengthy, turbulent and troubled historical past, as well as the recent defeats from both of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman forces, [fig.054].

As explained in the previous chapter, according to protagonists, such circumstances impacted the cultural creators in Yugoslav times to make them feel as if with their creations they were finally able to shape their ‘personal destiny’, which was until then impacted by the foreign occupying powers.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the socialist movement in the region represented a criticism of the territorial and a manifestation of the ongoing global colonial liberation (p.147).<sup>93</sup> Indeed, the circumstances that contributed to shaping the Yugoslav thinking and *the model* in which the Yugoslav cultural artefacts materialize provided the underlying conditions for the emergence of a new and genuine cultural self-expression, as was expressed by President Tito during a session at the *Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts*, (YASA):

“For more than five hundred years, the Southern Slavs had to hold their hoe in one hand and defend their survival on this Earth in this land, protecting themselves and caring for themselves and the West – who has always called us backward – and enable themselves to be devoted to a more cultural life. The



Fig. 054| Map, the Balkans in the 1815

90 Presentation, course VeTU, Lapis, EPFL, 2020.

91 *Ibid.*

92 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

93 Todorova, *Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of European Socialists at Europe's Margin, 1870s-1920s*, *Op.cit.*

peoples who have defended the West from the Turkish invasion for over 50 years have not had the opportunity to devote themselves to paper and to take a pen in their hands [...]”<sup>94</sup>

Ivo Andrić stresses the regional ‘cultural healing’ in his speech when receiving the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1961, at the *City Hall* in Stockholm:

“My homeland is truly a ‘small country among the worlds’, as one of our writers puts it, and it is a country that rapidly, at the cost of great sacrifice and extraordinary efforts, pursues to make up for what it has been denied in an unusually tumultuous and difficult past, in all areas, including the cultural realm. This award has thrown a bundle of light on this country’s literature, thus attracting the world’s attention to its cultural endeavours, just at a time when our literature is beginning to penetrate the world with a series of new names and original works, justifying its aspirations for world literature as well as making its proper contribution”<sup>95</sup>

As such the strive for new and authentic Yugoslav principles impacted the old pre-war bourgeois conditions for creating and they transform into new socialist ones. Also new *creative scene* emerged which were needed to be reaffirmed in their new collective role. Such a vision was not originally Yugoslav, but rather established by the *Russian Revolution*, which occurred in the late 1920s and early 1930s:

“1927 to 1931 were the peak years of a militant campaign to institute a collective, proletarian culture and also of the movement for a socialist architecture. Such features do not represent isolated events, but are interrelated as aspects of a totalizing drive for a radically new way of life replacing the old, bourgeois one”<sup>96</sup>

As detected from the readings, most of the conversations re-assessing the new positions in *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, emerged in the *Cultural Revival* period, which occurred between 1945-1960 (p.513), hence cultivating the independent intellectual Yugoslav thought for the cultural creators was momentous since they felt that a “new chance is given” to them and for the first time this was a chance which was “independent from the outside influences”<sup>97</sup>. In that manner, the ‘independent socialist common beliefs’ were yielded using the critical filter of socialism as a general inspiration.<sup>98</sup>

94 ‘Tito about the culture and art’, 1962, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File k-72, 1960-1975).

95 Ivo Andrić, statement for the Nobel Prize, Sweden, 1961<<https://banjaluka.net>>.

96 Katerina Clark, *Petersbook Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, 1995, p.242.

97 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

This is proved by the new *socialist inventions* which were created as interdisciplinary intersections between the political socialist paradigm from one side and the culture, political, economical and spatial arrangement discipline from another. For example, topics such as the ‘economy and the self-management system’, or ‘architecture and the need of our new physical expression’, etc.

98 According to Perović, there was no over preoccupation with the work of Karl Marx, but rather his work served as general inspiration, and was applied on a moral level as a criticism applied in the

Therefore, as mapped from the readings, several socialist common beliefs were repetitively circulated in the everyday public discourse. Those common beliefs are the *future*, the *progress*, the *prosperity*, the *egalitarian*, the *anti-colonialist*, and the *experimentality*.

Consequently, the common beliefs to take a step towards the future positively stimulated the planification processes. The *progress* underlined the reached enthusiasm and hope that things will be better and that the cultural stagnation adopted from the previous epochs will be overcome. The *prosperity* promoted, in a positive manner, the importance of education and development of the scientific fields. The *egalitarian*, although this common belief is a fundamental socialist postulate, in the Yugoslav context was designed to overcome the “occupational group divisions, education, ethnicity, religion, republic, cohort, gender, and Party membership on attitudes toward egalitarianism and inegalitarian”.<sup>99</sup> The *anti-colonialist* common beliefs came naturally since the region had already developed its strong critical stance, and later established the *Non-Aligned Movement* (NAM), which in the same vein aimed to overcome the ‘cultural imperialism’<sup>100</sup> where specific “art and culture in cultural politics influenced by *NAM* and specific types of socialism”<sup>101</sup> will emerge.

*The model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize initiated a ‘south-south’ communication and collaboration for the purpose of erecting creative capacities and setting up an independent cultural expression in the post-colonial world. The IC planned an equivalent, which in its plenary sessions discussed the possible long-term benefits of the Yugoslav revolution and how to place it in a global context: “That is exactly why the ‘Yugoslav practice’ attracts small nations and nationalities of the modern world in the fight against imperialism and hegemony”.<sup>102</sup> The *experimentality* came to be naturally since the strive to experiment from the political sphere reflected on the other spheres, and the common beliefs in the cultural and intellectual circles was appreciated since it meant positively challenging ‘the unknown’, yet at the same time this common belief was a real possibility since the ‘tabula rasa’ conditions in the region left space open for *experimentalism*. Therefore, it became ‘the norm’ to depict things for the first time, used for the self-inventory processes. For example, such mentality to be open and to experiment helped anticipation of inventions in all different segments e.g. in the political realm the self-mana-

everyday reality.

99 *The Constitution of Yugoslavia*, 1963.

100 Bojana Piskur, ‘Solidarity in Arts and Culture. Some Cases from the Non-Aligned Movement’.

101 *Ibid.*

102 ‘Draft proposal - thesis for the international relations’, circa 1970, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File k-49, Files from SK SKY, Ideological commission (VIII), II/4-a-(68-79), Ideological Commission, 1969-1971).

gement system was innovated. As a consequence, a ‘domino effect’ ensued and ‘custom-made’ concepts emerged in all other realms, including the cultural and the architectural ones.<sup>103</sup>

In addition, the common belief of ‘Yugoslavia is possible’<sup>104</sup> emerged on the *creative scene* as a shared vision, which resulted from the fact that all of the cultural creators were spatially located in the same man-made environment where the ideas were circulating. Therefore, specific *Socialist Urban Culture* (p.311) bond the protagonist and developed common thinking (p.220). For instance, Mitrović reflected, “Oh, that was some other ambience. We believed in that country”.<sup>105</sup> Likewise, this common beliefs on the *creative scene* developed as a critical stance and resistance to adopt the ‘uncontrolled rough capitalism’ existent in the West or the ‘dogmatic Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, (USSR) form’ existent in the East.<sup>106</sup>

The rise of the new relations between the cultural creators and society was also apparent; linked to the notion that the artist is understood as a collaborator rather than an antagonist. Several examples can be outlined, where experts got directly involved and participated in the creation of the new Yugoslav institutions, later becoming their managers, such as Miroslav Krleža, who founded and ran the *MKIL* in Zagreb; Miodrag B. Protić, who founded and ran the *YCAM* in Belgrade; Stevan Majstorović, who founded and ran the *CSCD* in Belgrade; and Bogdan Bogdanović, who founded and ran the alternative school of architecture – *Rural School for Philosophy of Architecture* in Mali Popović. Another name is Milan Minić, who yielded the idea of opening several architectural ateliers in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana.<sup>107</sup> The direct involvement of the mentioned experts was developed as a state strategy to show “the artist as an important collaborator in the cultural construction of our country”.<sup>108</sup> Such an common beliefs gave the cultural creators a possibility to participate in the decision-making process in the scope of the projects they directed. What’s more, the experts curated the public discourse to introduce a

103 The same represents the limit of the model in which the Yugoslav cultural artefacts materialize, since each of the fields were constantly re-inventing and changing the rules. The same gave an impression that everything is temporary.

104 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

105 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

106 Frequent phrases in the architectural magazines.

107 Milan Minić ‘The problem of architecture as art’, Letter, 1952, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 127, 1950-1955).

\*The ateliers are imagined similarly to the master workshops of visual artists.

108 ‘The problem of the school of applied art and the link with our economy’. Exposition held at the Congress of the Association of Fine Artists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade in 1950. (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

particular institution to future beneficiaries; such an example being the *CSCD*, which when created, was communicated in the cultural magazines by debates opened up by the established people of the institute – Stevan Majstorović. In fact, Majstorović explained to the beneficiaries the organization of the institute, the core activity, the services, and how they will organically merge with the society. Such a bottom-up approach for the establishment of the cultural institutions (that needed to manage creativity) indeed became a cultural approach, which gave way to the possibility for emergence of more diverse programs and more recent issues to be grasped and later tackled head on. Viewing things from another perspective, it gave the cultural creators more responsibility in creating the country. From the standpoint of the politicians who were managing the field of culture: “This was the thesis of our party, that we should not judge in the field of culture, but rather gather the most progressive around us and together with them to construct the politics”,<sup>109</sup> or described from the standpoint of the cultural creators, the Yugoslav politician’s involvement was “elite cultural management”.<sup>110</sup>

Another example that depicts the acceptance of self-initiative and creativeness is the ‘self-management system’, which was created by Edvard Kardelj. Mariana Mazzacuto puts forward that in today’s context this connection between the expert and the institution could help good ‘mission-oriented’ inventions to occur,<sup>111</sup> also underlining the wrongness of the understanding ‘that creativity can only occur in the private sector’, taking away the public sector from the notion of invention. As the socialist country only had one sector (the public one), it implies that all of the creative planning and creative attempts will appear under the same public umbrella. Therefore, in this context, creativity is bound to the notion of the communal, where various cultural programs, festivals, etc., were designed for the development of the environments. This is backed by materials from the archive of the *CSCD*, where there are ‘cultural development programs’ for various Yugoslav cities and municipalities, [fig.055].

According to Berisavljević, such an approach to innovate in the field of culture pushed the flow of the ‘continual social revolution’, hence generating dynamism in the field of culture (p.227).<sup>112</sup> Following the same course, others interpreted the social revolution as several ‘core values’, from which it can be comprehended what was regarded as important in the creative circles: “Our time is marked by the affirmation of the basic values of the social revo-

109 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

110 Želimir Žilnik, ‘Praxis and the Black Wave’, 2011 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6LZGyk-JARI>>.

111 She calls furthermore for ‘targeted investment (programs)’ initiate from the state to stimulate innovation, explaining them as much more than industry-university link. Therefore, she calls for mission oriented creating and shaping new markets and not just fixing them.

112 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

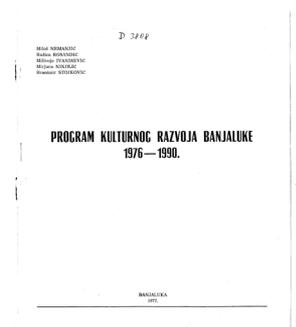


Fig. 055| Study, ‘Program of Cultural Development for the city of Banja Luka’, Study, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1977, Banja Luka, SR Serbia

lution – especially those relating to the position of the working class, freedom of personality, national equality and independence of the country”.<sup>113</sup> Two of the mentioned common beliefs – *the position of the working class*, and *national equality* – are general socialist common beliefs, but *independence of the country*, and *freedom of personality* are genuine Yugoslav common beliefs, and as such have contributed towards the Yugoslav authentic socialism. Additionally, in the Yugoslav context, some of the developed common beliefs stemmed from an applied criticism of the USSR model; those being the need to nurture a ‘free personality’ and to develop a ‘free ambience for creativity’.<sup>114</sup> Such common beliefs aimed to encourage people to be self-governed, linked to the established political model:

“The term ‘self-government’ – it was even compromise, if we can say it like that, but in essence it denoted the following: that you are the one who controls your life, your own education, your work, and that nothing is forcibly given to you. The idea that someone was forcing you was just an idea which was more active in the East. That’s why Yugoslavia was interesting at that time, since it was promising, it was holding on to a Utopian idea”.<sup>115</sup>

Consequently, creativity through culture was proposed as a concept to construct the desired authentic socialism, which wanted to offer a different type of quality of life, or as Marcuse explains: the “creation of a society qualitatively different from the existing societies”.<sup>116</sup> Individuals attempted to develop autonomy in this way: “Krlježa was part of that autonomy, of the lefty intellectuals, who were engaged with their own will. The politics did not force him; he was a liberated free man, who could decide for himself”.<sup>117</sup> The same applied to architecture since such an approach gave architects the feeling that they could shape the environments in which they lived, yet it is also aligned with the common beliefs to encourage experts to create the cultural institutions and to participate in the creation of the ‘Yugoslav cultural boom’: “When the war was over, that wave received a public presence and became the dominant force. That is the spirit the new institutions were built on”.<sup>118</sup>

113 Latinka Perović, ‘Introductory word’, *the Congress for Cultural Action*, Kragujevac, SR Serbia, 1971.

114 The criticism was that in the ‘dogmatic model active in the USSR context’ the individual was more dependant to the state apparatus, and there was less space for individual initiative.

115 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

116 Herbert Marcuse talks with Bryan Magee, 1978 interview, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7B2q1Fszhc>>.

117 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

118 *Ibid.*

### II.1.1. THE ONE OF THE *CIVIL SOCIETY*

The first characteristic of the ideals which circulated in the civil society is that they were created and circulated in a common country – the SFRY, therefore also contributing to the organic creation of a common cultural Yugoslav network, sharing the common beliefs that construct common ideals. In that manner (and as part of the common civil society), the circle of cultural creators shared the common beliefs with the civil society as well. Moreover, the projects – the *cultural artefacts* – presented a pretext for the circles to gather and circulate the ideals which spread in the civil society; as Yugoslavia was part of global communication, they too participated in the creation of the global cultural-social network.<sup>119</sup> In addition, the newly established country of SFRY needed to work on how it would represent itself when communicating with the world. The common beliefs which circulated upon such premises can be traced in an article in which the architects discuss how the country should be represented in front of the global audience through the *Yugoslav Pavilion* at the *Brussels Expo*, [fig.056, fig.057]. The architects agreed to show the emerging *cultural artefacts* “in the front - the art, that is, painting and applied art”.<sup>120</sup> Therefore in the main exhibition space, they presented the latest inventions which emerged from *the model*:

“- more raw materials and industrial products,  
 - on the first terrace - the genuine political topic: the workers’ self-management, our specifics.  
 - on the upper terrace - our cultural policy, and our history - in photographs. Some traditional objects, for example the coffin of St. Simon - and finally, one folk costume’... and  
 - last but not least - materials for the new industries, which were not presented much in the public discourse”.<sup>121</sup>

The protagonist stated that the common beliefs to open towards the world, both “towards United States of America, (USA), and especially towards Europe”<sup>122</sup> came as a critical cultural policy to ‘de-provincialize’ the Balkans and to stimulate changes in the cultural dynamics.<sup>123</sup> In a similar vein would Berisavljević state that the common beliefs directly impacted the *cultural artefacts*, since “the idea was to confront the obsolete inherent values, which the ‘culturalist’ gradually detected through their work”.<sup>124</sup> Berisavljević pointed out

119 This also means that the model of the socialist city and *the model of the capitalistic city* were in communication, and the common beliefs were constructed as a critique and result of such communication.

120 Boro Pavlović, ‘Brussels 1958. Yugoslav Pavilion’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

121 *Ibid.*

122 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

123 *Ibid.*

124 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).



Fig. 056, 057| Extracts from the cover page, *The Yugoslav Pavilion for the Brussels Expo*, Brussels, Belgium Vjencislav Richter, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 75, 1958, Zagreb

an example of a *cultural artefact* in the book *Small town philosophy* (p.236), with such attributes (since the author of the book detected the closeness of the Yugoslav society. Here Yugoslavia became a playground for the emergence of unique *cultural artefacts* which embodied the aspect of ‘opening up to the world’ as a freedom unknown in the socialist world”.<sup>125</sup>



Fig. 058| Cover page, ‘1818-1883-1983’, in the magazine *Odjek*, No. 18, 1983, Sarajevo

As mapped from the readings, *the model* was influenced threefold by the internal communication in Yugoslavia and the world. Firstly, by exchanging knowledge between the Yugoslav cultural scene and the global cultural scene, e.g. the philosophers from the *Praxis School* were regularly meeting their foreign colleagues (especially members from the *Frankfurt School*) at the invented *Summer School Praxis* on the island of Korčula. It is there that they communicated and shared common beliefs for “‘lasting peace and general human development [...]’ and the ‘search for authentic Marxism’”<sup>126</sup>, [fig.058]. Moreover, the *Praxis School* was active in two Yugoslav environments – both in the city of Zagreb and the city of Belgrade.<sup>127</sup> Secondly, *the model* communicated by organizing common exhibitions, both by exhibiting domestic cultural artefacts abroad and by bringing foreign *cultural artefacts* to be exhibited in Yugoslavia.<sup>128</sup> Thirdly, there was exchange of knowledge with global literature, and foreign magazines,<sup>129</sup> as well as communicating the original Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* in the foreign public discourse. One example is the book titled *Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia* [*Современная Архитектура Югославии*], published in Moscow in 1973, [fig.059], while another example is visible through the communication between Bogdan Bogdanović and the Italian architectural magazine:



Fig. 059| Book cover, *Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*, Vladimir Nikolaevic Belousov, 1973, Moscow, USSR

“The Italian critics, to whom my ‘monumental corals’ were interesting, tried not only to praise me and encourage me to further my endeavours but also to help me as much as they could. Sometimes the titles showed such an intention: for example, ‘Tito’s lesson to Khruscov’ - was implied at least in the domain of anti-fascist memorials”<sup>130</sup>

However, Žilnik will argue that such communication occurred only with the ‘western world’, since the *cultural artefacts* created in the model of the East were strongly criticized as negative.<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, on the one hand, the ‘crude

125 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

126 ‘Philosophical association ‘Korcula School’’, Constitutional document of the association.

127 According to Dimić, both of those branches developed their individual characteristics, and had different path of development. Nevertheless, under the common name of Praxis School they organized serials of significant seminars, summer schools, festivals, and events.

128 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

129 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

130 Bogdanović, *Haunted Builder (Ukleti Neimar)*. *Op.cit.* p.143.

131 Žilnik, ‘Praxis and the Black Wave’, *Op.cit.*

and dehumanized reality' was recognized in both of the models of the East and the West – the “[...] amorphous cruelly alienated and dehumanized environment”<sup>132</sup> in the ambience of the cities, [fig.060]. On the other hand, in the magazines there were always parallels presented between the human socialist outlook and the dehumanized *model impacted by Capitalism*. For instance, such positions from the article *on the image of the capitalistic city* criticize without any judgment the *cultural artefacts* from the Capitalistic City. The protagonist also expressed their concerns that the *cultural artefacts* should not contribute towards further stimulation of an alienated and dehumanized reality, resulting in the upcoming development of the technological world:

“We live in a time when the technical and natural sciences have experienced leaps and bounds of unprecedented progress that have completely overwhelmed us so that our preoccupations with general societal, cultural and artistic wealth have waned”.<sup>133</sup>

Another frequent common beliefs was the urge for a less material vision for the society.<sup>134</sup> This notion promoted the creation of the socialist lifestyle (p.311) and based the strive to promote *creativity* as a new feature contributing to the quality of life of the individuals, so that they can get the best out of themselves. Such a stance was to produce from the investors, cultural creators and beneficiaries: “creative individuals who are more interested in ‘being’ than ‘having’”.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, each of the artistic (and civic) fields, developed their common beliefs and formed their individual ‘visions’, ‘issues’, and ‘thematic clusters’,<sup>136</sup> so each artistic field established a separate plan for development, [fig.061]. Nevertheless, as the common beliefs were circulated among the cultural creators in the same environment, the goals among different artistic (including the civic) fields often overlapped and intervened. It is this discovery that shows how a common cultural scene building on particular common beliefs was established.

Likewise, the protagonists repeated the common beliefs of ‘the emancipation’. For instance, Denegri formulate that the common environment and the ambience assisted the common beliefs to be shared and circulated: “Those are two independent sectors, but one thing they have in common is that they share the culture and the spiritual climate of the time, as well as having so-



Fig. 060| Extract from the cover page, Caricature, *Greetings from Zagreb*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, Zlatko Bastasić, No. 9, 1971, Zagreb



Fig. 061| Book cover, ‘The School – the core for culture’, Veselin Ilić, 1992, Niš

132 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘Sculpture in free space Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

133 Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Op.cit.*

134 As general socialist critique.

135 Yorick Blumenfeld, *Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), p.229.

136 As mapped from the programs for development of the particular different fields of arts.

something familiar in their goal, and that is precisely it – the emancipation”.<sup>137</sup> As architects, they were part of the same environments and created what Denegri referred to as the good “spiritual climate of the time”.<sup>138</sup> For this reason, the exercise detected similarities among the creative field, e.g. the essay of Ranko Tudor (originally prepared for the field of music, which can be seen as a general critique common for all of the cultural fields from the time), who detected that the current situation is “destructive” due to:

- A) Lack of criteria, which leads to the emergence and increase of sundae;
- B) Snobbery;
- C) Ideological turns;
- D) Aesthetic disorientation;
- E) Habit of earning money easily and cheap popularization”.<sup>139</sup>

As mentioned, the creative model of the East was criticized as “limited and with a too direct interpretation of Marx”<sup>140</sup>, having been impacted by ‘the top-down, state communism’. For this reason, *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize ‘applied’ a double filter – one from *the model* in which the western *cultural artefacts* materialize and another from *the model of the USSR*, and for the same reasons, the ‘dominant artistic codex of the USSR model’ was avoided, as it offered *Socialist Realism* (in Yugoslavia known as *soc-realims*).<sup>141</sup> It was criticized for its rigid ambience present in the USSR cities and the lack of freedom of expression, however *Socialist Realism* infiltrated and appeared on another utilitarian level: in the conception of the cities (p.433).<sup>142</sup> This is also because the philosophers of Yugoslavia recognized the USSR model as a rigid and less innovative socialism.<sup>143</sup>

The cultural creators linked their work as a continuation of the legacy of the creativity, which appeared during the *October Revolution*: “We are the real heirs of the *October Revolution*, and you as Stalinists – you deform it and betrayed it”.<sup>144</sup> Traces of such admiration of the *October Revolution* can be seen in the movie *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, [fig.062], where a love affair occurred

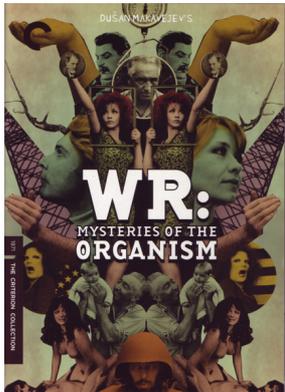


Fig. 062| Poster, the movie *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Dušan Makavejev, 1971

137 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

138 *Ibid.*

139 Ranko Tudor, ‘About some questions about the right of the artists in the self-development system’, *the Congress for Cultural Action*, Kragujevac, SR Serbia, 1971.

140 Nerkez Smailagić, ‘Between tradition and the new - commune and culture’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1962).

141 This is why, the Yugoslavia adopted the modern abstract art rather than the ‘soc – realism’ which was present in USSR.

142 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.443).

143 Blumenfeld, Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe. *Op.cit.*

144 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

between a Yugoslav woman and a Russian ice skater<sup>145</sup>, [fig.063]. The movie initiates conversation on topics such as gender roles, repression and sexuality, corruption in the West, the role of the *October Revolution* etc., [fig.064]. In fact, the same was reflected in literature circles and in the dominant Yugoslav modernist axe of writers, [fig.065], who “took the references from the most popular Russian avantgarde”.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, the narrative appeared in the architectural public discourse too, e.g. an article in the magazine *Man and Space* talks about the *Architecture from USSR from the time of the October Revolution*, [fig.066], while another article *from social practice to the theory of spatial planning* from the same magazine discusses how the revolutionary practice gave birth to a revolutionary spatial theory and the contribution of the soviet spatial planners (Leonidov, Ginzburg, Pasternak, Sabsovič, Miljutin), having been translated into practical spatial planning.<sup>147</sup>

Moreover, the Yugoslav modernist axe of writers was significant for the overall directions in the creative field since its members, back in the day, formed the highest federal cultural organ – the *Committee for Culture and Art of FRY* (CCAF) – in 1946. In the official document from the formation, all the mentioned members came from the creative fields, e.g. “Mesa Selimović (writer-novelist), Oskar Danon (composer), Miroslav Krleža (modernist writer), Bojan Stupica (architect and theatre director), Ivo Andrić (writer), and President Vladislav Ribnikar (architect-journalist) [...]”,<sup>148</sup> and what they shared was the support of the modernist paradigm. It is this modernist alliance that entered the *LCY*, and pushed for the pro-European and liberal democratic force with an openly critical stance towards the communist political core.<sup>149</sup>

In this manner, the modernist axe pushed the socialist beliefs by promoting the general narratives of ‘normality’, ‘healthiness’, ‘accomplishments’, etc. That is why the cultural artefacts normally avoided the topic of utopia, since the socialists aimed to accomplish the imagined and to prove that everything was possible. For those reasons, science fiction movies were created less in the

145 Back at the days, the movie was valorized, by both of the authorities and the beneficiaries, as controversial.

146 ‘Interview with Milan Kundera’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1984).

147 Branislav Krstić, ‘From social practice to the theory of spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1984).

148 ‘Historical statement about the founders’, The Committee for culture and arts of SFRY 1946-1948’, Ideological commission, overview of the sessions of the Ideological Commission, 1948 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, VII, 1946-1948).

149 In several testimonials, such as the one of Berisavljevic, Perović etc. For example, Berisavljević in his testimonial, described his profile as politician representing the avant-garde axe in the party, “seeing towards progress”.



Fig. 063| Scene from the movie, *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Dušan Makavejev, 1971

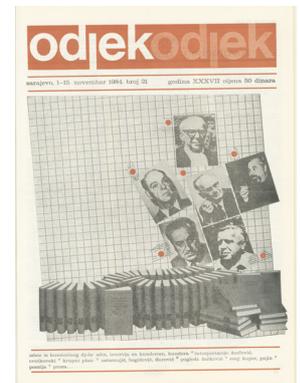


Fig. 064| Cover page, in the magazine *Odjek*, No. 21, 1984, Sarajevo



Fig. 066| Cover page, ‘*Architecture from USSR from the time of the October Revolution*’, Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 4, 1968, Zagreb

East,<sup>150</sup> as they aimed to be ‘healthy societies’, which is different from what is normally depicted in ‘sci-fi’ movies – showing the anomalies of the society. This is the reason as to why the main protagonist in the movie *How I was systematically destroyed by idiots* is disappointed once he discovers that the imagined perfect socialist society is starting to exhibit its imperfections: ‘I believed naïvely that the new society will eliminate all of the capitalistic tendencies’, [fig.067]. What’s more, space was impacted by this ‘healthy’ common beliefs, which is why a number of civic spaces, such as green areas and cultural facilities, emerged in the Yugoslav city, with the idea to create ‘healthy city’ close to the healthy society: “[...] all this with the aim of a safer step towards creating conditions for raising the ‘health of society’ with normal conditions for the development of individuals and families”.<sup>151</sup> This is also the reason as to why the existence of ‘abnormality’ was negated as possible (p.194), or why the fields of culture and creativity contained the inherent notion of assisting society for the purpose of overcoming its anomalies. Taking this into consideration, the field of culture and its development was understood by its protagonists as “*raison d’être* of socialism”.<sup>152</sup>



Fig. 067| Scenes from the movie, *How I Was Systematically Destroyed by an Idiot*, Slobodan Šijan, 1968

## II.1.2. THE ONE OF THE ARTISTIC CIRCLES

As previously stated, the artistic circles established the common belief to be both experimental and curious about life;<sup>153</sup> the cultural creators aimed through the creation of their *cultural artefacts* to straighten their mental gymnastics, to express through their work the overall revolt and dissatisfaction with that given<sup>154</sup> and with the existential minimum.<sup>155</sup> On the one hand, through their *cultural artefacts*, the cultural creators aimed to participate in the transformation (from the bourgeoisie to the socialist) and development of the life of the community, so the moral principles prevailed as the motivation of their work: “the intellectuals who are entering the party were fanatics. They were primarily motivated by ethical reasons”.<sup>156</sup> In fact, the same logic was applied when creating an architectural object (p.148). On the other hand, though, the protagonist stated that the beneficiaries reacted and recognized the good ‘ethical work’

150 VeTU, EPFL, 2018.

151 Goran Djurović, ‘The place and function of the old environmental units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

152 Blumenfeld, Seesaw:: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.229.

153 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

154 Conversation with Antoanela Petkovska, Skopje, 2018.

155 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

156 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

too.<sup>157</sup> Consequently, the notion of ethics provided a constant human common belief for building human capacities and creative skills, and this was also significant for the creation of the institution since good professional ambience was reflected in the organization of the country.<sup>158</sup> Dragičević Šešić underlined that the strive for the creative was a strive for a new quality of life in which new ‘socialist impulses’ would impact people, and thus a new, different and unique life (distinguished from the one in the capitalistic world) would emerge. Nevertheless, neither the beneficiaries nor the cultural creators neglected the inventions created in the West, for example they often presented good architectural examples (modernist Architecture) from their western peers.<sup>159</sup>

Such a strive for ‘specialness’ paved the ground for the cultural creators to break the cliché that freedom of critical thinking is not possible in a Communist country. “Professor Predrag Vranicki, a leading member of the Editorial Board, has written: ‘We have reached the stage where we must show the world that, in the cultural field, socialism means open thinking and not dictation.’ Vranicki believes that ‘the creation of a free cultural ambience is our primary task (in Yugoslavia) and it has not yet fully realized, so the blame cannot be placed on *Praxis*’”.<sup>160</sup> Bearing this in mind, positive momentum in *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize was reached since the creative circles set up a societal norm that encouraged critical thinking:

“[...] show that socialist thought, movements and practice developed successfully where working people and individuals as builders of a new society had the opportunity to openly and critically relate to socialist theory and practice. The entanglement of social criticism has led and continues to lead to the stagnation of socialist thought and movement, and therefore our self-governing socialist society can successfully develop only if it is constantly monitored, at all levels, in all environments, and in various forms – free, open, socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-artistic criticism – based on scientific and philosophical assumptions”.<sup>161</sup>

On another occasion, the philosopher Supek presents that ‘critical thinking’ is a ‘level up’ socialism and a specificity of Yugoslavia. In the following extract, the confidence that the cultural creators reached can be felt:

“Lenin was fundamentally concerned with the exploited, impoverished workers and peasants: ‘We are interested primarily in the intellectuals and the affluent

157 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

158 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

159 On contrary various examples, such as the good individual examples of spatial interventions who were emerging in the West were often critically examined in the magazines.

160 Blumenfeld, Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.225.

161 ‘A reminder notes’ for the upcoming discussion, conference *a few remarks on the situation of criticism in our country*, The commission of the presidency of the SFRY for culture, Avdi Humo, president of commission, Belgrade, 1969. (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

society.’ The basic difference between Zagreb and Moscow philosophers is that Yugoslavs, having reached a certain standard of well-being, are now looking ahead, while the Muscovites continue to interpret the past”.<sup>162</sup>

As confidence was rising among the artistic circles, more individual original approaches emerged from the newly gained position: “In this regard, we must find our souls and rid ourselves of the inferiority, boldly sailing into the waters of the unexplored wealth of the imagination, penetrating the spirit of the times and people of this climate”.<sup>163</sup> Likewise, this was reflected in the field of architecture too, and architects were urged to intervene with the mentioned ‘climate’: “It is impossible to change the world, man as a social being, if the essential element of that will and the change of the environment as a condition for the development of his existence towards a better and freer life is not understood”.<sup>164</sup> It was precisely this confidence that helped architects to overthrow the *Socialist Realism* and the figurative expression normally used in the USSR model. For instance, when the investor (factory director) asked the *cultural creator* (Goroslav Keller) to design a package for salt, he suggested that the design should contain a photo of the dirty miners as a ‘real’ symbol of the company. Keller replied to that with confidence: “I said to him, Boris, you must be joking! They need something nice”.<sup>165</sup> From this statement, one can conclude that in the model in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, the investors did not influence the choice of the *cultural creator* and the overall design process, but the *cultural creator* stood to the side in order to provide better quality for the beneficiaries.

### II.1.3. THE ONE OF THE *VISUAL ART CIRCLES*

Yugoslav designers (as part of the *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize and impacted by the *Socialist Urban Culture*, since the protagonist cohabits in the same environment) developed several unique principles and applied them within the creative design process. From the consulted data, three authentic Yugoslav artistic principles emerged as the ones most abided to:

- The principle of *hybridization*;
- The principle of *metaphorization*;
- The principle of *humanization*.

162 Blumenfeld, Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.227.

163 ‘Moral Codex of Architects’ SFRY, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1972).

164 Read more about the Moral Codex of the Yugoslav Architect, (p.477).

165 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, *Design for the new world*, Museum of Yugoslavia, 2016.

The first principle – *hybridization* – it means taking something which exist in another context and successfully adopting it in another. It manifested itself in several societal fields of interests, e.g. Edvard Kardelj invented it through the principle of the Yugoslav self-management system after completing his study trip to the Scandinavian countries, where he became familiar with the Scandinavian system.<sup>166</sup> From this point Kardelj ‘translated’ the Scandinavian model and adapted it to the Yugoslav (socialist) context. Another example is the *cultural artefact* – the *Atlas of Culture of the Socialist Republic of Serbia* (Belgrade, 1974), [fig.068], prepared by CSCD (by a group of various cultural creators, such as graphic designers, architects, spatial planners, etc.), and firstly invented and pioneered in France, yet later through the principle of *hybridisation*, re-invented on Yugoslav territory.<sup>167</sup> This meant taking foreign concepts and contextualising them for Yugoslav needs. Dragičević Šešić argued that even “[...] French made the innovation, even so, their map was not that rich as ours. They had fewer categories. At the moment when they were working on the Atlas, France was incredibly centralized, and their map was empty. You can see on theirs that they still don’t have any cultural infrastructure”.<sup>168</sup>



Fig. 068| Cover page, *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

In that manner, the artistic principle of *hybridisation* became a tool that stimulated the emergence of genuine Yugoslav inventions and conceptual hybrids, further impacting the space as well, where new hybrid architectural spaces and typologies consequently emerged (p.536). Architects therefore worked to invent new conceptual programs for the emergence of new typologies; an example being the *cultural house for Trgoviste*.<sup>169</sup> As such the cities gradually transformed their programmatic offer too. Those categories started to gain the status of institutions with a ‘civic [друштвени] special interest’ and integrated a hybrid formula intersecting the civic, cultural and socialist premises. A large spectrum of new communal space was thus invented, such as: ‘cinemas, opera houses and theatres, but the community units have also been taken into consideration: cultural centres, workers’ clubs and resorts, cooperative and trade union homes, or various children’s institutions, like kindergartens, pioneer parks and homes, etc.’<sup>170</sup> Such hybrid spaces became “[...] the basic unit for the development of the cultural infrastructural network, through which the current social ideologies were mediated”.<sup>171</sup>

166 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

167 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

168 *Ibid.*

169 The competition was organized by the CSCD.

170 Radivoje Dinulovic, Dragana Konstantinovic, and Miljana Zekovic, *Architecture from the Houses of Culture in Republic of Serbia*. (Novi Sad, Serbia: Architectural Faculty - Novi Sad, 2014).

171 *Ibid.*

The second principle – *metaphorisation* – emerged as the creation of the *reality* developed in the Yugoslav environment (p.311). For instance, Mirko Ilić referred to the principle as ‘double talk’ principle<sup>172</sup>, where the cultural creator needed to develop an artistic ability to ‘enter into battle’ as an individual against the powers. As a result, the everyday experience in the Yugoslav environment contributed for this principle to surface due to the ‘soft skills’ that the protagonists developed to endure the *reality* which obliged them to apply the same ‘coding’ to the created *cultural artefacts*:

“I remember I was the one to get this ‘restriction for public appearance’ – and you are risking that in the next two years you might end up without any work. It was simple, it was so stupid to end up in jail and no one will see that. The most beautiful thing is to be on the edge; they are expecting you to fail, but you won’t. That exercise is something that in Yugoslavia was firstly exercised on the streets, in the coffee bars. For example, if two big guys are passing by, the skill is in how you are going to react, how to avoid them, how to verbally win over someone, and before they realize what happened, you are already two steps ahead. All that is stylistic exercise, the conflict between the individual against the powers and ruling system; it was exercised from day one. So I somehow succeeded in translating this skill into my illustration too”<sup>173</sup>

Such an approach pushes the beneficiaries to use their intelligence to read the ‘secret message’ from the author, which is essentially contrary to the classic formations where the design of the *cultural artefact* permits cultural passiveness, and where on the one side there is the spectacle, while on the other side there is the passive audience. The *cultural artefact* of *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize thus strived to create intelligent relations with the beneficiaries. Another cultural creator who reflected on the principle of *metaphorisation* is Dušan Makavejev. In one of his interviews (he is presented at the beginning of the show as “when the innocent go to bed and the corrupt stay up”<sup>174</sup>), he is invited to talk about his controversial movies, so Makavejev explains the principle of *metaphorisation* as work by using metaphors to deliver the right message to the audience, stating that: “there is a way for a thing to be

172 Mirko Ilić on the principle of ‘double talk’: When I came to America, within the first week even so my English was very bad, I got a job for New York Times to create the cover page for Time Magazine. I got it – even my English was very bad, since they saw something in the portfolio from my work [...]. [...] something which is called double talk. Double talk means, that you can write, draw, or see something between the lines. The illustrations have more than one level, ideally three levels. In America this type of illustration was not existing. Their concept is - depends what you want to read, you see that”.

173 TV Interview with Mirko Ilić, they win, 2012 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gWK-9F4C-pok>>.

174 Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly, Nicely Offensive, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4fblEiUBbrA>>.

said and you don't have to tell them directly [...] there is a sort of unwritten agreement, a so-called gentlemen's agreement [...], is a staged game!"<sup>175</sup>

The battle between the individual and the powers was exercised within the *LCY* too. Intriguingly, Berisavljević reflected on that as viewing the party as not monolithic, but rather divided into a 'left socialist and modernist' and a 'right' communist axe. According to Berisavljević, such a 'pro-democratic' battle between the two axes contributed for the "[...] autonomy of the intellectuals"<sup>176</sup> to be formed, and the cultural creators in *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize held a 'pro-democratic' role. In addition, Makavejev expressed his political views as being a mix between the democratic, socialist and anarchist (as a manifestation of freedom and humour). Bogdan Bogdanović was also part of the 'pro-democratic' axe and aimed to use the principle of *metaphorisation*; metaphors (inspired by the surrealism) are applied within his design process as a criticism<sup>177</sup> to the 'mainstream' Yugoslav construction boom:

"[...] against the dominant rationalism of Yugoslavia's ongoing urbanization. It thus celebrated the 'fantastic', 'literary', 'uncontrolled', and 'emotional' potentials of the city, as opposed to the 'scientific', 'schematic', 'sterile' and 'lifeless' 'big urbanism' responsible for large-scale new developments such as New Belgrade and New Zagreb".<sup>178</sup>

The third principle – *humanization* – is linked to the general socialist concept of placing humans in the centre of attention (p.352), thus having an impact on the *cultural artefacts* to be better designed for the common people. In the field of architecture, this principle encouraged the architect to reflect on ethics in an artistic sense, and how to shift their work for the benefit of humankind and society. Moreover, this principle did not encourage the development of a specific artistic design skill, but rather addressed the significance and meaning of the cultural creations. It was also understood that good *cultural creation* will embody the principle of *humanization*, and by that will trigger cultural-human development. The cultural creators urged for affirmation of artistic skills which were favorable for the beneficiaries: "[...]importance of art education in the formation of human personality has not been sufficiently

175 *Ibid.*

176 'Predlog paket'.

177 Extract from the book *Haunted Builder*. Bogdan Bogdanović, p.143. "[...] quite understandable, because many of them built, without the least bit of conscience, concrete ugliness, and taught others how to build as fast, as efficiently, as meaninglessly as possible. And their science left nothing cheap, even luxurious, pompous monsters of 'socialist construction', but also of socialist savvy, for example as the New (across the river of Sava) Belgrade".

178 Vladimir Kulić, 'Bogdan Bogdanović and the Search for a Meaningful City' in *East West Central Re-building Europe, 1950-1990*, Vol. 1, *Re-Humanizing Architecture*, edited by Ákos Moravánszky, Torsten Lange, Judith Hopfengärtner, and Karl R. Kogler (BIRKHÄUSER, 2016), 77-88.

recognized in all the countries of the world”.<sup>179</sup> Therefore the principle of *humanization* aimed to offer a richer creative life of the common people: “We had (and usually took for granted) extraordinary opportunities for personal development, cultural, artistic, scientific and ideological becoming”.<sup>180</sup> Other cultural creators located the roots of the principle of *humanization* in the historical process of the Balkans: “Deep humanism is an artistic skill which was left from the traces from the man who was there before, who existed, and who built not only those utilitarian spaces but also special ones”.<sup>181</sup> Other authors also linked the principle of *humanization* with the possible broad utility for the beneficiaries, stating:

“Although the aesthetic, humane and ethical, human, living and working environment can be achieved only by educating all participants and users of that environment [...]. Because people need to be taught to appreciate, understand, and advocate such a fight against spines, false pseudo-esthetization, and a more humane and ethical environment (which is just a scene of the social relations), is a priori lost”.<sup>182</sup>

In the same vein, the principle of *humanization* needed to yield more human and (ethical) architecture:

“Our architectural and urban projects must not offer us the renewal of past forms of patriarchal and civic life, they must not be spatial images of past authorities, ideologies and values, but they must be open to the kind of life we strive for by developing a socialist self-government, for free, mobile, communicative, open and humanized human life, a life that is on the other side of all slavery, egoism and loneliness. Simply put: architects, urban planners, builders, painters, sculptors should build for the interest of our self-governing community”.<sup>183</sup>

The political core also urged for the principle to be applied to each of the artistic fields. Likewise, this can be observed in the article *Tito on Culture and Art* (see the entire document which is attached in the *Set of Documents* (p.540)), [fig.069], where the President described the thematic clusters relevant for each of the individual objectives of the artistic fields and urged for the application of the principle of humanization.



Fig. 069| Newspaper article, 'Tito – about culture and art', 1962, Belgrade

179 Uroš Martinović, 'Art, Culture, Education and Labor', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1972).

180 Ana Marjanovic-Shane, 'The Golden Cage: Growing up in the Socialist Yugoslavia', 2018.

181 Minas Bakalcev, 'Dual Image: Minas Bakalcev at TEDxSkopje City 2.0', Skopje, 2013.

182 Martinović, 'Art, Culture, Education and Labor', *Op.cit.*

183 Ralić, 'Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism' Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

#### II.1.4. INTRODUCTION TO THE ONE OF THE ARCHITECTURAL CIRCLES

The interest to conduct a ‘cultural reading’ of the architectural thought originates in the idea of better understanding of the several significant pieces of information which will help to deconstruct the thinking of the Yugoslav architects, and better understanding of the *cultural artefact* – the Yugoslav architecture. Bogdan Bogdanović pointed out the interconnectivity between culture (as an understanding of the way of thinking, perceiving and setting up the perfections) and the man-made environment: “Culture has an impact on our built-in fabric, and the built-in fabric has an impact on our culture too”<sup>184</sup>, so to ‘read’ architecture on the cultural level is significant for ‘decomposing’ the architectural object. From the aspect of the architects (and their reasoning of the world), it became important to ‘take care’ of the environment, since they understood that in it a person will be self-developed and self-realized, hence they will ‘culturally grow’.<sup>185</sup> Meaning that the principles provoke different habits. Therefore, the exercise will ‘map’ the common beliefs which shaped the architects’ thoughts and impacted their way of thinking by understanding how they valued the *quality* of the environment, as well as the common beliefs which contributed to such understanding. Since the architects were part of the wider creative scene, they had the opportunity to listen to the critical thinking that the scene developed and then apply the developed political, philosophical, and intellectual stances of the civil society when creating the space (as the architects shared the overall critical thought permeating the public discourse).

184 Bogdan Bogdanović, ‘Introductory word’, the *Congress for Cultural Action*, Kragujevac, SR Serbia, 1971.

185 It is also why the question of the everyday and the phenomena ‘seeing in their visual range’ (p.370), were considered as important. As such was considered important the reality (and the man-made environment as stage for it) where the Yugoslav paradigm will unfold itself.

## II.2. YUGOSLAV UNDERSTANDING OF THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The basic common beliefs of the architectural circles' 'an apartment for everyone' occurred as a consequence of (and therefore after) World War II, as was demonstrated through popular evidence, [fig.114], from architectural magazines (shown on the first page), e.g. in the first issue of the magazine *Man and Space*, dated 1954, an article was published titled *the right of an apartment*. In this manner it was communicated that space was significant for the people and the collective well-being, hence new topics concerning spatial collective well-being gradually entered the magazines and prevailed in the overall public discourse. Therefore, a broader discussion aimed to re-assess everything which constituted the collective space; space for the collective well-being emanated as a critical thought developed by the architects (as the others from the creative scene), yet also accepted by the political circles. This meant developing the first major common beliefs that 'having a roof above your head is not enough',<sup>186</sup> so to request more (a basic Yugoslav common beliefs) affected both the architecture and the cities in regards to seeking new qualities in the life offered to the citizens: "[...] to create a richer life, to create educational activities, faculties, and sport centres".<sup>187</sup> Such thought circulated among the political circles too, who also sought new qualities in order "to make human life meaningful in the living and spiritual space".<sup>188</sup> Kardelj often questioned space around the living conditions of the common man: "[...] Comrade Kardelj emphasized that in the past we often underestimated the impact of spatial planning on the basic living conditions of the entire population".<sup>189</sup>

186 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2017 (p.87).

187 Miša David, 'Urbanism of Belgrade', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

188 Fredor Kritovac, 'Edvard Kardelj about man and space', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

\*this was also a genuine socialist wish – to offer quality of life better then in the other formations (p.189).

189 'Notes', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

The first common belief – which emerged as common criticism – constructing a new collective space – influenced the diversification of the cities’ programme, and responded to the critical thought to overcome the tendency of “monotony of the space”.<sup>190</sup> Based on the common beliefs against the ‘uniformity of space’<sup>191</sup>, architects developed the critical stance of the ‘quantity vs. quality’ issue, which will be further explained through concrete spatial examples. The second major common belief that stemmed from the determination to achieve more was to offer people “more than the *existential grey minimum*”,<sup>192</sup> which encompassed how architects referred to the less imaginative, repetitive and standardized architecture, produced in a uniform manner (as object – *cultural artefact* from *the model* active in the USSR context<sup>193</sup>). Indeed, there were discussions on how to stimulate richer architectural language and spatial capacities, and an architecture overall which will favour the ‘qualitative approach’, as was stated by Mušič: “We wanted architecture to be something more. The quality was to experience the space, to produce architecture that emits in the larger context and somehow forms it. To have the same qualitative aspects in the interior too”.<sup>194</sup>

Developing critical thought about qualitative approaches in architecture has existed ever since architects (as part of the civil society) were creating their objects to satisfy human needs,<sup>195</sup> while in the public discourse there prevailed the strive to “[...] build architecture in a manner that was quick, qualitative and humanistic”.<sup>196</sup> The third major common belief was to ensure the autonomy of artistic freedom and the possibility for yielding ‘individual creativity’: “[...] eve-

190 Testemonia Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

\*Mušič continued to describing the current state of the neighbourhoods in the Yugoslav cities as monotonous both in programmatic and aesthetic sense.

191 ‘Typification without Uniformity’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1974).

192 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

193 The Yugoslav architects were informed about the architectural theories developed in Russia, “Our circles knew about the architecture of USSR, they were grown up with that knowledge” even there is not direct referencing (from the testimonial of Denegri). Nevertheless architects (as part of the wider civil society), aimed to connect with the socialist heritage created during and shortly after the *October Revolution* (p.23). As shown on the popular evidence [fig.011]. Also, the Yugoslav architecture was inspired by the work of the Constructivists (architectural movement which emerged during the *October Revolution*). Nevertheless, according to Denegri, the *October Revolution* “it functioned as an ideal in their visions”. Further he interpreted that – the New Belgrade emerged as consequence from it as shown on the popular evidences, [fig.070, fig.071, fig.072, fig.073, fig.074, fig.075], the creation of the ‘NEW’ was popular common beliefs, such as the new man, the new worldviews, the new ambience, the new life, the new chance, the new home, the new city, etc.

194 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

195 Differently then today’s approach in the creative model impact by the Neoliberal paradigm, where architect is oriented to satisfy the desires of the clients.

196 Gernot Böhme, *Critique of Aesthetic Capitalism* (Mimesis International, 2017).



Fig. 070| Photo, Ideal Yugoslav woman, 1967



Fig. 073| Page 27, ‘New perspectives’, *New Belgrade – Block 1 Belgrade*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 2, 1969, Belgrade

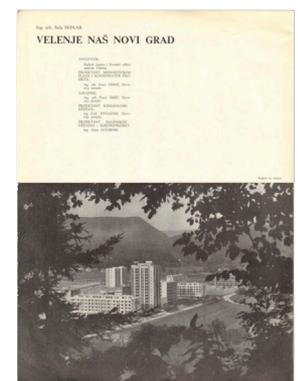


Fig. 075| Page 4, ‘Velenje our new city’, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 1, 1960, Belgrade

ry creator had their individual vocabulary, individual language. It was great”.<sup>197</sup> This idea was affirmed when valorizing the projects, and the characteristics were recognized as containing quality.<sup>198</sup> As the architectural circles (part of the civil society) placed the human in the centre of their action (p.352) (coming from the common beliefs to build ‘people’s spaces’), the common beliefs of quality of the space on its own became the major vision in guiding the *process of materialization of architecture*.<sup>199</sup>

“Architecture has to be the main core of one project’. I am not talking only about the art form as a visual component, some extravagant form – yes, that was significant too. But architecture as a whole, as a space for man. A space where you gain some experience, a space which accepts your raising, and a space which leads you”.<sup>200</sup>

The common beliefs of ‘renewal and construction’ emerged as a consequence of World War II. In fact, on the one hand, the term *renewal* referred to fostering an overall spiritual well-being and “fighting for modernization of urban culture” (both recognized as contributing to the new qualities of life).<sup>201</sup> It is from this point that sets of new modern institutions were constructed in urban areas (such as kindergartens, schools and museums), and these urban areas became the core of the cultural-human development: “the cultural and humanism patterns, attempting to resolve some problems, here the emancipation processes were evolving. In the end it is culture which is important”.<sup>202</sup> On the other hand, the term *construction* emphasized the physical need to rehabilitate the environment. Simply put, all the above-mentioned spatial common beliefs, and the overall understanding of space, contributed towards the creation of the criteria upon which space was valorized and therefore created. The architects found their way of thinking and doing things with the idea in mind to achieve greater qualitative development than the one initiated by *the model* present in the capitalist city:

“Revealing the partiality and authoritativeness of all hitherto emergent value systems created and applied in the class societies, Zivotic criticizes that the urban ideology subordinates the conception and development of the city towards economic growth, while ‘building a socialist urban space’ is possible only by a radical critique of this idealization of growth without development (self-realization) of man”.<sup>203</sup>

197 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

198 Also, as an answer of the noticed neglectance in the previous bourgeois formations.

199 Differently then the creative model impact by the Neoliberal paradigm, which discuss the materials used for the construction and later the profit out of the whole project.

200 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

201 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

202 Introductory word of Latinka Perović, the *Congress for Cultural Action*, Kragujevac, SR Serbia, 1971.

203 Fredor Kritovac, ‘The characteristics of the todays moments to value the apartment’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1977).

As observed from the extract, the common beliefs assisted in the creation of the space built on a value system that stimulated growth with development (self-realization of humankind) (p.208).

## II.2.1. SOCIALIST UNDERSTANDING OF *QUALITY*

Understanding what makes *quality* in architecture is one of the oldest questions. The common beliefs helped to construct how humans value, and by that, how they form what they will understand as quality, thus humans construct the system of valorization upon which the *process of materialization* of space is conducted. Firstly, space is impacted by the beliefs of people (and their shaping of the value systems), which leads to the view that the understanding of *quality* differs in the socialist society from the capitalistic society. Secondly, the understanding of *quality* shapes the anatomy of space and production of architecture, since the investors, the cultural creators and the beneficiaries are all part of the same society (living in the same environment) and share a common understanding of *quality*. The socialist society aimed to offer the citizens a qualitatively different ‘quality of life’,<sup>204</sup> which will be not purely materialistically rich (quality in general will not be symbol of financial wealth).

However, in the capitalistic society, as space and architecture were part of the market, they became targets of the capitalistic logic which was constantly seeking new markets to expand to and accumulate even more capital. In the same vein, the economist Mazzacuto warned that capitalism confused price and value, making them related to each other,<sup>205</sup> as this was why (and a criticism to that) *quality* in a socialist society aimed to vanquish the fact that full-time alienated labour would no longer be the measure of wealth and value.<sup>206</sup> The architecture and the *cultural artefacts* (objects created in a socialist society) ex-

204 As explained from Marcuse, the socialist society want to offer more qualitative life to it is citizens, and not only the existing minimum (p.187). In spatial terms this overcoming the existential minimum overcoming basic and less innovative small living surfaces, standardization of the buildings, a monotonous program in the neighbourhood, etc. The same can be interpreted as Yugoslav critique on the global context (both in the East (p.196) and in the West). In the west this were the criteria's developed by CIAM 1929, and their work for Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum which were set up mostly in the 1950s and 1960s.

205 Mariana Mazzacuto, *The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy*, 2018. «price has become the indicator of value: as long as a good is bought and sold in the market, it must have value. So rather than a theory of value determining price, it is the theory of price that determines value.»

206 Herbert Marcuse talks with Bryan Magee, 1978 interview, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O7B2q1Fszhc>>.

pressed a different degree of significance due to the fact that the values, when valorizing good examples of space and architecture, were not questioned by wealth and price. This also suggests that what is considered good architecture in a capitalistic society is different from what is considered good architecture in a socialist society.

The perception of the buildings which were created in the socialist society can be explained likewise, i.e. from today's perspective, the buildings produced in Yugoslav society are viewed by people as 'grey and created for the poor' or 'cheap, and ugly', but the architecture then was built on different values. Accordingly, the buildings (and all of the *cultural artefacts*) were neither created by the logic of the market nor did they serve its expansion; the entities who were part of the *process of materialization* established different objectives to follow. By such circumstances, they did not aim to depict architecture and space through a vision of building a nicer, shinier and wealthier reality<sup>207</sup>, but rather to help the market reach its goals, inherently reflected in the creators' choice of materials and the overall design.<sup>208</sup> This also left more space for architects to focus on the philosophical, artistic and utilitarian *quality* of architecture and space, without 'calculating' the impression that the object (building) was creating on the audience.

In the capitalistic society, 'the impressions' gained a more significant role as they became an instrument which influenced the value system, i.e. the understanding of what 'good architecture' was. The non-economic pre-calculated approach to architecture and space (and the other *cultural artefacts*) of Yugoslavia left more room for seeking different understandings of what *quality* of the human environment encompassed. For this reason, the research of this thesis focused on the period between 1945 and the 1990s, when *quality* in general and *quality* of the man-made environment were not created by the logic of the economic market. Nevertheless, in the 1980s, the *cultural artefact* gradually started to embody the logic of the market, and after the 1990s they started to be entirely created by following the logic of the market. Besides the design, this gives the research a unique possibility to investigate the transformations of the significance of the *cultural artefacts* too.<sup>209</sup>

207 In the interview of Goroslav Keller is explained how in Yugoslavia designers were not led by the market but they directed the market.

208 Also, the materials start to be shinier too, where wealth is linked to the high prices and their good quality.

209 Additionally, the perception of what is quality differs when is not part of the 'market-oriented logic', as the case for Yugoslavia. This makes the object of the research (the Yugoslav City) a fertile soil for understanding design and innovations in architectural and spatial terms, who are not exclusively driven by the logic of the market.

Therefore, in the observed context (1945-1991), things such as the cost of the architectural project, the execution fees, the cost of the materials used, the organization of the construction site, etc., contributed towards the creation of a different final object – architecture to occur. The fact that architecture was on the market indicated that architecture should be navigating how to satisfy what the client would like to see. In the socialist paradigm, though, as the relations developed differently (p.148), architecture was to be part of more fundamental emancipatory processes in which the beneficiaries play an active role. In the field of architecture, the phenomena are not as recognizable as they are in other fields, e.g. in the field of health, the concept of “health is wealth”<sup>210</sup> circulated widely among the scientific community. Additionally, in the field of architecture, in the local context throughout the chapter, we will better grasp how the gradual shift from socialism to capitalism instigated a transition of what was understood as a *quality* of the man-made environment. In the architectural and designer sense, this denoted prioritizing the materials more and the architectural intervention less. As a criticism to that, in the Yugoslav paradigm, the *quality* of the materials was only part of what underlied the understanding of what is ‘good building’ – as can be seen on the valorization chart on the [fig.7], the materials (and the architectural physics) made up only one-third of the overall qualities that a building should have.

Considering all the elements mentioned above (especially free from the market one), the cultural creators were left with greater artistic freedom to communicate more directly with the beneficiaries ‘freedomized’ by the usual ‘marketing’, (read ‘Economizing’ at p.354).<sup>211</sup> This is the reason why the research aimed to analyze the whole *process of materialization* of space and include the actions and events performed in that space (Chapter III) as part of the final design. In the same epoch (1970s) the topic became popular in the west too, for instance, Robert M. Pirsig built his theory on “Quality is not a *thing*. It is an *event*”,<sup>212</sup> yet later headed for deeper precision: “It is the event at which the subject becomes aware of the object”.<sup>213</sup> From this point, we realize that *quality* is not a fixed but rather a mobile category that is impacted by our beliefs and what we ‘perceive’ as *quality*.

As the socialist society built its beliefs around the ‘collective civic interest of the community’, what was understood under *quality* was that priority was given to the common civic interests over the private interests. Moreover, this

210 Why investigate urban health indicators? Arpana Verma, Erik van Ameijden, Christopher A. Birt, Ioan Bocsan, Daniel Pope, on behalf of the EURO-URHIS 1 and 2 consortia, *European Journal of Public Health*, Volume 27, Issue suppl\_2, 1 May 2017, Pages 1–3.

211 This is a common capitalistic tendency, which transferred into spatial paradigm too.

212 Robert M. Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*.

213 *Ibid.*

had an effect on the emergence of civic spaces in the city since they were viewed as being qualitative for the citizens, but also shaped how people saw their cities and the architecture in them too. Therefore, the understanding of *quality* opened up the debate of what was considered as ‘normal’ in a society, and explained why the perspective of the spectators also transforms, e.g. the things which were normal (in terms of architecture and space) in Yugoslavia today might appear extraordinary.<sup>214</sup>

## II.2.2. YUGOSLAV MAN-MADE ENVIRONMENT

The general common beliefs of the socialist society to offer ‘the human-cultural development’ reflected on the understanding of what constructs the *quality* of space. For the architect, in a theoretical sense: “The quality of the environment can only be measured by the totality of what is available to people to meet cultural needs”,<sup>215</sup> yet the *quality* needed to align with the current reality, as “we have to build humanly and by our opportunities”.<sup>216</sup> As explained above (p.183), the principle of *humanization* had an impact on creating the “need to build with the scale of human needs”<sup>217</sup>, or as one article would put it: ‘human needs are detected as the basis for the creation of the ideal socialist society’.<sup>218</sup> The man-made environment and the *cultural artefacts* aimed to be qualitatively described in a cultural sense as well. The protagonist thought about how to set apart the small country and its cultural creations: “The artistic quality of our production is our life question. Only with quality and not quantity in the industry can we compete on a global scale as a small nation”.<sup>219</sup>

Such cultural planning also aimed to globally help to boost the status as a country ‘which is not lagging’, so from this point on, upon such premises, did the label ‘Made in Yugoslavia’ (and the *cultural artefact* created under it) emerge, aiming to achieve the characteristics of *originality* and *authenticity*. In

214 This also explains why Martin Stierly, for the MoMA exhibition underlined the “generosity of space, the empowerment of public space, the communal space for social interaction, the overlapping of the artistic and architectural design, etc.” as exceptional for the Yugoslav cities. This is how such interventions are valorized by today’s lenses.

215 Mr. Milos Nemjanić, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, 1970, *The Institute for Cultural Development*, Belgrade.

216 The president Tito on the *Congress of Yugoslav Architects*, Belgrade (1958).

217 Original quote “The proportion of human need - for a more decent life and the realization of the ideals of socialist society”, Aljoshka Sevgić, ‘About critical thought and criticism to the construction’ 1977, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1977).

218 ‘Human needs. The ideals of our socialist society’, *Urbanism Belgrade*, 1977.

219 ‘The problem of the school of applied art and the link with our economy’, Exposition held at the Congress of the Association of Fine Artists of Yugoslavia in Belgrade in 1950. (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

terms of architecture, embodying the ‘impulses’ of the epoch and aligning with the current reality was applied:

“[...] full awareness of the role of true architecture, cannot produce as clearly refined ‘civic fruits’ nor round off such a large entity as modern architecture is, cosmopolitan in its essence and pre-stamped with its individual social content and creative mark – ‘made in Yugoslavia’”.<sup>220</sup>

Therefore, what surfaced under the label was a unique architectural Yugoslav vision, signifying ‘a cosmopolitan appearance, civic [друштвен] significance, and having a creative, artistic signature – one’s mark’, demonstrating the continuing progress of self-esteem in the eyes of the architects who gradually uncovered the signature they strived for. Therefore, the Yugoslav understanding of *quality* became a sum of criteria which were politically, economically and philosophically pre-conditioned; as mapped from the readings, several ‘strategies’ developed to enhance the emergence of original and authentic architecture. The first criterion was making accessible what was considered as ‘exclusive’ in architecture, implying the democratization of *quality* in architecture. Besides the general understanding of *quality*, the idea was to embed the ‘artistic’ component into the democratic vision: “economical, long-lasting and aesthetic”<sup>221</sup>, or as defined by Keller: “[...] namely, they need to design quickly, build cheaply, firmly, artistically at a high level and build a new formative language”.<sup>222</sup> The second criterion was to prioritize the collective needs, implying that the architects aimed to “build cheap, fast and humanly”.<sup>223</sup> ‘cheap’ due to the material means of the country, ‘fast’ since there was great lack of built space as a result of the destruction from World War II, and ‘humanly’ as to place humans centrally.

### II.2.3. THE ANTI-CITY

The thesis introduce the term ‘anti-city’ which the protagonist aimed to use to better understand the ‘negation’ of spatial *quality* and acknowledge it as equally important in the overall valorization processes, hence the term ‘no quality’, which is the root of what the architects considered as *quality*. Common criticism was turned towards the questions surrounding centralization of power and population in the city centres, uniformity of the appearance of the architecture, lack of day-care facilities, lack of domestic space, and lack of animated life in neighbourhoods, etc.:

220 Uroš Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

221 Bozidar Murković, ‘The exhibition chair’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

222 Goroslav Keller, ‘Urbanism - Architecture - Social will’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

223 *Ibid.*

“[...] those from the ‘city centre’, whose children have less space than one car, those who cannot recognize their building because of hundreds of them, those from the periphery who have to get supplies to the centre, they are set up by children who are locked up while their parents are working. If we are forced (as we are forced for sake of the industry and technology) to still have spatial planning and architecture with elements of coercion, then let them at least be the combined creativity of all the subjects of synthesis narrowed down to the effects of that coercion, making it milder and more dignified to human nature”.<sup>224</sup>

The negations above are meaningful in order to understand the ‘bad examples’; what are outlined in the extract as such had greater significance in the socialist society since the presentation of the society should not depict any anomalies. The creative scene (and their critical thinking) used the anomalies as sources for inspiration in the creation of their *cultural artefacts*, like the genre of films called *Yugoslav Black Film*, which normally ‘captured’ and illustrated the anomalies of the society. Such an example, is *The Black Film* in which the protagonist tries to find accommodation for a group of homeless people in the city of Novi Sad in 1971, [fig.076]. The movie portrays the idea that for the citizens of Novi Sad being homeless is a new and unfamiliar phenomenon, and by displaying this aspect the author aims to criticize that socialist society is incapable of recognizing the problems it suffers from, since it is not expected to have any problems.



Fig. 076| Scene from the movie, *Black Film*, Želimir Žilnik, 1971

An article titled *What is Socialism?* illustrates what exists in socialist countries but should not exist, and criticizes that a socialist country is not ‘a state whose soldiers are the first to set foot in the territory of another country’, ‘a state where the number of bureaucrats increases more quickly than that of workers’, ‘a state that possesses colonies’, ‘a tyranny, an oligarchy, a bureaucracy’, ‘one isolated country’, ‘a state that has beggars’ etc.<sup>225</sup> In the same article several points related to the spatial-cultural sphere were raised: ‘a society in which some people are unhappy because they say what they think and others are unhappy because they do not’, ‘a society in which ten people live in one room’, ‘a state that gives literary prizes to talentless hacks and knows better than painters what kind of painting is the best’, ‘a state where city maps are state secrets’, ‘a state whose citizens are not permitted to read the greatest works of contemporary literature nor to see the greatest contemporary works of art nor to hear the best contemporary music’, etc.<sup>226</sup> The common beliefs in Yugoslavia

224 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’, Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

225 <<http://savingcommunities.org/docs/kolakowski.leszek/whatisocialism.html>>.

226 While the article was published in the Yugoslav architectural magazine *Man and Space*, in the country of origine Poland, got ceazed by the censor and could not be published until the fall of the communism. <<http://savingcommunities.org/docs/kolakowski.leszek/whatisocialism.html>>.

that ‘critical thinking is possible in one socialist country’ can be proven by the fact that the notion of ‘critical thinking’ was appreciated and was an integral part of the discussions in cultural circles. Moreover, ‘critical thinking’ aimed to be integrated into the self-management system as a supporting mechanism to defeat the possible upcoming ‘deformations’ of the society:

“Any restraint of critical thought has led and continues to lead to the deformation of the socialist movement and action, either in the form of dogmatism, bureaucracy and clan monopoly in the struggle for power and supremacy over society or in the name of narrow personal or collective interests. That is why criticism in a self-governing society is a condition for overcoming all deformations and perceiving the objective contradictions in which society and its organisms find themselves”.<sup>227</sup>

Yugoslav architects, by applying critical thinking, saw the city as more than merely a utilitarian creation: “The city does not need to meet only technical, economic and social requirements, but aesthetic values will determine the property of the city, through which its proponents will identify themselves”,<sup>228</sup> hence the reasoning behind why the concept ‘of better ambience’ was suggested to be designed in the environment: “Ugly, heterogeneous in appearance, sometimes deformed in structure, an anomalous Belgrade has never been an impersonal city”.<sup>229</sup> As suggested, the author outlines the aspect of ‘impersonality’ as a negative trait and the ‘strong character’ as a positive trait of the city.

In another article, yet in the same vein, the creation of the *events* is suggested as a possible strategy to overcome the ‘impersonality’ and the ‘non-identity’ noticeable in the space: “The poverty of the events or even their absence in a way is an expression, omen or consequence of the burial of the essential identity of the city, the lack of that peculiarity that distinguishes and elevates it from the impersonality of the populated place”.<sup>230</sup> ‘Falsification’ was regarded as a negative phenomenon that can damage (among other things) the aesthetic expression of the *cultural artefacts*:

“In order for a person to give the right grade, one should know the matter well. Consideration should be given to the fact that, within the vast mass of artistic facts, fraud is often involved. Nowhere is that as deceptive as in art, and nothing is so deceptive as arrangement. The arrangement, being dangerous, can inspire fraud, counterfeit earnings, or ill ambitions that have lasted for centuries”.<sup>231</sup>

227 The president of commission, Avdi Humo, ‘a reminder notes’ for the upcoming discussion, conference *a few remarks on the situation of criticism in our country*, The commission of the presidency of the SKY for culture, 1969.

228 President of the *Association of Urbanists of Yugoslavia*, Branko Petrović, ‘Resolution of the V-UIA Congress’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

229 Milica Jakšić, ‘Social and cultural events – factor urban character of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

230 Jakšić, ‘Social and cultural events – factor urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

231 Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Op.cit.*

In the following extract, the author criticizes the emergence of the new class and its negative behaviour and spatial expression:

“[...] the emergence of a new class, or its property, was reflected in changes in psychology and lifestyle, as well as the material position of its members, but according to place on the hierarchical ladder they occupy. Villas, the best apartments, furniture and the like were looted. Special neighbourhoods have been created and resorts closed for the highest bureaucracy, for the élite of the new class [...]”.<sup>232</sup>

From the above extract, the spatial elements, such as ‘villas’, ‘best apartments’, ‘furniture’, and ‘special neighbourhoods’, are described as anomalies of *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize. Further negations emerged from the term *uniformism*, which is different from the term *uniformity* (signifying equal spatial distribution of quality): “On the contrary, people were satisfied because they now get apartments of uniform quality, regardless of the city in which they live”.<sup>233</sup> In addition others indicated that the success of the Yugoslav architecture was in the high *quality* of the produced quantity.<sup>234</sup> From the consulted literature, *uniformism* was criticized as a negative component to be avoided in architecture, so in the following extract, the author is pointing out the negative aspects of *uniformism*, detecting them both in architecture and spatial practice:

“The consequences are familiar to us: standardized architecture, standardization of minimum and maximum spaces, uniformism. [...] the urbanism is even worse when it comes to obedience. An urban planner is actually a trained architect, but most often the case is that urban planners are trained economists, sociologists, part-time experts in water management, road engineers etc. [...]”.<sup>235</sup>

The issue of *uniformism* addressed the monotonous standardized architecture, where “monotony can easily occur from the rigid procedures in arranging and applying standard elements in construction”;<sup>236</sup> in fact, *monotony* was spotted in urban neighbourhoods as well. For example, Mušič described the current urban neighbourhoods as *monotonous spaces* with only available housing and commercial programs.<sup>237</sup> *Commercialization* of space was considered as a negative aspect and it was recognized in the final object or within the process of *materialization of architecture*, where architecture is conducted as

232 Branka Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963* (Belgrade, Serbia: Sluzbeni Glasnik, 2013), p.24.

233 Goran Andjelković, ‘Packiging of the apartment as artistic skill’.

234 Lapis trip, Belgrade, EPFL, 2020.

235 ‘Action ‘Total’ Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation)’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

236 Petrović, ‘Resolution of the V-UIA Congress’, *Op.cit.*

237 Testemorial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

a clientilistic service or as an instrument for seeking profit, which negatively impacts the ‘creative efforts’ that should underlie the design process.<sup>238</sup> Such critique was aligned with the general Yugoslav common beliefs of not commercializing intellectual activity and criticism of the situation which is occurring in the West: “The existing frameworks and system of work in the field of design do not stimulate the creative efforts of architects. A total commercialization of intellectual activity has taken place”.<sup>239</sup> Furthermore it was criticized that the architectural organizations are transforming into corporate business-driven entities:

“Without categorization, architectural activity is now becoming the business prey of design studios. When acquiring rights, little consideration is given to the actual capabilities of individual and collective beneficiaries of these privileges. The importance of architecture is thus lost; the process of converting quantity into quality is slowing down”.<sup>240</sup>

Such a stance towards ‘uncompromised architecture’ aimed to conquer the ongoing mainstream architecture, which through the process of industrialization became an object of production and consumption, leading to concerns being pointed out that “architecture must not fall victim to civic consumption”.<sup>241</sup> This is close to the Marxist understanding, where “production does not only produce subject for subject but also subject for object”.<sup>242</sup> Similar criticism surfaced, stating that architecture became victim to the “crisis of the criteria of the social values”<sup>243</sup>, where the Yugoslav ‘criteria of value’ should be different than those in a classic consumer society, “directly affecting the uncertainty of objects and buildings (buildings, transport facilities – cars, etc.)”.<sup>244</sup> The authors also identify the negative aspect, i.e. the gap which opened up between those in power (the decision-makers and their interests) and the ‘the real social creations, exploitation and the controls of the surroundings’.

*Bureaucratization* in the field of art also had negative reception; even so, the politicians appreciated the highly bureaucratic Yugoslav development, which led to a life of high expertise.<sup>245</sup> *Bureaucratization* in the realm of architecture was detected in the professional practice of architecture which suffered

238 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, Design for the new world, *Op.cit.*

239 Krstić, ‘Architecture and us’, *Op.cit.*

240 Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Op.cit.*

241 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

242 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

243 *Ibid.*

244 Slavko Dakić, architect, Fedor Kritovac, arhitekt, Zorislav Perković Geography, ‘Social conflicts and spatial planning’.

245 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019.

from “bureaucratic understanding that separates them from their own artistic and scientific invention”.<sup>246</sup>

The term *technocratic city* represented the stigma given by the communist party (and therefore regarded as negative): “Spatial planning should not be realized as a technocratic professional activity, but as a civic [друштвена] activity based on scientific grounds. Therefore, it should essentially be present in civic planning councils”.<sup>247</sup>

“So as to avoid spontaneous expansion, to direct the process of urbanization in order to steer clear from the consequences of a dehumanized ‘anti-city’, and to influence the reduction and emergence of ‘urban ills’, spatial planning can play a significant role in this”.<sup>248</sup>

As presented, the ‘urban ills’, [fig.077], addressed urban issues across the Yugoslav cities such as urban misery, urban poverty, urban crime, segregation, and in regards to architecture – “standardized architecture, standardization of minimum and maximum spaces, uniformism.”<sup>249</sup> To overcome these ills, architects suggested cultural, architectural and spatial planning methodologies (read IV.1.2.2. Civic Strategies).



Fig. 077 | Article, *Why our Cities are Ill*

#### II.2.4. THE SOCIALIST CITY A ‘FRIENDLY’ PLACE

The social elements related to architecture and spatial planning were outlined as qualitative aspects in the consulted literature. In the model in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize, the social aspects and the physical structure were motivated to collaborate: “We primarily work to organize the society, but also for the aesthetic design of its space. We need to distinguish spatial form from social structure even though they are collaborative processes”.<sup>250</sup> Aligning the development of the Yugoslav socialist society with the development of the architecture as an objective emerged early on when forming the Yugoslav country. The cultural creators were pushing the idea to create a coherent space in which the general development of humankind and social interests would merge:

“In the days of crystallization of social relations, which give the notion of a commune the essential meaning of harmony between community and man, and at a time when Yugoslavia is an inspiration and signpost for many people,

246 Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Op.cit.*

247 ‘Notes’, *Op.cit.*

248 Dusan Papić, ‘Specifics of the urbanization process in the period from 1948 to 1961’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

249 ‘Action ‘Total’ Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation)’, *Op.cit.*

250 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

official understanding of architecture and the activists from the ranks of architects is not in accordance with the general development and social interest”.<sup>251</sup>

In continuation, the article explains how each building contains “economic, functional and aesthetic properties” which impact the emergence of the culture”.<sup>252</sup> Another illustration of such social alignment between the space and social aspects is linked to the general understanding that architecture is “a creative activity aiming to solve many of the essential issues of everyday life and work of people”.<sup>253</sup> Yet another example addresses the *Socialist Urban Culture* as a subject to influence the social elements of space:

“When one knows that the basic elements of culture are adopted in the process of socialization in childhood, that then one acquires personality, and that what is acquired is relatively difficult to change and reject, then one understands the influence of newcomers on our cities, i.e. on what we could now conditionally call urban-city culture”.<sup>254</sup>

The organic synthesis between creativity and the living space emerged in public discourse, and such synthesis and organic connections were possible in the *Socialist City* since they aimed to overcome divisions as a capitalistic tendency.<sup>255</sup> In that manner, coalitions and “integration of the local community and the working environment” were considered beneficial. Criticism emerged regarding the fact that Yugoslav space still lacks integrations: “(..) there are two elementary levels at which the life of modern man unfolds, and at which creative activism of humans acquires the primary form of social togetherness”.<sup>256</sup> The organic synthesis between the social relations and Yugoslav space can be traced back to the time when the Yugoslav architecture aimed to integrate the social aspects as a feature, “but their work created a secure foundation, on which our architecture experienced its full affirmation – an affirmation of identity and of the civic [друштвени] relations”.<sup>257</sup>

The issue of integration of architectural and social aspects arose in the global public discourse too; as a matter of fact, architects at the *International Union of Architects* (UIA) in 1958 expressed their will to achieve world peace. As *ethics* became crucial in the epoch, architects wanted to contribute to the

251 ‘Opened question about architecture and spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1962).

252 *Ibid.*

253 P.Delfin, ‘Architecture and the public discourse, VI Conversations on architecture in the 7-9. XII.1962’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1962).

254 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

255 LASUR research days, EPFL, Skopje, 2019.

256 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

257 Andrija Mutnjaković, ‘Architect in the ‘Country’’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

global vision. What follows is an extract from an article presenting the outcomes and the 'Resolution' of the 5th Conference of *UIA*, held in Moskow:

"The Executive Committee notes from the speeches and reports delivered during the *5th Congress of the International Union of Architects* that the wishes of architects of all countries, all their opinions and aspirations, be proclaimed in a troubled, anxious and divided world, to endure peace [...]. [...]  
- Recalls that when setting up their *International Union* 10 years ago, architects wrote in the introduction of their Statute their desire to participate in improving the living conditions of people and to contribute to their professional activity and their general work on the progress of human society and peace.  
- Calls on all national sections and all architects to participate with their own means, which they consider most appropriate and effective in maintaining and consolidating peace, in the common aspiration of all nations and all people".<sup>258</sup>

The Resolution, published in the local architectural magazine, demonstrated the common beliefs to place architecture in the global discourse as a common ground for advancing world relations. Such a reflection was shared by the *NAM* (p.304), whose political aspiration was to disseminate 'means' in the global south for artistic post-colonial and post imperialistic identity.<sup>259</sup> This further shows that *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize was a social concern that adopted an active place, and as a result of the effort, the *Museum of African Art* was opened in Belgrade, in the name of the Yugoslav-African friendship: "Tito's friendship and our non-attachment are best understood and received in Africa".<sup>260</sup> The collection of African artefacts in the gallery space in Belgrade aimed to display a "[...] large and valuable cult, fetish and other items".<sup>261</sup>

## II.2.5. WHO HAS THE NARRATIVE HAS THE MARKET

Each creation of the *narrative* serves the purpose of establishing a certain understanding of quality and devalorizing another; essentially, the *narrative* influences the value system on which the understanding of *quality* is positioned. As such, the narratives affect the creation and have the power to shape a 'market', however this does not imply that the *narrative* guides 'the understanding of *quality*' by which new markets emerge, neither does 'the understanding of *quality*' necessarily mean discovering something new, but it is usually a new

258 'Apeal for peace', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

259 Piskur, 'Solidarity in Arts and Culture. Some Cases from the Non-Aligned Movement', *Op.cit.*

260 Slobodan Ilić, 'How the artistic and ethnographic collection of Africa was created', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1972).

261 *Ibid.*

articulation of something already in existence.<sup>262</sup> Therefore *ideas* that have generated the narratives are becoming an element in the creation of the ‘understanding of quality’, as architects have discussed in *Idea, for or against* how ideas shape the *quality* and why this is significant for the space:

“The idea reflects the human creation. An idea should be understood, not seen. We need to understand the basic message of an idea, its core, its interior. The idea must be readable. The skill of discovering ideas and spatial thoughts is the measure of the quality of the space. When discovering an idea, it must always ask – why? Looking for an answer, we discover an idea. In this we are helped by the processing of the elaboration, which explains the idea. So, the processing of the study is BEHIND the idea! If we spend too much energy on processing analysis, we get the idea! Processing is the mask of an idea. The value of the study? The value of processing and NOT the value of the idea. Because we value processing, not an idea. Depth of the view? The attitude towards the idea depends on the depth of viewing. Superficial viewing is the processing of the study. So that’s not a criterion. It is not a value in the totality of the study. A means, not a goal! We can orient ourselves in the space of an idea! For better ideas!”<sup>263</sup>

For this reason, architects recognized that ‘understanding of quality’ through the various exposed ideas and created narratives is a changeable category that they can influence:

“Against bad ideas. Good action in space depends on the conditions under which it is performed. Well-located conditions are the introductory part of good action. Evaluating an idea? Who? Whose? How? There are more questions than answers! The value changes. By time, by approach, by consciousness. Objectivity is instantaneous. Time is the best criterion [...]. [...] How we react in space reflects the life we live. Let’s act critically, let’s look at the complexity (without overemphasizing the parts) because the parts and the whole are in synthesis – spatial. Value? Time is the best criterion of value. Our thoughts flow in space. A human one”<sup>264</sup>.

In conclusion, the ideas, narratives and understanding of *quality* impact the *process of materialization*.

## II.2.6. THE MECHANISMS THAT IMPLEMENT THE MATERIALIZATION OF *QUALITY*

The architecture was communicated both in popular and in professional circles. In popular circles, sometimes the articles about architectural and spatial issues were published in daily newspapers, as newspapers were the most popular

262 Slavoj Žižek, Audio, ‘Markets without substance’, 2003.

263 Mirce Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

264 *Ibid.*

type of communication due to the lack of TV sets. Architects also gave interviews in popular magazines or TV shows that treated spatial-cultural thematic clusters, contributing to the affirmation and actualization of the profession and making architecture a popular topic for discussion – “Architecture was IN”.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, six professional architectural and spatial planning magazines were recognized by the *Yugoslav Federation of Architects* and published regularly.<sup>266</sup>

These magazines were distributed in all of the individual Socialist Republics, aiming to create a coherent criticism on the territory as a whole. Such spatial distribution of criticism was needed for the human-cultural development, through the democratization of the value system (supportive for the common belief for progress): “If the meaning of criticism in the broadest sense is that as a force of reason it warns man of delusions and deviations, then in the narrower sense it is a mode of action in science and art, i.e. in culture, through the utterance of value judgments”.<sup>267</sup> The experts received a good reputation and were influential in the decision-making processes concerning their knowledge:

“[...] was never ‘nevertheless’ as it is today. They paid a lot of attention on what about their procedures thinks the western public opinion. Also, it was not nevertheless, what the expert public opinion thinks about it, in those republics”.<sup>268</sup>

New ‘ad hoc’ Yugoslav programs for certifying *quality* contributed towards the creation of authenticity. The country with the most significant system for certifying was the *Yugoslav standard* (YUS). YUS was recommended both by the main organ – *Yugoslav Federation of Architects* (YFA) – and the regulatory institutions which were certifying the project and the various innovations emerging around it. A variety of architectural councils, organizations and unions also contributed towards creating a systematic approach for its construction;

265 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

266 Original paragraph, from Yugoslav Scientific Research Guide, 1970:

4 (11) THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION OF ARCHITECTS [Savez Arhitekata Jugoslavije] 11000 Belgrade, Kneza Milosa 9, Tel. (011) 330-059, President: Sever Savin; secretary Vojislav Damljanovic. Structure: A. General Assembly; B. Executive Committee; C. committees for 1. labor productivity and the professional advancement of architecture, 2. the training of scientific cadres, 3. Research, 4. International liaison, 5. exhibitions, 6-8. special topics. Membership: about 2 240; 8 federations in the republics and autonomous provinces.

Publications: *Architecture and Urban Planning* [Arhitektura I urbanizam] (monthly), *Man and Space* [Covek I prostor] (monthly) – published by the *Croatian Federation of Architects*, *Architecture* [Arhitektura] (bi-annual) – published by the *Croatian Federation of Architects*, *Building* [Izgradnja] (monthly) – published by the *Federation of Architects*, *The Federation of Civil Engineers and Technicians* and the *Serbian Chamber of Economy*, *Synthesis* [Sinteza] (quarterly) – published by the *Slovenian Federation of Architects*, *The Professional Library*, [Strucna biblioteka] (occasional) – published by the *Croatian Federation of Architects*.

Liaison: member of the *International Union of Architects*, Brussels.

267 ‘The problems of criticism in our environment’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

268 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

institutes for spatial planning emerged in each of the Socialist Republics and were based in their capital cities (the cities of Skopje, Belgrade, Zagreb, etc.). The establishment of the *Urban Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade* in 1954 (p.364-365) exemplifies the previous points. The common *Yugoslav Planning Atlas – Spatial Planning of Yugoslavia*, [fig.078], was created by the *Yugoslav Institute for Urbanism and Housing* in 1973 to bridge the territorial ‘spatial planning’ differences.<sup>269</sup> According to the author, the Atlas had the goal to spatially distribute the *quality* (spatial civic network) in a democratic manner:

“Yugoslavia since its existence from 1918 had experienced great territorial differences. The differences were on the level of knowledge, education, planning, organization, income etc. We tried with this Yugoslav action, where individual urbanist institutes would work on several Yugoslav norms. For example, the one in Belgrade was working on ‘basic parameters of the territory’, such as the density, population etc.”<sup>270</sup>

Individual cities’ attempts for mission-oriented construction were taking place in individual Yugoslav cities, e.g. Belgrade, through the *Centre for Housing* (CH) [*Центар за Домување (ЦД)*] (p.544), established a ‘Directed Housing Construction Program’<sup>271</sup> to overcome the housing shortages the city was affected by. On the architectural front, the desired synthetic approach stimulated by the *Total Design* also aimed for creation of links between the design companies and manufacturing facilities,<sup>272</sup> thus numerous factories across the territory supported the ‘construction sector’ and the overall housing vision the country had. In addition, massive housing projects were steadily carried out in the Yugoslav cities because of the better financial position of the country and the mastering of the techniques, so by a gradual progressive augmentation, between the year 1945 and 1980, the standards regarding residential housing were established.

The protagonist also confirmed the “constant rise of the quality through the rise of the building standard”.<sup>273</sup> The techniques were published and accessible among the Socialist Republics with “conditions and technical norms for the design of residential buildings and apartments (the so-called ‘red book’)”.<sup>274</sup> However, some of the protagonists found the norms and conditions too rigid for their architectural expression, i.e. “there were strict standards in the program. Every square meter was initially prescribed. Those square meters were always



Fig. 078| Cover page, ‘*Planning Atlas - Spatial Planning of Yugoslavia*’, Yugoslav institute for *Urbanism and Housing*, 1973, Belgrade

269 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

270 *Ibid.*

271 Andjelkovic, ‘Packiging of the apartment as artistic skill’, *Op.cit.*

272 Those links in the context were close (therefore the application of the expertise in the everyday was rapid (p.243)). On another side the manufacturing of the buildings was linked to overall industrial strategy the country had.

273 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

274 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

on the minimum. Constructive systems were given, there were norms, etc. The height was also fixed, the modules, etc. No challenge”.<sup>275</sup>

Aligned with the common belief “for development of the social and cultural needs,”<sup>276</sup> the Yugoslav norms also aimed to apply such premises. According to the extract below, this was due to the fact that both the standards and the norms were determined by social factors, which in the case of Yugoslavia, favoured the central placement of the human being. Therefore, the invented norms and standards needed to encourage the acknowledged *quality* and contribute to the cultural-human development. As such, they served as ‘critical filters’ of the environment, which invented the ‘critical norms’ applied in the *process of materialization* of the space:

“Starting from determining the size and structure of the population in clear assumptions about the distribution and structure of cultural needs in a given environment and at a certain time, spatial planning should determine the size and structure of that space that will have a cultural function. The theoretical connection between these two elements is established by norms and standards through which each society manifests its readiness to meet the social and cultural needs of its members in the best possible way in accordance with its economic, technical and technological capabilities. Determining the norms, however, has a humanistic dimension, which can be defined as a requirement for the optimal satisfaction of human needs, also determined by social factors”.<sup>277</sup>

Yugoslav architectural competitions were another agent, as they not only proved to be beneficial for the emergence of quality architecture, but also served as professional communication<sup>278</sup> by affirming the architecture and setting up the standards for the valorization of the ‘best architectural’ examples. The protagonists also confirmed that the overall cultural system achieved its quality because of the existence of competitions.<sup>279</sup> Others, though, emphasized the fact that the *quality* was achieved not only because of the imposed state regulations but also due to the created dynamics inside the profession, and inside the individuals too, stating “however, this was a professional struggle for one – architectural quality, and quality for education”.<sup>280</sup>

275 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

276 *Ibid.*

277 Nemjanić, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

278 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

279 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.50).

280 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

### II.3. SPATIAL IDEALS

This subchapter aims to reveal how the common views and common belief from which the ‘understanding of quality’ was created impacted the overall man-made environment (and architecture) of Yugoslavia. It puts forward an analysis for appreciation of the ‘understanding of quality’ of what made the selected *cultural artefacts* – the *apartment* (II.3.1.), the *building* (II.3.2.), the *neighborhood* (II.3.3.), and the *city* (II.3.4.) – good examples.

In the local context, what was referred to as *quality architecture* was architecture that tried to follow the needs of the people and aimed to anticipate the creation of new ones too:

“[...] we need architecture that is aligned with human nature and socialist self-governing values. Those values united the area of intimacy with the area of sociability. Furthermore, we need architecture that respects the culture of our people and nationalities, of course, not traditionalist but architecture that values the traditional and the new, which is emerging”<sup>281</sup>

Moreover, the ‘mapped’ common beliefs (p.190) impacted the ‘understanding of what makes quality’, thus impacting the *cultural artefacts*: “We need such a building, such an apartment, such a structure of the city that will not be filled, as the filling which is done in the ‘colonial shops’ – the ‘supermarkets [...]’”<sup>282</sup> Architecture and space needed to support the new qualitative (socialist) approach (p.189), i.e. ‘to place the human in the centre’, and to achieve a desired harmony in the environment: “The main characteristics of the space are the balance of light, heat and moisture and the result of that balance in the existing fauna and flora”<sup>283</sup> Yet it also needed to reimagine the place of architecture and architects in the process:

281 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

282 *Ibid.*

283 Ante Obuljan, ‘What is space?’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

\*As observed, the good quality of space, is the essence of the space on it self (as physiological human need), and less about the price, or the materials used for the architecture. Also, the pro-

“But in most cases, space is not considered. Only the position and location are considered, but that is not space! Because even in the same place, space is constantly changing. Without such an understanding of space, the architect becomes only a craftsman, only a draftsman, he only builds walls and houses and does not create an apartment, offices and workshops, villages, settlements, and cities”.<sup>284</sup>

### II.3.1. APARTMENT

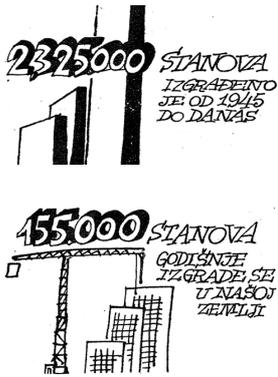


Fig. 079| above – 2,325,000 apartments are built from 1945 until today

below – 155,000 apartments per year are being built in our country

As briefly mentioned (p.185), after World War II housing became one of the top priorities, [fig.079]: “Immediately after the war, our country was turned into a construction site, the size of which the world had never seen before”.<sup>285</sup> Another aspect highly influencing housing was the change of the ideological, political and economic paradigms, i.e. the ‘shift to socialism’, which led to priority being given to collective housing (state responsibility), whereas individual houses remained to be built privately and often with no professional help of an architect in the villages or in the suburbs of the larger cities. For that reason, construction of individual houses became less appreciated for architects who wanted to avoid the ‘traces of the bourgeois society’ at all cost: “It was no longer possible to design one living room of 10m<sup>2</sup> as in Novi Sad, or of 50m<sup>2</sup> as in Belgrade’s neighbourhood Dedinje, at least not until it is made from subsidized loans or is a *socially owned apartment*”.<sup>286</sup>

It was also believed that housing would nurture the new human-cultural development of socialist man since it took up central space in people’s lives: “The housing culture comprises the standard of the apartment and the standard of the tenants”,<sup>287</sup> or viewing it from the protagonist’s angle: “The most important factor of each society is the apartment because it creates the people”.<sup>288</sup> Criticism then emerged to achieve better quality housing (p.190): “As we have already pointed out, we tried (and largely succeeded) to prevent the construction of sub-standard, luxury (for about a while) and irrational apartments”.<sup>289</sup> On the human-cultural development level, though: “The construction of a socialist urban space is possible only by a radical critique of this ideology of growth without the development (self-realization) of man”,<sup>290</sup> which implied proposing

tagonists seek for a balance, and harmony both in architecture and generally in the man-made environment.

284 Obuljan, ‘What is space?’, *Op.cit.*

285 ‘How Yugoslavia became the country with the highest growth rate’, *Front*, 1974, <www.yugopapir.com>.

286 Andjelković, ‘Packiging of the apartment as artistic skill’, *Op.cit.*

287 Boltizar, ‘Instead of 100 investors’, *Op.cit.*

288 *Ibid.*

289 Andjelković, ‘Packiging of the apartment as artistic skill’, *Op.cit.*

290 Kriťovac, ‘The characteristics of the current valorization of an apartment’, *Op.cit.*

a different vision when referring to development (also as a consequence of the different ‘understanding of quality’). The Yugoslav understanding of development was a qualitative one, seeking cohesion between the growth of the cities and their human-cultural development; the common beliefs being a desire for particular self-realization of man’, [fig.10]. In a similar vein, Jacobs criticized the spatial development in the 1980s, stating: “Development is a qualitative change. Expansion is a quantitative change”.<sup>291</sup> In addition, the architect Kritovac has proposed three questions (as ‘self-reflective tools’) to be posed when designing an apartment and afterwards when evaluating it:

- “1. *Objective type* - how are primary human needs met;
2. *Individual psychology* - how are socio-cultural needs met;
3. *Utopian criterion* - which basic urbanization goals can humanize people’s relations and needs”.<sup>292</sup>

The suggested criteria examine the apartment (as a unit) that could be related to the general Yugoslav common beliefs: the first criterion valorizes if space offers ‘more than the existential minimum’; the second criterion valorizes how space can contribute to the human-cultural development; and the third criterion valorizes if it offers social space as an common beliefs to ‘create social relations’. Moreover, the informal group of architects known as the *Belgrade School of Housing* (BSH) [*Београдска Школа Становања (БШС)*], [fig.080], invented two systems for valorization of apartments (YU.88.S1, [fig.7]) and valorization of buildings (CS’85, [fig.8]) (p.544) – the schemas of both systems are presented in entirety in the *Set of Documents*. In the YU.88.S1 scheme, two aspects have been analyzed: firstly the ‘usefulness of the space’, and secondly the ‘constructing and technical components’. These two categories have been imagined as relevant in rating the quality of an apartment.<sup>293</sup> The *BSH* also coined and developed the concept of a *Belgrade Apartment* [*Београдску Стан*], as an apartment with typical qualities, created in the framework of the *CH*. As the architectural curriculum and school system was similar in all Yugoslav environments and because of the circulation of the literature, similar housing appeared in the individual Socialist Republics. However, in the case of the mentioned *Belgrade Apartment*, each of the designers needed to incorporate three sets of qualitative values:

- “1. Lower quality limits below which we must not go;

291 PhD thesis of Matthew Skjonberg, original quote ‘As Jane Jacobs insightfully observes in *The Nature of Economies* (2000): Development is qualitative change. Expansion is quantitative change.’

292 Kritovac, ‘The characteristics of the current valorization of an apartment’, *Op.cit.*

293 The schemas are also significant so one can trace the valorization of quality of space *the model* in which the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* materialize in comparison with the creative model impact by the Neoliberal paradigm (installed after the 1991). Gradually over time, the evolution of quality favoured more the ‘constructing and technical components’ of the apartment and the ‘status of the neighborhood’.

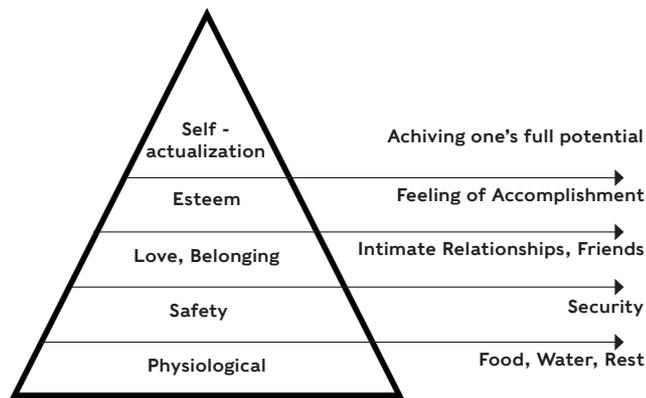


Fig. 080| Logo for the magazine, *Institute for Housing*, 1979, Belgrade

2. Upper limits of quality above which it is not socially justifiable to go;
3. Optimal relations between the living and the auxiliary rooms so that, for example, communications would not swallow the living space, which was often the case with ignorant designers, etc”.<sup>294</sup>

One of the protagonists of the *Belgrade School of Housing*, Mihailo Čanak, in his 2012 lecture, presented the *Maslow Hierarchy of Needs* to explain the underlying theoretical basis of the *Belgrade Apartment*. According to Čanak, the Yugoslav architects took a two-step approach to the apartment and space in general: their goal was to create space and by that to ‘open’ a new step one by one, despite the current situation of taking action to ‘open all the layers’ at the same time.

[Fig.9] Table, Maslow’s theory: Maslow Hierarchy of Needs, (Diagram redraw by the author)



The protagonist aimed to apply Maslow’s theory, [fig.9], to the Belgrade Apartment, which needed to satisfy the *physiological needs* (need for food and water, need for rest, need for sexual desires, need for cleanliness, need for health and good physical condition, need for oxygen), *security needs* (protection from foreign influences, protection from influences inside the apartment), *need for belonging and love* (love in the family, need for friendship with people outside the family), *need for reputation and respect* (in the family, need for reputation outside the family, need for self-respect), *need for self-actualization* (self-action, contacts, mission-oriented activities), *need for discovery and art* (discovery, art), and *need for altruism* (care outside the family, need to engage in the society). According to the architect, the perfect situation should allow those categories to be developed in parallel with each other because of the “societal will to fulfil one category in order for another level to open up”.<sup>295</sup>

Just like the other cultural creators, the architects also strived to achieve a desired harmony, yet this time between the psychological and physiological needs: “A balance of psychological and physiological needs, a balance that

294 Andjelković, ‘Packaging of the apartment as artistic skill’, *Op.cit.*

295 *Ibid.*

draws us to change the situation and make progress, translated into the desired situation".<sup>296</sup> What's more, the architects established two main categories of functions for the apartment: the *active* and the *passive*. "Active functions are those where a person directly participates and without them, there is no such event. Passive functions are those initiated by man, but he does not actively participate in them".<sup>297</sup> A good apartment meant (as the general Yugoslav common beliefs goes) "maximum quality at a reasonable price"<sup>298</sup> and "design minimal space rooms and maximum apartments".<sup>299</sup> Harmony was in logic intended to remain above "the existential minimum"<sup>300</sup> to avoid designing "irrationally, for the luxury category".<sup>301</sup> The architects were satisfied with the development of things starting from the 1970s (even so criticism of the general state continued): "[...] we tried (and largely succeeded) to prevent the construction of substandard, luxury (for about a while) and irrational apartments".<sup>302</sup> Even the investors were pushing for minimum investments in the buildings, while the architects tried to negotiate and not simplify the levels of detail in their design, [fig.081], including the detail planned in the façade or the interior of the apartment, such as the incorporated furniture in the apartment:<sup>303</sup>

"Whatever I would try to do was immediately systematically demolished (by the minimalist investor requirements) with a demagogic slogan: 'For that money, we would get four more apartments. By proposing this, you are depriving families. Imagine those unfortunate children who are homeless just because you torture with art on the facade!' So, a pauperist approach was present. The army as a client was a little more liberal since it was state-managed. They had more funds than others and could afford better quality architecture. Inequality started to be visible with the so-called *market apartments* of the 1980s, which were primarily profit-oriented".<sup>304</sup>

Mate Baylon<sup>305</sup> simultaneously "[...] introduces the term *widened communication* to imply the element which can greatly reconcile the necessities of the individual and family life in the apartment, e.g. when a bed for a family member is planned in the living room because of the limited space"<sup>306</sup>, having



Fig. 081| Extract from the cover page, caricature, Zlatko Bastasić, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 11, 1978, Zagreb

296 *Ibid.*

297 *Ibid.*

298 *Ibid.*

299 Where the minimal and the maximal art qualitatively determined.

300 Čanak, 'Belgrade apartment' 2012, *Op.cit.*

301 *Ibid.*

302 Andjelković, 'Packaging of the apartment as artistic skill', *Op.cit.*

303 Presentation, VETU, EPFL, "Yugoslav apartments were having generous details, in terms of quality of the material and in terms of artistic expression and quality of architecture too [...]", 2018.

304 Andjelković, 'Packaging of the apartment as artistic skill', *Op.cit.*

305 Mate Baylon, was member of the famous Belgrade 'housing' grassroot called Big Three, was an active practitioner and theoretician involved in the housing sector.

306 *Ibid.*

developed a valorization of the apartments through their *usage validity*.<sup>307</sup> What follows is a brief description of each of the eight concepts (which every good apartment should have) developed by the architects:

☞ Circular movement in the apartment [fig.082]

Traces of this can be found in the *Belgrade Apartment* starting from the end of the 19th century, continuing to the period between the two World Wars in the 220th century. The circular movement required good pre-grouping of the programs and their relation with the entrance. The circular movement “enables separate communication between individual rooms, holders of some functions in the apartment”.<sup>308</sup>

☞ Separation of the children according to their sex [fig.083]

Such a design strategy was employed for designing separate rooms if the children in the family are from the opposite sex. This design strategy came to as an applied critique since architects noticed that the usual conception of the two-bedroom apartment (in a family of four) does not offer the needed comfort; the reason being that the parents sleep on the movable sofa in the living room to ensure two separate rooms for their children. Therefore, the idea was to ensure (even smaller) three-bedrooms apartments, where both the children and their parents will have an individual bedroom. Later, as the standards rose, the same was propagated even if the children were of the same sex.

☞ Child – parent separation

An *apartment with two centres* was suggested in order to provide individualism to both parents and a space for the children to hang out, as well as for their individual civic [друштвени] life.<sup>309</sup> This type of conception was possible because of the previously developed concept of *widened communication*: the apartment has two separate units as individual entities.

☞ Organization of the movement considering ‘personal’ and ‘family life’ [fig.084]

Quality comes from the possibility to have a spatial group of ‘intimate part’ and a spatial group with ‘public life’, with appropriate communication between the two. The ‘intimate part’ contains the bedrooms, while ‘the public life’ is related to the living room as a common area which can be visited by external guests.

307 *Ibid.*

308 *Ibid.*

309 *Apartment with two centres*, was initially published in the paper *Apartment and habitation*, for the *housing symposium* organized by the *Bureau of civil engineering* in Belgrade in 1971.

### ☞ Civic [друштвени] life [fig.085]

To ensure smooth communication if visitors come to the apartment, where individual members of the family can still isolate themselves, without disturbing their private life. This also meant that normally the intimate part of the apartment ('the bedrooms') cannot be accessed through the public part ('the living room').

### ☞ Possibilities for undisturbed gathering [fig.086]

This element should ensure communication flow (in the case of gathering of the family), where the individual space should not be interrupted by such communication: "Gathering a family around a common table in such a way that it does not interfere with the lives of individual family members in need of personal isolation and possession of their 'individual space' is one of the ways of strengthening family ties, and this should therefore be possible in the organization of the apartment".<sup>310</sup>

### ☞ Adaptability [fig.087, fig.088]

Adaptability is a quality to ensure the possibility of appropriation of the apartment in one or two stages, thus offering the option to add or remove a room to the apartment (to annex a room or offer a room to the neighbouring one), according to the needs and if there is a change in the family. Such a *plus-minus apartment* needed to anticipate more flexible life-space relations:

"Adaptation of the apartment space according to daily and night activities of the family; the growth of the house depending on the growth of the family and its necessities; the moving of borders between the apartment on the same floor to moving of borders within the space of the apartment; the possibility of creating different schemes of organization of the parts of the apartment itself around the sanitary installation junctions and within the limited space".<sup>311</sup>

### ☞ Solutioning of free surfaces in the apartment [fig.089]

Each apartment should have *timeless criteria* for quality of the space, regardless of the pre-adaptation (evolution throughout time), which gains or loses significance according to the views of what is contemporary and vital. What follows is an extract illustrating these *timeless criteria*:

"General social, humane, hygienic, cultural criteria set by modern society and the modern view of life; criteria that refer to certain categories, groups of people or individuals, mainly related to the environment, customs, established way of life, types of occupations, living standards, etc. (they may differ, but always to a certain limit), which are not in contradiction of the generally accepted principles that a particular society sets up; and criteria from subjective species, which are freer, and which can also be admitted to differentiation or privileging of a certain person or group that form themselves in a progressive society, but

310 Mate Baylon, 'Study: Housing, Thematic: Organisation of the Apartment'.

311 *Ibid.*



Fig. 087| Page 50, *Adaptability, Study, Organisation of the Apartment*, Mate Baylon

rather contribute to the enrichment of life forms and the improvement of the standards;[...]"<sup>312</sup>

Named *timeless criteria*, they are in fact constructed upon the societal views which were popular among the architectural circles in the 1970s: they started to gradually transform once the new mechanism of private construction financing was introduced and created the *market-oriented apartments* in the 1980s. With such a transformation, the work of the *BSH* became less and less significant:

"Over time [...] these norms slowly became more and more extinguished, i.e. less and less respected. I don't know when and whether they were officially put out of force. It seems to me that after 2000, they were used by those who wanted it, but they lost the obligation".<sup>313</sup>

Moreover, in the same direction, a joint study of 'housing as a measure of quality of life' was conducted, comparing the various Yugoslav cities. The study developed two categories under the branch termed 'quality of life': the first one elaborated on the *life beliefs*, while the second one elaborated on the style of life the citizens have. The study measured how civic [друштвен] the apartment was, perceiving "the civic apartment as value"<sup>314</sup>, and suggesting measuring the "civic evaluation of the apartments".<sup>315</sup> For this reason (as part of a socialist paradigm), the apartment was not evaluated by its market values but by the new use-value attempts to measure it as a civic [друштвен] property.<sup>316</sup> Interestingly, the study proposed to valorize quality by the relation between the investors, the architect and the beneficiaries:

"As a concept, socially-oriented housing has offered some new qualities: social communication among participants at all stages, synchronization and continuity of the process, and the ability of end-users to influence and shape its own future living space. The results would be manifested in a fast, cheap and more complete construction for known users".<sup>317</sup>

In such conditions, the architects were promoting the idea that the apartment in the future will evolve in congruence with the involvement of the society, where new spatial forms will stimulate new forms of living too: "It is necessary to predict future forms and ways of life in the apartment, building or settlement, to monitor the increase of individual civic [друштвен] standard".<sup>318</sup>

312 *Ibid.*

313 *Ibid.*

314 Dusica Seferagić, 'Quality of the housing in the republics of the ex-Yugoslavia' (Institute for civic research, University of Zagreb, 1993).

315 *Ibid.*

316 Seferagić, 'Quality of the housing in the republics of the ex-Yugoslavia', *Op.cit.*

317 *Ibid.*

318 Kritovac, 'The characteristics of the current valorization of an apartment', *Op.cit.*

### II.3.2. BUILDING

The *ideal building* is another *cultural artefact* conceived in *the model*. The ‘market’ did not have a significant impact on the ideal building of the *cultural artefacts* created in *the model*, but such premises put greater responsibility on the shoulders of the state. At the same time it gave more responsibility and freedom for the architects in the design process, closing the gap between the common beliefs and their application in everyday life. Much of those common beliefs became present in the environment through architecture. In terms of ownership, the entire man-made environment constructed on Yugoslav territory was considered as common civic property.<sup>319</sup> When it comes to the *ideal building*, what was significant was how a certain building formed the environment. This can be exemplified through the building of the *Faculty of Philosophy* (as seen in the popular evidence, [fig.090]): “[...] And it makes that space full of pleasant ambience more accessible”.<sup>320</sup> A certain balance, which was considered as quality, was desired in the relationship between the building and the environment:

“[...] Seeks synthesis, a sort of ecological consciousness. So, we should not have a good library facility, but a ‘good environment’ around that facility. The environment and the object must be in mutual synthesis. They must be supplemented. Why? Not only is the goal (library) important, but also the path to the library. How to get to the object? Through what spaces? What scale (model or man?)? Do you get to the library through wide boulevards, through unprotected spaces, open, aggressive spaces? Or through spaces for man, according to his scale (complexity), through spaces that provide choice, spaces with creative time, protected by pergolas, urban equipment, vegetation, security, warmth. Man needs his spaces. Human space”.<sup>321</sup>

As mentioned in the quote above, a good environment around the building is equally important for the quality of the good building itself; to satisfy the ‘human needs of the people’, reflected on the ideal building too. In regards to housing buildings, this meant ‘an apartment for everyone’, and in regards to community civic and cultural centres, this meant the creation of ‘new centres of the intellectual and civic life’, [fig.091]. The latter – ‘the cultural units’ – through the principle of *hybridisation*, appeared not only as buildings on their own, but also as attached to the various everyday facilities:

“Libraries in factories and kolkhozes, run their theatres, art circles, clubs, and newspapers, train beginning writers, artists, and actors from the ranks of the workers, lecture them, organize exhibitions for them, help collect archives and

319 Such circumstance made the Yugoslav housing situation quite different from the situation which was developing in the West.

320 Svetislav Licina, ‘The new building of the faculty for philosophy’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1970).

321 Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 090| Extract from the page 9, *the new building of the philosophical faculty*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 8-9, 1970, Belgrade



Fig. 091| Extract from the page 3, announcement of the new building, *Cultural house in Tresnjevi*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 7, 1954, Zagreb

oral history from them, compose slogans and appeals to them, and if after all this they had time for their own ‘creative’ efforts [...]”.<sup>322</sup>

As the state was the major client of the housing buildings, this put pressure on architects to embrace a more rational and economical approach to their design. Residential buildings started to appear in architectural magazines around the 1950s, with simple and less expressive language, e.g. the housing buildings in the article titled *Skopje* (see popular evidence, [fig.092]), described the architecture of the building as “playful, interesting, unobtrusive”.<sup>323</sup> Another example of a representation of common Yugoslav residential buildings of the 1950s is presented in *Residential Building in Split*, [fig.093]. In this article, the synthesis approach can be observed, where the architect paid equal attention to the different design aspects of the building, such as the position of the building, the building itself, the apartments, the ‘interior architecture’ from the apartment, finishing with a self-portrait of the architect.<sup>324</sup>

Moreover, if we observe a typical architectural plan of the building designed later (in the 1960s and 1970s), we can infer that the complexity of the design evolved and resulted in buildings with more complex geometry, hence deconstructing volumes. Such examples are the buildings *Block 22*, [fig.094, fig.095], and *Block 23*, [fig.096, fig.097]), built in 1968 in New Belgrade, for which it is noticeable from the plans that the buildings have more developed and complex architectural language, with “both cuboid and longitudinal strip elements”<sup>325</sup>, showing an improvement from the design which emerged in the 1950s. The architectural expression manifested itself through the ‘breakdown of volumes’ in “both cuboid and longitudinal strip elements”.<sup>326</sup> According to the protagonist, the richness of the architectural language was the outcome of the given freedom not to take the ‘most rational neither economic’ choice.<sup>327</sup> The same complexity appeared in civic and cultural facilities too, e.g. in the popular evidence, [fig.098], taken in *Block 23*, it can be observed that the primary school follows the same complex architectural expression which emerged in the epoch.<sup>328</sup>



Fig. 092| Extract from the page 8, *Skopje*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.74, 1958, Zagreb



Fig. 098| Photo inside the *Block 23*, Belgrade

322 Clark, Petersbook Crucible of Cultural Revolution, *Op.cit.*, p.262.

323 ‘Skopje’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

324 The self-portrait is showing a responsibility from the side of the architect and in the same time a pride for the work he has done.

325 ‘Block 22’, *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1975).

326 *Ibid.*

327 As the protagonist were saying that good poetry is born out of irrationality.

328 The Architect, Aleksandar Stjepanović.

Similar architectural qualities are discernible in the buildings in the neighbourhood of *Julino Brdo*, and in *Blocks 61* and *Blocks 62*.<sup>329</sup> What's more, the building, [fig.099, fig.100], proposes an atypical typology for the context of Belgrade and 'duplex apartments'.<sup>330</sup> Another atypical typology was developed in the neighbourhood of Đuro Đaković (known as the *Ciglane*, [fig.101, fig.102, fig.103]),<sup>331</sup> having been built from the concept named *urbarchitecture* (developed by the architects in the 1960s), which in fact was a specific mega structure designed according to the place, time and to the people for whom it was being built,<sup>332</sup> as a criticism to the 'isolated modern architecture'. A further example is a building on the street of Braca Jugovica, Belgrade, [fig.104], offering a new urban typology since it was built in an already existing context (a rare situation in the old part of Belgrade).

As briefly mentioned (p.207), the architects invented the system for valorization of a building (CS'85, [fig.8]) in the *CH* (see full description in the *Set of Documents*). The model was based on two major categories, and both categories tried to address and value several specifics of what was understood as quality in a building. The first category focused on the quality of the space of the building itself ('usable space'<sup>333</sup>), valorizing the individual apartment space and the collective and non-residential space within the building. The second category talks about the economic aspects of the construction. Also, *the model CS'85* did not take account of capital in the valorization paradigm, so equally valorized both the individual and the collective space of the building,<sup>334</sup> demonstrating that the *Yugoslav ideal building* and the system of valorization incorporated the avantgarde heritage from the *Constructivists* (1930s) and the notion of the civic within it:

"As the communal houses were conceived by Constructivist theoreticians, it was to be a 'social condenser,' a term that received its most classical formulation in an article by Mosei Ginzburg of 1927.<sup>28</sup> The theory of the social condenser rests on the assumption that architecture can influence the psychological development of the masses by functioning as an active force for social change. The Constructivists believed that by placing workers and their families in an

329 The architectural competition for *Julino Brdo* occurred in 1966 where the authors Milan Lojanica, Borivoje Jovanović and Predrag Cagić won. The *Blocks 61* and *Block 62* were also projects chosen on architectural competition, and design by the architects Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić, Milan Miodragović.

330 In the same years new and experimental residential typologies were emerging too.

331 The neighbourhood was built in 1976 – 1989, in Sarajevo, and designed by the architects Radovan Delalle and Namik Muftić.

332 Ljubo Pota, 'Urbanistic Problems of Skopje', *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1969).

333 The importance was given to the 'usable space' meaning one building can have enough square metres but if they are not 'well designed' then they are not offering qualitative 'usable space'.

334 Today is evaluated solely the economical value of the apartment.

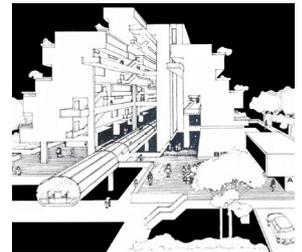


Fig. 103| Illustration, the neighborhood *Ciglane*, Radovan Delalle, 1969



Fig. 104| Page without a No., illustration, building in the street *Braca Jugovica*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

environment in which the majority of social and domestic functions (human interaction, political activity, self-environment, study, entertainment, cooking housework, childcare, and so on) had been communalized [...]”<sup>335</sup>

### II.3.3. NEIGHBORHOOD (UNIT OF ‘КОМУНА’)

Each Yugoslav ‘*Комуна*’ [Commune] contained several neighbourhoods, called *мјесни заједници*, or *local communes* – translated into English – as the term *commune* was inspired by the *Paris Communes*. The architects recognized the unit as a primary entity for reflection (and its constitutional elements, housing, the accompanying facilities to housing content, and traffic) at the *Housing collective as a subject for spatial planning* symposium.<sup>336</sup> The commune had larger significance than the other presented cultural artefacts since it became a point of interest for both the scientific and political communities<sup>337</sup>:

“- A social territorial community with the functions of meeting the daily needs of the people;  
- A self-governing organization of citizens;  
- Part of the wider basic social community of the city as a whole;  
- A basic planning urban unit of the city’s residential zones”<sup>338</sup>

The programs for the communes were discussed at the *Permanent Conference of Cities of Yugoslavia*, which had the objective to overcome the “centralistic power of old Yugoslavia (between the two World Wars) and to envision new urban entities”.<sup>339</sup> At the Conference the experts were divided into several working groups, discussing the social life and needs in the commune, the planning practice of the commune, the spatial-functional organization of the commune, and the ongoing scientific research of the ‘*Комуна*’.<sup>340</sup> Just as the architectural projects developed, the commune also did so from the 1950s, [fig.105], cultivating more complex designs and more diverse program. The Conference also discussed the communes, “the optimal size (area and population) of the housing projects, their program and the calculations, the nomenclature and capacities of ancillary facilities, the necessity of complex construction, and the problems of financing”<sup>341</sup>



Fig. 105| Extract from the page 2, *Dilemmas on Trnje*, Centre of Trnje, Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968

335 Clark, Petersburg Crucible of Cultural Revolution, *Op.cit.*

336 The symposium was held in Belgrade in 1962.

337 For instance, the symposium *Housing collective as subject for spatial planning* was organized by the *Federal Conference by the Urban Association of Yugoslavia* in collaboration with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and *Council for the Human Environment and Physical Planning*.

338 ‘Housing unit as subject of spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1963).

339 How I was systematically destroyed by an Idiot, 1968, <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.

340 ‘Local Community’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

341 ‘Housing unit as subject of spatial planning’, *Op.cit.*

According to the architects, the ideal ‘*комуна*’ contained 4.000–11.000 citizens (optimally 5.000 to 8.000) who would be spatially distributed on 20ha to 36ha.<sup>342</sup> The protagonist describes the commune as supporting the social infrastructure for the housing: “[...] So near the housing, there is a sufficient network of schools, kindergartens, green spaces, playgrounds for children”.<sup>343</sup> Observing the map of the *Urbanistic Plan for Trnje*, [fig.106], both the content and the social infrastructure of the commune is presented.<sup>344</sup> Indeed such a network of institutions was needed to create the life in the ‘*комуна*’ as well as to raise ‘the general culture’ of its citizens:

“In the municipality, conditions are created for raising the general culture of the population, by forming a network of institutions such as: workers’ universities, public universities, cultural centres, a main library, a museum, an archive, cinemas, a municipal cultural and educational community, etc. The municipality assists in the establishment and operation of cultural institutions to the best of its ability”.<sup>345</sup>

Each neighbourhood [*мјесна заједница*] also served as a measure in order to provide the same ‘quality of life’ on the whole Yugoslav territory, and such an ambitious feat was planned for ‘programmatically planned’ neighbourhoods in which collective engagement could also occur:

“In the local community, as the basic constitutional unit of the society, through a wide range of possibilities, man as a social being expresses his interests and decides on them, uniting individual and common interest. Through delegate assemblies and organizations of associated labour, the working man and the citizens pursue their authentic self-governing interests”.<sup>346</sup>

In the *ideal* ‘*комуна*’, the general socialist common beliefs are recognizable: from ‘nurturing’ citizen cultural needs and creating a ‘healthy’ vision and space (p.194) to borrowing *Socialist Realism* in utilitarian manners:<sup>347</sup> “[...] new town or workers’ suburbs designed to create a ‘healthy environment’, not just in the literal sense of clean air and so forth, but essentially in the sense that it greatly conducts to collective, socialist mores and work habits, and the



Fig. 106| Extract from the page 3, Conceptual Plan, *Centre of Trnje*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968, Zagreb

342 *Ibid.*

343 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

344 As presented in the legend of the map, of the commune contains: the city centre, park, traffic, clean industry, centre for each of the residential areas, centre for each of the residential neighbourhoods, smaller supply centre, elementary school, kindergarten, house for elderly, craft centre, garage, children playground (for between seven and fifteen years old), high school.

345 ‘Position of cultural activities in the municipality’ permanent conference on cities (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

346 Miloš Bojović, ‘The city which renew itself and the city which transform itself’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1978).

347 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

‘communal house’ (dom kommuna) [...]”<sup>348</sup> Moreover, the published manuals guided the architects as to how to design the communes. Such an example is the *Instructional article on planning in the local communities*, published in 1976, which exemplified ‘how to design a Yugoslav ideal commune’,<sup>349</sup> providing “[...] medium-term plans for the development of life and the spatial and material change of the commune territory”<sup>350</sup> and emphasizing the quality which can emerge from the integrated ‘civic [друштвено] oriented planning’ of the Yugoslav neighbourhoods.<sup>351</sup> The term ‘civic’ suggested that the commune needed to facilitate the everyday life of the citizens, before anything else:

“In particular, numerous ideas, proposals and opinions for solving concrete and real issues related to everyday life and work were revealed, as they had been insufficiently expressed so far. The municipality, the socio-political forces of the city [...] have organized systematic instructional and informative programs to help in the form of appropriate cooperation with local communities [...]”<sup>352</sup>

The author nevertheless warned about the limits of such political-communal organization: “Of course, many problems are visible. The local communities (as well as municipalities and the city) are not eligible for such constant systematic work”<sup>353</sup> because they were organized by so much volunteer work by the citizens, which meant an unprofessional and amateur quality of the services. In order to better illustrate the type of concrete strategies the municipalities were undertaking, what follows are extracts as fragments from a typical organizational plan – from one of Belgrade’s communes – which aimed to improve the basic organization of each of the neighbourhoods [мјесни заједници]:

"1. We aren't planning the construction of new buildings in the local community, during the sessions of the 'Local Community';  
 2. We plan to reduce population density;  
 3. Gradual modernization and investment repair of existing residential and other buildings;  
 4. For national defence, for the protection of citizens' lives in extraordinary conditions, we are planning training in existing shelters and the construction of needed new ones [...].  
 5. A gradual and planned change of the purpose of certain parts of residential buildings, which do not meet the conditions of modern housing, and other buildings in accordance with the programs for the development of the envisaged part of the city”<sup>354</sup>

348 Clark, *Petersbook Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, *Op.cit.*, p.250.

349 The Yugoslav architectural and spatial planning Magazines were often showing examples of good communal spaces.

350 *Ibid.*

351 Konstantin Kostić, ‘From the experiences of the Local Community’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

352 *Ibid.*

353 *Ibid.*

354 Kostić, ‘From the experiences of the Local Community’, *Op.cit.*

The second fragment presents the strategies needed to support the maintenance of the *accompanying content*, which is needed for the cultural and everyday life in the neighbourhood:

- “1. It is necessary to create conditions for a children’s institution for pre-school children;
2. To provide the necessary space for youth activities [...];
3. Further and better organization of care for the elderly and pensioners;
4. To open two specialized stores for ready-made and semi-prepared meals [...];
5. Completion and modernization of the craft services is planned;
6. For cultural and educational needs, to provide [...] a smaller library in the local community;
7. To renovate the existing gym on the Fruskogorska Street;
8. Renovation of the hall on the Marsal Birjuzov Street to serve the needs of the activities of socio-political life from our and neighbouring local communities”<sup>355</sup>.

It can be observed from the presented plan that the Yugoslav ‘*КОМУНА*’ was the basic unit of the self-management model, while at the same time, the ‘*КОМУНА*’ was a specific architectural unit – a complex system that incorporated the general socialist principles, on the one hand, and the social and artistic common beliefs, on the other hand. The cultural planning agencies were also working on the aspect of recognizing the specificities of some of the neighbourhoods. Such planning methods aimed not only to achieve diverse life and variety to overcome the monotony of life in all of the human senses, but also to give the commune a genuine identity (a different meaning and significance).

### II.3.4. CITY

The *ideal city* aims to better portray the Yugoslav understanding of what makes the city a good place to live in. From the protagonists’ point of view, the ‘easiest’ way to read ‘the understanding of what makes the good city’ can be understood if one analyzes the new satellite neighbourhoods and new cities which emerged in the context. Such an example is the case for the city of Skopje, which under specific circumstances was completely reconstructed mostly in the 1960s and the early 1970s, [fig.107], along with other smaller cities which normally reconstructed their city centres in the same timeframe, [fig.108]. According to the protagonist, the positive aspect of a good city was related to an environment which is politically active and culturally engaged, in which ‘things are occurring’: “[...] an exceptionally cosmopolite environment, very attractive as a centre, in which a lot of interesting things occurred”<sup>356</sup>. As one of the attributes of good city was a ‘cosmopolite environment’ for the protagonists, at



Fig. 107| Cover page, Skopje Centre - the City Wall, *Study for Urbanistic Plan for Skopje*, 1968, Skopje



Fig. 108| Extract from the page 2, *Dilemmas on Trnje*, Centre of Trnje, Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968

355 *Ibid.*

356 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).



Fig. 109 | Extract from the page 4, 'Water and children game', Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968, Zagreb

the same time this reveals that a good city is a 'critical city' – since the attribute of cosmopolitanism arose as a critique to the noticeable 'local narrow-mindedness' (p.236).

Moreover, a critical city meant a place in which there is "[...] extremely rich intellectual life at that time, somehow the critical opinion was very high".<sup>357</sup> From the perspective of the protagonist, a good city has a high level of creativity which is based on rich critical thought, or "a creative city is a city in which you can hear a lot and see a lot".<sup>358</sup> Denegri also reflected on the rich cultural life and the quality of the politically engaged ambience in it<sup>359</sup>, while Petrović Todosijević described such critical thinking as 'emancipation of the city'. Therefore, in this context, the ideal city was not necessarily a product of wealth, but a product of the offered rich intellectual and critical experiences in the space. In the same vein, Bojović remarked on two different directions to achieve a good city: the first one being through the physical infrastructure, and the second one upon the intensity of the 'cultural actions' organized in the environment, hence a good city is a city in which there is an 'dynamism'.



Fig. 110 | Cover page, 'Summer in Maksimir', the action in the centre of culture and information was successful [...], in the magazine *Man and Space*, 1979, Zagreb

According to the protagonist, a city with 'action' is a dynamic environment in which there can be organized "individual and group initiatives and aspirations, since the cultural policy is not able to use all available creative focal points and forces, as well as all potential materials. The wealth of society is to encourage the most intensive cultural life, and rapid general cultural development and moral organization of construction of the community".<sup>360</sup> Therefore, the *ideal Yugoslav city* was a creative city, which was permeated with critical thinking and the dynamism of the space it felt, hence appropriate infrastructure needed to be created to support the development of such space. Upon such forces, the set of new spaces to anticipate rich cultural and critical life came into realization, [fig.109], further becoming an interest in the architectural circles too, [fig.110]. This was regarded as appealing to the beneficiaries as well, and surfaced as a topic for discussion in the popular sources, e.g. the movie *And Love Has Vanished*, [fig.111], depicts Belgrade urban life in the 1950s, where all of the scenes take place in the newly built 'modern' infrastructure, which had been attractive for the citizens, representing a symbol of a good city. The actions in the movie always take place at packed Belgrade cinemas, busy cafes, vibrant street life, etc. – all 'marks of modern Belgrade'. The large parks and the anonymity that the city offers because of its size are described as riveting, e.g. the plot of the movie presents a young couple, where the girl enjoys flirting with the guy by not revealing her identity. This shows that Belgrade was already



Fig. 111 | Scene from the movie, *And Love Has Vanished*, Aleksandar Petrović, 1961

357 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

358 *Ibid.*

359 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

360 Cultural Action, Berisavljević, National Library of Serbia, 1974.

perceived as a metropolis with an attractive modern infrastructure in which new social moments appear.

This identical notion is aligned with the discussions from the *Permanent Conference of Cities of Yugoslavia*, where it was discussed that a good city should offer “cultural-artistic life in the cities and advancement of the physical culture”.<sup>361</sup> Dimensioning the parks, the public transport and the civic centres was part of the Cultural Program developed by the *Council for Science and Culture of SFRY* (CSCS) and its *Department of Culture and Arts* (DCA).<sup>362</sup> The valorization of what makes the quality of the good city was constructed upon such collective premises too, corresponding to the understanding of quality in the socialist paradigm where the collective common spaces are valued as significant for developing the ‘collective standard’ of the city. On another front, the architects proposed measuring the quality of life of the ‘good city’ by measuring the quality of the civic spaces in it:

“An urban organism primarily shapes and makes the connective tissue of the city a healthy human space; its social space and its civic contents. Without them, the new city lacks us. Our city is an expression of the dichotomy of the personal and the social space, the individual and the social standard; our city is a list of gaps between the private and civic interests; our streets are an area of conflict of personal and public circulations; the city is a ‘crisis image’ of the civic goals in the space [...] especially in the public, the common urban space”.<sup>363</sup>

It is important to mention that the same logic from the valorization of the apartment and the building (p.207) applied to the valorization of the city too; *useful space*, [fig.8], became a measure to valorize ‘the good’ and the quality, based on the specific understanding of quality within the cities too. The concept of *useful space* (at the city level), according to the architects, is the quality of the ‘communication grid’ the city possesses:

“City grid: a grid measure of the city must be found. Each part of the city grid must have an appropriate relationship with the city tissue. We need to understand the philosophy of communicating between the city and the city grid. So, the used value and the communication within the parts of the city depend on the city grid. Therefore, the needs and the purpose depend on the idea and the action in space”.<sup>364</sup>

361 ‘The program of the *Permanent Conference on Cities*’, Session of the *Board for Education and Culture*, Belgrade, 1967, (Archive of Yugoslavia, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, 1956-1967).

362 ‘Planning of the city of Rijeka’, the *Council for Science and Culture* of SFRY and its *Department of Culture and Arts*, 1950 (Archive of Yugoslavia, Council for Science and Culture of SFRY, 1945-1951).

363 ‘The problem with the environment’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

364 Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*

The extract above overlaps with the views of the protagonists, who stated that a good city is a city in which there is an 'action' in the space and a good communication network (p.227). The topic of city aesthetics also entered the debate of what is a good city:

“[...] it is important to find a certain measure on a human scale at the same time as solving functional problems. Monotony can easily arise in rigid procedures in the arrangement and application of standard elements in construction. It is necessary to concentrate all efforts in the search for diversity, the arousal of interest, a certain freedom in placing buildings in the use of materials and colours, as well as the use and the purpose of the building. In the spatial planning for the residential areas and in the city centres, the most important goal must be to create conditions for a pleasant human life”<sup>365</sup>

In an article *City Structure*, the author among other categories comprising the good city (such as housing, work zones, administration, green areas, transport and public services) also discusses the 'city aesthetics', since the aesthetic (according to him) is a significant element for identification: “The city does not have to meet only technical, economic and social requirements. Aesthetic values will determine the characteristics of the city, which its inhabitants will identify with”<sup>366</sup>.

365 Petrović, 'Resolution of the V-UIA Congress', *Op.cit.*

366 *Ibid.*

### Wrapping up

This chapter demonstrates how the circumstances which occurred in the context impacted the creation of the diverse common beliefs. As such, those common beliefs circulated in the environment and become popular among the citizens, hence naturally becoming familiar among the architects and the other creative people too. The chapter thus displays how the environment is a place in which ideas (the common beliefs, the worldviews, etc.) are circulated and mediated, and how this helps for a common 'understanding of quality' to be constructed. When studying the overall complex and multifaced processes, it can be traced how the common beliefs to be transformed were indeed transformed. Those transformations of the common beliefs shape the understanding of what is considered overall quality but also what is considered quality in an apartment, a building, a neighborhood or a city. When analyzing this, the chapter demonstrates how the Yugoslav understanding of quality (outside the market) embodies 'immaterial qualitative aspects', such as 'usefulness of space', which were acknowledged as quality because of the specific common beliefs created within the Yugoslav society. Therefore, the particular understanding of quality took part in the valorization process, being recognized and acknowledged, as well as 'instrumentalized'. In that manner, the specific Yugoslav understanding of quality (politically, economically and philosophically pre-conditioned) made an impact on the final creation of the spatial cultural artefacts, such as the apartment, the building, the commune, and the city. This also shows that the Urban Culture which circulated in the everyday life has an impact on the logic behind the overall development, and it goes beyond the spatial laws and regulations (as is normally understood). This discovery also unveils an existent common Yugoslav model with its own understanding of quality and logic of doing things.



**III**  
**THE DYNAMICS**

### III.1. MAPPING THE CULTURAL SYSTEM – 225

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### III.1. MAPPING THE CULTURAL SYSTEM WHICH IMPACTS THE MODEL IN WHICH THE CULTURAL ARTEFACTS MATERIALIZE;

#### The nature of the model

This chapter aims to better understand the *cultural dynamics* (as part of the *cultural system*) which influence *the model* in which the Yugoslav cultural artefacts materialize. As investigated from the previous chapter in Yugoslavia, there is a common model of creativity which impacted the creation. In order to analyze it in depth, this chapter aims to entangle its nature and describe it critically. For those reasons the chapter suggests an investigation on the cultural dynamics in relation to the model. Furthermore, as the model evolved around its dynamic and ever-changing nature, and as its evolution depended upon the context, this dynamism has had special significance, being related to the central Yugoslav cultural concept of *cultural action* [fig.112]. This meant that the model matures around cultural action. This concept was adopted since the protagonists suggested a lasting engagement of the permanently reached positive momentum (as a strategy part of the overall cultural politics): “Such efforts, that optimal momentum and enthusiasm, and those contents, in reality imply the notion of cultural action”.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, the protagonist believed that the *cultural action* in the space can accelerate the qualitative transformation since *improvement of the environment equals advancement of society* (p.350):

“The importance of ACTIONS in the living space that have a decisive impact on the DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY should be emphasized because the functional connection of these categories is evident. Achieving a general social belief in ‘the fate’ of these arguments is imperative of the time, and it will not be implemented by declarative resolutions but by categorical exact data with measurable indicators”.<sup>368</sup>

Such *cultural action* in the space meant creation of “individual and group initiatives and aspirations – cultural policy is not able to use up all the available creative foci and forces and all the potential material resources

367 Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

368 Velimir Neidhardt, ‘Improving the environment = improving society’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1972).

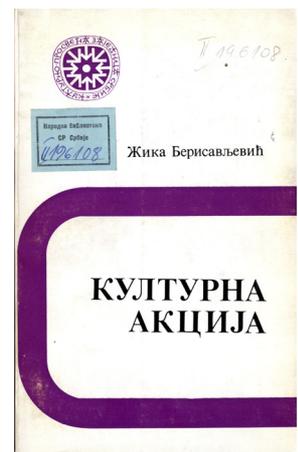


Fig. 112| Book Cover, *Cultural Action*, Zivan Berisavljević, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 113| Extract from the page, an article, *Inspiration for Culture*, newspaper *Liberation*, 1962, Sarajevo

of society in order to encourage more intensive cultural life, and more urban and basic human-cultural development, as well as moral vision and coverage of a community”.<sup>369</sup> Therefore, the *cultural action* represented a complex tool to catch and employ the power of the reached enthusiasm in “a sweeping, all-encompassing, multi-layered, continuous, powerful, and optimal action”.<sup>370</sup> The article *Inspiration for Culture* (entirely presented in *Set of Documents* (p.550)), [fig.113], presents the concept of the *cultural action* and portrays an image of the ongoing enthusiasm reach and the wholesome cultural experience developed in the epoch: “Yugoslavia is the stage of a rich and interesting spectrum of events”.<sup>371</sup> Similarly, Berisavljević positions culture “as a surrogate of action, as an engagement, as creation, as an experience, as permanent, and especially in its time, as an active act [...]”.<sup>372</sup>

### The dichotomy of *the cultural system*

To study the cultural dynamics, in this research there has been developed a method of dichotomy: several characteristic critical axes were mapped, forming the Yugoslav cultural system: ‘heterogeneity’, ‘unity-resemblance’, ‘novelty-modern form’, ‘trace-heritage’, ‘popular-disseminated’ and ‘concentrated-rare’. Such a dichotomy between the axes (for instance, heterogeneity – unity-resemblance) is offered to nurture a critical and objective departure for conducting the analysis, taking into consideration the current research in the Balkan context, which often ‘falls’ towards studying some of those critical axes separately and subjectively. For example, when referring to Yugoslav architecture, it is usually depicted as a purely modernist invention as related to the Modernist movement. Nevertheless, only in the background is it studied how this architecture is referred to the Balkan inherited crafts. Therefore, studying the cultural system through such a method of dichotomy will push and acknowledge the knowledge which is currently on the margins of the research. The limits of such investigation are those taken above, i.e. only several critical axes from the numerous that ‘exist’ in the cultural system.<sup>373</sup> The method then develops around the most present *critical axes*; noticed and elected from the primary data.

A cross-sectional method has been developed for the purpose of studying and ‘deconstructing’ the cultural system profoundly; each of the critical axes will be analyzed through an intersection with proposed five levels for investigation, which have also emerged as the most present categories for analysis from

369 Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, *Op.cit.*, p.14.

370 *Ibid.*

371 Inspiration for culture, extract from the Newspaper ‘Liberation’, 1962 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

372 Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, *Op.cit.*, p.17.

373 This is why, a scalable approach is suggested with a possibility for an extension of those six critical axes (categories) in future. Therefore, other possible critical axes could be: The Centralization / the Decentralization; the Planned / the Unpredicted etc.;

the primary data. Those *levels* are: **a.** *governance (and policies)*; **b.** *the cultural creators – the investors – the beneficiaries*; **c.** *the spatial distribution*; **d.** *the man-made environment*; and **e.** *the press*.<sup>374</sup> Such a cross-sectional method will allow for a different (and new) understanding and knowledge which will come into sight from each of the *critical axes* of each of *the levels*. The positive aspect of the method is that it aims ‘to catch’ the complexities of the cultural system (which are normally avoided), while perceiving what was understood as ‘good architectural – cultural practices’ in the Yugoslav context – a interest of this thesis.

	GOVERNANCE	INVESTORS - CREATORS - BENEFICIARIES	DISTRIBUTION SPATIAL	MAN-MADE ENVIRONMENT	PRESS	tools
Heterogeneity	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	
Unity-Resemblance	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	
Novelty-Modern Form	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	
Trace-Heritage	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	
Popular-Disseminated	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	
Concentrated-Rare	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.5	

topics

[fig.10] Diagram, cross-sectional method between the critical axes on one side, and the levels on another, to investigate the Yugoslav Cultural System, Source: Author.

In addition, each of the *critical axes* will be examined the ‘*heterogeneity*’ – ‘*unity-resemblance*’, ‘*novelty-modern form*’ – ‘*trace-heritage*’, ‘*popular-disseminated*’ – ‘*concentrated-rare*’.

374 The limit of the levels is that they are penetrating one in the another, and as such is difficult to treat them as absolute individual categories. Furthermore, each of the proposed levels study different aspects too. For example, the a. policy (governance) aims to better understand the significant policies for the field of culture, b. the cultural actors (the investors – the cultural creators – the clients) aims to analyse the relationship between the actors which participate in the creation of culture, and their formation, motivation etc. The c. spatial distribution aims to better understand the meaning of the territorial distribution of architecture, and the disposition of the cultural network. The d. the man-made environment will investigate the role of the build fabric (including the architecture) in the model, and the last one e. the press aims to analyse what was present in the press in the context since as announce in the article ‘Architecture and the public (VI Conversations on architecture in the island 7-9.KI 1962), Theses for conversations’, “the influence of the public on the formation of social awareness of the necessary support for progressive orientation in architectural creation”.

### III.1.1. HETEROGENEITY

The *critical axis of heterogeneity* is suggested to better comprehend what was considered as quality stemming from the differences present in the Yugoslav context. Although *heterogeneity* naturally existed, it was never fully acknowledged in a *cultural system* as a possible factor which could impact the model in which the *cultural artefacts materialized*. In fact, *heterogeneity* in the socialist context was expressed through different addressed and acknowledged differences compared to the classical formations, e.g. for the different individual Republics, *heterogeneity* neither meant differentiation due to the religious and linguistic differences, nor to the inherited needs, habits and values, but rather the different (and socialist) understanding of culture impacted the understanding of *heterogeneity*. As observed from the quote below the mapped differences are a question of the socio, economic and cartographic differences:

“The differences between the Republics are therefore very large. They are mainly the result of the achieved level of cultural and educational literacy of the population, the existing basic funds for the cultural standard, the social structure of the population, the greater cultural needs of workers and civil servants than there are in the agricultural population, and the number and size of cities because in the cities, above all, cultural activities are concentrated. The already mentioned dependence of the scope of cultural activity on the level of economic development cannot be directly proven, but it can be noticed from the above data. Only Montenegro stands out to a great degree”.<sup>375</sup>

It is noteworthy that the *diversity* of the artistic expression which was in existence from before the common cultural system was not negated, but rather stimulated. As explained by the protagonists – the individual pre-Yugoslav progress of each of the Republics was needed to help the development of individual and genuine artistic potentials to be discovered and cultivated in each of the individual environments: “It was thought that the national features of the independent Republics should be protected and not melted into one another”.<sup>376</sup> The protagonists also stated that the Yugoslav cities formed social networks which impacted *the model* in which the cultural artefacts materialized in several ways. For Perović, *heterogeneity* existed in the country because of the economic and educational West-South difference, as she had noticed that the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana had already developed cultural networks, with intelligence present: “Also, the cultures within Yugoslavia were different. One is the Slovene culture – with their cultural circle, with the third generation of intelligence in the lefty’s movement”.<sup>377</sup> Such a statement that different cities had a distinctive cultural development additionally displays yet another reflection of

375 Statistical documentation, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

376 Testimonial Predrag Penušliski, Skopje, 2017 (p.25).

377 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

how culture was interpreted in the socialist paradigm, as a matter of political, economic and cartographic differences.

Since the capital cities became the ‘representatives’ of each of the individual Yugoslav Republics and since the creation of a new common social (communicational) network emerged: “I also developed relations with other cultural centres, like Zagreb, Ljubljana, later also Sarajevo came to be a very interesting centre, even Skopje became appealing, especially after the earthquake in 1963”.<sup>378</sup> The *1953 Yugoslav Constitutional Amendments* was the key event which impacted the diversification of both the urban and rural man-made environment by decentralizing life and the introduction of the Yugoslav self-management<sup>379</sup> (p.233) – also a key element for preservation of the heterogeneity, where the municipalities, cities and the countries could develop their individual programs and enable the bottom-up governance in the civic fields of culture, education, health, etc.<sup>380</sup> In spatial expressions, this meant establishing new content in the neighbourhoods since the municipalities could bring decisions to build, based on their own needs. In the same bottom-up manner, the policy (connected to the *1953 Yugoslav Constitutional Amendments*) contributed to the establishment of numerous initiatives for conceiving new cultural institutions (p.293), thus an overall diversification through ‘plugin’ cultural content ensued (p.294). The protagonist also reflected that *the model* shifted the ownerships of many institutions in the field of culture on a federal level, to be governed and organized (administratively appointed) on the national-republican level, or on a municipal and city one.<sup>381</sup>

However, according to Bojović, the first results of the mentioned policy, from the early 1960s lagged in comparison to the overall development of the rest of Europe; as he pointed out that Europe after World War II immediately reacted to provide civic content in the cities and to achieve *civic diversification*, while Yugoslavia could economically not follow the same model of development: “We were constructing our industry for fifteen years. We had completely different dialectics in the situation, which was distinct from the one in the West”.<sup>382</sup> What’s more, the priorities of Yugoslavia after the end of the war were to give priority to the industry and satisfy the needs for housing (which was lacking); only later did the construction of the civic infrastructure start. By examining at architectural magazines (the experts’ press), the same can be observed, since the finished architectural projects dating from that period mainly concerned the construction of housing buildings or factories.

378 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

379 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

380 Exchanged e-mails with Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019.

381 *Ibid.*

382 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).



Fig. 114| Extract from the page 1, an article, *The right of an apartment*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 1, 1954, Zagreb

The first article (from the first issue of the magazine, No.1, 1954), titled the *Right of an Apartment*, [fig.114], published in 1954 in the most popular architectural magazine *Man and Space*, discusses the issues surrounding the overall residential situation in the country and the housing shortages, but ‘the right of man to have an apartment’. It notes that the issue cannot be solved only as a legal norm but rather as a legacy, pointing out that the process is slower since the country is the only investor for initiating new housing. In spite of this, the circumstances did not allow physical construction because of the material possibilities, the problematic issues of housing and civic facilities. In the same issue of *Man and Space*, the articles titled *the Achievements of Petar Lubarda*, *Questions from the School and the Aesthetical Development*, *Technique and Culture* showed that not even the results from the 1953 policy followed immediately; the idea to diversify life in the environment and to construct new content as an idea was ‘active’ in the public discourse. The intensity of building the civic infrastructure between 1945 and 1960 lessened, but the idea remained, and the first traces of the policy could be spotted in the 1950s. An article shows the new *Gymnasium Park* [Фискултурни парк] in Karlovac, *To build a hospital or a park in Šalata*, *How to build schools?* The strategy to build civic content corresponded with the general Yugoslav common belief to offer the citizens more than the ‘existential minimum’ (p.187), so the diversification of the programs in the neighbourhoods, communes in the cities and the Yugoslav territory as a whole, proved that the strategy to diversify was per se a spatial strategy, which was aimed to disseminate the new programmed content within Yugoslav territory (p.501).

The architects and the other cultural creators started to notice that the newly constructed buildings were impacting the society residing in the city. In the article *Two More Urban Problems of the City of Zagreb*, the author explains the relationship between the new building of the Zagreb Fair and the possible impact on the city of Zagreb (as society): “Not because its development is connected to the development of the city but that it is connected with our society”.<sup>383</sup> Such an interest between the architecture, the city and the society further reveals that the city for the *cultural creators* became a synonym for the society that cohabits in it.



THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE SOCIALIST  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC  
OF YUGOSLAVIA

The *1974 Yugoslav Constitution* additionally contributed to the heterogeneity, [fig.115]. The policy led to a new financial arrangement for collecting collective funds, meaning that responsibility for planning and designing new facilities and allocating funds for their construction was conceived under the institution of the *Self-Governing Communities of Interest* (SCI), [Самоуправне Интересне Заједнице (СИЗ)]. *SCI* had the function to place the *self-manage-*

Fig. 115| Cover, The constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1974

383 Engineer Architect V.R., ‘Two more urban problems of the city of Zagreb’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).

ment system on the ground, which on a local level meant that each of the *LC*, through *SCI*, will be able to collect and allocate the funding according to the needs of the community: “The system of *SCIs* at all state levels is conceived as a parastate body for the realization of a decentralized, self-governing form of labour exchange through agreement and collusion”.<sup>384</sup> Moreover, as such, *SCI* was part of the ‘theoretical’ socialist utopian vision since its protagonists were searching for new media to straighten the position of the working people:

“Socialist ideologies often incorporated such working-class organizations into their visions of socialist society, believing that the working class would solve social security issues within these new socialist communities after the ‘expropriation of expropriators’, called utopias, phalanxes, cooperatives, communes, or some other form of a socialist society”.<sup>385</sup>

The new ideological conception was followed by an adequate new *financial mechanism*, which shifted from collecting funds on the centralized state level to the *Local Communities* themselves. Therefore, the *SCI* meant a greater possibility for the *Local Communities* to participate in the overall and financial decision-making and to adequately shape their environment too, introducing the “fiscal decentralization,”<sup>386</sup> where each of the *Local Communities* needed to collect their individual collective funds and later allocate them in accordance with the collective needs of the citizens from the municipality.<sup>387</sup> The *SCI* secured funds for projects for civic development, such as “primary health care, child protection, pension, disability protection, education, culture, and various types of social protection”.<sup>388</sup>

In the overall tax paradigm of the country those categories were located under the branch of *social services*. As presented in the table *Public Sector Expenditures 1989*, [Fig.14], the total budget of the country had two categories for allocating funds: one category being *Budget Financing* (with 31% of the total budget), and the other being *SCI financing* (with 69% of the total budget).<sup>389</sup> Moreover, the civic development fell entirely under *SCI* (*‘SIZ’*) *financing* (from which it represented 26% of the total *SIZ financing* budget) along with the category *Social Security* to which 56% was allocated, and the category *Economic*

384 Vladimir Krivošejev, ‘Paper, Museum Policy in Serbia: Emergence, Crisis and a New Beginning’ (Narodni muzej Valjevo, The National Museum of Valjevo).

385 Leon Gerskovic, ‘Reference: Self - Governing Communities of Interest in a Socialist Self-Governing Society’ (Political thought: magazine for politics, Vol. 11 No. 3, 1974).

386 Dubravko Mihaljek, ‘Chapter 10 Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Yugoslavia, 1972-90’, ed. by Vito Tanzi, 1993.

387 Tosa Tisma, ‘Report’, Conference, The Permanent Conference of Yugoslav cities, 24-25 September, Ohrid, SR Macedonia, 1970 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1967-1974).

388 Gerskovic. *Op.cit.*

389 As described in the table, Yugoslavia: Public Sector Expenditures 1989, Author: Dubravko Mihaljek.

*Infrastructure* with 18%. Under the category of interest, the *Social Services funds* were secured for *Education* (57%), *Child Care* (19%), *Culture* (7%), *Science* (7%), *Welfare benefits* (7%), and *Physical Culture* (3%).<sup>390</sup>

[Fig.11] Table, Yugoslavia: Public Sector Expenditures 1989, Extract from page 89 of the paper. Author: Dubravko Mihaljek, (Diagram redraw by the author)

<b>Budget Financing</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>SIZ Financing</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Federal Budget</b>	<b>52</b>	Social security	<b>56</b>
Defence	<b>66</b>	Health insurance	<b>36</b>
Social insurance anof veterans and military personnel	<b>20</b>	Retirement and disability insurance	<b>63</b>
Supplementary development grants	<b>6</b>	Unemployment insurance	<b>1</b>
Federal administration	<b>5</b>		
Other expenditures	<b>3</b>		
<b>Republic budgets</b>	<b>30</b>	Social services	<b>26</b>
Constitution to the federation	<b>36</b>	Education	<b>57</b>
Republic administration	<b>27</b>	Child care	<b>19</b>
Interventions in the economy	<b>20</b>	Culture	<b>7</b>
Social services	<b>11</b>	Science	<b>7</b>
Other expenditures	<b>6</b>	Welfare benefits	<b>7</b>
		Physical culture	<b>3</b>
<b>Local governments budgets</b>	<b>18</b>	Economic infrastructure	<b>18</b>
Local administration	<b>78</b>	Energy, transportation	<b>59</b>
Social services	<b>6</b>	Housing, water supply	
Intervention in the economy	<b>5</b>	other infrastructure	<b>41</b>
Other expenditures	<b>11</b>		

Sources: Federal Statistical Office, Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1990, and Jukovic (1989a)

The table above, [fig.11], also shows that the security of the proper ‘mission-oriented’ funding traced the path, so civic development can appear and to install itself as physical civic infrastructure in the Yugoslav cities. Therefore, the taxes scheme (demonstrated above, [fig.11]) impacted and accelerated the creation of the infrastructure. As such, a whole new area of interest emerged: the civic spatial planning (p.299), which diversified the cities in a programmatic and typological way, e.g. secure funding in the field of sport meant creation of space for new sports, providing neighbourhoods with sport halls, etc. *SCIs* aimed to give “[...] the right of workers who create new social resources to determine the purpose and manner of using the funds they set aside for common social needs and infrastructure”. What’s more, *SCIs* helped to put several socialist principles into practice, such as employment of the principle of free exchange of labour between workers, the principle of reciprocity and solidarity, the principle of social security (to ensure funds for social purposes), the principle of planning in the distribution of funds, the principle of equality, etc.<sup>391</sup>

Diversity of the Yugoslav community also influenced the profiling of the architectural and spatial planning professionals and the people from the field of culture due to the *cultural creators* (including the architects), who were able to work and achieve a diverse living and working experience within the county.

390 Gerskovic. *Op.cit.*

391 *Ibid.*

For instance, Mušič lived and worked in Skopje for a year whilst building the University campus (*Ss. Cyril and Methodius*). According to the following testimonial, this professional assignment helped him to familiarize himself with the architectural heritage the city of Skopje had: “When I worked on the University campus I lived there for a year and I saw that it was a city with significant architectural tradition”.<sup>392</sup> Such mobility was achieved through the Yugoslav planification and the ‘planned distribution’ of professionals on the whole territory<sup>393</sup> as this policy facilitated the individual environment to develop architecturally:

“A significant characteristic of the sixties in the Sarajevo architectural scene was: firstly, a departure from the city of many architects who had been, in accordance with the planned distribution of personnel, sent to work there from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, [...] whose work had contributed a great deal to the reconstruction and building of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and secondly, a confirmation of Sarajevo as a new and equal centre of architecture with already earlier noticeable building schools in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana”.<sup>394</sup>

Such exchange of knowledge and mobility allowed the cultural creators to obtain access to the diverse Yugoslav natural landscapes and man-made environments: “I believe that behind all those environments, lay a very important aspect for architectural evaluation, for architectural comparison, for learning the others’ cultural environments and cultural milieu; making a mix which elevated the quality of the architectural production”.<sup>395</sup> The mobility of the *cultural creators* was stimulated through the establishment of *the basic Yugoslav competition*. Since the competitions were open for the *cultural creators* from the diverse Republics, they were stimulated to professionally become familiar with them and study the cultural expression of the particular environment.<sup>396</sup>

It has already been described in the previous chapter that the *cultural creators* developed their artistic positions through critical thinking; the Yugoslav architects not being excluded from this tendency either. As a consequence, in the late 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, they ‘re-questioned’ the international style, e.g. it was noticed that such critical architectural expression occurred in cultural artefacts – the objects of the architect Bogdan Bogdanović and Juraj Nedhardt: “[...] the region’s most important architects of the time, such as Bogdan Bogdanović – who was heavily influenced by surrealism – and Juraj Nedhardt, who aimed to create a regional version of modernism based on the Ottoman vernacular”.<sup>397</sup> As previously outlined, artistic common beliefs

392 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

393 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

394 Ivan Straus ‘Contemporary Architecture in Sarajevo - 1918-1990’, 2013 <<http://web.mit.edu>>.

395 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

396 *Ibid.*

397 MoMA’s Toward a Concrete Utopia exhibition presents the architecture of Yugoslavia, 2018, <<https://www.dezeen.com>>.

circulated in the architectural circles too, the thesis states that such a critical position can be traced to the majority of architectural works (and creations) of the architects back in the day. Such a critical stance in the field of architecture materialized around the criticism towards the dominant ‘international style’, which was promoted by the modernists,<sup>398</sup> while on the other hand, having modernism as a substrate served the function of breaking through the ‘obsolete values’ present in the Balkan society:

“The allegedly ahistorical character and universal language of ‘modern architecture’ functioned as the cultural confirmation of the new course and had a significant role and great power, primarily because it represented a positive projection of the demands for national unification, ethnic unity, a break with the past and erasure of ‘tribal’, political and cultural traditions”.<sup>399</sup>

In the same vein, Radomir Konstantinović wrote the major philosophical text *Small Town Philosophy (The Philosophy of Parochialism)* in 1974, [fig.116], in whose complex description, the author ‘detects’ obsolete narratives to describe his observation of the ‘century-long closeness of the society’. Therefore, the mapped *patriarchal* and *back-minded spirit* of the Serbian province attempted to refuse the ‘desired’ modernity. According to the protagonist, such troubled interpretation of the styles in today’s context reflects on the interpretation of heritage too, where the heritage from the 20th century is negated, while the one from the 19th century is favoured since it can help in constructing the “symbol for the new post-Yugoslav nationalism”.<sup>400</sup> The *Zagreb Institute of Rural Sociology (ZIRS)* published a study in 1977 to differentiate the heterogenous cultural values of two polar man-made environments as a basis for achieving the Yugoslav heterogeneity. The first set suggests the *cultural-value orientation* of the rural environment:

- “- It is important to have resources, not how they are used;
- To keep property without risk of loss;
- The prevailing opinion was that production was limited and it could not change significantly;
- Against innovation – a tendency towards tradition, etc”.<sup>401</sup>

While the second the set of values corresponded to the urban environment:

- “- The use of resources is important;

398 On another side, in more bottom-up manner the local art critics, such as Misko Suvaković, described that some of the modernist were conservative and giving less space for new art practices such as the conceptual art.

399 Aleksandar Ignatović, ‘Article Two Modernisms in the Two Yugoslavias: Architecture and Ideology, 1929-1980’.

400 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

401 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 116| Book Cover, *Small Town Philosophy*, Radomir Konstantinović, 1969, Belgrade

- It is not important to keep the property, but to make a profit;
- Production should be constantly changed; experiment and innovations are important;
- Tradition restrains; innovations open new possibilities”.<sup>402</sup>

The author argues that because of the intensive rural-urban migration, the characteristics of the rural community had started to be visible in the urban Yugoslav environments, with a manifestation of “static production, risk avoidance, indifference to innovation, extreme familiarity, clan connections, susceptibility to authority and the like – all the value characteristics of a rural society”.<sup>403</sup>

On an architectural level, heterogeneity was stimulated since each of the environments and its architectural schools studied had their individual specificity, e.g. the *Ljubljana School of Architecture* evolved around the historical development and needs of the city of Ljubljana<sup>404</sup>, [fig.117]; the *Belgrade Schools of Architecture* focused on mastering the housing architecture; and the *Skopje Schools of Architecture* focused on the problematic issues the city of Skopje had. The protagonist also linked the development of the architecture in the individual environments with specific cultural creators who were related to the institutions, e.g. “the Zagreb architectural school with Viktor Kovačić has its own specifics, which were close to Bauhaus, to the European architects. A lot of Zagreb students were studying in Europe; Drago Ibler as an example”.<sup>405</sup> All the above-mentioned contributed for heterogeneity to be stimulated in the architectural curriculum developed in distinct schools.

Heterogeneity in the architectural expression was also stimulated by concepts. For instance, the article *the Problem of Architecture as an Art* (p.557) suggests the invention of a new profile of the architect – the artist. In practice, the article suggests opening several ateliers in the major cities, such as Ljubljana, Belgrade and Zagreb. The initiative arose as a critical stance to overcome the preferable classic *engineer – architect* profile with a more artistic profile. Moreover ‘creative coalitions’ of architecture were sought through graphism, landscape architecture, furniture design, monuments, spatial planning etc., and these tendencies underlined the creation of a *universal architectural profile*.

Diversification in the press was expressed through forming interdisciplinary architectural magazines, such as *Urbanism Belgrade*, which was a spatial

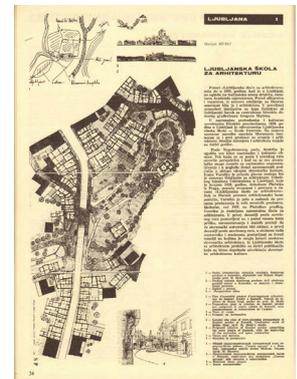


Fig. 117| Page 36, *Ljubljana School of Architecture*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.52, 1968, Belgrade

402 *Ibid.*

403 *Ibid.*

404 On the same magazine page, there is presented a student project from one of the school's ateliers, described in French, English and Russian language.

405 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

planning magazine covering a wide range of issues from architecture and spatial planning to the overall cultural development of the man-made environment. Another example is the architectural magazine *Man and Space*, which also had a diverse program, with topics from sculpture, art, interior design, furniture to sociological architectural issues, criticism and caricatures drawn by architects, and spatial planning projects. Such interdisciplinarity among the artistic professions diversified the public discourse by forming interdisciplinary discussions among the professionals too. In those dilemmas, a rich debate emerged, thus stimulating the public discourse, where new topics were constantly discussed and new questions were subsequently raised.<sup>406</sup> This constant dilemma helped to grasp the most challenging ongoing issues in the *Yugoslav architectural system*, and roused the system's critical ability to self-correct.

### III.1.2. UNITY – RESEMBLANCE

*Unity – Resemblance* came naturally with uniting the individual territories into one single country (SFRY): “Yugoslavia was not a state property, but a social property”,<sup>407</sup> hence the rise of a unification of the cultural system, leading to stimulation of tools which would contribute to the creation of the new common (and socialist identity), or “[...] depiction of Yugoslavism as a mosaic, and as unity in diversity [...]”.<sup>408</sup> A common Yugoslav identity did exist in the pre-war times (p.21), so a new common socialist unity was encouraged and stimulated. From this point, *socialism* organically became the ‘new pretext’ for creating the common ground among the Yugoslav people, but also for spreading the international message of socialism in the global context. Therefore, the *cultural creators* took socialism as a motive to create a figurative art able for the purpose of communicating through design and architecture with the international audience and<sup>409</sup> transmitting a general cosmopolite idea and transnational message, [fig.118]. The sculptures of Bogdanović had an aesthetics which could be easily ‘readable’ to send an international socialist message<sup>410</sup> or to be interpreted by the protagonists, [fig.119]: “[...] By developing archaic visual forms, Bogdanović endowed his sculptures with complex symbolism



Fig. 118| Page 47, International cultural collaboration and exchange, *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 2, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 119| Monument, Stone Flower, Bogdan Bogdanović, 1966, Jasenovac, SR Croatia

406 Today the architectural magazines are mostly mono - disciplinary, where they focus on showing the latest build architecture (presentation model), and rarely discussing the ongoing issues and challenges in the field.

407 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

408 Marco Abram, ‘Building the Capital City of the Peoples of Yugoslavia: Representations of Socialist Yugoslavism in Belgrade’s Public Space 1944-1961’, *Political Thought*, (Politicska Misao), 2014.

409 Lapis trip to the Balkans, Belgrade, EPFL, 2020.

410 *Ibid.*

and humanist meaning”.<sup>411</sup> The protagonist wanted to create cultural artefacts that could communicate with the broader context: “[...] Yugoslavia had an aesthetics which could communicate with the world. The one to the West of the Berlin Wall and the other to the East of the Berlin Wall”.<sup>412</sup> In the 1950s, the article discussed *The new face of socialism*, arguing how Yugoslav socialism should create its visual mark as well, so a particular unity in the artistic expression was offered as a new medium for communication through the visual form. The article *The current state and the problematics surrounding the applied art in our country* praised the unity in the visual range from which the phenomenon of *seeing visual quality* in their *visual range* emerged:

“It gives a cultural look to the ambience of our society, an artistic form to our propaganda and more beauty to the products of our industry, crafts and folk handicrafts. It should be an expression not only of our creative possibilities, but also of the level of our cultural understanding. Applied to the things we use and to the ambience of our environment, it brings out art and the broad strata of the working people”.<sup>413</sup>

For spreading the idea internationally, in the global discourse, the goal was to show that socialist Yugoslavia created its authentic culture and its aesthetic form. Such a tendency to ‘globalise socialism’ on an aesthetic level in fact overlapped with the political notion that socialism will erase the national borders in future,<sup>414</sup> and this idea overlapped with the aspiration of *NAM* too. In the following extract, Edvard Kardelj shares a vision of how to unite a European future:

“I believe that the Europe of the future will be a community of free people that will express a high and increasing degree of humanistic integration, in which cooperation at a multilateral level will become increasingly important and in which state borders will lose the barriers between nations and people they now have. But it is a future that will not come by itself. That is why, at this moment, the most important thing is for people who look at the future of Europe in such a way to be clear about the paths that lead to that future and build them with their daily activity in today’s Europe. Every step further on that path depends on changing a whole series of historical conditions that depend partly on the Europeans themselves and the development of their society, and partly on the

411 Nenad Markuljević, ‘Yugoslav Art and Culture: From the Art of a Nation to the Art of a Territory’.

412 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

413 ‘State and problems of application of art in our country’, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, No. file 78, 1949-1953).

414 Edvard Kardelj, No one has the right to make other nations happy, Interview of the member of the Presidency of the SFRY and the Presidency of the Central Committee of the SKJ, Edvard Kardelj, to the Dutch anthology “The Future of Europe” - December 1976, <<https://radiogornjigrad.wordpress.com>>.

development of the modern world in general. In other words, Europe alone cannot change if the whole world does not change”.<sup>415</sup>

*Unity – Resemblance* in a more bottom-up manner meant creation of a common Yugoslav ‘supraculture’ identity in each of the individual Yugoslav Socialist Republics. The protagonist argued that unity served the communist party to seek for ‘unity of the action and thought’, as desired, and therefore to overcome early on the idea of having a multiparty system. Such unity of thought can be spotted in the emergent common creative scene:

“The Yugoslav cultural space or Yugoslav artistic space: this would mean that we are talking about a unique space since it is one country, we are using languages which one could understand aside from the differences, we also use the same currency, which means we can buy art with the same money”.<sup>416</sup>

The *cultural artefacts* created in the individual Republics, when displayed outside the country, also became identifiable as Yugoslav, [fig.120]:

“Homogeneity only because it occurred in the same country, and this country in the foreign world represents itself as homogenous under the name Yugoslavia. When we exhibit at the Venice Biennale, for the foreign artist it is completely irrelevant whether the artists are Croatian, Serbian or Macedonian. They see the label of Yugoslavia, and they see the artist’s work and the quality of the artistic work”.<sup>417</sup>

The same notion also contributed, so the protagonists perceived and accepted the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts* as ‘ours’. The term *Yugoslav architecture* shows that architecture was considered one of the *cultural artefacts* as part of the overall Yugoslav cultural system. Moreover, such unification was advantageous for establishing joint research projects among individual research institutes, leading to the creation of joint Yugoslav artefacts, like the project that pioneered and traced the path for merged Yugoslav scientific work: the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia*, [fig.121], composed by representative groups from the individual Yugoslav Socialist Republics.<sup>418</sup> Criticism ensued around the quality of the Encyclopedia highlighting the circumstances in which it developed: “We are still a country of quite modest cultural traditions, yet we now demand absolute perfection in such an extensive and thus comprehensive endeavour”.<sup>419</sup> At the same time, in the field of culture various other joint Yugoslav research projects were initiated, following the establishment of common professional associations and joint research institutes. These projects did not only address scientific



Fig. 120| Yugoslav pavilion, the Biennale of Venice, 1938, Venice, Italy

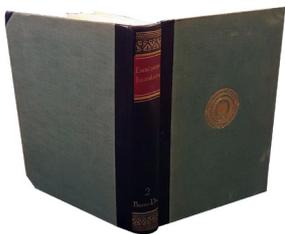


Fig. 121| Book Cover, *Yugoslav Encyclopedia*, 1955

415 *Ibid.*

416 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

417 *Ibid.*

418 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

419 Vjencislav Rihter, ‘Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia’, *Man and Space*, (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

issues, but also initiatives related to the fostering of science, culture and art among children, introduced to *the model*: “for example, creating an authentic Yugoslav culture for children; song creativity for children; prose for children; movies for children”.<sup>420</sup> In 1962, a manifestation titled *Yugoslav Pioneer Games* commenced, aiming to stimulate the rise of the *technical culture* interest among children, [fig.122]. In addition, initiatives in the field of culture and art were part of school curricula and excursions were often organized for the purpose of familiarization with the territory (with visits to the buildings from the field of culture), [fig.123, fig.124]: “[...] in Yugoslavia, this was part of the planning of the teaching agenda for primary and high school students, as the practical part of their education”.<sup>421</sup>

‘Stimulated’ bottom-up initiatives emerged in the larger Yugoslav cities (p.282) from the artistic grassroots, which were composed of *cultural creators* with diverse artistic profiles, such as architects, artists and philosophers, bonding together as a single working group with similar artistic views. For instance, the document *Architecture as Art* discusses how interdisciplinary cultural groups should be stimulated (among other recommendations for their stimulation):

“In our country, there is no civic cooperation between architects and artists. There are no joint associations or unions of fine artists that would bring together all artists-creators. Architects have their associations that work independently although the goals of all art associations are essentially the same”.<sup>422</sup>

Such an example is the interdisciplinary artistic group *Today [Денес]*, [fig.125], which was created in Skopje: “On 1 September 1953, five artists (Dimče Protuger, Borko Lazetski, Ljubomir Belogaski, Risto Lozanoski and David Bafeti), three architects (Slavko Brezovski, Risto Sekerinski and Janko Konstantinovski), and one sculptor (Jordan Grabuloski) had a meeting whose significance, as we see further, has a founding and program character”.<sup>423</sup> Collaborations did not only emerge among the different professions and among the individual socialist Republics, but also between them too. The idea was generated early on when establishing the Yugoslav country, in the cultural plans created by the *CCAF* in 1946:

“The tasks of the Committee were: taking care of national culture, national cultural values and helping to raise culture and art [...] managing cultural and artistic institutions of national importance; maintaining and improving cultural ties with foreign countries; working to maintain close cultural cooperation

420 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

421 Testimonial Ana Panić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.65).

422 Document ‘Architecture as Art’, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, No. file 78, 1949-1953’).

423 Group Denes, 1953-1983, Catalogue from the 30th years anniversary, exhibition, Artistic Gallery - Skopje, Skopje, 1983.

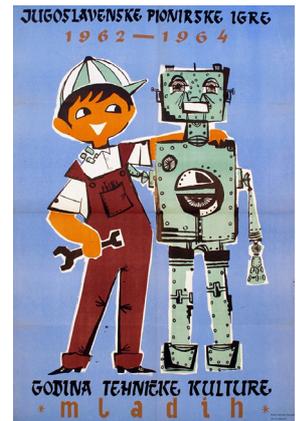


Fig. 122| Poster, *Yugoslav Pioneer Games 1962-1964: Years of the techniques and culture of the youth*, 1962



Fig. 123| Student excursion, *Monument, Makedonium*



Fig. 124| Student excursion, *Monument, Necropolis for the Victims of Fascism*

between the people of the Federation. The preparation and drafting of laws, decrees and other legal acts relating to culture and the arts was also a task of the Committee”.<sup>424</sup>

From the protagonists’ perspective, exchange of knowledge in the field of culture was frequent and in various forms, such as exhibitions, forums, and joint projects for books,<sup>425</sup> also stating the importance of communicating ‘informally’ among the cultural circles. Therefore, many of the *cultural creators* besides merely collaborating, overtime also became friends and created an informal network.<sup>426</sup> Others underlined the informal gatherings with their mentors as significant, e.g. Mitrović described the informal gatherings with the Professors in the *Kafana [Кафана]*, and Dimić reflected on the conversations which followed after the Professor’s given lecture, etc. Such informality was stimulated, for instance the *CCAF* proposed a strategy to rouse unity by the informal employment of the synthesis:

“[...] Later this would achieve the best possible connection for all these branches of fine arts into one harmonious whole, which has so far remained divided, without intimate cooperation and authoritative leadership”.<sup>427</sup>

Unity by employment of the paradigm of synthesis among the various artistic disciplines (including the architecture) was proposed under the concept of *Total Design*. The architect Vjencislav Rihter, [fig.126], explained that the question of quality of the art and the mass Yugoslav production is significant for the field of culture as it is significant for the field of politics of the Yugoslav self-management.<sup>428</sup> Moreover, this synthesis became a desired tool among all the different segments of the cultural production, e.g. achieved in photography and movie-making.<sup>429</sup> In the field of architecture this entailed inspiring coalitions with the applied arts, as suggested in one of the working plans in the *SC of Serbia* (from 1963):

“[...] problems of introducing visual elements in public buildings - synthesis of fine arts and architecture. Consideration and resolution of this problem would provide a broader perspective on the visual arts, a rapid process of synthesis and



Fig. 126| Extract from the cover page, *Art Regulator: industrial production*, Vjencislav Rihter, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 75, 1958, Zagreb



Fig. 127| Scene from the movie, *Love Affair, or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*, Dušan Makavejev, 1967

424 ‘Planetary session’, The Committee for culture and arts of SFRY 1946-1948’, Ideological commission, 1948 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, 1946-1948).

425 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

426 From the conversation with Stevan Zutić, Belgrade, 2019.

427 Minić, ‘The problem of architecture as art’, *Op.cit.*

428 Vjencislav Rihter, ‘Art Regulator – for the industrial production’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1972).

429 Makavejev is explaining such synthesis, achieved for a scene, [fig.127], in the movie *Love Affair or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*. The scene depicts a strong effect of photography – black cat on white female body, for his TV interview, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4f-blEiUBrA>>.

integration of the visual arts and architecture, and achieve greater affirmation of the visual, sculptural, graphic and works of applied arts”.<sup>430</sup>

Another strategy for achieving unity in practice was fusing the industrial production with the applied arts, architecture and spatial planning, [fig.128, fig.129, fig.130, fig.131]; experts ‘detected’ the issue and declared their concerns to the officials: “[...] if not connected to the industry they are ‘in trouble finding themselves on the ‘sentimental’ and ‘romantic’ line of the ‘pure art’”.<sup>431</sup> Support from the side of the officials followed, and this was proven by the tendencies in the programs (developed in the 1960s) where in each of the ‘action plans’ there was a suggested measure for the related issue. Moreover, it was concluded that an institution was to be created – a mediator (under the *Economy Council of Government* (ECG) of SFRY), which will provide the necessary conditions for collaboration and merging between the industry and the academia (for all of the creative fields).

The tendency of *Total Design* became noticeable in the field of architecture during the 1960s, especially starting from early 1970s, e.g. the building of the Archive of the City of Skopje, [fig.132, fig.133], has several elements applied from the principle of *Total Design*: firstly, the created prefabricated elements (custom-made products for the needs of the building); and secondly, the treatment of the secondary elements, such as windows, doors, built-in furniture, etc., which were all created in local Yugoslav factories and by local Yugoslav design. Such a gesture was a critique of the mapped tendency of uniformity in architecture (p.196), yet an overall positive strive for achieving ‘integral space’: “[...] Strive to organically connect the work of urban planners, architects and artists, as well as to connect the work of applied artists with the industry, crafts and trade”.<sup>432</sup> *Total Design* showed the overall tendency for connection, which was reflected in spatial terms as well. The spatial planners wanted to achieve equilibrium on the differently developed Yugoslav territory, and even the concept of creating an organic connection has a socialist nature (the same was appreciated

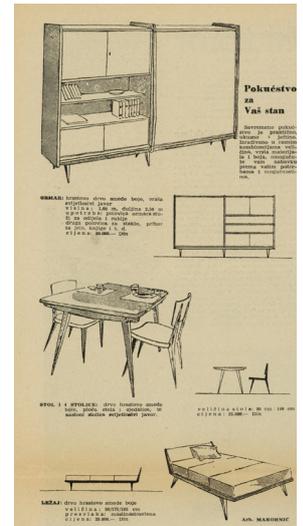


Fig. 130| Extract from the page 6, Article, *Furniture for your apartment*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 4, 1954, Zagreb



Fig. 132| Photo, The Archive of the city Skopje, Georgi Konstantinovski, 1966, Skopje

430 Secretariat of the Republican Secretary for Culture, Milan Vukos, ‘The plan for work of the Republican Secretariat for Culture, for the second held of 1963’, SR Serbia Republican Secretariat for Culture, 1963, Belgrade Committee for Science and Culture of the government of SFRY (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967’).

431 The director of the school for applied art in Zagreb, Branis Volta, ‘Problematics of collaboration of the artists with the production’, Letter send to the Economy Council of Government of SFRY, SR Serbia Republican Secretariat for Culture, 1951, Belgrade Committee for Science and Culture of the government of SFRY (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, No. file 78, 1949-1953’).

432 ‘Work Plan report for Art and Architecture’, Letter send to the Economy Council of Government of SFRY, SR Serbia Republican Secretariat for Culture, 1951, Belgrade Committee for Science and Culture of the government of SFRY (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, No. file 78, 1949-1953’).

and used by the *Constructivists*, as symbolically explained by Mosei Ginsburg): “[...] production process of a particular product. It is dynamic, consistent and has a clear direction from the beginning to the end of the process. It is single and possibly continuous and nevertheless sharply divided into separate components”.<sup>433</sup> Moreover the strive for unity was not only a preoccupation of the professional grassroots and organizations, but it also occurred as an everyday notion among the common people. For instance, the protagonist reflects on how the youth organization had the intention of homogenizing the diversity amongst them. The same was also stimulated and envisioned by the *Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture* (FSEC), [*Савезни Секретаријат за Образовање и Културу* (ССОК)]:

“In the future, cultural and artistic societies should be forced, given that societies perform a very important function of cultural uplifting, especially among workers and peasants. Their activities should be supported in the future, especially in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where their network is the least developed”.<sup>434</sup>

The protagonists pointed out that unity was possible because of the Yugoslav *concept of balance*, which is a political tool, aimed to equilibrate the individual Yugoslav Socialist Republics. According to the protagonists, there was a strive towards such a balance in terms of the cultural development too, leading to the establishment of several measures to overcome the differences. For instance, the cultural programs intended to overcome the uneven cultural network across the territory: “As part of the investment construction, the *Ministry of Culture* (MC) planned and approved the network of cultural institutions primarily respecting the equality of the Yugoslav space”.<sup>435</sup> Due to such imbalance, the cultural programs aimed to be created around the most urgent needs of the republics, e.g. the protagonist pointed out that the cultural programs needed to address and achieve the desired balance through recognizing Macedonia’s young identity as a country, the long tradition of the Slovenes of having an educated population, and the Serbian nationalistic tendencies.<sup>436</sup> Consequently, the cultural programs for Serbia needed to ‘decrease’ the intensity of Serbia’s nationalistic notion.<sup>437</sup>

In that manner, under one umbrella, custom-made cultural strategies and programs were established as individual for each of the republic. This also

433 Moisei Ginzburg, ‘Target Installation in Modern Architecture’, *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* (Contemporary Architecture), Moscow, USSR, 1927.

434 ‘Statistical Report’, 1957 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

435 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.220.

436 *Ibid.*

437 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

meant that the cultural program of Macedonia was different than the one for Slovenia,<sup>438</sup> i.e. the cultural program of Macedonia focused on establishing the standardization of the Macedonian language (the initiative of Blaže Koneski), while Serbia established more neutral (non-identity-related) programs, and Slovenia focused on establishing amateur theatres (since much of the base had already been achieved).<sup>439</sup> Although the focus was on different cultural strategies and cultural programs, a mutual project for the whole country to stimulate the highest forms of culture was still established for both the rural population and the workers (following the same logic the protagonist had adhering to *Maslow's hierarchy of needs* (p.208), claiming that each category should start simultaneously).

Dimić reflects on the *concept of balance* through achieving political equilibrium too. According to him the tool needed to be utilized since the different environments also started to 'show' different political aspirations, e.g. in the events around 1968, the city of Belgrade and the city of Zagreb took completely contrasting positions, hence the *concept of balance* was applied to overcome the differences:

"The idea was if the Serbian receives a slab, the Croatian must receive a slab too. After that repression of the nationalists in Zagreb, Belgrade saw the extinction of the liberals, who were followed by Latinka Perović and Marko Nikezić. Yugoslavia lived on the concept of a balance. Balance into fear, balance into influence, balance of the political power [...]. [...] this meant that the biggest Republic, i.e. Serbia needs to be suppressed because of its size, number of citizens, the tradition of revolution. So, he came up with the concept of creating provinces to maintain this balance".<sup>440</sup>

*Equilibration* was applied in the 1950s to uniform the artistic, cultural and architectural curriculum in each of the individual socialist Republics. For instance, unification of the architectural curriculum was 'designed' in the *Federal Committee for Culture and Arts* (FCCA), which in 1950 drafted the proposal for a *program for an educational plan of the Faculties for Architecture* across the country and discussed it at a conference in Dubrovnik.<sup>441</sup> The proposal for the curriculum suggests the following categories: **a.** basic courses; **b.** graphic and plastic representation; **c.** architectural construction; **d.** materials; **e.** construction courses, architectural and spatial planning design; and **f.** history of architecture. At the Conference in Dubrovnik, delegates from the Faculties of Architecture from the cities of Skopje, Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb at-

438 *Ibid.*

439 Both testimonials of Dragičević Šešić and Perović, Belgrade, 2019.

440 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

441 'Conclusion', Inter-faculty conference, 21-22 November, Dubrovnik, 1950 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 316, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 126, 1950-1956).



Fig. 134| Page 153, *Architecture, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

tended, as well as from the *Federal Committee for Construction* (FCC) and the host *Committee for Culture and Arts* (CCA). An outcome of the Conference was the drafting of the document *The Face of the Architect*, where they envisioned the type of architect the country needed:

“In our country today we need an architect with general education; he needs to be able to work properly in the conditions of all the branches of the architectural activity. The architects of our country are expected to independently and successfully participate in the socialist construction of the country, to solve architectural problems in all areas of architectural and urban design fields, while also being able to work at construction sites – operations”.<sup>442</sup>

After the comprehensive discussion based on analysis of the real situation and challenges in the country, the delegates proposed ‘creation’ through the curriculum of four profiles of future architects:<sup>443</sup> the one who focuses on *architectural design*, on *spatial design*, on *constructive-calculations*, and on *operational on-site architect*. Architecture was also analyzed in the *CSCD* too; cultural planning of architecture appeared as a subject in the *Atlas of Culture – of the Socialist Republic of Serbia*, Belgrade, 1974. As observed on the maps, [fig.134, fig.135], the spatial distribution of the profession of architecture and spatial planning was observed on par with the other cultural activities. Moreover, the maps deal with the territorial disposition of architecture and spatial planning and their territorial development because the Yugoslav architectural system needed to overlap with the ongoing spatial tendencies for urbanization, [fig.136].



Fig. 136| Extract from the Page 154, *Spatial Tendencies for Urbanization, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

Therefore, the cultural strategies aimed to acknowledge a recognizable common artistic language and to yield resemblance of the *cultural artefacts* created under the ‘Made in Yugoslavia’ mark. A major cultural strategy for this to occur was to achieve a recognizable common artistic language created through the curriculum:

“How many designers do you need in Yugoslavia? – Five per year. Is it worthwhile to open a school for five designers? How many prima ballerinas does a country need? If you only need a couple of them, it is cheaper to send them to Russia. However, (pause) when they come back, they carry with them the ‘Soviet ideology’ and culture. They will always prefer Soviet composers over Yugoslav or Croat ones. Therefore, it is only worthwhile to open a school if you have a national design”.<sup>444</sup>

442 *Ibid.*

443 The delegates had the right questions and draft conclusion from the seminar how to implement the strategies (the same was for the other seminars). Today the architectural seminars are not working seminars where the problems are being discussed and a strategy are being made but they are more having a representational character, where normally architects present to the audience their projects.

444 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, *Design for the new world, Op.cit.*

Unity was organically developed with the introduction of the common policies in the field of culture: “Then the first cultural policies came. From the middle of the 1950s, there was a law in education, the movie industry, education, doctorates, the status of the free artists”.<sup>445</sup> As a consequence of the policies, the first cultural programs were introduced for each of the fields in question, hence the path for equal spatial distribution of culture was traced on the whole territory. Importantly, cultural statistics were understood as the foundation for planning and the base for the decision-making processes. Normally after the qualitative and the quantitative analysis ‘one integral vision’ as a program for *cultural action* was introduced, i.e. in the following extracts, the *cultural creators* aim to develop a strategy to increase the sports facilities in the country where they start the study by mapping the current realities:

“On the territory of SFRY at the end of 1957, we had 7,387 facilities with 9,246 training grounds, which means 2,467 inhabitants per facility or 1,972 inhabitants per training area. As we have 17,938 and 7,039 civic organizations for physical culture, respectively 2,474,605 school youth and 588,027 members of civic organizations, which all together, as a rule, use these 7,387 facilities very unevenly, it follows that 3.4 schools have one sports facility including the organizations, or 414 users on one facility”.<sup>446</sup>

Arising from the development of an aligned and mission-oriented cultural strategy, a coherent neighbourhood was created by better organizing the existing sport facilities and building new ones:

“- Facilities in a residential area and community (children’s playgrounds and school facilities);  
 - Facilities in the city district (zone) or municipality (facilities for systematic physical education in the civic organizations and active recreation and leisure of the citizens, and facilities for physical culture in the companies);  
 - Facilities of city importance, where facilities for special branches of sports and facilities in the vicinity of the city come into consideration”.<sup>447</sup>

From the article, it can be observed how integral visions attempted to achieve equilibrium among the unevenly developed Yugoslav territory. Architects were also pushing (and supported) such initiatives which aimed to distribute equal programs for quality of life that was normally more accessible in the northern parts of the country (Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Socialist Republic of Croatia) and their urban centres. Another strategy to achieve unity was that the architects accelerate cohesiveness on the territory through establishing the common Yugoslav norms (p.201) in the field of spatial planning; such an example being the joint Yugoslav project for the *Planning Atlas of the Landscape Organization of Yugoslavia* (p.203), which was the ‘starting point’ for

445 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

446 Mirko Maretić, ‘Planning and maintaining the sport projects’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).

447 *Ibid.*

overcoming the territorial differences between the regions.<sup>448</sup> Moreover, Bojović (author of the Atlas) emphasizes the informal connection among the experts (from the individual Republics) as crucial for achieving coherence in the spatial planning. The social connection, collaboration and exchange of knowledge acted as a common denominator for achieving unity.

The same narrative additionally impacted the architectural and spatial planning, where the notion of the *civic* was an interpretation to give priority to the collective issues, e.g. priority was given to collective, common and civic areas in the cities and collective housing, rather than designing and constructing private villas.<sup>449</sup> The *civic* also dominated the public architectural discourse.<sup>450</sup> *Unity* was stimulated with the circulation of the various media from one environment in another, leading the ideas to overflow from one environment to the others. To illustrate this, in 1947 the architecture revue *Architecture*, [fig.137], was established to help “elevate the quality of the country renewal” (as a federal decision), so the magazine was envisioned to be placed in the city of Zagreb, where each of the individual socialist Republics (and their magazines units) needed to collect and send the materials to the magazine headquarters in Zagreb.

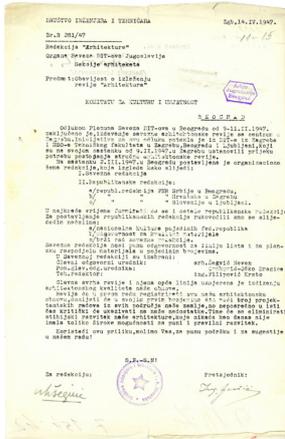


Fig. 137| Letter, Decision for publishing of the review *Architecture*, Committee for Culture and Art, 1947, Belgrade

As enthusiasm among the general population (p.148) was the driving force behind the cultural initiatives (also there were lack of financial means), joint projects were allowed to be conducted, even despite the small amount of material means. The protagonist also reflects that the beneficial enthusiastic professional ambience acted as a unifier since it penetrated in profiling and professionally upbringing the protagonists.<sup>451</sup> In the public discourse for such unity, the word *civic* [друштвено] contributed to the professional jargon (the word is between the words social and civic), demonstrating that the public discourse gave greater importance to collective, common, and civic issues and the notion of citizenship, which formed around the *Yugoslav architectural system*.

448 Read about the testimonial of Bojović, where the architect (and founding father of the atlas) explains how the idea for the atlas appeared in 1948 as consequence of a spatial norm titled General Regulation which aimed to equilibrate the common Yugoslav spatial norms.

449 Boltzar, ‘Instead of 100 investors’, *Op.cit.*

450 It was a socialist notion to focus on the collective issues rather than to the individual ones.

451 Another testimony is such that after the YU wars and conflicts, which still exist, a kind of “cultural unification” and collaboration is the link which was re-established the quickest and the one functioning and being strengthened up despite the prolonged animosity and “the ambience of the existing conflict”.

### III.1.3. NOVELTY – MODERN FORM

The topic of Modernism in relation to Yugoslav architecture is well covered by several architectural theoreticians from the field, such as Kulić, Jovanović Weiss, Mrduljaš, etc. As a continuation of the exercise, here *the Novelty – Modern Form* axis aims to better critically understand the role of the modern form in the *cultural dynamics*. Modernism received its full recognition and acceptance in the cultural, artistic and architectural circles, which contributed for it to become the preferred artistic style early on after the end of World War II. Since it was depicted as a novelty (modern meant ‘new’ and ‘good’), it quickly became a popular narrative discussed in the public discourse too, however, in the Yugoslav context it had significance which came as criticism to both of the pre-Yugoslav style tendencies and the socialist realism (from *the model* which existed in USSR):

“Modernism, which emerged in the mid-1950s, was ideologically engaged as a new project of opposing totalitarian artistic ideology in the process of rejecting realism. In this way it shows an ambivalent position: de-ideologization in relation to the previous dogma, but implicitly showing its social engagement, the form of the new ideology”.<sup>452</sup>

In this manner, the axis ‘absorbed’ the various types of novelties (and inventions) that occurred back in the Yugoslav epoch and it became a general ‘codex for expression’: “It was like a general mantra – modern buildings, modern apartment, for modern life”.<sup>453</sup> Socialism in itself became one of the novelties under the umbrella term of modernism, and it also became a synonym for modernism: “The ideology was that modernism and socialism go together”.<sup>454</sup> The modern style became the support infrastructure of the desired *progressiveness* (p.169), so while socialism signified a cultural revolution (p.157), modernism was understood as a tool for emancipation (and part of the political paradigm<sup>455</sup>). In the same vein, in the local context, the modernist paradigm was seen as necessary to depart from the ‘inherited obsolete traditional values and norms,<sup>456</sup> e.g. in the movie *The Promising Boy*, the main protagonist, Slobodan, a young guy, finds himself in a police station because of his rebellious nature. To overcome the dissatisfaction of his youth, the inspector (a symbol of ‘the power’ and the Yugoslav system), suggests that Slobodan visit the cinema (a cultural institution and the symbol of the Yugoslav modern infrastructure) more often so as to ‘educate himself’ and not to remain a typical ‘Balkan guy’, [fig.138]. As



Fig. 138| Scenes from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981

452 Doknić quotes Ales Erjavec, *The Ideology and art of Modernism*, Sarajevo, 1991, p.155.

453 Testimonial Nenad Markuljević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.71).

454 *Ibid.*

455 Zagorka Golubović, *The Voice in the Public, How to Become a Citizen* (Belgrade: MostArt, 2016).

456 According to the cultural creators they were perceived as negative.

depicted in the movie, the modern infrastructure (in the Yugoslav case) aimed for the greater percentage of the population. The political core accepted the modernist idea and the style too; for instance, Josip Broz Tito, who never fully supported abstract art, visited the *CAM* in Belgrade only once and expressed a critical stance towards what he called ‘ultra-modernism’. During one occasion (p.540), he described an art piece as “[...] that is new and the modern, but it is not ultramodern nor an abstraction”.<sup>457</sup> The significance of modernism is the topic of the exhibition *Enformel*, held at the *SCC*, 1982, in Belgrade:

“Aimed at the laws of form... aestheticism was modern enough to appease the general complex of openness to the world, traditional enough to satisfy a new civic taste grown out of social conformism, and inert enough to fit the myth of a happy and united community – it had everything it needed to merge with the politically projected image of society”.<sup>458</sup>

Blazević linked the significance of the modern form to the international and cosmopolite idea:

“The terms ‘modernism’, ‘modernity’ and ‘modern’ began to be used for everything that wished to distance itself from the local, national or traditional, as well as from the remnants of rigid antimodernistic realism. Modernism was in harmony with the spirit of the times and presumed the ideas of progress, internationalism, cosmopolitanism and belief in the positive flow of history”.<sup>459</sup>

Therefore, the modernist form became a tool to the ‘vision of opening’, with a desire that Yugoslavia would become part of a larger international movement. The protagonist believed that modernism would contribute to opening itself towards the outside world, which internally would mean opening internal inter-republican relations too.<sup>460</sup> This desire for *openness* (p.169) is a regularly mentioned common beliefs in the press: the authors and the protagonists suggested several measures to build this vision. The first one regarded instating a policy which permitted free travel in both directions (Yugoslavs to travel outside Yugoslavia, and guests to visit Yugoslavia), which further allowed a flow of information in both directions too. For instance, in popular magazines, there were occasional articles presenting people who lived and worked outside the country, like an émigré living in Vienna<sup>461</sup> and describing his ‘easy Yugoslav

457 Josip Broz Tito, ‘Tito about art and culture’, Wednesday Newspaper, Zagreb, 1962 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

458 Doknić quotes Lazar Trifunović, from the catalogue of the exhibition *Enformel*, 1982, Branka Doknić, p.182.

459 Dunja Blažević, ‘Who’s that singing over there? Art in Yugoslavia and After...1949–1989...’.

460 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, Serbia, 2019 (p.50).

461 ‘Gastrabeiter story, Vienna, 1975, ‘In Yugoslavia I lived as human, here I live as bastard’’, Dusan Savković, Duga, 1972, <www.yugopapir.com>.

lifestyle’ in comparison to the stressful workload he had in the West.<sup>462</sup> In another popular magazine, an American tourist gave an interview when visiting the country.<sup>463</sup> He explained his confusion as to how no Yugoslav could give him general information about the cost per night of staying at a hospital or the cost for faculty inscription. The tourist viewed this situation as the Yugoslavs not understanding (or being aware of) the benefits they obtain from the system – something which to him looked impossible for an American.<sup>464</sup> This explains why from the perspective of a tourist it seemed as if “everything which is extraordinary today – in Yugoslavia was normal”<sup>465</sup>, or as interpreted from theoreticians, the ‘socialist everyday’ offered (from a western perspective) the extraordinary or made the ‘utopia real’:

“[...] If for Felski, a common ordinariness is a feature of all lives, for socialist ideology the inverse was also true: every life contained an element of the *extra-ordinary*. Everyday life was not opposed to ideological life. On the contrary, it was a fundamental site of ideological intervention”<sup>12”</sup>.<sup>466</sup>

As explained above, the circulation of information impacted not only the everyday but also the scientific world since the published articles were open and available. This same *openness* reflected on organizing joint cultural projects and international collaboration:

“So, our country as it was Yugoslavia open towards the world, needed also to be culturally open towards the values of that world in a global scale. With that we thought we are going to practically erase the provincialism. This provincialism is part of many societies; people close themselves in, and every intellectual looks like a genius to them. When you are imposing yourself to the global spirit you start to behave strangely. That’s why we wanted to incorporate that openness inside the cultural action plan”.<sup>467</sup>

The extract explains that the politicians supported the vision of openness and integrated it with the created cultural plans, hence modernism penetrated the *Yugoslav cultural system* to expose the society to possible situations from which new relations would also emerge. For such transformations to occur there was a new (and modern) set of institutions which would enable the global communication. The country’s ongoing socialist development was taken as a pretext for emergence of the new institutions, and it was realistically easier since

462 This is showing the perception of those from the model (influence by the logic of Capitalism) who knew, lived and experienced the model (influence by the logic of Socialism).

463 ‘American tourist in our country, 82: How come Yugoslavs don’t know the price of a medicine?’, Dusan Savković, Duga, 1972, <[www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com)>.

464 This is showing the perception of those from the model (influence by the logic of Capitalism) giving an observation (from tourist perspective) on the model (influence by the logic of Socialism).

465 Presentation Lapis, EPFL, 2021.

466 Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Easter Bloc, ed. by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid (Berg Publishers, 2002).

467 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

after World War II the administrative situation of the country represented a 'tabula rasa', with a need for those new institutions.

In the early 1950s, the first policies for modern infrastructure were established (read *Point 1945* at p.151): for organizing primary education, higher education, the culture, the physical culture, social security etc. Therefore, the modernist infrastructure became a symbol for socialism: "In that manner, simultaneously, therefore becoming synonymous".<sup>468</sup> Under such premises would spatial questions 'carrying' the modern infrastructure become a subject of interest often present in the public discourse. This meant that spatiality was important for the protagonist who had the idea that socialism would 'act' in the physical space,<sup>469</sup> which is why the physical space became a factor enabling the political paradigm.

The new institutions required new buildings, mostly because the pre-war buildings were in a state of ruins (from the war), but also because they did not fit in with the modern requirements the new set of institutions had. The old institutions in the existing (pre-war) buildings had changed the content and the significance in the new political paradigm, and no more could be done through the old buildings, i.e. "in post-war Serbia, the development continued of all the institutions in which architects worked even before the war, but the scope and content of this work changed somewhat over time".<sup>470</sup> The scope of the work of the building influenced the design of the space.<sup>471</sup> Such premises that 'new content' required 'new specialized space' is linked to the *Constructivist* understanding for creation of a *new architectural organism*: "only the functional method can create new architectural organisms that are capacitors of new societal and social relationships".<sup>472</sup> It is for this reason that in the given context the new modern institutions meant insertion of new typology, e.g. the building of the *Archive in Skopje* (p.243) represented not only a new building but also a new architectural typology present in the environment where it was placed. Therefore, with the installation of the new typologies, the environments transformed as well:

"[...] Skopje became a city with a University. There were only two faculties: the Faculty of Philosophy and the *Faculty of Ethnology*. Afterwards they established the Faculty of Economy, the Faculty of Architecture, etc. For this purpose,

468 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

469 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

470 'The influence on the domestic cultural environment', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1979).

471 Contemporary Archive – Belgrade, 1984, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QGaSPwU-WJ80>>.

472 Ginzburg, 'Target Installation in Modern Architecture', *Op.cit.*

experts were needed to come from all over. The first generation that graduated was in 1952 and Skopje gradually became attacked [...] with rapid migration”.<sup>473</sup>

Moreover, those new institutions and new buildings became facilitators of the new type of life and desired ‘lifestyle’ too: “[...] going to the museum was all part of this new lifestyle which was offered”.<sup>474</sup> The new position of the architect played a role too, in enabling the execution of the modernity plan: “He found himself in a situation detrimental to his creativity, quality and fertility – an architect – a planner of a new environment without which there is no modernization”.<sup>475</sup> Yet, in the context when referring to modernism in terms of urbanity, some of the protagonists connected it to westernization: “After the break-up with the USSR in 1948, the culture of Belgrade become modernized”<sup>476</sup> and the “[...] architects travelled and studied in France, in the USA”.<sup>477</sup> For others, the *Modern Form* meant anticipation of the massive urbanization (village – city) processes<sup>478</sup> and the dynamics stemming from it:

“[...] which after the war became a large industrial city. Šabac had factories, a large chemistry industry, especially the factory *Zorka*. And what we can say about this factory (besides the fact that Šabac is an old city) is that on a large scale it contributed to the modernization and emancipation of the city. When I mention modernization, I am not saying that every modernization is emancipation. I can say that our societies (ex-Yugoslavia) until today are still in the process of being modernized. So now we can happily sit under the air-conditioner (joke)”.<sup>479</sup>

In that manner the city (in itself) became a synonym for the new and modern way of living attached to the *Socialist Urban Culture*, [fig.139].<sup>480</sup> With such massive numbers of migration, the *Modern Form* had sort of an egalitarian role since it needed to be accessible to all. Petrović Todosijević associated modernism with a universal communication network of the city able to foster common understanding among the people. Therefore, the *Modern Form* enabled communication in the environment (p.506) by facilitating a ‘readable’ built fabric:

“Those are cities which have tendencies for abstract forms. They represent ideas more and more than they do particular people. In their space there is no figural compositions. So, in this sense these cities are not in communication only with the people who live there but also with the people who come here”.<sup>481</sup>

473 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

474 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

475 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

476 Testimonial Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, 2019 (p.117).

477 *Ibid.*

478 Andrei Simic, Urbanization and Cultural Process in Yugoslavia.

479 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

480 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

481 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).



Fig. 139| Book cover and map, *The cities of Yugoslavia*, Dr. Jovan Đ Marković, 1971

The protagonist asked if and to what extent the common people could self-identify through the *Modern Form*: “Is it the story of not enough education or unfinished modernization? They in fact never until the end accepted the modern way of living. Or urban let’s say since they came from different regions. Perhaps didn’t adapted until the end”.<sup>482</sup> The observation of Petrović Todosijević indicates that different space permits different behaviour. A similar stance is presented in the movie *You Love Only Once*, where the main protagonist, Tomislav (a young communist and politician), does not want to follow his family’s wish to move into one of the Jewish bourgeois (pre-World War II) houses. Tomislav describes their wishes as impossible and ‘non-communist behaviour’ because such houses negate the new socialist logic. Moreover, according to him, a house with room for a maid (a symbol of the pre-war bourgeois living) could not be part of the ‘new homes’ since the new socialist people should not have a desire to follow the bourgeois life, stating: *We’re not new people entering old houses!! That’s not what we’ve fought for*<sup>483</sup>, [fig.140].



Fig. 140| Scenes from the movie, *You love only once*, Rajko Grlić, 1981

Socialism and modernism were at another crossroads at that point, when the *Modern Form* and modern architecture needed to bridge the class differences which were dominant in the pre-war city. The modern infrastructure needed to contribute for creating a more egalitarian society – (more egalitarian) space, apartments, and neighbourhoods were necessary for creating the new (and more egalitarian) city etc. Such spatial transformations were required to activate the anticipated social transformation within the society of the city (read about 'Transformations-(R)evolution' on p.308):

“Considering the demographic problems caused by migration attacks by the rural population on the cities has enabled us to obtain quantitative elements, but from this we need to move further into the analysis of that ‘intangible’ new structure that is being born, within the already existing ones that are dissolving”.<sup>484</sup>

Through the prism of architecture, modernism as an architectural movement in the given context became widely accepted by the architects, as was confirmed at the *First Congress of Yugoslav Architects*, held in the 1950s. It was decided at the Congress that architecture should also ‘follow the European path’ and the *Modern Form*.<sup>485</sup> According to the experts, the term ‘modern’ encompasses abstract aesthetics, which differ from the *Socialist Realism* (the dominant axis of expression in USSR), as such a notion meant that architects critically depart (p.176) from the figural art of the *Socialist Realism*: “The ideology was

482 *Ibid.*

483 Rajko Grlić, *You Love Only Once*, 1981 <easterneuropemovies.com>.

484 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

485 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

that modernism and socialism go hand in hand. The Yugoslav socialism did not portray Stalin's aesthetics".<sup>486</sup> This also meant absence of the usual symbolism, such as the figures of the hammer and sickle, or the rural people (which can be seen in *the model* of USSR, etc.) in the Yugoslav environment.

On the other hand, at the exhibition *Socialism and Modernity* (2012), a criticism towards modernism emerged: "The circle that worked on that exhibition has the idea that the modernist architecture and art was established in the context of socialism as a societal order. This was one leftist idea which was not absolutely accepted in the environment".<sup>487</sup> According to the protagonists, a 'brave departure' from the past obsolete artistic values were manifested too: "There are so many talents with a fear from the new. Why is it like that, and are we only so progressive in terms of politics?"<sup>488</sup> For others, the *Modern Form* in art was regarded as positive, just as the one in architecture: "There are sculptors who are abstract artists, like Dušan Džamonja. They started to do sculptures that previously only the realist sculpturists were doing. That is one incredible shift".<sup>489</sup>

However, in the later stages (1980s), the creative circles developed more critical stances and from that point on a new conceptual art emerged. In the same direction, they criticized the modernists since they left no space for new creations and described them as "conservative modernists"<sup>490</sup> who were not ready for other possible alternatives: "They supported artists like Murtić and Lubarda, but they did not support groups like Gorgona Group, Group OHO, or Rock magazine".<sup>491</sup> Some of the architects also raised their critical voices towards such 'conservative modernism', which is why the monuments of Bogdan Bogdanović do not express pure and dogmatic modern artistic language, but rather they are created in authentic surrealist language, developed by the author himself:

"They are archaic. They might as well be Mesopotamian. To get around the finer points of nationalism, which always wants to know if such-and-such a shape is its own or not, I designed my work in such a way that it might have been artefacts from the origins of civilization".<sup>492</sup>

486 Testimonial Nenad Markuljević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.71).

487 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

488 Petar Lubarda, 'Group Denes', Skopje, Catalogue from the 30th years anniversary, exhibition, Artistic Gallery - Skopje, Skopje, 1983.

489 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

490 Testimonial Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, 2019 (p.117).

491 *Ibid.*

492 Interview with Bogdan Bogdanović, Rencontre Européenne No.7, 2008.

To summarize, the *Novelty – Modern Form* in the described context meant:

- (1) The establishment of the new modern institution, and new buildings created in the spirit of modernism;
- (2) Later, the development of an authentic *Urban Socialist Culture* (new lifestyles);
- (3) And lastly, impacting the *Yugoslav city* as a product of modern paradigm.

#### III.1.4. TRACE – HERITAGE

In the Yugoslav context, the *Trace – Heritage* axis took on the function of a dichotomic *critical axe* of the *Modern Form*, which is the reason why this chapter observes the theme through the issues of interest of the thesis by using the concept of dichotomy. In this manner, the current dominated public discourse which favors the *Modern Form* (and acknowledges it as the only important axe for the Yugoslav cultural system) will be enriched with a new interpretation: the *critical axis Trace – Heritage* aims to demonstrate different notions manifested in the Yugoslav environment and developed as a consequence of continuity from the (pre-socialist) Yugoslav periods. From this point, the thesis aims to recognize the knowledge resulting from the *power of continuity*, and concepts developed from the organic and chronological development of the events which took place in the Yugoslav environment. All of this is a prerequisite for understanding of the cultural base which was already on the ground when socialist Yugoslavia was formed. Additionally, the cultural base contributed towards the formation of *the model* of Yugoslavia, through which the *cultural artefacts* materialized, hence several concepts and inventions were constructed upon the already existent base. By uncovering this, a number of new points could be put forward to the current scientific discourse, which drew from the *Modern Form* as a ‘dominant force’ to structure *the model*. Such a narrative which merely explains the novelties having occurred after World War II allows little understanding of how the traces and the heritage are placed outside the current focus of the spatial research. Therefore, there is:

- (1) Lack of recognition of the interwar *Traces-Heritage* (and inventions), and
- (2) Lack of understanding of how interwar *Traces-Heritage* contributed to the creation of *the cultural dynamics* which impacted *the model* in which the *cultural artefacts* materialize.

Furthermore, in the given context, the current understanding of the interwar heritage is static and the subject of interest only from a historical perspective; understood as something which appeared in history and should remain and be preserved there. In order to cope with the proposed dichotomy, the research identifies the axis *Traces-Heritage* as a tool for exploring the *active power of the continuity* of the everyday micro transformations. By understanding the everyday, the subchapter aims to go beyond the current static understanding of cultural heritage, but also of how the environment has been produced:

“[...] and cultural work is not just giving and attending a lecture, but rather the everyday work: a proper attitude towards cultural heritage, towards the archives, towards the cultural monuments”.<sup>493</sup>

This is the reason why *Traces-Heritage* is acknowledged in research as a *critical axis* on par with the others that actively participate in the creation of the *cultural dynamics* (together with the other axes, such as modernity, heterogeneity, [...] etc). This thesis also deals with the understanding of how the interwar pre-Yugoslav cultural infrastructure – heritage was used and appropriated in the Yugoslav period. From the analysis, the research mapped several points for deconstructing the role of *Traces-Heritage* in the creation of the *cultural dynamics*:

- (1) Palimpsest – spatiality of the traces – territorial memory;
- (2) Inherited cultural artistic activities;
- (3) Inherited values, social norms, etc;

If we are doing analysis chronologically, traces from the cultural life in the Balkan Peninsula can be found from somewhere in the 7th millennium BC, [fig.141], – from the era when the Peninsula was first inhabited. The cultural life existed in various forms of the civilization, which was often on the crossroads between Europe and Asia, [fig.142]. However, institutionalized cultural life in the Balkan Peninsula began in the 14th century (after the Byzantium era) when the first monumental buildings were constructed, e.g. the religious temples – the *Churches* [Цркву] – which were erected elsewhere on the Balkan territory, [fig.143]. The *Churches* in the Balkans became the centre of people’s social and cultural life, as they also represented cultural hotspots since art started to flourish from them. Their value as cultural hotspots meant practice of a multitude of artistic activities, such as writing, mural painting, etc. Gradual transformations started to occur in the 19th century,<sup>494</sup> leading to the beginnings of modern infrastructure, as well as regional transformations. The Balkan area was not a military spot any more as it gained a new civic content (p.501): “[...] Dositelj

493 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.168.

494 Even so it was firstly traced in urban centres somewhere in late 18th century.

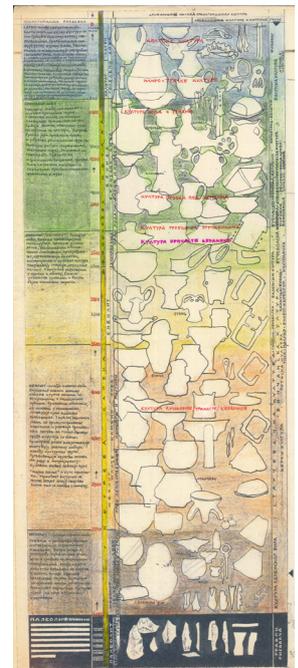


Fig. 142| Extract from the page 49, *Prehistoric Culture, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 2, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade

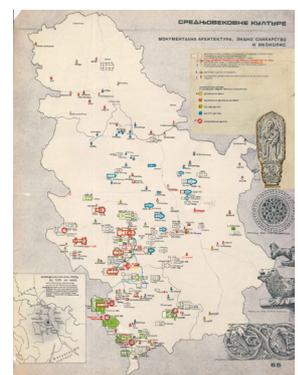


Fig. 143| Extract from the page 65, *Medieval Culture, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 2, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade

will establish the *Great School*, which was the first step towards turning this military stronghold into a center of national culture and enlightenment”.<sup>495</sup> The same tendency coincided with the beginning of the industrialization and urbanization processes, which further influenced the transformation of the region (and an additional motive to concentrate the population in the urban centres). According to *Geography of the Culture of Belgrade*, the modern (contemporary) form of the city began to grow somewhere in the 1930s, in interwar Yugoslavia, and as such continued to exist in the newly-formed country, after 1944.<sup>496</sup>

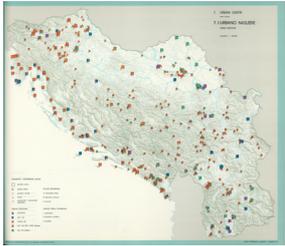


Fig. 144| Page 19, Map, *Urban Heritage, Planning Atlas of the Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973

With the formation of the new country, the *Traces-Heritage* became an interesting subject for preservation purposes, [fig.144], where there was lack of recognition of the traces originating from the period shortly before 1945. For the purpose of exemplification, in the movie *Innocence Unprotected*, in one of the scenes the characters express criticism for such a limited interpretation of the *Traces-Heritage*, and everyone denied that anything existed before the war<sup>497</sup>, [fig.145]. Such negation was partly due to the country being presented with an opportunity for invention of a completely *new model* free from the constraints of the past. Such a clean state firstly meant detachment from the previous ‘bourgeois epoch’, but also detachment from everything which was considered to contribute to the bad artistic and cultural quality: “Communists must develop the ability of socialist forces not only to fight against the old, but also to create new ones, to overcome negative phenomena in the cultural field, primarily by fighting for new socialist qualities and forms”.<sup>498</sup> Upon such premises did the aspects which overflow from the ‘old model’ into the ‘new model’ get neglected, and so many links were available to the protagonist to relate the two.



Fig. 145| Scenes from the movie, *Innocence unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968

However, besides the negation and expressed subjectivity, certain aspects were consciously taken, re-programmed and adapted from the previous pre-Yugoslav epoch into the new context; including the existing buildings dedicated to culture, which were mostly constructed in the modern interwar period. They became a prompt supporting structure of *the model*. For instance, the CCA in 1947, in each of the individual Yugoslav Socialist Republics mapped the following:

“The Montenegrin and Macedonian Ministries did not find it necessary to provide the requested information. The Croatian Ministry declared 8 theatres, 47 museums, 121 private collections (protected by law), 9 art collections in possession of the Church, 14 music schools, 2 art schools, 1 acting school, 3 insti-

495 Dr. Miodrag Kolarić, ‘Geography of culture of Belgrade, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1971).

496 *Ibid.*

497 Dušan Makavejev, *Innocence Unprotected*, 1968 <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.

498 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.92.

tutes for the protection of culture, 6 symphony orchestras, the 1st Philharmonic Orchestra, and the city orchestra in Dubrovnik. In Slovenia at the beginning of 1948 there were 2 theatres, but also 873 well-organized amateur theatre groups, 20 museums, 21 art schools, and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and 3 orchestras. The Ministry of Education of Serbia filled in the columns with the following information: 14 theatres and 250 amateur groups, 13 museums, 7 music schools, 3 acting schools, 6 art schools, 1 Institute for the Protection of Monuments, 2 Philharmonic Orchestras. Sarajevo responded that there were: 2 professional theatres (one in Sarajevo with an opera), 3 museums, 1 art school, 2 Institutes for the Protection of Monuments, and 1 Philharmonic Orchestra”.<sup>499</sup>

Many of the existing buildings of culture transformed their ownership: they moved from having a private owner and became nationalized, i.e. their ‘democratization’ and accessibility was claimed. Equipment which belonged to the pre-war well-off families was also nationalized and claimed to be used for the new cultural centres. Those cultural institutions were integrated in the overall planning programs of the Yugoslav country. Criticism concerning well-off families can be noticed in the movie *Dancing in Water*, where under the premises of the new socialist paradigm there were attempts to nationalize a private piano, which instead of ending up in one of the youth houses of culture, as initially planned, ends up yet again in ‘private hands’, [fig.146].

Phenomena like the *power of the continuity*, which was engraved in the territory, showed cultural traces from the past; as Corboz would say: “The land, so heavily charged with traces and with past readings, seems very similar to a palimpsest”.<sup>500</sup> The axis the *power of continuity* is significant in terms of the spatial distribution of culture, regarding the cultural institutions’ intent to appear on the territory, where there are already existing previous spatial cultural traces. Therefore, the buildings for the cultural field, the so-called ‘cultural hotspots’ naturally contain the *power of the continuity*. Such connections can be observed on the maps from the *Atlas of Culture – of the Socialist Republic of Serbia*, for instance, by comparing two separate maps from two different periods. As perceived in popular evidence, [fig.147, fig.148], there is continuation in the density of ‘cultural hotspots’ on particular spaces on the territory. The first map represented the spatial distribution of the culture of Serbia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the mapped monasteries and churches, while the second map represented the modern network of the museums and galleries, which opened mainly throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, there is correlation between the two maps and the amount of density as observed from the two maps demonstrated that the *cultural artefacts have territorial inscriptions*.

499 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.72.

500 André Corboz, ‘The Land as a Palimpsest’, 1983.



Fig. 146| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 147| Page 85-87, *Culture of XIX century, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade

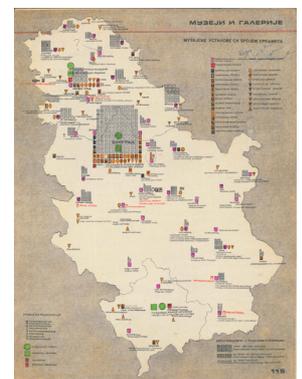


Fig. 148| Page 115, *Culture of XIX century, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade

This thesis also mapped several pre-Yugoslav cultural artistic activities which continued to exist in Yugoslavia. These also represented the basis upon which the Yugoslav cultural network was developed, e.g. the *artistic sections* which emerged as part of the mandatory extra-curricular curriculum in Yugoslav high schools. Their origins can be traced back to the Ottoman period, since the logic was “[...] to keep the specifics around the cultural field that existed even before Yugoslavia”.<sup>501</sup> The protagonist confirmed that such a pre-Yugoslav network was one of the reasons for the talent to flourish in the post-World War II period. Moreover, the protagonists addressed the development of the dramatic arts through the drama extracurricular groups which were established in the high schools, [fig.149]. According to him, these drama groups enabled better integration of the talented young people in the Macedonian theatre world. The same statement can be traced in the testimonial of Mladen Vujović, who explained that the amateur theatre *Duh Dadova* (in the city of Belgrade) was the ‘first stage’ for many actors who continued their professional careers. Such examples show that artistic mechanisms organically transferred through the evolution of *the model*. However, experts, argue that certain ‘unintentional misinterpretation’ also occurred towards the things which were ‘transferred’ from one epoch to the other. They stated that through such ‘transfers’ new, unclear and problematic interpretation can occur, influencing the significance and meaning of the *Traces – Heritage*. Berisavljević characterizes the pie festival in Novi Sad<sup>502</sup> as stimulating regressive forms of *cultural-human development*, since it encouraged the traditional and regressive position of women. Therefore, such event, which romantically flirts with the *Traces – Heritage* was valorized, arousing the regressive forms from the past, yet should not have a place in *the model* in which the *cultural artefacts* materialize. The protagonist pointed out that such a traditionalist conservative role of culture could be a dangerous position, while others pointed out the limits of the understanding of the word and the usual misinterpretation between the tradition and the traditionalist:

“The state cultural policy of the new government did not understand tradition as a living part of history, as a sign of maintained social and spiritual continuity, but consciously replaced tradition with traditionalism, thus determining it as a brake on the creation of new values. Culture was not perceived as an area that established a connection between different generations and peoples, but as an area that could only exist in the inseparable connection between the tradition and the new”.<sup>503</sup>

501 Testimonial Predrag Penušliski, Skopje, 2017 (p.25).

502 The pie festival attracts large number of housewife’s participants.

503 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, Serbia, 2019 (p.50).

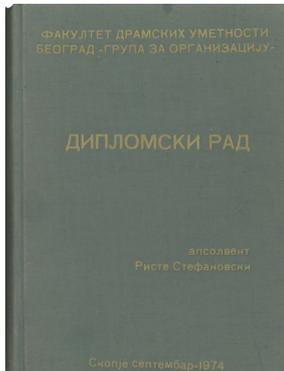


Fig. 149| Cover of diploma work, graduate Riste Stefanovski, *Faculty for Dramatic Arts Belgrade, Group for Organization*, 1974, Skopje

Such misconception of the *Traces-Heritage*, according to Doknić, was partly the fault of the institutions of culture which kept presenting the inherited tradition as a negative phenomenon:

“Cultural heritage is not seen as an integral part of the culture that enables the normal development of our society. Tradition has become synonymous with the obsolete and conservative, which hinders the creation of a new history. New cultural values that emerged as a consequence of the denial of values that arose in the past were formed by the institutions of education, art [...] The past was synonymous with everything that was contrary to communist ideas, [...] the actions of the changed bourgeoisie and its peculiarities recognized in the private property, elite, church, education, behaviour”.<sup>504</sup>

The official institutions anticipated further confusion to be raised: “[...] With such understanding that heritage needs to erase something which is obsolete and conservative, came motivations from the political circles who wanted to practically erase the provincialist thought”.<sup>505</sup> As some of the cultures were emerging (p.20), from their perspective heritage was understood as meaningful: “[...] in Macedonia party organizations pay more attention to the preservation of cultural monuments”.<sup>506</sup> Nevertheless, *heritage – traces* was appreciated for representational and promotional purposes, instead of having an active and dynamic role, which needed to ‘help’ the representation of the country – as a country with a lengthy tradition of creativity: “For the first time that space was found on the page of the world’s history”.<sup>507</sup>

Internally, as the heritage got misunderstood, in the 1980s it became a synonym for the obsolete and the conservative, prone to the traditionalist set of values and linked to the rural model (p.236). For instance, such tension between the rural (and conservative) Montenegro and the touristic site of Montenegro was depicted in the movie *The Beauty of Vice*, [fig.150], where a traditional and conservative couple from the mountains of Montenegro finds a season job in a newly-built nudist tourist complex on the Montenegrin sea coast.<sup>508</sup> The debated topic emerged in the Yugoslav society because four million tourists (yearly) visited the Adriatic coast over the 1970s and new nudist complexes were constructed regularly, [fig.151]. The article *New Tourism is Uncovered in Yugoslavia* stated: “If nudism is separated from sexual connotations, it can be



Fig. 150| Scenes from the movie, *The Beauty of Vice*, Živko Nikolić, 1986



Fig. 151| Page 6, ‘Tourist Resort ‘Valata’, Nudist Camp in Istria’, in the magazine *Man and Space*, Zlatko Bastasić, No. 191, 1969, Zagreb

504 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.159.

505 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

506 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.168.

507 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

508 A scene from the same movie, (depicts more the situation) where a large poster expressing ‘With the Naturism in the Future’ is hung on the platform which brings the western tourist to the Nudist touristic complex. The traditional girl accepts the job in the hotel, and in the beginning she is confused by the nudity of the foreign tourist. At one point she started to opening up for her curiosity, where she finds herself having a sexual experience with a foreign couple.

viewed as consistent with the ‘sound-mind-in-a-sound-body’ outlook of the good Communist”.<sup>509</sup> Other examples of the tension between the urban and the rural models were topics of discussion of the *Foolish Years* [Пон. Жукина Династија]<sup>510</sup> and the theatre show *Radovan III*, where in both, the narratives of the rural population and the workers are presented as obsolete, conservative and less ‘cultured’.<sup>511</sup> This is the reason why the creative circles proposed openness as a quality of the cultural politics: “With that we thought we are going to practically erase the provincialism”.<sup>512</sup> Perović reflected, as a sort of dualism between the tradition and the modern forms: “It’s a culture which had different levels – all between the patriarchy and the modern forms”.<sup>513</sup> Nevertheless, through the evolution of *the model* (especially between 1950s and 1970s) in which the *cultural artefacts* materialized: “The Yugoslav leadership treated the cultural heritage ambiguously – from situation to situation, where they needed it”.<sup>514</sup> Heritage was positively emphasized only when one wants to express the long tradition of culture on the Yugoslav territory (as it was defined in the formation of the country) and to ‘demystify’ the undeveloped cultural region<sup>515</sup>:

“Discussing the revival of theatrical life, the *Committee for Culture and Arts* in 1946, when asked about the need to put Dubrovnik plays on the repertoire, answered: ‘We can and should prove to the whole world that we have had our own drama for 400 years ago, that we are a cultural people, that we are vital, that we are not only good fighters but a people with their own cultural traditions and heritage’”.<sup>516</sup>

According to Miroslav Krleža, a good cultural strategy should “generate what can be the most authentic from this environment”,<sup>517</sup> and in this regard the heritage needed to act as a unifying power for the region since it needed to recognize the artistic commons that the region created in the past. The cultural strategy to seek authenticity from (and for) the environment aimed to help the region to culturally affirm – and recognize – it as a new global artistic centre, hence the creative circles were motivated to use *the Traces – Heritage* as a stimulus, as inspiration, and as a reference in their work. As the country was being established, Krleža (between 1945 and 1955) started to search for the specificities of the environment and to impart them to the artistic circles as star-

509 Malcolm W. Browne, ‘New tourism is uncovered in Yugoslavia’, *The New York Times*, 1977.

510 Is depicted as the most emitted Yugoslav TV show.

511 In local language ‘less cultured’ man stands for less refined man.

512 Testimonial Živan Berisavljević, Novi Sad, 2020 (p.125).

513 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

514 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963*, *Op.cit.*, p.168.

515 Goran Stefanovski, ‘Stereotypes inscribed from the west, where the Balkans people are depicted as barbaric people’, *Research into issues of Identity and Cultural History, Politics and Policies*.

516 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963*, *Op.cit.*, p.168.

517 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

ting reference points. Interestingly, his findings and theoretical interpretations were firstly presented outside the country, i.e. Krleža organized the exhibition *The Medieval Art of the Yugoslav Nations*, [fig.152], in Paris, in 1952, at which he presented the collected knowledge both to the national and international audience. It was this reference that became officially recognized by the creative circles and the general civil society, including the politicians.<sup>518</sup>

The motives to choose the medieval heritage were twofold. Firstly, it was considered that the medieval period is the last period in which the nations on the Balkan Peninsula achieved high-quality artistic expression. Secondly, the medieval heritage stems from a period in which there was a homogenous flow for the nations which inhabited the region. In addition, in this period the Yugoslav nations were not religiously divided; they mostly associated themselves with the *Bogomil Movement*, which rejected the ‘institutionalized’ Christianity and established a specific relation with materialism.

From such an analysis, Krleža selected three ‘possible’ modes for a common representation: “The first was the Medieval frescos from all the regions; the second was the big Roman and Gothic cathedrals on the Croatian coast; and the third was the Bogomil steps (a completely different culture, special one as primary one, even before these civilization spheres were formed”.<sup>519</sup> *Traces-Heritage* also helped the region to depart and differentiate itself from the USSR artistic expression. Moreover, Krleža’s exhibition came as an artistic-creative answer of the Tito – Stalin split in 1948:

“The intellectuals became engaged with that shift, and in some circles, they were thinking in the following manner: what is here, in this particular environment, on the space of the entire autochthonic Yugoslavian space. With what we can move away from the USSR model”.<sup>520</sup>

The selection of *Traces-Heritage* of Krleža became an integral part of the public discourse and entered the *cultural artefacts* that started to be created. For instance, one of the scenes in the movie *The Battle for Neretva* shows a partisan soldier running between the Bogomil tombs, [fig.153], therefore acknowledging the inherited artistic expression that the cultural creators started to create the contemporaneity upon it. This became a general way of thinking too: “If we develop a socialist cultural environment that is conscious of its rich past and



Fig. 152| Poster, Exhibition, *L'Art Médiéval Yougoslave*, Palais de Chaillot, Paris, France, 1950



Fig. 153| Scene from the movie, *The Battle for Neretva*, Veljko Bulajić, 1969

518 As Denegri indicated in his testimonial, “Then one big exhibition was organized in 1952 in Paris. The introduction text was written by the writer Miroslav Krleža. He formulated the title Medieval Art of the Yugoslavs Nations. It’s very important exhibition. I am not sure if you can find the catalogue, but however he is using the term ‘Yugoslavs nations’ not Yugoslavia, this means they have different traditions, different religions”.

519 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

520 *Ibid.*



Fig. 154| Page 8, *From the cycle of Unknown Bosnia and Herzegovina: Photos with no words*, Juraj Naidhart (Nale), in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 113, 1962, Zagreb

cultural mission in contemporary European space and time, our art will inevitably arise”.<sup>521</sup> So, in the architectural press, articles dealing with the selected heritage of Krleža started to appear, such as several pieces in *Man and Space*, *To Preserve the Urban Heritage* (dated 1954), *Karlovac – A Cultural Monument* (dated 1954), *A New Purpose for the Old Town* (dated 1954), *Layers of Culture Under the Living City* (dated 1954), *Unknown Dalmatia* (dated 1954), etc.

The most significant contribution on the topic that heritage overflowed to contemporaneity has been linked to the Modernist architects Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, who pioneered *ethnographic urban research*.<sup>522</sup> Moreover, Neidhardt in his book *Small Urbanism* proposed “anchoring urbanism within an architectural culture against the background of the increasing technocratic institutionalization of urban planning”.<sup>523</sup> He also regularly published topics connected to his research in the magazine *Man and Space*, e.g. his visual essay *Unknown Bosnia*, [fig.154], presents the Muslim and Bogomil tombs, while in another essay, published in the *World Lays on Small Things*, [fig.155], through an illustration of a tree, he emphasizes the natural and organic approach towards spatial planning. The crown of the tree is the built environment and the branches represent the traditional elements of the oriental (and Balkan) city, the *Bazaar*, [Čaršija], a symbol of the public life, and the neighbourhoods [Mahala]. Moreover, the roots represent ‘the nation and the soil’.

From the concepts depicted above, it can be observed that in the given context, socialism wanted to build on the knowledge which was historically accumulated: “Our socialist society, commencing from the knowledge that the cultural heritage accumulated throughout historical experience in the progressive currents of society, is in fact part of social progress”.<sup>524</sup> Such a notion of ‘building up’ was generally supported by the overall socialist paradigm which favoured *ideation* (layering) rather than *creation* (something from scratch).<sup>525</sup> Interestingly, the interwar artistic heritage was never over-examined neither used as an official reference.<sup>526</sup> According to Šuvaković, such a stance was effective among the ‘modernist circles’, which had a personal conflict with the avant-garde interwar heritage since it did not correspond to their vision of what art should be.<sup>527</sup> For instance, the ‘modernist circles’ did not visit the exhibition

521 Bojana Videkanić, *Yugoslav Postwar Art and Socialist Realism: An Uncomfortable Relationship*.  
\* Videkanić quotes Miroslav Krleža, on the Congress of Writers in Ljubljana, 1952.

522 Mejrema Zatrić, PhD thesis ‘Juraj Neidhardt’s Urban Research as the Production of Architectural Knowledge: On Finding and Losing Urbanism in the Early Socialist Yugoslavia’, ETHZ, 2013.

523 *Ibid.*

524 Gordana Harisić, historian of art, ‘Museum of the City’, *Urbanism*, 1975.

525 Lapis trip to the Balkans, EPFL, 2020.

526 Even so a lot naturally overflow in the Yugoslav period (read *Point 1945*).

527 Testimonial Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, 2019 (p.117).

from the interwar *Zenith's Movement* [Зенитизму], [fig.156, fig.157], as the movement's founding member (Ljubomir Micić) was an opponent of the dominant thinker Krleža.<sup>528</sup> In this manner, the artistic expression became a subject for battle and strive for visual dominance among the 'artistic circles' active in the environment.<sup>529</sup>

A similar criticism was illustrated in the movie *The Promising Boy*, [fig.158, fig.159], where the major character – a young adult, named Slobodan – meets a girl, a tourist from Switzerland visiting Belgrade for a few days.<sup>530</sup> In the following days, Slobodan arranges a visit of the museum to present the heritage that he considers to be significant; they discuss paintings of the modernist artist Petar Lubarda, and then move to the section of the medieval frescos, etc. The girl becomes instantly interested, and discovers a not-so-popular corner in the museum, from a collection of the interwar avant-garde Yugoslav heritage. She explains to Slobodan that she is interested in it because of its similarity with the *Tzara* from Zurich. Despite the fact that she is enthusiastic, Slobodan seems confused because none before had pointed out to him that the interwar Yugoslav avant-garde might be valuable. Therefore, the movie attempted to criticize the selective way of what heritage meant to the young Yugoslavs.<sup>531</sup> From the aspect of the cultural planning, *Traces-Heritage* tried to achieve the authentic character of each of the individual Socialist Republics:

“This was for the idea that each of the Yugoslav Republics should preserve their uniqueness besides the unity of the Yugoslav community. No one should lose anything – the Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Montenegrin and Bosnian cultures”.<sup>532</sup>

The same logic impacted the *cultural artefacts* and the ambience of the individual environments too, since each of the environments wanted to offer a diverse and authentic approach: “All the Republics wanted to create architecture according to their cultural landmarks,”<sup>533</sup> and to create authentic experiences “you will never forget no matter whether you visited Skopje, Belgrade or Sa-

528 Zenith was a marginal (and oppressed) cultural movement active in the years 1921-1926 and led by Ljubomir Micić (a founder of Zenith), in Belgrade.

529 For example, Bogdan Bogdanović and the modernist did not align with the Zenitists. Reference: Irina Subotić 'Research on the avant-garde(s). Case Study: Zenitism and the Central European Contacts!'. For example, it was discussed in the artistic circles how Bogdanović intentionally did not visit an exhibition which displayed the inter-war Zenith's avant-garde heritage.

530 A scene depicts how the girl stops Slobodan with hitchhiking in front of Beogradanka tower – the symbol of back at the days 'modern Belgrade'. Moreover, their brief friendship quickly escalates in a romantic affair.

531 Also, the ambiguity that the avant-garde collection is displayed in the museum, but no one knows anything about it.

532 Testimonial Predrag Penušliki, Skopje, 2017 (p.25).

533 *Ibid.*

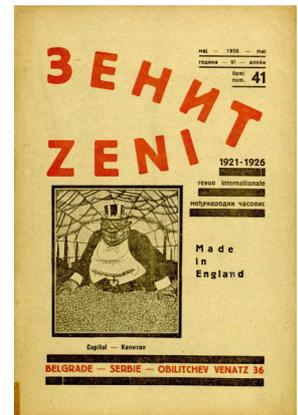


Fig. 156 and 157| *Barbarogone*, in the magazine *Zenit*, No. 41, 1926, Belgrade – Zagreb



Fig. 158, 159| Cover from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 160| Drawing, *Telecommunication Centre Skopje*, Janko Konstantinov, 1974



Fig. 161| Extract from the page 15, View towards the *Telecommunication Centre Skopje*, Janko Konstantinov, *Skopje 30 years free development: Skopje 1945 -1975*, 1977, Skopje



Fig. 162| Postcard, View towards the *Gradski Trgovski Centre*, Živko Popovski, 1967, Skopje



Fig. 163, 164, 165| Plans, *ITPA*, 1965, Skopje

rajevo”.<sup>534</sup> However, the protagonist argued that in fine arts it is more difficult to differentiate the origin of the *cultural artefact* since fine art does not need to introduce the experiences from the previous epoch as architecture:

“You can’t identify through the painting if the author is Macedonian or Serbian. In Architecture there was, for sure a reflection of what heritage the ornaments originated in, for example the Raška architectural school. In art it is impossible to detect the region by the painting”.<sup>535</sup>

However, when we are referring to architectural expression, *Heritage-Traces* was used as *functional ornamentation* and appeared through developing authenticity from the environment artistic skills in the architectural education (p.182). For instance, the *School of Architecture of Ljubljana* was influenced by the architect Jože Plečnik. *Heritage-Traces* was used for the Architecture, too. Heritage motivated architects to apply certain aspects in their designs by the *principle of metaphorization* (p.182), i.e. the author ‘translated’ certain aspects from the heritage into their projects. Such examples are the *Post Office*, [fig.160, fig.161], in the city of Skopje, for which Janko Konstantinovski re-interpreted the *Kale Fortress* (which stands on the opposite side) in the design of its project, and *City Shopping Mall* (CSM), [*Градски Трговски Центар* (ГТЦ)], [fig.162], for which Živko Popovski constructed his interpretation of the open-air modern Turkish Bazaar, leaving the complex open in the two axes.

*Heritage-Traces* was exploited when creating the overall *cultural artefacts* (including architecture too), meaning application to the international and ‘flavourless’ modern artistic language and local elements. For instance, Vlatko Stefanovski invented ‘ethno rock’ “to trigger the international audience with some bizarre unknown sounds”.<sup>536</sup> Furthermore, heritage also received recognition in terms of spatial planning, or how the spatial planning would incorporate issues from the previous epochs within the new spatial plans. This shows a developed critical stance on the *modernist tabula rasa spatial planning*,<sup>537</sup> e.g. *the Bazaar* from the Ottoman Era in the city of Skopje was not destroyed after the tragic earthquake in 1963, but *the Bazaar* was incorporated within the different international project proposals<sup>538</sup>, [fig.163, fig.164, fig.165], and it later became a reference point in the spatial planning of the city centre, [fig.166].

534 Lapis trip to the Balkans, EPFL, 2020.

535 Testimonial Ana Panić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.65).

536 ‘Interview Vlatko Stefanovski’, Svijet (1979), <www.yugopapir.com>.

537 As big architects of the epoch aimed to eliminate historical core of the cities.

538 Different international teams participated in the competition for reconstruction of Skopje city center. All of the teams incorporated the bazaar into their projects proposals.

### III.1.5. POPULAR – DISSEMINATED

The *critical axis Popular – Disseminated* aims to better understand what the role was of the popular within the *Yugoslav cultural system*. Since the axis was widely disseminated on the whole territory, the *critical axis Popular – Disseminated* also represented a ‘democratic force’ in the cultural system, with the purpose of displaying how what was initially understood as quality (and normally accessible for the few) became broadly accessible for the many. Such diffusion of quality in the context occurred in two ways: firstly, through activation of the field culture via constructing buildings with civic [друштвен] character across the territory (p.486). This ‘strategy of dissemination’ made the social, cultural and artistic infrastructure popular, as it became present in the everyday life of the people and by that it activated the creation of a common *Yugoslav cultural scene*. Moreover, the strategy contributed for ‘actualization’ of the smaller territorial units in the diverse individual Yugoslav environments. This also meant that Yugoslavia created the conditions for the foundation of in-house authentic and genuine *Yugoslav cultural artefacts*. Such quality was also easily accessible since the country, in a self-reliable manner, satisfied the cultural needs of its citizens. In terms of space, this meant creation of authentic and genuine buildings, i.e. objects designed and executed in an in-house manner, by Yugoslav architects, and made by Yugoslav factories (with Yugoslav materials) and companies. Secondly, once the *cultural scene* was created internally, it activated itself through the cultural dynamics and became accessible, thus resulting in an overall presence of the *cultural artefacts* in the public Yugoslav discourse, led by people who worked in the field of culture.

The ‘internal’ cultural creators and beneficiaries were in contact with the external ‘global cultural actors’, which contributed for the development of each of the models where those cultural actors were located. During the 1960s, the 1970s and in the 1980s, many world artists and intellectuals, movie makers, etc. visited Yugoslavia, e.g. appearances were made by John Lennon, Akira Kurosawa, and John Miller, who visited the country. Unsurprisingly, the cultural creators exhibited instant support with the cultural efforts of the country, as John Lennon gave an interview for a local magazine where he described that he has sympathy for the Yugoslav efforts, emphasizing that he appreciated the personal freedom and quality of life standard the country had. In addition, Jean-Paul Sartre stated for a local magazine that Yugoslavs were lucky because in their country the bourgeoisie was not in power anymore.

More interviews can be found in various popular local magazines,<sup>539</sup> and what is common for all the testimonials is the expressed interest about the type of socialism Yugoslavia developed in practice. Moreover, their positions addressed the bad position of the artists in *the model*: “Artists viewed the situation in the West with awe and fear because of the social and individual insecurity of art and culture under capitalism”.<sup>540</sup> Nevertheless, the cultural creators also shared common points of reflection which were ‘trendy’ back in the day. Those are the past common narratives, such as global justice, global well-being, improvement of the global South, etc. Many of the international cultural creators were making the link with Yugoslavia because of their personal convictions, which needed to be expressed through ‘a real example’. For the same reasons the members of the *Frankfurt School* wanted to apply their theoretical knowledge and contribute towards the development of Yugoslavia.<sup>541</sup>

As the country represented the ‘good example’ of how to do culture, architecture too was praised in the local and international magazines (p.174). As the housing question was present in the civil society (through the housing shortages and the ongoing construction boom the country experienced), architecture was often discussed in the local magazines, showing that there existed a general interest of the society to become familiar with the architectural challenges (p.194). The civil society did discuss the housing shortages, the small apartments, and the obligatory subtenant [подстанарка] for those who had bigger apartments.<sup>542</sup> From the popular sources it can be understood that the topic of architecture was disseminated among the general audience, and the question of quality of space penetrated in the discourse of the everyday life of the people.

539 Most sold popular magazines in 1980s were: 1.Nada (Belgrade, 328.979), 2.Bazar (Belgrade, 309.764), 3.Practical Woman (Belgrade, 278.962), 4.Ilustrovana politika (Belgrade, 266.009), 5.RTV Revija (Belgrade 252.056), 6.Politikin zabavnik (Belgrade, 245.963), 7.Svijet (Zagreb, 240.151), 8.Nedeljski Dnevnik (Ljubljana 229.962), 9.TV Novosti (Beograd 227.075), 10. Studio (Zagreb, 205.734), 11.Arena (Zagreb 205.734), 12.AS (Sarajevo, 198.833).

540 Aleš Erjavec & Marina Gržinić, ‘Mythical Discoveries, Utopian Spaces and Post-Socialist Culture’, 1993.

541 The members of the Frankfurt School were tolerated in the west, but they felt no real connection as they felt with Yugoslavia. For them the country represented a possible field to apply their knowledge on the ground. From the testimonial of Gajo Petrović in the column ‘I admit’ - < [https://web.archive.org/web/20101026065002/http://www.ffzg.hr/filoz/article.php?id\\_art=286](https://web.archive.org/web/20101026065002/http://www.ffzg.hr/filoz/article.php?id_art=286) >.

542 The obligatory subtenant [подстанарка], was for those families which were having bigger apartments and were obliged give one of their rooms to subtenant (a student or a young professional). Such example is the actress Jelica Sretenovic in the role of tenant in the movie show *The Tight Spot* (1982). In the movie, the subtenant is in constant conflict with the host family. The scenes are depicting one the one side the unhappy host family, which only lacks the 9m2 which are used by someone else, and on another their tenant, as described “protected as a ‘white bear’”, who lacks the intimacy by living with a family.

Additionally, the rural-urban migration also actualized the popular topic of how to make the ‘urban lifestyle’ become accessible for the newcomers, as illustrated in the article *How to become a citizen of Belgrade: To welcome those who are needed and not the ones who are surplus*, which discusses the spatial transformations of the cities caused by the intensive migrations. Another example – the article *Belgrade that changes itself 58: On the spot where there was my old café, there is a giant building growing*, expounds how the city was losing its charming points due to the intensive spatial development. Architecture as a topic of interest was outlined in the following popular magazines, such as *Duga* [Дуга], *Plavi Vjesnik* [Плави Весник], *TV Novosti* [Новости], *Ilustrovani* [Илюстровани], etc, yet also in the daily newspapers, such as *Politika* [Политика], *Pravda* [Правда], and *Vreme* [Време].

As architecture became more current for the general public, it also became present in the everyday discourse since it received a recognized societal status of importance. Architects were no more anonymous experts for the audience but rather they became a significant part of the civil society, appearing in magazines, project brochures, etc. For instance, the *Sava Centre* (p.336) brochure publicly displayed the photos of the architects and engineers who were part of the creation, and such public exposure made the cultural creators feel responsible for the projects they had created.<sup>543</sup> As the reputation of the architects grew (p.148), it became a point of interest not only to the general audience but also to the politicians. Moreover, architects were not only present in the everyday life of the general audience but also in the everyday life of the politicians. Therefore, architecture was a subject of discussion in politicians’ circles, excited to hear the latest architectural novelties as something which needed to be recognized and appreciated: “Politicians were informed, for example, that Bogdan was doing a monument in Jasenovac. Architecture was IN. It was something that everybody discussed”.<sup>544</sup> Interviews with the artists, sculpturists and architects could be found in the popular magazines too; an example being the interview of Stojan Maksimović in the magazine *TV Novosti* [ТВ Новосту] or the interview of Bogdan Bogdanović in the same magazine, showing that the architect was treated well, just like the other cultural creators from other cultural fields.

Particular buildings of civic significance were having their moment in the spotlight in the press too, e.g. the article *Stojan Maksimović, Engineer of Architecture: How the Sava Centre emerged* discussed the construction of the *Sava Centre*, Belgrade; or the article *Ljubo Kojo, Sarajevo Mayor 70: Magnificent*

543 Presentation of Ljubica Slavković for the Lapis trip to the Balkans, EPFL, Belgrade, 2020.

\* Today the projects are created by large corporate architectural companies, in which the architects are anonymous entities.

544 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

*entertainment and sports centre Skenderija is opened*, focusing on the construction of the Skenderija sports centre (p.344). What's more, the press expressed an interest in the Memorials which were constructed across the whole Yugoslav territory, e.g. the sculptor Miodrag Zivotić in the article *The Victory in a Stone* discussed his work on the *Tjeniste Memorial*. On a broader scale, the *1953 Yugoslav Constitutional Amendments* contributed for the dissemination of the civic infrastructure on the whole Yugoslav territory (p.293),<sup>545</sup> meaning constructing civic infrastructure across the territory of Yugoslavia. In the same vein, people gained greater access to public (political) life, culture and art since the civic infrastructure implied the mentioned functions (p.455). These policies were a strategy to accelerate the self-management political system in practice, so the cultural program from theory could be implemented. For instance, in the five-year Federal Cultural Program, (1960), the development and enlargement of the scope of work of the field of movies was envisioned: "They established movie companies in all of the Republics. So, every Republic has its own company to produce movies and distribute them".<sup>546</sup> To conclude, the cultural programs were focused on enlarging and advancing the cultural fields rather than just maintaining and supporting the existing ones.<sup>547</sup>

The attempts for popularization of the culture were inserted in the cultural planning with the goal of helping people gain access to knowledge in order to liberate themselves, "Which will enable, 'a new phenomenon': new masses of people flocking to theatres, cinemas, operas, universities, our schools. They penetrate into all our cultural and scientific institutions, [...]".<sup>548</sup> Moreover, the policy of 1953 enabled more organic development "in the years of 1960s that every municipality has their own house of culture. The villages even had a house of culture".<sup>549</sup> Moreover, the establishment of new cultural institutions triggered a further growth as a 'snowball effect' (p.350) of the same and continuous enlargement of the scope of their activities: "[...] and it was like that, we entered into one scary regime of work. We employed new people, we broadened the scope of our work".<sup>550</sup> Therefore, the cultural network organically grew and started to appear in various forms in the smaller cities and towns, and in their

545 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

546 5-year cultural development program, II, the field of movie, literature and art, 1960, (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

547 Criticism by Žilnik was expressed that today's programs for culture (including the one of the European Union) are focused to maintain the existing situation but not to advance it, and to develop it.

548 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, Op.cit.*, p.213.

549 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

550 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

Cultural Type	Occupational class	Taste
Elite A /	Upper class	Art discourse
Intellectual middle class	Upper middle class	
Elite B /	Middle class	Art / pop discourse
Mainstream middle class		
Commercial group /	Upper middle	Pop discourse
Younger commercial type	Middle class	
	Lower-middle	
	Lower class	
Traditional working group	Lower-middle	Pop / folk discourse
Passive traditional group	Lower class	
Uninvolved working class	Lower-middle	Folk discourse
	Lower class	

[Fig.12] Table: Cultural ideal – types and class. Extract from page 89 of *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia*. Eds: Dijana Jelača, Maša Kolanović, Danijela Lugarić, (Diagram redraw by the author)

amateur artistic clubs, amateur artistic associations, pocket cinemas, pocket libraries, youth centres, and a space for culture as part of the *LC*, etc.:

“The name of the orchestra is ‘Bisernica’, part of the cultural-artistic association ‘Abrasevic’, which was strong in Šabac. So, even before he got married, as a child from a modest family, grateful for his talent and engagement, he was part of Bisernica. The access to Bisernica was free”.<sup>551</sup>

The book *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia* portrayed a different category of people (‘class’) with their diverse artistic expressions (‘types’), stemming from their music genre preferences. The authors recognized that the “intellectual middle class” had different preferences than the “lower middle class” (as observed in the table, [Fig.12]):

The table shows that the music preferences of the most numerous classes (the lower middle class and the lower class) were pop/folk discourse and folk discourse. According to Dragičević Sesić, such artistic divisions had spatial inscription too, i.e. the folk music preferences were more dominant in the rural areas, while the pop and rock preferences were more present in the urban centres. Yet another cultural clash started to surface since those categories determined the overall artistic expression of the people and brought different lifestyles, which were not always accepted among the groups. In fact, the article *The group Smak embarks on a big JU tour: rockers aim to push the folk into the background* merely proves the rural-urban cultural divide. As observed on the map, [fig.181], from the planned tour of the rock group *Smak*, the rock concerts are arranged on the territory and in the urban centres. The *popular evidence* shows that spatial cultural planning was used as a tool from the viewpoint of the cultural creators themselves too: the concerts of the rock group were planned through the tool of mapping to ‘cover the whole territory’.<sup>552</sup>

In this context, the ‘folk discourse’ was considered low culture, signifying bad taste and ‘undesirable’ style for those who created the cultural politics. For instance, the popular folk singer Lepa Brena (p.380) stated that

551 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

552 ‘Development of popular music’, 1982 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 420, No. file 128, 1982-1986).



Fig. 168| Extract from the page 19, 'Aesthetic Requirements for Toys', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 191, 1969, Zagreb

although her concerts were attended by so many people, she had never noticed an official politician there.<sup>553</sup> Therefore, a certain division between *high culture* and *low culture* was visible (aimed to be overcome by the cultural politics) and interpreted as “[...] struggle between two principles: When culture is in the hands of an elite, it is authentic; When culture belongs to the masses, the result is vulgarity.”<sup>554</sup> This is the reason why under the *critical axis Popular – Disseminated* the press normally acknowledged the pop culture and rarely related to the folk genre (p.490). Dragičević Šešić pointed out that even so, the folk discourse was the most appreciated (through the category of the *Newly Composed Culture*) it was not presented (with a reason) in the public discourse:

“[...] This group is the biggest. But when you see the media, they only have one radio station – *Radio Šabac*, which means that most of the people prefer this genre of music, but you don't see anything on TV related to their taste. The production of their music is the most intense”.<sup>555</sup>

Despite the folk preferences being the most numerous, they were never a subject of cultural planning, neither were their phenomena present in the official cultural planning programs. In the same direction, the numbers of the beneficiaries of the folk discourse unravelled the enormous popularity of the folk music genre and the created lifestyle around it. Criticism did emerge about the cultural programs being shown as inefficient;<sup>556</sup> so the cultural creators achieved popularization of their impact with means other than the official way by having concerts outside the country (p.425). The architects (and the other cultural creators) succeeded in integrating their visions. For example, they turned the extraordinary in architecture into normal and commonplace (read *Spatial Ideals*, p.205). Ideas circulated about achieving an ‘informal aesthetic education’ for children (through design of their toys, [fig.168]), giving priorities in the cities to the common spaces, focusing on designing artistic details in buildings, [fig.095], and including good quality ‘built-in furniture’ in the apartments, [fig.169], etc.<sup>557</sup> All of those concepts, seen from today's perspective, appear as exceptional and for the privileged only, while in that context they appeared as given and regular. This corresponded with the subject already dis-



Fig. 169| Extract from the page without No., 'Residential Towers on Roska Cesta in Ljubljana', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 11-12, 1961, Belgrade

553 Lepa Brena, 'The world does not want such frowning, quarreling, divided and ready to fight', Vanja Bulić, ZAM, 1991, <www.yugopapir.com>.

554 Blumenfeld, Seesaw; Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.225.

555 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

556 As Doknić criticized, “[...] Ticket prices for museums and libraries have not changed over the years and amounted to 20 dinars each, but that did not introduce visitors to museums. Over 25 million carefully selected and subsidized, and at the same time expensive books remained unsold. All this was a sign that the cultural offer formed by the state does not meet the desired response of potential cultural consumers. On the other hand, cinemas had millions of visits, the so-called Sund novels have sold thousands of copies”.

557 This was also possible because of the Total Design attempt and the connection with the production (the factories) (p.243).

cussed – that the extraordinary in Yugoslavia became *Popular – Disseminated*, ordinary, and everyday.

### III.1.6. CONCENTRATED – RARE

This critical axis aims to better understand what was envisioned as *Concentrated – Rare* and how this impacted the *Yugoslav cultural system*. The current research would typically explain the *Concentrated – Rare* through the perspective of the cultural elites, but here the research focuses on what was understood in the wider public discourse as desired. As such, spatiality was part of the ‘desirable’ paradigm since people often strived to imagine their desired apartment, a desired neighbourhood, and a desired lifestyle within the space. In this context, criticism emerged regarding the fact that the cultural and political elites had their privileges which were a subject of desire to the others. For instance, the movie *The Promising Boy* depicts an affluent Belgrade family with proper and traditional values, [fig.170]. The main character – Slobodan, a young adult from the same family transforms from a good boy to a young rebel, and becomes a member of a punk movement in Belgrade. The movie shows the situation of the family as privileged and desired by so many, but depicts the young adult unhappily living in such a privileged environment. Another situation is presented in the movie *Foolish Years*, where a young couple moves in into a new and spacious apartment. Being fashionable, the couple preoccupies themselves with reading magazines about the latest trends in interior design, hence revealing that interior design and good furniture was something rare and desired during that time.

Furthermore, a scene from the movie *It Isn't Easy to Get Along with Men* shows a mother of three teenage girls, who after a busy year, plans to go on a long holiday alone in a B-category hotel on the Adriatic coast, [fig.171]. The movie shows that holidaying in a hotel was a rare and desired opportunity since the majority could only afford the option of camping. If we view such a rare and ‘desirable’ situation more from a top-down perspective, Doknić claims that when forming the country, the Yugoslav socialist context was divided into a small group (which acted as a cultural elite) and a large group (the agrarian population):

“[...] In communist systems, the political or elite of power is dominant. The Yugoslav communists came to power in a country with three-quarters agricultural population and almost half illiterate population. Such a population structure almost ruled out any form of more decent communication between that part of the population and the small cultural elite. That part of the population that had a chance to carry the epithet of the cultural elite was very thin. Before the



Fig. 170| Scene from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 171| Scenes from the movie, *It Isn't Easy to Get Along with Men*, Mihailo Vukobratović, 1981

war, Yugoslavia had little more than 12,000 University-educated people, out of which 2,500 were women”.<sup>558</sup>

According to the protagonist, education became the first challenge (and the major task of the cultural politics (p.319)) for creative Marxism to be developed: “Supek believes that the emancipated peasants and relatively unskilled workers, who still suffer from illiteracy, cannot meet the challenge of the developing creative Marxism”.<sup>559</sup> Moreover, experts indicated that Yugoslavia had a different situation with the elites than the one in the West. For instance, Doknić recognized that the West had a non-ruling and ruling elite, while Yugoslavia only had one elite, i.e. the political elite, which impacted the cultural elite and vice versa<sup>560</sup> (p.148-149).

As certain architects were also part of the ‘cultural circles’ they became close to the political elite, e.g. Mušič pointed out the informal and formal relations he had with the ongoing political elite, where the key politician Cvijetin Mijatović came to pick him up personally from the airport on his visit of Belgrade: “[...] Cvijetin Mijatović, the husband of the actress Mira Stupica. He was an absolutely cultivated human being. In one occasion he was waiting for me personally when I came back from Ljubljana with a plane, and he was Chairman of the *Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia*”.<sup>561</sup> Mušič pointed out that this friendship did not assume influencing the field of architecture and no one re-assessed “his architectural motives”.<sup>562</sup> In addition, he pointed out that such a notion was in contrast with today’s situation, where several stakeholders were part of the ‘architectural process’, i.e. detecting today’s path of materialization of one object is more complicated and dependent on more factors than those of Yugoslavia (p.447-448).

Regarding *Concentrated – Rare*, it became the closeness (direct links) between the processes and the designed architectural and spatial planning projects, and the direct links in the processes of realization of the projects. This is why architects understood that a good project and its realization is when a project is realized with minimum changes compared to the original design. Nevertheless, the protagonist criticized that because of the lack of materials, the gap between the norms and the reality widened: “I learned what the difference was between the given ‘urbanistic norm’ or ‘planned’ and what was ‘reality’”.<sup>563</sup>

558 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, Op.cit.*, p.205.

559 Blumenfeld, Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.221.

560 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, Op.cit.*, p.209.

561 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

562 *Ibid.*

563 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

The quality of such a gap was that the same was detected and acknowledged by the protagonist.

From the viewpoint of the cultural creators (including the architects), the opportunity to have an active relationship with the natural landscapes of the country was seen as ‘rare’. Such a relation between the architect and nature can be traced to the testimonial of Branislav Mitrović, who described his childhood on the sea coast as memorable, “an interesting micro ambiance. The coast was still not devastated”.<sup>564</sup> Mitrović valorized that such an extraordinary opportunity to familiarize himself early on with the Montenegrin sea coast gave him the necessary knowledge for successful architectural evolution:

“So, by working on the competitions as a participant, and winning those competitions I got familiar with that Yugoslav space and also measured myself with the architects from the other environments. My personal belief for all those environments is that it is a very important aspect for architectural evaluation, for architectural comparison, for learning the other’s cultural environments and cultural milieu: making a mix which elevated the quality of the architectural production. This is my hypothesis”.<sup>565</sup>

Other protagonists pointed out the importance of having the possibility to travel (regarded as a rare opportunity) as beneficial for the development of their personal architectural evolution: “We travelled a lot in the West, especially in Scandinavia, etc.”.<sup>566</sup> Other protagonists drew attention to the fact that as rare, precious and beneficial all this was for their overall artistic advancement, the optimism in the ambience was greatly felt (p.482). As such, the optimism was something which pushed the work forward: “We all shared this vision of *looking ahead*, looking towards a better, more beautiful and more interesting future”.<sup>567</sup>

Other protagonists denoted their family’s good financial position as beneficial to avoiding the professional engagements in the big corporate architectural Yugoslav offices, and working in smaller teams on less commercial architecture. Therefore, for the architect, such a small and less commercial architectural community developed as an independent (and rare) scene,<sup>568</sup> and such scene could sustain itself because of the country’s strong welfare system, e.g. free education, free health care, and free apartments. Therefore what is normally considered as rare was possible and it played a positive contribution

564 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

565 *Ibid.*

566 Testimonial Marko Mušić, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

567 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

568 *Ibid.*

for the architects (including the other cultural creators<sup>569</sup>) in the development of their artistic talents as then they were less worried about the monthly expenses. Others detected the provided and achieved security of the country as beneficial too: “The creation of Yugoslavia was not motivated by economic or even social development, but its establishment was rather to serve the usual reasons of the state – above all security, but also equity”.<sup>570</sup>

The same applied to and influenced the socialist thinking (on an individual level) to be established as reasoning where the individual does not make decisions merely upon economic reasonings. Such reasoning overflowed in the design processes when creating the *cultural artefacts* too, meaning that the architectural design in itself would be put on a pedestal when making decisions.<sup>571</sup> Also (p.96 or p.139), according to the protagonists, the designers did not make their design decisions influenced by ‘the market’, neither were they motivated to profit from the desires of the beneficiaries.<sup>572</sup> Such premises ‘allowed’ the ‘exceptional’ to become ‘accessible’ in *the model* which the thesis is investigating.

In the same vein, architects normally expressed the idea that back in the day (in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s) they had much more creative freedom, which was interpreted as less commercialized *cultural artefacts* (tangible in the final result). Architecture as an object was not designed for thinking of how it would be financially beneficial, but rather the cultural creators were motivated to search for its underlying true qualities. Moreover, the cultural creators expressed the idea that it was rare and precious (and different from today’s design process).<sup>573</sup> The *socialist thinking* (the socialist logic) was organically taken for the majority of the design decisions, which formed the overall man-made environment.

The same logic was ‘activated’ when it came to spatially planning the cities because the spatial planners and the investors also shared (p.311) the same *socialist thinking*, which impacted the city development. The logic also supported the idea of the ‘decentralization’ of the quality of life, which was manifested through creating an infrastructure (civic buildings). Therefore *Concentrated – Rare* also influenced the spatial distribution of the civic buildings, leading to the fact that quality of life tended to concentrate in the city centres or the bigger

569 The notion of the non-lucrative space for the development of the artistic talent is discussed by Zenit Đozić (see his testimonial).

570 Vladimir Gligorov, ‘Yugoslavia and Development: Benefits and Costs’.

571 Differently than today’s ‘marketing’ motivated decisions. As mentioned by Goroslav Keller, in his TV video, *Design for the new world*, *Op.cit.*

572 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, *Design for the new world*, *Op.cit.*

573 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.44).

urban units. Such infrastructure was regarded as *quality of life* because at the same time it presented *social infrastructure*.<sup>574</sup>

“First of all, let’s talk about the infrastructure. Those are cities which had an urban structure. So, for example, the city where I used to live was a city which was built with clearly defined urban policies. So, everything was designed, such as the distance between buildings, the streets, etc. Those Yugoslav cities not only had housing infrastructure but also strong social infrastructure. So, the housing infrastructure communicates with the social infrastructure”.<sup>575</sup>

Therefore, the spatial distribution aimed to re-distribute the concentrated *quality of life* from the urban centres (which were normally identified as ‘good cultural spaces’), yet also to create a new *quality of life* network on the whole territory.

574 Read about the gap between the growth of the cities and development of the cities (p.294).

575 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

### Wrapping up

This analysis shows how the chosen critical axes (critical categories) shaped the Yugoslav cultural system as they were unique for the Yugoslav context and stemmed from it. Therefore, each of the critical axes '*heterogeneity*' – '*unity-resemblance*', '*novelty-modern form*' – '*trace-heritage*', '*popular-disseminated*' – '*concentrated-rare*', when at the intersection with five research levels (topics), offers intersections between the Yugoslav critical theories (key notions). As investigated, those were coming from different academic disciplines, such as cultural studies, urban studies, space theory and theory of architecture, cultural policy, cultural development, aesthetics, etc., showing that the model had its specificities on both on a theoretical and a practical level. Those, impacted and formed the model in which the cultural artefacts materialize, including the spatial objects - architecture. This analysis also assists in the appreciation of how the Yugoslav cultural artefacts were impacted by the cultural system (the environment being its 'home') in which they were created and settled in, i.e. each environment set its individual cultural system which created different cultural artefacts.

# IV

THE CREATIVE MODEL OF THE SOCIALIST CITY  
\*BELGRADE, SKOPJE AND SARAJEVO\*

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This chapter aims to better understand the *Creative Model of The Socialist City* and its impact on the *cultural artefacts* created within the model. The thesis includes three particular cities in which the political paradigm of socialism was present, and their individual *Creative Models* are chosen and observed, i.e. the *city of Belgrade*, the *city of Skopje*, and the *city of Sarajevo* (between the years 1945-1991). Such an approach aims to portray the similarities and differences since all of the proposed models were formed under the common Yugoslav paradigm. Therefore, such an approach offers a comprehensive understanding of the commons which were created because of Yugoslavia but also detection of if and why the models, located in a different environment, created different notions towards creativity. Moreover three ‘tests’ – *cultural artefacts* – buildings, from the three environments will be carried out to be examined in regards to their relationship with the Creative Model of the particular environment. For example, in the city of Belgrade (and it is *Creative Model*), the *Sava Centre* will be examined; in the city of Skopje (and it is *Creative Model*), the *Contemporary Art Museum*; and in the city of Sarajevo (and it is *Creative Model*), the *Centre Skenderija*.

## IV.1.ELEMENTS

In the first part of the chapter, the analysis which was conducted attempts to display the general characteristics of the *Creative Model of The Socialist City*, so in the first part, the analysis tackles the bottom-up formations – formed by the cultural figures as a sort of creative grassroots, which emerged in each of the three cities (those formations contributed for the *Creative Model of The Socialist City* to be formed). In the second part, the exercise will reveal the elements of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. The last part of the sub-chapter aims to uncover the role and significance of the places which were critical filters of the environment.

### IV.1.1. BOTTOM-UP FRIENDSHIP

Various *social formations* contributed for the formation of the grassroots collectives in the different Yugoslav environments, and their emergence was strengthened with the intensification of the cultural development over the years. They started to occur in the 1930s and continued (p.23) to intensify as modern infrastructure was built. Starting from 1945 (after the end of World War II) their significance transformed, and their appearance was augmented as they began to play a role in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* and its growth in the first period (after 1945 and approximately up until the beginning of the 1960s), which can be called the *Cultural Reviewal* period. Those cultural formations were activated in the public discourse and occurred *on the streets*<sup>576</sup>, in the different Yugoslav environments. As such, they are significant for understanding the *reality* of those environments. Additionally, all of them had an individual *stylistic orientation* which influenced cultural creators and later also the *cultural artefact* they created:

“In Belgrade, there is an emergence of the group ‘Form’, i.e. ‘Life’, and the group called ‘Group of Architects of the Modern Direction’, in Ljubljana the ‘Fourth Generation’ and the gathering of architects around the magazine

576 In the Yugoslav context, the street is normally a synonym for one overall public discourse. In the same direction Borka Pavicevic wrote an essay ‘the street is the biggest institution of the literature, art and politics’.

‘Architecture’, in Zagreb ‘Earth’, with a very strong architectural composition, and in parallel the ‘Zagreb working group’. The community struggle with the reactionary society became the basic motive for this unique symbiosis of the fine arts, which is why today it is fashionable – a synthesis which was realized early on and with such an unusual motive thirty years ago”.<sup>577</sup>

Being active as creators of a *reality*, they also impacted the mentioned synthesis (p.446), which extended and created links between the architects, their cultural creation, and the everyday life in the surrounding environment, e.g. the article *Look where the architect has developed* describes the *reality* as a platform in which the ideas are mediated between the *cultural creators*: “A sociological line creates a platform for collecting and joint activities of artists – painters, architects”.<sup>578</sup> In such a manner, the significance of the cultural grassroots in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was amplified since their members – the cultural creators – were mediating their concepts within the everyday *reality* of the environment, (see more in Set of Documents, attachment No.9, [fig.172, fig.173]).<sup>579</sup> In the following extract, the joint elements between the different points and the architecture can be noticed. This extract also presents the architecture as part of a broader construction program and as part of a certain Creative Model:

“We want to shed light on the complex issues of today’s relations between man and space and enable a healthy and solid analysis, especially in the construction of our architectural and wider design issues. All architectural activity is connected with life and society; it is the problem of building our socialist society. On these pages, every collaboration will find a place, which ideologically stands on the positions of the further development of socialism, not only formally but in terms of content, and it talks about architecture and wider design and art problems. In this sense, we invite all architects, as well the public and the cultural workers”.<sup>580</sup>

The *Association of Architects* initiated the formation of groups which would be “formed according to affinity and interest in a particular professional problem,”<sup>581</sup> to integrate with the on-going societal issues and to foster new incentives for *civic [društvena]* work to be created. A further example of such grassroots collectives can be traced in the article *Architectural and Civic [društvena] Avangarde*, explaining the objectives of the cultural grassroots formed around the group *Earth [Zemja]*. Earth as the pioneer of the modern movement was established in 1929 and was active in the 1930s, and as a movement it



Fig. 172, 173| Scene from the video, *Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeana*, 1973

577 Andrija Mutnjaković, ‘Architectural grassroots’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

578 *Ibid.*

579 As the documentary ‘Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeana (1973)’ is showing how the cultural grassroots is exchanging their ideas in the environment.

580 From the introduction of the newly formed architectural magazine *Man and Space*, (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1954).

581 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

gradually increased its significance and continued to emit its cultural power in the next half of the century. In that direction, the article argues that the significance of a cultural grassroots is not possible to be measured in a conventional manner neither is its influence directly addressed.<sup>582</sup>

Architects were part of those cultural grassroots too, e.g. three architects participated in the group *Today* [*Денес*], which was active in the city of Skopje: Slavko Brezovski, Janko Konstantinovski and Risto Šekerinski, who were active in the group along with their artist and sculpture colleagues.<sup>583</sup> This group was engaged in carrying out the cultural transformations of the environments, e.g. the objectives of *Today* were to embed a new contemporary spirit in the city and to take part in the initiatives for forming the *Museum of Contemporary Art* in Skopje.<sup>584</sup> Also, the existence of the cultural grassroots helped towards the increased popularity of architecture and the issues surrounding it. Indeed, the cultural grassroots played a crucial role in the formation of the *ambience*, which was built in the Yugoslav man-made environments. In the article *The influence of the domestic cultural environment – Relations of the cultural environment to architecture*, the reality is considered as fundamental for the formation of the architectural thought: “Finally we need to examine the culture which is the basis of the environment in which architects move”.<sup>585</sup> From here, the thesis argues that the *reality*<sup>586</sup> of the environment as it is impacted by the art, and vice versa, is a significant element to be examined for the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* to be understood. In addition to this, the exercise detected that the model created a strong link between the ‘art’ and *the reality* developed.

Furthermore, the role of *the street* imposed itself as a place where the cultural grassroots mediated its cultural and artistic influences, hence *the street* became a topic which deserved much discussion, as presented in the article *The Revolution expression of the city of Belgrade 1941-1981*. The article positions the street and argues the importance of the action for the creation of the public discourse: in the case of Belgrade, such action manifested itself through the “street struggles”<sup>587</sup> anticipated in the creation of Belgrade’s *reality*. Therefore, the interest to understand the link between the ‘art’ and *the reality* grew because

582 ‘Article Architectural and Civic Avangarde’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

583 Group Denes, 1953-1983, Catalogue from the 30th years anniversary, *Op.cit.*

584 Dimitar Kondovski, Tribune of Cultural Life ‘The meetings of Solidarity’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1971).

585 ‘The influence of the domestic cultural environment. Relations of the cultural environment to architecture’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1979).

586 What today is commonly known as ‘urban culture’.

587 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘The article The Revolution expression of the city of Belgrade 1941 – 1981’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

the “real influence of artists on the ‘ideas of the architects’”<sup>588</sup> has been mediated too. Perović described the cultural grassroots as ‘cultural centres’ in an environment, and with such terminology, Perović pointed to the cultural power and overall significance for the environment that those social formations had. In the case of Belgrade, Perović mapped three ‘cultural centres’, all linked to the figure of Dobrica Ćosić (p.446).

“There were several cultural centres. I see them as three cultural centres. One was linked to the magazine *Young Fighter* which started to be published even during the War. Dobrica Ćosić was the main editor of this magazine. From that circle, especially after 1948, *NIN* got renewed, debates and discussions for the essential questions in art and culture were instigated. The second centre related to Simina 9A, where there was a group, mainly of national-oriented people. The third centre related to the magazine *Praxis*. [...] I must say that in all these circles Dobrica Ćosić played a key role, being a person of the party and a member of the *Central Committee*, having all the authority”.<sup>589</sup>

Doknić argued that the creative elite was supposed to support the state structure. On contrary, in a bottom-up manner, she mapped the following ‘cultural agents’ existent in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*:

“The ‘independent cultural and artistic creators’, the ‘working collectives of the cultural and artistic institutions’, the ‘social management bodies’, the ‘self-governing council in national assemblies’, the ‘councils for culture’, the ‘social authorities’, the ‘cultural and educational organizations’, the ‘professional associations of cultural and artistic workers’, the ‘professional and public criticism’, the ‘institutions of direct democracy in enterprises and communes’, the ‘existing and potential cultural consumers’, the ‘socio-political organizations’ etc.”<sup>590</sup>

To conclude, the cultural creators who took part in the formation of the ‘informal’ cultural grassroots later participated in more ‘formal’ processes. The institutions were thus built on the visions that those cultural grassroots and the cultural creators developed. Similar examples are described in the book *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, which argues that the new position of the creators obtained in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* allowed the ‘creative efforts’ to be in the hands of the cultural creators. This shows that the model was managed by the cultural creators themselves, who communicated amongst each other. Such a position differs from the one of today’s where “[...] as intellectuals were reduced increasingly to a service role, he who had been peripheral in the running of cultural life became a legislator”.<sup>591</sup>

588 ‘The influence of the domestic cultural environment. Relations of the cultural environment to architecture’, *Op.cit.*

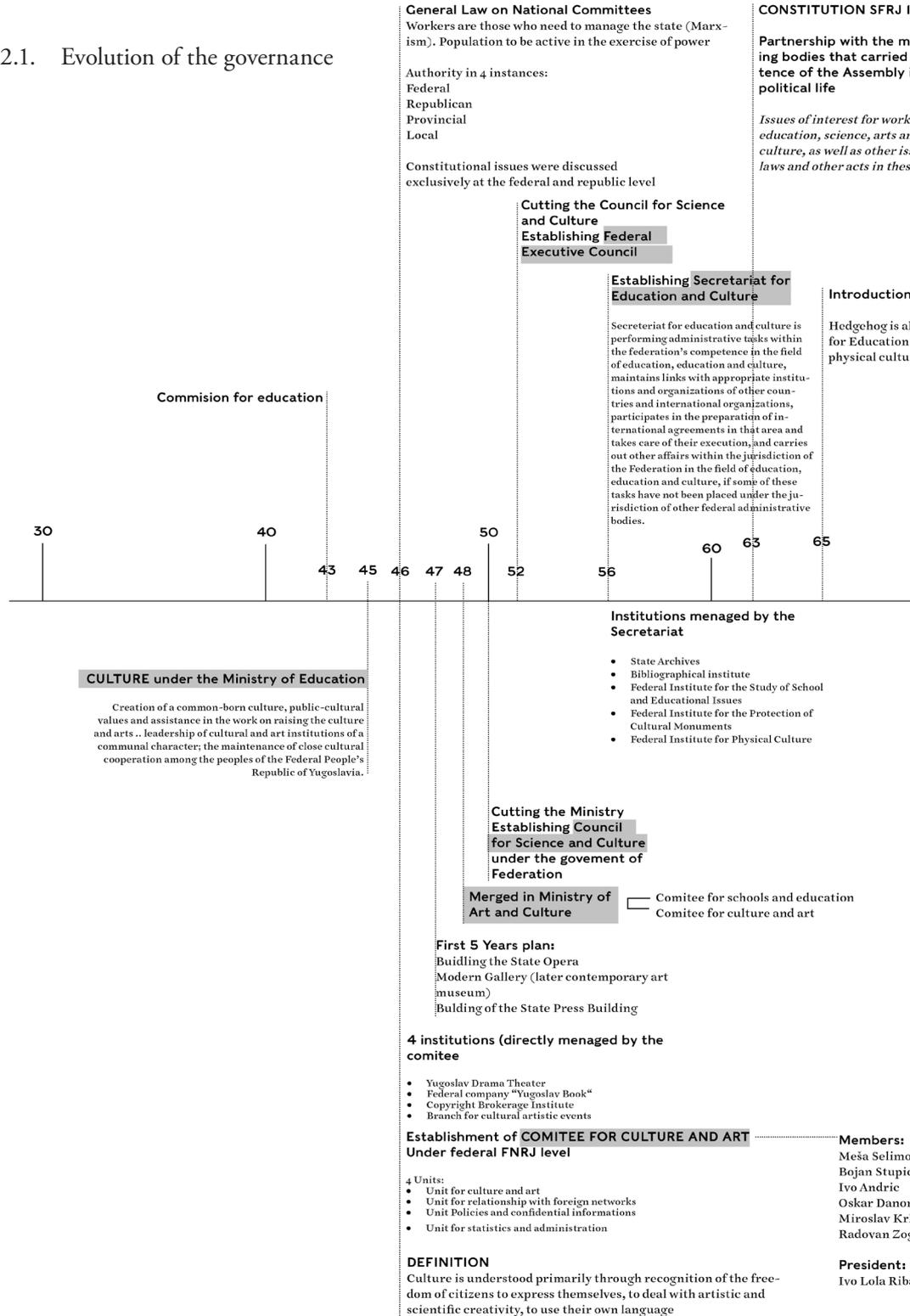
589 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

590 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*

591 Clark, *Petersbook Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, *Op.cit.* p.262.

## IV.1.2. ELEMENTS OF THE CREATIVE MODEL OF THE SOCIALIST CITY

### IV.1.2.1. Evolution of the governance



963

municipalities and their work-out tasks within the competence in certain areas of social and

ing communities in the field of and other fields of culture, physical issues from these areas, and passed the areas

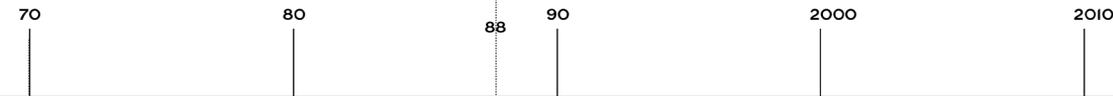
to the federal law

also the Federal Council , Culture, and then the re in schools

**Change of the Law**

In the description there is no mentioning of the field of culture neither culture is mentioned as being part of the other secretariats or committees

[fig.13] A diagram representing the evolution of the organization of the cultural field at the Yugoslav state Federal level (Reference: materials from the Institute of Cultural Development), (Diagram draw by the author)



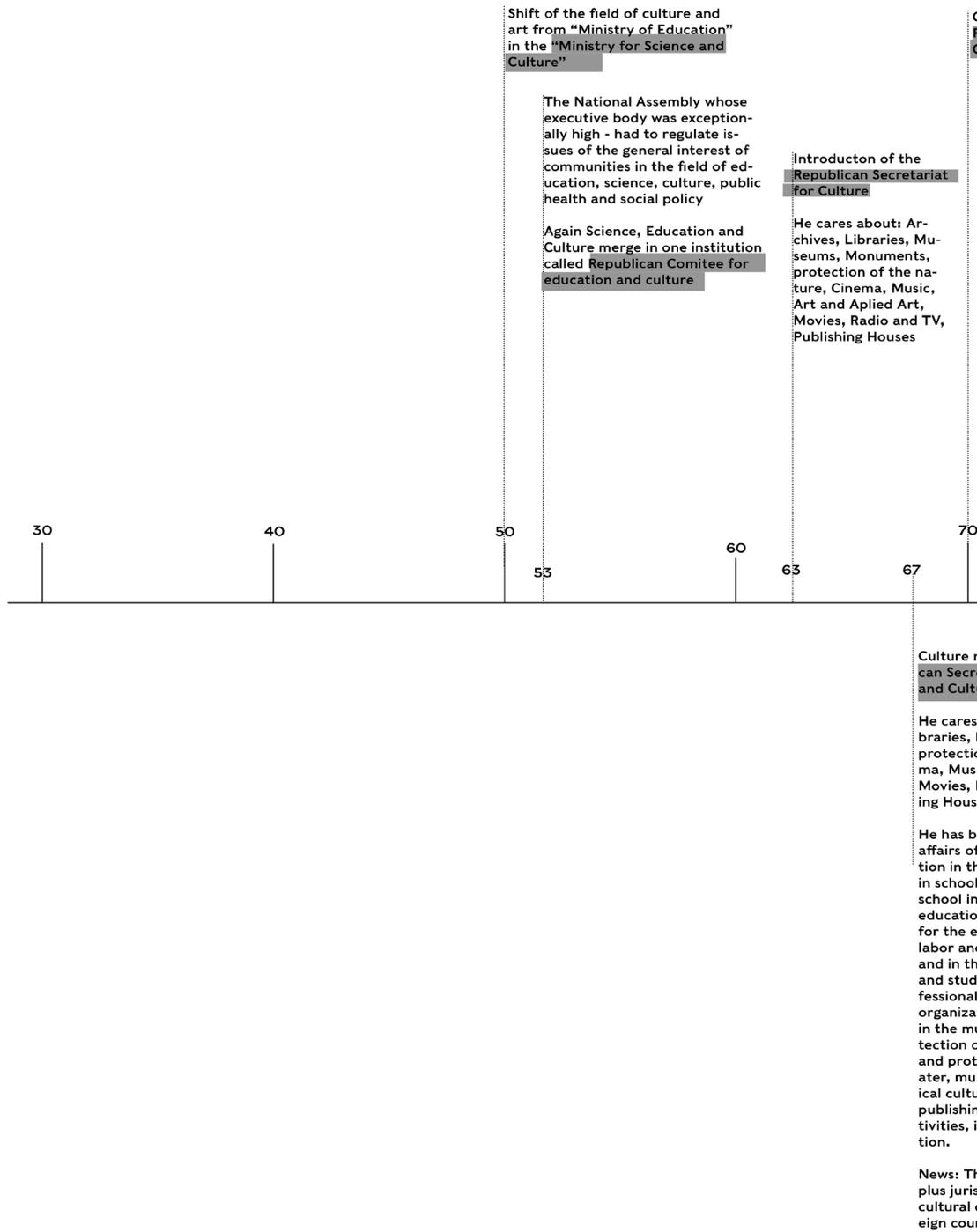
**Introduction to - Law on the organization and scope of federal administrative bodies and federal organizations**

In this law there is the several units:  
 Secretariats  
 Inspector Administration  
 Institutes

Among them is also the **Federal Council for Education and Culture** that performs tasks in the field of education, culture and then physical culture in schools.

**ORGANISATION OF CULTURE ON FEDERAL YUGOSLAV LEVEL**

The highest authority at the federal level was the Yugoslav Government, with their ministries, secretariats, committees, and councils



Culture moved to the restar  
Republican Secreteriat for  
Culture

Rapid change of the names of  
the institutions but the purpose  
is the same

Ex: Comitee-Secretariat-Comi-  
tee-Secretariat

Eresing the collaboration with  
foreign institutions

80

86

90

2000

2010

moved to the Republi-  
ceteriat for Education  
ure

about: Archives, Li-  
Museums, Monuments,  
on of the nature, Cine-  
ic, Art and Aplied Art,  
Radio and TV, Publish-  
es

een involved in the  
f the state administra-  
ne sphere of education  
s of all levels, in pre-  
stitutions, in adult  
n schools, in centers  
ducation of workers, in  
d national universities  
ie homes of students  
ents; works of pro-  
education in working  
tions, library, archives  
useum service, pro-  
of cultural monuments  
ection of nature, the-  
sic and fine arts, phys-  
ure, film, radio and tv,  
g and newspaper ac-  
ndebtedness, informa-

he secretariat receives  
idiction in science, and  
cooperation with for-  
ntries

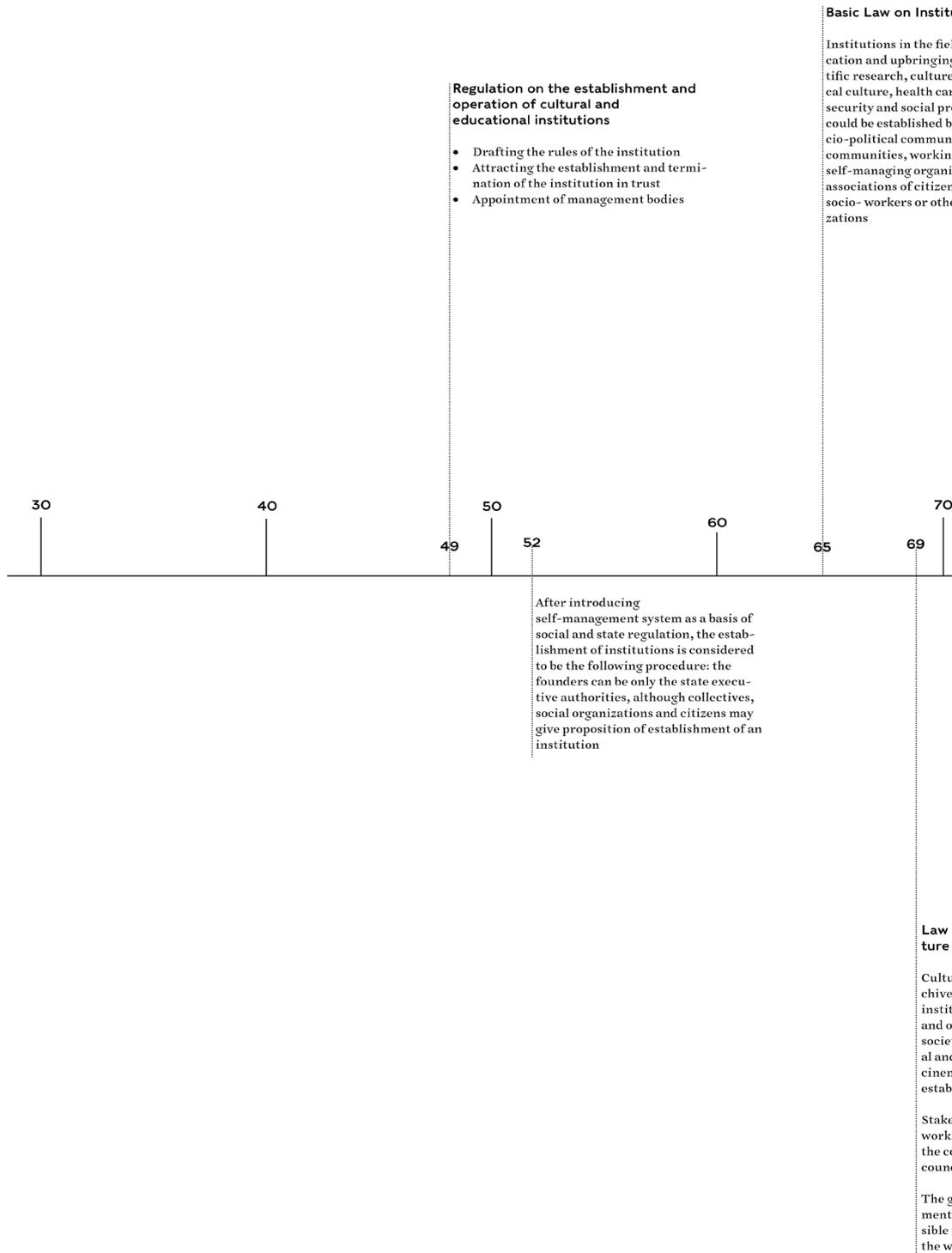
## ORGANISATION OF CULTURE ON REPUBLICAN LEVEL

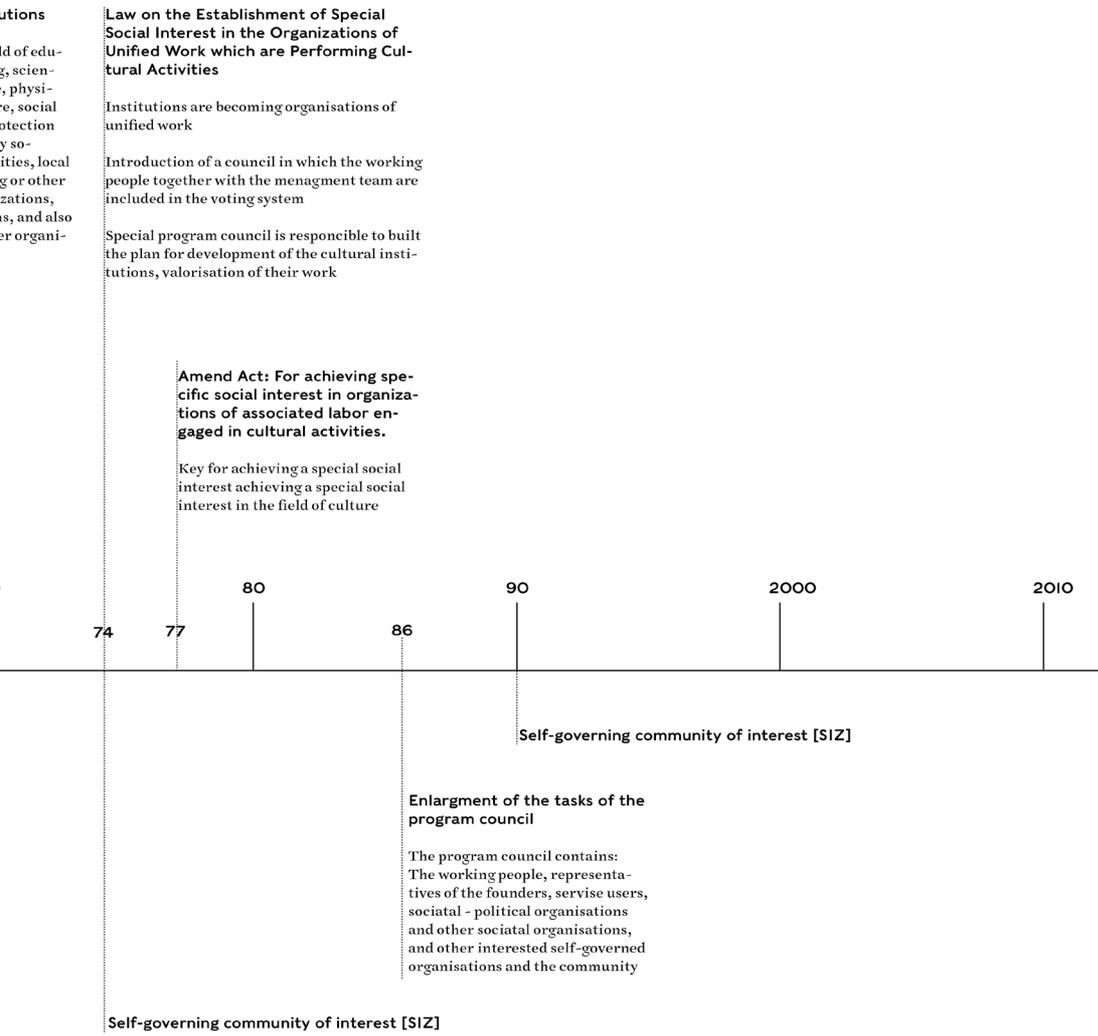
\*Example of Socialist Republic  
of Serbia

The sitation of organisation of  
Culture on Federal Lever reflected on Re-  
publican level as well

The highest authority at republic level was  
the NRS government with its ministries,  
secretariats, committees and councils

[fig.14] A diagram repre-  
senting the evolution of the  
organization of the cultural  
field at each of the Socialist  
Republic levels (Reference:  
materials from the Institute  
of Cultural Development),  
(Diagram draw by the author)





[fig.15] A diagram depicting the governance of the institutions of the Cultural Network (Reference: materials from the Institute of Cultural Development), (Diagram drawn by the author)

for managing institutions in the field of cul-

are institutions are the following: Libraries, ar-  
s, museums, galleries, cinemas,  
utes for the protection of monuments, theaters,  
ther performing arts organizations, philharmonic  
ties, cultural centers, workers' universities, cultur-  
l propaganda centers, concert bureaus, agencies,  
atographic and publishing organizations and others  
lished for performing one or more cultural activities

holders: With the institutions are managed by the  
ing community of management and bodies managed:  
ouncil, the director and the experts from the artistic  
cil

general council is responsible for the general menag-  
of the institutions and the expert council is respon-  
for the artistic, program, and expert components of  
ork of the institutions

## INSTITUTIONS

This section aims to demonstrate the organization of the field of culture in the context. Firstly, the field was managed by the institutions with Federal responsibility [fig.13]. Secondly, by the institutions which managed the Republican level [fig.14] – of each of the individual Socialist Republics, and thirdly – on a communal level. What was significant for the governance of the institution of Culture were the laws which were established to manage the institutions in the field of culture [fig.15]. As observed from the diagrams (1945-1991), the field underwent a constant re-organization and shift of responsibilities from one institution to another, showing that the field of culture and its governance did not have a stable and linear flow but rather it was developed through an experimental and non-definitive approach.

On the Federal level, the field was mostly organized by the *Ministries and Councils for Culture* – all physically positioned in the city of Belgrade – and on the Republican level, the institutions for governance, such as the *Republican Secretariats for Culture*, were based in each of the Republic's capital cities, such as the city of Skopje, Ljubljana, Zagreb etc. The first Federal institution started its work in 1943, within the *Commission for Education and Culture*.<sup>592</sup> However, the Federal and the Republican governance had different tasks. The former needed to coordinate the general directions for culture, for example the coordination of the *ideological commission*, and to allocate proportional and fair funding to the individual Socialist Republics. The latter gave the opportunity for the Republics to develop individual networks of their cultural activities. The regional level aimed “to stop the trend of the previously achieved metropolisation of Yugoslav culture”.<sup>593</sup> On a communal level, each of the cities (Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje) were governed normally by the Republican Secretariats for culture until 1974 when each of them established an individual *self-governing community of interest (SCIs) for culture*. Each of the municipalities of the mentioned cities had individual *SCIs for Culture* – bonded and regulated by the city SCIs. On the urban level, besides the SCIs, there were other significant entities, such as the “*Socio-Political Communities*, the organizations of the united labour, the *LC*, other self-governing organizations and communities, all of the citizens in the *LC*, etc”.<sup>594</sup>

592 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*, p.219.

593 The Commission for Education and Culture managed the institutions with Yugoslav significance (p.288-289).

594 ‘For concrete measures for saving and rational use of the funds of the SCI of the culture of the city of Skopje for 1982’, Program, 1981, SCI of the Culture, Skopje (private archive of the author).

## IV.1.2.2. Civic strategies

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* established individual civic [*društven*] objectives and principles upon which it created its individual civic strategies, also influencing and guiding the overall logic of the materialization of the city. In this part the analysis will demonstrate some of the most commonly civic strategies which the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* developed.

### ☞ Generating hotspots

The strategy aimed to generate hotspots as *civic hearths* [*društveni ognjišta*] in the cities. As the neighbourhoods and municipalities grew in terms of spatial size and population, the accompanying facilities were lacking: “Most often, in the rush for construction, objects of public and social character are forgotten or consciously missed”.<sup>595</sup> Consequently, the strategy aimed to establish *micro-centres* which would enable common life in the neighbourhoods and ‘transform the gloomy wartime ambience’ into a more pleasant one:

“[...] the centre of common life in the settlement, a place to meet with the neighbours, a place where you can easily meet basic daily needs and goods, where you can have a nice hall for collective gatherings, agreements, lectures, or children’s shows, for a pleasant coffee bar or a restaurant, and find services related to the household”.<sup>596</sup>

For example, through an action for construction, thirty-seven new *LC* were proposed and later created in the city Belgrade.<sup>597</sup> The objective behind the strategy to integrally generate those hotspots for Belgrade was to transform the city and to overcome the “deforming organization of the daily life”.<sup>598</sup> As observed on the map, [fig.174], the three different categories presented the current situation, where one category was to present the already built civic hotspots, the second was for those in the process of realization, and the third for those already planned. In another article, the author suggests a methodology for the development of such civic hotspots, [fig.175]:<sup>599</sup> dimensioning of the hotspot according to the spatial size of the unit and the number of citizens as to where they need to perform. For example, progressive augmentation of the size of the hotspot for a group of collective buildings (3.000-5.000 citizens), *LC* (10.000-20.000 citizens), a group of several *LC* (60.000-100.000 citizens), the smaller city centres (500.000 citizens) and city centres (2.000.000 citizens). Additionally, a method was offered to define the accessibility of the hotspots both by

595 Branislav Krstić, ‘Civic Centers’, *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

596 *Ibid.*

597 ‘The construction of the centers of the Local Communities [Mjesna Zajednica] in the new neighborhoods’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

598 *Ibid.*

\*Such centers were built elsewhere for the same purposes intensively in the 1960s

599 Miodrag Janić, ‘Methodological approach of planning the city centres’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1971).



Fig. 174| Extract from the page 12, *Construction of the local community centers in new settlements*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, Vera Paunović, No.85, 1985, Belgrade

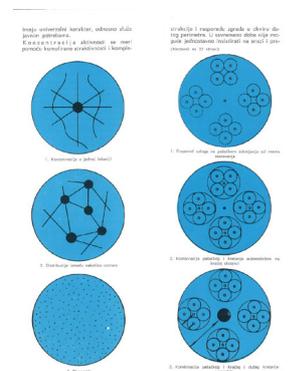


Fig. 175| Extracts from the page 12-13, *Methodological approach to planning city centers*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, Miodrag Janić, No.85, 1985, Belgrade

walking distance or by public transport, etc. The method also suggests stages from regulating the design of the hotspot to designing their spatial dispersion – ‘concentration’ and ‘distribution’.

#### ☞ Equipping the suburb

This civic strategy comes as a consequence to ‘generating hotspots’ since it also tackles the issue of lack of civic activities and facilities in the newly-built environments. This strategy aimed (p.532) to overcome the gap between the growth and the development of the cities by spatially allocating accompanying facilities in the suburbs but also the smaller towns and villages. The idea was to achieve “an equilibrated development of the civic activities”.<sup>600</sup> This strategy became part of the civic plans of the cities, e.g. the civic plan for the city of Skopje in its program emphasizes improvement of the conditions for life in the suburbs by perfecting the connections with roads, electrification and water supply.<sup>601</sup> Additionally, in the same document, it is indicated that the suburbs should have buildings of the highest aesthetical and technical quality, green spaces – parks, squares, and individual walking paths by the Vardar River.<sup>602</sup> Similar civic plans were traced for the city of Belgrade as well as the city of Sarajevo.<sup>603</sup>

#### ☞ Self-organizing

The civic strategy of ‘self-organizing’ developed under the influence of the ‘self-management system’. The idea was that the citizens would not wait for the country to offer the civic services and construct civic facilities, but would coordinate the ‘work organization of special social significance’,<sup>604</sup> carrying the construction of the civic projects. Several references indicated that the interest for participating was lower in the communities under the ‘capitalistic system’, the urban areas, and that specifically occurred when the public services were offered by the state.<sup>605</sup> Therefore, the strategy to self-organize by creating ‘work organization of special social significance’ implied that civic activities should be carried in a self-organization manner:

600 Marić, ‘Social activity in the social plan development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities’, *Op.cit.*

601 ‘For the economic, social and spatial development of the municipality of the city of Skopje for the period 1976-1980’, Civic Plan, The City of Skopje, 1976, (Materials from the Sessions of the Assembly, SCIs of the Culture of the City of Skopje, Archive of Macedonia).

602 So, both in the Creative Model of the Capitalistic city and the Creative Model of the Socialist City had tendency to create ghettos – lower, segregated communities. The difference between the two, is that the second was creating civic plans for the cities to react on the unpredicted development.

603 ‘For the economic, social and spatial development of the municipality of the city of Skopje for the period 1976-1980’, Civic Plan, The City of Skopje, *Op.cit.*

604 Cultural Transition in Southeastern Europe, ed. by Nada Svob - Dokic, Institute for international relations (Zagreb, 2004), pg.45.

605 *Ibid.*

“While in capitalistic countries, public services, i.e. services in the domain of health care, education, social care, science and culture, which need to be provided continuously without disruption, were the responsibility of the state or local administration, in Yugoslavia they were separated from the state, devolved”.<sup>606</sup>

The strategy also applied self-organization in the process of the physical construction of the buildings, e.g. the youth participated in the *Youth work actions*, where on a voluntary basis highways and railways were constructed, but also some of the civic buildings and spaces, [fig.176].

#### ☞ Measuring the spatial collective standard

Discussing the spatial collective standard helped the architects to understand that quality of the spatial creation was part of the collective standard. However, there were no established unified tables and indicators, and the term was repetitively mentioned in the public discourse and in the cultural programs, where their objectives were also directed towards achieving a better spatial collective standard. For example, *the Committee for Culture and Art of the Yugoslav Government* divided their yearly expenses into two categories: (1) ‘capital constructions’, and (2) ‘raising the civic standards’, which was further divided into three sub-categories: the ‘cultural and educational activities’, the ‘organization with public buildings’, and the ‘residential buildings’, [fig.177]. Such categorization demonstrates that the collective standard was considered when designing the programs.<sup>607</sup> Since in the context the cultural creators discovered that space was socially conditioned, the quality of the environment aimed to respond to the human needs:

“It is well known to what extent the production of space intended for human needs is socially conditioned, how much depends on the level at which social needs for a certain space are situated, and how much planners consider those needs”.<sup>608</sup>

Space needed to contribute “in one important dimension to the quality of the environment”.<sup>609</sup> The needs of the citizens through the spatial collective standard were expressed through “the space enriched for human use of parks, squares, fountains, pedestrian zones, trade zones, etc. The quality of the environment can only be measured by the totality of what was available to people to meet cultural needs”.<sup>610</sup>



Fig. 176| Poster, ‘Let’s speed up the construction of cooperative homes’, ~ 1950s

Fig. 177| Chart, Total investments, *Committee for Culture and Art of SFRY*, 1949, Belgrade

606 *Ibid.*

607 Today cities intend to measure their GDP, which has nothing to do with the level of their quality of their collective spatial standard.

608 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

609 *Ibid.*

610 *Ibid.*

### ☞ Working with civic thematic clusters

This civic strategy aimed to stimulate analysis of the city through pre-established common civic categories<sup>611</sup> and later to act in a systematic manner to achieve better results, so ‘spatial thinking’ was established through civic thematic clusters, such as education, culture, science, children, health care, social protection and physical culture for the purpose of reflection.<sup>612</sup> Each of those thematic clusters aimed to establish their individual objectives, i.e. the thematic cluster of *Culture* placed great importance on organizing and establishing cultural hotspots in the *LC*, in the schools, and in the working organizations, also giving priority to the activities surrounding the film and the cultural self-expression of the citizens. It was believed that those elements would foster further cultural development: “[...] radical changes in the creation and animated cultural habits, needs and actions, especially of young residents in the peripheral parts of Belgrade”.<sup>613</sup>

The thematic cluster of *Science* aimed to qualitatively improve the educational system and the socio-economic relations, as well as to engage in the popularization of science and the formation of youth associations of innovators and researchers. Secondly, *Science* aimed to seek for the rightful place in the regional centres. The thematic cluster of *Physical Culture* considered a spatial strategy to diffuse and make an uneven network of sports facilities. In the thematic cluster of *Health Care* the strategy was creating a network of main buildings and a network of secondary health points to “cover the built territory as evenly as possible”.<sup>614</sup> The health facilities also became the “scientific and educational oasis of the *Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry*”.<sup>615</sup> When it comes to the thematic cluster of *Social Care* for both the children and the elderly, it aimed to invent new activities and centres according to the available demographic data. In fact, those thematic clusters were sometimes combined into singular mono programs, e.g. in the *Program for the civic politics towards the family*, the space for developing quality life into a singular program was tackled systematically:

- “1. ‘Social protection needs of the family and the possibilities of meeting them’ – *the Interest Community of Social Protection*.
2. ‘Global Project’ – *the Interest Community of Science*.
3. ‘The needs of the family for child protection and the possibilities of its influence to improve it’ – *The Interest Community of Child Protection*.
4. ‘The relationship between school and family as important factors in the educational process in a socialist self-governing society’ – *Interest Community of Education*.

611 This comes from the established law which also recognized the civic categories.

612 Marić, ‘Social activity in the social plan development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities’, *Op.cit.*

613 *Ibid.*

614 *Ibid.*

615 *Ibid.*

5. 'Family needs and housing' – *Interest Community of Housing*.
6. 'Free time and the possibility of meeting the cultural needs of the family' – *Interest Community of Culture*.
7. 'The relationship between family and health care as factors for health prevention and health education' – *Health Insurance and Reinsurance Community of Interest*.
8. 'Substitution of households'.<sup>616</sup>

As such, the systematic approach created spatial support for the families and a number of “crèches, kindergartens, extended stays, schools, children’s homes, old people’s homes, dispensaries, hospitals, counselling centres, housing conditions, household assistance services, recreational and cultural institutions, etc.”<sup>617</sup> The construction was unified under a common plan of the *Interest Communities*, which also sought such augmentation of the spatial collective standards. The maps which are part of the *Planning Atlas of Spatial Planning of Yugoslavia* also incorporated their civic understanding and were developed by ‘the civic thematic clusters’, showing the different aspects such as the residential resources of the country, [fig.178], and facilities for primary schools, [fig.179], high schools, higher education and research, culture, [fig.180], health [fig.181], social care, [fig.182], services, and green areas and recreation. The maps, on the one hand, show the real need for such spaces to be provided, while on the other, they show the current state, so the observer can quickly extract the strategy which is needed. Therefore, the maps show how the ‘created networks’ – aimed to guide the beneficiaries of the map – pursued an equilibrated qualitative development on the whole Yugoslav territory.

#### 🔗 Creating a network

This strategy encompasses the creation of a spatial network of each of the already mentioned thematic clusters, with an initial objective: to “restructure the housing neighbourhoods”<sup>618</sup>, but also to establish a network of facilities which will serve as an ‘expression of a kind of cultural focus of regional, national and international importance’.<sup>619</sup> In the following extract from the article *Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centres* it can be observed how the network of schools was created for the city of Belgrade. Before describing how the school units were spatially allocated, the article aimed to firstly explain the significance and meaning of the different segments which constitute the network, including its primary unit – the school:



Fig. 178| Map, *Apartments, Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973, Belgrade

616 'Free time and the possibility of meeting the cultural needs of the family' (Part of the global project "Social Policy towards the Family"), 1976, *Institute for the Cultural Development*, Belgrade.

617 *Ibid.*

618 Marić, 'Social activity in the social plan development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities', *Op.cit.*

619 Branka Popović, 'Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

“The network of primary schools monitors the growth and restructuring of neighbourhoods. From the spatial, economic and pedagogical point of view, the optimal gravitational area is inhabited by 6,000-10,000 inhabitants. In addition to its educational function, the school should grow into a social centre for its students, permeating its extracurricular activities with new music and art education programs and opening up to social life in the local unit. This new role of the school is especially important in settlements far from the central places, precisely where its educational role has always been dominant”.<sup>620</sup>

Analysis of the different networks the city needed to ensure is described in the article titled the *Basic elements for planning the network of the buildings*, where the networks in the city are conducted by the pre-established civic thematic clusters. Therefore, the maps, [fig.183], follow the logic of the thematic clusters: (1) The network of health facilities, (2) The network of culture facilities, (3) The network of higher education facilities, (4) The network of administration facilities, (5) The network of service facilities, and (6) The network of municipal centres. In the article, it was noted that such maps are helpful to understand where the 50% of the total active population is located, and what works in those networks in the city of Belgrade. Another strategy, not necessarily related to networks of facilities and building spaces, was working on a better connection of the existing facilities, where “connecting and uniting artists, museums and galleries is a way for their artistic creation to be better presented to the citizens, and for the young talents to be encouraged”.<sup>621</sup>

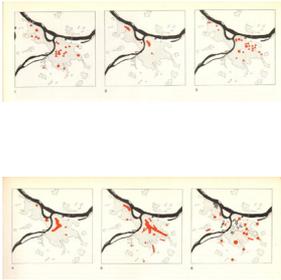


Fig. 183| Extracts from the pages 30-31, *Basic Elements for Planning the Network of Public Service Facilities*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, Smilja Kanacki, No.4, 1969, Belgrade

#### ☞ (Re)-Defining the objectives

The civic strategy to (re)-define the objectives shaped the cultural artefacts of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. Besides the objectives, the model also established its particular needs, priorities, and principles all influenced by the socialist paradigm where “application of the principle of solidarity, social control, election and recall of the officials, on protection of special social interest, self-protection of citizens, protection of public order and peace, etc”.<sup>622</sup> Moreover, when inserting the collective objectives on the ground and among the other planning areas, the protagonist expressed a need for creation of a spatial unit which would regulate the civic spatial activity.<sup>623</sup> The objectives were also possible because they were determined by the constitutions of the countries, which imposed restrictions to protect the collective interest,<sup>624</sup> e.g. “the protection of the totality of human, man-made and natural environment.

620 Marić, ‘Social activity in the social plan development plan and plans of self-governing interest communitis’, *Op.cit.*

621 *Ibid.*

622 Verica Petrović, ‘Civic plan of the city from 1981 until 1985’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

623 Djurović, ‘the place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

624 Constitution of SR Croatia 1971, extract published in the introduction of the magazine *Man and Space*.

The human, man-made and natural environment values must be primarily the subject of the overall planned direction of spatial development, the cause of an active attitude towards development needs (Amendment XII).<sup>625</sup>

#### ☞ Think integrally

This civic strategy aimed to foster coherence and qualitative spatial development, normally in the urban areas, as well as to integrate and merge several disciplines such as economic, spatial planning, ideological and organizational aspects into single *civic planning* –to create an organic and equilibrated urban space. Besides the fact that each of the cities of interest adopted its civic plans, *civic planning* became a discipline to be studied from both the spatial planners, economists, and sociologists which aimed to unite the different aspects under the scope of the discipline, [fig.184]. Secondly, the strategy to integrate the municipalities in the cities came to overcome the natural tendency of unwanted individualistic and unsystematic development. Some studies spotted such unsystematic development in particular thematic clusters – “the unbalanced development, mostly noticeable in the fields of health care, basic education, and social care”<sup>626</sup> – and developed their strategies for action from there. The approach could not be possible if the SCIs did not collect the collective substitute by each of the thematic clusters separately,<sup>627</sup> so attempts for a unified integral action were being stirred. For instance, the *Urban Planning Institute of the city of Belgrade* was preparing five-year plans to integrate the thematic clusters into the development of the city of Belgrade. The study for civic development for the years 1981-1990, [fig.185], integrated the civic, economic and spatial development of the city. The study was composed through *Action Maps*, envisioning the development by the already established thematic clusters, [fig.186].

#### ☞ Making action plans – Dynamic planning

This strategy aimed to apply the action as a zest – “optimal momentum and enthusiasm” – and to apply a strategy for spatial purposes. Indeed, it aimed to help the ‘inert and static space’, and with the creation of a dynamic society, overcome such an undesired gap:

“That is exactly what is impossible! Space is inert and must be considered in the long run. Society is dynamic and here the overemphasized longevity would be aleatory”.<sup>628</sup>

‘Actions’ were thus proposed so they could give dynamism to the static space, e.g. a long-term action was prepared for reactivating the culture of a

625 *Ibid.*

626 Marić, ‘Social activity in the social plan development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities’, *Op.cit.*

627 *Ibid.*

628 Keller, ‘for clearer views of space planning’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 184| Book Covers, (1) *the Civic Plan of Yugoslavia 1981-1985*, (2) *the Civic Plan of Yugoslavia for the period 1971-1975*, (3) *the medium-term plan of the city of Belgrade 1971-1972*

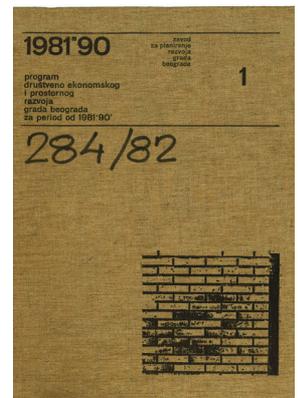


Fig. 185, fig.186| Cover page and Map, *Action Plan 1981-1990, The program for civic, economic, and spatial development of the city of Belgrade, for the period 1981-1990, Institute for Development Planning of the City of Belgrade, 1980, Belgrade*

Municipality:<sup>629</sup> a multifaced strategy was proposed, i.e. from creating unique policies for giving library points in each of the neighbourhoods to raising the standard of ‘two books per citizen’. In addition, re-organization of the network of existing cinemas into smaller clusters so there could be only one per neighbourhood. Yet another example is constructing small cinema halls in each of the buildings of the community [Mjesna Zajednica], or in the new parts of the city to create multi-functional ‘gallery spaces’ for amateur artistic activities. Other actions were used for spatial transformation in particular areas of the city. For example, an action plan for more ‘meaningful life’ was made for the suburb of Rakovica, Belgrade. The plan envisioned ‘a transformation of the municipal centres’ in two ways: firstly, to create events significant on an urban level, and secondly, to influence the organization “according to the initiatives and engagement of the residents themselves in the cultural activities”.<sup>630</sup>

### ☞ Grasping new typologies

This civic strategy aimed to reassess the significance and meaning of the buildings, including the activities their programs carry. The reasons for it was to create knowledge so that new architectural typologies, such as artistic and cultural inventions, could emerge. Therefore, in the architectural public discourse a frequent emerging topic was the constant attempt to define the meaning of particular buildings and their societal significance. Sometimes, for buildings with declined significance, it was recommended that they closed.<sup>631</sup>

#### IV.1.2.3. Cultural Determinants

In this sub-chapter, the analysis will focus on understanding the cultural determinants which influenced the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. As the field of culture positioned itself as one of the elements for civic planning, the cultural determinants were also organized by being part of the overall civic notion. For instance, in the displayed document, [fig.187], it can be seen how the *Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture* sent its cultural program to the *Federal Institute for Civic Planning* with the intention of incorporating it in the *Civic Plans of Yugoslavia 1966-1970*. In addition, the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo were developing their individual cultural plans and programs, which were part of the overall civic plans of the cities. This part of the thesis thus focuses on presenting the several cultural determinants specific for the context.

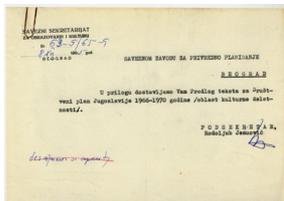


Fig. 187| Confirmation, *Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture*, 1965, Belgrade

629 Popović, ‘Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers’, *Op.cit.*

630 *Ibid.*

631 ‘The issues of the Cultural Infrastructure’, 1965, Belgrade (Archive of Yugoslavia, Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 171, 1954-1966).

### ☞ Recording the existing

‘Recording the existing’ presented an ‘instrument’ which assisted the process of planning in the preliminary phases. The “‘constituents of the commune’, including the organizations active on the ground, such as the basic organizations of associated labour, the local communities, and the cultural organizations”<sup>632</sup> became subjects in the analysis. Other aspects of the commune entered the cultural programs too, such as “educational, qualificational, social, age, gender, migration and other structures”.<sup>633</sup> Moreover, ‘recording the existing’ helped to detect the ongoing relevant issues in the field of culture. For example, such issues were often explained and criticized through the topic of ‘aristocratisation’ of the cultural life. This analysis was needed so more effective strategies could be yielded, e.g. in *Reminder – On problems in workers’ education*, there are several points explained as common emerging issues in all of the Yugoslav communities:

- Favoring the so-called top culture and forms that are not sufficiently accessible to the general public, especially workers;
- Neglecting facilities that are close to workers in terms of their organization, manner of work, activities and territorial distribution (cultural centres, workers’ homes, various other cultural institutions, sports fields, entertainment facilities, etc.);
- Insufficient orientation of professional cultural institutions and institutions to gain a new audience;
- Disproportion between cheap facilities for sports, leisure and recreation, on the one hand, and representative hotels, stadiums, etc. on the other hand;
- Neglecting the periphery of large cities and workers’ settlements, as well as remote industrial and mining centres;
- Disproportionate spending of budget funds in communes on the most senior professional cultural institutions that serve a relatively small circle of the urban population”.<sup>634</sup>

Therefore, the everyday life of the common people was analyzed so new cultural programs could be later suggested, as these programs aimed to enrich the socialization spaces of the common people, [fig.188], and offer more possibilities for their free time: “The daily commute of the workers gives them less free time for self-development; the workers who live in the suburbs cannot reach the cultural network of the bigger centres; the efforts to economically develop some of the regions in the country does not correspond with their cultural-spiritual development, etc”.<sup>635</sup> Hence, the diagnosis to ‘record the existing’ helped to further treat the issues surrounding the cultural life.



Fig. 188 | Scenes from the movie, *Part-Time Work*, Milan Jelić, 1980

632 Krivošević, ‘Paper, Museum Policy in Serbia: Emergence, Crisis and a New Beginning’, *Op.cit.*

633 *Ibid.*

634 ‘Reminder - about the problems in workers’ education’, 1960, Belgrade (Archive of Yugoslavia, Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 171, 1954-1966).

635 *Ibid.*

### ☞ Establishing methodology

Innovation of methodology occurred in the field of culture to better approach the cultural planning processes. For instance, at the *Congress of Cultural Action*<sup>636</sup> the delegates encouraged reinforcement of the significance of the methodological approach to culture as necessary for the development of the overall 'intellectual constitution' of the society:

"Cultural needs planning has become not only a planning discipline with a tendency to turn into a scientific method, but an expression of really established relations between material production and the intellectual constitution of society".<sup>637</sup>

Also, spatial methodological approaches to assist the physical construction of the network of facilities in the field of culture was stimulated. Methodology was needed so the manifestations of culture in the man-made environment would be a 'result of a scientific approach':

"The construction of the homes of the culture should take place according to a pre-developed plan. When developing the projects, considering their function and place in the life of the communal community, all professional factors (architects, urban planners, pedagogues, doctors, etc.) should be consulted".<sup>638</sup>

The cultural creators developed methodologies to expand and better organize the physical disposition and functional conception of the cultural network.<sup>639</sup> Such an intention was developed by the architects Milorad Macura and Darko Marusić (p.487). In the following extract from their study, different categories and instruments were developed to dimension them according to the frequency of their utilization and the agglomeration of citizens to which they should serve. The developed categories are:

1. Facilities for the daily needs – an agglomeration of 3.000-8.000 citizens  
Cinemas and school libraries
2. Facilities for general frequent needs – an agglomeration of 30.000-80.000 citizens  
People's libraries; people's and workers' universities and cultural-artistic associations
3. Basic temporary needs – a grouping of 200.000-400.000 inhabitants  
Theaters, complex museums, amateur associations
4. Specific needs – an agglomeration of 2.000.000 citizens  
Children's theaters, specific museums, galleries
5. Exceptional needs – an agglomeration of 8.000.000-12.000.000 citizens  
Drama, opera, ballet, philharmonic and professional orchestras, TV".<sup>640</sup>

636 Please read more about in the testimonial of Živan Berisavljević (p.125), Novi Sad, 2020

637 Book from the *Congress for Cultural Action*, Kragujevac, SR Serbia, 1971, pg.764.

638 Antonie Nikolovski, 'Homes of culture and clubs', *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1957)

639 Nemjanic, 'Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment', *Op.cit.*

640 Macura, Marusić, Study, 'Valorisation of the spatial systems for cultural activities in Serbia', *Op.cit.*

The study goal to ‘expand the cultural needs’ and intensify the cultural power of ‘the cultural hotspot’ had an innovational and methodological approach based on ‘the cultural hotspot’ physical position in the man-made environment.

### ☞ Creating Cultural Programs

The cultural programs were a significant cultural determinant for the overall *Creative Model of the Socialist City* since the overall cultural development of the country was organized through them. As culture in the Yugoslav context had gained its specific significant position (p.157), from the 1950s onwards, [fig.189], the cultural plans became part of the regular work of the *Republican Secretariats for Culture*. In fact, these plans were needed to structurally follow the “new actions in the field of culture and to coordinate the envisioned work”.<sup>641</sup> After 1974, with the establishment of the communal and city SCIs for Culture, each of the urban units was responsible for the creation of their individual cultural plans, hence the content and issues of the plans varied. For instance, in the *Program for development of the cultural activities for the city of Skopje – 1982*, the study covered areas such as “defining the expenses in the field of culture, help and stimulations of the individual artistic activities, archiving, and protection of the monuments and the heritage”.<sup>642</sup> In another example, regarding *the Program for development of the field of culture 1981-1985*, prepared by the *SCIs for Culture* for the city of Belgrade, the motives for the study focused on “providing better conditions for meeting the cultural needs of the workers and the youth, and encouraging activities in basic organizations of associated labour and local communities”.<sup>643</sup>

### ☞ Making regions significant

According to the protagonists, the cultural politics was a cultural determinant significant in the context<sup>644</sup> due to the fact that it had an impact on the overall vision and functioning of the society. On the other hand, the cultural politics concerned both internal (state) and external (representation of the state) issues: internally, they were preoccupied with issues surrounding the ‘ownership’ of the cultural institutions. For example, the institutions could be governed by the *Federal Ministry of Culture or the Republican Secretariat for Culture*, but also (after 1974) by the *SCIs for Culture or the City Commission for*



Fig. 189| Poster, ‘WE WOTE - for an even stronger development of education and culture’, ~ 1950s

641 Materials from the sessions of the Ideological Commission, and the subcommittee on the Culture and the Arts (Archive of Yugoslavia, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 127, 1950-1955).

642 Program for development of the cultural activities for the city of Skopje-1982, 1981, SCIs of the Culture, Skopje, (private archive of the author).

643 Program for development of the field of culture 1981-1985, 1980, SCIs of the Culture, Belgrade, (Historical Archives of Belgrade).

644 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, Serbia, 2019 (p.50).

*Culture and Arts* of each of the communities. Nevertheless, the constant change of the laws for the governance of the institutions contributed towards the open discussions about the ownerships of the institutions too, [fig.13, fig.14, fig.15].<sup>645</sup> For the architects, the discussions were significant since such ‘political orientation’ of the future buildings needed to be clarified before they approached their designs:

- Whether it is necessary to have one complex museum which contains, as integral parts, all other museums for certain areas and branches of technology?
- Whether we should have one Yugoslav, or several Republic museums?
- If there is only one, where should it be located? In which city?
- If there are more, which type should be in Belgrade?
- Should it be a general technical or a specialized museum? ... etc”<sup>646</sup>

From the extract above we can understand how cultural politics played a role in the attempt for diversification of the cultural network. Other authors revealed how ‘the price’ as a tool of the cultural politics could be used for diversification of the cultural network, predetermining what the society values as quality. *The price* was thus understood as a societal cultural indicator:

“The current practice of prices should be corrected in the sense that prices are formed according to criteria related to quality, value, the educational impact of the movie, the impact of the type of the movie, the impact of the character of theatrical performance, and the impact of the book”<sup>647</sup>

Therefore, ‘the price’ in the cultural politics intended to influence the ‘Yugoslav socialist market’, and through that to shape the societal objectives which influenced the *process of materialization of architecture* too (p.323).<sup>648</sup>

Externally the cultural politics aimed to assist in the creation of the good image the region was developing in order to become a global political power, so several components were established to materialize the idea. The first results from such cultural politics ‘to bring cosmopolitanism to the region’ came at the beginning of the 1960s, with the creation of the *NAM* (established in 1961), [fig.190]. The cultural politics, on the other hand, aimed to elevate the reputation of the country through the quality of the created *cultural artefact*. For example, *The Museum of Modern Art*, MoMA, in New York reported that the upcoming show about Yugoslav art expressed the overall cultural well-being of the cultural creators in Yugoslavia, [fig.191]: “Yugoslavia’s artists have such freedom of



Fig. 190| Photo, The first Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade, 1961, Belgrade



Fig. 191| Report, From the held exhibition of Yugoslav art in MoMA, 1969, New York

- 645 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).
- 646 Bratislav Stojanović, “The Aeronautical Museum of Belgrade”, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).
- 647 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*, p.186.
- 648 This raise questions such as, what type of materials were considered as from good quality? what type of neighborhood were the most desired to live in? What type of apartment were desired? (More explained in the II chapter). On another hand, the appartments which are today on the market in the context are self promoted as ‘luxury’.

expression and encouragement to create, so it is superfluous to compare them to artists in even the most progressive Eastern European countries”.<sup>649</sup>

### ☞ Having Cultural Tools

#### ☞ Cultural needs

Defining the cultural needs was important for the augmenting of the human cultural standards, e.g. in the following extract, a gap was detected between the urban practice and the concept of cultural development. This gap in fact arose due to the societal cultural needs that were not interpreted into the physical space:

“The cultural standard has orientational and prognostic significance. With the help of the cultural standards, everyone in the society strives, within their social potentials and social values, to determine the level and character of meeting the cultural needs. In that sense, the standard in culture is always directed towards man, providing him with security and satisfaction of the cultural needs. Unfortunately, the practice of building space for cultural functions usually does not follow the definition of norms or is based on norms that have no basis in social and cultural theory”.<sup>650</sup>

As presented in the extract, the author proposed an understanding of the human cultural needs since the design of space could be better linked to the cultural theory, i.e. outlining the importance of the study of the fluidity of the cultural needs and their everchanging nature, but also proposing space as a factor to anticipate the transformations towards creating new human cultural needs. Moreover, the author reflects on the cultural significance of space, i.e. if the cultural space seems abstract and neutral, it means that the social groups that historically formed it were no more ‘visible’ in it, therefore the space becomes “in terms of content purely formal”<sup>651</sup> and less significant in the eyes of the beneficiaries. The author further suggested the term ‘space which will satisfy the cultural needs’, where the particular cultural quality of the space would be visible in the appearance of it and people will be exposed to it daily in their visual range. The author also gives examples of ‘spaces with the right content’ to influence the cultural needs, such as parks, green areas, pedestrian zones – spaces which impact the quality of the human cultural needs, resulting in the fact that “the quality of the environment can only be measured by the totality of what is available to people to meet the cultural needs”.<sup>652</sup>

#### ☞ Reflecting on the ambience

The cultural creators considered the ambience depicted in a reality as a significant attribute to the man-made environment. In the article *Ambiences*

649 Yugoslavia: A Report (New York: The Museum of Modern Art MoMA, 1969), p.1.

650 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

651 *Ibid.*

652 *Ibid.*

*and spatial values of Belgrade*, the author discusses how to incorporate *ambience* as an element of the spatial planning: “It takes artistic courage to embed the question of the ambience of the city”.<sup>653</sup> In addition, *ambience* is significant since it has the capacity to intervene in the nature of life, making culture and the society more coherent: “[...] after all, that would permanently enslave them in a dry life, in which there would be no minimum space for culture”.<sup>654</sup> The article *The old ambiental units of Belgrade in its cultural life discusses* how particular parts of the city of Belgrade have bigger ambiental potential which needs to be exploited so that the urban unit would become ‘a whole’. Therefore, according to the author there is such potential in developing an ‘authentic ambience’ as “a set of certain artistic, spatial and functional features and possibilities it offers”.<sup>655</sup> In other articles, such as *40 Years of the Uprising and Socialist Revolution*, such authenticity was encouraged to be searched in the political orientation of the country, where *the streets* play a significant element in feeling Belgrade’s “revolutionary, socialist, and internationalist character”.<sup>656</sup>

#### ☞ Spiritual character of the space

Just as in the Yugoslav context, the notion of ‘development’ of the man-made environment meant augmentation of the ‘human spiritual development’ (p.352), the spiritual character that one space has become a topic of interest of both the architects and the cultural creators, i.e. how the content of the space and the cultural power it signifies contributes to the particular desired development. In the following extract the author makes differences between the quantitative growth and the qualitative development of the man-made environment (which embodies spiritual qualities too):

“First of all, it can be said that the growth of this city is inconsistent with its development, if we understand the development as a harmonious development of all functions, as a harmony in meeting all social needs. If priority is given to development over growth, growth is subordinate to social needs, i.e. development needs, which especially refer to the needs of space, not only the apartment already acquired, but also the equipment, leading to the predominance of use over exchange and turnover value, the predominance of the rhythms of everyday life over commercialization, sales and speculation about space”.<sup>657</sup>

Another article – *Between tradition and the new: Commune and culture* – explains that the narrow-mindedness of the city of Banja Luka can be tackled through human spiritual development of the commune, hence suggesting in-

653 Branko Petričić, ‘Ambiences and spatial values of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1976).

654 *Ibid.*

655 Goran Djurović, ‘Ambiences and spatial values of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1978).

656 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘40 Years of the Uprising and Socialist Revolution – the revolutionary character of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

657 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

tensification of the creative pursuits in the environment: “[...] the problems that arise are not unsolvable, but they certainly require less of a provincial mentality and more inventions of spirit and creative pursuits”.<sup>658</sup> Others suggested that such development should be pursued through encouragement of good art and design of the cultural artefacts. For example, in *Democratization in the field of art*, it is outlined that the cultural artefacts are significant for the personal spiritual development since they are how “people culturally feed themselves”.<sup>659</sup> Therefore, (p.504) emphasis was placed on ‘good civic everyday design’: “[...] the general everyday civic culture, the civic cultural values and help for raising culture and art”.<sup>660</sup> In such a manner, the human spiritual development became a question of a ‘good aesthetic’ and not necessarily needed to be developed by the cultural institutions, such as the theatres, philharmonics, museums and galleries because they depicted tendencies towards “aristocracy, the avantgarde and experimental”.<sup>661</sup> For those reasons, some artistic collectives called to cut off the artistic infrastructure in the cities since they worked on their individual affirmation rather than “transmit the power of their creativity”<sup>662</sup>, having realized that they were no more capable to curate the desired ‘everyday civic culture’:

- “1. Abolished: painting, sculpture, graphics, applied arts, industrial design, architecture and urbanism;
2. Prohibited: any activity of art history, especially the so-called art criticism;
3. Suspended: all exhibitions in all galleries, museums, exhibition pavilions”.<sup>663</sup>

#### ☞ Fostering self-initiatives

The self-initiatives aimed to encourage the individual activation in the field of culture, which was stimulated by policy in the early 1970s and ‘gave’ permission to creative entities to act individually.<sup>664</sup> This was also related to the architects who could invent such self-initiatives to realize their ideas, e.g. Bogdanović established his ‘alternative architectural school’: “[...] with some material help from the so-called ‘self-governing community for culture’, I would rearrange at my own expense for the studio and for my alternative architectural school”.<sup>665</sup> The initiative to him meant augmenting the official sources and making the school “a conditional designation for one part of experimental,

658 Nerkez Smailagić, ‘Between tradition and the new - commune and culture’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1962).

659 Darko Venturi, ‘Democratisation in the field of art’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

660 ‘History of the creators’, the Committee for Culture and Arts of Republic of Yugoslavia 1946 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, VII, 1946-1948).

661 Doknić, Cultural Politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.* p.175.

662 *Ibid.*

663 Darko Venturi, ‘Action ‘Total’ gallery of the student centre in Zagreb. Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation)’, *Op.cit.*

664 Therefore, through the Permanent Working Community [Trajna Radna Zaednica] in the beginning of the 1970 many of those self – initiatives in the field of culture became legally possible.

665 Bogdanović, Haunted Builder (Ukleti Neimar), *Op.cit.*, p.190.

optional university teaching”.<sup>666</sup> In addition, Đozić pointed out that having available space encouraged the artists’ self-initiation.<sup>667</sup>

#### ☞ Defining the significance of the buildings

This cultural tool<sup>668</sup> was also developed since the new political paradigm naturally conveyed a new meaning of what type of significance the cultural spaces should have. Therefore, the reconstruction which followed World War II was an opportunity to reorganize, but also to give rise to new significance to the cultural institutions. New ‘social condensers’<sup>669</sup> were needed as spaces for socialization; a typical example of such ‘social condensers’ being the *Homes of Culture [Домови на Културата]* which needed to “become the hearth of our socialist culture”<sup>670</sup> and “an organizer and initiator of the educational, entertainment and other life in the commune”.<sup>671</sup> In *Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment*, the significance of a cultural institution was said to be detected in the “expression of social and cultural needs, placed in a space that is considered to be a field of intersection of the social, cultural and urban”.<sup>672</sup> Due to such transformable characteristics, those spaces needed to carry a quality to transform themselves as permanent holders of the civic [друштвени] and cultural powers in order to respond to the ephemeral everchanging society.<sup>673</sup>

#### IV.1.2.4. Transformations – (R)evolution

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* strived for a dynamic character and embraced action. The everyday micro (r)evolutions aimed to constantly and permanently qualitatively transform the cities, and such transformations arose as a continuation of the permanent movement which occurred during World War II, [fig.192]. and was present even further in the *reality* of the context. As such, the movement was a characteristic of the global socialist ongoing revolution: “All socialist revolutions – from the October Revolution in Russia to the



Fig. 192| Page 3, This Number is dedicated to the Revolution, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.10, 1961, Belgrade

666 *Ibid.*

667 Testimonial Zenit Đozić, Online, 2021 (p.139).

668 To define the significance of a building dedicated to the field of culture, was cultural tool which often imposed as a topic in the readings. In the 1950s, when setting up the cultural politics, three major issues were pointed out as significant. As located in the documentation, all of those issues are related to the significance of the cultural institutions. The first issue aimed to clarify the social functions of the cultural and artistic institutions, the second issue aimed to tackle the question of finances of those institution, and the third issue worked on the civic self-governance of the institution dedicated for culture.

669 Ginzburg, ‘Target Installation in Modern Architecture’, *Op.cit.*

670 Nikolovski, ‘Homes of culture and clubs’, *Op.cit.*

671 *Ibid.*

672 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

673 Milos Jevtić, ‘About culture: neither black nor white’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1972).

Yugoslav, Chinese or Cuban Revolutions – revealed one common trait: they were imbued with enthusiasm and ecstasy<sup>674</sup>, [fig.193]. This is why the essay *Ecstasy and hangover of a revolution aimed to warn about the side effects of the revolution*, explaining that it was dangerous to ‘stop moving’ since that would signify that things are impossible to be changed. This is also the reason why the socialist revolution aimed to be a cultural revolution too, as it needed to occur in “all points of human engagement: in economics, science, education, social services, culture, art and similar areas of the material and spiritual creation of man”.<sup>675</sup>

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was formed by the protagonist, who believed in transformations with the means of culture, art and the Marxist notion of humanization since it helped in gaining “victory over fascism”.<sup>676</sup> Indeed, the transformations were the most vibrant in the context of the 20th century, around the year of 1945 (installing of the socialist paradigm) and 1991 (from the socialist to the neo-liberal paradigm). So, those two points of 1945 and 1991 were crucial in regards to the frequency of the cultural transformation being the most intensive. Also, such transformations meant a shift of the political paradigm of the *Creative Models*, which as a consequence brought about new occurrences in the overall physical space. The transformation of the ownership additionally impacted the development of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*.

In 1945, this meant ‘nationalization’ – making the cultural infrastructure common, where from private ownership the cinemas were converted into the property of the newly established *Republican Secretariats for Culture*.<sup>677</sup> According to Doknić, some of the cinemas were even bullied by the Socialist government since the authorities disapproved of their staying open during the German occupation.<sup>678</sup> Some even mentioned that at that time in the city there was rivalry between the cinemas projecting German movies in color resolution and those that did not project such movies. The beneficiaries preferred the latter as a sign of resistance.<sup>679</sup> The transformations which occurred in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* and followed in the physical space were believed

674 Antun Zvan, *Praxis - Yugoslav Essey in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Essey ‘Ecstasy and Hangover of a Revolution’ (D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1961).

675 Vojislav Vukicevic, ‘The culture of a victorious outcome’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina).

676 *Ibid.*

677 ‘History of the creators’, the Committee for Culture and Arts of Republic of Yugoslavia 1946 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, VII, 1946-1948).

678 Doknić, *Cultural Politics of Yugoslavia*, *Op.cit.* p.43.

679 Dušan Makavejev, *Innocence Unprotected*, 1968 <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.

ARTUN ZVAN

ECSTASY AND HANGOVER OF A REVOLUTION

Today the development of socialism appears as some sort of social cyclicity: periods of crisis and revolutionary enthusiasm have been followed by those of melancholy and depression. During the first period, following the first success of socialist revolution, when there are still striving for the abolition of the old ruling class as an enemy of social progress, the revolution – together with its combats and the above-mentioned enthusiasm – is imbued with a strong feeling of enthusiasm. Inspired by ideas of freedom, social justice and humanity, the revolutionaries feel the duty to diminish the ‘Gulf’ and overhaul a human world. But when the ruling class is abolished, when the revolution – being ‘logical and’ – fails to lack of winning power, when socialism has to reject the ‘political dogmas’, when it ought to develop its ‘organised activity’ and start its ‘self-purification’, then the revolutionaries appear to give up all the illusion and enthusiasm they had been imbued with at the very moment of struggle against the old system. The ideas of freedom, humanity and justice, which used to inspire them in the old days and seemed to them so clear and may be fulfilled, now appear to them ground among the people. Collectively, society is seized by the feeling of depression, for that which seemed once possible appears now, all of a sudden, clear and almost impossible. But it may occur that some new, revolutionary goals emerge, their chances for realisation being small, and people are once again imbued with a new enthusiasm.

One can observe such a cyclic alternation of illusion and depression in almost any socialist revolution of our century. The only difference seems to be in the incidence and intensity of these changes. At the beginning, during the period of armed fights against the ruling class and its institutions, all socialist revolutions – from the October Revolution in Russia to the Yugoslav, Chinese or Cuban Revolutions – revealed one common trait: they were imbued with enthusiasm and ecstasy. But after a certain time, when the old class system was abolished and power passed to the revolutionaries, the old class system was abolished and power passed to the revolutionaries. Among these times, I do not think only of enthusiasm and later on disappointment with the final cause of the revolution on the part of its

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Milada Marković and Gisa Perović (eds): *Praxis*, 317–326.  
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Fig. 193| Essay, *Ecstasy and Hangover of a Revolution, Praxis - Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Antun Zvan, 1961



Fig. 194| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 195| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



to instill ‘new cultural habits’ of the citizens<sup>680</sup>; the city being a synonym for cultural enlightenment, [fig.194].

In physical terms, the motivation was to overcome the century-long ‘colonial military camps [касаби] into civic places’, as “[...] for centuries there were borders where watchtowers stood instead of bridges”.<sup>681</sup> New spaces with a different meaning, such as depiction of the synthesis with nature, aimed to display a new civic identity of the man-made environment in which the new everyday life was formed (p.504), [fig.195]. Such a synthesis backs the ideological standpoint of: “Architecture – we must approach as an ideological fact, we must be interested in the conceptual content of architecture and urban planning”<sup>682</sup>, relating space to *The Marxist theory of revolution*. Architects were encouraged to rely on their “socialist forces”<sup>683</sup> and to transform from “good practitioners and clerks to the bearers of social transformation, reform and progress, as the nature of the work demands from the builders”.<sup>684</sup> According to the protagonists, such architectural transformations were seen for the last time during the Renaissance, when the ‘builders’ were engaged the most in society.<sup>685</sup> For others, the ‘builders’ were the carriers of progress, with an influence on the social communities, where architecture needed to act as a medium of the progress.<sup>686</sup>

The cultural artefact produced in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* organically embodied the characteristic of being able to transform itself, as well as to transform the relations between the object and the man: “Man creates a product to change the context and to realize an idea in a good context”.<sup>687</sup> This characteristic makes the cultural artefact from the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* different since it is “an idea that is not carried out by experts, but by the basic social force of the revolution and its avant-garde”.<sup>688</sup> A new objective of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* emerged to return the human content to the space, so “time, space and human creation can meet again”.<sup>689</sup>

680 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

681 Milan Sakić, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1971).

682 Pravoslav Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

683 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘the article The Revolution expression of the city of Belgrade 1941 – 198’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

684 Aljosa Sevgić, ‘On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarac tribune and around it!’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

685 *Ibid.*

686 *Ibid.*

687 ‘Problems of criticism in our environment’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978)

688 Jevtić, ‘About culture: neither black nor white’, *Op.cit.*

689 Pravoslav Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

Furthermore, the ideological transformations occurred on the micro level too, in the content of the houses, e.g. a villa created prior to 1945 served the ‘bourgeois families’ and supporting their bourgeois lifestyle, surrounded by maids (p.254). Such a lifestyle (nor the space itself) could not meet the new cultural standards of the new society: “Since then there has been a qualitative change in social relations, which must be reflected in the function of the apartment”.<sup>690</sup> Another article related such ideological transformations on a macro city level and suggested more systematic transformations of the entire city networks so they could ‘[...] fulfil the social function of development and integration of society’.<sup>691</sup> Yet another author points out that that successful transformations are a result of the frequency of the invention occurring in the particular man-made environment:

“Today Belgrade has grown into a city that has surpassed itself only three times in terms of population and economic power, and several times in terms of science, culture and art, following the process of modern urbanization. The discrepancy is evident in the comparison of its artistic and creative invention, and the real possibilities of material support”.<sup>692</sup>

The protagonists suggested measuring the success of the *Creative Models of the Socialist City* (from the outlined above) by the two determinants that need to be in an equilibrium: firstly, the quality of the ‘artistic and creative inventions’, and secondly, the ‘material possibilities’. As diverse transformations (when merged with a political paradigm) impact the *Creative Model* and the cultural artefacts, it can be shown that each model has individual determinants which need to be taken into consideration for the analysis.

#### IV.1.2.5. Socialist Urban Culture

This subchapter, titled *Socialist Urban Culture*, aims to show the significance of the ambience, which emerged in the *Socialist City*. In fact, the concept of the ‘ambience’ in relation to the particular man-made environment in the literature is normally explained through the concept of the *Urban Culture*. Moreover, the concept of the *ambience in the literature* is rare since it has been experienced as something subjective and complex for scientific utility. So, grasping from context (especially from the oral testimonials of the protagonists), the exercise detected a particular *ambience* which emerged in the Yugoslav man-made environment. This thesis intends to acknowledge ambience as a valid

690 Boltizar, ‘Instead of 100 investors’, *Op.cit.*

691 Djuro Djurović, ‘Yugoslav spaces and cities in the year 2000’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1969).

692 ‘Culture is a factor in the image of the city - FEST ‘76’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1976).

characteristic of the man-made environment, and ‘collective subjectivity’ as an element of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*.

Gernot Böhme has conducted important work for the purpose of understanding the topic of ‘atmosphere’ in the man-made environment. For instance, in *The Aesthetics of Atmospheres*, Böhme detects that the ‘atmosphere’ which is settled in the man-made environment has an impact on the people who live in it: “Engaging the affectivity of people; it affects their minds, manipulates their mood, and evokes emotions”.<sup>693</sup> The author also reflects on the complexity of ‘catching’ the concept. According to Böhme, the term ‘atmosphere of a city’ is usually used from a touristic perspective (“stranger perspective”) to describe a particular characteristic noticed when visiting a place.

The author reveals that the concept of ‘atmosphere’ in the man-made environment should be related to the everyday life of the local citizens of that environment: “Rather, atmosphere means, on the one hand, precisely what is ordinary and natural for the residence and, on the other, what the natives constantly help to produce through their daily lives, but which strikes visitors only as characteristic. The atmosphere of a city, then, is not the same as its image. The image of a city is what it consciously projects about itself to the outside, or the totality of preconception held about it externally”.<sup>694</sup> Furthermore, Böhme reflects on the importance and relevance of such collective subjectivity:

“With that, I come to the second advantage of an urban aesthetics that draws on the concept of atmosphere: such an aesthetics is not just about how a city might be judged from the point of view of aesthetics or art history, but rather about how one feels in it. This is a decisive step towards the inclusion of what is rather awkwardly called ‘the subjective factor’. On the one hand, an atmosphere is always sensed only in one’s own disposition. On the other hand, it is precisely sensed as something external, something emanating from other people, things, or the environment. In this sense, it is something subjective that can be shared with others and about which one can communicate. What matters in the study of atmospheres is how one feels in the environment with particular qualities in one’s own disposition. One can communicate such dispositions by indicating the character of an atmosphere: relaxed or oppressive; busy, serene or festive”.<sup>695</sup>

In this context, the concept of *Urban Culture* was not even linked to the socialist paradigm that the protagonist described as a particular *Socialist Urban Culture*. More recent research also deals with this topic; even so, in the original texts, the direct term *Socialist Urban Culture* has not been mentioned. In *Moscow, the Fourth Rome*, the links between the architecture, socialist paradigm and the created reality are discussed. The book observes that the ongoing

693 Gernot Böhme, *Atmospheric Architectures: The Aesthetics of Felt Spaces* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

694

*Ibid.*

695

*Ibid.*

1930s ‘city cultural revolution’ influenced the “social consciousness and way of life”<sup>696</sup> in the city of Moscow. The book additionally argues that architecture is an important element for such a ‘cultural turn’ since “aesthetics returned as a value. [...] architecture become a major source of metaphors for society [...]”.<sup>697</sup> Therefore the *Socialist Urban Culture* and ‘the social consciousness and way of life’ impacted the architectural projects that needed to enable the novelty. Le Corbusier wrote the essay titled the *Atmosphere of Moscow*, [fig.196], during his visit of the city in 1930. The architect observed the efforts of the new society to transform and hence depicted them as an overall atmosphere which was felt in the city.

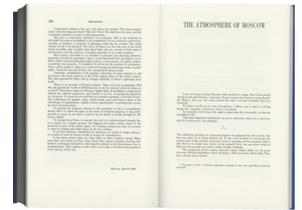


Fig. 196| Pages 258 -259, Book, *Precisions – On the present state of Architecture and City Planning*, Le Corbusier, 1986

From here on, the thesis positions and recognizes *ambience* as an important agent for the creation of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. In fact, he ambience is formed from the complex ongoing consequential societal processes and the *events* occurring in the man-made environment, in which a particular ambience grows. Thus, the ‘events’ play the role of a ‘catalyst’ for generating a particular *ambience* (read IV.1.2.6.).

In this context, the concept was not recognized as *Socialist Urban Culture*, but rather the concept of ambience was regularly polemized in the professional architectural public discourse. Several terms were used to describe the concept: ‘urban atmosphere’, the ‘culture in the city’, the ‘impulses of the everyday’, etc. The term *Urban Culture* was firstly noticed in the press, around 1974, when a column titled *Culture is a factor in the character of the city*, which elaborates the issues surrounding the concept, came out frequently.<sup>698</sup> In the article *The Urbanism of Belgrade*, dating back from 1977, the author explains that the term *Urban Culture* has its limits since the borders between ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ culture are blurred: “I would immediately say that I think it is wrong to claim that urban and rural culture exist today as antipodes”.<sup>699</sup> Another author suggested that the characteristics deriving from the ‘climate’ of the cities contain significant psychological and sociological characteristics, thus they need to be classified and treated as “qualitative norms” of a man-made environment.<sup>700</sup>

696 Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome - Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931–1941* (Harvard University Press, 2011), p.44.

697 *Ibid.*

698 The term has been emerged in the architectural and spatial planning magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, in 1974 (No.27), where in the column ‘Culture is a factor in the character of the city’ concerning issues around the Urban Culture has been regularly publish in the magazine in the years between 1974-1977.

699 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

700 Janić, ‘Methodological approach of planning the city centres’, *Op.cit.*

In the article *Unity of the working and life space*, *Urban Culture* is related to the everyday way of life in a particular environment where “[...] the urban local community is integrated into the ambience of city life and permeated by its rhythm”.<sup>701</sup> According to the author, the positive characteristics of the urban proximity in cities are “the contacts to educational and cultural institutions, the access to events, life processes that are dynamic, and fast communication”.<sup>702</sup> Indeed, the author argues that although there is great creative potential deriving from the proximity, it has not been used in the Yugoslav cities: “Therefore, cultural and educational action at this level, with less organizational and practical efforts can bring about significant effects, but the fact is that the modern city does not use such advantages”.<sup>703</sup>

The author criticized the noticeable tendency of alienation in urban areas (especially those developed in the capitalistic paradigm), creation of groups with “personal-economic, housing and similar interest”<sup>704</sup>, neglecting the idea of “a joint effort to make cultural and educational action”.<sup>705</sup> Therefore, the goals of the *Socialist Urban Culture* were to act in the spirit of the Marxist Philosophy and to suggest the *communist impulses*, so the desired cohesion between the diverse urban typologies, meanings and ambiances constructed a balanced space and communities:

“Let us not emphasize the myth and worship of the book. It is necessary for the apartment to become a library, a drugstore, and the library to become an apartment, a home, a street... Let’s break down borders, barriers! Let’s deal with socialist impulses. Let’s build a free, creative relationship with the drugstore of culture”.<sup>706</sup>

The cultural creators emphasized that such ‘socialist impulses’ yielded the cosmopolite *ambience*, which was proven to be beneficial for the creation of their creative inventions. In addition, the protagonist accentuated that it developed a different ‘code of living’, and established a different ‘code of behaviour’ – as a place where better artistic creations emerged too.<sup>707</sup> The cultural creator Bucan, in *You can’t learn creativity in schools*, highlighted the importance of *the street* – as a space where the *Urban Culture* was created and broadcast. The exercises aimed to elaborate how this impacted the development of the artistic thinking. In his article, Bucan claimed that the different socialist thinking had greater artistic potential, and it was “free from the kind of propaganda

701 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

702 *Ibid.*

703 *Ibid.*

704 *Ibid.*

705 *Ibid.*

706 Kokalevski, ‘Library - supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*

707 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, Online, 2021 (p.139).

about how everything must be sold, and everyone in the West is enslaved”.<sup>708</sup> The author further develops their critical stance towards the market-oriented thinking, which impacts the design processes too, meaning that the particular *Socialist Urban Culture* anticipated the *cultural artefact* with a different character and greater freedom of expression. Bucan continues to argue that for good design, there is no need for schools for designers but rather design schools which would teach good design to the investors, and<sup>709</sup> it is for those reasons, Bucan opens the floor for such reflections between the position of the beneficiaries, the cultural creatives and the investors.

Importance is given to the *reality* in which one lives since it is in that *reality* that both the artist and the common people jointly live, and that is where a common *Urban Culture* is broadcast, where the particular Yugoslav context develops its specific *Socialist Urban Culture* (based on specific socialist thinking). Foreign artists also acknowledged the specific *Yugoslav Urban Culture* and its impact on the cultural artefacts, e.g. when the Polish author Roman Cieslewicz observed the work of Bucan, he stated: “This is only possible in Yugoslavia”, emphasizing the specificities which arose in the *Creative Model of the Yugoslav City*.<sup>710</sup> This occurred also because the impact of art on reality, and therefore on the *cultural artefact* in the context, was majestic, and the links between the three components (art – the everyday – the *cultural artefact*) were ‘cleaner’.<sup>711</sup> Therefore, the success of the Yugoslav case denoting art which has the power to influence the *reality*: “Art contributes to the spiritual climate of the time, in largely creates it”.<sup>712</sup>

From that point on, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* became a platform or diffusing particular *Urban Culture* of a particular *reality* since the architects also lived in that environment: “A cultural foundation of the environment in which architects move should be examined”.<sup>713</sup> Furthermore it was suggested that by studying *Urban Culture*, what can be examined is the “[...] real influence of artists’ ideas on architects’ ideas”<sup>714</sup>, once more displaying the link between the art – the everyday – and the cultural creation. This not only

708 ‘Boris Bucan, a graphic designer in the battle against the city grayness: creativity can’t be learnt in the schools’, Katja Sutić, Duga, 1980, <[www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com)>.

709 *Ibid.*

710 *Ibid.*

711 In a sense, there were less barriers – such as the critical thinking towards commercialization, fostering cosmopolite thinking etc.

712 ‘The influence of the domestic cultural environment. Relations of the cultural environment to architecture’, *Op.cit.*

713 *Ibid.*

714 *Ibid.*

impacted the architecture (as an object – cultural creation) and the architect (as a cultural creator), but also created different links within the society. The intentions to change it came about as a conscious act which was discussed at the very beginning. In the following extract from the *First Congress of the Architects of Yugoslavia* the new links for the new society were discussed:

“It is necessary to further develop and improve architecture as an integral part of national culture and culture in general and to direct it in theoretical and ideological terms, and in accordance with economic and general social relations of our socialist construction, striving to get the full sense of the profession of an architect.”<sup>715</sup>

One of the outcomes of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was not only the creation of new social relations (which is most often described in the architectural magazines<sup>716</sup>), but also the development of new links between the people (the cultural creators, on the one hand, and the beneficiaries, on the other) and their cultural creation. Therefore, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* created an inseparable link between the real life (reality) and architecture. In such circumstances, the *Socialist Urban Culture* aimed to depict a more humane reality, yet also to envision “a free, mobile, communicative, open and humane human life, a life that is on the other side of all slavery, egoism and loneliness”.<sup>717</sup> The totality of the environment – both the physical characteristics and the created *ambience* in it – and the newly created inseparable links played a role in the *Creative Model of The Socialist City*. Additionally, the socialist paradigm served as a filter to detect the ‘negative ambience’ which arose in the man-made environment (p.193). Therefore, success was achieved since the socialist paradigm served as an applied critique in the creative field; the *Socialist Urban Culture* aimed to foster its individual authenticity, [fig.197, fig.198, fig.199], based on the power to critically examine the capitalistic phenomena:

“[...] through the entertainment press and other forms of cultural and entertainment life, millions of people, the youth and children are showered with ‘facts’ that success in the ‘other world’ is achieved by gambling, by fulfilling competition coupons, by happy circumstances, inheritance, embezzlement, burglary, beauty, marriage, football agility, birth under a ‘lucky star’, etc. Such content – due to ‘their lack of ideas or morbidity, petty-bourgeois or pathological content, lack of criticism towards a foreign or national past – has devastating effects on the opinions and attitudes of the working man’.”<sup>718</sup>



Fig. 197| Photo, ‘Communist Youth’, Korčula Summer School of Philosophy, ~ mid 1965, Korčula



Fig. 198| Poster, ‘Non – aligned punk’, 1980s



Fig. 199| Photo, Forum, ‘Another Woman: The Women’s Question, A New Approach?’, Student Cultural Center, 1978, Belgrade

715 ‘Work program of the council of the Croatian Architects’ Association’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).

716 As often indicated in the readings, the new relations needed to build new cities and new physical infrastructure in the same.

717 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

718 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*, p.178.

Finally, as already indicated, the events acted as ‘catalysts’ in the evolution of the *ambience*. The protagonists described that a good city is a city in which a particular intensity can be felt: “Belgrade was a creative city, a city in which you can hear a lot and see a lot”.<sup>719</sup> Even so, the ambience of each of the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo will be elaborated separately in the following sub-chapter (IV.2.2.).

The next sub-chapter aims to elaborate the significance of the *events* in the construction of creative *ambience*: “FEST thus brings something new to our cultural atmosphere, awakens the desire for higher values, refines the taste, and changes the attitude towards film”.<sup>720</sup>

#### IV.1.2.6. Significance of the event

As mentioned above, the *event* is a catalyst of an emerging *ambience* in the man-made environment and as such, each *event* represents a micro-social movement, containing transformative cultural power. For example, the art exhibition held in 1904 in Belgrade, which first showed the common Yugoslav art aiming to recognize the similarities, acted as a social movement towards a united future.<sup>721</sup> Another example traced in the architectural magazines the narration that each opening of a new school or organization of a forum impacted the “spiritual potential of Belgrade”.<sup>722</sup> From that point, the architect recognized early on that the event was a potential for new quality, and thus should be designed too, further leading them to understand the city as a stage for diverse occurrences even beyond the physical structure:

“The city also comprises the memories, recollections and forgetfulness deposited in the names of places, habits, knowledge, inclinations and attitudes of its inhabitants. The city – these are new impulses in its life, new aspirations, events and achievements, new understandings of man and the city, society, tradition and future. The city – these are social and cultural institutions, fairs, festivals and scientific gatherings, these are traditional exhibitions and art festivals, sports competitions and local festivals”.<sup>723</sup>

As the Yugoslav cities between 1960 and 1990 experienced an immense emergence of a vibrant Yugoslav cultural scene, the events played a significant role in the creation of such ambience within them. In the sub-chapter, the festival *FEST*, [fig.200], is taken as a ‘sample example’ to better understand the

719 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

720 FEST Catalogue, *Op.cit.*

721 Nenad Makuljević, ‘Yugoslav art and culture: from the art of the nation to the art of the territory’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

722 Miodrag Kolarić, ‘Geography of Belgrade culture’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Croatia, 1971).

723 Milica Jaksčić, ‘Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).



Fig. 200| Page, ‘Fest an Unique Event’, Catalog *FEST*, 1975, Belgrade

relationship between the city, the beneficiaries and the creative creators. *FEST* emerged in the city of Belgrade in 1971 for the purpose of “giving the film the status of a cultural value” and at the same time transforming the misunderstanding in society that the film festival presents “[...] a kind of opium for the people, in the background of which, as a rule, there is a big film business”.<sup>724</sup> The festival emerged in the late 1960s as an annual festival and quickly rose to become one of the most visited festivals (100.000 spectators in 1971), [fig.201].<sup>725</sup> The festival built upon the ongoing understanding of an aesthetic which was emerging in the context (p.504): “a combative stigmatic attitude towards the so-called aestheticism has developed. The beautiful has become synonymous with the bourgeoisie or in another social system – bureaucratic”.<sup>726</sup> Furthermore, in a conceptual sense the film festival created its authentic approach to become a critical film festival with ‘a social critique of film art’ and to strive for “social justice, rebellion, attitudes towards the humiliated and the offended; one of the basic ferments of the development of every art [...]”.<sup>727</sup> In this conceptual sense, the festival desired to have an ‘authentic’ and “completely irrational dialectic, which is in fact, the real source and engine of poetry”.<sup>728</sup> In the following extract from the catalogue of *FEST*, the aim of the festival is exposed, and we can analyze the relation between the cultural creators, the festival and the beneficiaries:



Fig. 201| Photo, Cultural Life of Belgrade, 1975, Belgrade

- “1. Through a selection of the best achievements of the world film industry, to inform the public, in a timely and competent manner, about the newest creative and production results of the world film industry, equally respecting all the progressive and humanitarian tendencies.
2. To offer the public an opportunity of an exceptional viewing of the film arts, which is too often suffered by the unsuccessful import policy, or which is often being offered after considerable delay.
3. To give an opportunity to the authors to become acquainted with the state of the world film industry, which can help stimulate them and test their own creative ideas and ways. *FEST* can also very effectively help to establish the real criteria of values, which is a starting point of creativeness in general.
4. In view of the distribution system – such as the Yugoslav one – to make *FEST* become not only a compensation but also an experience and, maybe even a lesson for the activity in this domain.
5. To offer an opportunity to the entire Yugoslav film industry to make contacts.
6. To stimulate the development and enrich the experiences of existing national film organizations and institutions, particularly national festivals.
7. Through a selection of the best films, to contribute to the reaffirmation and rehabilitation of films endangered by their own crisis or by a crisis conditioned by objective circumstances of life.

724 *FEST* Catalogue, Belgrade, 1972.

725 *Ibid.*

726 *Ibid.*

As explained (p.190), the socialism did not aim to depict more beautiful reality neather to construct more beautiful image.

727 *FEST* Catalogue, *Op.cit.*

728 *Ibid.*

8. As the strongest centre of the Yugoslav film production, as a city with the most numerous audience, such as the *National Festival of Documentary Films*, the *International Festival of Science-Fiction and Technical films*, the *International Biennale of Traffic Films*, the *International Festival of Student-Amateurs*, and the *Festival of the Best Re-Run Films (Politika's)* is the most natural FEST host".<sup>729</sup>

Even becoming a popular festival<sup>730</sup>, it did not aim to become a 'populist festival' to 'flirt with the taste of vulgus', since the 'vulgar commercialism suffocated art'.<sup>731</sup> From the aspect of the beneficiaries, the festival influenced the ambience in the city; it created an ambience where "nowhere has life been so directly and intensely film-convincing, as well as lively, as in Belgrade during the FEST".<sup>732</sup>

### IV.1.3. CRITICAL SPACE

As observed from the collected data, in the *Creative Model of The Yugoslav City* there gradually emerged a physical and metaphorical 'critical space'; the objective being to give rights to the wider population to participate in the public life. Such a bottom-up discourse of 'the right to public life' arose from the premises of the self-management system, which de facto was invented so citizens could participate in the creation of both the public and political life. The 'critical space' through its evolutionary path shaped the *Creative Model of The Socialist City*, thus fitting the objectives of the cultural program to be "valid on the entire Yugoslav territory, regardless of the economic and cultural level".<sup>733</sup> In the following extract, the emergence of the 'critical space' within the cultural program can be observed:

"- The release of work in which the precondition for the gradual abolition of all forms of human alienation is seen; free disposition of the results of the work team by the participants in the work;  
 - Socialization of all public functions and transformation, in perspective, of the self-manager into a factor of the entire policy of the society;  
 - Gradual abolition of the differences between intellectual and physical labor through the connection of culture and society as well as culture and labor which are separated in capitalism;  
 - Equalization of self-governing socialist democracy and cultural democracy;  
 - Developing social relations in which human reciprocity would be confirmed and the work and society of all citizens would be equally manifested;  
 - Development of the economic, political and cultural equality of all nationalities and ethnic groups;  
 - Self-realization of the personality and gradual overcoming of the forms of paternalistic guidance;

729 FEST Catalogue, *Op.cit.*

730 In 1972, seventy-five Yugoslav cities show interest to present the program of FEST in their city.

731 FEST Catalogue, *Op.cit.*

732 The golden age of the FEST from the angle of Božidar Zečević, 2018.

733 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.220.

- Development of new cultural forms and equalization of all types of creative expression of people, as well as development of a self-governing creative community whose members would not only participate in the cultural life but also create culture;
- Organizing social and cultural life in forms of self-government in which the state and other institutions would be in the service of a self-governing society and under its democratic supervision;
- Affirmation of the leading role of the working class, whose interests are identified with the interests of the whole society as well as its avantgarde role in achieving social goals which are at the same time cultural goals;
- Encouraging critical awareness and socialist democratic responsibility in the revolutionary practice of transforming society and social relations;
- Gradual elimination and overcoming of all social and regional differences, and creation of equal opportunities for personal development, and improvement and confirmation of their social position;
- Realization and development of conditions in which only in a socialist administrative democracy, the freedom of everyone would be a condition for freedom for all”.<sup>734</sup>

As presented in the extract above, the ‘critical space’ (points in the city from where the critical thinking was emitting) emerged as a consequence of the developed critical thinking (p.147), which had its reference in a historical sense as well. For example, in the pre-World War II period, the breakdown with any kind of ‘monarchy or any other aristocratic thinking’ was advocated, so the ‘socialist thinking’ paved the ground towards the construction of the ‘incentive humane’. Other authors pointed to the *Communist Manifesto*, where the material and intellectual creation as ‘common property’ needed to overcome the “national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness, which has become more and more impossible”.<sup>735</sup> Therefore, critical thinking influenced the overall logic of materialization of the city, as it was embodied in the architecture too (p.192). The cultural artefacts, though, from the Yugoslav context embodied a socialist critical thinking.

On the cultural front, the ‘critical space’ aimed to confront the cultural oppression, and consequently the cultural programs suggested ‘education’ as the main element for the emergence of the critical space. As can be seen in the popular evidence, [fig.202, fig.203]), educational campaigns emerged and “workers’ and people’s Universities were opened, the number of libraries, reading rooms and cinemas increased, amateur societies of lovers of painting were created, theaters, municipal and district cultural-educational communities also emerged”.<sup>736</sup> As a result of all the listed (and as observed in the popular evidence, [fig.204]), ‘critical spaces’ became visible in the everyday visual range of the people, who largely accepted them, although the society noticed that the



Fig. 202| Poster, ‘My University’, ~ late 1940 - mid 1950s, Belgrade



Fig. 203| Poster, ‘Our libraries provide all citizens with a good, truth and a beautiful book’, ~ late 1940 - mid 1950s, Belgrade

734 *Ibid.*

735 Katerina Clark, Moscow, the Fourth Rome - Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931–1941, *Op.cit.* p.9.

736 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.224.

youth was not ready for them, [fig.205].<sup>737</sup> Nevertheless, in the 1950s, University campuses were ‘popping-up’ in the cities, e.g. the city of Skopje established the *Faculty of Philosophy* in the 1950s<sup>738</sup>, the city of Sarajevo established the Faculty of Law in 1946<sup>739</sup>, and the city of Belgrade had the longest standing University tradition – with an official higher education institution from the year 1808 (even though the University was transformed in the 1950s and 1960s).<sup>740</sup> The cultural creators wanted to improve the current state of the Yugoslav population, where “1/5 is illiterate, those who are literate read an average of one book per year, and every seventh resident of Belgrade older than ten years is illiterate, etc.”<sup>741</sup> In the following extract, the author presents how through a systematic approach the uneven network of ‘critical space’ aimed to be developed on the territory:

“In the educational plans made after the War, special attention was paid to the backward parts of the country, even to the detriment of larger city centres [...]. The priority goal of Yugoslav cultural policy was to develop an extensive network of educational institutions from primary education to Universities. University centres were formed in six major republic cities, and Faculties were formed in 14 cities (capitals; then Nish, Prishtina, Rijeka, Split, Zadar, Tuzla, Novi Sad, Subotica), and 104 higher schools were opened in 42 Yugoslav cities”.<sup>742</sup>

The significance of the University campuses lay in the fact that they were micro-centres which would ensure permanent social movement and further transform the environments in which they were located. For example, manifestations and bottom-up advocating occurred in the city of Skopje (mid-1950s) to acknowledge the ‘the University as a centre for development of scientific thinking’, [fig.206]. Finally, as the University network extensively developed in the 1960s, the city built its own campus (p.382), on which the already developed critical thought of the architects was also applied, [fig.207]. The first tangible results from the emergence of such critical spaces were the student manifestations in 1968, which occurred simultaneously in several Yugoslav environments. For instance, at that moment the *Red University – Karl Marx*, [fig.208] gained instant support from the wider cultural network of the city “[...] for the next seven days, speeches were held, plans and political demands were made, with the support and active participation of artists from the world



Fig. 206| Scenes from the documentary, *The Student City*, 1968



Fig. 207| Photo, *Ss. Cyril and Methodius University*, Marko Mušić, 1974, Skopje



Fig. 208| Photo, Initiative Karl-Marx Red University, 1968, Belgrade

737 Such example is expressed in the movie the Elusive Summer of '68, where in one scene [fig.247], three young people are visiting the library because their parents are insisting and because they find the librarian girl attractive (rather than reading the Capital).

738 Aser Deleon, ‘The working man needs a varied cultural life’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1958).

739 Osman Dikić, ‘Notes for Sarajevo’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1960).

740 Deleon, ‘The working man needs a varied cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

741 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

742 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*, p.219.

of film, theatre, musicians and painters”,<sup>743</sup> and the *People’s University Kolarac* had the “aspiration to make available to the widest possible circle of working people the achievements of science, culture and art”.<sup>744</sup>

To sum up, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, among other things, aimed to change the way of thinking and doing, and architecture was one of them, as well as the creation of common intellectual and material properties. For that reason, other authors viewed the socialist city from the lens of its intellectual life.<sup>745</sup> Critical space also helped critical creativity to be developed in the cities.

743 ‘Remembering the Red University’, 1918, (<http://www.seecult.org/vest/secanje-na-crveni-univerzitet>).

744 Sevgić, ‘On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarac tribune and around it!’, *Op.cit.*

745 Clark, *Petersbook Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, *Op.cit.*

## **IV.2. TEST (S): THREE CITIES – THREE CULTURAL APPROACHES**

### **IV.2.1. CIVIC ARCHITECTURE**

The sub-chapter in the first part will apply the analysis obtained from the other chapters, for the purpose of an in-depth understanding of a “sample building” in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. The second part of the sub-chapter examines three chosen buildings in their respective creative model of the cities where they are located: the *Sava Centre* from the *Creative Model of Belgrade*, *The Museum of Contemporary Art* from the *Creative Model of Skopje*, and the *Centre Skenderija* from the *Creative Model of Sarajevo*. This is due to the need to better understand the buildings as *cultural artefacts* and their link with the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*.

#### Introduction: architecture as a cultural artefact

In the study conducted by Böhme (p.312), the author detected that “the human beings transform their system of needs to satisfy the requirement of capitalistic development – the need for continuous growth”.<sup>746</sup> Later on, Böhme continues to explain how in the field of culture, the mass consumption “feeds economic growth via profit”,<sup>747</sup> i.e. in a nutshell, the angle of looking at things is that the capitalistic cultural system is a system which motivates to create cultural artefacts based on human desires rather their needs. Since the cultural artefacts are purchased by the humans (who fulfill their desires), the system ‘plays with it’ and creates more and more appealing cultural artefacts to be bought and desires to be grown too. So for Böhme, aesthetics serves the role of fostering limitless and continuous new desires<sup>748</sup>, where the phenomenon occurs as a “production of aesthetic values”<sup>749</sup> for generating increasing growth and economic profit.

746 Böhme, *Critique of Aesthetic Capitalism, Op.cit.*

747 *Ibid.*

748 Those continuously new desires are not coming from real needs.

749 Böhme, *Critique of Aesthetic Capitalism, Op.cit.*

As this thesis positions architecture as a *cultural artefact*, it recognizes that it is not an exception to the angle it is viewed from, as suggested in the study of Böhme (who detected the general phenomena). Firstly, it contains materials which are commodities, and secondly, its design is a subject of not rational desire too: “aesthetics becomes the main force governing the design, from the production stage to the marketing and right up to the sphere of private living”.<sup>750</sup> Therefore, architecture has the logic of creation as any other *cultural artefact* which is part of a cultural system. Such an analysis is part of today’s neoliberal paradigm as profit and limitless growth is the objective, the *cultural artefacts* are generated to fulfil the limitless desires. In the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, the thesis the research positioned itself on was that architecture was produced by the logic of ‘satisfying human needs, from which the desires were brought upon’ as it is the main objective, and its various qualities it possesses are the product of such understanding.

In this sub-chapter, the thesis will aim to depict the objectives of the creation of the cultural artefact – the chosen buildings. In the socialist cultural model, architecture aimed not only to follow the needs, but also to leave the door open for the creation of new ones (p.477). Moreover, ‘aesthetics’ does not support the logic of ‘growth’ but it is rather based on the individual understanding of the creators, who are also protagonists.<sup>751</sup> Therefore ‘aesthetics’ in the socialist model had a different role than the one explained earlier by Böhme. In the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, it played an active role: to generate a critical role for the ‘beneficiaries’:

“[...] living creative aesthetics of life’s needs. Aesthetics do exist for the sake of aesthetics, but even here without the presence of architecture. Isn’t architecture a subject of aesthetics and many other useful things for life observed in the dialectical movement of creative thought”.<sup>752</sup>

A similar notion is presented in the book titled the *Ideal Communist City*, where the quality of architecture is not associated through the quality of the components, neither is it ‘dependable’ on certain trends – “We are absolutely not engaged in looking for new kinds of building materials or techniques; those we describe are quite conventional construction techniques that are normal today, or ones that will be common in the next few decades”<sup>753</sup> – rather quality is linked to the eternal existence of the *cultural artefact*:

750 *Ibid.*

751 As explained in chapter I, the architecture created in the Creative model of the Socialist City is characterized with a specific notion of understanding the quality.

752 Nikola Dobrović, ‘The contribution of dialectics to the development of architectural thought’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

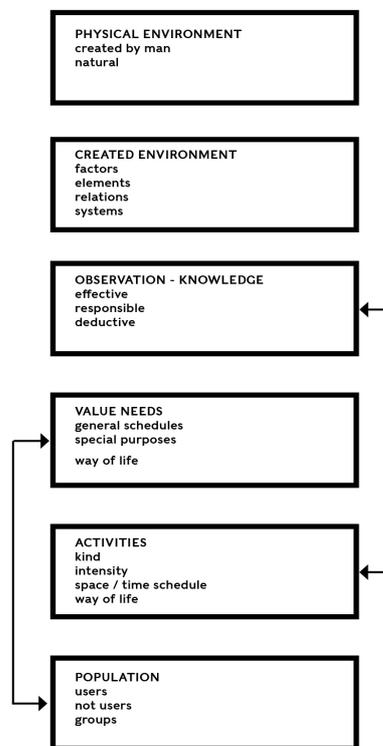
753 Alexei G. A. Baburov, G. Djumenton, *The Ideal Communist City* (G. Braziller, 1968).

“We certainly do not intend to dictate the actual profile of a settlement or the design of any individual building. We realize, moreover, that every environmental improvement is made not only by building new structures but by relating these in some way to existing surroundings. Any plan we offer, therefore, even the most abstract, assumes that change will be gradual, consisting of increments of progress towards a distant goal”<sup>754</sup>.

In the same direction, architecture as a *cultural artefact*, as a creation of the socialist thinking, should be better understood through examining its original thoughts – via Yugoslav lens. In fact, the lens the protagonist had were Marxist, giving way to creating environmental harmony (p.351):

“Back in the day we had our Marxist understanding of nature: an ideology which teaches us about harmony, i.e. harmony of the resources. It is quite different than the religious understanding, which teaches us to reproduce to multiply, etc. God tell us to use the resources. This is not ecological. Back in the day we had a Marxist approach to nature. We were thinking how not to abuse the resources and live in harmony with what we already have”<sup>755</sup>.

The Yugoslavs viewed all the issues through the lens of human-cultural development, related to the Marxist positions: “Work is a process between man and nature, a process in which man performs his exchange of matter with nature and enables this exchange, regulates and controls his activity ... By acting on nature outside himself and changing it, he also changes his nature”<sup>756</sup>. As identified in the context, the protagonist differentiated three types of environments. The architect Borislav Stojkov synthesized and defined the types of environments: the natural environment, the civic [društvena] environment, and the created (the man-made) environment. The study of the architect is crucial to be understood, to reveal the theoretical notion behind the creation of the Yugoslav *cultural artefact* – and in the particular



[fig.16] Diagram: a basic scheme which Stojkov presented in his article The criteria for setting goals for the spatial development of the city. This schematic diagram presents the basic relations between the three possible environments and the elements to be considered when analyzing them, (Redraw by the author)

754 *Ibid.*

755 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).

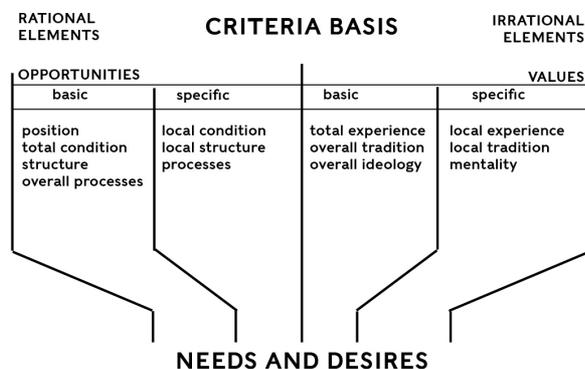
756 Borislav Stojkov, “The criteria for setting goals for the spatial development of the city, *Urbanism Belgrade* (SR Serbia, Belgrade, 1974).

case, the architectural object. In the following extract, Stojkov defines the three possible and recognized environments:

- “A. The natural environment as a totality, as something that is given, that is the essence, and of which man is an integral part, i.e. which man necessarily relates to and within which man as a biological individual relates to other individuals. Since it represents totality, the natural environment represents the cause of all relations and actions, and at the same time, their consequence.
- B. Civic environment as a consequence of the relationship and action of separate individuals within the natural environment. Changes in the social environment, i.e. changes in relations between people, are caused by the development of human consciousness, the development of production relations and attitudes towards work, the development of means of production and technology, etc. Using the natural environment at the same time, man consciously and unconsciously relates to the natural environment, depending on the changes in his own, social environment.
- C. The created environment as a result of human action within its biogenic environment. This action can be observed from the point of view of the action of the only biological species with developed consciousness, which results in positive or negative consequences for the natural environment itself, i.e. for all individuals of that environment, including man himself”<sup>757</sup>

It is upon these premises that Stojkov builds two more theses: the first being that an environment should be studied as a ‘total environment’, i.e. certain powers that influence and impact the environment are not concerned with the eventual physical or social borders. The second thesis aims to recognize that there is a ‘social (irrational) character of a certain environment’, which also needs to be included in the planning processes. The same can be spotted in the following diagram, [fig.17], as ‘irrational elements’, under which the ‘local experience, tradition and mentality’ should be considered when defining the needs and desires:

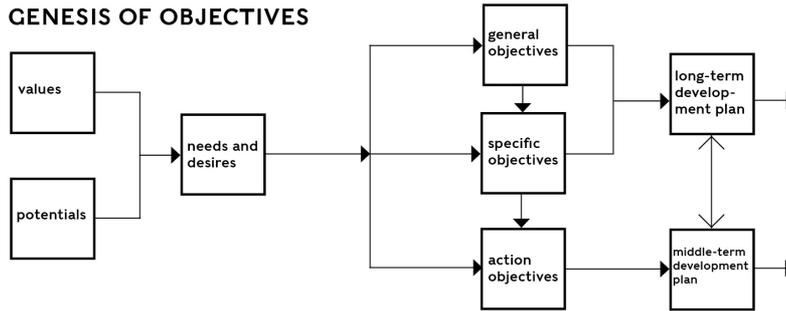
[fig.17] Diagram which explains how to arrive to common needs and desires as a first step to start a design process, (Redraw by the author)



According to the Stojkov, such ‘irrational elements’ will give the environment individual characteristics, where “different forms of social superstructure create a different understanding of the environment as well as a different attitude towards it, which is manifested in the noticeable specific differences of

757 *Ibid.*

individual social communities”.<sup>758</sup> Moreover, the author pointed out the importance of retracting to “classical urbanism, according to which the solution to all other problems of the city lies in the solution of physical structures”<sup>759</sup>; all ideas of how a city could look for the solution of the emerging problems. To support his theory, the author proposed the objectives as a basic parameter for planning and developing a diagram for their systematic approach, [fig.18].

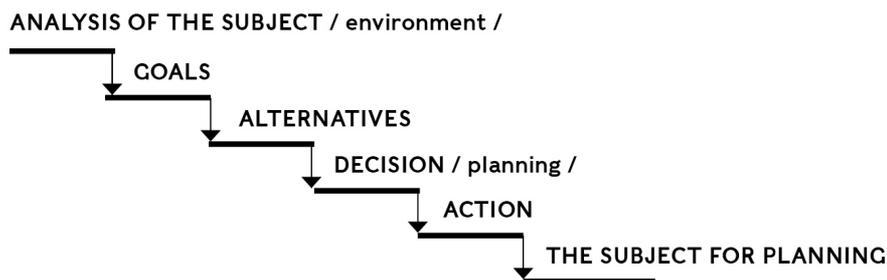


[fig.18] Diagram which shows how to translate the 'objectives' into the planning process, (Redraw by the author)

In the extract below, the study explains how to involve the objectives of the planning into the spatial planning processes:

“In this context, we view objectives as the first and basic reflection of self-awareness and the surrounding environment. Within the planning process, and especially spatial planning, we consider objectives as a basic element that contributes to the humanization and socialization of the plan, i.e. as a segment that in the planning process introduces human, intuitive and specific features as opposed to machine-like, exact and universal. This, of course, does not exclude exactness and systematicity in the process of objective preparation”.<sup>760</sup>

Furthermore, the author offers a process of understanding how to arrive at *the subject for planning*. The process is based on the setting-up stages to discover several aspects before arriving at the significant subject. Such stages are: analysis of the subject, the goals, the alternatives, the decision, the action, and finally arriving at the subject for planning.

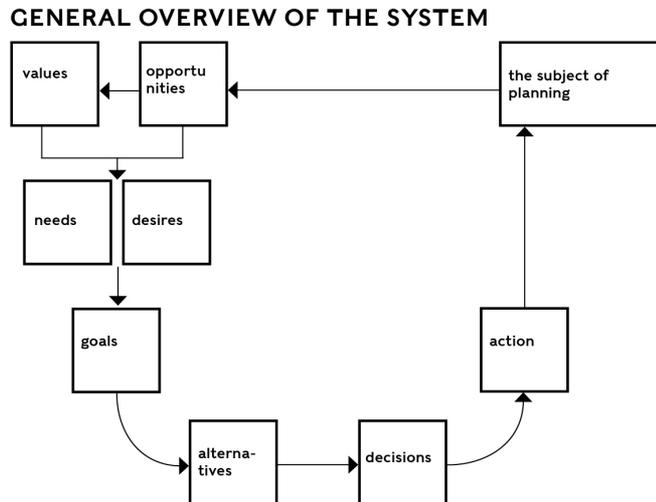


[fig.19] A diagram which depicts the process of finding the right 'subject for planning', (Redraw by the author)

758 *Ibid.*  
 759 *Ibid.*  
 760 *Ibid.*

Positioning the *subject for planning*, not only as a discovery but also translating it and placing it in a “particular environment”, is done through the systematic intervention of ‘action’. Therefore, the diagram *General Overview of the System*, [fig.20], depicts the system of the *Subject of Planning*.

[fig.19] A diagram which depicts how to arrive to the ‘subject’ for planning, (Re-draw by the author)



Therefore, the different segments from the diagrams, [fig.17, fig.18, fig.19], all present what Stojkov considered as objectives, i.e. significant for the qualitative development of the city (p.531):

“The series of possibilities and values of a city transposed into the needs and desires of its inhabitants, therefore, at the same time represent a criterion basis for proposing, considering and adopting goals. By further transposing the goals into the plan of simple development of the city, a series of concrete proposals is given in the form of variant solutions for their realization”.<sup>761</sup>

To conclude, such theoretical positioning of the objectives impacted the cultural artefacts – the architecture was created in an environment, but the environment itself was also impacted. The three environments are interrelated and dependent on creating a ‘total environment’. From this point on, the eventual destruction of each of the environments (as an interrelated problem between the three environments) – as the socialist paradigm was “human-centred” – and the detected problems in the environments were understood as “negligence of the human element”, i.e. lack of cultural-human development. To reveal the cultural artefact meant to present a cultural strategy to tackle those issues. For those reasons, the cultural strategies were specific innovations which sought balance between the three environments. This is also why the innovations placed the human in the centre of their approach.

The theoretical thesis and the objectives gave direction to the whole architectural system, and influenced the *cultural artefact* – the Yugoslav building.

761 *Ibid.*

For those reasons, importance was not placed on the techniques and the materials, but rather on the qualitative cultural aspects of space. Accordingly, the Yugoslav buildings belonged to the *Creative System of the Socialist City*, revealing why the building in Yugoslavia became a subject of culture and cultural-human development. For instance, in a document dating back to 1948, architecture is shown as an independent axis (department) under the premises of the *Ministry of Science and Culture* along with the other cultural fields, such as the arts, museums and galleries, applied arts, exhibitions, joining of artists, etc., i.e. it was treated under the same ideological premises of the socialist paradigm as the other cultural artefacts. For the author Ignjatović, the ideological premises of architecture were so significant they pushed her further than her usual ‘poetical boundaries’:

“In fact, we understand architecture not as an autonomous and self-sufficient reality, but as the constituent part of an imaginative world of ideology within which different ‘architectural phenomena’ (ranging from individual elements, buildings, through formal and stylistic characteristics, to the broader concept of architecture as an epistemological project and discipline) represent semantic structures which are crucial for the creation of an idea of collective belonging and identity”.<sup>762</sup>

As a result of this, the ideological in architecture was a frequent topic for reflection in the Yugoslav architectural circles. In the following extract, the author Šegvić discussed what made the ideology, adding that the future of the ideological thinking is crucial for architecture: “it is exactly in this conceptual mastering that the tasks of the architect lie”.<sup>763</sup> When discussing the results of the competition of the *Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo*, the ideology behind the project is considered as a quality to be achieved:

“And that is exactly why the task is specific. When I say ‘specific’, I mean the need for a number of components by the artistic-engineering process, which simply means that the museum is: a museum, factory: factory, residential house: residential house, town hall: town hall, etc”.<sup>764</sup>

Other authors called for *the contribution of dialectics to the development of architectural thought*. In the following extract, the author discussed the role of the dialectics in a transformative society:

“[...] Lefevre seems to be very far from the real events in the field of architecture, from the true insight and immersion in the fate of directed architectures in ‘a society that is transforming’, etc. Academic-minded materialists seem to be in danger of over-aestheticizing and dialectically splitting into similar contests of mind and reason, as do those subjective or objective-minded idealists”.<sup>765</sup>

762 Ignatović, ‘Two Modernisms in the Two Yugoslavias: Architecture and Ideology, 1929-1980’, *Op.cit.*

763 Neven Šegvić, ‘The conceptual in architecture’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1958).

764 *Ibid.*

765 Dobrović, ‘The contribution of dialectics to the development of architectural thought’, *Op.cit.*

In general, the idea that architecture should not only satisfy the needs of humans but also create them was in that epoch an international idea, often discussed in modernist circles. Le Corbusier, in *Toward an Architecture*, explains how architecture is the 'expressive organization of elements', which psychologically influence people. Others expressed their premises that 'architecture should create new needs', which is close to the understanding of the *Constructivists*:

"Constructivism has brought with it several social values that have already been analyzed. First of all, setting the architecture in the centre of social tasks, in connection with life and true, informal humanism. Every conception must be tested by social expediency. Answering questions of life in the form of houses is the task of architecture"<sup>766</sup>.

This leads to the understanding of those objectives upon which architecture is created in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. As explained in the book of Böhme, the main objective for creating a cultural artefact in the capitalist paradigm was economic profit and limitless growth. On the contrary, a cultural artefact created in the socialist paradigm aimed to develop a specific objective (the cultural model derives from it) and from there to enter the question of financing – as an important and as a secondary incentive. In the following questionnaire (from the debate around the architectural project for the Fair in the city of Zagreb), it can be observed that the question of financing comes at the end, in the line approaching the space:

1. What do you think are the specifics of fair architecture?
2. On the basis of which principles should fair pavilions be built?
3. What were the basic thoughts when creating the pavilions?
4. What is the price of the construction per m<sup>2</sup>?<sup>767</sup>

This extract also discusses the aspects which were considered as important when approaching the architecture. Besides the spatial qualities, the connection of the project with the city is also significant (p.487). Furthermore, the *cultural artefact* from the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* intended to contain their spatial and civic orientation. In the following extract, it can firstly be seen how the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to construct networks to acknowledge the systematic ways of creating cultural artefacts. Secondly, it can be examined how the objectives shift from one paradigm to another. For example, according to the author of the article, before the cinemas became part of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, they had purely commercial objectives, and this is how the objectives should be reassessed to fit in the new socialist paradigm:

766 Ranko Radović, 'Notes', *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1966).

767 V.R., 'Two more urban problems of the city of Zagreb', *Op.cit.*

“[...] The cinemas lack their precise place and a clearly defined social role in our social reality. In the field, they are treated differently in their relationships. In a material sense, they are seen as trade, service, craft, communal or commercial bodies. Such colorful views on the importance of cinema have resulted in the issue that the problems of the cinema network have not been addressed in principle or resolved in principle”.<sup>768</sup>

The above extract reveals that the objectives are not fixed and the significance of the cultural artefacts could shift as they transform too. In the same direction, Doknić has discussed the difference between the objectives of a publishing company in the socialist paradigm and in the capitalistic paradigm.<sup>769</sup> For example, for the author the goal for publishing in the former is the number of books, while in the latter, it is the educational-formative role the published books need to have (p.173). In such an analysis, the author takes out the artistic-cultural qualities upon which the artefacts are built. In the testimonial of Đozić, it is stated that the group did not focus on educational-formative objectives to teach citizens ‘right from wrong’, but rather focused on the quality of the joke on itself. To summarize, the socialist paradigm shifted the focus and rather than putting it on the beneficiaries and who is gaining something from it, in fact it moves it towards the creation, while the capitalistic paradigm turns the beneficiaries towards consumption of the creation.

Others also negated the educational-formative and moralist paths when creating a particular artefact. For instance, the movie director Makavejev explained that the cultural creator in Yugoslavia did not want to impose the moralist values on the audience: “I don’t think the traditional moralists are wrong – I just don’t like them when they try to control everybody and everything, 24/7 (haha)”.<sup>770</sup> The topic is also depicted in the movie *Happy New Year '49*, [fig.209], where the main male character flatters a girl by inviting her to a fancy dinner and offering her expensive clothes. However, the girl reacts with despisement. At her reaction, the man says: “I hate moralizing more than anything else in the world!”<sup>771</sup> Such a reaction is due to the fact that the male protagonist had lost faith in the system which started to ‘serve’ the privileged (showing that such criticism was circulating within the common people): “I saw how men used their war record to get rich”.<sup>772</sup>



Fig. 209| Scenes from the movie, *Happy New Year '49*, Stole Popov, 1986

768 ‘The issues of the Cinemas’, Coordination board of cinema companies of SFRY, 1954, Belgrade (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 173, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, Undergroup – Movies, No. file 171, 1954-1966).

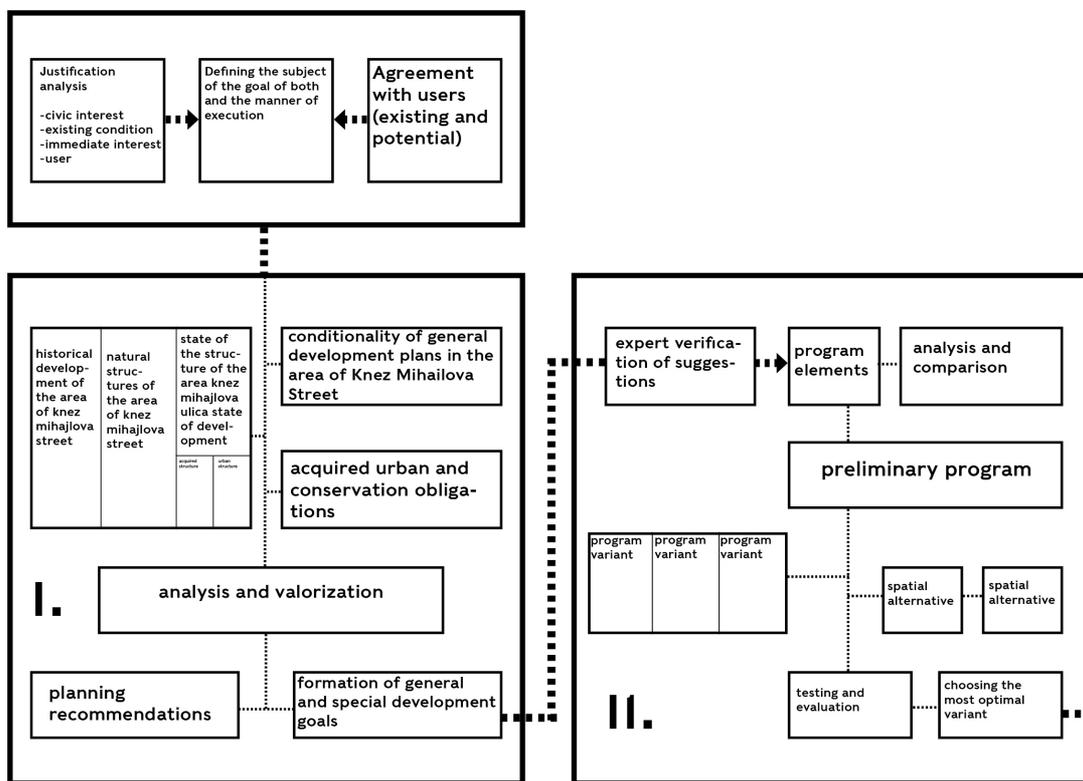
769 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.170.

770 TV show ‘Nicely Offensive’, Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4fblEIUBbrA>)

771 Stole Popov, *Happy New Year '49*, 1986.

772 *Ibid.*

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to place buildings in communication networks. For example, in the *Plan of the Program of the Belgrade Community of Culture for 1971*, the creation of the buildings was part of a wider *cultural action*. Such cultural action proposed a mix of strategies, from “the spread of the book and an increase in the number of readers, actions to protect the monuments, civic ownerships in the field of culture, joint actions to promote museum collections, and actions that contribute to the spread of other types of creativity”.<sup>773</sup> A space to additionally hybridize the various cultural fields thus emerged. Such hybridization impacted the emergence of new architectural typologies, such as pioneer centres or the spatial plan of the recreational zone *Ada Ciganlija*, located in the city of Belgrade. The hybrid cultural activities were ‘projected’ too since the cultural creators were creating them based on the real and existing potential of the communities.<sup>774</sup>



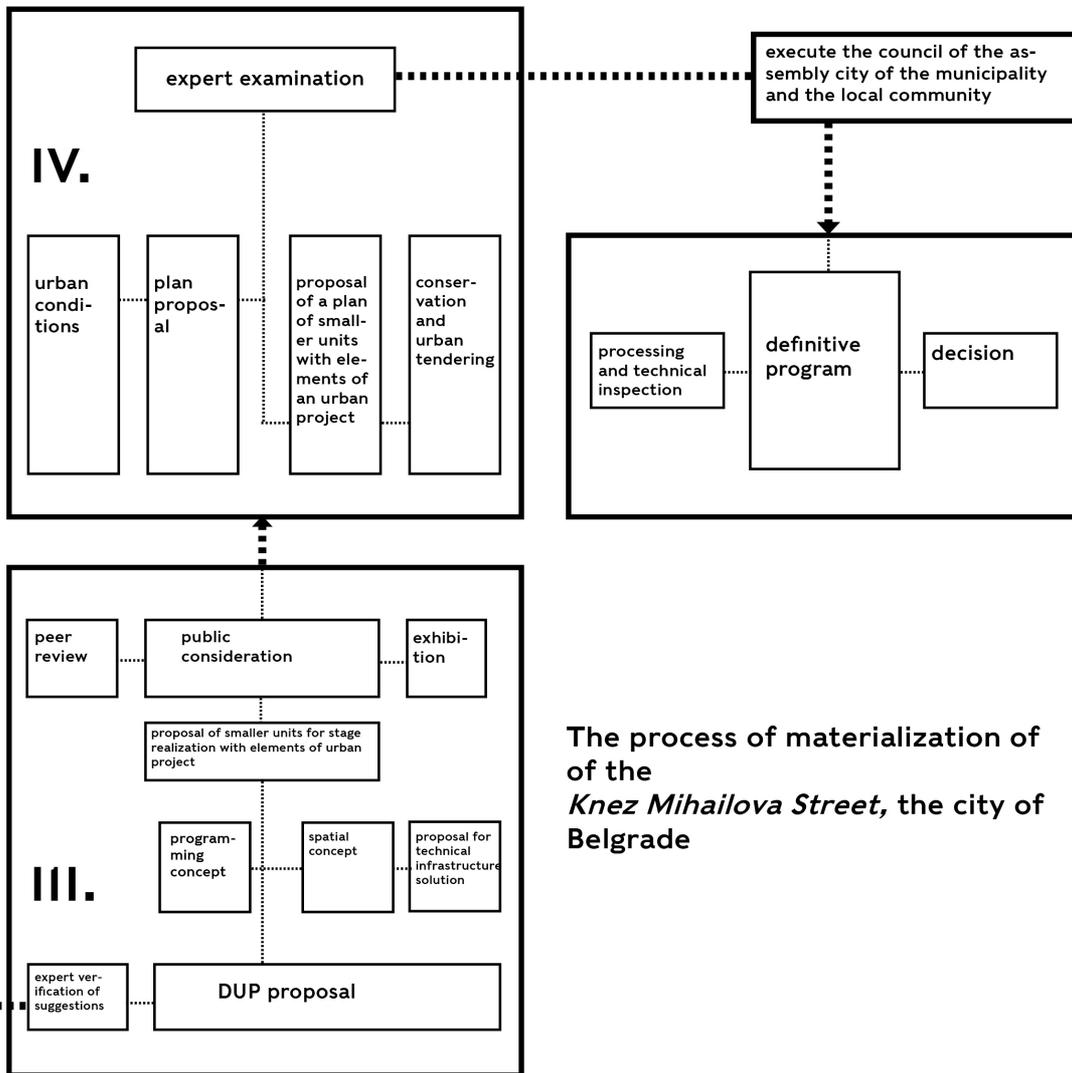
773 'Draft program of the Belgrade Community of Culture for 1971', 1971, Secretariat for Education and Culture, Belgrade, (Historical Archives of Belgrade).

774 Such thinking led the community for a search of it is authentic culture.

This approach led to the Yugoslav imperative – the creation of an authentic culture in its environment (p.157). For instance, the sports building Titograd was announced in the magazine as an “incentive for progress”<sup>775</sup>, [fig.210]. Therefore, for each project – cultural artefact, there is a corresponding system of materialization leading to the final outcome. For example, in the field of architecture, the magazine *Urbanism Beograd* published a schema, [fig.21], of the process of materialization of *the Knez Mihailova Street*:



Fig. 210| Extract from a page, *Roof under Gorica*, in the popular magazine *SN Revija*, Husein Tuzovic, 1979



[fig.21] Diagram of the process of materialization of the Knez Mihailova Street, (Redraw by the author)

775 'Roof under Gorica', SN revija, Husein Tuzović, 1979, <www.yugopapir.com>.

Another example can be traced in the following extract, where Martinović expresses how in Yugoslavia, the architecture in its *process of materialization* included the ongoing rise of the collective standards:

“During the sixth decade, there was a general regrouping of forces and a gradual change of generations. Opportunities as a whole changed significantly, the general standard of society grew rapidly and architecture became a part and faithful expression of that process. The personal work and role of individuals, especially those in the field of art and culture, were becoming more and more affirmed”.<sup>776</sup>

As such, architecture was pushed by the narrative of bettering the collective standards, i.e. it was moving in the direction of achieving a collective character. Other authors stated that the *cultural artefact* – the architecture is dependent on the collective standards and the reality in which the architects create. We can hence conclude that architecture is a cultural artefact which the environment has an impact on. The following extracts explain the specific contribution of architecture to the collective standard:

“Architecture has long since lost its primacy among the arts. It is largely ruled by socio-economic and even political factors, with which the history of architecture has been explained with great success, but which are not based on the new architecture. Moreover, these factors have become so dominant in contemporary architecture that they have turned the architect into an executive organ of collective social consciousness, and the economic possibilities of the environment in which he creates”.<sup>777</sup>

As seen from above, the protagonist focused to develop the discourse of architecture through the paradigm of a collective standard. Such a collective standard paradigm could not develop if the political system did not give priority to the collectivity as a concept, which does not imply that the individual involved in creativity was disregarded. On the contrary, creation on an individual level was also a topic for reflection of the *Socialist Model of the Creative City*:

“Architecture emerges from the anonymity of cumbersome state institutions and becomes a field of competition for the best individuals and teams engaged by smaller project organizations of various levels and activities. Public competitions are becoming more and more a constant practice, and new names of designers, young people, and architects from the generation of the first post-war students are affirmed through them”.<sup>778</sup>

When it comes to the relation between the beneficiaries and the architecture, this meant to include them in the *process of materialization of architecture*, related to creating the self- management approaches to space:

776 Uroš Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

777 ‘Action ‘Total’ Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation)’, *Op.cit.*

778 Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Op.cit.*

“It is up to us to revive man, to activate him, to give him back his creative joy. He should be allowed to cooperate once again in making basic decisions in the construction of his apartment to cooperate in the creative phenomenon of spatial formation in the culture of the housing”.<sup>779</sup>

The *Creative Model of The Socialist City* aimed to incorporate the local people in all of the different processes of creation. Such an example is provided by Bogdan Bogdanović, who tried to introduce more details on his monuments to provide more work for the local rural craftsmen to sustain their income.<sup>780</sup> Another example lay in the architectural competition for the *Ss. Cyril and Methodius University*, organized in a “collectivity” between the *Union of Architects of Macedonia and the Rectors of the University* themselves, where the President of the jury was the Dean from the *Faculty of Architecture* in Skopje.<sup>781</sup>

In the city of Skopje, as part of the *Program for development of culture in the city of Skopje*, in the period 1976-1980, various cultural projects emerged for creation of the ‘right space’, such as “[...] theatre, museum, library, archive, music, etc. activities in the field of culture”.<sup>782</sup> The protagonist evaluated the ‘right space’ as “key conditions for the development of cultural activities”.<sup>783</sup> For other protagonists, though, the cultural network of one city also presented a ‘distinctive communication model’; as suggested in the interview of Zenit Đozić, who detected that Sarajevo’s cultural scene is a communication element of the city. The *Action Total* as well recognized the cultural network as a communication element and proposed its intensification – from an outdoor space transformed to an indoor space – to become active on *the streets*:

“Institutionalized forms of art presentation must be phased out. Galleries, museums, exhibition halls, pavilions must become homes of active art, houses of culture, their physical features (covered space) should be used only in case of rain, snow and other weather disasters, or when the specificity of the material requires it. Cultural-historical, scientific and artistic material should be valorized according to new criteria, and it can also be of general use to go to tram stations, markets, promenades, disco clubs, factories, and department stores”.<sup>784</sup>

779 Bogdanović, *Haunted Builder* (Ukleti Neimar), *Op.cit.*

780 Juraj Neidhardt, *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1964).

781 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

782 ‘Program for development of culture in the city of Skopje, in the period 1976 - 1980’, Self-governing community of interest in the culture of the city of Skopje, 1976, Skopje (State Archive of Republic of Macedonia, unprocessed material).

783 *Ibid.*

784 ‘Action Total’ Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation), *Op.cit.*

#### IV.2.1.1. Sava Centre – Belgrade

Thematic cluster: actualization of the environment



Fig. 211| Photo, *Centre Sava* and New Belgrade, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade

*Sava Centre* is a building, a cultural artefact, located in the City of Belgrade, precisely in the part of the city called *New Belgrade* [*Нова Београд*], [fig.211, fig.212]. *New Belgrade* is the biggest urban scale project – a Municipality in the city of Belgrade. The project started to be constructed in 1948; on clear and muddy soil, the design and construction of urban big-scale blocks took place. Each of the blocks represented and was organized as an individual neighbourhood with housing facilities and accompanying facilities, such as kindergartens, primary schools, facilities for the community collectives [*Мјесна заједница*], and commercial spots were also built (p.294). Over the years *New Belgrade* became the biggest polygon for testing – by designing and constructing architectural typologies in the whole Yugoslav country in the 20th century.

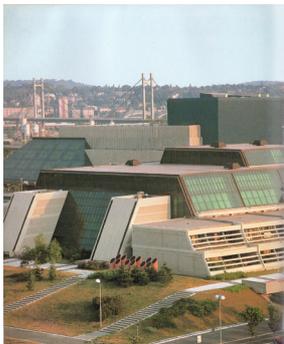


Fig. 212| Photo, *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade

Belgrade arose into the capital city of Yugoslavia in 1945. As the country started to extend its global recognition and the region gained reputation, Belgrade naturally started to attract national and international attention. With the formation of the *NAM*, the city became a strategically important point for the development of the global south. As the founding Conference of the movement took place in Belgrade in 1961<sup>785</sup>, the environment experienced a ‘political global actualization’, hence the city participated in the created story to ‘air the voice’ of 55% of the total global population, located in the global south<sup>786</sup>:

“Thus, the primary objective of the non-aligned countries focused on the support of self-determination, national independence and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States; opposition to apartheid; non-adherence to multilateral military pacts and the independence of non-aligned countries from great power or block influences and rivalries; the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations; the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, foreign occupation and domination; disarmament; non-interference into the internal affairs of States and peaceful co-existence among all nations; rejection of the use or threat of use of force in international relations; the strengthening of the United Nations; the democratization of international relations; socio-economic development and the restructuring of the international economic system; as well as international cooperation on an equal footing”<sup>787</sup>

From here on, the increased frequency of information and people coming to Belgrade left an impression that the city was gaining a global momentum of fame and popularity. This newly gained position of Belgrade gave the city its creative spirit, as Makavejev stated in his interview: “The story is always the

785 ‘Belgrade Conference of the Non-Aligned’, Brioni statement by president Tito, Naser and the Prime Minister Nehru’, *Man and Space* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1956)

786 ‘History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement’, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2012, (<https://mea.gov.in/>).

787 *Ibid.*

pretext for you and the crew to come together”<sup>788</sup>, so Belgrade created a story to receive global attention. The city needed a facility which would provide the possibility of hosting the global ongoing rising political position:

“Belgrade, objectively speaking, before the construction of the Sava Centre, did not have any conditions regarding the organization of any international meetings, conferences, either professional or political, regardless of the reputation that our country enjoys in the world. When it was understood, it was decided that it would be built. And I think that with it, Yugoslavia opened a new window into the world, regardless of the fact that some people today think that this window is very expensive”<sup>789</sup>.

Once it was confirmed that Yugoslavia would host the next Conference for *European Security*, scheduled for 1977, the city of Belgrade (headed by its Mayor Živorad Kovačević) initiated the project of building this Centre. For such purposes, the city was in a “state of emergency”<sup>790</sup> with a deadline of a year to build a Congress Centre to fulfill Belgrade’s current global cultural and political mission. The project was commissioned formally by the *Municipality of the City of Belgrade*, giving the role to the architect Maksimović (engaged not as an individual but rather as part of the *direction for building and reconstruction of Belgrade*) to create the program for the Congress Centre as well as the entire design project. After the design stage of Maksimović was finalized, the building was realized and inaugurated in 1977<sup>791</sup>, [fig.213].

*Sava Centre* had an impressive interior; the architect Aleksandar Šaletić gave the interior building its unique character, [fig.214]. In the architectural public discourse, the building had been presented as an impressive architectural project, [fig.215, fig.216], with majestic dimensions (240x90m length) and a capacity of 1008 seats.<sup>792</sup> Slavković revealed that there was no organized architectural competition<sup>793</sup> for the project, and even the speed of construction was “extremely fast” – the building received all of the important architectural prizes back in those days. Such a reveal of the events represented an enthusiasm noticeable in the discourse, as well as tremendous energy in action. The following extract, published in the magazine *Man and Space*, is a brief description of the jury giving the project the first prize – *October Award from the City of Belgrade* – in 1977:

788 TV show ‘Nicely Offensive’, Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly, *Op.cit.*

789 ‘Stojan Maksimović, ‘How Sava Centre occurred’, TV Novosti, Nino Milenković, 1980, <www.yugopapir.com>.

790 Ljubica Slavković, Lecture held in the Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD) for study trip of LAPIS, EPFL, Februari, 2020, Belgrade.

791 Ivica Mladenović, ‘The Congress Centre Sava in Belgrade’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1977).

792 *Ibid.*

793 Slavković, Lecture held in the Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD), *Op.cit.*

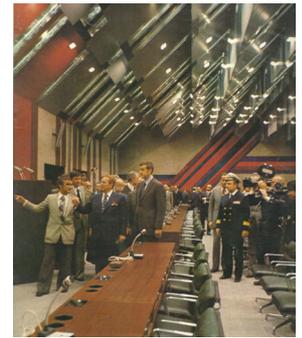


Fig. 213| Photo, inauguration of *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade



Fig. 214| Photo, interior of *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade



Fig. 215| Page 7, an article, ‘Congress Centre ‘Sava’ in Belgrade’, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 298, 1978, Zagreb

“The building of the Sava Congress Centre is in many ways a novelty in our architectural and construction practice. With the overall orientation of the content and volume, optimal solutions have been achieved, adequate to the purpose of the building and its spatial position and coastal zone. The applied constructive solution with the implemented organization of the construction process has enabled the realization of an exceptional construction endeavour. The building is also characterized by technological commitment and an interior design that raises the aesthetic values of interior spaces. As a building endeavour as a whole, this work represents a valuable achievement in the development of our feudal practice. The jury also highlights and praises all the collaborators who helped out in an extremely short time frame”.<sup>794</sup>

In another architectural magazine (*Urbanism Belgrade*), the building was presented for the first time as the *House of Friendship*, [fig.217], aligning the project with the political mission of Belgrade to become a globally affirmed environment:

“The construction of the Congress Centre has begun on the wider framework of the imagined House of Friendship on the two banks of the Sava River, in the historic New Belgrade. In the building under construction, whose main designers are B.Sc. Eng. Arch. Stojan Maksimovic, the second Conference on European security will be held in 1977”.<sup>795</sup>

The project is nevertheless an example of the link between the *cultural artefact* and the environment in which it was positioned; as such, the *Sava Centre* helped the City of Belgrade to achieve its goal, i.e. to actualize itself. Over the first ten years of existence, the building hosted numerous congresses and festivals, such as the cult Belgrade festival *FEST*, *BITEF* etc. As mentioned in the testimonial of Dragičević Sesić:

“The Sava Centre has become a cardinal institution of culture. They had FEST, BITEF, and the premieres take place there. Imagine the hall has capacity of 4.000! When we had the documentary movie festival, when the foreign movie director found out that the movie would be watched by 1.000 people at the same time – speechless! They never experienced that! They were fascinated!”<sup>796</sup>

In the article titled *Man and Space*, it was envisioned that the project would anticipate different lifestyles. The article hoped that the centre would attract not only important political figures but young people too, making this their place for socialization. Therefore, the *Sava Centre* aimed to position itself in the city as a place to visit every day:

“True to the will, after a short walk and chatting on the porches, galleries, hidden or open spaces of the Congress Centre, I wanted it not to remain a place where only more serious congresses and gatherings would be held. This should become a place where young people, dressed in their own special way, would

794 ‘The House of Friendship’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

795 *Ibid.*

796 Testimonial Dragičević Sesić (p.75).



Fig. 217| Page 9, an article, *House of Friendship*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 38-39, 1977, Belgrade

enter, as well as the elderly, without important titles or worries about the world of terror and injustice”.<sup>797</sup>

From this point, the cultural strategy enveloped the idea that such a building should culturally actualize the environment: the *Sava Centre* was a *cultural artefact* anticipated to position the city of Belgrade in the global discourse. Even though there was no direct link that the creation of the centre was part of an official cultural planning program, the building was influenced by the creative spirit the community had, which was stimulated by the planification of the culture. Furthermore, the building participated in the transformation of the overall ambience of Belgrade, giving the impression that the city had been internationalizing itself (p.368). As various events were organized in it, numerous international and local Yugoslav guests visited the city. In fact, the building was the ‘most active’ in the late 1970s and in the 1980s, when important festivals on the evolution of the cultural infrastructure of Belgrade (such as *FEST*, *BITEF*, and *BEMUS*) were organized in the *Sava Centre*.<sup>798</sup> Those numerous events, which existed even before the construction of the *Sava Centre*, contributed to the cultural action of dynamism. Such a spirit helped creativity to be unleashed so the community would feel the need for a certain *cultural artefact* (including a building) to be created. The building had a unique architectural typology since the functionality of the building emerged from the context, and the program was tailor-made (for the given purpose).

Regarding the architectural language and architectural appearance, the building itself was grandiose, the volume fit discretely into the environment and did not ‘try’ to impress the audience. The architectural language can be described as unobtrusive, polite and modest, while the interior design has a different and more affirmative approach. Overall, the building contributed towards putting Belgrade on the global cultural map. In addition, the building became the hotspot for the actualization of the region too, giving it a regional significance or emitting cultural power regionally too. In the everyday life of the people, the building had a direct significance as well, leaving quite an impression to them – that Belgrade had gained prominence (something which the region obviously lacks). In the long term, the building had an indirect positive impact on the collective standard of the country since over time the region slowly developed an image of stability and general prosperity.

797 Mladenović, ‘The Congress Centre Sava in Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

798 Catalogs of festivals FEST 72, FEST 73, FEST 75, BITEF 70, BITEF 75, (Archive of Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade).

IV.2.1.2. The Museum of Contemporary Art – Skopje  
Thematic cluster: artistic development of the environment



Fig. 218| Extract from the page 10, photo, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, view on MoCA, Skopje

*The Museum of Contemporary Art* in Skopje is a building, a cultural artefact, located on top of the *Kale Hill*, overlooking the city of Skopje, [fig.218]. Such spatial disposition was viewed by the museum employees as “elegantly adapted to the configuration of the Skopje medieval fortress, surrounded by the panoramic view of the city [...]”.<sup>799</sup> In the Yugoslav context, architects described that positioning as a cultural strategy, i.e. Bogdanovic named the position of the house of the President as “simple partisan wisdom”<sup>800</sup>, meaning ‘to see, but not be seen.’ Moreover, the building of the museum came as a consequence of the tragic earthquake the city experienced in 1963. In the following year (1964), the institution of *the MCA* in Skopje was established as bottom-up initiative, formed by a group of cultural creators from both the local Macedonian and broader Yugoslav artistic community:

“The Initiative Committee, which was supposed to implement this idea, included thirty prominent people from the public and cultural life of Macedonia and Yugoslavia: Kosta Angeli Radovani, Antun Augustinčić, Oto Bihalji-Merin, Dragutin Avramovski Gute, Mihail Bande, Božo Bek, Petre Bogdanovski – Kočko, Slavko Brezovski, Dušan Džamonja, Vančo Georgievski, Nandor Glid, Petar Hadži Boškov, Trpe Jakovleski, Dimitar Kondovski, Zoran Kržišnik, Lazar Ličenoski, Petar Lubarda, Nikola Martinoski, Petar Mazev, Pedža Milosavljević, Tome Momirovski, Grga Novak, Ordan Petlevski, Marij Pregelj, Miodrag Protić, Mladen Srbinović, Marino Tartalja, Dimo Todorovski, Krum Tomovski and Ivan Velkov. Kemal Sejfula was elected Chairman of the Committee, and Boris Petkovski the secretary”.<sup>801</sup>

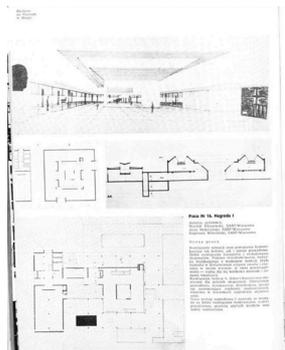


Fig. 219| Extract from the page 41, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, project proposal, Skopje

The above-mentioned artistic *social formation*, which had already existed even before the earthquake, pushed for further establishing of the initiative and organizing an architectural competition for a building of the newly formed institution – *the Museum of Contemporary Art*. In 1966 the architectural competition was tasked to the *Association of Polish Architects*, who wanted to participate in the solidarity movement for the reconstruction of the city.<sup>802</sup> The association invited the Polish architects to design a project proposal for the museum, so the architects Khyszewski, Mokrzunski and Wierzbicki (from the *Tigers* group) won the competition in 1967, and the construction of the museum started in 1970, [fig.219]. The jury, among other things, emphasized that the architectural language of the building was cohesive and its simplicity was positive in order to avoid the seismic danger, [fig.220, fig.221].<sup>803</sup> The competition did not only ask for the design of the building, but also the program of the museum, as it was a



Fig. 220| Extract from the page 124, photo, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, aero view on MoCA, Skopje

799 Website of the institution <<http://msu.mk/doma>>.

800 Bogdanović, *Haunted Builder*, *Op.cit.* p.151.

801 <<http://msu.mk/doma>>.

802 Catalogue, the exhibition ‘The team is the force - the Tigers’, MoCA, 2014, Skopje.

803 *Ibid.*

subject of the competition too.<sup>804</sup> Ješa Denegri linked the tragic earthquake as a pretext for the museum to emerge: “Thanks to that earthquake, the museum was born. This initiative originated directly from the artists. In that manner, Boris Petkovski was the first director, and there were a few young people around him”.<sup>805</sup> Penushlivski stressed that the significance of the museum was at a city level, so the building needed to ‘communicate’ with all of the citizens and possess a large-scale character, even larger than the “borders of the city”.<sup>806</sup> *The MCA*, just as the *Sava Centre*, emitted a cultural power both on an urban level and internationally too. On the museum’s inauguration day (in 1970), Blaze Koneski give a welcoming speech, in which he reflected on the importance of the artistic *social formation*, as significant for activating the city:

“The spontaneous movement of a large number of artisans from Yugoslavia to express their solidarity with the preparation of the city by donating it to families is accompanied by an action for the establishment of a modern art state in Skopje”.<sup>807</sup>

Those *social formations* were innovations which the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* produced. The City of Skopje is a crucial example for tracing such *social formations* since once the man-made environment was rumbled in the earthquake, those *social formations* remained visible and tangible, transforming the city in a new manner (p.388). This was also why Skopje, after the reconstruction, matured naturally and gained rapid urban complexity as the population of the city was already there and the reconstruction could rely on its *social formations*.<sup>808</sup> Such a view was innovative since normally the case study of Skopje was interpreted through the lens of the city being a result of international and Yugoslav cooperation, leaving untreated the emergence of the ‘bottom-up’ creativeness.<sup>809</sup> For the research, the success of the reconstruction of the city of Skopje lies in both kinds of cooperation. As a consequence, the city was considered to be a finished and realized one-time project. Therefore, the museum belonged to the reconstruction period of the city. In the following extract from the newspaper *Cultural Life*, the author emphasized how the museum was anticipated by the cultural life, and the creative spirit of the city:

“[...] the association of artists succeeded in realizing its intensiveness through a rich program, and through that program at the end to form an institution. This was confirmed by the beautiful building on the top of the Kale Hill, called *the*

804 *Ibid.*

805 Testimonial Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

806 Testimonial Predrag Penushlivski, Skopje, 2017 (p.25).

807 Catalogue, the exhibition ‘The team is the force - the Tigers’, *Op.cit.*

808 The autor, essay, from the course Politics and Design by Alexandra Midal, EPFL, 2018.

809 Most of the studies for Skopje, emphasised the global political response to Skopje’s earthquake, and the international efforts to rebuild the city with the objective to assert a global political, social and economic cooperation. Also, as significant is considered the support of the United Nations, where the Yugoslavian government adopted Kenzo Tange’s reconstruction plan.

*Museum of Contemporary Art*; with everything that was inside the building, as a realized artistic activity, like there was nothing before it. So, to conclude: in the given moment, a permanent idea of values – a real idea – was suggested, and through it, the permanent value was created in the form of architecture”.<sup>810</sup>

The artistic collection of the museum was assembled from a global *social formation*, while with another ongoing initiative carried out by the Museum, around 2.000 art pieces were collected to form the museum’s collection. Donations came from elsewhere: from contemporary artists, such as Pablo Picasso, Alexander Kolder, Hans Hartung, Pierre Soulage, Zoran Mušič, Andre Mason, Victor Vasarely, Emil Fill, František Muzika, Alberto Burri, Christo, David Hockney, Jasper Jones, Henryk Stazewski, Yannis Gaitis, etc.<sup>811</sup> Most of the collection was created as a one-time initiative and pieces of art continued to arrive in the museum collection during the following decades:

“Donations continued to arrive with undiminished intensity throughout the 1970s and 1980s, including those of Sol LeWitt, Claude Viallat, Louis Kahn or Georg Baselitz and many other artists from over 40 countries: Italy, USA, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Germany, Spain, Canada, Japan, Korea, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Argentina, Iraq, Morocco, Turkey, Austria, Belgium, Iran, Mexico, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Romania, Russia, Israel, Venezuela, Iceland, South Africa, and Switzerland”.<sup>812</sup>

In the case of Skopje, those *social formations* (group of artists with a different artistic background) could not be restricted to the case of *The MCA*, but they surfaced in the whole organization of the process for the city’s reconstruction. As the earthquake left the man-made environment of the city ruined, immediately after the tragic earthquake, the citizens of Skopje started to gather at and inhabit the green spaces, parks, alleys and free open parcels in the city, [fig.222], greatly since those spaces were the only ‘safe spots’ with no exposure to any further danger.<sup>813</sup> Skopje thus transformed itself from a permanent city into a temporary ephemeral one, introducing the concept of the *tent neighbourhoods*,<sup>814</sup> which introduced ‘life under the open air’ in temporary structures, such as tents, huts or ‘mimicking rooms’, [fig.223], where organized meetings were held under the open air too. Such an example is the organized meetings of the *Municipal Council*, [fig.275], displaying the idea that the city kept to the organizational structure from before the earthquake. The population of the *tent neighbourhoods* at a given moment reached 200.000 people, i.e.  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the population lived in them.<sup>815</sup> Despite this tragic moment, the creative spirit remained



Fig. 222| Extract from the page 222, Safe places, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970, Skopje



Fig. 223| Extract from a pages 23-24, photo, Temporary institutions, *Catalog*, 78 *memories from the album from one friend*, 1963, Skopje

810 Kondovski, Tribune of Cultural Life ‘The meetings of Solidarity’, *Op.cit.*

811 Website of the institution (<http://msu.mk/doma/>).

812 *Ibid.*

813 Large part of the Skopje’s man-made environment right after the tragic earthquake was in danger of further colaps.

814 Risto Galić, Tihomir Arsovski, *Skopje 1963 – 1973*, The assembly of the city of Skopje, 1974.

815 Galić, Arsovski, *Skopje 1963 – 1973*, *Op.cit.*

and the city returned to normalcy as quickly as possible in the months after the tragic event. The program was still functioning (including primary and secondary schools, hospitals, pharmacies, co-operative kitchens, commercial stores, press media, households, and even administration offices, [fig.224]).

Experts who participated in the reconstruction also stayed in the tents while visiting Skopje, e.g. the architect Kenzo Tange, along with the team, during their stay in Skopje set up an ‘architectural office’ in one of the tents. More ‘creative tents’ were established (where the architects, engineers and designers worked<sup>816</sup>) and such organization in the cultural magazine was described as necessary for future “creative actions” to be undertaken in the city of Skopje.<sup>817</sup> Denegri pointed out that the construction of the building put ‘Skopje’ and its artists in ‘communication’ with the other Yugoslav and global environments: “There was a year when the museum in Skopje got the opportunity to be the organizer of the Yugoslav performance in the Venice Biennale”.<sup>818</sup> According to the testimonial of Denegri, the objective of having the building was to affirm and develop the artistic community of the city:

“Skopje could have this only when the building of *The MCA* was constructed, since you need an institution which will be able to welcome these exhibitions and experts who will work on it”.<sup>819</sup>

Therefore, the building as a *cultural artefact* accelerated the development of the artistic community. The museum’s objectives were different than those which would likely emerge in neo-liberal times for the purpose of gaining economic profit from the beneficiaries. Furthermore, in the case of Skopje, not only did the museum want to help and affirm the environment but it also wanted to “appropriate itself into the environment” and become part of the everyday life of the citizens. Such a strategy came to as a recommendation from the first Conference of the *Museum Workers of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia*, where the delegates drew up a program of how to instate a museum pedagogy within the educational Yugoslav system. In the following extract, the *museum pedagogy* refers to:

- “A. The work of the museums with all types of schools (primary, secondary, special needs), whose material is objectively presented in museums;
- B. Working with a wide audience on issues of leadership; adaptation to audiences of different levels of education;
- C. School textbooks and the school curriculum; finding a connection with museums;
- D. The active help of the museum to school teaching; the museum provided lecturers, films, objects, slides, etc.;

816 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

817 Dimitar Kondovski, Tribune of Cultural Life ‘The meetings of Solidarity’, *Op.cit.*

818 Testimonial Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020.

819 *Ibid.*

E. Issues of creating professional musicological pedagogy and experts moving in that direction”.<sup>820</sup>

*The MCA* is a major example of how in moments of tragic circumstances, the momentum of creativity and optimistic worldviews (but also the provided financial investment and the appropriate workers assistance) can be exploited to create a cultural artefact. For the city, the Museum presented a cultural strategy installing art in the cultural life of Skopje and closing the gap in regards to the understanding of the Yugoslav vision; that art should become a way of life (p.446). The buildings (and in this case: The Museum) presented cultural initiatives that could widen the gap between art and the everyday:

“The worst earthquake in 1963 paralyzed a cultural activity in the middle of nowhere. We do not need to forget that in those few days it is time to start new initiatives in the cultural life, and that is what delivers results”.<sup>821</sup>

#### IV.2.1.3. Centre Skenderija – Sarajevo

Thematic cluster: physical culture planning of the environment



Fig. 225| Photo, *Centre Skenderija*, Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilović, 1969, Sarajevo

The *Centre Skenderija* is a building, a cultural artefact, located in the centre of the city of Sarajevo, which was envisioned in the 1950s<sup>822</sup>, designed in 1965, and finally executed in the 1969, [fig.225]. The lengthy time frame between the envisioning and the realization of the project left sufficient time for the authors – the architects Janković and Muhasilović – to get acquainted with and collect the right ‘know-how’ from similar experiences in other Yugoslav environments, and further apply it to the *Centre Skenderija*. In the following extract, the stress has been put on the civic infrastructure of the city of Sarajevo, which already existed in the 1960s. The author (Begić) in a balanced-objective way criticized the lack of such civic infrastructure both from the side of the Municipality (bottom-up) and from the side of the youth (top-down):

“But that is a small number according to the current demands of the youth. They are patiently waiting for the long announced large youth home to be built, for the stadiums on the Skenderija to be taken over, for the cinema network to be expanded, and for various clubs and societies to be formed. Perhaps it could be said that the youth will be waiting a little longer, and less on their own to

820 ‘Museum pedagogy’, Program for the basic topics for the first conference of museum workers of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, The Committee for culture and arts of SFRY 1946-1948’, Ideological commission, overview of the sessions of the Ideological Commission, 1948 (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, 1946-1948).

821 Catalogue, the exhibition ‘The team is the force - the Tigers’, *Op.cit.*

822 When going through the archival materials the first traces of planning construction of larger sport building in the city of Sarajevo can be found in the cultural programs dating from the 1950s.

achieve some of that. It is as if the inefficiency of the relevant factors, especially the communal ones, is being modelled”.<sup>823</sup>

In the year of the opening of the architectural project – in 1969 – the *Centre Skenderija* received the highest Yugoslav architectural prize: *Borba*. In architectural magazines, such as *Man and Space*, in the same year the project was announced as a ‘significant building’ and the authors of the building, the architectural duo Živorad Janković and Halid Muhasilović, were praised for their creation, [fig.226, fig.227]. The project was realized as a ‘brutalist megastructure’ offering “an example of a progressive and experimental concept at the time that put forward a new civic [društvena] and spatial typology”.<sup>824</sup> According to Muhasilović, the experimental architectural innovation surfaces because for the first time a building used raw concrete which stayed visible on the façade.

When it comes to the program of the building, it had an experimental innovative approach too; the same happening as a consequence of the pre-analysis the authors conducted for the Fair buildings in Belgrade and Zagreb. In the case of Zagreb and Belgrade, they noticed that the buildings were used only for a couple of days throughout the year, so they wanted to create a building which would be used on a daily basis – “throughout the year”.<sup>825</sup> Therefore, the *Centre Skenderija* was of a hybrid nature. When announced in architectural magazines, the architects stated that the approach for creating a hybrid project came as a consequence of the organic hybridity that Sarajevo itself possessed and how those different contents are bound together, [fig.228, fig.229].

The versatile program allowed for a blend of several sports and cultural activities within the same complex, [fig.230]: the former located in one of the volumes of the building, and the latter in the another. The sport activities are located in two volumes, one containing the general sports hall, and the second (called ice hall) dedicated to winter sports, such as figure skating, hockey. The *House for the Youth* [*Dom Mladi*], [fig.231], and the Contemporary Museum – Gallery *Ars Aevi* (established later as ‘cultural resistance’ during the siege of Sarajevo in 1992) were both located in the volume which hosted the cultural activities. The complex of *Centre Skenderija* also forms an outdoor public space, i.e. a square, also a significant place for gatherings in the city of Sarajevo.<sup>826</sup>

823 Muhamed Begić, ‘The municipality on the first or on the last place’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1962).

824 Talks with Halid Muhasilović, ‘Before and after Skenderija’, 2018 <<https://aabh.ba/razgovor-halid-muhasilovic/>>.

825 *Ibid.*

826 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).



Fig. 226| Page 11, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre ‘Skenderija’ in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 204, 1970, Zagreb



Fig. 227| Page 9, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre ‘Skenderija’ in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 59, 1969, Belgrade



Fig. 228| Page 8, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre ‘Skenderija’ in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 59, 1969, Belgrade



Fig. 232| Cover Page, *Centre Skenderija*, Delegate Bulletin, No.43, 1981, Sarajevo

The building was included in the planning of *SCI for Physical Culture Planning*. In the *Delegate Bulletin* of the City of Sarajevo, [fig.232], dating from 1980, the whole monthly publication was devoted to the transformation of the city of Sarajevo through the planning of physical culture endeavours in the city. The *Centre Skenderija* was placed on the cover as a symbol of Sarajevo's sports network. The goal of the *SCI for Physical Culture Planning* was to influence the “standard of physical culture of all the working people and citizens in the local communities [mjesnim zajednicama], children, the youth, students and the civic [društveni] – sports organizations”.<sup>827</sup> Other civic issues were discussed in the same issue of the *Delegate Bulletin*, such as affirmation of the *SCI for Culture* among the diverse municipalities of the city of Sarajevo, developing forms of social help for the youth and children, help for the elderly, and the situations in orphanages.

When going through the *Delegate Bulletin* from 1981, several potentials for developing winter sports around the city of Sarajevo were discussed, and the result of those discussions was the preparation of the spatial plans for the development of winter sports on the mountains of Jahorina, Igman, Bjelašnica – all near the city of Sarajevo. Those locations would later be included in the program of the *Sarajevo Olympic Games*, on the side with the urban locations, such as the *Centre Skenderija Ice Rink* and the *Sports Centre Koševo*. For preparation for the Olympic Games, the *Centre Skenderija* developed a program for the “second phase” of its construction, which involved building of additional “sports halls, press centres, garages and catering facilities”.<sup>828</sup> The financial aspect was initiated to be collected from the “program of construction of facilities of common interest from self-contribution, 1982”.<sup>829</sup> The popular sources testified how the *Centre Skenderija aimed to transform the everyday impulses of the city of Sarajevo*, [fig.233]. The project was discussed in the popular magazines as well: “Across the bridge towards Skenderija, you will discover that you are in another city. Instead of a playground, the view towards the slopes of Trebevia is obscured by the new ‘Skenderija’, a city for itself that has already begun construction; it is not too much to say that it is changing the rhythm of Sarajevo”.<sup>830</sup> Such articles supported the statements that the *Centre Skenderija* enjoyed popularity among the citizens. Furthermore, the project inauguration date was announced as the “date of the new cultural-educational, sport, civic, fun, and even commercial era in the capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.<sup>831</sup>

827 Delegate bulletin, No. 43, ‘Assembly of the City and Associated Municipalities of Sarajevo’, (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1981).

828 *Ibid.*

829 *Ibid.*

830 ‘Ljubo Kojo, Sarajevo Mayor ’70: Magnificent entertainment and sports center opened - Skenderija’, Illustrovan, Dzavid Hiscic, 1970, <www.yugopapir.com>.

831 *Ibid.*

The protagonist described the *Centre Skenderija* as Sarajevo's major strategy.<sup>832</sup> For the popular magazines, the architect Muhasilović confirmed the same intentions: "The complex designed in this way changed the rhythm of life in Sarajevo. Skenderija was a place where visitors' buses stopped and the surrounding neighbourhoods, along with the whole city, felt the positive effect".<sup>833</sup> In other popular sources, the citizens referred to things happening in Sarajevo as 'before and after' the construction of the centre.<sup>834</sup> The *Centre Skenderija* undoubtedly changed the everyday life in the city of Sarajevo and simultaneously played a crucial role for the development of Sarajevo's creative scene. On the one hand, the building played a role for the advancement of the career of the artist<sup>835</sup>, while on the other hand, it gave the spectator the possibility to participate in the creation of the cultural scene. Such a position shows that the cultural artefact is turned towards affirming the artists rather than seeking ways of how to profit from the beneficiaries:

**ZD:** Let me get back to Sarajevo. That was one vibrant scene. There was a large number of concerts of the youth. All of those concerts took place in the youth centres, even the Centre Skenderija was built for those purposes. The point was that bands were born since they believed that they would have a place to appear. The most central hall was in the Centre Skenderija, and the second one was in the Youth House. The latter was a little smaller, with a capacity of 1.500-2.000 people. The prevailing idea was that if you could appear in the Centre Skenderija and fill it up, it could eventually be said that as a band you are ready to perform on the Yugoslav scene. This means that if you have 1.000 supporters in Sarajevo, then already have supporters in Belgrade, Zagreb, Skopje, etc.

That was how Skenderija was a measurement as to what level of a musician you were. In Skenderija we also had space in the basement to rehearse our music. We could record music there too – it was available space. So, this was a very important scene. The scene was created. That scene was self-sufficient; a scene which could nurture itself. On the one hand, you have people who would love to play, while on the other hand an audience that would pay to listen to rock and roll. That was how the scene was created. The bands wanted to be successful, to be the first ones, etc".<sup>836</sup>

Regarding the program, the building had certain guidelines from the *SCIs of Culture of Sarajevo*. For instance, the basis for a seven-day festival was brainstormed at the session of the *Commission for Theater and Other Performing Arts, Music and Film* within the *SCIs of Culture of Sarajevo* in 1976. The festival titled *Art of the Worker* was conceived as a popular festival where the citizens

832 TV interview Nele Karajlić (Member of Top Lista Nadrealista).

833 Talks with Halid Muhasilović, 'Before and after Skenderija', *Op.cit.*

834 'Ljubo Kojo, Sarajevo Mayor '70: Magnificent entertainment and sports center opened - Skenderija', *Op.cit.*

835 Cultural Artefact which wants to affirm the artists.

836 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, Online, 2021 (p.139).

needed to be introduced to the “top, cultural and artistic achievements”.<sup>837</sup> According to the first director of the centre, Ljubo Kojo, such planning was necessary for the building to “precisely determine the term – thematic overview of its use”.<sup>838</sup> At the mentioned festival – *Art of the Worker* – besides the artistic cultural program, the festival dedicated the first day to a political debate, so the program also envisioned a civic forum to discuss the self-governing issues. Muhasilović expressed the idea that the *Centre Skenderija* utilization program was challenging because the project was of an experimental nature, however in the public discourse, he openly communicated such concerns, which presented a certain honesty by architects airing their struggles and using the public discourse to overcome them:

“Skenderija is a difficult object. I always say that. It combines three functions: sports, economy and culture. After the building was opened, no one knew how they would live, not even us architects ... At the beginning, the building broke all the records because the design and construction took 19 months. Vranica was the construction giant at the time. In all the years of its existence, it has continued to amaze us, but not by accident. I remember that Ljubo Kojo, the first General Director of Skenderija (and former Mayor of Sarajevo), had three assistants who coordinated the above three functions from the managerial point of view, trying not to leave the space in the complex unused. The motto was that ‘Skenderija should not be empty even for a week’. The director consulted the professionals when making all the important decisions. I remember that the statisticians had to give their approval when visiting a large Russian circus to hang a trapeze from the roof of a large hall. On Saturday at noon, Kojo consulted us architects about the plans and ongoing maintenance, in most cases respecting our suggestions”.<sup>839</sup>

In conclusion, the *Centre Skenderija* is a building, a cultural artefact, created in the *Creative Model of Sarajevo*. As such, the building was constructed to stimulate and anticipate the emerging artistic talent in the city of Sarajevo. As an innovation, the building succeeds to intensify the creative scene of the city, and as a cultural strategy, it has successfully affirmed the environment in which it stands, and by that enlarging the civic [društveni] and spatial capacities of the city.

837 ‘Plan of the festival the Art of the Worker’, Self-governing Interest Community of Culture of Sarajevo, 1976, Sarajevo (Historical Archives Sarajevo, unprocessed material).

838 ‘Ljubo Kojo, Sarajevo Mayor ’70: Magnificent entertainment and sports center opened - Skenderija’, *Op.cit.*

839 Talks with Halid Muhasilović, ‘Before and after Skenderija’, *Op.cit.*

### Wrapping up

In the three case studies, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* impacted the creation of the buildings – the *cultural artefact*. These case studies had a similar intention when they were created – to impact and emit cultural power in the environment in which they were located, i.e. they developed diverse cultural strategies of how to transform the environment. The buildings were not created by conventional thinking ‘to be attractive for the environment’, but rather to be ‘right for the environment’.<sup>840</sup> Therefore, the environment was not seen as a potential ‘consumer’, but something that could anticipate the established, which makes them more organically involved within the process of creation. The non-consumeristic approach made the buildings significant for the environment (both human and made-made) in which they were located.<sup>841</sup>

In the same vein, the buildings – *cultural artefacts* – did not promote consumerism, where the spectators consume a move to the next *architectural product*, but rather they developed a more natural relationship with the *architectural creation*. This also related to the fact that the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to construct its artefacts for the purpose of raising questions among the audience and fostering polemics rather than treating the environment as a passive observer, where the artefacts are both asking for and providing solutions. This additionally relates to the fact that art did not have an entertaining role, but a civic one, i.e. the buildings did not permit passivity, but civic engagement. Hence, the three buildings presented civic places with action in the space, placing the human in the centre and not a monumental, too official or forced treatment. The three buildings were constructed under very different circumstances, yet belonged to the same common creative model: the *Museum of Contemporary Art* in Skopje was built after a tragic earthquake, the *Sava Centre* was built after the city of Belgrade aimed to establish itself (as a capital) politically in the global discourse, and the *Skenderija Centre* was built approximately fifteen years before the start of the Olympic Games (considered to be of majestic proportion) in the city of Sarajevo. This merely shows that the environment had an established creative footprint which helped it ‘to curate’ the environment even further.

By studying the context and detecting the creative social formations, we can conclude that the three approaches are yet again diverse, leading to an overall assumption that there was no ‘formula’ which the system used, i.e. there were many ways to be creative instead of having a pre-subscribed ‘formula’. This was possible only because the Yugoslav context provided the minimum needed

840 As Gernot Böhme suggested the difference between the need and the desire.

841 While the neoliberal paradigm encourages you to desire and produce always ‘new’.

cultural planning with the creativeness to be unleashed.<sup>842</sup> The case studies showed that the spirit of creativity was present in the three environments, and since the social fabric shared the understanding of creativity, it meant that it had close relations. It also shows that the three environments developed individual creative approaches and created architecture in their own way.

Although the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo had a different cultural evolution, they developed their own specificities. Despite the different circumstances the three buildings were developed in by a certain momentum for creativity, they shared the spirit of creativity in which they occurred. The three buildings were grounded on a common belief to anticipate further creativity in the environments where they were created. Indeed, they are successful examples of architecture which does not bother to be presented more than it is.

#### IV.2.2. THE CREATIVE MODEL OF THE SOCIALIST CITY

As explained, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* linked creativity with living with harmony (p.469); viewing harmony as a necessity for creativity, thus striving to achieve a balance between the man-made, natural and civic [društveno] environment. The Yugoslav spatial theoreticians claimed that the human<sup>843</sup> was a significant factor for the civic [društveno] environment as it played a crucial role in the thesis: ‘improving the life environment equals advancement of society’ (p.227). To achieve such a balance theoreticians proposed “creatively improving the environment – both its spiritual and material means”.<sup>844</sup> In practice, such a proposition for transformation was normally called ‘an action plan’ (p.227), and ‘actions’ were also a spatial parameter for measuring quality: “Action in the living environment as a function of the degree of the development of society”.<sup>845</sup> The theoretical approach of Naidhard identified two types of systems, [fig.234]: the first was characterized as negative – a *slow system* – prone to inertia, where transformations were hardly possible, while the second one – a *fast system* – was characterized by openness, where chain transformations were possible and characterized by flexibility. The author evaluated the latter as more successful for achieving general creativity:

“The creation of open networks, the possibility of chain transformations, the treatment of the complex of the environment and the human community in an OPEN spiral cycle of mutual permeation with a positive trend, would be

842 While the Creative Model of the Neoliberal City - idealizes exceptions, proclaiming talent will occur on its own.

843 Continues spiral between the society – the man – and the life environment.

844 Stojkov, ‘The criteria for setting goals for the spatial development of the city, *Op.cit.*

845 Naidhard, ‘Improving the environment = improving society’, *Op.cit.*

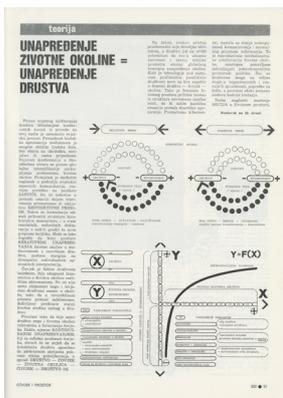


Fig. 234| Page 21, an article, *Environmental improvement = society improvement*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 233, 1972, Zagreb

a fundamental consequential result of research and efforts for affirmation of this fateful issue”.<sup>846</sup>

Such activation of the environment furthermore accelerated dynamism in the creative backgrounds in the Yugoslav cities. Therefore, this thesis proposes a consequential analysis of the developed *ambience* in the three cities and the development of their cultural infrastructure. The *ambience* was often discussed in the architectural artistic circles. For instance, the exhibition titled *Ambijent +*, [fig.235], focused on the “rhythmic pulsation”<sup>847</sup> of the everyday;<sup>848</sup> it can be concluded that the everyday and the dynamism were also productive for the creative mindset of the individuals.

#### Harmonious human community

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to lead an action towards creating the desired ‘positive dynamism’ for achieving a theoretical harmonious environment. The model predicted that the harmonious community would be able to restore the integrity of the personality:

“[...] to form a harmonious human community in which individuals would be able to restore the integrity of the personality as the basic active social participation of creative individuals”.<sup>849</sup>

In addition, the model aimed to encourage creation through development of appropriate institutions which would organize collective initiatives to stimulate creativity (p.307). The protagonists did not romanticize the term ‘individual inspiration’, neither did they see creativity as an accidental occurrence. For example, Goran Stefanovski states that “there is no such thing as inspiration – there is only a need to create something”<sup>850</sup>, continuing by explaining that everything is a product of a certain continuity. Curiously, the protagonist (Stefanovski) further defined the act of creation as a human need rather than expound on it through the lens of financial profit or popularity.

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* subscribed to a certain ‘formula’ of practicing creativity, yet the goal of the model was to cultivate the needs of individuals to create: “Because every man creates in his own way, lives in his own way. Every man is a ‘poet’ in his own way”.<sup>851</sup> When grouping the individual approach, the Creative Model constructed creative social formations (p.282), which presented a unique *communication network* in an environment,

846 *Ibid.*

847 ‘The butterfly hides in the canopy before the terrible rain’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

848 The artist Dean Jakanović and Janes Segolin in the gallery of the Student Centre, in 1970.

849 ‘Socialism’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

850 TV Interview for MRT of Goran Stefanovski, circa 1980s.

851 Kokalevski, ‘Library - supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 235| Extract from the page 21, an article, *the butterfly hides in the canopy before the terrible rain*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 207, 1970, Zagreb

acting to yield vibrant cultural scenes. In fact, these creative scenes created in the individual environments, such as the cities of Sarajevo, Belgrade and Skopje, presented a common *communication network* of the given environments, further providing the opportunity for the protagonists to gather and create, or as Makavejev stated: “The story is just the pretext for you and the crew to come together”.<sup>852</sup>

#### The place of the human

Another characteristic of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was viewing the emerging societal issues through the prism of culture – the ecological, urbanization, or class issues were all questioning the role of the human, so observing them as human issues, they linked to the field of culture (p.188). Today the emphasis of the ecological issues is placed on nature, and such an approach omits the role of the human within the paradigm of ecology. The Yugoslav approach was to focus on the human and to understand why they destroy nature, where their material greediness is coming from, how they can rehabilitate themselves and turn into creative creatures, as well as how they can distance themselves from the destructive approach. This creativity was close to the Marxist dialectics, and innovation from the process was directed towards developing the human and its well-being: “Everything in socialism must be subordinated to the needs of cultural uplifting and human growth”.<sup>853</sup> Also, humans inherently change while trying to resolve a certain issue surrounding them.<sup>854</sup> Therefore, working with the ‘nature of the human’ was a question which belonged to the cultural field since culture is where people use their imagination and become more creative; in that manner culture shapes their worldview. Such a stance was documented by Zagorka Golubović (*Praxis School*), who referred to the ‘cultivation’ of the human spirit: “Culture is the process and result of the humanization of man achieved through the conversion of man’s projects for a more humane life into a new kind of world. In creating culture, man is better able to solve his existential problems and constantly develop new aspects of life to satisfy his fundamental needs, to enrich his motivation, and to evolve into a more complete person”.<sup>855</sup>

As creativity came from a different standpoint, naturally it guided things in a different direction. The objectives (p.327) were indeed important for the innovation and the cultural artefacts created in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*. According to the cultural creators, the objectives were dependent

852 Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly, Nicely Offensive, *Op.cit.*

853 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.170.

854 ‘Specifics of the urbanization process in the period from 1948 to 1961 (Presentation of the doctoral thesis of prof. Dušan Stefanović)’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

855 Markovic Mihajlo and Perovic Gajo, *Praxis - Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 1st edn (Springer Netherlands, 1979), Essay by Golubovic, p.167.

on the *cultural values*, hence prone to change. For instance, in a civic debate, the protagonist asked “if the cultural values can be imposed, if people inherit them, or if they create new cultural models”.<sup>856</sup> It has been concluded that each generation should have its own generation *cultural values*, which their cultural models will be created upon. Similarly, Kardelj intended to guide the objectives of the *Creative Model* towards the *cultural-human development*:

“Noone spoke at all about our local economy from the point of view of the need for our cultural-educational, social and other construction, which directly affects the rise of the living standard of the masses”.<sup>857</sup>

From the above extract, we can see how Kardelj attempted to raise the living standard of the proposed construction of a cultural-educational and social program in the communities. In the same direction others anticipated that practicing cosmopolitanism would tackle the spatial, social and cultural challenges in the urban environment, and create a harmonious and creative environment: “Conflict situations that cities carry within themselves are states that we will not get rid of until the very approach to reality, human thought itself, is freed from its one-dimensionality”.<sup>858</sup>

### Tailor-made solutions

The material for the following chart is from the *Program for Developing Culture in the City of Skopje* (1981)<sup>859</sup>, [fig.236]:

<b>#1 Rationality</b>	Rational use of basic and other means at the disposal of the organizations of joint labor and other self-governing organizations and communities – providers of cultural services (facilities, halls, equipment, means of transport, etc.);
<b>#2 Optimization</b>	Avoidance of all types of costs in the mutual provision of services between the providers of cultural services, except for the actual costs related to the realization of the activity (electricity, water, hygiene, etc.);
<b>#3 Solidarity</b>	To the maximum extent common use, i.e. within the accompanying and technical services and equipment by the intermediate organizations of associated labor (workshops, laboratories, transport, etc.);
<b>#4 Bartering</b>	Rational use of professional staff, primarily in terms of mutual assistance, i.e. in all possible cases avoidance of work under a contract for honorarium, with a fee or other type of compensation, except in cases determined by law;
<b>#5 Integration</b>	Intensification of the process of functional integration of the intermediate activities, i.e. the process of consolidation of the organizations in the field of culture;

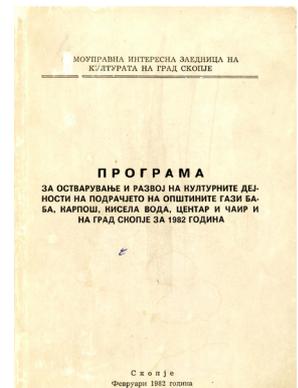


Fig. 236| Book cover, *Program for development of the cultural activities*, SCIs Skopje, 1982, Skopje

856 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.170.

857 Kritovac, 'Edvard Kardelj on man and space', *Op.cit.*

858 'Socialism', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1972).

859 Material from the, 'Program for developing Culture in the City of Skopje' (from the personal archive of the author). Moreover, the chart and the categorisation were conducted by the author.

<b>#6 Economiz- ing</b>	Strict adherence by the organizations of associated labor within the planned and agreed means without any excess of consumption. In order to achieve these goals, a permanent action will be implemented to save all types of consumption in the organization of associated labor, and especially the consumption related to business trips, advertising and propaganda, representation, use of official vehicles, telephones, and technical aids. The organizations in this direction will realize the traditional manifestations, the celebration of the anniversaries;
<b>#7 Insuring initiatives</b>	The trips of the artistic and other ensembles, especially of the cultural-artistic societies in the country, especially abroad, will take place exclusively according to a pre-socially verified program, i.e. within the programs for cultural cooperation and shoulders of the competent bodies and organizations of the City and the Republic.

The chart proposes a schema for rationalization and better efficiency of the spatial and other resources for the community of the city of Skopje for the purpose of achieving the desired creativity. As we can observe from the table presented above – firstly, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to mindfully use the existing infrastructure; secondly, such a mindful approach shows that creativity was planned even though the community did not have great financial means; thirdly, the measures act as a criticism against the issues which were detected in the community. An additional positive aspect is the accurate reaction of the cultural creators to grasp the current conditions and to provide tailor-made measures that help the authenticity of the community. This strategy to ‘create new needs’, and not only to satisfy the existing ones or solely maintain the ‘status quo’, is contrary to a measure for austerity, which normally steers the selection of activities towards those that the model can afford. On the one hand, the program promotes cultural growth (expansion), while on the other, it maintains the existing cultural infrastructure. This is confirmed from the bottom-up manner, which is the cultural creators’ perspective. For instance, the members of *Top Lista Nadrealista* often used the technical equipment from the already well-established artist Goran Bregović,<sup>860</sup> and it was a situation that occurred because of their mutual friendship. The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* embodied the principles upon which it was built. The model thus developed negative sides too since the economical aspects put a constraint on the creative mode of the model and a pressure to develop a tendency to centralize itself. The economic forces influenced the spatiality of the *Creative Model*, which tended to centralize mostly in the capital cities of the individual Socialist Republics:

“Top culture was realized in all countries, but also consumed in the largest economic centres, which thus became cultural metropolises. For a poor country like Yugoslavia, it was one of the pre-war cultural features. All the cultural institutions in which important decisions were made, all the publishing houses, large theatres, higher education institutions, all top cultural values were created in the three largest cities – Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. Economic reasons

860 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, Online, 2021 (p.139).

forced the new government to promote the process of metropolisation, which continued even after the war”.<sup>861</sup>

The city of Skopje proposed its measures to be implemented on the ground, through the self-management principle:

“- Working according to the Congresses (federal and national level);  
 - Connecting with the joint work, with the working people and the citizens in the local communities [mjesni zajednici], as they are the basic carriers and subjects of the development of culture and art;  
 - Creating conditions for successful artistic creation and forms of joint effort – in order to improve the environment of the working fields;  
 - Development of decision-making, responsibility, collective work and responsibility;  
 - Self-governing connection at all levels, from the local communities [mjesni zajednici] to the Republics and in all working and living environments – in order to ensure programming and realization of culture and art within the general predictions of development and exclusively in accordance with the possibilities of our self-governing socialist community”.<sup>862</sup>

#### The spatiality of the Creative Model

The previous sub-chapter analyzed the architecture as cultural creation. However, each of the Yugoslav environments developed an individual approach towards creating civic space in their communities. Such spaces aimed to develop the creativity of their citizens and as described in previous chapters, they were branded as ‘spaces for the field of culture’. The second aspect of the Creative Model of an environment is that the model is embodied in the man-made environment, so the totality of the appearance of the man-made environment can be considered as significant. This means creativity is seen (p.370).<sup>863</sup> The individual Yugoslav cities aimed to culturally-humanly develop their environments. For instance, the City of Belgrade hired the *Association of Workers’ Cultural and Educational Organizations* to “discover the places that can be the focus of culturally-educational and entertaining life”.<sup>864</sup> Such spaces were discussed not only in the architectural and communal circles, but also in the *Institute of Cultural Development*:

“All public buildings in a single city, especially cultural ones, are created at a certain time as an expression of social and cultural changes in a particular space, which is considered to represent the cross-section of the fields of social and cultural and urban”.<sup>865</sup>

Therefore, those spaces were of greater importance because they were linked to the subject of their study interest: the cultural-human development:

861 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.212.

862 Program for development of the cultural activities for the city of Skopje-1982, *Op.cit.*

863 This is the phenomena seeing in their visual range.

864 The editors, ‘Notes’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1956).

865 Program for development of the cultural activities for the city of Skopje-1982, *Op.cit.*

“[...] production of space dedicated to cultural activities is very differentiated – the extent to which the cultural activities and cultural needs themselves have been identified. In the short case, the emergence of this space is always subject to social, cultural and technical standards”.<sup>866</sup>

Architects preferred that such places were spatially located in central and frequent spots in the community to yield “frequent contact”,<sup>867</sup> confirming that architects were also aware of the communication network they were creating. *The Institute of Cultural Development* initiated a broader analysis into the “the relation between the city, its cultural content, the cultural needs of the people and the space dedicated to the cultural needs [...]”.<sup>868</sup> Those spaces intended that the *Creative Model* should develop authenticity in the particular environment where it was located (Appendix, p.504). Such a notion of authenticity also came as criticism of the monotony the cities were developing (doctrine of CIAM) and the sharp divisions between the pre-defined functions, such as work, housing, recreation and an “application which is often vulgarized and led to total misunderstandings; contributing to the atomization of the city”.<sup>869</sup> Such a critique displayed the motivation that the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to overcome regarding the schematic approaches, leaving space for cities to look for their individual motivations for development, but strive for a common “social basis of the city structure”.<sup>870</sup> In the following part, the thesis will elaborate on the individual creative approaches of the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo.

#### The Cultural Model of the Socialist City through the eyes of its protagonists

Here is how the protagonist observed the idea of what made their city a creative environment. The same table ‘helped’ similarities to be detected in the three cities:

##### *The Creative Model of the Socialist City...*

...is where the public discourse is affirmative for art and architecture (Testimonial Doknić)

...is where the motives are not to profit, to buy cheap and sell one day for more (Testimonial Panić)

...is where there is a systematic approach of working (Testimonial Doknić)

...is where people divide themselves into architects, movie directors, and artists

instead of dividing themselves on the basis of their ethnic background (Testimonial

866 ‘Socio - economic position of culture’, 1975, The Institute for Cultural Development, Belgrade.

867 Janić, ‘Methodological approach of planning the city centres’, *Op.cit.*

868 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

869 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

870 *Ibid.*

Đozić)

...resolves things integrally (spatial ideas are conveyed as a totality on the urban territory) rather than Municipality by Municipality (Testimonial Penušliski)

...is where the creators are interested in life and not politics (Testimonial Dimić)

...is where the cultural institutions are connected to education of the children (Testimonial Panić)

...is where people use the potential to exploit the clean energies (Testimonial Tomić)

...affirms art (Testimonial Panić)

... is a city in which you can hear a lot and see a lot (Testimonial Dimić)

...is where there is no tourist kitsch (Testimonial Dragičević Šešić)

...is where one is encouraged to have a critical opinion (Testimonial Dimić)

...has cultural artefacts which are not with 'empty meaning' (Testimonial Panić)

...has a cosmopolite environment (Testimonial Mitrović)

...is where the creators are interested in topics which they have personal problems with (Testimonial Mujkić)

...where harmony of the resources is achieved (Testimonial Mitrović)

...has an affirmative ambience for the young people (Testimonial Mitrović)

...has a self-sufficient creative scene (Testimonial Đozić)

...is where interesting things occur (Testimonial Mitrović)

...where the creators are spontaneous (Testimonial Đozić)

#### BY CITIES: BELGRADE, SKOPJE, SARAJEVO

The choice of these three cities in the Balkans (with the suggested time frame) is a result of the curiosity to analyze and compare the diversity of the *Creative Models* (identical and different points) that these cities have. Comparison will also allow for parallel understanding of the creation of the prototype of the *Creative Model*. The cities of Skopje, Belgrade and Sarajevo during the Yugoslav era belonged to one integral cultural network (1945-1991). During this period the culture in the three cities was not market-oriented, however this changed when the Yugoslav disintegration took place in 1991, and each of the cities became the capital of the newly independent countries (Skopje – the Republic of Macedonia; Belgrade – the Republic of Serbia; and Sarajevo – the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina), gradually introducing the newly established market neoliberal-oriented economy. The post-Yugoslav period is the interest of Chapter V. In terms of morphology of the chosen case studies, the city of Skopje is classified as a new city since most of the built fabric was produced in the last 70 years, while Belgrade is a mixed city, where the neighbourhood of New Belgrade was constructed next to the old pre-Yugoslav built fabric, i.e. it was a large-scale project. The city of Sarajevo consists of built fabric influenced by both the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian culture, whereas in the Yugoslav era large and medium-scale projects were integrated within it.

#### IV.2.2.1. The commune of Belgrade

##### Brief description of the creativity in the pre-Yugoslav era

The city of Belgrade, up until 1948, was spatially located on the ‘right’ coast of the River Sava. As a strategically important point on the Balkan Peninsula, it was often described as the eastern ‘gate’ towards the West, and as a political, social, and cultural hotspot. Between 15th-19th century Belgrade was governed by the Ottoman Empire, [fig.237], and gained the reputation of a ‘Military City’, concentrated around the fortress *Kalemegdan*, [fig.238]; the first official institution from the field of culture emerged – the Military Museum, established in 1878. Furthermore, the *Geography of Culture of the City of Belgrade* detects the first institution which aimed to challenge the military nature of Belgrade and transform the city from a “military stronghold in the centre of national cultural enlightenment” to a different function. The Great School aimed to anticipate the ‘Serbian Cultural Renaissance’;<sup>871</sup> a more dynamic and systematic cultural transformation of the city occurred during the rule of the Karadjordjevic Dynasty, who sponsored and built centrally in the city’s old town – the first publishing house, library, museum, daily/periodical newspapers, faculty, permanent theatre, and the first organized socialist movements. This undoubtedly unveiled the “spiritual potential of Belgrade”;<sup>872</sup> thus the city became “an outstanding example of the traces of those former strategies that gave meaning to many solutions”;<sup>873</sup> showing that the creators understood that different ideologies generate different approaches to creativity and culture.

##### Framework for cultural (civic) interventions in the commune – Yugoslav era

The cultural planning of Belgrade naturally gained traction since the city became the capital of the newly formed country in 1945. It was at that point that the city started to attract people from across Yugoslavia, which increased its population – being among the first in Europe. In 1968, Belgrade had 123 individual neighbourhoods.<sup>874</sup> The territorial deployment of the city was in three zones: the central zone – the hotspot of the commercial, cultural and administrative facilities; the second zone – developed around the first one, mostly residential areas; and the third zone – in which the urban (suburban) and rural structures were in close communication. Such an arrangement meant that the zones had significant differences, yet this presented an additional complexity of the overall spatial model of the city, as well as in terms of its cultural development.

871 Established by Dositej Obradović, a key figure for the Serbian cultural awakening.

872 Kolarić, ‘Geography of Belgrade culture’, *Op.cit.*

873 *Ibid.*

874 ‘Socio - economic position of culture’, 1975, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 237| Page 18, Map, Belgrade in 1688, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 20, 1973, Belgrade



Fig. 238| Map, the plan of the City of Belgrade, 1830

The population density was also steadily increasing as people were moving closer to the city centre, e.g. in 1966, the Municipality of *Vračar* had 31.000 citizens per 1m<sup>2</sup>, the *Old City* had 13.900 citizens per 1m<sup>2</sup>, while the Municipality of *Zvezdara* had 342 citizens per 1m<sup>2</sup>. According to the demographic information, in 1945 the city (the bigger metropolitan area) had 560.000 citizens, and in 1991, the number was 1.100.000.<sup>875</sup> In the analysis of the city from 1970, the spatial planners for the first time officially recognized that there were ‘urbanistically organized’ and ‘not urbanistically organized’ neighbourhoods (the so-called ‘wild neighbourhoods’).<sup>876</sup> The latter category was thought of as ‘illegal’, so it entered neither the spatial-architectural studies nor the cultural development plans. The ‘social segregation’ occurred as well.<sup>877</sup> On the other hand (as a socialist approach), in particular zones of the city different social circles were given apartments, e.g. new apartments in New Belgrade were mainly given to the administrative workers.<sup>878</sup> Sesić explained the ‘zoning by social ranks’, where the industrial workers mainly lived in their individual houses located in the third and second zones of the city:<sup>879</sup> a fact confirmed by observation of the map, [fig.239], displaying the city centre of Belgrade as mainly inhabited by the Faculty educated citizens.

#### Cultural organization of the commune

The first official organization in the field of culture of the city dates back to 1945, when the *Commission for Culture and Arts* was established. As an institution, it was active up until 1952, when the *City Secretariat for Education and Culture* took over their duties, while the implementation of the decisions was done by the *Assembly of Belgrade* up until 1971. In 1967, with the establishment of the Self-organized communities and the *SCI for Culture*, the city restructured the whole organization in a more bottom-up manner. The principle was legally confirmed in 1974, also when also the first thematic municipal *SCI for Culture* was established too.<sup>880</sup>

#### Outburst of creative planning

In the city of Belgrade, the created *Culture Development Institute* (pg. x) assisted the city in the development of its individual and scientific approach to culture, i.e. the Institute assisted the city in providing it with various cultural

875 *Ibid.*

876 *Ibid.*

877 ‘Program for the development of cultural activities in Belgrade’ 1971-1975, Study done for the needs of the Assembly of the City of Belgrade, The Institute for Cultural Development, 1970, Belgrade.

878 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

879 *Ibid.*

880 ‘Status of opera artists in the National Theater in Belgrade from 1970 to 1980’, 2018, Museological Institute Sanu Belgrade, Belgrade.

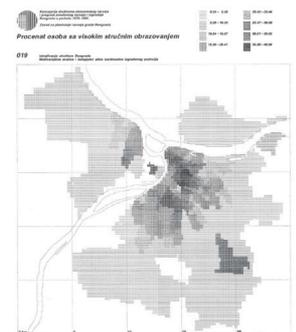


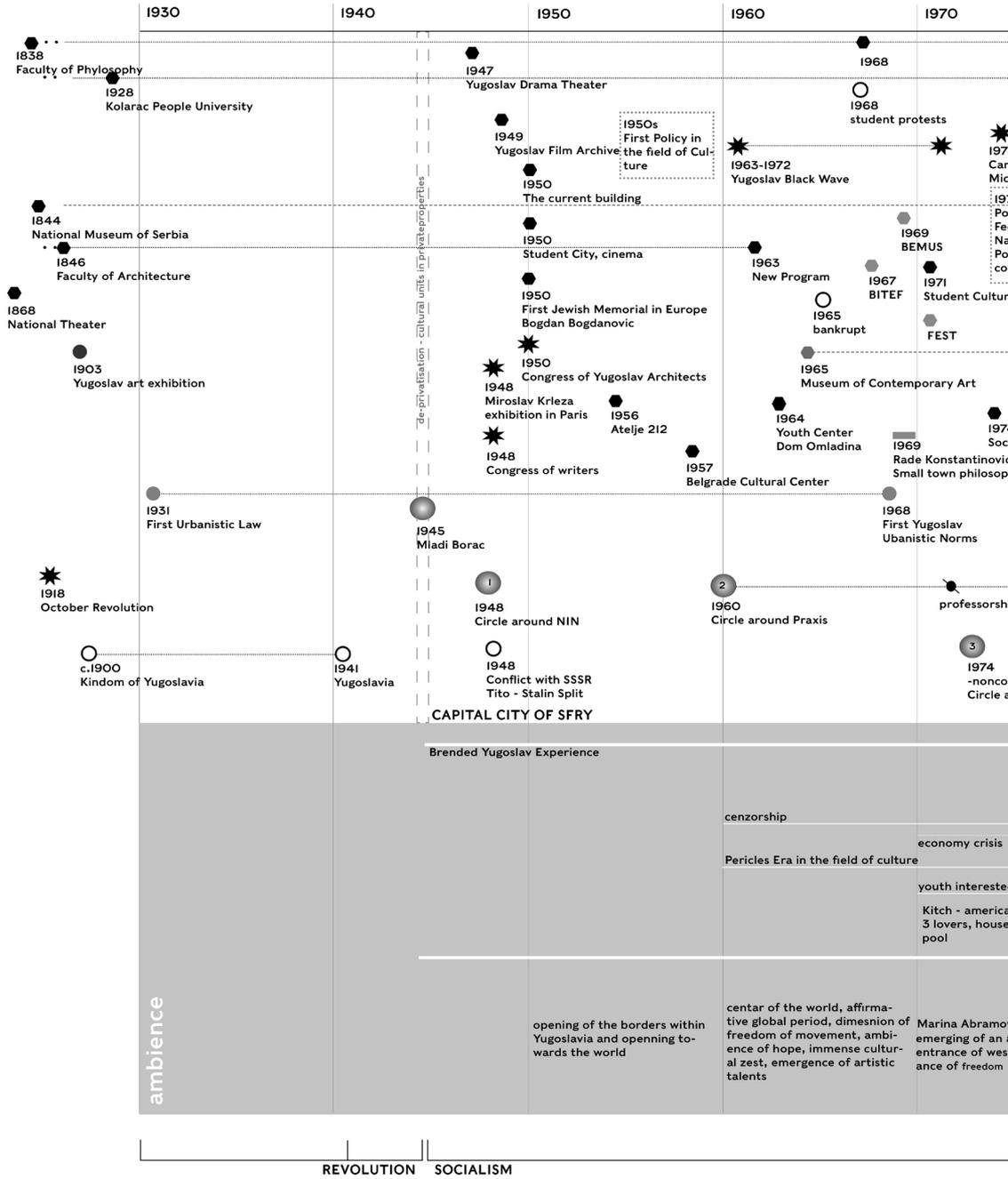
Fig. 239| Page 62, Map, *the City of Belgrade, the percentage of people with higher education*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 51, 1979, Belgrade

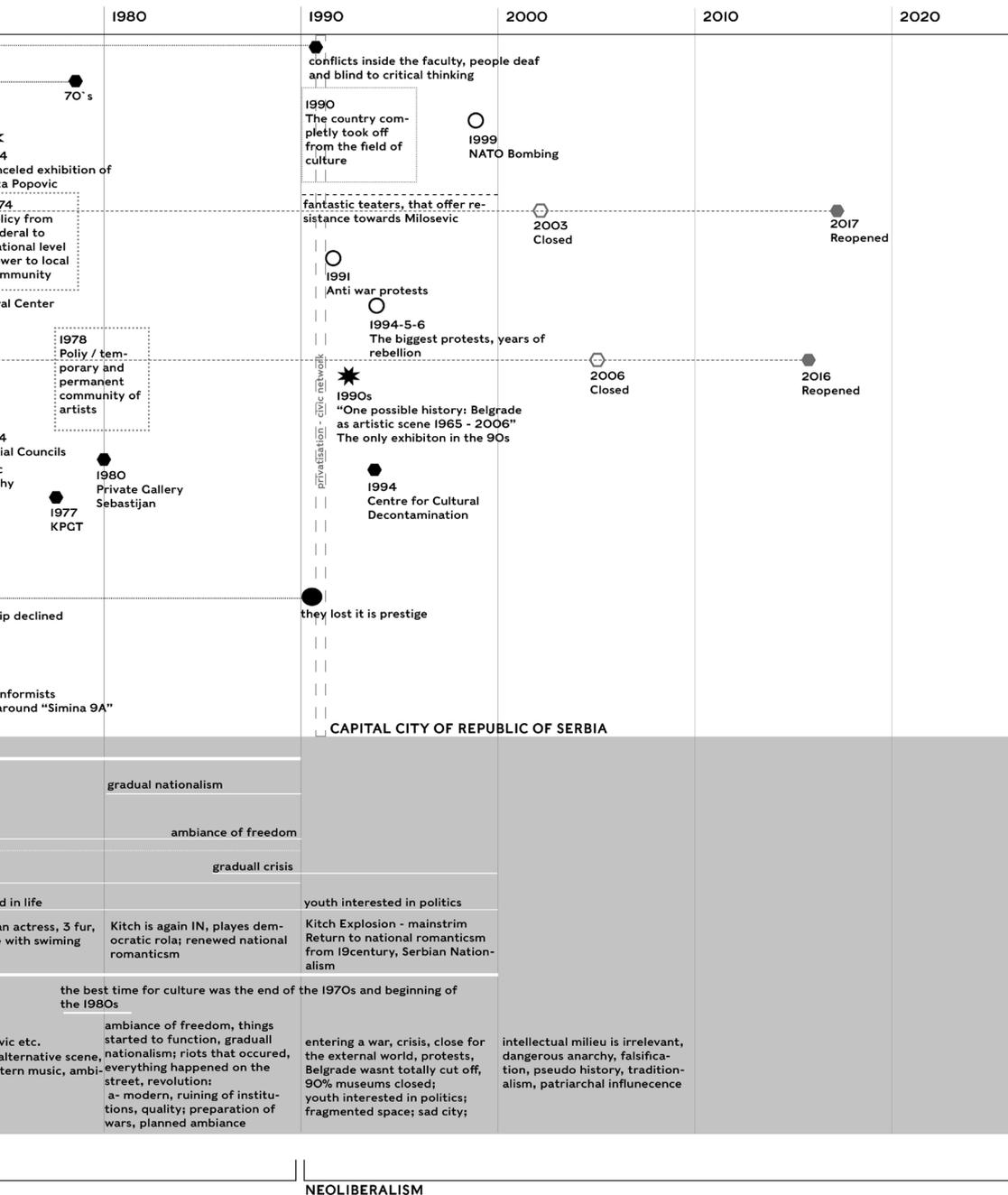
expertise. As observed from the data collected, the Institute drafted both long-term visions and annual programs for development of the culture in the city. Separate studies were conducted regarding particular issues, such as the financial models of the cultural infrastructure or the self-management implementation in the field of culture. The Institute also had the function of grasping the 'collective interest of the city' and proposing measures; indeed it was a unique institution which existed only in Belgrade, assisting by providing expertise for various municipalities in Serbia and in the other Socialist Republics. For instance, the city of Banja Luka (located in Bosnia) in the 1970s regularly asked the Institute about plans for development of the culture in Banja Luka.<sup>881</sup> Another institution that developed the spatial collective capacities of Belgrade was the *Urban Planning Institute of the City of Belgrade* (p.364-365).

881 E-mail exchange with Masha Vukanović – researcher at the Institute for Cultural Development, Belgrade.

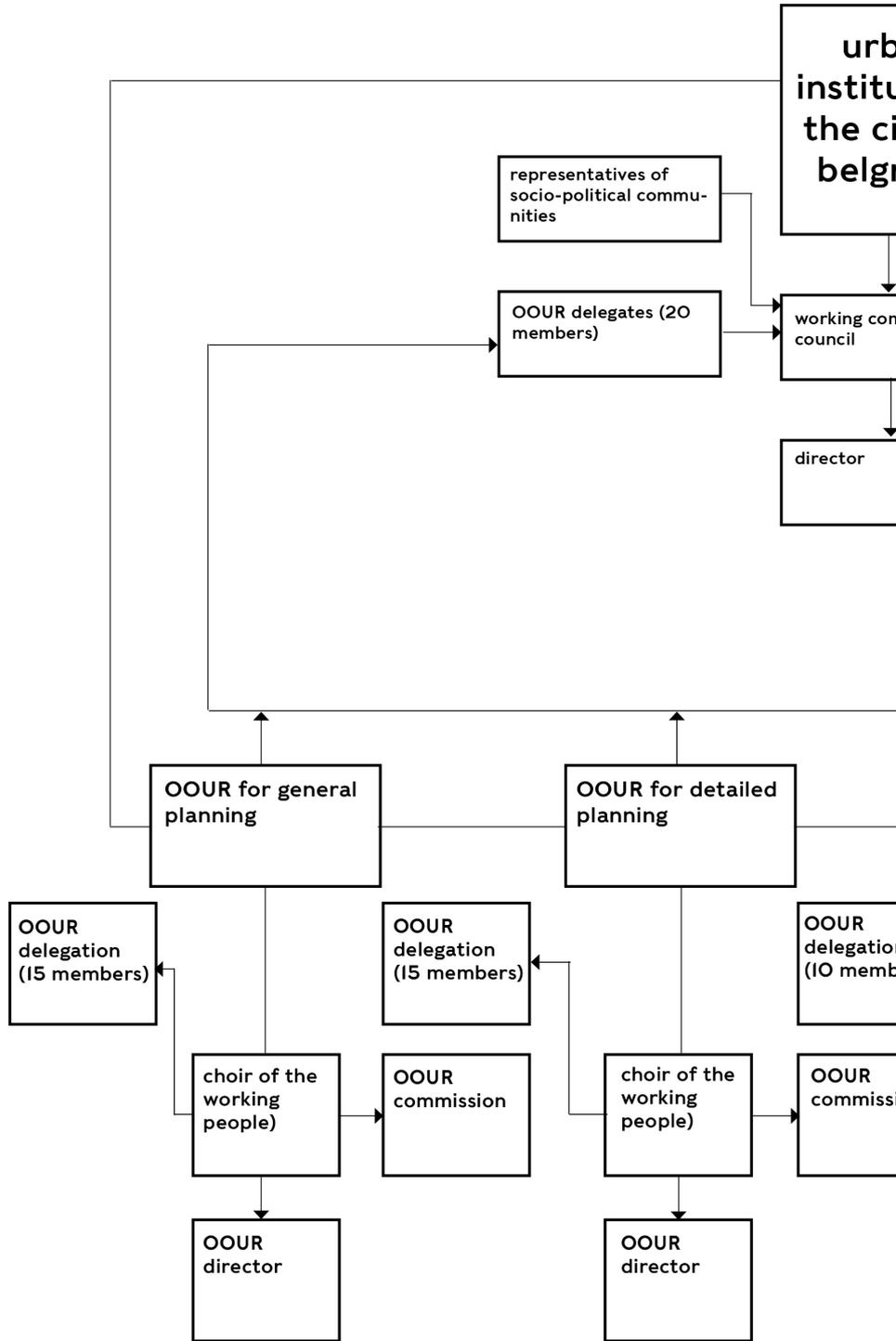


[fig.22] A map of spatiality of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Belgrade, (Reference the author).

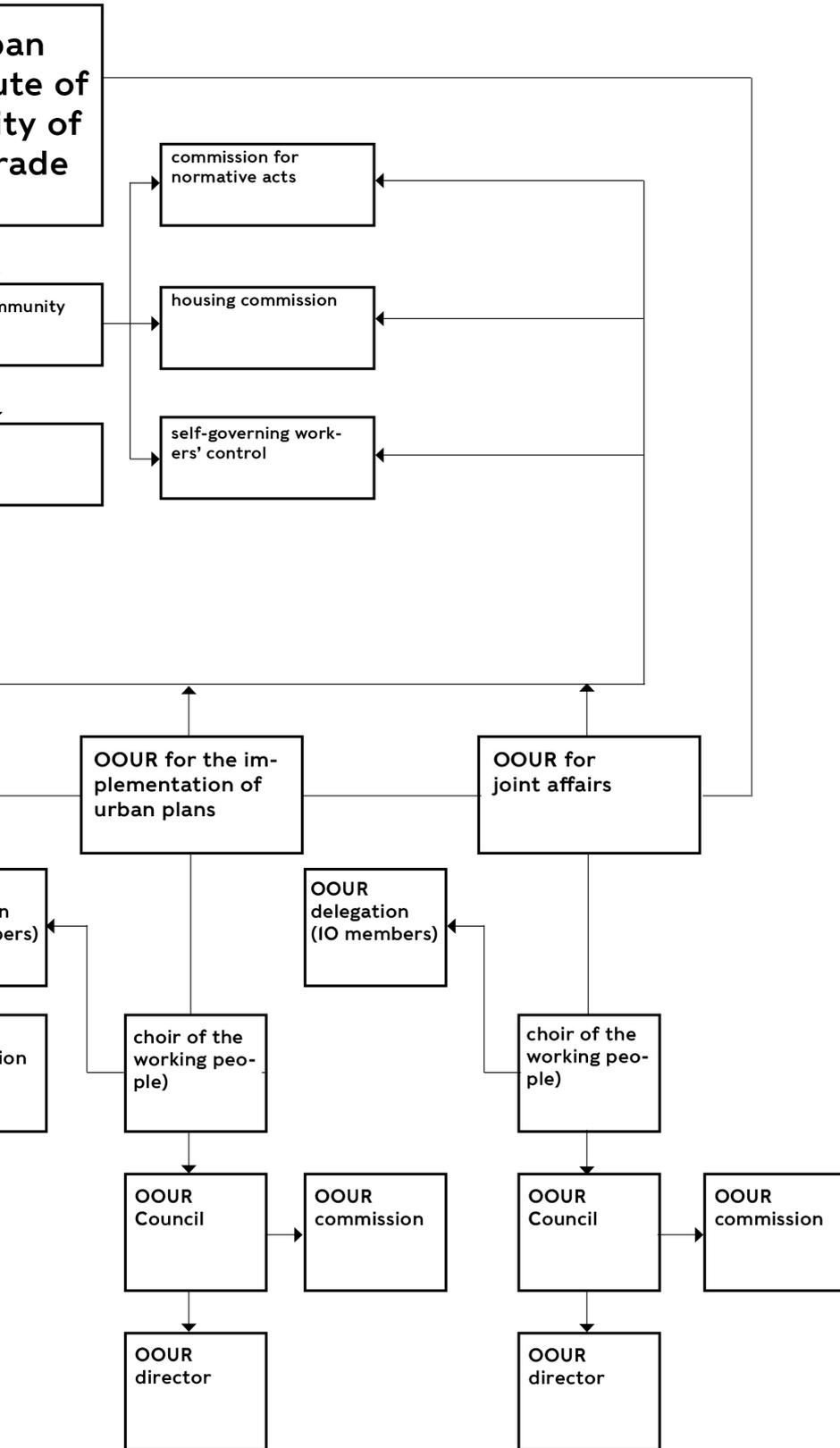




[fig.23] A diagram from the evolution of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Belgrade, (Reference: the author)



self-governing community of the urban institute



[fig.24] A diagram from the organization of the Urban Institute of the city of Belgrade, (Redraw by the author)

### The evolution of the cultural infrastructure

As Belgrade became the capital city of SFRY, the city needed to ‘provide space’ for a whole new palette of institutions of Yugoslav significance, such as the *Parliament of Yugoslavia* or the *Yugoslav Ministry of Defense*, located in the old parts of Belgrade, as well as the *Palace of the Federation*, located in New Belgrade. In the same direction, buildings for developing and presenting the common Yugoslav culture and other types of civic spaces emerged too, e.g. the *Yugoslav Drama Theatre* (established in 1947), [fig.240] and the *Yugoslav Cinematography Archive* (established in 1949), [fig.241]. These institutions had their specific ‘Yugoslav’ objective, as opposed to the institutions which only served at the level of the city of Belgrade. The latter were established so as to overcome the loss of space, which was bombed between 1941 and 1944 by German powers.<sup>882</sup> As the invaders’ “only goal was destruction and looting”<sup>883</sup>, the cultural creators wanted to offer the concept of construction in the field of culture to bring optimism and to distance themselves from the cultural politics of the German powers.



Fig. 240| Photo, the Yugoslav theater, Belgrade, ~ early 1950s



Fig. 241| Photo, Museum of the Yugoslav Cinematography, Belgrade

Much of the initiatives to build cultural and civic spaces represented a rebellious act by the local population as a method to confront the German power and the strategy to rebuild the city was contrary to the destructive incentive of the opponent. Furthermore, the motives of the opponents to destroy the cultural infrastructure was linked to the attempts to abolish the identity of the region too:

“Belgrade is an old and long-living city, remembering a lot, but its memory is filled mainly with wars, conquests, changes of lords, ups and downs, physical destruction and rebirth, constant new beginnings. A lengthy past and rich in memories, Belgrade is however poor in monuments and young physical structures, whose growth is directed towards the future”.<sup>884</sup>

The constant change of political ideologies in the city of Belgrade gave the city the capability to deal with them in a creative manner: “Belgrade, as far as its cultural space is concerned, is a remarkable example of the traces of these early strategies that gave sense to many solutions. A large number of cultural institutions, e.g. cinemas, museums, galleries, libraries, and concert halls are located in the old city area”.<sup>885</sup> This meant that the strategy from the previous epoch – the ‘centrally concentrated cultural institutions’ – was an element which Belgrade inherited. The first cultural policy occurred in the late 1940s,

882 The city was bombed on several occasions by the German powers between 1941 – 1944. Much of those bombs were attacking civic projects, such as the library of Belgrade, the train station in Rakovica, or children’s hospitals. The official date of liberation from foreign Nazi Power is on 20 October 1944.

883 Harisić, historian of art, ‘Museum of the City’, *Op.cit.*

884 Jakšić, ‘Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

885 ‘Socio - economic position of culture’, 1975, *Op.cit.*

when the ambitious construction of New Belgrade had started (p.183), bringing additional complexity since civic spaces and accompanying facilities needed to be constructed for the newly built neighbourhoods in New Belgrade as well. Consequently, the complexity of Belgrade was linked to the efforts to satisfy the spatial needs following the indisputable rapid growth which the city set:

“Accessibility in spatial terms and in the acceptance of the broad masses and their further cultural education through their cultural participation, to immediately add that the cultural objects of local character, which should receive the greatest burden in the task of developing mass contemporary culture, and in creating a cultural audience, are very rare and uneven in the city, especially in terms of the number of cultural centres, clubs and societies, and partly libraries, cinemas [...]”<sup>886</sup>

From this point onwards, the construction boom in the 1950s had a specific characteristic – on the one side, an immense creative energy ‘translated’ into designing architectural projects, and on the other side, a realistic challenge from the immense growth of the city. Such growth was “accompanied by a high demand for housing, very high growth rates of utility consumption, and the constant need to satisfy the capacities of the new neighbourhoods”.<sup>887</sup> The established minimum (p.207 in chapter II) was high and good quality was a requirement, further influencing the quality of the neighbourhoods and the architecture in general: “avoiding standard uniform blocks and ‘ready-made design’”.<sup>888</sup> In order to better organize all the upcoming challenges, the city of Belgrade formed the *Urban Institute of the City of Belgrade in 1958*; receiving the status of an institution of ‘special social interest’. As can be seen from the chart of organization of the institution, [fig.24], the Institute introduced the ‘self-management mechanism of control’ in its legal system.

The studies carried out in the *Urban Institute of the City of Belgrade* had the objective of achieving ‘a balance network’ and tackling the issue of the equipment of the suburbs with a civic program. Accordingly, the Institute prepared programs for construction in the suburban neighbourhoods, which anticipated programs that could not be built traditionally due to lack of material support. These programs suggested spatial distribution of educational centres (to tackle the standard of the students), health facilities, sport centres (so-called polygons for physical culture and recreation) and *local communities* [*мјесну заједницу*], with spaces for socialization, health-social points, libraries with a small hall for projection, and eventually a gallery.<sup>889</sup>

886 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

887 ‘Socio - economic position of culture’, 1975, *Op.cit.*

888 Čanak, ‘Belgrade apartment’, *Op.cit.*

889 Popović, ‘Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers’, *Op.cit.*

The beginning of the 1950s was characterized by the ‘creation of the spatial basis’, which meant intensification in the construction of the buildings’ anticipated evolution of cultural life in the city – a number of theoretical, philosophical, ideological seminars were organized to define the cultural field. The city of Belgrade developed an optimistic energy as the backbone of the cultural development. So, what the theory explained as the fast system was in fact a positive chain effect that was present and felt in the city, as it “draws its vitality and develops special possibilities coming from the contradictions which were inherited”.<sup>890</sup> In those years (the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s), the protagonist described the *ambience* as an immense physical and mental “opening of the borders within Yugoslavia”<sup>891</sup> and even further “opening towards the world”.<sup>892</sup> For them, the city of Belgrade was becoming “one alive space”.<sup>893</sup>



Fig. 242| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, Belgrade, - 1960s

In the 1960s on the streets of Belgrade, that global opening was already visible, [fig.242]. The first international Conferences were held here too. As Yugoslavia became the founding member of the *NAM*, the first *Congress of the Non-Aligned Countries* was held in the city in 1961. The newly gained political position attracted foreign students from the global south to come and study in Yugoslavia,<sup>894</sup> and the Universities stated their international cooperation.<sup>895</sup> The protagonist described the 1960s as the epoch in which the socialist system gradually displayed its imperfections. In the same direction there was a common saying – ‘it was easier to imagine Yugoslavia than to organize it’. Those imperfections were unexpected since people did not believe that the installed socialist paradigm should not show any negative features.



Fig. 243| Photos, Manifestations ‘Solidarity with the Vietnamese people’, 1966s, Belgrade

As such, the pessimism that had gradually arisen added a level of complexity to the already multi-faceted organization of the country. The impact of the general opening of Yugoslavia and the *Non-Aligned Movement* was first felt on the streets of Belgrade in 1966, when people expressed solidarity with the Vietnamese, [fig.243], and organized massive manifestations to transmit the message that ‘we demand an end to American aggression’<sup>896</sup>, [fig.244]. Such manifestations were organized in other Yugoslav environments too, in the cities of Zagreb and Sarajevo. This development of events presented the cultural scene of Belgrade already being in communication with other cultural scenes.

890 Jakić, ‘Social and cultural events – factor urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

891 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

892 *Ibid.*

893 *Ibid.*

894 ‘Education of students from developing countries as a part of Yugoslavia’s foreign policy 1950–1961\*’, Dragomir Bondžić, (ANNALES), 2014.

895 ‘Tvrtko Jakovina’, Yugoslavia on the International Scene: The Active Coexistence of Non-Aligned Yugoslavia, <<https://www.yuhistorija.com/>>.

896 As shown on the popular evidence.

The same can be linked to the theory of Stojkov, who negates the existence of borders, putting forward the civic understanding of an environment which is defined by the action of the humans in it (p.326).

Therefore, the global and local dissatisfaction tendencies continued, gradually growing and culminating with the student rebellion protests in 1968, [fig.245]. These manifestations proved that in the city was part of the global communication network – since similar student manifestations occurred in Paris, London, and other cities. Locally, the manifestation had specific “anti-capitalistic and anti-bureaucratic character”<sup>897</sup>, which came as criticism to the ongoing progress. The manifestation and its criticism left traces on peoples’ views, e.g. in the movie *We are not angels*, the main protagonist, depicted as a helpless unemployed middle-aged man, claims that in 1968 he made a promise he would never accept a conventional job, [fig.246]. The protesters pinpointed all the negative emerging issues in the ‘supposed-to-be’ socialist society:

“Reduction of great social inequality in society, abolition of privileges, consistent distribution according to work, vigorous action against enrichment ‘in a non-socialist way’, solving the issue of unemployment, democratization of all areas of social life, freedom of assembly and demonstration, more consistent building of self-governing relations and opposing bureaucratic living conditions and schooling”.<sup>898</sup>

However, the positive aspects of the manifestations are manifold: the space for “critical thinking has expanded”<sup>899</sup>, the traces that represent the non-homogeneity, the “occurrence of the Yugoslav left and Yugoslav right”<sup>900</sup>, and the strive for “progressive and non-dogmatic Marxists”<sup>901</sup> (p.172). The protests were positive because they showed that the big global power (the USA) could be criticized too without the unnecessary tendency for obedience. Such a positive rebellion was part of the everyday discourse as well, e.g. the parents and children got into polemics, etc.<sup>902</sup> This situation was depicted in the movie titled *The Elusive Summer of ‘68*. In one of the scenes, the passionate communist father took the TV out of the house so his children could not follow the happenings in the capital city, [fig.247]. Despite this, his teenage children continued to show resistance by not obeying their father’s position.<sup>903</sup>

897 Ljubodrag Dimić, ‘Sixties: a decade that determined the fate of Yugoslav socialism and the Yugoslav state’, Faculty of History, 2017, Belgrade.

898 *Ibid.*

899 *Ibid.*

900 *Ibid.*

901 *Ibid.*

902 *Ibid.*

903 Interestingly in the same movie the father as a symbol of the socialist system, is someone who force the family to behave well, to take the bikes, to visit the grandparents etc. Nevertheless, the children as a symbol for the citizens of Yugoslavia, are bored to constantly behave well.



Fig. 245| Scene from the Movie, *How I Was Systematically Destroyed by an Idiot*, Slobodan Šijan, 1983



Fig. 246| Scene from the Movie, *We are not angels*, Srdjan Dragojević, 1992



Fig. 247| Scene from the movie, *The Elusive Summer of '68*, Goran Paskaljević, 1984

Makavejev describes that particular artistic skills were the outcome of the societal games (p.182 chapter II), which were developed in reality in the 1960s. Due to those exercised ‘games’, Gordana Popović Vasić stated that the character of art was altered. According to her, eventually all the efforts made, including the ‘societal games’ gradually transformed the physical look of the entire country. Such a statement has been argued by research too, that seeing in people’s visual range in the everyday context can impact the culture of the environment. For instance, regarding photography, [fig.248], from the early 1970s, we can see the man-made environment which contains the Yugoslav visual element. The space on photographs appears modest, sober and without publicity, implying that it took several years to infuse the many innovated elements and become present in the physical character of the city and the visual range of the people. The cultural creators described 1968 as a significant year which impacted their cultural creation. For instance, the architect Brnislav Mitrović (in 1968) reflects on his cultural artefact – the architecture:

“It was 1968. For me, this beginning was identification with Woodstock, and only later could you see in my projects the reflection of Kubrick and the Space Odyssey”.<sup>904</sup>

In the same vein, the analysis aims to acknowledge the *reality* in which the cultural artefact was created as sort of a positioning of the cultural artefact in its broader context. According to the research, such an approach will be beneficial to understand the character of the cultural artefact better. Furthermore, the ambience which developed in the reality of Belgrade gave the protagonist the impression that their city was becoming the ‘centre of the world’ and that such circumstances gave them ‘immense freedom for creation’ and a dimension of the ‘freedom of the movement’. Others also described the 1960s as a “affirmative global period”<sup>905</sup>, with an “ambience of hope”.<sup>906</sup> In the events of 1968, protesters from Skopje and Sarajevo, and other Yugoslav cities joined in, which exhibited the fact that the events had a cultural reach and impact on other Yugoslav environments too. The protagonist stated that the general positivity which was felt in the *reality*, in fact impacted the character of their cultural artefacts; they valued the reality as a precondition for their artistic creation. The positive general ambience impacted the intensification of the “emergence of artistic talent”<sup>907</sup> and contributed to reaching out for an “immense cultural zest”.<sup>908</sup> In the late 1960s, other significant harvests stemming from the creative upheaval emerged in the other artistic disciplines. As such cultural artefacts, the following can be mentioned: the emergence of the festival *BITEF*, established

904 Testimonial Branislav Mitrović, 2019 (p.44).

905 *Ibid.*

906 *Ibid.*

907 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

908 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).



Fig. 248| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, 1970

in 1967, or the book of Radomir Konstantinović: *Small Town philosophy*, published in 1969 [fig.116].

Civic buildings were also created to ‘host the creative model’, e.g. the building of the *Belgrade Youth Centre*, [fig.249, fig.250], inaugurated in 1964, and the new building of the *MCA* in New Belgrade, [fig.251, fig.252, fig.253, fig.254], inaugurated in 1965. The 1960s influenced the architects and the overall Yugoslav architectural system; consequently, the *Moral Codex of the Yugoslav Architects* emerged in the same years too (p.477). The years following 1968 transformed the cultural policy in a way that it started to permit ‘individual initiatives’ by the cultural creators, e.g. Milena Dragičević Sesić mentioned the ‘liberalization’ in the publishing field, where a new possibility was given to have personal and independent editions. According to Sesić, such examples were the ‘Slobodan Masić independent edition’ and the ‘Library of the 20th Century’ project of Ivan Colović.<sup>909</sup>

A novelty after the course of events of 1968 was the emergence of the alternative scene and its appearance in the physical space. The creation of space for alternative culture meant also opening ‘space’ for the critical approach of the mainstream too. Under such premises, the *Student Cultural Centre* (SCC), [fig.255], emerged in the city in 1971, and according to Dunja Blazević<sup>910</sup> the emergence of the Centre was a direct consequence of the events of 1968.<sup>911</sup> The SCC played a significant role in the overall Yugoslav and European cultural scene (p.488) and was an important point in the cultural map of Belgrade. Blazević, giving arguments for the thesis, reflects on the *reality* and places it in relation to the cultural development of the community “[...] the Avant-garde which emerged in 1960 and 1970 had to do with the civic and political reality”.<sup>912</sup>

As a result of the intensified cultural innovation, the protagonist described the epoch as an “age of Pericles in the field of culture”<sup>913</sup>, i.e. it was a good period for creating cultural artefacts. Other protagonists described the intensification as the main element of a creative environment: “Belgrade was a creative city, a city in which you can hear a lot and see a lot”.<sup>914</sup> The intensification could once again be linked to the theoretical *fast system* because the cultural creators



Fig. 249| Photo, *Belgrade Youth Center*, Dragoljub Filipović and Zoran Tasić, 1964



Fig. 251| Logo, *Museum of Contemporary Art of Belgrade*, Belgrade



Fig. 254| Photo, *Museum of Contemporary Art of Belgrade*, Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1965, Belgrade

909 Exchanged e-mails with Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019.

910 Blazević was director in the institution [1971-1974].

911 Interview with Dunja Blazević, ‘Discussions on new artistic practices in Serbia in the 1970s’, <<https://vimeo.com/149264527>>.

912 *Ibid.*

913 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

914 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

experienced an intensive action which occurred in the man-made environment, in the so-called ‘*alive space*’:

“In our time, Belgrade is experiencing one of its great essential rises, perhaps the greatest and most tumultuous work in its long life. It is boiling with life: a series of cultural, social and political events, the fast and disturbed currents of modern life flow through its veins. In this rapid movement, continually rising, Belgrade – like many others at a given point – rejected the shackles of old habits and compulsions, denied and neglected a good part of what could be called tradition”.<sup>915</sup>

Following the events of 1968, bigger constraints were brought about too: the censorship commissions were becoming more and more active in the 1970s.<sup>916</sup> Curiously, those cultural critics interpreted the issue of censorship as “a repressive course in culture that focused on banning movies, plays and books”.<sup>917</sup> Nevertheless, the cultural creators themselves gave their own personal views on the issue, stating that censorship is merely one of the issues – a game you need to play when creating art. They described a thousand more ‘games’, such as to remain interesting to the audience or not to be boring – all of which need to be achieved to have a good cultural artefact.<sup>918</sup> In parallel, Mirko Ilić (p.182 in II chapter) explained the game of censorship, which influenced the character of the cultural artefact as a “constant fight between the individual against the power”.<sup>919</sup> The fertile intensity of the action was present in the man-made environment at the beginning of the 1970s, as well as the cultural rise to be felt and the interest for culture as linked to growth, [fig.256]. The protagonist describes the mentioned intensification in the *reality* as “a centre of some gatherings, some reflections, some protests, and some new experiences”.<sup>920</sup>



Fig. 256| Photo, Belgrade everyday life, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade

Such characteristics were created in the *SCC*, which gave birth to new alternative and conceptual theoretical and practical knowledge, and new student potential. For instance, the conceptual art created by the artistic group *Belgrade Six* was the starting point of the artist Marina Abramovic<sup>921</sup>, who was the artistic group’s founding member. In that manner, *SCC* became the scene for younger talents, but was also “a theoretical and artistic reserve”.<sup>922</sup> In relation with the global discourse, the protagonist described that in the 1970s the western cultural artefacts (such as those from music and popular culture)

915 Jaksić, ‘Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

916 Vlada Paunović, ‘Oblivion Congress’, 2016.

917 Dimić, ‘Sixties: a decade that determined the fate of Yugoslav socialism and the Yugoslav state’, *Op.cit.*

918 Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly, Nicely Offensive, *Op.cit.*

919 TV Interview with Mirko Ilić, they win, *Op.cit.*

920 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

921 Jelena Vesić, ‘Objects and Projects – Exhibition of the ‘Belgrade Six’ (Collective Practice and Individual Authorships)’, <<http://tranzit.org/>>.

922 Testimonial Miško Šuvaković, Belgrade, 2019 (p.117).

were gradually more present and that an overall ambience of freedom remained. Being exposed to it at the same time meant developing a certain critical stance towards the cultural artefacts developed in the West, and especially according to them ‘the kitsch’ in the western everyday. Therefore, lifestyles became relevant elements for cultural analysis. This can be observed in the testimonial of Doknić, who commented on the lifestyle of the cultural creator in America: “an American actress that has three furs and three lovers”.<sup>923</sup>

Although invented in the 1960s, the forums as a form of civic expression and dialogue were popularized in the 1970s. Young people organized ‘youth forums’ in all the Yugoslav environments, [fig.257].<sup>924</sup> Dimić stated that they affirmed critical thinking among the youth, and their aim was to nurture oppositional thinking, which in turn influenced the thinking of the cultural creators and was later reflected in their cultural artefacts too. For instance, Žilnik explains that the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* made the artefact ‘seem’ more intelligent because the creator “always had an enemy that he was in dialogue with”.<sup>925</sup> He pointed out that such a ‘game’ pushed the artefact to go deeper into the quality of the meaning and “to convince its essence”.<sup>926</sup> According to him, a good quality artefact needed to “motivate discussion and communication”.<sup>927</sup> Dimić additionally described the social aspect of the dialogue, explaining how a dialogue on life was raised at these youth parties.

At the same time, in the first half of the 1970s, the first traces of the inter-Yugoslav disagreements were noticed, and as such they became visible on the street. One such case is of the *Croatian Spring* and the manifestations which were held in the city of Zagreb in 1971. These manifestations represented the nationalism that was already gradually developing in the individual Republics, however they were calmed by force and this phenomenon was not treated any further. In Belgrade in 1972, a group of Professors, i.e. the ‘group of eight’ (active around the circle of Praxis), according to the authorities turned destructively critical and got dismissed from their official Faculty positions. Such reactions show the significance of the strong cultural reach of the *Faculty of Philosophy* in the 1970s, [fig.258]. Moreover, the *Faculty of Philosophy* in the city of Belgrade had a central position, and in the 1960s and the 1970s enjoyed overall popularity<sup>928</sup> also because many of the youth forums were organized in the open space, on the Faculty plateau. In 1971, the most significant event for the culture of Socialist Serbia – the *Congress of Cultural Action* – was held in



Fig. 257| Photo, Youth Forum, ~ mid 1970s, Zagreb



Fig.258| Photo, plateau of the Faculty of Philosophy, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade

923 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, Serbia, 2019 (p.50).

924 Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, *Op.cit.*

925 Želimir Žilnik, ‘Capitalism and Culture’, Interview, Zrenjanin Social Forum, Serbia, 2017.

926 *Ibid.*

927 *Ibid.*

928 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

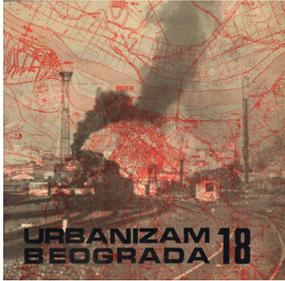


Fig. 259| Cover Page, illustration, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 18, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 260| Extracts from the pages 3 - 5, photography, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 18, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 261| Cover Page, illustration, Catalogue *FEST*, 1972

Kragujevac. The event (part of the immense cultural boom) aimed ‘to mobilize the overall capacities’ in the form of an action, and to implement it on the ground:

“This Congress was one of the best operational political axes for ‘affirmation of the current thesis of inside the avant-garde’ – in the Communist Party. This was the thesis of our Party – that we should not judge in the field of culture, but rather gather the most progressive around us and together with them construct the politics”.<sup>929</sup>

The complex situation resulted in change of the Constitution in 1974, where each of the Socialist Republics received an individual and greater legal independence. According to Sesić, the Constitution became a ‘taboo topic’ for discussion in the public discourse:

“The Constitution of 1974 mostly influenced the status of the Yugoslav citizenship. In 1974, you became a citizen of the each of the Republics and not a citizen of Yugoslavia. It’s political decentralization. Life decentralization [životna decentralizacija] was done in 1953. In Serbia we did not understand the Constitution of 1974 since they were hiding it from us”.<sup>930</sup>

In the same period, in the architectural magazines, new challenges of the city of Belgrade were presented, such as pollution issues, the unregulated hygiene situation, and poor air quality<sup>931</sup>, [fig.259, fig.260], but when it came to the cultural life of the city, it continued to flourish. In the 1970s, the already developed festivals, such as *BITEF* and *BEMUS*, continued to evolve as a ‘city-cultural content’ cultural innovation. Additionally, *FEST* was established in 1972, as an international film festival (p.318). The festival’s first addition – *Brave New World* – aimed to present “the bravest, newest and best part of world cinema”, [fig.261].<sup>932</sup> The festival gained popularity and in 1975 was visited by 200.000 citizens, [fig.262], thus transforming the cultural infrastructure of the city and impacting the overall *Socialist Creative Model of Belgrade*:

“[...] This film festival returned the Yugoslav audience to the seventh art and it was the reason for Belgrade to get two more new cinemas: ‘Yugoslavia’ in New Belgrade and a cinema in Vozdovac in the last two years. The need for these halls and a series of new ones is existent, and thanks to *FEST*, domestic distributors have changed their program policy, so that today we can see the latest and highest quality films of world production in Belgrade cinemas”.<sup>933</sup>

Such a connection of the festival with the physical space, according to the cultural creators, was considered to be successful for the city of Belgrade.

929 *Ibid.*

930 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

931 The same situation was discussed for the city of Zagreb.

932 ‘Culture is a factor in the image of the city - *FEST* ‘76’, *Op.cit.*

933 *Ibid.*

The festival is indeed an interesting case study for how cultural innovation is placed on the ground:

“[...] but also managed to achieve continuity of Belgrade’s interest in its largest cinema hall and give the House of Trade Unions a logical connection with Bezistan, Cinema Kozara and Terazije”.<sup>934</sup>

Therefore, *FEST* through the cultural network it created, became important for the cohesion of the cultural life of the city: “[...] fifteen screens scattered throughout Belgrade, in the homes of students and pioneers, workers’ and people’s Universities, military units, co-operative homes and cultural centres”.<sup>935</sup> Various other festivals participated in the dynamics of the cultural scene, such as *BITEF*, *Belgrade’s Summer Games*, and the concerts and theatre show in the *National Museum*.<sup>936</sup> They were intended to be held in authentic locations in the city to satisfy the desired criteria of creating a unique ambience. For example, *BITEF* in 1975, [fig.263], by ‘democratization’ was organized in several locations in Belgrade in both open-air spaces and indoor spaces: “in the *Film City in Kosutnjak*, the Austrian military kitchen in the *Lower Town*, near the gate of Charles VI, in the Youth Centre, in the House of Culture of the Student City, etc”.<sup>937</sup> The same strategy was promoted by the architects too, who publicized the possibilities of such authentic spaces. For instance, several locations are examined in the article *The Place and Function of the Old Ambient Units of Belgrade in its Cultural Life*.



Fig. 263| Poster, *BITEF 9*, 1975, Belgrade

A significant policy for the internal liberalization of the Yugoslav cultural artefact was brought to power in 1978<sup>938</sup> – allowing the creation of cultural artefacts as ‘private initiatives’, implying an appearance of an internal ‘market-oriented’ cultural artefact, which gradually became even more market-oriented over the decade. The cultural creators described that the positive aspects of the liberalization, such as the ‘cease of censorship’, were new conditions for creation to emerge. Therefore, the quality of the created cultural artefacts from the 1980s was a product of the newly freedomized conditions and the already developed artistic skills from the times when censorship existed. As such, the protagonist considered the period on the border between the 1970s and the 1980s as the “best time for culture”.<sup>939</sup> From here on, entering the 1980s presented a vivid period for cultural creation – it was an epoch in which for the first time mbiental tranformations were felt on the streets. Additionally, the

934 Jaksić, ‘Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

935 *FEST Catalogue*, *Op.cit.*

936 Jaksić, ‘Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

937 Jelica Stamenković, ‘Culture is a factor in the image of the city - FEST ‘75’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1975).

938 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

939 Testimonial Nenad Markuljević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.71).

objectives for the cultural creation transformed and the objectives slowly shifted towards ‘the market’. Such examples are given by Čanak, when explaining the appearance of the ‘apartments’ built for the market’ (p.209) in the 1980s, followed by the fact that the quality of the apartments transformed as well. According to him, the newly built apartments had lower spatial quality and the architect needed to make more sacrifices to please the investor. As new forces were influencing the character of the cultural artefact, the artefact steadily started to transform.

On the other hand, some of the protagonists were unaware of the transformations and had a feeling that things were starting to function even better, resulting from the fact that the 1980s allowed ‘experiments’ to be conducted. Others in the city of Belgrade felt the gradual emergence of nationalism and the imminent crisis across all the Socialist Republics.<sup>940</sup> For example, there were student protests in Kosovo in 1981 – the protestors’ demands were to deal with the high unemployment rate of the region, better general conditions, and wanted the region of Kosovo to become the 7th independent Socialist Republic. However, the protests were calmed by force and valorized by the communist Kosovar community as a ‘product of Albanian nationalism’.<sup>941</sup>

As a consequence of the policy of 1978, several private galleries popped up in the city of Belgrade, such as *Sebastijan*, which was a ‘private gallery’ located in the city centre, selling designers’ products, and it became instantly popular among its citizens, [fig.264]. In the testimonial of Milena Dragičević Šešić, several other creations came as a result of the mentioned ‘private initiatives’. Such is the gallery *AZ*, or the cultural cooperative in which Šešić took position; this cooperative offered their artistic skills to the municipalities to better organize its events. The 1980s was the epoch when the first attempts for inhabiting old industrial buildings for cultural purposes were noticeable; particularly in 1986, when there were efforts for the building called *Pivara* – a factory that has been closed down – to be turned into a cultural centre.<sup>942</sup> Although the initiative was supported back in the day by the Mayor of the city of Belgrade, Bogdan Bogdanović, it failed because of the newly discovered ‘market-oriented’ thinking: “The power saw that there is money in the ‘urban rent’ and in the transition (1990s), which became important, so they kicked the artists out of *Pivara*.”

The 1980s was a prosperous decade for the theatre scene since some of the Yugoslav environments established their independent small alternative theatres, which were in common communication, exchanged guest artists, etc.<sup>943</sup> A



Fig. 264| Photo, *Gallery Sebastijan*, - late 1970s, Belgrade

940 Audrey Helfant Budding, ‘Serbian nationalism in the twentieth century’, <www.yuhistorija>.

941 Testimonial Nenad Markuljević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.71).

942 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

943 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

study was carried out by the *Institute of Cultural Development*, which proposed to analyze the working conditions of around a hundred cultural institutions in the city of Belgrade. The results showed that only 10% of the employees in the institutions were satisfied with their working conditions. Most of the dissatisfaction was created because the working collectives were not involved in the process of creation of the building, so they considered the space to be inadequate to serve their needs.<sup>944</sup>

For the architectural public discourse, the city of Belgrade needed to develop itself differently than the other European capitals, which in the architectural magazines were often analyzed by the protagonists. Criticism then emerged since according to them “the state of urban planning in European cities, as stated earlier, had a scarce and limited content, reducing it mainly to the design of a network of city streets and squares, while the issue of distribution of public buildings and construction systems of certain parts of the city remained unresolved”.<sup>945</sup> Curiously, even the architects criticized the European capitals, while the public discourses questioned ‘if Belgrade in fact has an international dimension’. The book *Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe classified the Southeastern European cities, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo*, as “symbols of nationhood, and not of intercultural encounters, although these do occur”.<sup>946</sup>

Belgrade as a metropolis is the subject of the movie *Strangler vs. Strangler*. The movie starts with a scene of a foggy Belgrade from the 1980s, showing the two million citizens, traffic, cultural infrastructure, a football club, and its citizens who would like Belgrade to become a metropolis. The movie posits a question: what makes a city a true metropolis? Several characteristics are explored, such as big construction sites, the transportation system, the size of the population, etc., [fig.265]. Nevertheless, the movie offers an original concept that a true metropolis has a certain number of crimes – something which Belgrade was lacking. From here on, the movie presents a newly emerged crime scene leading to a serial killer. This characteristic should turn Belgrade into a metropolis, [fig.266], but later on, when the police tries to understand where the killing of the serial killer in Belgrade took place (on the map), there are only pins in the old part of the city, [fig.267]. Such a narrative shows that the old parts of the city were where the citizens saw that all of the (good and bad) action occurred, while New Belgrade, where there were no pins, even 40 years (in the 1980s) from the start of its construction, still has no traces of ‘real life’. The same conclusion can be made when observing the map of Belgrade with the infrastructure built for culture between 1945 and 1991, [fig.22]. As can



Fig. 265, 266, 267| Scenes from the movie, *Strangler vs. Strangler*, Slobodan Šijan, 1984

944 Nemjanić, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

945 Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Op.cit.*

946 Cultural Transition in Southeastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, pg.13.

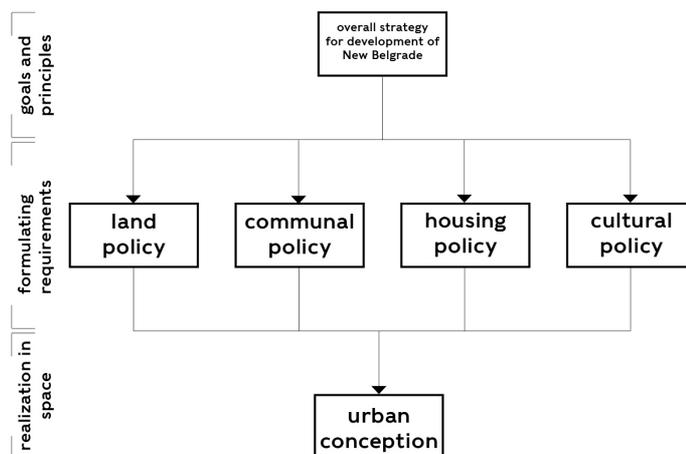
be detected from the map, the city centre has the densest area of buildings for culture, and the reasons for this are multifaced and vary: for political reasons (that old parts of the city are something trustworthy),<sup>947</sup> that such centralization is result of the cultural politics etc.,<sup>948</sup> that the logic of locating functions closer is better for economic reasons, and finally traditional reasons (following the logic established in previous epochs).<sup>949</sup> The situation between the old part of the city and *New Belgrade* remained contrasted and architects were accused that they created a ‘sleeping neighbourhood’ which was unable to develop a ‘real life’.

As the criticism become more omnipresent, an international competition titled *The Future of New Belgrade*, [fig.268], was organized in 1986, where among other authors, Henri Lefebvre took participation too. The competition had the goal of envisioning the next stage in which *New Belgrade* would be culturally rehabilitated. Observing the diagram, [fig.25], the rehabilitation of New Belgrade was proposed to be executed in stages. The first stage aimed to define the goals and strategies; the second stage aimed to formulate the requirements; and the third stage aimed to realize the project in space. As can be observed on the diagram, the fourth pillar (a significant policy) referred to the ‘cultural policy’ which needed to be considered in order to be integrated with the project proposal. This is an example of how cultural policy had a place within the other conventional spatial policies, such as the land policy, the communal policy, the housing policy, etc.



Fig. 268| Cover page, Symposium, The Future of New Belgrade, 1986, Belgrade

[fig.25] A diagram from the catalogue of the symposium - The future of New Belgrade, (Redraw from the author)



Even though architects in the 1980s initiated further qualitative development of the city of Belgrade, the bottom-up situation in the city already transformed, where projects for qualitative rehabilitation became insignificant. Therefore, for a project to take place the means and the possibilities had to

947 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

948 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

949 Branka Doknić, p.209.

be aligned. Belgrade in the 1980s felt the crisis slightly more in the suburbs; even though in their physical appearance they seemed normal, the gap between them and the city centre steadily increased. Dimić explains the criminality which was emerging from the suburbs and the one-way direction ‘from the suburbs to the city centre’:

“They always travel from the city centre to the periphery, where they live. And now you have this new ring with these neighbourhoods that are not hygienic, such as the neighbourhoods of Kaluđerica. They go every day towards the city centre. But they never go the other way round. Simply, the development of the city is so intense that this poor society, these poor states, can’t keep up with it. In these neighbourhoods, you have a whole new generation educated in the Kafana, they rarely go to the city centre, and if they do go, they go collectively. The reason is to assault someone”.<sup>950</sup>

That is how the story of *small narratives* of urban hate and violence in Belgrade emerged (will be fully tackled in V chapter), and the crisis of the everyday life reflected on the architectural production. In that period, there was emergence neither of new buildings for cultural life, nor spatial projects from civic significance. Obtaining personal wealth was becoming more and more appealing to people. For instance, the movie *Tight Skin*<sup>951</sup> depicted a Yugoslav company where the director was trying to achieve personal wealth throughout organized embezzlement. When the actor Milan Gutović interpreted his role in the movie, he stated that the system was sinking ever more as he was experiencing individual personal economic growth. With such unfolding of the events, the general enthusiasm towards a common future decreased. When looking back to the 1980s in a more top-down manner, the experts described the challenging situation, where the aspect of economic crisis, unemployment and general political mismanagement play a role. Others detected that the peak of the crisis in the 1980s was characterized by the presence of IMF in 1987, followed by the implementation of ‘shock therapy’ in 1990.<sup>952</sup>

Bogdanović testifies how he felt the gradual emergence of nationalism when becoming the Mayor of the city of Belgrade (between 1982 and 1986). The cosmopolitan worldviews of the architect did not impress the citizens of Belgrade: “Bogdan wants to take Belgrade from us and he wants to turn it into some international, non-Serbian city”.<sup>953</sup> This statement supported the phenomenon detected in the book *Turbo-Folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia*, which describes the citizens of Belgrade’s ‘resistance to globalization’: “Its primitiveness and backwardness became the

950 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

951 Popular TV serials from the 1980s.

952 Michel Chossudovsky, ‘Dismantling Former Yugoslavia: Recolonising Bosnia’, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 31, No.9 (Mar.2, 1996), pp.521-525.

953 Bogdanović, *Haunted Builder*, *Op.cit.*, p.214.

means of resisting globalization, and turbo-folk became the soundtrack for a pan-Balkan transnational identity, deprived of all nationalist elements”.<sup>954</sup> Both the turbo-folk music as a particular sub-culture and the ongoing gradual nationalism became present in the *reality* of Belgrade. Some of the protagonists emphasized that the phenomenon of the turbo-folk movement had positive sides as well, such as its democratic function. Disregarded by the officials and placed in the category of kitsch and bad taste, the public appearance of turbo-folk in the 1980s served to ‘freedomize from the taboos’. Normally, the genre, [fig.269], became popular in the 1960s and 1970s in the smaller towns and communities in the country, but in Belgrade this music genre and the movement around it became a unique sub-culture of the city mostly because of the rapid rural-urban migration.



Fig. 269| Poster, the turbo folk singer Lepa Brena, ~ 1980s

On the other hand, although the issue of nationalism did not enter the official cultural programs, in the popular media it arose in a more honest manner. In the popular magazines, the phenomenon of nationalism was interpreted from a cultural perspective (p.448): “It is not only in the minds of the people, in the spirituality of their lives (consciousness, culture), but it is at the same time, in the real relations of society, in the contradictions that are expressed and not always resolved on an economic and political level”.<sup>955</sup> In the artistic sense, the upcoming issue blended with the ongoing 1980s’ tendencies of the post-modernism movement. As this movement called for historical references, individual authors started imagining them. In the case of Socialist Serbia, the potential of such historical references was investigated in the 19th century. Dobrica Ćosić, an eminent writer and intellectual guru, stimulated the creation of such links and elaborated the symbols for ‘awakening of the Serbian nationalism’ in a philosophical sense:

“...Dobrica Ćosić. He is a very important person. I was writing about him. And it’s not that we need to satanize him and disqualify his works. He had one mission. He was the ideologist of the new Serbian nationalism. He ended his life with the idea that if the Serbian society wants to survive, it still needs an ideology, based on the past, which if often constructed, will determine the geo-political position. But he was wrong since we can see that; the world shows that you can be bypassed by the new associations: the economic and military, so you will simply remain a hole in the Balkans”.<sup>956</sup>

Unexpectedly, Ćosić, a well-known Yugoslav communist intellectual<sup>957</sup> became a close friend and collaborator with a not so well-known Communist

954 Čvoro, Turbo-Folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia, *Op.cit.*

955 “‘Start’ explores the latest nationalist outbursts across Yugoslavia: should we be worried?’, Zvonimir Vezić, Start, 1985, <www.yugopapir.com>.

956 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

957 “Mr. Cosic was a novelist before he was a politician, and a Communist before he was a nationalist. Aligned early in his career with Josip Broz Tito, the president of Yugoslavia when it was

from the party in power, Slobodan Milošević. In the mid 1980s, Bogdanović met Slobodan Milošević too: “Fifteen days after the end of my term as Mayor, Slobodan Milošević called me. He was then the second President of the League of Communists of Serbia, so popularly speaking: he was a god”.<sup>958</sup> Bogdanović explains that Milošević offered him collaboration: “You are already destined to lead the Commission for Ideological Issues in Culture!”<sup>959</sup> This showed that Milošević used the ‘communist tools’ to collaborate with the intellectual circles and to merge the political power and intellectualism: the Čosić-Milošević partnership was a ‘communist tool’ with different objectives than the one of Yugoslavia. Although the objectives shifted from cosmopolitan to nationalistic, the Yugoslav socialism also positioned the intellectuals close to the politicians, [fig.312, fig.314]. For instance, the Yugoslav intellectual guru and the founding member of the ideological commission, Miroslav Krleža, was a close collaborator and personal friend of President Tito, [fig.313]. Dobrica Čosić, in the same manner, was positioned as the ‘ideological’ father of the new ongoing 1980s postmodern nationalistic tendencies in the country.<sup>960</sup>

Since it was confirmed that the ‘tool’ (used by Krleža-Tito) showed high efficiency on its application to the modernist theoretical ideas of the everyday life, the products from the post-modernist duo Čosić-Milošević and the nationalism were integrated into the everyday *reality* in an efficient manner too. To conclude, the specific developed relationship between the art, the political power and the everyday in Yugoslavia became dangerous in the new context.<sup>961</sup> Golubović pointed out that nationalism apropos the already explained role of Čosić was a planned ambience, and planification of the upcoming wars was a planned strategy too. The other protagonist pointed out the importance of *the street* as the main medium where things were happening (p.182). The reason for shifting the happenings to *the streets* is linked to the new ‘post-modern ambience’, which according to the protagonist had “a modern nature”,<sup>962</sup> with a desire to “ruin the institutions and the quality”.<sup>963</sup> Dimić underlined the fact that the public discourse at the end of the 1980s became increasingly politicized.<sup>964</sup>

formed from six distinct regions after World War II, he spoke of Communism’s capacity to knit together the country’s diverse ethnic and cultural groups.”, <<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/dobrica-cosic-gklj5dbjc6l>, 2014 >.

958 Bogdanović, Haunted Builder (Ukleti Neimar), *Op.cit.* p.218.

959 *Ibid.*

960 Such position is a ‘socialist cultural tool’. This ‘socialist tool’ is that the intellectual is positioned close to the political power.

961 As mentioned on (p.90) Čosić was a cultural centre.

962 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

963 *Ibid.*

964 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

## IV.2.2.2. The commune of Skopje

Brief description of the creativity in the Pre-Yugoslav era

The city of Skopje represents a strategic point in the Balkan Peninsula and a gateway from the East to the West and vice versa, with a long history dating approximately from the 4th millennium BC.<sup>965</sup> Many civilizations had passed through it, starting from the Paionians, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Serbian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>966</sup> The first mention of the city was by the Roman historians Titus Livius and Trebelius Polion, as well as the geographer Ptolomeus.<sup>967</sup> The first theatre was established during the Roman Empire as a symbol of rebellion.<sup>968</sup> Skopje had its period of 'enlightenment' in the mid-19th century: the first official modern cultural institution being the *Faculty of Philosophy*, which was constructed in 1920 as a branch of the *University of Belgrade*.<sup>969</sup> The *Faculty of Philosophy* was reformed in 1945 and reopened in 1946,<sup>970</sup> which is when the first 'modern' cultural policy dates back to. The reopening of the *Faculty of Philosophy* was a strategy to foster critical thinking, so other disciplines could also flourish. Hence, Skopje started its contemporary development, but it was unfortunately interrupted by the tragic earthquake in 1963, which physically destroyed 90% of the city's fabric.

Framework for cultural (civic) development of the commune – the Yugoslav era

The city of Skopje became the capital of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in 1945. At that time Skopje had 70.000 citizens and it experienced increased growth.<sup>971</sup> Such growth occurred because the population gradually expanded, and in 1962 the city had 120.000 citizens, leading to expansion of the cultural infrastructure too. To exemplify, in 1968 the city had 52 libraries, 6 museums, a gallery, 3 theatres, 15 cinemas, and 1.600 craft shops,<sup>972</sup> however the tragic earthquake 'ceased' the organic development of the city and after the earthquake, and immense rural-urban migration occurred mainly because the

965 Jovan Marković, *The Cities of Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Institute for Textbooks, 1971).

966 *Skopje 1963 - 1973* (Skopje: Assembly at the city of Skopje, 1974).

967 *Ibid.*

968 'Skopje before the earthquake', Economic newspaper, Skopje, 1964.

969 Danilo Kocevski, *I love Skopje* (Belgrade: Directorate for culture and art, 2000).

970 Petreska, Darinka. - Achkoska, Violeta. *Awareness of History*. Skopje: Faculty of Philosophy, 2007

971 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

972 'Skopje before the earthquake', *Op.cit.*

‘new city’ offered more comfortable housing facilities,<sup>973</sup> but also many people gained employment in Skopje. In 1963, the city counted 170.000 citizens.<sup>974</sup>

Following the earthquake, spatial plans were conducted for several new neighbourhoods of the city, such as Karposh III and IV, Gjorche Petrov, Skopje Sever, Chair, Topansko Pole, Avtokomanda, Kisela Voda, Kapishtec, Aerodrom, Debar Maalo, and Bunjakovec.<sup>975</sup> The neighbourhoods even attracted different classes of the population. The biggest growth of the number of citizens occurred in the years between 1963 and 1974, when the city rose to 440.000 citizens.<sup>976</sup> As a consequence of the spatial and population growth, the cultural development focused on disseminating the program.<sup>977</sup> Therefore, in 1974, the city had 27 artistic associations, out of which 18 in the city centre, 3 in the suburbs, and 6 in the villages, with an average of 2.000 members. The conclusion of the program was that such a state did not satisfy the standard of the youth, since the city at that moment had 100.000 youths, who according to the cultural creators all lacked spatial capacities to realize their potential.<sup>978</sup> In 1984 the city counted 126 neighbourhoods and 530.000 citizens.<sup>979</sup>

#### Cultural organization of the commune

The culture in the city of Skopje between 1945 and 1974 was organized by both the Republican Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the *City Secretariat of Education and Culture*. As the transformations occurred in 1974, the community established its self-governed interest community of culture of the City of Skopje, as a meta institution of the city, and the SCI of each of the communities of the city, such as the SCI of Gazi Baba, the SCI of Karposh, the SCI of Kisela Voda, the SCI of Centar, and the SCI of Chair.

#### Outburst of creative planning

After the tragic earthquake in 1963, the city became a polygon for both international and Yugoslav spatial planners as well as architects. With the support of the United Nations, the Yugoslav government adopted Kenzo Tange’s reconstruction plan for the Skopje city centre, [fig.270].<sup>980</sup> The post-earthquake reconstruction necessitated the establishment of an institution – the *Institute of Town Planning and Architecture* or ITPA (chapter V). The architecture too



Fig. 270| Photo, Kenzo Tange and his team in front of the model for the future city, 1964, Skopje

973 *Ibid.*

974 Tihomir Arsovski, *Skopje Urban Development* (Skopje: Assembly at the city of Skopje).

975 Risto Galic, *Skopje Urbanistic Plan*, Skopje, 1965.

976 *Skopje and it is surrounding*, Touristic Union of the city of Skopje, Skopje, 1986

977 ‘Cultural and artistic activities, an important factor in the public and cultural life of Skopje’, April 1986, Cultural and educational community in Skopje, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

978 *Ibid.*

979 *Skopje and it is surrounding*, *Op.cit.*

980 Anna Positano, Jana Konstantinova, ‘Skopje in Transition’ ([www.domusweb.it](http://www.domusweb.it)), 2016.

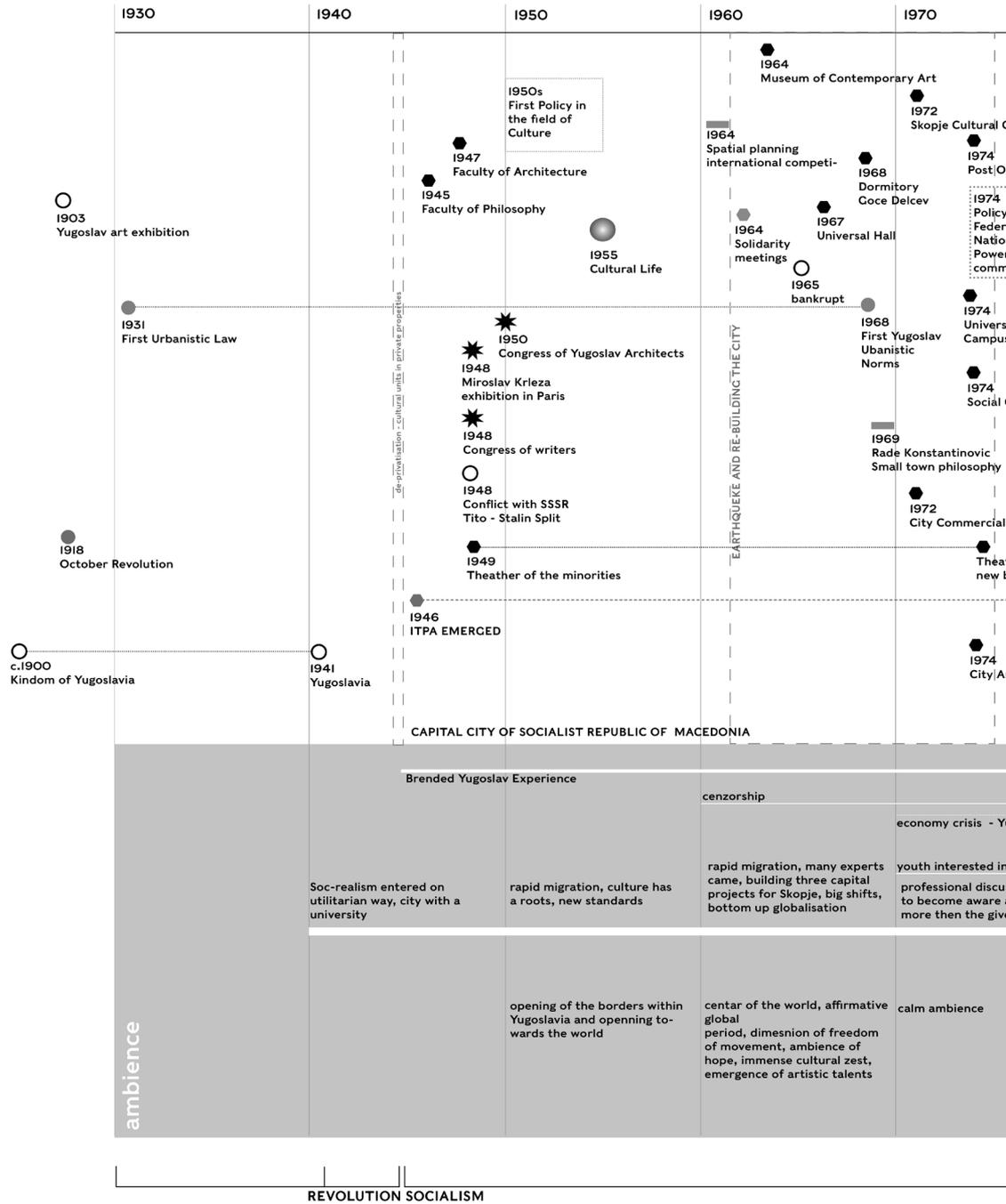
became a subject of architectural competitions that were organized as Federal Architectural Competitions in which both Republican and Yugoslav architects took part. The question of organization of the cultural institutions and how to 'integrate them' in the spatial plan of 'New Skopje' was a separate subject of study of the *Secretariat for Culture* and the *Republican Secretariat For Information*, [fig.271].



Fig. 271| Photo, *Certificate for delivered material 'Cultural Institutions before and after the earthquake' to the Republic Secretariat for Information*, 1964, Skopje



[fig.26] A map of spatiality of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Skopje, (Reference the author)





[fig.27] A diagram from the evolution of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Skopje, (Reference: the author)



Fig. 272| Photo, Skopje on the day of the tragic earthquake, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 273| Photo, Skopje's Tent Neighborhoods, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 274| Photo, Everyday life in Skopje's Tent Neighborhoods, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 276| Photo, Bond for reconstruction of Skopje's, 1963

### Evolution of the cultural infrastructure

Despite the tragic earthquake pausing the gradual intensification of the cultural development of the city of Skopje (having started from the 1950s), it did not paralyze it. As the earthquake occurred on 3rd July in 1963, [fig.272], shortly afterwards the first cultural events occurred too<sup>981</sup> since the citizens started to explain that the cultural events were needed to forget about the fear.<sup>982</sup> As a consequence of the lost and damaged properties, a number of the the citizens moved to newly established tent neighbourhoods, [fig.273, fig.274], which functioned in the rhythm of the everyday life just as before the earthquake. Curiously, the tent neighbourhoods were organized on the premises of the self-management system as the other Yugoslav cities, with both top-down and bottom-up structures (*social formations*, etc.) [fig.275].<sup>983</sup> In addition, for its reconstruction, specific 'solidarity funds', [fig.276], were created to collect and allocate funds for the entire process of the reconstruction of the city in a structured and organized manner.<sup>984</sup> In 1964, the community established the event *Meetings of Solidarity* as a cultural renewal strategy. It started as a summer festival attracting international performers, [fig.277], and was aimed to initiate spatial interventions in the city as an act of creativity and based on the solidarity:

"[...] meetings of solidarity – is a vision for the future city [...] we justifiably thought that this would be a city that would symbolize the general human solidarity in the common endeavours to some new human qualities. More precisely, if human freedom, human thinking as an individual and as a member of the community are conditioned by architecture, in its general sense, the preconditions of that freedom are predetermined by the spatial devising of the life and moral needs".<sup>985</sup>

As seen in the extract, the *Meetings of Solidarity* saw the potential of the 'exchange of creative ideas' as anticipation for building. The initiative aimed to invite international guests from the creative field, such as architects, urban planners, artists, sociologists, urban designers, and traffic engineers to contribute with their ideas for the development of the future city. The authors pointed out that creative ideas could represent the basis for conceiving civic spaces in the city of Skopje, such as fountains, parks, and sport and cultural facilities as cultural artefacts of solidarity. Another example of such an initiative is the project of the *MCA* (also a bottom-up initiative (p.340)). These demonstrate that Skopje already had its individual *Creative Model* and individual creative

981 'Skopje 1963', (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9z-CT4ne0YY>).

982 *Ibid.*

983 Therefore, the self – menagment organization for the reconstruction of the city were applied on various levels for the reconstruction of the city. For example, bottom up groups of smaller groups of people acted as 'emergency organization'.

984 As socialism favored planning, neoliberalism favours deregulation, speculation and 'free acting'.

985 Kondovski, Tribune of Cultural Life 'The meetings of Solidarity', *Op.cit.*

approach.<sup>986</sup> In the *Creative Model of the City of Skopje* creativity was fused with the theme of solidarity, and under such premises did the *Institute of Town Planning and Architecture* (ITPA) emerge (V chapter). The Institute existed for almost 30 years (until the 1990s) and developed a specific ‘know-how’ for dealing with reconstruction of an environment in case of an emergency. For example, when tackling the topic of how the Institute aimed to foster creativity, Tomić expresses the idea that the urbanists of *ITPA* aimed to map and develop the natural potentials the city needed to have: “Everyone who has a river has a potential to exploit it if they are creative”.<sup>987</sup>

Such a strategy aimed to foster creativity as a chain effect, putting into practice that creativity is not possible if one is not creative. The concept of solidarity reached its peak with the adoption of Kenzo Tange’s reconstruction plan, followed by the support of the United Nations and the Yugoslav government. This gesture gave the city of Skopje the official title of a ‘city of solidarity’. Also, in an urbanistic study of New Skopje, 75 new institutions for culture were envisioned.<sup>988</sup> Therefore, the city besides its complete reconstruction plans, also developed plans for the Green Areas in the city and plans for organization of recreation zones around the city, [fig.278]. Four recreation zones were suggested near the city: Vodno, Kitka – Karadzica, Skopska Crna Gora, Katlanovo – Taor.<sup>989</sup> The reconstruction could not be possible without the enthusiasm of the population, which meant that the citizens wanted their life to go on; this position was manifested through the rise of nationality in the city, where the citizens of Skopje wanted to forget about the tragedy and be surrounded by ‘life’, [fig.279, fig.280].<sup>990</sup> The cultural infrastructure was developed at the same time as the overall reconstruction of the city: in 1967, the city had 23 fully functional cinemas, 2 people’s Universities, and the *Universal Hall* had just been constructed, [fig.281, fig.282]. The overall tendency for the cultural renewal continued in the 1960s too, despite the difficult circumstances caused by the earthquake:

“[...] a University with eight Faculties, several colleges and Universities, many secondary and vocational schools, 4 museums, the *Macedonian National Theatre*, a television and radio station, an opera, a Turkish and Albanian theatre, a public library, a city library, a public archive and an image gallery. In addition to the ethnological, archaeological and natural history museums in the city, there is also a new museum of the National Liberation War. The daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* [Нова Македонија] was published in the city

986 To have a good creative model first it needs to be creative yourself.

987 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

988 ‘Institutions in the field of culture in urban studies in Skopje’, Republic Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1964, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

989 Arsovski, Skopje Urban Development, *Op.cit.*

990 Skopje 1945-1975 (Skopje: Macedonian Book).



Fig. 278| Extract from the page 98, drawings, *Master Plan – Public Green Areas and Master Plan – Organization of Tourist and Recreation Activities*, Book, *Urbanistic Plan – Skopje*, 1965



Fig. 279| Extract from the page 97, *Everyday Life in Skopje*, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970



Fig. 280| Extract from a page, *Everyday Life in Skopje*, Book, *Skopje 1964*, 1970s

and the famous professional ensemble of folk dances and songs Tanec [Танец] was also working”.<sup>991</sup>

The architect Ljubo Pota, though, alarmed the expert circles about the downsides of such an intensive ‘construction boom’ the city was experiencing at the moment. His apprehension was related to the idea that the creativity after the tragic earthquake should be directed towards the rehabilitation of the humans, and not towards the architect’s ambitions and the ‘megalomaniac visions and ideas’ they might have:

“[...] This time, when Skopje represents the Pompeii of the 20th century, there are great hopes for a wide net of spiritual creation. How much wealth of human spirit and knowledge will flow through the space of this city? Will the matrix of that spirit be able to defend opportunities from the conservatives? Will this matrix not be tormented by foreign streams carrying the sediments of ignorance, primitivism and poverty of spirit? We all wanted it not to be the case, but it was still sometimes like that. There are great hopes and expectations. The realization of these hopes and expectations. The realization of these hopes should not be sought in megalomaniac visions and ideas, which were faced with the need to be realized under the most objective conditions and turn into abstractions, disappear in the forms of utopianism. Modesty worries less. She disappoints to some extent, but she is still shy and defensive. Megalomania and pretentiousness are always aggressive and never essentially serve man. Compromise is not the solution. I don’t think I’m wrong in saying that the measure of the quality of spiritual creation should be man, his full rehabilitation and the rehabilitation of this city after the cataclysm. This should be implemented in the new urban plan and ennoble it[...]”.<sup>992</sup>

The extract shows how consciousness is offered to reestablish the objectives upon which the new surfaces of the city were created. Hence, the appeal of Pota to embody humility and modesty in the design, rather than ‘show off’ with its grandiosity, seemed like an honest way to explain to the architects the risks that might arise. Skopje, although constructed in a short period of time, and being a city which was largely affected by the architectural design, is a city with a modest everyday dimension. Pota also warned the architects that their creations should not become a cultural artefact more important than the action to foster overall creativity, contrary to the narrow-mindedness.

The majestic transformations that took place on the global cultural scene at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s were felt in the city of Skopje too. As a consequence of it, the new student dormitory ‘Goce Delchev’ (built in 1968) was constructed and located further away from the *Ss. Cyril and Methodius University campus*.<sup>993</sup> The author of the building, Konstantinovski, explained that such ‘spatial spreading’ was pre-arranged by the politicians, who

991 ‘Achieved and Perspective Development of Cultural Activities 1964-1970’, Republic Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1964, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

992 Ljubo Pota, ‘Urbanistic Problems of Skopje’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1969).

993 Conversation with Georgi Konstantinovski, Skopje, 2017.

wanted to divide the student power in the city as much as possible. Furthermore, just as the *SCC* was built in the city of Belgrade, the city of Skopje also got a new youth cultural centre – the *25th May Youth Centre*,<sup>994</sup> functioning as a multi-purpose building and centrally located in the city. In the same years the *MCA* was opened (inaugurated in 1972), as well as the *Central Post Office* (inaugurated in 1974).

Since most of the built fabric was materialized through natural concrete, which is exposed on the façade, the new architecture of Skopje belongs to the category of ‘brutalist architecture’. Because of the numerous constructions, the citizens of Skopje saw the new brutalist architecture (Yugoslav cultural artefact) on a daily basis, which means that the construction from the Yugoslav epoch can be observed in a more authentic way in Skopje rather than in Belgrade or Sarajevo, where there are layers in the city from diverse epochs. Consequently, as the citizens lived in an entire ‘new architectural setting’, they noticed that such a setting offered them a ‘new lifestyle’ too.<sup>995</sup> For example, Petkovska reflects that the ‘new architectural setting’ stimulated ‘critical thinking’ since the architecture of Skopje embodied such a quality. The same notion contributed to the ideas of Žilnik (p.372) – that one cultural artefact should not only instigate the process of critical thinking, but also have the power to further foster the same. Petkovska stated that the ‘new architectural setting’ of Skopje was a “chance to become conscious about the environment and to ask for more than what one is giving to you”.<sup>996</sup> In the city of Skopje, the effect of ‘seeing in their visual range’ is also the most present. This is why the protagonist stated that being exposed to the new architectural environment meant that ‘good art was omnipresent in the everyday life of the citizens’, [fig.283, fig.284]. The same effect was of great significance to be discussed in the case study of Skopje since the city was wholly constructed in a very short period (1963-1975), leaving the observers with more visual impressions. Therefore, the man-made environment had the biggest impact from the other two environments where the phenomenon of ‘seeing in their visual range’ can be traced in the easiest manner.

Just like in the other environments, the *SCI of Culture of the City of Skopje* was established in 1974. From the analysis, the *SCI of Culture* of Skopje had a similar program, structure and goal as the *SCI of Culture* of the other environments, however the former developed an individual approach to measure the current cultural standards of the city. The method was created upon the following categories: measuring the standards of the facilities where the activity was held, the equipment for carrying out the activities, the staff for performing the activities, the funds for financing the activities, the funds for investment

994 Today the centre is called MKC [Младински Културен Центар].

995 Conversation with Georgi Konstantinovski, Skopje, 2017.

996 Conversation with Antoanela Petkovska, Skopje, 2018.



Fig. 283| Extract from the page 240, photo, *Everyday Life in Skopje*, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970



Fig. 284| Photo, Parts of the newly constructed City Gate, early ~ 1980s, Skopje

and expansion, etc.<sup>997</sup> The last category shows that culture was not understood as something which needed to be maintained, but something which should be in constant growth. In general, the logic of the funding of the *SCI of Culture of the City of Skopje* was to secure funds for all the phases of the cultural planning<sup>998</sup>: “from the preparation of the cultural program to their final realization”<sup>999</sup>.

Throughout the years, the city of Skopje, [fig.26, fig.27], developed its cultural infrastructure mostly located in the city centre and the nearby neighbourhoods. Even though concentrated, the significance of it differed compared to the other environments because the network was created by the ‘principle of solidarity’, linked to the city earthquake. Planification of the utilization of the common space can be traced to the *Report of the Amateur Associations – 1976*, where the associations which existed in the city lacked space to function. The assessments presented that for their activities they require 15m<sup>2</sup> space, but in reality they possessed only 3m<sup>2</sup> per association.<sup>1000</sup> The proposal put forward for the ‘planification of the utilization’ came across difficulties for its execution because of the lack of minimum steadiness as a precondition of such a program:

“The associations are in a difficult situation – they share spaces with other users and experience especially great difficulties regarding availability, which often changes against their will. Because of that, their programs cannot be realized, and there is dissatisfaction with the articles. The unresolved spatial problem of the associations directly affects the citizens. Finally, we would like to state that in the future, the investors of the new premises should also think about a private space in which the young will gather”.<sup>1001</sup>

As the *SCI for Culture of the City of Skopje* was introduced, each of the municipalities of the city – Gazi Baba, Karposh, Kisela Voda, Centar and Chair – established their individual *SCI for Culture* and began to develop their individual short, middle and long-term plans for increase of the culture in their Municipality.<sup>1002</sup> A new mechanism for financing was also introduced, i.e. a collective decision process for allocation of the funds for both expansion and maintenance. For instance, the institutions would make an agreement where

997 ‘Acts of the Self-governing Interest Community of Culture of the City of Skopje’ Archives of Skopje, Republic Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1973, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

998 Funds for planning in neoliberal model are taken out of the paradigm, therefore there is not systematic approach in the cities.

999 ‘Development of culture and cultural activities in the medium term 1976-1980’ Republican Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1975, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

1000 ‘Spatial conditions of the Associations’, *SCI of Culture of the city Skopje*, Republican Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1976, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

1001 *Ibid.*

1002 ‘Agreement on the basics of the self-governing interest community of culture of the city of skopje, *SCI of Culture of the city Skopje*, Republican Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1976, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

each institution, according to their needs, would have the possibility to require finances from the collective fund in a bottom-up manner<sup>1003</sup>, [fig.285].

As explained, the priorities of Skopje were to rehabilitate their citizens, and this was manifested in the civic plans and space for social care: attention was given to the social care of children and the youth, which later resulted in construction of primary schools, social care institutions, health points, projects for physical culture, and amusement parks for the children<sup>1004</sup>, [fig.286]. Skopje, as the other environments which are the focus of this analysis, similarly gave priority to developing its critical space and enlarging the pre-earthquake modest University space, as well as fostering scientific research in diverse civic fields.<sup>1005</sup> That led to the creation of the *Ss. Cyril and Methodius University campus* (p.321), inaugurated in 1974. The critical space was not only planned through formal approaches, but also as an everyday gesture, where nature and culture blended in Skopje's civic space:

“The summer reading room and library in the heart of the city park show how much of a peaceful, ennobled and relaxed life was lived at that time. The other library expanded its activity during the summer as well; in the small hook opposite the old entrance to the zoo, in the middle of the paradise of greenery, there is a part of the library fund that can be used by the walkers in the city park”.<sup>1006</sup>

In the plan for the *Civic Development of the City 1976-80*, creativity is proposed to be cultivated within the activation programs of the individual categories. For example, in *Science*, the objectives for development proposed stimulation of the creativity and innovation in the production; in *Primary Education*, the objectives were to augment the quality and efficiency of primary education, to connect the artistic-educational institutions, and to resolve illiteracy in the working population; in *Secondary Education*, the objective was to connect with the economy; in *Higher Education*, the objectives were to increase the quality and connect it with the economy too; in *Culture*, the objectives were to cultivate a critical attitude towards developing true values of culture, and to expand all sorts of creativity, including cultivating a creative attitude towards the man-made environment. In *Physical Culture*, the objectives were to popularize sport and provide conditions and facilities for healthy and mentally well prepared



Fig. 285| Extract from the pages 4-5, Document, Self-managing agreement, 1983



Fig. 286| Extract from the page 265-257, photo, Everyday Life in Skopje, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975, 1970*, Skopje

1003 Self-governing agreement for pooling part of the funds for depreciation of the fixed assets of the organizations of the joint labor in the field of culture in the city of Skopje', SCI of Culture of the city Skopje, Republican Secretariat for Culture, Skopje, 1983, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

1004 Testimonial Mimoza Tomić, Skopje, 2017 (p.433).

1005 Scientific research activity to propose to represent a motivation force of the optimal economic and social development and bearer of the qualitative changes in the structure of the productive forces and relations.

1006 Kocevski, I love Skopje, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 287| Drawing, plan of the Opera and Ballet Building, Biro 77, Skopje, 1979

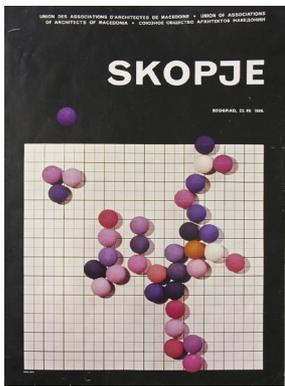


Fig. 288| Cover Page, Catalogue from an exhibition Skopje, 1980, Beograd

citizens; in *Technical Culture*, the objectives were to popularize technical culture among young people and to improve technological knowledge; in *Health Protection*, the objectives were to reduce child mortality, to provide health care to pregnant woman, to develop medicine and the conditions in which it functions, to stimulate the prevention of the pollution of the environment; in *Social Protection*, the objectives were to connect ‘taking care for the elderly’ with the municipalities, and improve the social protection of the beneficiaries; in *Social Protection for the Children*, the objectives were to provide a recreation space and increase the enrollment of children in pre-school institutions, etc.

By finishing the *Opera and Ballet Building* in 1979, [fig.287], the city in the 1980s moved to a period of stagnation although the programs for development of the culture recommended further development of ‘the real needs’ for constant growth of the spatial standards of the citizens.<sup>1007</sup> Such understanding persisted in the 1980s, when it was considered that life in Skopje gradually returned to ‘normalcy’. In the same direction, the exhibition titled *Skopje*, held in Belgrade in 1980, [fig.288], representing the ‘completed project – the city of Skopje’, was a one-time project.<sup>1008</sup>

#### IV.2.2.3. The commune of Sarajevo

##### Brief description of the creativity in the Pre-Yugoslav era

Sarajevo is a city located in the valley of the Sarajevo-Zenica basin, a city which has continually found itself on the frontline of European history.<sup>1009</sup> The first traces of existence date back to the Neolithic period. In the 6th century, the country became part of the Roman Empire; and in the 15th century, the city was occupied by the Ottoman Empire, during which era Sarajevo absorbed the Oriental cultural influences and opened its first cultural institution – Gazi Husrev-beg’s Madrasa (1537). In the 19th century, the city became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as a strategic military point. With such a shift, the city started to absorb the influence from the architects and spatial planners who were active in the Central European cities.<sup>1010</sup> In addition, the shift brought western influences in the culture, e.g. the most significant building from the epoch was the *City Hall [Vijećnica]*, designed by the architect Karel Pařík in 1891. A significant event for the city occurred in 1914, when Franz

1007 ‘Spatial development of the Municipality of Skopje for the period 1976-1980’, (Archive of Macedonia, untreated boxes).

1008 As the socio, political transformations took place in 1991, the maintenance end further development of the city changed it is meaning and significance.

1009 Haris Piplas, ‘Non-aligned City: Urban Laboratory of the new Sarajevo’, Doctoral Thesis, ETHZ, 2019.

1010 *Ibid.*

Ferdinand and his wife Sofia were killed by Gavrilo Princip, a young member of an association called *Young Bosna*. This event symbolized the ‘first anti-colonial act’, liberating the city in the early 20th century, showing that critical thinking was present in the city, and from that point on, Sarajevo received the status of a city of liberation.

#### Framework for cultural (civic) development of the commune – Yugoslav era

The city of Sarajevo, as the other two case studies, experienced intensified rural-urban migration – in 1945, the city counted 55.000 citizens, and in 1975 it rapidly grew to 340.000 citizens.<sup>1011</sup> The experts have interpreted such growth as a ‘demographic rural exodus’ and a product of forced industrialization.<sup>1012</sup> As a consequence of the figures, the city experienced the challenge to achieve coherent development of the valley and to construct a “harmonic physical structure”.<sup>1013</sup> Even though a general spatial plan was conducted in 1965 (for the axe Baščaršija – Marin Dvor), the city growth was already a demanding issue, hence the city of Sarajevo established modernistic spatial planning on the flat surface of the city where the “coherent urban mass”<sup>1014</sup> was deployed, and on the other hand ‘annexed’ on the terrain of the valley of ‘illegal neighbourhoods’. These ‘illegal neighbourhoods’, such as Pofalići, Velešići, Širokača, and Buca Potok, emerged in a gradual manner.<sup>1015</sup> The city formed its current physiognomy consisting of dense neighbourhoods and flat, small individual houses on the hills of the valley, with the Mijacka River between them, so the city of Sarajevo was marked by challenging migration caused by the overwhelming industrial expansion and neighbourhoods in which there was lack of accompanying facilities. In 1991, the city reached the number of 530.000 citizens.<sup>1016</sup>

#### Cultural organization of the commune

The organization of the field of Culture in the City of Sarajevo between 1945 and 1974 is a complex and non-linear narrative because the organization of the field was in an experimental period, therefore shifting from one to another institution. Furthermore, the data from this period is still in the process of elaboration and the archive could only offer few documents to ‘reconstruct’ the period. Briefly, between 1945 and 1955 the buildings from the field of

1011 Jahiel Finci, ‘Above urban reality’, City Assembly, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Architecture, 1975.

1012 *Ibid.*

1013 ‘Characteristics, achieved level and contradictions of the development of the city and its regional area.’, Elements of long-term strategy and socio-economic and spatial development of the city of Sarajevo, 1985 - 2000-2015 (from the Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

1014 *Ibid.*

1015 Haris Piplas, ‘Non-aligned City: Urban Laboratory of the new Sarajevo’, *Op.cit.*

1016 ‘Sarajevo Economic and urban development’, City Assembly, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Architecture, 1975, (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

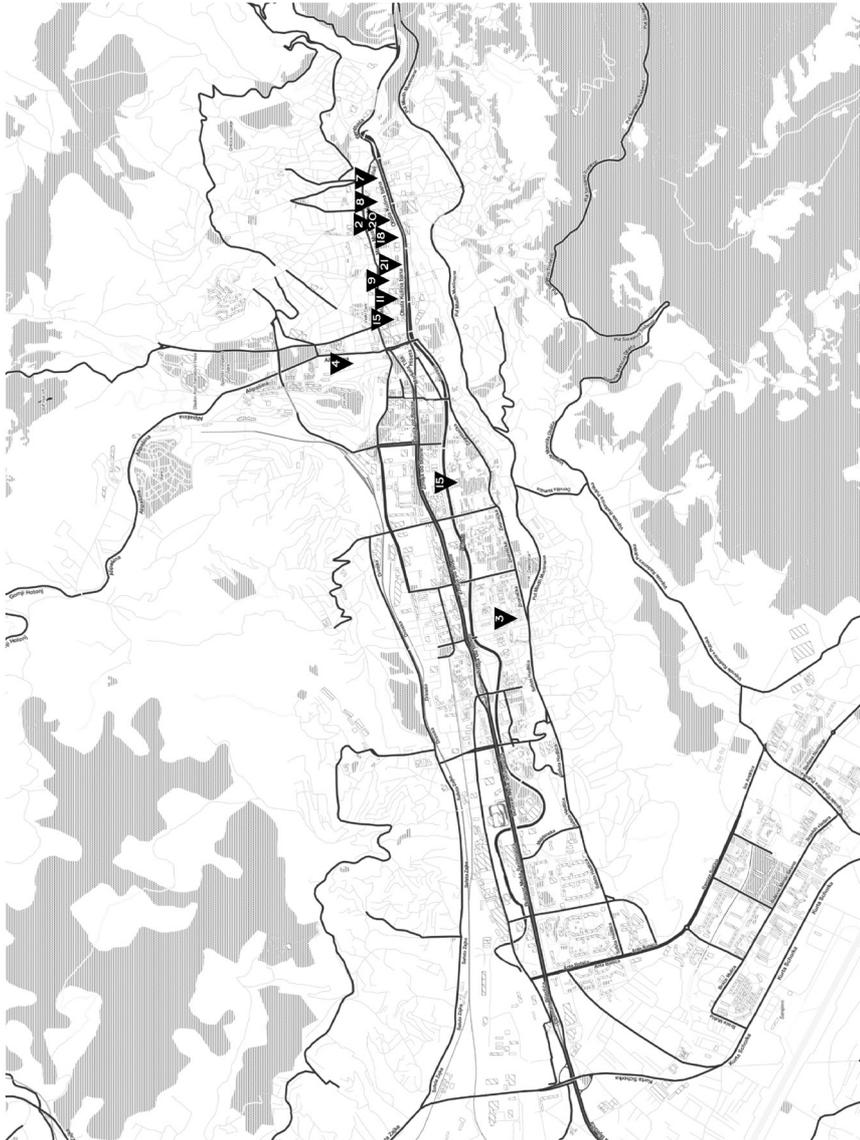
culture were built under the supervision of the *City People's Fund*. Between 1955 and 1968 the buildings were constructed by each of the municipalities [*Srez*] individually.<sup>1017</sup> In 1969, planning for the level of the city and financing for its realization has been done by the *Municipal Assembly*. In 1974, the commune, just like all the other Yugoslav environments, installed the system of *SCI for Culture* of the City of Sarajevo,<sup>1018</sup> which was implemented as in the other environments of interest of this study and it had similar programs too. Normally, the construction of the buildings was financed by a combination of the mechanisms of financing with self-contribution from the citizens and the SCI directly. The system was activated in each of the individual municipalities of the city (Belgrade, as well as Skopje).<sup>1019</sup>

1017 'Srez' is a Bosniak term for territorial unit – equivalent of municipality.

1018 Other SCIs are the SCI of the Physical Culture, the SCI of the Elementary School and Education, the SCI of the Children Protection, the SCI of the Directed Education.

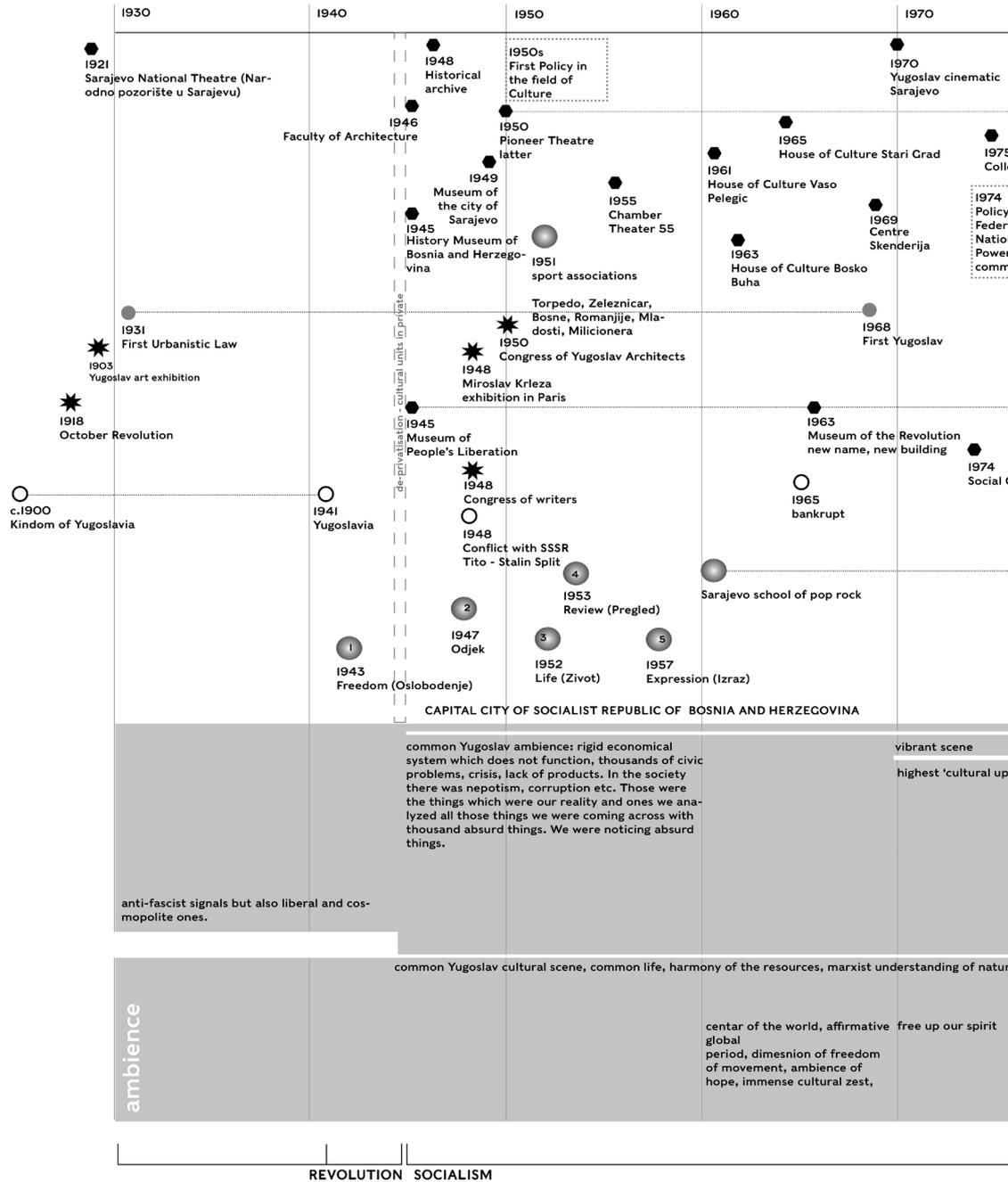
1019 For example, the following SCIs occurred, SCI of Culture of the Old City, of Sarajevo Centre, of New Sarajevo, of Sarajevo Polje, of Ilidža, of Vogošća, of Pale, of Hadžići, of Ilijaš, of Trnovo.

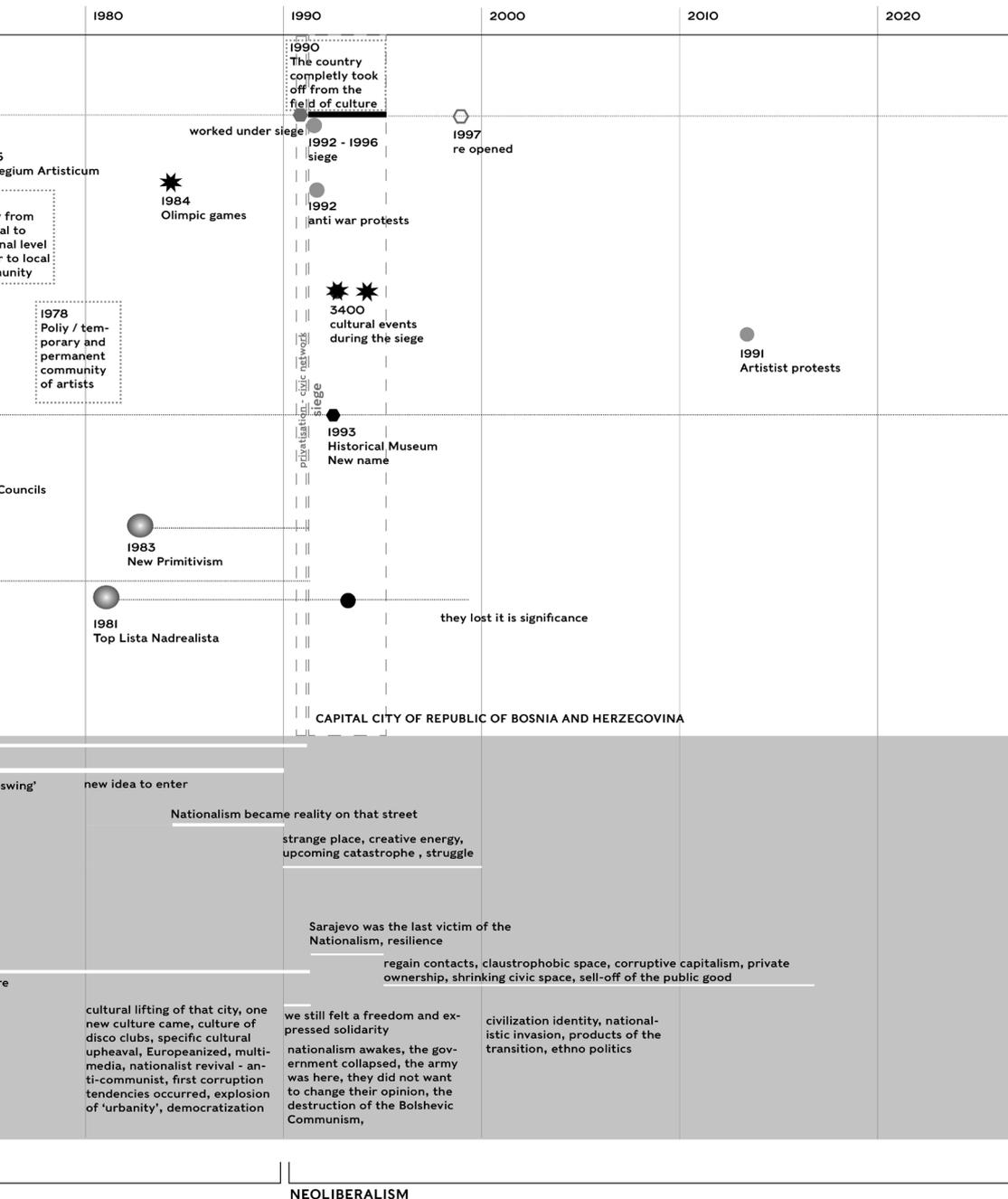
1. Workers University 'Vogosca'
2. House of Culture 'Centar'
3. House of Culture 'Hrasno'
4. Historical Archive of the city of Sarajevo
5. The Museum of the City of Sarajevo
6. Chamber Theater S5'
7. Vijećnica
8. Puppet Theater (Sarajevo Youth Theatre)
9. Bosnian Cultural Centre (BKC)
10. Children Library
11. People's library - Ilidža
12. OKUD 'Ivo Lola Ribar'
13. Art Pavillion 'Collegium Artisticum'
14. House of Culture 'Vaso Pelagic'
15. Pioneer Centre 'Bosko Buha'
16. Skenderija
17. Center of Yugoslav Cinematography 'Sarajevo'
18. Sarajevo Youth Theater
19. Bosnian Cultural Centre (BKC)
20. Academy of Performing Arts (Academy of Arts OBALA)
21. Sarajevo National Theatre
22. Academy of Fine Arts



**SARAJEVO**  
Mapping the infrastructure for culture which already existed or was built between 1945 - 1991

[fig.28] A map of spatiality of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Sarajevo, (Reference the author)





[fig.29] A diagram from the evolution of the cultural infrastructure of the socialist city of Sarajevo, (Reference: the author)



Fig. 289| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~ 1970s, Sarajevo

### Evolution of the cultural infrastructure

With the end of World War II, the city of Sarajevo became the capital of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia. At that time, as mentioned, the city was already well known as a multi-cultural environment, [fig.289], which was reflected in the social formations of the city too. For example, the partisan groups which liberated the city in 1945 were also multi-ethnic groups. Such information proves that those social formations had already cohabited in the city. As Yugoslavia was becoming a multi-ethnic country, the city of Sarajevo served as an experimental laboratory for the newly established country.<sup>1020</sup> Between 1945 and 1960, the city, just like the other Yugoslav cities, started to enthusiastically plan the activities for the development of its future cultural life. The architect Neidhardt initiated the construction of cultural buildings since the change of the program of the city meant an opportunity for creation of a different life: “We need to install the symbols of the new life”.<sup>1021</sup> In 1947, the magazine *Odjek* emerged, with a circle of cultural creators surrounding it. The magazine viewed the ongoing cultural happenings in the city and analyzed the emerging issues in the field of culture. To sum up, the city of Sarajevo anticipated the foundation of cultural development based on its specifics:

“[...] after the liberation it became a University centre with 22 Faculties, high schools and colleges. *The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina* was recently established there. Sarajevo has 2 professional theaters and children’s theaters, 22 cinemas, the *People’s and Workers’ University*, 5 museums (with over 800.000 exhibits), 43 libraries, a radio and television station, over 20 cultural and moderate societies, etc. It hosts: the *Festival of Small Stages of Yugoslavia*, the *Festival of Folk Dances and Songs*, the *Workers’ Sports Games*, etc”.<sup>1022</sup>

In the 1950s, the first plans for the cultural development of the city emerged,<sup>1023</sup> forming an epoch in which the *Cultural Revival* traced the path for the emergence of new cultural institutions: “By expressing the needs for culture and the evident creative possibilities of individuals, they accelerate the creation of new media and institutions”.<sup>1024</sup> Therefore, in the city of Sarajevo, a whole new set of cultural institutions arose:

“Then, in addition to the existing ones, new cultural institutions are formed and start working. *The City Puppet Theatre*, *the City Pioneer Theatre*, *the Small Theatre*, *the formation of the Youth Choir*, *the Magazine titled Expression (Izraz)*, *the Scientific Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, and a series of newspapers and magazines. Let’s mention just a few: *Peoples Notes* – a magazine for people’s enlightenment, *Our School (Naša škola)* – a magazine for pedagogical issues,

1020 Lapis trip, Belgrade, EPFL, 2020.

1021 Juraj Neidhardt, ‘Urban Vision for the city on Mijacka’, Mozaik, 1953, Published by www.yugopapir.com

1022 Miodrag Čanković, Sarajevo in Socialist Yugoslavia (Sarajevo, 1968), Historical Archive Sarajevo.

1023 *Ibid.*

1024 ‘Analysis of the city of Sarajevo’, SCI for Culture of Sarajevo, 1970 (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

*Our Days (Naši Dani)* – a magazine of the students of the University of Sarajevo, *Youth Word (Omladinska riječ)* – a magazine of the Sarajevo youth, *Family and Child (Porodica i djete)* – a theatre magazine. Sarajevo’s daily newspapers were *Sixth April* (weekly), *Peoples’ Front of Sarajevo*, and *Urbanistic Problems*.<sup>1025</sup>

Cultural planning for the city of Sarajevo occurred through discussions in the civic society. Such evidence can be found in a scene from the movie *Do you remember Dolly Bell*, [fig.290], which depicts a meeting held in the 1950s, in which the cultural creators are discussing the future initiatives for development of the music scene in the city of Sarajevo. In the following scenes from the movie, depicting the 1960s, the results from the planification processes are shown; in the city a lot of young pop bands started to emerge, [fig.291]. Those bands were in fact the first generation of the *Sarajevo School of Pop Rock*, which in reality emerged in the 1960s. The ‘school’ continued to exist throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. As many other bands started to emerge, the *Sarajevo School of Pop Rock* became well known in the whole of Yugoslavia.

The city of Sarajevo, just like the other analyzed environments (the cities of Belgrade and Skopje), intended to create its *uneven network of creativity*: “Program contents of culture achieve the most equal presence in all the municipalities of the city and in all the local communities.” Therefore, cultural programs for spatial distribution, including maps, were generated as part of the planning of the creative content in the early 1970s. The maps were used for further cultural plannification and they covered the spatial distribution of the social and child protection, [fig.292], physical culture, [fig.293], culture, [fig.294], primary schools, and secondary schools. As the other communities, Sarajevo too organized civic development and a five-year plan. The cultural plans dating from the 1970s worked on the categories of ‘the cultural activities in general from the population of socio-economic relations’, ‘libraries’, ‘social homes’, ‘people’s and workers universities’ and ‘amateurism’.<sup>1026</sup>

The same type of five-year plans continued to be made in the 1980s, where a novelty occurred: the execution of the plan in three phases. The first phase dealt with ‘determination of planning bodies and the social agreement’; the second phase dealt with ‘making an analysis and developing guidelines’; and the third phase dealt with the legal preparation of ‘planning with all the social agreements’.<sup>1027</sup> The programs for the creation of the cultural artefacts meant securing themselves to occur in the spatiality of the city and better efficiency of the ‘systematic construction’ (p.299). For instance, the *‘Vogošća’ Sports Centre*



Fig. 290| Scenes from the movie, *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1984



Fig. 292| Map, ‘Spatial Distribution of buildings for social and children care’, Sarajevo

1025 *Ibid.*

1026 ‘Analysis of the city of Sarajevo’, SCI for Culture of Sarajevo, 1970 (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

1027 ‘Working plan – preparations for one cultural plan’, SCI for Culture of Sarajevo, 1980 (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).



Fig. 295| Document, conclusions on the organization of culture in the OOUR and local Communities, 1976, Sarajevo



Fig. 296| Cover page, *City Secretariat for mobility*, 1982, Sarajevo



Fig. 298| Extract from the page 22, Map, 'Study for long term development of the tourism in BiH – spatial plan', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.94/95, Belgrade

was planned to be constructed in the Municipality of Vogošća in 1979, as it had been part of the plan of the *SCI for the Development of Physical Culture for 1976-1980*. 70% of the finances for the centre were obtained from the self-contribution fund of the Municipality of Vogošća, and 30% were obtained directly from the *SCI for Development of Physical Culture*. However, for the third phase (the execution of the hall), several SCIs and the Municipality of Vogošća signed an agreement for collaboration. This was due to the fact that the sports centre was in the interest of several stakeholders, such as the SCI for Physical Culture, for Culture, for Directed Education, and for Child Protection.<sup>1028</sup>

Furthermore, at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, while the sports planning and construction of sports facilities intensified, the city gradually aimed to push the concept of 'civic' and promote it as a healthy place for life, [fig.295, fig.296]. The city already had the capacity for 10 sports facilities, including *Centre Skenderija*. Another study on the development of winter tourism in 19 municipalities was carried out in 1979, [fig.297, fig.298], and it aimed to trace the coherent spatial development of the winter tourism. In the same direction, the *International Olympic Committee (IOC)* brought the decision that the *Winter Olympic Games 1984* would be organized in the city of Sarajevo, which was possible because of the 'spatial readiness' the country had (p.346). Furthermore, the period around the Winter Olympic Games was filled with activity – from sports centres, ski infrastructure, [fig.299] and overall spatial construction, to a 'cultural lifting' in which the city dazzled in its moment of glory of international attention, where the Olympic Games, [fig.300, fig.301], were for the first time organized in a socialist country.<sup>1029</sup>

The protagonist noted that the city of Sarajevo felt its cosmopolite spirit:<sup>1030</sup> the *Winter Olympic Games* displayed a metaphorical cultural peak of the city. The Municipality of Novi Grad was carrying out the most activities related to planning.<sup>1031</sup> The protagonist also remarked that during the Winter Olympic Games the "first corruption tendencies were noticeable", with "invisible traces found in the behaviour of the people in the 1960s and 1970s"<sup>1032</sup>, e.g. in the 1970s, a small nationalist incident took place in the city of Bugojno. Those were the years when the architects envisioned the programs for the cultural centre of Sarajevo. What follows is an extract where Neidhardt – the modernist father of Sarajevo – envisions culture for the city centre:

1028 'Program for development of physical culture 1976-1980', Self-governing Interest Community of Physical Culture, 1979 (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

1029 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).

1030 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, 2021 (p.139).

1031 'Middle term plan for cultural development', SCI for Culture of Sarajevo, 1980 (Historical Archive of Sarajevo, untreated boxes).

1032 Lapis trip, Belgrade, EPFL, 2020.

“The cultural centre is a place where people of science, pens, brushes, chisels, movements and music gather... On the slope above the old Orthodox Church, there is a settlement of cultural workers with studios, which would be dominated by the civic home.

On the other side of Miljacka, we imagine the coolness of modern buildings in the park: various institutes, cultural institutions and the like. Next to the *City Hall* [Vjecnica] we set up a museum about the origin of man.

Just as the old life had its symbols, so it has symbols today. Work is symbolized as a tower of knowledge and skill. Why not finish the *Charshija* with such an object and place it inside the *Academy of Sciences and Arts*, an *Oriental and Balkan Institute* and the like?”<sup>1033</sup>

In the 1980s, the humouristic group *Top Lista Nadrealista* was emerging. The group started casting humouristic TV shows in 1984, and gradually gained popularity among all the Yugoslav Republics. Later on, it became very well known because it predicted the events from the 1990s. One of their series forecasts a wall which will separate the city into ‘east’ and ‘west’ parts, [fig.302]. The founding member of the group, Zenit Đozić, in his testimonial described that the reality in the 1980s had a lot of ‘irony’ and tangible crises, “a rigid economical system which does not function, thousands of civic problems, crises, lack of products. In the society there was rife nepotism and corruption”.<sup>1034</sup> However, when going through the cultural plans dating back to 1980, surprisingly none of the materials found had mentioned the issues of the community, rather quite the contrary – the programs were predicting prosperous plans for Sarajevo and a steady development up to the year 2000. The same motivated *Top Lista Nadrealista* to make fun of the everyday life in the city.<sup>1035</sup> It was also pointed out that nationalism as a topic entered TV series since the group felt it on the streets of Sarajevo in the second half of the 1980s. For instance, in the TV series *National Detector*, an invented tool measure is the nationalism in the individual Socialist Republic. Moreover, the tool makes noise trying to alarm that nationalism is on the rise. Đozić, in fact, explained that in the 1980s, the liberated ambience ‘allowed’ the existence of such humour.

Mujkić emphasized the fact that the 1980s saw a strong “wave of nationalist revival, which was per se anti-communist”, felt in the city.<sup>1036</sup> According to Mujkić, such a transformation changed the identity of the older population since Sarajevo’s young adults still identified themselves as anti-fascist. As observed from the popular evidence, the *Top Lista Nadrealista* were young artists exposing their views on secular Bosnia and Herzegovina and ‘indivisible Sarajevo’, [fig.303]. Also, according to Đozić, the citizens of Sarajevo classified



Fig. 302| Scene from sitcom, ‘the Division of Sarajevo’, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, 1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 303| Photo, *Top Lista Nadrealista* on the manifestations for peace in the city of Sarajevo, 1992, Sarajevo

1033 Juraj Neidhardt, ‘Urban Vision for the city on Mijacka’, Mozaik, 1953, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1034 Testimonial Zenit Đozić, 2021 (p.139).

1035 *Ibid.*

1036 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).

themselves as artists, movie directors and architects – Bosniacs, Serbs, and Croats. Dozić pointed out that young people needed a cosmopolite ‘code of behaviour’ which was necessary for channeling their creativity, adding that such a code was key to cohabitation and co-creation in an environment. As such, creativity in the city of Sarajevo, according to the protagonists, developed because of the harmony achieved based on the long-standing tradition of multi-ethnic cohabitation, hence turning the *Creative Model of Sarajevo* into a multi-ethnic and multi-creative laboratory.

### Wrapping up

To conclude, the evolution of the *Creative Model of the City of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo* can be classified periodically in the following manner: the first period, i.e. the *Cultural Revival* (1945-1960); the second period, i.e. the *Cultural Catch Up* (1960-1975) was a period when there was intensification of the activities to foster creativity; the third period, i.e. the *Maturing Period* (1975-1980), i.e. a *Cultural Zest* (cultural peak), which occurred at the border between the 1970s and the 1980s; followed by a fourth period (1980-1991), i.e. a *Gradual 'Change of the Game' (Market-Oriented Transformations)*. This shows that the model evolved in a common manner, and that the larger context presented a common condition.

Although the 3 cities had different scenarios, different events happening in them, different challenges arising, they still all shared the idea that the model and creativity served the everyday actualities to be firstly accurately grasped and later addressed through the creative scenes. Therefore, they all developed different creative 'know-hows' and became autonomous authentic environments. The city of Skopje 'exercised creativity' through overcoming the natural disaster; the city of Belgrade 'exercised creativity' to catch up with the rapid spatial and population growth; and the city of Sarajevo 'exercised creativity' through its multiculturalism. It can thus be stated that the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was pro-active and adaptable to the circumstances which emerged from the 'reality', so it guided its creative energy towards it.

Interestingly, aside from all the differences in circumstances, the cities shared a common creative stream – the civic characteristic. This shows that despite the different environments the cities were part of, the same social environment made their approach towards creativity similar. Indeed, the creative models had a similar 'civic spatial program', which was embodied in the 3 cities in a similar manner, and from which a similar content, anatomy and *ambience* of the city emerged. This also meant that the content, anatomy and the *ambience* of the environments were politically preconditioned.

### IV.3. OUTCOME

#### Emerging inventions

The specific conditions for creativity in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* generated a specific and original flow, in which new, diverse and unique artistic and creative inventions (explained in the chapter) emerged. This flow was tailed by the cultural creators, who naturally developed distinctive ways of thinking by being present and living in the new political paradigm (and by developing a certain 'socialist thinking'). Moreover, the different tasks which emerged as a consequence of the political paradigm required the cultural creators to seek solutions in 'different places' such as 'how to make something which will better the context and the community'. Out of such rationale new creative and artistic inventions emerged and this proves that they were impacted by the specific conditions in which they emerged. As such those inventions were created upon different objectives and premises<sup>1037</sup>, new narratives arose as thematic clusters, which became present in the public discourse. All the above in fact instigated creativity to behave differently and the inventions to be created upon different flows of it.

The model established its particular flow of creativity, which was formed around 'real-life issues' that (because of the political paradigm) became a priority of the engagement of the creators.<sup>1038</sup> For this reason, the new artistic and creative inventions surfaced from the different approaches which were turned

1037 The model show interest into grasping real-life issues and insuring space in the public discourse for their resolving. Therefore, both the cultural, architectural magazines are having plenty of everyday observations etc. On contrary today the architectural magazines in the context are not looking to debate real issues, neither to initiate certain synthesis but rather to present to the audience the end results of certain building which has been constructed. Therefore, in the Yugoslav context different quality of the conversations "which serves as evidence of the growing maturing architectural awareness of the fundamental task of architecture, its role and essential commitment and this time". Such assumption is showing that for better inventions is needed a better narrative in the public discourse too.

1038 For example, the magazine *Odjek*, offer to the readers a questionnaire with five essential questions to be asked from the side of the cultural creators when approaching their artistic and cultural inventions.

to serve to better the conditions of the community. Therefore those approaches the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* had developed, so the particular ‘behaviour’ of that creativity led to different outcomes. As such, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* produced a unique framework for creativity and emergence of social and artistic inventions, linked to a particular context because it could not merely offer the right financial support for inventions to emerge, but rather choose a strategy to exercise creativity until it reached the desired financial situation. Therefore, the unique framework created a vibrant creative model that also had the ambition to gradually reach better financial conditions (both in the society and in the city) that could be offered to the protagonists.

As the model was experiencing unbalanced creative development (i.e. the quantity of the inventions having come to light could not be adequately financially supported), it was motivated to shift towards achieving qualification of the quantity. Such a tendency of qualification was possible because the understanding of quality was close to the socialist paradigm. Moreover, in this context, the Yugoslav vision for the socialist strive for developing a newer and highly qualitative life formed around creativity. Therefore, the specifically developed understanding of quality made the artistic and cultural inventions turn towards providing better artistic conciseness of the beneficiaries rather than seeking means to obtain more profit. The specific understanding of quality allowed the civic interests to be put above the financial and individual interests in the flow of the *process of materialization of the cultural artefacts*. Therefore, the civic, being the main objective, impacted not only the model but also the specific approaches which emerged and stimulated the inventions. The same logic followed in the creation of the architectural spaces that were also created by the above mentioned particulars.

The *cultural artefacts* embodied all those tendencies which the model naturally created and were present in the everyday *Socialist Urban Culture*, i.e. on the streets of the environment. Constantly showing resilience towards the power came as an exercise for practice by everyone (including the cultural creators), influenced by the emerging ‘socialist impulses’, [fig.304], such as proposing

1. What life experience preceded the visit to your creation?
2. What problems, characters, conflicts, presentations do you consider current? How do you study life, how do you collect material for your works?
3. How do you understand the duty of a writer in forming new, communist qualities in people?
4. What are your artistic traditions? Which searches in the field of art - do you consider the most promising?
5. Who from the older generation showed you creative help, and in what form was it expressed?

In a same time, the questions (paraphrased from the article “At the inevitable crossroads” from the magazine *Odjek*) supports the thesis that the creators in Creative Model of the Socialist City, created their cultural and artistic inventions on different objectives. On another hand the topic of synthesis meant strive for connections between the material means, the needs and the common people with their “historical, cultural a national specificities and interest”.

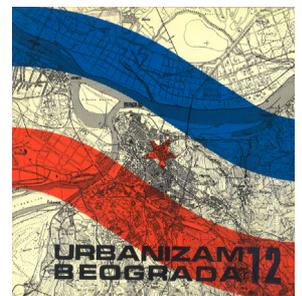


Fig. 304| Cover Page, illustration, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 12, 1971, Belgrade

quality over quantity, spiritualism over materialism, creations over products, etc.<sup>1039</sup> Furthermore, the specific circumstances in the Yugoslav context and the global events in the 20th century (such as the departure of the colonial model and the tragedies of World War II) impacted the creators (and the Creative Model as well) to encourage a more positive social orientation<sup>1040</sup> and develop a sense of responsibility towards work and the creation of cultural programs.<sup>1041</sup> Therefore, *the reality* and the *events* impacted the artistic and cultural inventions. In such circumstances the beneficiaries were encouraged to become active and critical recipients of the offered spiritual, cultural and artistic values,<sup>1042</sup> while the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to be established as the model which favoured bottom-up creativity (through the engagement of the common people as well as encouraging workers to become intimately associated with art and creativity, such as the so-called ‘amateur artistic activities’). Also, the model aimed to challenge the ‘struggles of the society’<sup>1043</sup> to be used for the encouragement of the beneficiaries to become active creative individuals rather than merely passive observers.<sup>1044</sup> Therefore, the beneficiaries of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* intended to offer them an overall cultural and creative well-being<sup>1045</sup>, as well as physical space to anticipate the overall cultural life of the common people. In addition, specific criteria based on different “right authentic values and a sense of beauty”<sup>1046</sup> gave special significance to the cultural and artistic inventions and guided the criteria to valorize them. It was the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* that determined different original criteria to evaluate its cultural achievements.<sup>1047</sup> Such a strive for authentic culture was also impacted by the ‘socialist impulses’ in which the “personal and creative was rising [...], creating values that demand a change of the world”.<sup>1048</sup>

1039 Those influenced architecture too. Also, the same guided architects to place the importance on the conceptual aspects of space, the ideological, the dialectical and the emergence of new typologies etc. which is different than today’s focuses on architecture to apply new techniques and materials.

1040 For developing such aspect it played a role to shift from a feeling of province to cosmopolite one.

1041 ‘Between the tradition and the new – commune and culture’, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1962).

1042 Djurović, ‘Ambiences and spatial values of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

1043 As a strategy where creativity which emerges from austerity.

1044 To be culturally active means to recognize when in the ambience there is something which is “superficially likable and full of pathos”, “false content”. Culturally active means to avoid “cultural slackness and indulgence of the masses.”

1045 This came as criticism to the noticed tendencies of what today we call ‘cultural gentrification’ and ‘cultural decay’.

1046 Djurović, ‘The place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

1047 ‘Between the tradition and the new – commune and culture’, *Op.cit.*

1048 Berisavljević, ‘Cultural Action’, *Op.cit.*

To summarize, the model encompassed different factors, different aspects, and different objectives and from there developed a different logic of thinking and prioritizing things. The model developed its individual civic logic that defined the creative and artistic inventions. Another important aspect of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* (and its natural closeness to the socialist paradigm) was to position in a linear manner and give equal importance to the different detected environments, the man-made environment, the civic [društveno] environment and the natural environment, which according to the model, it needed to be in balance so creativity could surface. This was also why stress was placed on the 'human beings' and creativity since they were the engines of creativity and the organizers of the desired balance. Consequently, the artistic and cultural inventions also placed great importance on the *cultural-human development*.

#### *The cultural artefacts in the model*

From the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*, unique objects (*cultural artefacts*) emerged; and one of the objects the model created was architecture. This Creative Model impacted the architecture (as a *cultural artefact*), leading to the conclusion that there were commons in the logic of creation of the *cultural artefacts* and the architecture as part of the same *Creative Model*. Indeed, the model created particular common conditions for a cultural artefact to emerge and then further develop in a certain direction. Moreover, the created *cultural artefacts* were also impacted by the above-mentioned processes (read in 'Emerging inventions'). It can be said that architecture is a cultural object which is created on certain logic and on particular premises which guide the process in its design. So, what the building (as an object) has in common with the other cultural objects is the creation within a model – corresponding with the initial thesis recognition that 'different planning processes create different objects differently'.

The architecture thus emerged by particular processes which guided the creation in a certain logic. As with every other *cultural artefact*, in regards to the building, three actors influenced it, additionally shaping the outcome. Those three actors are the investor, the architect, and the beneficiaries who participate in each *process of materialization*. Moreover, they change their meaning and significance in accordance to the context. In the Yugoslav context – as there was no market-oriented pressure – the investor, the architect, and the beneficiaries all received their specific roles because of it too. This made Yugoslav architecture neither a result of the logic of the market nor a result of the need to satisfy the particular desires of the investor, but rather aimed to position itself autonomously and critically and to negotiate how to achieve its quality from an

autonomous position. The beneficiary was given a critical role in the model and needed to become an “active, critical recipient of the spiritual, cultural and the offered artistic values [...]”.<sup>1049</sup>

Such a position turned the Yugoslav architecture into an object which aimed to provide the beneficiary with a critical civic position (as all the other *cultural artefacts* from the model – and according to the contextual understandings of what is good art). On the contrary, the *cultural artefact* in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City* are more prone to permit passivity; firstly because the beneficiary had the role of a passive consumer, motivated to consume and move to the next thing, and secondly because the political paradigm did not motivate the *cultural artefact* to create resilience in relation to the power. Also, the profit-oriented architecture meant the creation of new relations to liberate the humans from the ‘toxic relationship’ with the material goods, and to liberate the human spirit which ‘consumes’ them.<sup>1050</sup> This is distinct from the role of the investor in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, where for the investor the *cultural artefact* presents an opportunity for financial profit. Such a position was established as negative for the quality of the space and the architecture:

“Today the architecture is completely marginalized, no one is interested in it. It changed with the introduction of the private capital. The private investor sees their bank in their project. The prices are high for such an approach. This is why in reality today we have the worst architecture”.<sup>1051</sup>

The creators (the architects) understood that they should be careful so their *cultural artefacts* (architecture) would not become victims to the civic consumption as in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, where it was noticed that the *cultural artefacts* were created as upon a demand to consume (related to more to the desire). For example, individual houses today can be bought upon a desire to have a home, no matter that it can be a single person or no person living in them. The same, as already mentioned, was related to the critical position with the material, which the model had.<sup>1052</sup> In the following extract, there is an explanation of the difference between the two approaches:

1049 Djurović, ‘The place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

1050 From a quote find in the article ‘Architecture and us’, 1959 in *Man and Space*. Here is an extract from the quote: we have reached a solid international level, but we have not yet contributed almost anything to the refreshment of an already established procedure called “international style”. In this regard, we must find our soul, get rid of inferiority and boldly sail into the waters of unexplored riches of imagination, penetrating the spirit of time and the people of our climate. We have both objective and subjective preconditions for such an endeavor. Socialist relations abolish severe restrictions and liberate material goods and the human spirit.

1051 ‘Packing as an artistic skill’, Mihailo Canak.

1052 Differently than today’s notion where the beneficiaries are stimulated to be passive observers – and consumers, as mentioned in the article “man’s desire to always be “in the currents of culture”, but without his own activities”.

“If priority is given to development over growth, growth is subordinated to social needs, i.e. development needs, which are especially the needs in the space (or the space needs), not only the apartment already acquired, but also the equipment, which leads to the ‘predominance of use’ over exchange and traffic value, the predominance of the rhythms of everyday life over commercialization, sales and speculation”<sup>1053</sup>.

The overall Marxist concept and strive for achieving a balance between the three detected environments (the civic, the man-made, and the natural environment) positioned the human in the centre, making the architecture and the space in general (stimulated by the *Creative Model of the Socialist City*) seek ‘humanization of the man’<sup>1054</sup>, hence the balance was striving to equilibrate (and reduce the gap between) the growth of the city with its development, where development is understood as “a harmonious expansion of all functions, harmony in meeting all the social needs”<sup>1055</sup> (p.351). The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* strived for the emergence of ‘qualified social investors’<sup>1056</sup>, who would be able to engage differently with the architects. The role of the architect in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City* was viewed as difficult since it was a position between the investors (who were seeking financial profit) and the beneficiaries (who were not aware of the role they needed to play). Therefore, the creators characterized the position of the architects as “detrimental to their creativity, quality and fertility”<sup>1057</sup>, and for those reasons several measures aimed to tackle and transform the identified situation. This shows that the model allowed for and implemented the measures of the cultural creators in a resilient manner, stimulating the cultural creators to self-activate and seek such measures which would aim to qualitatively influence the situation.<sup>1058</sup>

Like the other creators, the architects too ‘picked up’ the actual thematic clusters which existed, they sought to navigate around the actualities, and

1053 Nemjanic, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

1054 All of the cultural artefact in the Creative Model of the Socialist City had the same strive.

1055 ‘Socialism’, *Op.cit.*

1056 ‘Talks about architecture’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

1057 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

1058 Here are set of measures to better the quality of the relations between the clients – architects – beneficiaries, according to the article ‘measures for better architecture’, 1968, published in the magazine *Man and Space*,

1. Quality approach to the problem of investing
2. Adoption of a law that will guarantee the implementation of economic reform measures
3. revision of projects with the participation of professional and social organizations related to the process of architectural activity
4. develop an inspection service
5. exam for the authority to enter the competence of the Society of Architects
6. Adoption of a professional code as part of the reform (radius)

the thematic clusters such as the ‘synthesis’ and the search for ‘real-life issues’ when observing.<sup>1059</sup> The public discourse played a significant role in this, as it constantly aimed to grasp what ‘influences a good architecture to emerge’.<sup>1060</sup> In today’s public discourse (both architectural magazines and debates), there are no actual ongoing issues and topics – which in fact shows the departure of architecture and *reality*. So, the public discourse not only attempted to understand what were the things which prevented architecture from becoming good, but it also introduced an ‘engaged architecture’, which actively sought possibilities as to “how one can change notions and by that the mentalities for a community to develop even better”.<sup>1061</sup>

In a cultural sense, the cultural object (architecture) was not designed to be likeable, but on a different premise. Such premises made the architect want offer a qualitative and progressive architectural expression, as part of the ongoing “general progressiveness of the Yugoslav artistic movement”<sup>1062</sup>, distinct for the epoch and aligned with the other societal efforts to operationalize such a notion of progressiveness.<sup>1063</sup> These overall artistic attempts made the design of the architectural object have no pretence to be regarded as the product of wealth (p.191), but rather to strive for its individual approach to authentic architecture – with a closer relation to art.

The *cultural artefact* of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was also created as a product of active criticism of the *cultural artefacts* which emerged in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*. What also emerged was a form of criticism that often appeared in the public discourse – all related to the notion of total commercialization of the intellectual activity that had been occurring. As a consequence, the architect performed no more as a creator of an intellectual creation; their designs “do not stimulate the creative efforts of architects”.<sup>1064</sup> As such, the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City* (and its *cultural artefacts*) was taken by the Yugoslav architects as an example to distinguish them and their architecture. As result of this criticism, the Yugoslav architecture aimed to depart from the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City* and to be established as an individual non-commercialized artistic expression. In addition, as they served ‘the exclusive society’ no more, an aligned approach arose towards creating new

1059 ‘Talks about architecture’, *Op.cit.*

1060 Mode of production of architecture.

1061 Uroš Martinović, ‘Art, Culture, Education and Labor’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1972).

1062 Vjencislav Rihter, ‘Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

1063 *Ibid.*

1064 ‘Architecture and us’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).

social and architectural categories, from which new architectural typologies emerged too.<sup>1065</sup>

Therefore, the self-governance system moved in the direction of bringing the profession of architecture and the interest of the common people closer together (contrary to the traditional 'servitude' to the 'exclusive society') and supporting the 'old life' in which architecture was helping elitism to be developed. To overcome all the gaps, the creators (p.282) aimed to suggest a system of synthesis which would be able to oppose the "bourgeois world and because of the tendency for capital, profit – to devalue symbols, sell their meaning, create unconvincing monuments, and banish creative works to privileged oases dedicated to separating aesthetics from industry".<sup>1066</sup> Nevertheless, as the context gradually transformed in the 1980s, the model steadily shifted towards the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, new rules and financial mechanisms, in which the meaning and significance of architecture was altered.<sup>1067</sup> The architecture in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* experienced great importance, which arose from its democratization. The *cultural artefacts* increasingly became market-oriented. In spatial terms, such a transformation impacted the architectural norms, which slowly became more obscured, and less and less respected<sup>1068</sup>, in turn influencing the public discourse to become more critically oriented – the architecture and spaces were starting to be created by 'the depth of one's pocket' and not by the essence of it.<sup>1069</sup> The programming of the space was ever more impacted by the task given by the investor (who also gradually transformed its role), leading to the first spaces created for the market<sup>1070</sup> (in the 1980s) when the concept of land rent was introduced too.<sup>1071</sup> In a cultural sense, the artefacts and architecture were not anymore an element that a human need was being satisfied by, but rather they were becoming elements of desire and design subjects, which implied that the design was influenced by trends to generate a new audience and a new financial profit.<sup>1072</sup> This in its own way impacted the programing (and the certain program units) of the gathering places, the places to create, and the social places and their form by creating "architec-

1065 Not more construction of 'the villa of the rich as a social and architectural category'.

1066 Ralić, 'Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism' Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

1067 This occurs also since people's perception of quality shifts once something is getting commercialized.

1068 'Packing as an artistic skill', *Op.cit.*

1069 Documentary 'Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeara (1973)', Skopje.

1070 Mihailo Čanak, 'Belgrade Apartment' 2012, *Op.cit.*

1071 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

1072 As developed by Gernot Böhme.

ture via means of expression appearing through the space, with applications that correspond to the program that takes place inside”.<sup>1073</sup>

To summarize, architecture and the space in the context were part of a larger civic [друштвен] program of the country: the created space was influenced by the specific civic architectural program. Such a program contributed to the emergence of a structure in the cities which carried new meaning and significance. For this reason, the architecture created a new “content structure as a sum of the construction and the relations that arose from such a construction program”.<sup>1074</sup> The broader program of architecture became a matter of analysis since “the economic, functional and aesthetic properties of the building that was being constructed and which participated in the emergence of our culture, were important”.<sup>1075</sup> Architecture followed by development in which many internal and external cultural factors had an impact, i.e. the architectural object did not merely depend on its design (nor on the construction laws upon which it was created), but rather it presented a larger image of a cultural attempt. All the stated above in the context contributed to the creation of high quality architecture, but most importantly not as an isolated case of high quality architecture, but rather as numerous cases of high quality architecture.<sup>1076</sup>

#### *The Creative Model of the Socialist City*

The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* created an infrastructure (particular physical space with particular qualities where different social links developed) which served as the unique social network of the city, creating linked critical (intellectual) and artistic space through which the cultural creators self-identified. Moreover, compared to the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, which had the tendency to create spatial and social clusters, the social formations which occurred in the Yugoslav cities on the one hand, and the strong development among the relations on the other hand, proposed an organic flow between the physical space, the creativity and the citizens of those cities. The model thus strived to nurture creativity in several ways through bottom-up initiatives with the goal of ensuring a more ‘fluid way of life’ with no divisions. Also, the exercise conducted in a different political system demonstrated that the political systems influence how people valorize space, which additionally impacts the flows of the creative model. The *Creative Model of the Socialist City* in the global context denoted a significant place and a *reality* in which the creation emerged upon the ‘critical thinking’ exercises in the daily discourse.<sup>1077</sup>

1073 Documentary ‘Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeara (1973)’, Skopje.

1074 Rihter, ‘Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia’, *Op.cit.*

1075 *Ibid.*

1076 On contrary of the Creative Model of Capitalism, who romanticize exceptions.

1077 Utopia constructed places as filters for critical thinking.

For both the citizens and the cultural creators, the model aimed to ensure freedom from commercialized artistic self-expression; as a departure from the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, where the cultural creators had the objectives to create the cultural and artistic inventions with the pre-intention to be sold. Such circumstances gave the beneficiaries in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* an opportunity to express and achieve authentic character in their art (*cultural artefacts*). So, the role of aesthetics did not aim to create new trends, and by that to support the model in order to achieve greater financial benefits and generate greater growth (as in the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*),<sup>1078</sup> but rather the aesthetics in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* served to affirm a new artistic or cultural invention. In the *Creative Model of the Capitalistic City*, the cultural creators were motivated to create to become popular or to charge from it, while the cultural creators in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* were creating to affirm their individual needs – the need to create something.<sup>1079</sup>

Furthermore, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was a stimulated creation of a concept of balance, through which the model strived to shape communities (which would be significant places for the life of the people): a “harmonious human community in which individuals would be able to restore the integrity of the personality as the basic active social participation of creative individuals”.<sup>1080</sup> The foundation of a harmonious community was based on its essential unit – man and his cultural human development: “conflict situations that cities carry within themselves are states that we will not get rid of until the very approach to reality, human thought itself, is free of its one-dimensionality”.<sup>1081</sup> As stated by Tomić, only creative individuals could produce something creative.

In a bottom-up sense, the model allowed integration with the crafts and collaboration with local craftsmen. A main characteristic of the model is that it was simultaneously managed, created and lead by the cultural creators themselves, such as the architects, diverse artistic community, etc. This was possible only because of the pre-established position of culture the Yugoslav country established when forming the model.<sup>1082</sup> Furthermore, the fact that investments

1078 Bohme.

1079 TV Interview for MRT of Goran Stefanovski, circa 1980s.

1080 ‘Socialsim’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

1081 *Ibid.*

1082 “Discursively, modernism was always bound to socialism, i.e. the Yugoslav humanist version of it. ‘The paths from art to life are thus complex, but inevitable, if we want socialism not to be only an economic and political category, but also a category of humanism and culture – a real socialism’ (...).”

and investors were coming from the side of the collective<sup>1083</sup> allowed the model to have a more systematic approach and better results in the cultural-creative field. This characteristic merged with the fluidity which the political paradigm allowed the city to develop – its ‘integral vision and actions for the city’.<sup>1084</sup> Also, because of its objectives, the model permitted the application of creativity for civic purposes, where the cultural, artistic and technological inventions also needed to have civic [друштвен] significance.

The specificities of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* also allowed an authentic urban culture to occur, aiming to confront the noticeable tendency for fostering ‘global sameness’ on the one hand, and to link with the ‘socialist impulses’ on the other hand. In a bottom-up sense, the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* aimed to confront the ‘monotony of the everyday life’ and promote social transformations through proposing cultural actions which would foster dynamism (action) in the space. Therefore, a *fast system* (p.350) in the sense of creativity aimed to reach even greater success where from one field of creativity several other surrounding fields were simultaneously emerging. For example, once the field of film was affirmed, the surrounding infrastructure followed to be created, schools for the actors, cinemas where the movies would be projected, production and distribution houses, etc. When merged with the *Socialist Urban Culture*, it gave the results of each of the cultural creations which emerged in the model.

Therefore, *the reality* which was developed in the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* created a particular *ambience* in the city; characterized by the ‘socialist way of life’, it depicted life which was “direct, intense, and artistically convincing”<sup>1085</sup> as a trademark of a new socialist lifestyle. Observed through the different case studies and their creative models, the cities aimed to create more cultural, critical stimulations in the environment and embody a new cultural experience by the “qualitatively new ideologically colored, dialectical societal and spatial concepts”.<sup>1086</sup> As such, the city strived to “celebrate the ‘fantastic’, ‘literary’, ‘uncontrolled’, and ‘emotional’ potentials of the city, as opposed to the ‘scientific’, ‘schematic’, ‘sterile’ and ‘lifeless’, ‘big urbanism’”<sup>1087</sup>, which es-

1083 For instance, the system of SCIs and the direct relation with the neighborhoods – funded by the collectives – and the overall strategic oriented projects and systematic planning and construction.

1084 Differently than the one of today – where each municipality acts individualistically.

1085 The golden age of the FEST from the angle of Božidar Zečević, *Op.cit.*

1086 Differently than the one of today – where each municipality acts individualistically.

1087 Vladimir Kulić, ‘Bogdan Bogdanović and the Search for a Meaningful City’ in East West Central Re-building Europe, 1950-1990, Vol. 1, Re-Humanizing Architecture, edited by Ákos Moravánszky, Torsten Lange, Judith Hopfengärtner, and Karl R. Kegler (BIRKHÄUSER, 2016), 77-88.

tablished itself as an unpredictable city in which one could hear a lot and see a lot – a city which would oppose the tendency to negate different lifestyles.<sup>1088</sup>

In a physical sense, a positive aspect of *the Creative Model of the Socialist City* is greater accessibility of space for creativity and the proposed non-lucrative spatial program (such as space for the associations, apartments for the artists, youth centres, etc.). Other positive points are the diverse financial mechanisms, which also ensured stable and progressive support for creativity. Therefore, the significant close links between the art – the political power – and the everyday allowed for a close link between the developed artistic and cultural inventions (and the overall focus on inventing programs, institutions. etc.) and their real application in the everyday life, as a sort of ‘applied science mechanism’, yet at the same time it represented the biggest limit the model had (p.446).

1088 Marc Breviglieri, Une brèche critique dans la « ville garantie » ? Espaces intercalaires et architectures d’usage, In book : Cogato-Lanza, E., Pattaroni, L., Piraud, M. et Tirone, B., De la différence urbaine. Le quartier des Grottes / Genève, Genève : Métis Press, October 2013.



**V**

**PROLOGUE**

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## V.1. WHY THIS THESIS

### V.1.1. PERSONAL STATEMENT

Being a citizen of the city of Skopje for twenty-five years gave me the opportunity to first handedly observe the transformations that occurred in the city. The political paradigm over the years changed. Therefore, I am among the last generations which were officially born in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia within the framework of Yugoslavia. I was mostly raised in an independent, democratic and neoliberal state Macedonia (FYROM), today a visitor of North Macedonia. Since I started studying at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, I started noticing the political, societal and mostly cultural challenges that society has. Furthermore, the *Faculty of Architecture* experienced a turbulent period mostly because of a 'neo nationalist' upcoming wave that started to prevail in the public discourse. This was a result of the poor performances that the country experienced in the 1990s during the shifts between political paradigms.

As the government announced the construction of a new church on the main square (the first indicator that the project *Skopje 2014* will take place) – my colleagues and students from the *Faculty of Architecture* formed the *First Archi Brigade* in 2007, as a resistance to the non-qualitative transformations of the city. *The First Archi Brigade* represents a globally unique phenomenon. In other global environments 'gentrification of the space' is usually a problem for the local population rather than the experts. The occurrence such as the one in Skopje, where the government introduces a project is perceived as normal in other environments. Nevertheless, manifestations about space are normally organized by common people, never by the architects and the expert's community in general.

Later I reflected that maybe the young students of architecture organically adopted the modernist principles and the socialist thinking from previous generations. Nevertheless, the initiative received violent responses from the local authorities and religious community. The project *Skopje 2014* found its fertile soil and successfully started to be emitted in everyday discourse. The project started in 2009 when it became clear to me that the nationalist forces

won. On another hand, in those years a large number of green areas, children playgrounds and cultural centres that the city developed— were turned into a new residential area, where the architecture was treated as a project with profit-orientation. The same went hand in hand with the total disregard towards the collective standard, with giving only importance on the private and individual one. It was clear that in such conditions a good architect (one which will resist the market pressure) could not emerge. On another hand people acted towards space as their commodity, counting the apartments that they possess. Therefore, space became part of the overall production and consumer logic. This was stimulated partly by the new neoliberal paradigm and partly to distance itself from the previously adopted Yugoslav principles.

However, that repressive response prompted several other manifestations in the following years, yielding an increased consensus among diverse civil and professional groups. This broad consensus reached its peak in 2016 under the civil movement *Colorful Revolution*, which highlighted not only the marginalization of one or another particular group but rather of all Skopje city dwellers: “Colorful revolution for new, healthy and colourful prosperity. The colourfulness celebrated the diversity”. The initiative culminated with a curious ‘referendum’ regarding the appearance of the facade of the *City Shopping Mall* GTC. At that point, I was shocked to see a crowd of people ‘hugging the building of GTC’ and the popular evidence which emerged from the manifestations that were organized to support the initiative to save the original state of the building.

In 2017, shortly before starting the research, I got contacted by the Swiss architectural magazine *Revue Tracés* where I got invited to say something about the ongoing issues in Skopje and to write an article about the building of GTC. Curiously, back in the days, I could not clearly understand, as I can clearly understand today, the difference between a shopping mall made in a Socialist country and a shopping mall made in a Neoliberal Capitalist country. In the same period, I befriended and later collaborated with Urban-Think Tank from Zurich and ETHZ, who were advocating for understanding global issues in the building environment through practising architecture. As the momentum was reached – I joined the team on their way to prepare the exhibition *Sarajevo Now* as an ad hoc project talking about the cultural crisis in the region, and the potential to reactivate the city of Sarajevo through reactivation of the building of the historical museum. On another hand, my job as an architect in Geneva – offered me the necessary knowledge to critically position myself and understand the practice of architecture in the global context.

Nevertheless, all the before mentioned, my new location and the time spent outside the county with all of the prior experience gave me the opportunity to distance myself enough to look at Skopje as an underprivileged community





9#



10#



11#



9#  
Gap between academia (criticism) and civic society (performatory action).

10#  
Professional and institutional degradation.

11#  
City degradation.

12#  
New tools for mass popularisation.

*\*the materials used for the diagram are from the online archive of the caricaturist Darko Markovic - 'Pecko'.*



12#

Therefore, I understood that the everyday equilibrium of the democratic habitat was not balanced. The same culminated with the 2017 ‘storming of the Macedonian Parliament’. A week after the bloody event, I had the chance to visit the Swiss Parliament at a welcoming ceremony for new PhD candidates. It was interesting to attend one of the sessions from the lodge of visitors and to see how a parliament member from one political party shared his drink with a colleague from the oppositional party. Furthermore, in 2018 the Swiss prime minister Alain Berset invited the global leaders in the creative and cultural field of Davos to sign the Davos Declaration 2018, as a sign to commit to the field of culture and to join forces for “high-quality Baukultur”.

At the same time, I had the opportunity to visit a Balkan turbo-folk party in a discotheque on the outskirts of Zurich. This gave me the incentive to try to understand what culture means to people who are trying to migrate to the west. They only later learn that a large amount of people is motivated to move because of the lifestyle which they can afford in the west, by the economic situation and also by commercialism which is rarely addressed. In the global

framework, creativity and culture are looked on from the premises of being an opportunity for the economy. It looks to me that everyone would like to engage in the topic but no one has the answer how. Therefore, the term *Creative City* seemed to preoccupy the interest of the global actors. At the same time, I had a feeling that the concept did not had the power to address the cultural challenges which humanity faces today, and did not took any meaningful consideration between the creativity and the man-made environment.

Nevertheless, in today's perspective, I can explain the current local and global situation with a metaphor from the scene of *Mondo Cane*, [fig.305, 306], (a shock documentary produced by the Italian director Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1962). In one of the scenes, it is depicted that due to natural pollution (in my eyes a cultural issue too) a group of turtles instead of walking towards the water they walk in the opposite direction, get stuck and die because of it. I saw the situation of the unfortunate turtles as a symbol of the consequence of the unbalanced habitat which we lead on the earth today – putting the question of culture in it.

As it could be said in the French language, 'voilà, le reste appartient à l'histoire'.



Fig. 306| Scenes from the movie, *Mondo Cane*, Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1962

**Richard Florida; Author, thought-leader, and researcher**

Visit Richard's Covid-19 related site [covidCITIES.com](https://covidCITIES.com), an urbanist guide to healthier safer cities



About Richard Florida

He is a researcher and professor, serving as University Professor at University of Toronto's School of Cities and Rotman School of Management, and a Distinguished Fellow at NYU's School of Urban Policy.

He is a writer and journalist, having penned several global best sellers, including the award-winning *The Rise of the Creative Class* and his most recent book, *The New Urban Crisis*. He is co-founder of *CityLab*, the leading publication devoted to cities and urbanism.

He is an entrepreneur, as founder of the Creative Class Group which works globally.

Featured Video: Richard Florida and Stephen Co



The property billboards that reveal the truth about Britain's luxury housing market



Only Class War Can Stop Climate Change

A new report shows that the wealthy have a responsibility to double the resources of the whole world's left of the planet. The message is clear: No global climate change without a global class war.



**As 100,000 die, the virus lays bare America's brutal fault lines - race, gender, poverty and broken politics**

The US's brutal fault lines - of race, partnership, gender, poverty and mismanagement - rendered it ill-prepared to meet the challenges of Covid-19

Concurrence: Live US updates by Ed Pilkington

Rochebin brise son silence

Federici's return in direct

**The shock of the neoliberal**

How did neoliberalism triumph?

By James Callaghan January 30, 2013



The Great Persuasion: Reinventing Free Markets Since the

**How Kim Kardashian West built her \$780 million empire**



immobilien.ch

THE CONVERSATION

What got lost between 'cultural' and 'creative' industries



Last week the Creative Industries Innovation Centre released a report that found 82% of the creative workforce consists of creative practitioners embedded in non-creative industries such as manufacturing, financial services and healthcare. This led to an article in which I suggested my recent claim that the creative industries had 'run out of steam' - also on *The Conversation* - was wrong.

What I had wanted to say was that the creative industry's agenda (the action plan for the industry at large) has run out of steam, and this is why...

**Culture as economy**

The term 'cultural industries' emerged in Europe in a positive sense in the 1970s and 1980s. It suggested, first, that culture was an economy - people worked, had contracts, sold stuff, bought stuff, sacked people, set up businesses and so on.

Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft  
Confédération suisse  
Confederación Suiza  
Confederaziun Svizra

**Federal Office of Culture**

News Topics Cultural Creativity Languages and society Cultural heritage Baukultur Documentation The FOC

Federal Office of Culture > Baukultur > Baukultur concept > Davos Declaration and Davos process

**Davos Declaration and Davos process**

Involved countries and organisations

National Baukultur policies

International cooperation

Conference of Ministers of Culture 2018

A high-quality Baukultur for Europe!

To achieve this goal, the European Ministers of Culture approved the Davos Declaration in 2018 on the initiative of Switzerland. The European states commit to embedding high-quality Baukultur on a political and strategic

The Economist

Business

Schumpeter

**Creative capitalism**

Other industries have a lot to learn from Hollywood



Nov 1st 2014

THE main building on Disney's studio lot has seven huge replicas of Snow White's dwarfs holding up its roof, a reminder of how Hollywood does not take itself too seriously. Nor do many outsiders. Film is an eccentric business, filled with ego and excess. For most of their history, studios have had neither the stunning returns of startups nor the steady profits of mature firms. They are famed for blowing vast sums on high-profile turkeys. "Heaven's Gate", an extravagant flop in 1980, crushed United Artists, the studio Charlie Chaplin and

THE WORLD TODAY

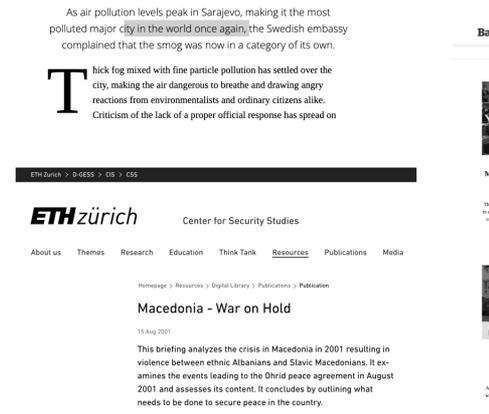
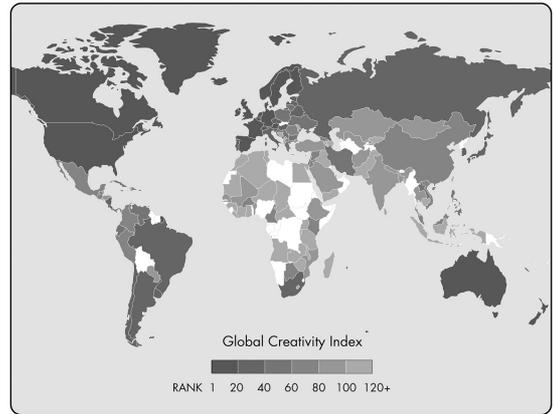
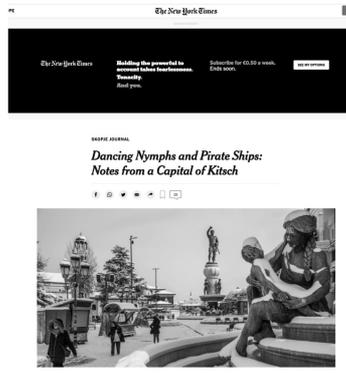
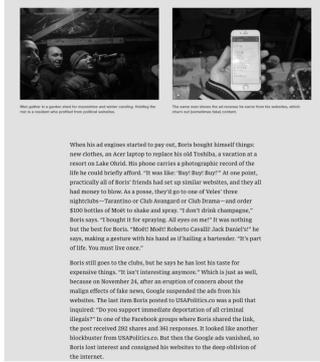
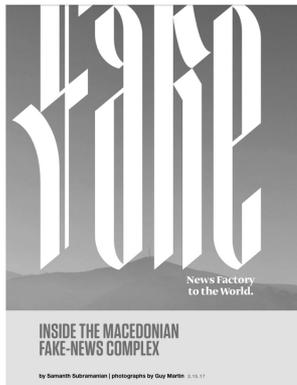
**The Neoliberal University Is Falling on Coronavirus**

TOM HANSBERGER / SARAH KIZILIK

With days before the fall semester, Marquette University is sending its workers and students into hiberna. And without its faculty union, administrators and trustees are accountable to no one for the damage they're doing.









### **V.1.2. THE FIRST SYMPTOM - THE GONE INSTITUTE OF TOWN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE**

April 21, 2017, Skopje - The tragic event took place on April 21, 2017, in Skopje, when the barracks where the Institute of Town Planning and Architecture (ITPA) was located were burnt in a fire. Such an event took place exactly twenty-one days subsequent to the start of my doctoral thesis. The loss of the archive, the material for the reconstruction of the city of Skopje did not only cause the loss of important architectural and spatial development, but it also evaporated my preliminary selected primary data recourses and made me rethink the concept of the project as a whole. Therefore, the fire unexpectedly turned the objectives of the research in a different direction, and other questions started to preoccupy me – why and how did the archive disappear and also to go back to the beginning of its formation and figure out how the archive was created in the first place.

On April 25th I asked my father to visit the site of the building ruins of the archive stand and to check out the situation. He called me shortly afterwards – telling me that there is a remaining room with plenty of materials that were not noticed by the authorities and in which there are remaining drawings which are in very good condition. Therefore, in the next ten days, an action was organized where friends and family of Iva Shokoska and I, tried to help and collect the remaining drawings, to allocate them to the National Archive, and in the Faculty of Architecture. Moreover, fifteen days later, encouraged by my supervisor and two phone calls with my father, I took a flight to Skopje to understand better what happened around the fire of the archive and to talk with some of the protagonists which were part of ITPA. At that time, the fire was another symbol of the ‘ongoing cultural and creative decay’ (which in my eyes), the city experienced in the years before.

At a first glance, I learned that ITPA was established in the 1960s as the first institution that needed to organize the reconstruction of Skopje and therefore the archive emerged in that process. The archive contained the post-earthquake process of reconstruction, the visual and textual documentation, and it was created by the protagonists which were active in the processes of reconstruction. The collection contained the original surveys, the original model produced by Kenzo Tange and his team, National and Yugoslav literature related to the topic, and the original architectural and urban design drawings created by the Yugoslav and International experts such as The Japanese architect Kenzo Tange with his team, the Swiss Alfred Rot, the Polish Adolf Ciborowski, the Yugoslavian Ernest Weissmann and the Greek Constantinos Doxiadis with his team.

The unexpected disappearance of the archive of ITPA aroused strong reactions in society. For instance, Najcevska wrote about the ‘accident’, “I had the opportunity to work closely with the ITPA and their research unit. It was a project which included the city development planning for further urban, economic, sociological, legal, environmental, psychological aspects and to provide a convenient city for its citizens, a city tailored for them. [...] Today, you will simply burn, you will steal, you will make threats, you will secretly construct, and with this, you will destroy the city, the people and the future.” The international architectural scene reacted too, for instance, Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss referred to the general cultural ambience that grew in the city, “Skopje was going through a very turbulent time, with the right wing’s government and populist base hatred of Skopje’s brutalism. A place of fake nationalistic style that looks like Las Vegas casinos sourcing Greek classical architecture. It may not be connected to this trend, however, according to friends in Skopje, it is in the air”.

At a second glance, I learned about the cultural evolution of ITPA. Established in the 1960s, it had its peak in the 1970s and gradual decline in the 1980s. As the country gained independence from Yugoslavia, the meaning and the significance of the institution in the 1990s started to decline. The decline came because the meaning of ‘planning’ changed in general. ‘Planning’ was associated with the ‘old and grim socialist system’, it was not appealing to the new neoliberal paradigm which tends to ‘deregulate’ under the premises of ‘freedom’, and to have a speculative approach instead of a factual and institutional approach. Therefore, spatial planning and the well-being of the city became a synonym to the ‘overregulated’ Yugoslav socialism. Secondly, the ‘spatial planning game changed’, it was led by the privatization process and the new incentives gave priority to acquiring profit - ‘spatial trading’ operations based on speculative premises. In that manner, ITPA becomes a complete ghost during the 2000s, and it finally disappeared in 2017.

At a third glance, I understood that besides the important archival role that ITPA had, its biggest importance during their active years was when the institution created a team to conduct practical solutions for the future spatial development for the city of Skopje, and to bridge the link between the experts and their real-time application in society, [fig.307]. This leads me to my final conclusion - the great loss of ITPA was not only the original drawings from significant architects, but also more importantly the loss of the creative know-how that ITPA developed. Through its agency, ITPA developed a skill how to respond creatively in regions where natural hazards occur and to carry complex architectural and spatial planning operations in such circumstances. At this point, not only did the speculative story around the disappearance of ITPA become interesting for the research but also a new direction opened - the emergence of civic commons and what was (or if) creative in those processes [In an example, the emergence of civic plots dedicated for the construction of the



Fig. 307| Extract from the page, *Skopje 1964, Nip Nova Makedonija, 1964*

buildings with civic significance], and why they are ‘disappearing’ as well. The question of understanding the document and the political paradigm – traced the path of curiosity about understanding the cultural artefact.

[fig.33] A diagram from the caricatures of Darko Markovic - Pecko, (Arrange by the author)



(TOP) "Skopje will disappear", Skopje, source: *Abitare*, 2010



(TOP) The Archive of the institute of urbanism and architecture before the fire, Skopje, source: *Abitare*, 2010

Among the arches of the burnt out Archive, I met a young boy, 14 year-old Mustafa. "I watched it burn, and I couldn't believe it," he said sadly. "It was my family's home. We'd lived here for the past 3 years. The Archive was like home and school all in one," he told me.

Mustafa comes here every day to wander among the burned remains. "Even if it's just a ruin the Archive's still my home," he said. We wandered together around the silent ruins breathing the acrid smell of ash and burnt knowledge and floating memories. Mustafa crouched and picked up bits of a book, an architectural drawing and a sketch. He tried to piece the fragments together but they disintegrated between his fingers like the remnants his own charred life: a fragile balancing act on a tightrope of survival on the margins of society.

Will Mustafa's dream of one day rising from the ashes to a better life come true?

Memory from Skopje's burnt Archive, Skopje, april 2017



The first testimonial with Ms Mimoza Tomić

June 17, 2017

The salon of Ms Tomić's home, 11:00h-13:30h pm

Mimoza Tomić, (1929), Retired Architect, Spatial Planner in the *Institute of Town Planning and Architecture* (ITPA) from 1965-1992

Jana Konstantinova, LAPIS, LASUR

**JK:** Is there a relation between socialist-realism and the spatial Yugoslav practice?

**MM:** The Soc-realism in our country did not enter on an esthetical level, it was more 'utilitarian'. I will be precise in which sense. It was 'utilitarian' because after World War II there was an enormous migration village – city. Macedonia was a bit more particular because Skopje became the capital city of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. As it became the capital city of the republic, Skopje took all the expert staff who were dispersed in other cities in Macedonia. Therefore, people attacked Skopje and started to migrate from Bitola and Ohrid, not only experts but technically educated population as well. All this was because the city became an administrative centre and established many administrative ministries. You know how ministries are formed – they required a lot of experts. Secondly, Skopje became a city with a university and there were only two faculties. The *Faculty of Philosophy* and the *Faculty of Ethnology*. Later the *Faculty of Economy*, the *Faculty of Architecture* etc. were established. For these purposes, experts were needed to come from all over. The first generation that graduated from the Faculty of Architecture was in 1952 and Skopje gradually became attacked from all sides with rapid migration.

**JK:** You are using the word 'attacked'. How did this become a negative phenomenon?

**MT:** Not really, there are positive and negative sides. There were some destroyed villages in which it was hard to live. Those were the honoured villages of the partisans, and all of their population came to the city. When they came we had a huge problem. I remember I was a high school student and there was a lack of residential space. The ones who had bigger apartments were valorized by a committee to give one or two rooms to the ones who do not have homes and that's how they coined the term *shared apartment*. In the *shared apartments*, they used to have a shared kitchen and toilets.

Now I will tell you something interesting. We love our traditional architecture, but our traditional architecture has one special space, which came into the discourse because of the influence from Turkish architecture. Space is called *hamamdžik* [Хамамџик]. In the city, there were public toilets where people used to wash. Nicer houses used to have this small space and, in that space, they also had a small stove [печка] and a *boiler* [казанчиња], from which they got hot water. Such spaces looked like small saunas, and inside them, there were wooded chairs where people would sit and evaporate, also to wash. That was a shared common space in one house. In the Turkish houses that space was always carefully designed and made with high-quality materials. In the Turkish houses, the *hamamdžik* was between two sleeping rooms. For example,

if there are two brothers with two independent sleeping rooms they would share the *hamamdzik*, and the whole family would bath in that room.

**JK:** How did this evolve in the context of Skopje?

**MT:** When they started migrating towards Skopje, the level of standard and living in the new apartments than in traditional houses in other cities was much higher. Therefore, people moved because of the more functional apartments. Each of them used to have a toilet and water - the term was “English closet”, they used to call them like that. In the cities of Ohrid and Struga (I come from Struga), you could count how many toilets in total there were, especially those that provided hot water. In other words, the boilers still had a different type of heating, and the capacity was for three people maximum, we needed to use them very mindfully. That was a step that made life more comfortable. Most of the houses in Ohrid had primitive toilets and this is written down in the urbanistic plans. In that crisis, the post-war crisis, from Germany to France, England, there was a post-war housing renewal. They were all preoccupied with the technique to build more efficiently and faster. We all needed more flats in a shorter time. That was the topic of my ‘specialization diploma’ which I obtained in France, and in England, it was a ‘revolution of prosperity’ for Macedonia. I am saying this because the technology that was applied in the new apartments was an actual shift from let’s say the primitive way. That is how and why Skopje offered a little bit more comfort from the rest of the Macedonian cities, but that culture was spreading around. From oriental culture, we shifted to European culture, with the *shared apartment*. In that moment Skopje had 10m<sup>2</sup> per capita. I will give you another illustration, you have a ‘visitor expert’ from Ohrid staying in Skopje, and they would give him a room, but he has a wife and he expects to have one or two children. Jana, this is interesting also, please write it down, the natality didn’t decrease after the earthquake, because we love children.

**JK:** So, we are coming back to the ‘utilitarian’?

**MT:** When I said ‘utilitarian’, I said it because in that period in Yugoslavia the government directed residential construction. Some of the countries in the Federation were more demolished and some of them were not that much. We all had one thing in common – we all lacked residential space. This was not the case for the smaller cities because they had their houses and they didn’t need collective residential space. The space in the bigger cities was under question. At the same time, there was a policy that was established to take properties from the aristocrats, in a way to show to the people that they are not alone. The revolution that was going on in our country and Yugoslavia was surely antifascist but when you analyze it, the parole came from the French revolution – ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’.

**JK:** Can you illustrate how this reflected on the architecture?

Firstly, the category of space for four people family came with an estimation of 60m<sup>2</sup> needed. If you have a grandfather or extra grandmother and in some cases both, the politicians were not interested in your situation. That’s how they created the *two-room apartment*, and in that manner, they discriminated against the family. I will tell you in

which sense. The sociologists only recognized this phenomenon much later. The case in the reality was that either the parents slept in the living room on a removable sofa, and they gave priority to the children, or the children slept in the living room and the parents had no access to the technology in the apartment which was normally located in the living room. There would be no music, no music recorders, or no TV set. Anyway, we had a much more normal life even without technical amenities, and that's why we call it 'utilitarian'. Our goal was to build as much as possible disciplined *two-rooms apartments* with sanitary nodes which are economical, and we standardized them in the following manner: 16m<sup>2</sup> for a living room, 10m<sup>2</sup> dedicated for the kitchen in a way to have a space for a small sofa in it, because in the kitchen you had the whole family life. The kitchen was a family room as the Americans have today, or as the Japanese call it - tatami. That's how the parents gave up from their sleeping room. Later we increased the standard of the two-room apartment to 64m<sup>2</sup> or 12m<sup>2</sup> per capita. Soon after we increased it to 12.5m<sup>2</sup>. After the earthquake in 1963, it was 16.5m<sup>2</sup> per capita. This was a huge difference since as architects we started to deal with *three-room apartments* with around 64m<sup>2</sup> or 65m<sup>2</sup>. They were so strict about the square meters. When we designed this particular building with my husband (where I live today), we designed the apartments with 87m<sup>2</sup> that includes an extra small household room. The apartments had a living room of 24m<sup>2</sup>, the kitchen was 12m<sup>2</sup>, and sleeping rooms from 12m<sup>2</sup> and 10m<sup>2</sup>. The children's room is the one with 12m<sup>2</sup>. We didn't differentiate the children by their sex. A brother and sister would share their room. The most common was to have a 4.1m long room so the beds would be next to each other, and a small space where they would be able to work as well. There were no computers. It was not like it is today when you can place your computer on your legs. The methodology changed but this type of two-rooms apartment was multiplied many times. We were so happy to have our apartment, not to share it with others, and to wait a long line to enter the toilet.

**JK:** How was the transition between your studies and your first professional experience?

**MT:** We came to study with the 'planned distribution' in the city of Skopje, and when I finished my studies they did not know where to allocate me. I was going from a room to another room to find my future job. You knew that you would need to adapt your wishes.

Ah, I forgot to mention that there was a rule of how much wood I can take to heat my home since in those days I was still single. There were norms about this too, and I could only buy half a cubic to heat annually, which was not enough and it was constantly cold. It was so hard to bring the wood upstairs, and the landlord of the apartment where I rented my room didn't let me. The owner of an apartment might allow you to bring them in but he would take half of it for himself. So, we used to go to public toilets to keep our hygiene on a sufficient level. Coldwater was the only choice. The new residential buildings shared one methodology, it was developed as a part of the program *directed housing construction* [*усмерена стамбена изградба*]. In that time, we started to work with a little bit wider and more complex methodology to include the statistics of the citizens in the city. We were doing the statistics with categorization by sex, ethnic beliefs, and a professional degree to see how many literates there are. Those were my basic rules as a planner.

For post-earthquake Skopje, we developed a new methodology in ITPA that progressed as an institution on the highest level in Yugoslavia (crying). Unfortunately, we didn't play well, for example, if it was Serbia, Slovenia, or Croatia they would have played better, like with the expertise of Doxiadis. They would take them, and they would go and help other countries or take part in their projects. That methodology that the institution had, did all geo-mechanics analyses using maps. We used the maps even from the coldest periods, developed by the planning skills from the geometers that were the first urbanists in Macedonia. However, the context of their work was precise. After the earthquake, many experts came from Russia and the United States (from San Francisco). Those are the teams that helped a lot to execute the methodology. For sure, we received great help from the Japanese. Two Japanese experts came and they came at their expenses (volunteering). However, all the analyses were conducted by domestic enterprises, and that's how we conducted all the preface maps. The maps were really meaningful to make the zoning.

Pause, heavy breathing...

Jana, I must tell you I have done a mistake. I did not take the yellow books from ITPA (at the time of the testimonial they were burnt) from room number 18. There you could find the urbanistic plan of Skopje, which I don't have. I regret.

**JK:** I am interested about ITPA. What was the role of the institution? What type of projects occurred there? What was the flow of the work? Which year was it established?

**MT:** ITPA was established in 1946. The president was a geometer, and the institution was a part of the city council. Everything was controlled back in the days because every piece of information was understood as dangerous. That's how they took care of the documentation. The first architects in the institution came in 1952, and before them, there was only one architect - urbanist, Mr Ljube Pota. Afterwards, the architects Risto Galić, Branislav Anglelić, Voislav Mackić were employed. Interestingly, they were all architects. Some will say, they forced us to work on urban planning. Also, Blagoj Kolev and Nikola Kartashev came. This was the first generation. In the second one, Atanas Bancotovski came, and I started in 1965 with the 'planned distribution'. There wasn't a lot of choices to pick where you would like to work. It was a question of where the state would 'position you'. We firstly needed to register at the ministry of labour, where they would need to record us. There wasn't high unemployment, so people were very happy that when they would finish their studies they could find employment.

**JK:** Did you enjoy your role at ITPA?

**MT:** Honestly, I was trying to get a job at the faculty, but the faculty had a very passive role for my taste. One day a letter came. The letter asked: Would the faculty like to participate and help post-earthquake Skopje? Professor Volinec and I signed the letter. At that moment we were very active. Skopje was a huge mess but we went to the faculty every day. We were waiting for each other every morning in the garden of the *Faculty of Architecture*. We wanted to help, so we started to clean the books from the cement that fell in the library. Profesor Volinec, was the History of Architecture chair under the supervision of Krum Tomovski. That is how we went together and started working in ITPA.

The atmosphere at ITPA was more than good. To be honest from today's perspective I can notice that we have some strange syndrome for self-destruction. Every new person that would be employed, you look down on him. The Polish company Polservice came to ITPA to collaborate. Polservice had so many experts in urban planning, sociology, and they were all so nice. I experienced a culture of working ethics. I was an urban planner with a focus on residential buildings. I had a high grade from the faculty, from the chair of urban planning, but the professor of residential buildings wanted to take me as an assistant to his chair. He worked in Belgrade, and I didn't want to move to Belgrade, because I have two other brothers here and I needed to help them. That's how I chose to focus on residential buildings. In ITPA, there were professionals from the highest rank. The chief manager was Adolf Ciborowski, he was a great authority employed by United Nations.

**JK:** Did you expand your skills and interests there?

**MT:** I will tell you that I got interested in sociology. My husband took a scholarship in the United States at Ford and Berkley university, he invited me too. The architects needed to know statics besides construction.

Our experts are doing a mistake when they are calculating the static from the materials. They are acting like engineers. I went but they only gave me five months. Five months are a lot, I asked: Can I also go to Berkley?

I wanted to attend some of the classes, but I needed to sign up for the course because they had quotas. My husband asked Ford to participate with something for me to follow the courses. Like that by chance, I entered a hall, and I listened to a lecture in sociology. WOW. Back in the days, in the USA everybody was constantly talking about the buzz term 'people's sociology'. They were all preoccupied with sociology like it was the most progressive science. I met a fellow Yugoslavian who was a sociologist, a Croatian from the city of Rijeka. He told me "I am a sociologist by vocation, and sociology is the most CIA discipline (haha)" I asked him "Why?" to which he replied: "They know everything, how many citizens there are, what kind of ethnicity they are, they know their level of education, they even know what kind of diseases people have. They know everything." You should learn the discipline 'Urban-Sociology', it is very important. I liked the lecture at one of the university amphitheatres. The lecturer was a foreigner and I understood his level of English better than I could understand the native American-English.

**JK:** Did you expand your skills and interests there?

**MT:** I came back to IUPA, where I was working as a volunteer. What they would assign I would work on. We were assistants, you couldn't choose. The director invited me to attend the collegium in the mornings because I started a regular position. The most important thing with the foreign experts was that they were insisting to see all the old plans. A very smart thing. My colleague Poljak, told me a very smart thing 'We are studying all the old plans'. If there was a need to argue and you don't agree with the old plan you would need a good argument about it. You cannot just say this is not right. Grčev didn't want to recognize the work of Kenzo Tange. They were all so negative about the work of Tange. Additionally, Ciborowski asked for the research of the city from a sociological perspective, and I said "sociology is contemporary science" This was the first time that 'Urbo-Sociology' was part of the planning process. They brought

four sociologists. One was chief and three others who worked on: one on demography, one on mobility, and one on public buildings. The team of four functioned perfectly. They were from Polservice. When we started to collaborate, Mr Piro was the chief of the team of Polservice.

ITPA was very respected up until 1985. Under us was the *National Institute for Urbanism* but all the cities afterwards established their institutions for Urbanism. Some of the students who were educated in Skopje returned to other cities and formed their urban enterprises. From the *National Institute for Urbanism*, they weren't creative, they only wanted to destroy our institute, and to separate it. On another side, we had close collaboration with the city council. The city council was the pre-condition for everything. You needed to show the plans to the mayor, and the council for approval. Ljupco Stavrev was the mayor, he was an economist. But he didn't do anything without consulting us previously. That's how top politician Blagoj Popov acted as well. The politician Papes was also rational. They were the urban kids who grew up in Skopje and got educated outside of the country. They saw how others function and they included this in their brain.

Blagoj Popov built three capital projects for Skopje. Firstly, the regulation of the city river, secondly the traffic, and thirdly the heating of the city. Until that moment, we all had individual heating on wood or coal, and the air was polluted, bringing the neighbourhood of *Taftalidze* into environmental depression. We stated that we have pollution and we said that to the city but also to Ciborowski, who had huge experience with the reconstruction of Warsaw. He made a feasibility study for the heating of Skopje and we planned, heating plants on the west, east and the north side of the city. The north one was never fully realized. For the realization of the projects, they gave us a timetable. This is how Skopje got its installation which went from the big streets to the small streets and the homes. The city of Skopje alongside ITPA had all the parameters to create a good environment. Every third year, we made an update of the spatial plans, and we knew exactly what is new there.

**JK:** What happened with ITPA in the 1980s?

**MT:** In 1978 we needed to make a revision and valorization of the plan from 1964. The United Nations were also ready to participate in it and to see the evaluation because it was their project and they wanted to participate through UNESCO. Our managers didn't want to collaborate and the United Nations took off. We thought that if we had this change we would have the experts again, and we will learn a lot - the whole new generation will learn something, ITPA will be equipped again on a technical level, photocopiers and everything we wanted. In the beginning, we didn't even have a pencil so we mixed them with water. Markers were rare. This happened in 1963-1964 during the post-earthquake rush. ITPA is the expert's circle was pictured as very efficient and hard-working. We achieved such prestige with the reorganization plan for Skopje and that's why United Nations wanted to collaborate with us, they saw that we have the capacity and collaboration is possible.

Today everything is substandard. Grčev and Korobar are not inventive, besides the fact that they are good professors. On another side, the building mafia took everything they needed. With the shift of socialism to capitalism the situation changed, and there are different conditions. The speculations today are on the highest level. No one knows

how much space we need. People are buying space to satisfy their desires. There were so many speculations about the privatization of the space as well. We lost the street life as well. We lost empathy from each other. There is no communication and this impacted the quality of life. No one thinks about the collective, and they only think about the final profit.

During my time at ITPA, I was in San Francisco and I saw a similar institution to ours. They introduced me to the younger generation at the American institution. They had so many young people around. When I came back, I said that we need to employ young people here too. My older colleagues looked at me like a public enemy. Jana, in every organization they need young people. Everyone who had success at ITPA later achieved professorships. Secondly, we introduced the system 'employ my child there' even though he has no qualifications. The 1980s were strange years. I told to Kolev, ITPA will be destroyed without young people. He remained very negative about it. At the time, we were 56 people. We worked on the field often and we were somewhere every other day. But slowly, all the experts left.

When the city was our financier, we planned how many people could be employed and that's why we started to work in residential architecture too. There were painful moments since there were a lot of clashes of interests. There were investors with big interest and we lost the ambience of having healthy competition. The companies Beton and Pelagonija worked on the design projects for free if they were the ones who would realize the project. That was another type of corruption and a clash of interests. ITPA was part of it. The whole model became less and less creative. It's not that they could not do it, we had the chance, the capacity and we had the knowledge to be more creative. This is how we got the biggest shame - the neighbourhood of Vodno. We are a city with the useful territory, therefore we don't need to build on the mountains. They risk living there but they are the elite. Don't even mention the aesthetics of those houses, they are designed by someone who has never visited Ohrid, Veles, Krusevo or someone who has never opened a book of our *History of Architecture*. Another shame is the project *Skopje 2014*, and the failure to return fake history. Architecture is a creative discipline and it is a shame to make such copies. Did you see the proposal for the facade of the GTC? Urbanism is in complete disaster. The methodology today is - you find a space and you place a building. To summarize - the link between the experts and the city does not exist. The mayors Stavrev and Popov were politicians but they also employed two urbanists-architects to tell them what to do.

Someone from the administration of the United Nations invited me to work on spatial planning for Peru. I could not go to Peru, because my husband could not leave the faculty, and I wanted to go with the children but he said it would be too much. Therefore, we made the decision not to go. The ones who went were materialistically satisfied. They learned more because it was a project of the United Nations and their kids learned Spanish perfectly. Kole Jordanovski formally invited me, but my family came first even though it was a good option for the children. My brother used to work in Milano and his kids learned Italian.

**JK:** I was interested to ask you about the value of one document?

**MT:** In one document there was a lot of intellectual, materialistic and technical investment. All the documents were produced in three stages. Firstly, on transparent

paper [папц], then on thick paper so that no one could change or use them. The third document is on another type of transparent paper that you can copy. Like that you would be able to go back to the past matrix since you can't start without it.

The copies of the documentation of ITPA were transferred to the national archive, but you can't re-invent the originals. There are some copies in other institutions in Skopje, but it would be challenging to trace them. When you finished a plan you needed to give it to all of the stakeholders, the city council, the national council etc. We had original drawings which cannot be replaced, like the projects from Kenzo Tange, Rottal, Broekbakema, Miscević, Makedonija Project, and all the originals were in ITPA. There is a possibility that a part was transferred to the National Archive of Macedonia but I doubt that. I found some of them in abandoned warehouses outside the city near Momin Potok.

**JK:** Were you writing in some of the architectural magazines?

**MT:** I was writing for *The Commune* [Комуна]. For one article we had a conflict. I wrote the whole article and my older colleagues wanted to get their names on the article too. I was unhappy with their approach. Once, I said to the director "Janko please, can we put the model of Tange in the museum" I wanted to insure him that they would take good care of it, they would protect it and the city will look at it, but he did not agree. Jasmina Namiceva helped me persuade him, but he simply didn't want it. He didn't want it, and after the tragic fire, the new owner asked 38.000EUR for it. I called him "How can they sell that? They need to go to prison" They sold property of the country. I don't understand how they let it be owned by someone else. They only wanted instant profit. They never called and asked me for an opinion. I also did not want to take a sharing part in the privatization. The ex – employees sued the institution and the new owner, they are a group of forty former employees. How can I put the institution for which I worked for so many years to court? They want to get some money or some m<sup>2</sup> and for me, this is an 'association with the devil' [Злосторничко Здружение].

The communists were all atheists. I used to ask my grandmother to bring me to church. Every month she would bring me there and she would bring something for the other children too. Atheism prevailed in society. We needed to explain to our grandparents that they should remove their religious emblems from the walls. They explained that religion is primitive. We heard that the churches in Ohrid will be destroyed and society got scared, so they organized and signed a petition for Tito (a brave act). All of the intellectuals signed it, Georgi Konstantinovski contributed and other people too. Koliševski was a politician and a black sheep but he didn't stop the petition. The petition explained that the churches are important for the Macedonian culture, because of the paintings and the iconography in them. Serbia and Croatia already had books about their churches and heritage.

People were against positive occurrences. For example, they reacted to Kenzo Tange very bad. They asked "Why Japanese? Why do we need him? How can a Japanese person tell us how we should live? Who said it should be like that?"

They ignored the work of all of the spatial planners who left a trademark on Skopje, such as Mihajlović, Kubes and Leko. Leko was educated in the Paris Academy. He said "Skopje is a holy city - it has a river which is positioned in the centre, therefore

the axe of the river needs to be developed. It is not only that Paris will be developed by the Seine, but this small city should be developed in the same way". Kubes wrote the same. He noticed that the axe east-west is the best. Everyone who has a river has the potential to exploit it if he is creative. You cannot create something good if you are not creative. You know that the best residential part of Paris is by the river Seine, Moscow is developed by the river as well. We can't ignore Vardar. Vardar is the gem of Skopje. We also need new and clean industry.

After 8 days we had an answer from the petition. We received money to work on our cultural heritage. The letter stated that if you do not protect the churches you don't have the paintings and therefore you don't have anything. In 1952 Tito came to Ohrid and said, "Ok let's see those famous frescos of yours".

Tito enters the church, saw the work and said "Ok, could you please tell me what is on that fresco?" - Someone explained to him that fresco is the life of Christ, he even joked with him and told him - "This is Jesus Christ as you are and the one next to Christ is Koco Popović (haha)" Someone said to interrupt Blazić - since he was a fool to talk this way to Tito. Anyway, Tito laughed a lot, he enjoyed the tour and he was in a good mood. He even asked "Ok, tell me who is Judas in my close circle?" to which Blazic said "You have the secret services to tell you that". This is how Blazić was invited by Tito and his wife Jovanka, alongside Cipan to have dinner in Ohrid. Zdravko Blazić made a great story - Tito as Jesus Christ. Tito was tolerant. Gruevski didn't find a way to say or to give us architects an answer. From all of the idea by Kenzo Tange they succeeded to do nothing. We are incapable and this is the type of people that we are. When I saw the parliament the other day, I thought "Homo homini lupus".

**JK:** If we compare the quality of life, how would you describe it? the everyday?

**MT:** Our every day is sad because we make life to be very hard for us. There is so much jealousy and everyone wants to destroy the other. Back in the days, I worked happily every day. In our county, it's hard to go to work today, since you go with the pre-assumption that you will have some troubles. It is very unfair for common people. The general ambience in the institutions was great, based on professional communication and mutual respect. We had professional discussions on how to make things better. In good ambience, we even had a drink or two with the Russians and the Americans who were coming to Skopje after the earthquake, but we didn't drink a lot of alcohol. At that time, we were working on the *City Shopping Mall* (GTC) - the masterpiece of Zika Popovski. The guys who were working on GTC could not finish the project, and they were complaining that Ziko comes at noon and stays until 15:00h. The manager of the project was not happy. Ziko was a bit arrogant and said that the architects at ITPA could not read his idea. How can somebody read your idea if you haven't made a drawing of it?

Anyway, it was hard to talk in Macedonia. We were afraid. Firstly, from home, when you are young you are taught that you should not have an opinion. When it is time to talk, you don't know what and how to talk. We are afraid of everything.

**JK:** Was this because of the political system?

**MT:** At one period, a bit more liberalism came. I was an intern at ITPA, in 1963, and in 1965 I became a full-time employee. When I came there, we used to have international journals regularly, such as the faculty journal, the Swiss *Wohnen*, the *l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* etc.

**JK:** Did the political top come to Skopje after the tragic earthquake?

**MT:** Yes, when Ciborowski said that the plan is finished and we made an exhibition, Tito came to visit Skopje. He was welcomed by Ciborowski. Tito was interested and followed our work. Skopje became an interest to both the Russians and the West. They used the earthquake as a pretext to invite them to give us their help. When the experts came, the city council didn't have many options so they placed everyone in Hotel Panorama. They also came to work at ITPA. I remember we had a square table, not around one and the experts from the EAST sat on one side, and the ones from the WEST on another. We were always in the middle, with our director, the mayors etc. Somehow, we felt that they were segregated because of the language, whether Russian or English. It was too much to finish a phase of work and then to translate it into Russian, English or Polish. Therefore, we wanted to make things more coherent, so one day we mixed the materials before the meeting and we left them on the table - so the experts would take them and sit wherever they would find a space. They sat as they wished. Also, since they stayed in one hotel – they met each other during breakfast there. Blagoj Popov came and said "Ohh, they started to mix".

Let me tell you an anecdote. Kenzo Tange worked on the plan. I am ashamed of the professors at the faculty since none of them made a lecture about the functionality of the plan, but neither did I. Anyway, you have to understand that the Japanese are a working nation and they count everything in seconds. The Yugoslavs had a problem with this. If someone should come and it turns out that he doesn't, it is still fine. That's why the train station never worked properly. After the earthquake, two Japanese people came to my house, my father opened the door and came to me and said "two people came but they are yellow a bit". I was shocked by the statement from my father first and then I see Jamamoto himself. Jamamoto was the right hand of Izosaki, and Izosaki was the right hand of Tange. My father said "welcome and please come in the house" I was ready and we needed to start the morning together. At that moment, my house was in a busy district and my parents came to visit me from Ohrid. My mom made jam [слатко] from strawberries and gave it to the Japanese to try. I explained that we made them ourselves and that they would not find them in the supermarket. They said "Oh you have to give us the recipe" We gave them one big jar and they were happy. They went around ITPA with the jar. Anyway, we started going towards the city council where our meeting was and one of the Japanese told me "Madam Tomić, don't rush we have three more seconds" I looked at them weirdly. I thought he must be joking. We entered the hall for the meeting and it was still empty since everyone was late. They asked me if something serious has happened. I explained to them that this is a Balkan quarter. To which they asked "What? What does that mean?" Well, we need to wait for another 45 minutes, and they will all appear for sure. Ok, the people started to come, to come, to come. Tange planned the central station in a way that – you will come to the capital, you will walk to the administrative part in the city centre, you will have lunch and in the afternoon you will go back to your home town.

## V.2. POINT 1991

### V.2.1. CHANGE OF THE RULES OF THE GAME

The deepened crisis which gradually evolved during the 1980s led to the eventual final dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) on 25 June 1991. At that moment, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was the first to announce its independence, opening the door for the consequential and controversial happenings which marked the 1990s in the region. What was also important for the subject of the research was that *Point 1991* caused a sudden shift from the socialist paradigm to a new democratic one (closely linked to the neo-liberal paradigm). At that time, the neo-liberal paradigm was already globally widely spread, which made the Yugoslav situation impossible to be sustained within the new concept of a global (and already globalized) network: “Neo-liberalism has already created its own rules for the game on the planet”.<sup>1089</sup> The 1990s were also marked by the complete Yugoslav collapse of the economic, political and social system the country had.

Locally, this meant the introduction of new national concepts as new visions, which eventually led to establishment of new elites: “When Mr Markovic finally started his ‘programmed privatization’, the Republican oligarchies all had visions of a ‘national Renaissance’ of their own [...]”.<sup>1090</sup> It was thus understood as a momentum which offered an opportunity for individual enrichment. Globally, the *Chicago School of Economics*<sup>1091</sup> and the libertarians, led by Milton Freedman (who visited the country on a couple of occasions), became vocal too. They had suggested an austerity ‘shock treatment’ for the region. Moreover, the last Prime Minister of Yugoslavia (Ante Marković) endorsed the idea of applying an austerity program, but it needed to be applied in

1089 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

1090 Chossudovsky, ‘Dismantling Former Yugoslavia: Recolonising Bosnia’, Economic and Political Weekly, *Op.cit.*

1091 At the days the Chicago School of Economics urged for free trading and free markets (free from the state), arguing state departure from the business field, and that the market will naturally equilibrate the world.

a unified way (among all of the Socialist Republics).<sup>1092</sup> This idea was judged as pro-American and Marković's proposal was eventually rejected<sup>1093</sup>: "We will pay for misconceptions with poverty, poisoning of the spirit and the position of the far periphery of Europe"<sup>1094</sup>, indicating the triumph of the pro-national *artistic streams* (and the individual national agendas).

As all those circumstances blended, wars started in the region. Experts argued that the wars were the first mechanism for the newly emerging incentive – the economic growth: "war as a dynamic for development"<sup>1095</sup> or "war capitalism".<sup>1096</sup> The protagonist noticed that certain individuals saw personal interest in reinforcing destruction since it became profitable, but also because of the class problems the country had: "They broke up Yugoslavia to finally create capitalism, like war capitalism. We are still experiencing the consequences of such war capitalism. This is because the class struggles did not stop in Yugoslavia"<sup>1097</sup> (p.367); they were discussed within the society, but never fully overcome: "[...] we have class problems, we have attempted to manage the workers, we have a lot of economic difficulties, we even have people ignorant of this".<sup>1098</sup> Moreover, it was criticized that the socialist paradigm did not mean these issues were resolved by default:

"Today, the revolution means fighting the problems that threaten it, that are throwing workers into a corner. It would be naïve to say that it is enough that socialism has come, and that we can cross our arms and wait for prosperity, which should come by itself".<sup>1099</sup>

Therefore, *Point 1991* and the overall instability deepened the crisis in the region, gradually leading to a visible drop in several fields of the society:

"(..) We have lost Yugoslavia, socialism, the degree of social cohesion, [...] there is no priority for human rights in war, it is a great issue of human rights, which civil society is infected with, ruining the emancipatory potential in our country and everywhere in the world and that's why 'the right' parties are growing".<sup>1100</sup>

1092 At the time, each of the countries had a critical body urging for united and Democratic Yugoslav future.

1093 Chossudovsky, 'Dismantling Former Yugoslavia: Recolonising Bosnia', *Op.cit.*

1094 'Ante Marković: alone and against everyone', Dušan Sekulić, *Danas*, 1989, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1095 Latinka Perović, 'To Tito you could told everything, you just had to be ready for the consequences', 2016, <www.gyka.com >.

1096 Božidar Gajo Sekulić, 'Palic talks', <www.youtube.com>.

1097 *Ibid.*

1098 'Pepca Kardelj for the Voice of the Youth: How would Tito and Kardelj acted in such times of crisis', *The Voice of the Youth*, 1986, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1099 *Ibid.*

1100 Sekulić, 'Palic talks', *Op.cit.*

In the global context, *Point 1991* coincided with the fall of the Berlin Wall – an event which announced the triumph of Capitalism and anticipated the globalized (and with no competition) world tied to the neo-liberal paradigm. Moreover, after *Point 1991* each of the Yugoslav cities became the capitals of the newly formed Republics, making them administrative, political and cultural centres of the newly formed countries. Moreover, the situation was becoming even more difficult since at the end of the 1980s the economies and industry (including the idea of territorial decentralization) collapsed, [fig.308]<sup>1101</sup>. This circumstance stimulated the concentration of people and capital in the capital cities of the newly formed individual countries,<sup>1102</sup> while on the other side<sup>1103</sup> a gradual tendency of immigration outside the region was gradually increasing too.

With the introduction of the new capitalistic paradigm, several processes emerged which impacted the everyday life, such as commercialization<sup>1104</sup>, [fig.309], and privatization. The same logic was reflected in the architectural profession, [fig.310]<sup>1105</sup>, which was also impacted by the emerging phenomena, exposing the old fears around the question of quality in architecture:

“[...] architectural activity now becomes the business prey of design studios and organizations. When acquiring rights, little attention is paid to the actual abilities of the individual and collective users of these privileges. The significance of architecture is thus lost; the process of converting quantity into quality slows down. However, quality in architecture is too old a question. From time immemorial, quality has made architecture what it is. Preoccupied with the advancement of art at the beginning of this century, Otto Wagner stated: ‘To look at art correctly, to enable its survival, to remove all the obstacles to its development, to protect strong artists and to suppress all the average and weak ones’”<sup>1106</sup>.

1101 The sitcom *Top List Nadrealist* is depicting the failed Yugoslav industry in one of its humorous videos. On the video a factory keeps producing the product called ‘nothing’. Besides the obvious, the characters in the video keep acting like the product ‘nothing’ is really existing, they keep explain the product and the process of his production.

1102 The phenomena of ‘shrinking cities’ is widely known as existent in the post-communist countries.

1103 “Some 600 000 to 800 000 people emigrated to other European countries while 10 000–15 000 sought asylum in the United States and Australia” and “Since 1991, between 3.7 and 4 million people have been displaced or have become refugees in Western Balkans”, Published by: ‘Driving forces that shape environmental futures in the Western Balkans’, <[https://www.eea.europa.eu/ds\\_resolveuid](https://www.eea.europa.eu/ds_resolveuid)>.

1104 The sitcom *Top List Nadrealist* is depicting a satiric situation on the food market. Moreover, one the market one can buy the different life aspects. For example, one stand is selling ‘fresh health’, the another one (a cultural stand) is selling ‘fresh bible and kuran’. The idea of the video is to satirical depict the commercialization of the different aspects of life in the newly capitalistic paradigm.

1105 On the same food market there is an architectural stand too, on which the protagonist is ‘selling’ his architectural projects. The stand is titled ‘Artisanal (Home-Made) Architectural Projects’.

1106 Martinović, ‘Characteristics of our post war architecture’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 308| Scene from sitcom, ‘*Production of nothing*’, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 309| Scene from sitcom, ‘*The Market*’, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 310| Scene from sitcom, ‘*The Market*’, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 311| Scene from sitcome, 'The first private work action', the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, -1990, Sarajevo

This reasoning gradually started (during the 1990s) to impact the cities too, [fig.311].<sup>1107</sup> For the cities, *Point 1991* also meant the introduction of 'private ownership' of the land, which accelerated the emergence of the construction business. In addition, the 1990s were the years in which the concept of the 'rent' became a profitable activity, as people started buying apartments as market goods in order to make a profit from the 'surplus value' which the concept created. All the conditions stated above changed the rules of the game and impacted the meaning and significance of architecture. *Point 1991* was also a symbolic moment in which the *Creative Model* of the cities shifted from the socialist to the neo-liberal paradigm, further affecting the cultural artefacts, where their creation was shifted towards their production (p.465).

As a consequence of the dramatic Yugoslav dissolution and the wars the country saw, the 1990s were turbulent for each of the selected cities too. The city of Sarajevo underwent harsh events – it was under a four-year siege (April 1992 – February 1996), making Sarajevo a city under the longest lasting siege of modern history. During the decade, the city of Belgrade experienced massive demonstrations, sanctions from foreign countries, and was bombed by NATO powers as a result of the politics of its leaders. The city of Skopje, though, had a much more (seemingly) blissful situation and experienced a calm disintegration of Yugoslavia.<sup>1108</sup>

## V.2.2. THE EFFECTS OF ART ON LIFE

As already mentioned in Chapter IV, in the context a specific relationship flourished between art, the political power, and the everyday (p.315), integrating what was happening in the field of art in the everyday life of the people. This was possible only because of the already developed model of relations between the artistic circles and the politicians (p.417). The second circumstances, i.e. the emergence of post-modernism (which gradually evolved in the 1980s), affected some of the artistic circles; one such was the artistic circle which developed around Dobrica Ćosić, [fig.312]. According to the protagonists, Ćosić "played a very important role as he was a man from the party, he was a member of the *Central Committee*, and he had authority".<sup>1109</sup> At the same time, postmodernism re-assessed everything (to express its revolt towards modernism), so the



Fig. 312| Photo, Dobrica Ćosić and Slobodan Milošević, -1990, Belgrade

1107 The Top List Nadrealist video 'The first private working action' depicts the newly capitalistic investor (a chavvy 'nouveau riche') on the construction on a new building. Even so the capitalism has arrived the workers are still confused by the shift of the paradigm. Moreover, they naively think they participate in one of the 'socialist actions' to construct the infrastructure as public good and for free.

1108 Testimonial Robert Alagjovovski, Skopje, 2019 (p.96).

1109 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

context organically merged with the nationalistic (and anti-communist) *artistic stream*.<sup>1110</sup> In the given context, the opposing *artistic streams* (national-Yugoslav) were battling over the years to impose their ideological views on art. As noted by Markuljević: “I think that there are two directions here. The first one is modern art as something common for all. [...] The second one is that all the countries have a national and nationalistic culture”.<sup>1111</sup> In this sense, *Point 1991* presented a significant turning point for the artistic circles too. Stefanovski even referred to the fact that art has always had its impact on the *cultural artefacts*, describing it as an eternal game between two forces, as the theatrical division between comedy and tragedy.<sup>1112</sup> If described symbolically:

“In life there are two forces. As day and night, winter and summer. Not only in art but also in society. As Shakespeare reflected, it was Carlo Gozzi who was not giving him and was pushing him back. In the Yugoslav system there were lots of these games. We fight for quality, but real quality [...]”.<sup>1113</sup>

In the same direction, Perović also reflected on the symbolic battle between the *artistic stream* in the Yugoslav context – one which favored modernism (led by Nikezić) and the other which favored nationalism (led by Ćosić) as two separate artistic (and life) expressions:

“Marko Nikezić was a federalist, a European man, whom Dobrica Ćosić perceived in that way. The two of them were certainly symbols of two ways of thinking: one advocated living in a complex community, the other advocated an all-Serbian state; one for an organized society, for a policy of consensus and cooperation with the world, the other for war as a ‘dynamic of development’; one for Serbia facing the West, the other for Serbia directed towards Moscow as a ‘third Rome’.”<sup>1114</sup>

As events gradually evolved during the 1980s, the circle around Ćosić interpreted post-modernism as a chance to introduce the “revival of national romanticism”.<sup>1115</sup> Therefore, Ćosić became officially known as the ideological father of the national *artistic stream*, writing the *SASA Memorandum* (1986), which was welcomed by part of the politicians in the Serbian Communist political core, led by the then communist party leader (gradually turning from a communist to a leader of the new nationalist stream) – Slobodan Milošević. The development of events culminated with the friendship (and mutual support) between Milošević and Ćosić, [fig.312], thus impacting the link between



Fig. 312| Photo, Dobrica Ćosić and Slobodan Milošević, ~1990, Belgrade

1110 Postmodernism in the Yugoslav context arrived late and as unwanted because of the dominance of the modernist’s artistic circles. Moreover, as written from Pavićević (in her essay ‘The street is the biggest institution of the literature, art and politics’) the dominant narratives merged too, “Great stories about militant anti-communism, which is very often manifested here as anti-modernism”.

1111 Testimonial Nenad Makuljević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.71).

1112 Conversation with Risto Stefanovski, Skopje, 2017.

1113 *Ibid.*

1114 Perović, ‘To Tito you could told everything, you just had to be ready for the consequences’, *Op.cit.*

1115 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).



Fig. 313| Photo, Josip Broz Tito and Miroslav Krleža, ~1950, Belgrade



Fig. 314| Photo, Political Session in Sava Centre where Bogdan Bogdanović and Ivan Stambolić, end of 1980, Belgrade



Fig. 315| Photo, Serbian National Manifestations, beginning 1991, Serbia



Fig. 316| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

the *artistic stream* and the application of its ideas in the everyday life of the people. This led to the evolution of *reality* in which the nationalist post-modern artistic stream became present in the public discourse and daily life performed in the man-made environment. As explained, such a link existed even before, [fig.313, fig.015], while the only thing which changed was ‘the political flavor’ of the *artistic stream* which shaped it.

As explained by Perović, this was a battle between the two different artistic circles and their friendship with the top political core, [fig.314], and it also reflected on the society. Consequently, there started to open up a rift in the society between the modernist artistic scene (transmitting the idea of unity and a democratic transformation of Yugoslavia) and the post-modernist nationalist stream, which supported individual countries. However, the latter was more numerous and in the end won, [fig.315]. This also meant that *Point 1991* became the focal point which traced the development of event who evolved in the 1990s. To sum up, the post-modern nationalistic *artistic stream* was welcomed by the majority of the people and its victory was massively celebrated, [fig.316]. In an artistic sense this also meant the triumph of the suppressed (during Yugoslavia) kitsch. The same impacted the overall ambience that became present in the everyday *reality* too.

The hidden and frustrated 1980s postmodern *artistic stream* was finally liberated in the early 1990s and applied in the everyday discourse. Although it occurred late, this meant firstly that post-modernism brought with it everything that it stood for; secondly, the application of art in the everyday was once more implemented in a successful manner; and thirdly, there was a great shift of the cultural notion from modernism to post-modernism. As modernism signified internationalism and openness, carrying in itself the socialist idea, in fact the post-modernist paradigm started to construct its narrative in direct opposition to all this, i.e. incorporating interpretations such as the creation of a strong state, narratives of national identity, etc. As the events took place during the decade of the 1990s, the whole narrative around the shift of the Yugoslav intellectual is reminiscent of the story of Plato, who was thought to have banished poets from the ideal city because they started to “produce the wrong sort of poetry”.<sup>1116</sup>

### V.2.3. CULTURAL CONTRA-R(EVOLUTIONS)

As new figures emerged on the political scene (such as Milosević), these political figures needed new narratives too. For instance, in an analysis of a

1116 Perović, ‘To Tito you could told everything, you just had to be ready for the consequences’, *Op.cit.*

speech of Milošević, those narratives became clearly indicated and communicated:

“Süddeutsche Zeitung writes: Slobodan Milošević’s speech did not mention the Yugoslav super-father Tito in a single word, just like the Communist Party. Socialism is mentioned only once on the margins. Then again, he mentioned the church and religion four times. A pocket calculator would be needed to count how often he mentioned the Serbian people, Serbia, its history, greatness and future”.<sup>1117</sup>

Moreover, locally, different symbols needed to express the new national tendencies: each of the individual (post)-Socialist Republics went through common *cultural contra-r(evolution)s*, taking place under different specific interpretations. So, each Republic set up different symbolic pre-conditions:

“6 ethno-nationalist counter-revolutions with the aim of creating new so-called democratic states. The actors were ethno-national subjects, future bourgeois – petty bourgeois or large bourgeois in the new states, who through forms of aggression and civil wars broke Yugoslavia up to create the pre-conditions for capitalism and for this ongoing war capitalism”.<sup>1118</sup>

This shows that similar tendencies were present in each of the individual Socialist Republics, and the timid nationalism during the 1980s finally liberated itself, hence becoming visible and tangible. The protagonists also focused on how the wave of nationalism, as *cultural contra-r(evolution)* affected the mindsets of the people and the civic (human) environment:

“It is not only in the minds of people, in the spirituality of their lives (consciousness, culture), but it is at the same time, in the real relations of society, in the contradictions that are expressed and not always resolved on the economic and political level”.<sup>1119</sup>

For example, the nationalist *artistic stream* in the case of Serbia meant constructing the narratives around the Church and its symbols<sup>1120</sup>, [fig.317]. Such a development of the events showed that the old ghosts, such as religion, started to be re-actualized in the new context. Moreover, the religious communities, through the city’s urban institutes, organized the spatial distribution of the new symbols, [fig.318].

To summarize, the post-modern *artistic stream* interpreted its goals based on an opposing and diametrically different standpoint compared to the socialist and modernist goals, i.e. contrary to everything which was characteristic of

1117 ‘The day when Serbia broke up to Tito’, Danas, 1989, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1118 Sekulić, ‘Palic talks’, *Op.cit.*

1119 “Start’ explores the latest nationalist outbursts across Yugoslavia, should we be concerned’, Start, 1985, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1120 The popular evidence is showing videos from popular singers. For instance, as Lepa Brena is singing in front of the Museum of Yugoslavia, Ceca signs in front of the church.



Fig. 317| Scene from the music video, Belgrade, 1995  
Scene from the music video, Yugoslavian, 1989



Fig. 318| Cover from a study, *Study of Religious Buildings I Location for larger buildings on the territory of the city municipalities of Belgrade within the limits of the general plan of Belgrade until 2021, 1989, Institute for Development Planning of the City of Belgrade, Belgrade*

the Yugoslav socialism. For instance, the ‘good civic and cultural narrative’ constructed under the paradigm of modernism was turned into “a modern narrative, ruining the institutional and all the quality, etc”.<sup>1121</sup> So, while Yugoslav socialism endorsed the institutional working and high quality, post-modernism started to favour the non-quality and promote the behavior of disregard.<sup>1122</sup> If bad taste was once regarded as an awful thing, in the 1990s it started to be fashionable and desired.<sup>1123</sup> This same logic can be applied to the anti-consumerist (and spiritual) campaigns, where after the 1990s strong consumerist and commercial strive took over.<sup>1124</sup>

What this meant was the occurrence of a whole palate of *cultural contra-r(evolutions)* that were emerging in the context as tools of desired ‘de-communization’<sup>1125</sup>: from cosmopolitanism to nationalism, from museums to Churches, from a ‘healthy attitude’ to destruction, from pro equality for women and men to traditional relations between women and men<sup>1126</sup>, from peace and multi-ethnic tolerance and society of the rule of the law to war and arbitrariness, [fig.319], from planning to chaos, from dimensioning to following the market, from having statistical information to a speculative attitude, from city level thinking to resolving neighbourhood by neighbourhood<sup>1127</sup>, from quality to compromised quality<sup>1128</sup>, from modern to a modern<sup>1129</sup>, from ‘gray’ architecture (not linked with wealth) to architecture attempting to express wealth<sup>1130</sup>, [fig.320]<sup>1131</sup>, from an attitude of modesty to showing off, from construction to destruction, from urban to rural, and from institutions to reclaiming the streets.<sup>1132</sup> The general desired instances of ‘being cultured’ and acting in a civilized manner (as was valued in the socialist paradigm) shifted towards behaving rudely.<sup>1133</sup> For example, scenes from movies (on Balkan occurrences in



Fig. 319| Photo, Arkan and his paramilitary forces, 1993



Fig. 320| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

1121 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

1122 *Ibid.*

1123 Testimonial Ana Panić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.65).

1124 Shopping becomes the prize of having a good life. As described the concept of Böhme.

1125 Borka Pavićević, ‘The street is the biggest institution of the literature, art and politics’, Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade, 2003.

1126 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

1127 As Georgi Konstantinovski address, “Every mayor sees only for himself, Skopje has 10 mayors, as in feudalism everyone sees only for himself”.

1128 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

1129 *Ibid.*

1130 Minas Bakalcev noticed links of how the fake plaster columns which in the 1990s started to appear as decoration in many Skopje’s apartments, all of a sudden became the main expression in the Skopje 2014.

1131 A scene from the movie *Trap* is depicting how one of the protagonists stays in front of a typical well-off house of a nouveau riche criminal who lives in the suburbs of the city.

1132 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

1133 *Ibid.*

the 1990s) from the popular evidence, such as [fig.321]<sup>1134</sup> and [fig.322], both depict a situation in which there is a conflict between being nice, civilized and 'cultured', which has been interpreted as something negative. The new society wanted to break free and become a society in which everything was allowed. The same narrative contributed to the brutalism in the events of the 1990s, where a new image about the region was constructed: "the collapse of communism in the Balkans does not appear to have brought an end to history (Fukuyama 1992). Instead, it produces a return to the sort of barbarism"<sup>3</sup>.<sup>1135</sup> Therefore, the image of destruction and the perception that the region was 'returning' to a previous state entered the global public discourse.

The movie *The Wounds* symbolically depicts how the issues of culture had been discussed in the society, unveiling the negative connotation the term had in the newly emerging (post-) socialist countries. For instance, in one of the scenes, it is depicted how the 'cool guy' in the neighbourhood is insulting a female, while saying that she is not cultured enough to visit a museum, [fig.323]. The movie shows how the symbol of the Yugoslav socialism – the culture – had lost its significance and popularity among the youth, but it also depicted how the understanding of good culture shifted in the 1990s. To sum up, the *cultural contra-r(evolution)*s anticipated new relationships, which impacted the human (civic environment) and the *concept of balance* (p.469), gradually causing a cultural crisis (p.380). Such disruption of the balance in the community did not merely occur as a consequence of the situation in the post-Yugoslav countries and its territories, but it was overflowing with an ongoing global tendency. For instance, the protagonists criticized that balance couldn't be achieved if the humans caused wars to maintain their good life in their home countries: "today we still have wars to maintain the good life".<sup>1136</sup> With this in mind, the protagonist briefly states the 'good lifestyles' as an object of discussion, and as an object which creates dynamism in the field of culture. Such an analysis emphasizes that the cultural dynamics participate in the global balance, i.e. the 'life forms' should not only be addressed through local issues, but also viewed through the prism of global development.

In a more bottom-up manner, locally, it became aligned with the new 'life forms' that had emerged around the ongoing *cultural contra-r(evolution)*s. As consumerism became rationalized (with the entering of the capitalistic paradigm), buying became the evidence of 'good life'. The same phenomenon impacted the architecture too, where it was manifested by purchasing spaces



Fig. 321| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996



Fig. 322| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996



Fig. 323| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

1134 The scene depicts how the radicalized Serb soldier is saying to another one that that girl is not for him because it seems too cultured.

1135 'The return to Barbarism', the Balkan Heart: Social Character and the Fall of Communism by Stejpan G. Mestrovic, Slaven Letica, Miroslav Goreta, Journal of Economic Issues Vol. 31, No. 1 (Mar., 1997), pp. 233-244.

1136 Emir Kosturica, 'Interview for RTS', 2011, <[www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)>.

upon the paradigm of desire (p.323). The new ‘life forms’ which emerged under the impact of the *cultural contra-r(evolution)s* also impacted the whole *Creative Model*, turning it from critical to consumer and entertainment-oriented. This influenced the way people dealt with problems:

“A cultural model that turns to fun – to forget the importance of the meta-physical development (бригу на весеље) we created a creative model which eliminated the re-examining and the dilemma of the torment of difficulty and the meaning of life”.<sup>1137</sup>

The extract above, as a common attitude in the region, shows an uncritical (and less artistic) approach of the model. For the same reason, the Balkan countries (from a visitor’s perspective) appear to be generally cheerful and happy societies. Locally, as the immigration of the population towards the West increased, [fig.324]<sup>1138</sup>, the same became analyzed through economic and political points of view, but also through cultural ones.<sup>1139</sup> For instance, Milton Freedman (in his report of the visit to Yugoslavia) expressed that it shocked him that the Yugoslav objectives for migration did not differ from the western ones. In his interview, he described that the objectives of the migration (already existing in the 1980s) of the Yugoslavs who go to work in Germany were purely consumerist in their nature and include refurbishment of their houses, buying a nice car, and saving up to start a commercial business.



Fig. 324| Scenes from the movie, *How I was systematically destroyed by an idiot*, Slobodan Sijan, 1998



Fig. 325| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

The communication between the locals and the immigrants also impacted cultural instances in the local (and still socialist) *Creative Model*. For example, the movie *The Wounds* depicts an immigrant having returned to his neighbourhood from abroad. As soon as he arrives, he shows the young people all the branded clothing so they would envy him, etc. [fig.325]. The *Creative Model*, besides the influences derived from the political and economic domain, is also appropriated by the cultural instances. Therefore, the new post-Yugoslav *artistic streams* (such as excessive consumerism) contributed towards the creation of such cultural phenomena. This influenced the ‘mindsets of the people’, who were concerned about their culture too (in the Yugoslav sense of the word):

1137 Žilnik, ‘Capitalism and Culture’, *Op.cit.*

\* (бригу на весеље) is an expression used in Serbo-Croatian meaning to have no doubts or worries.

\* In a similar direction the Žižek reflects that taking out the danger out of things is making the things less artistic. Moreover, he explains the same over an example that in the past if girl becomes pregnant and she is unmarried she will be punished by the church. Therefore, sex was not for entertainment but it had the note of danger which made it closer to good expression.

1138 As Dimić in his testimonial described the city of Belgrade in the 1990s as sad city, because of the mass emigration.

1139 Consumerism plays big yet unrecognized factor for migration from today’s called region Western Balkans towards Western Europe. Uncritical consumerism – is valid objective for analysis.

“I think that the historic moment has come that this pathetic story of civil society and the crisis of intellectuals will finally be overcome, and that it will begin to openly explore the conditions for the emergence of new social orders of the basic social classes. Those who work and receive a salary are afraid to rebel and not lose their job, and not to mention that there are such who work and are not even paid, neither do they have health insurance. [...] The civil society is sidelined by the class struggle. [...] I am not satisfied with the results of the civil society after the war in Yugoslavia that we wanted or did not want to adopt the new capitalists who are heartless and who pauperize the university”.<sup>1140</sup>

The 1990s were marked as a decade in which a ‘cultural crisis’ was gradually developing, resulting in an overall “intellectual and moral drop”.<sup>1141</sup> Such a drop was noticeable across all the (post-) Yugoslav countries. The similarities among the Republics (as explained above) showed that the cultural space never ceased to exist (even though the new political borders were established).<sup>1142</sup> It also shows that the field of culture is much more complex and fluid and it cannot be tackled through the national prism.

#### V.2.4. IF THE CITY DOESN'T SOUND CREATIVE IT PROBABLY ISN'T

*Point 1991* became a complex point for the development of the Yugoslav cities (including the one selected for the research). The cities in the region were impacted by the consequential evolution of the turbulent events which took place in the region during the 1990s, as well as the shift towards the democratic paradigm (tied to neo-liberalism). In addition, the new rules of the game eventually resulted in privatization of the land and commercialization of the city, [fig.326], (including practicing architecture commercially), but also privatization of the commonly created (during Yugoslavia) spatial goods. Such processes contributed towards transformed cities with a new content and program. Following a transformation of the meaning and significance of their already developed civic network, “the 1990s are described as the capital breakthrough and how corruptive capitalism bought out everything which was civilly owned”.<sup>1143</sup>

Therefore, the built fabric of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo evolved around their new commercial program, which merged with the *cultural contra-r(evolutions)*. Due to the tragic events which happened during the 1990s and the above-mentioned reasons, the cities experienced human (civic) non-development. The reasons were manifold: from the gradual ‘disappearance’ of

1140 Sekulić, ‘Palic talks’, *Op.cit.*

1141 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.87).

1142 Vuk Perišić, ‘Yugonostalgia and fear of Yugoslavia’, 2011, <[www.slobodnaevropa.org](http://www.slobodnaevropa.org)>.

1143 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).



Fig. 326| Extract from page 20, ‘Caricature’, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 291, 1977, Zagreb



Fig. 327| Extract from page 23, 'Caricature', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 212, 1970, Zagreb

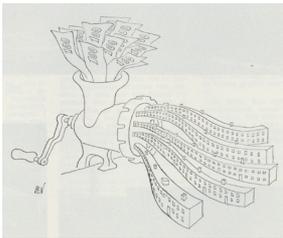


Fig. 328| Extract from page 16, 'Caricature', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 291, 1977, Zagreb

the civic network and its facilities to the overflow of the inherited problems from before 1991, but also the newly built facilities did not have the capacity to cope with the complexities the region was facing at that moment. All the above resulted in a distortion of the *concept of balance*, widening the gap between synchronized growth and development of the selected cities. For example, the cities of Belgrade, Skopje and Sarajevo during the 2000s became the 3 most polluted cities in Europe, [fig.327].<sup>1144</sup> What's more, the commercialization of the *Creative Model* impacted (from the creation to) the production of architecture and the mere quantitative growth of the cities, [fig.328].

Architecture no longer played a role in solving the problems of society, and its significance and meaning impacted both its content and form, however it was impacted by the new *artistic streams* and the emergence of the *cultural contra-r(evolution)*. The 'cultural crisis' (stimulated because of the distorted balance of the community) was felt in the reality of each of those cities.<sup>1145</sup> From today's point of view, the protagonists expressed their concerns that the 'climate issue' couldn't solve the problems of the evolving class struggle, noticeable in the region.<sup>1146</sup> The protagonists further stated that the ongoing global 'cultural crisis' could only be addressed through a cultural lens, placing in the human and their development in the centre of the discussion.<sup>1147</sup> They also expressed the idea about the "Renaissance of interest in Marx's historical materialism, why he interprets neo-liberalism".<sup>1148</sup>

In the 1990s, 'land rent' started to be perceived as a profitable activity.<sup>1149</sup> This stimulated an emergence of concepts based on the logic of 'paying rent' and commercialization of both the private and public space (and spheres of life). The protagonist addressed the possible negative effects from it, e.g. Žižek was critical towards the concept of 'rent' because it could shrink the public space – a danger for the democracy. On the other hand, though, in the case of the selected cities during the 1990s, the institutions were pushed (due to organizational and funding reasons) to act on the streets and to mobilize. As a consequence of the phenomenon, Pavićević<sup>1150</sup> in the popular essay titled 'The Street is the Biggest Institution of the Literature, Art and Politics' (1998) explains the 'institutional role' of the manifestations held in Belgrade (during the 1990s), which aimed to

1144 Man and Space during the 1980s described the phenomena as 'normal' in the cities driven by the capitalistic paradigm.

1145 As expressed from the testimonials with the protagonists, the 1990s mark a significant cultural drop in the region.

1146 Božidar Gajo Sekulić raised concerns that application of the Western developed concept to resolve the class struggle with the 'climate issue' seems inapplicable in the context of the Balkans.

1147 Sekulić, 'Palic talks', *Op.cit.*

1148 *Ibid.*

1149 Testimonial Dragicevic Sestic (p.75).

1150 Borka Pavićević was a leading antiwar voice which urged for peace during the 1990s.

express disagreement with the state politics of introducing war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, [fig.329, fig.330]. The author also addresses the problem of the disappearance and shrinkage of the public space through its commercialization (and ‘renting’), being negative for critical thinking:

“Well, because the street is a gathering place for people. The street shows that in fact you have no other social institutions that function; the street is always the largest institution of both literature and art and politics. It’s a way that involves a lot of people. [...] The street is a sign of freedom, it still belongs to noone unless they turn it into a café terrace soon. Maybe soon they will build so many cafés that there will be no streets. [...] There was a lot of creativity on the streets”.<sup>1151</sup>

Degradation of the role of the public space occurred in the city of Sarajevo too, under the specific circumstances related to the siege; the city as a public space became a synonym for danger, [fig.331, fig.332]. For instance, a journalist who was on the news during the siege stated in 1993: “It was the last time we were broadcasting from a public space in Bosnia”.<sup>1152</sup> Seferagić also warned about the danger of disappearance and lack of the collective space in the region. She addressed the importance of the civic institutions since they were acting as collective spaces too. In the same manner, Pavićević mapped the cultural institutions as public and political spaces: “theater is always a public act and every public act is also a political act”<sup>1153</sup>, later continuing by saying “[...] of course, public life differs from theatrical life, but theatre is an imminent and political act, just as it is an imminent and aesthetic act”.<sup>1154</sup>

Although the selected cities – Sarajevo, Skopje, and Belgrade – during the 1990s faced different situations, they experienced similarities in the ambience: “We are feeling the same, we were just located in different environments”.<sup>1155</sup> For instance, in the city of Belgrade, a significant front against the politics of Milošević emerged as a cultural grassroots called the *Belgrade Circle*, which was a group gathered to debate and discuss action plans for resistance of the emergent nationalist waves. The forms of expression (such as the one in Belgrade) which were created before the 1990s (and in the *Creative Model* in the socialist paradigm) continued to exist during the decade, showing that the infrastructure for culture is subject to continuity.<sup>1156</sup> For example, the protagonist described the city of Belgrade during the 1990s as a sad city: “[...] we didn’t recognize it since we weren’t used to living in a harmonious world, but in the



Fig. 329| Photo, ‘Belgrade is the world’, ~1990, Belgrade



Fig. 330| Photo, Belgrade manifestations, ~1990, Belgrade



Fig. 331| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 332| Photo, *What’s out Sniper*, ~1993, Sarajevo

1151 Pavićević, ‘The street is the biggest institution of the literature, art and politics’, *Op.cit.*

1152 Holiday Inn Sarajevo: In the Eye of the Siege | War Hotels, 2018, <[www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)>.

1153 Pavićević, ‘The street is the biggest institution of the literature, art and politics’, *Op.cit.*

1154 *Ibid.*

1155 ‘Sarajevo Roulette’, a documentary by Radio Free Europe, 1995, <[www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)>.

1156 For the same reasons the protagonist expressed that the 1990s were culturally active and vibrant in comparison with the 2000, this is because they overflowing the tendencies.

bestiality that protrudes, and it protrudes from the soil, from the blood, from the hole of the civilization, filled with primitivism, revenge, etc”.<sup>1157</sup> Besides the positive activism seen in certain groups of the civil society in the city of Belgrade, the new market-oriented forces gradually continued to transform its *Creative Model*. Therefore, the 1990s were years in which the first businesses in the creative field occurred – years in which the cities shyly shifted towards market-oriented development. The protagonist exposed the fact that the particular development penetrated into the everyday too:

“In that period the educational system started to decline. In the nights out we were seeing our Professors performing music in bars, which for them was degradation, but for us it was strange because the role of teachers was always a profession of highest rank in Yugoslavia. They enjoyed social reputation, which meant that if you worked for a school you didn’t need to work extra, and you only needed to focus on your work. It was the beginning of the collapse of the system”.<sup>1158</sup>

The ‘good cultural’ and curated state organized media, such as the national TV service and the newspaper network, gradually declined in their significance, and new commercial media outlets began to appear; the *Creative Model* started to evolve around the market-oriented cultural content. At the same time, an emerging ambience of overall intolerance occurred in the suburbs of the city of Belgrade, resulting in small everyday micro-narratives of hate. For instance, the movie *The Wounds* [fig.333, fig.334] depicted an average family in an average Belgrade neighbourhood. Situated in such a context, the story showed how those small narratives of hate were actually massively present in the everyday *reality* of the city and its diverse social groups.<sup>1159</sup> Moreover, the movie showed how such everyday communal intolerance anticipated the sentiments of ethnic hate, which later became the moving force of the tragic events from the 1990s.<sup>1160</sup> The movie also showed that the means of representation stayed the same, but what changed was the ‘flavour’ of the *artistic stream*, [fig.334]. The movie also showed how the development between the events in the environments were interrelated<sup>1161</sup>; harsh conditions from one environment overflowed into another environment. Belgrade and its challenges in the 1990s turned it into a *Sin City*, a city with significantly elevated youth crime and with a speculative circumstance in which the new economy elite was emerging<sup>1162</sup>, [fig.335].



Fig. 333, 334| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

1157 Testimonial Ljubodrag Dimić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.56).

1158 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

1159 That violence from suburban Belgrade emerge, the same was felt not only as small narratives of hate in city of Belgrade, but also some of the members entered in criminal schemes in the western countries, such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria which was felt in the 1980s.

1160 As noted in the previous chapter, the city of Belgrade in the 1980s faced the first problems of ghettoization and class divisions which were mostly visible in its suburbs.

1161 Testimonial Latinka Perović, Belgrade, 2019.

1162 *Ibid.*

Such conditions required “new criteria for social promotion”<sup>1163</sup> in order to cope with its logic. As cities were the common ground of the investors, cultural creators and beneficiaries, they were a common ground for the mentioned group, as well as a common ground for the common people (including politicians), in which the narratives are mediated.

The interrelatedness between the environments showed that the siege of Sarajevo was the ‘last victim of nationalism’, which emerged in the city of Belgrade.<sup>1164</sup> As Sarajevo did not have class challenges (whereas Belgrade did), during the turbulent 1990s it succeeded in remaining calm and not introducing an “imposed national sentiment [...] standing with dignity even though people had nothing”<sup>1165</sup>, [fig.336]. Moreover, the protagonists explained: “Sarajevo, under the siege, convulsively struggled for a cosmopolite spirit. Its objective was to try hard to keep the unity in the differences and to produce resilience, which is actually hard to be produced”.<sup>1166</sup> Nonetheless, despite the harsh conditions caused by the siege, the city’s cultural scene persisted, and its *Creative Model* continued to be active and fruitful.<sup>1167</sup>

As they were running the *Creative Model*, the common people also worked towards the goal of their life remaining as close to normalcy as possible, [fig.337]. Therefore, the creative scene as well as the city and its citizens continued to upkeep its creativity for their daily battles to survive.<sup>1168</sup> For example, the sitcom *Top List Nadrealists* (in an episode: *War Nadrealists*) depicted the everyday battles of the citizens in finding fresh water through a sports event (linked with the Olympic years), [fig.338]. As the cultural creators remained active, the cultural life of the city continued to be vibrant alongside the ongoing war conditions.<sup>1169</sup> For instance, it was noted that during the siege of Sarajevo a significant ‘cultural resistance’ emerged, hosting around 3.000 cultural events in the city<sup>1170</sup>, [fig.339].<sup>1171</sup>

1163 Irina Subotić, ‘Belgrade did not deserve it turn into Las Vegas’, 2018. <www.vreme.com>.

1164 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, 2021.

1165 ‘Sarajevo Roulette’, a documentary by Radio Free Europe, 1995, <www.youtube.com>.

1166 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021.

1167 The social formations of Sarajevo were strong during the war, and the creativity in the citizens remained to exist.

1168 Many videos during the siege are depicting an everyday ordinary activity of the citizens. Such as jogging, sport activities, going to school, staying on a café terraces etc.

1169 For example, the sitcom ‘Top List Nadrealists’ recorded a whole episode called ‘War Nadrealists’.

1170 Why people risk their lives to go to the theatre’, Nihad Kreševljaković, 2014, <www.britishcouncil.org>.

1171 For example, beside the siege the city organized its beauty pageant contest.



Fig. 335| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 336| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 337| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 338| Scene from sitcom, ‘*War Nadrealists*’, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 339| Photo, Beauty pageant contest, ~1993, Sarajevo

“During the siege in Sarajevo, according to the artists, 3.102 works of art, 48 concerts and over 170 exhibitions were realized. 182 premieres were staged in Sarajevo theatres, which were seen by over half a million citizens of Sarajevo”.<sup>1172</sup>

This demonstrates that the *Creative Model* in the city was so strong that it could not be broken easily during the 1990s, although the condition was clearly harsh. The cultural life of the city encompassed development of specific “spiritual values of the resistance”<sup>1173</sup>, which were embodied in the environment. Moreover, the protagonists expressed the ambience as: “Sarajevo in the 1990s was (take a deep breath) a strange place. It was a strange mix, there was everything, from a creative energy to a feeling of an upcoming catastrophe”.<sup>1174</sup> However, the goals of the *Creative Model* remained the same (as from the 1980s): “each of these societies, of those years, waged an engaged repertoire and interpretative battle for the authentic values of culture on this soil”.<sup>1175</sup> At the same time in the city of Belgrade, the infrastructure for culture was active too: “Theatres in the 1990s were fantastic. And that was some sort of resistance towards Milosević and his regime”.<sup>1176</sup> Even though the cities were physically separated in the 1990s<sup>1177</sup>, they still shared the aims of their *Creative Models* (inherited from the 1980s) to critically respond to the needs of those environments, proving how one more time the *Creative Model* did not act upon a pre-subscribed formula, but rather it developed its flow in a resilient way to react to the evolving 1990s situation. Contrary to Belgrade and Sarajevo, the city of Skopje in the 1990s (seemingly) looked as a place which was enjoying its peaceful disintegration of SFRY<sup>1178</sup>, with an emerging rich and active cultural life. The popular evidence from the debates in the 1990s already demonstrate the emerging geo-political issues that the country might face in relation to its neighbouring countries, [fig.340]. As the new *cultural contra-r(evolution)* emerged, the city of Skopje gradually matured into its new position, which was reflected in its development intensively after the 2000s.

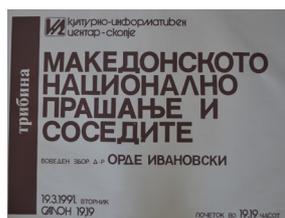


Fig. 340| Photo, Macedonian national question and the neighborhoods, -1993, Skopje

It was common for the selected cities that the market-oriented tendencies would gradually penetrate into the *Creative Model* in the 1990s, which in the 2000s showed the first traces of the development impacted by the neo-liberal

- 1172 Larisa Kurtovic, 'The Paradoxes of Wartime "Freedom": Alternative Culture during the Siege of Sarajevo' in: Bojan Bilic, Vesna Jankovic (Ed.) *Resisting the Evil*, page 197 - 224 [Post-] Yugoslav Anti-War Contention.
- 1173 *Siege and Defense of Sarajevo:1992 – 1995*, 2008. Institute for the Study of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo, Sarajevo.
- 1174 Testimonial Zenit Dozić, 2021.
- 1175 *Siege and Defense of Sarajevo:1992 – 1995*, *Op.cit.*
- 1176 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).
- 1177 The documentary 'Sarajevo Roulette' shows how the Belgrade Circle traveled by bus to visit Sarajevo under siege for more than 30h. The same in normal conditions will be around 5h.
- 1178 Testimonial Robert Alagjovovski, Skopje, 2019 (p.96).

paradigm. This was steadily followed by complete withdrawal of the state in the field of culture, and significant changes upon the cultural infrastructure of the selected cities. Moreover, as the objectives shifted too (and their impact by the capitalistic paradigm), the civic buildings from the infrastructure for culture were partly privatized and partly completely disappeared. The infrastructure for culture (once activated in Yugoslavia) thus got pushed to adapt to the newly emerging (and unfavourable) conditions. This led to an open call by the protagonists to abolish the infrastructure for culture because it was stated that the new *Creative Model* could not cope anymore to resolve the ongoing issues of the reality which was emerging in the communities.<sup>1179</sup>

The complete withdrawal of the state in the field of culture resulted in several initiatives by protagonists, who argued for reactivation of the field of culture in the selected environments after the turbulent 1990s.<sup>1180</sup> Some of the remaining buildings were gradually privatized or commercialized, and the same happened to the various cultural forms (which emerged from the Yugoslav *Creative Model*): “The Youth Forum today is a nationalistic institution controlled by the nationalist pioneers”<sup>1181</sup> ... “Yes, unfortunately only nominally, it is transformed in its opposition. It is also endangered objectively with the financing”.<sup>1182</sup> As expressed by another protagonist in a different context: “Yes. Unfortunately, the MCA in Zagreb is a dead institution. They do some parties there without any invention, without creativity, projection of the future. No action, no activism”.<sup>1183</sup> Todosijević, in her testimonial, also pointed out that the cultural institutions couldn’t cope with the ongoing challenges the environment was facing. She additionally gives an example of how the Serbian political core decided to build a museum for which they would need to displace the entire Roma neighbourhood, a community habit: “If they built a museum there, they will displace the community without taking them into account.

1179 ‘Želimir Koščević: Institutions should be abolished! That culture is outdated’, 2016, <www.slobodnadalmacija.hr>.

1180 *Ibid.*

1181 Initiatives such as ‘Sarajevo now: the people’s museum’ presented at Venice Biennale, Urban Think Tank, 2018, and the initiative ‘Culture Shutdown’, led by Azra Akšamija (MIT).

1182 *Ibid.*

1183 ‘Koščević: Institutions should be abolished! That culture is outdated’, *Op.cit.*

\* You wrote right next to your “decree” that art also requires permanent action aimed at making the physical space of the human being more human, the human being more spiritual.

Moreover from the same extract (as reference 1179): “- Yes. But let’s be realistic, from that decree that was written emotionally, with an emotional impulse, so many years have passed and everything has changed. It has changed the cultural and social environment and circumstances, but the changes are also geopolitical in nature. Today we live a new reality and what can be done here ... The cultural scene dead or half-dead institutions dominate, there is no living, active curator, curator with an idea, with a vision, with an imagination that refers to the social Maybe I’m still a bit romantic, but ... But what else is left for us but the emotional, let’s call it romantic, potential? otherwise, we could become and become a replica of these dead institutions”.

This way we are going to create new fascism”.<sup>1184</sup> Moreover, civic facilities have been built for representational or touristic purposes. They suffered from the dramatic events which occurred during the 1990s, reflected in the 2000s as “inertia of the society which melted the theatre”.<sup>1185</sup>

In the region the civic buildings (and their parcels) in the 1990s, which were collectively owned by the factories (to which the parcels and buildings belonged), got privatized. Since many of those buildings and green spaces had centrally located attractive settings, they became the subject of business interest because it was understood that they generated economic profit. As such, they marked the 1990s so-called transitional period as a period in which the common collective goods got speculatively privatized. As a result, some of the civic buildings “disappeared” (p.449) and the ones that didn’t were converted with commercial content. As the market opened, a number of new commercial buildings (such as hotels, residential buildings or spiritual temples) were constructed. Therefore, individuals and construction companies quickly grasped the new means of profiting by constructing, making the cities appealing places for business investments. In the long run, it commercialized the relationships between the investors, the architects and the beneficiaries. Impacted by the capitalistic logic, the beneficiaries started to understand space and to appropriate it as an act of desire and act of business, resulting in uncritically constructing more commercial space than what the actual needs are of the communities; e.g. 10.000 apartments remained uninhabited in the city of Skopje by the end of 2016 and the construction boom is still ongoing.<sup>1186</sup> The lack of common civic space contributed towards the creation of an imbalanced Skopje, Sarajevo and Belgrade.

Additionally, the institutions that previously regulated the civic development of the cities were pushed to behave in accordance with the market, failing to protect the collective interests and raising new questions for the development of the communities.<sup>1187</sup> Therefore, the economic interest was budding not only on the side of the investors but also on the side of the agencies, who permitted and organized the construction (the benefits were communal taxes for the municipalities, more work, etc.). The market-oriented logic also stimulated construction of new buildings rather than the preferred ‘renovation of the old ones’<sup>1188</sup>, as this was also promoted by governments that aimed to raise the country GDP through stimulating new construction. On the other hand,

1184 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

1185 Conversation with Risto Stefanovski, Skopje, 2017.

1186 Irina Grceva, ‘The New Boundaries of Skopje Urban Invasion vs. Rural Serenity’ (presented at the International RC21 Conference 2013, Berlin, Germany, 2013).

1187 As mentioned by the employees of the Urban Institute of Belgrade, they were pushed to ‘market oriented’ behave to sustain financially their institute.

1188 Testimonial Robert Alagjozovski, Skopje, 2019 (p.96).

the protagonists expressed the idea that by failing to maintain quality, the gap would widen between growth and quality, thus failing to protect and develop the interests of the citizens and their collective spatial standard:

“The period of intensification of the overall construction activities in the country is imminent, despite the civil engineering, which mostly finances the state through capital investments; the construction will move forward, which can be a great driver of the Macedonian economy and necessary for the country’s GDP growth, said the Prime Minister today [...]”<sup>1189</sup>

Privatization exposed itself as harmful not only because a particular civic space got privatized (including the space where it is located), but challenges arose (p.443) when the entire ‘eco-system’ around a cultural institution (and the cultural field) was privatized. In terms of the cities, this became noticeable in the content of the cities too, leaving them with lack of places for qualitative civic activities, and as already mentioned it anticipated the emergence of unbalanced environments. On the contrary, the new *Creative Model* stimulated the production of commercial spaces, such as American-looking shopping malls, where new life forms were practiced under the paradigm of ‘consumerism’.<sup>1190</sup>

Such a phenomenon was gradually viewed as negative for the human spiritualism<sup>1191</sup> and damaged its intimate association with art. As the human (civic) development was gradually destroying its well-being, it started to negatively impact the other two environments (the natural and the man-made environment), e.g. the region was suffering from an ongoing bio-catastrophe.<sup>1192</sup> What’s more, the selected cities started to suffer from an upcoming (Balkan-looking) gentrification merged with local *cultural contra r(evolution)s* and stimulated by the neo-liberal paradigm. The protagonist reflected on the ongoing development of the selected cities, such as the project *Belgrade on Water* in the city of Belgrade, as an original product of the small-town traditionalist aesthetics and the neo-liberal economy<sup>1193</sup>, or (as was expressed by others) the phenomenon of ‘museumification’ of the selected cities. This had been discussed upon the example of a newly planned monument for the city of Belgrade:

“All this portrays the ultimate voluntarism, showing power and lack of awareness of the values of today, which should be our legacy for the future. The

1189 <<https://a1on.mk/macedonia/zaev-kje-se-intenziviraat-gradzhnite-aktivnosti-i-vo-visokograd-bata/>, 2020>.

1190 The opening of the internal market in all spheres of life, it allowed emergence of number or new shopping malls, betting shops, and new ‘private’ civic facilities such as hospitals, schools etc.

1191 As Predrag Markovic mapped the intensification of the American influences on the way of life in Yugoslavia, “[...] We surrender easily and happily to one model of life, to one meaning, way and style of living [...]”, Predrag Markovic, *Where have all flowers gone? Yugoslav Culture in the 1970s*.

1192 ‘Driving forces that shape environmental futures in the Western Balkans’, *Op.cit.*

1193 Subotić, ‘Belgrade did not deserve it turn into Las Vegas’, *Op.cit.*

first prize for the monument to Nemanja was awarded to a Russian sculptor, another to a Chinese one: don't ask me about the criteria. In my opinion, all this is a personal misunderstanding, a misunderstanding that we are in the second decade of the 21st century and that the provincial (dis-)tastes, primitivism and ignorance that kitsch declares as art are in fact ruling. I hope that this monument will not be erected after all".<sup>1194</sup>

According to the protagonists, the 2000s were marked by the widened gap between the classes, eventually resulting in declined social cohesion and increased inequalities<sup>1195</sup>, reflected by causing new spatial contrasts too. Some authors argued that the weakening of the state caused spatial transformations that were mostly led by speculative forces and acted with greater stability than those offered by the state.<sup>1196</sup> The newly emerged civic facilities also had different significance and meaning compared to the ones from before, concluding that they have been impacted by the *Creative Model of the Neo-liberal City*. The protagonist also argued how the *Creative Model of the Neo-liberal City*, which was mostly pushed after the 2000s, embodied in the post-Yugoslav cities and their infrastructure for culture: a "contemporary instrumentalization of art and culture under the auspices of 'creative industries', spreading in Novi Sad in an uncritical way".<sup>1197</sup>

There reigned an uncritical stance towards the newly imposed terminology of the 'creative industries' and 'creative cities'; both 'concepts' which emerged in the neo-liberal paradigm. This uncritical acceptance of the 'creative city', which was the model of the big cities, was caused as a result of the cultural instances of admiration people had for them, [fig.341] (see also, [fig.333]). Even the 'creative city' stimulated by the neo-liberal paradigm was praised by the locals – the protagonists started seeing the negative impact it created. Moreover, in that direction did the meaning and significance of the civic space (both open and closed) transform on a level of utility of the space too, e.g. Mujkić explained how the shrinking of public space in the city of Sarajevo corresponded to the withdrawal of the space for critical thinking, hence impacting the dynamics inside the model:

"Everything which was socially owned was privatized by the new country, which later successfully sold it to the private owners. The workers that previously owned the factories could not believe that their factory was closed down for the new boss to buy himself a nice car. This became very clear to me in 2014, when we had arranged a protest in front of *Centre Skenderija* against the generally bad societal conditions. Skenderija was civically built and owned in Yugoslavia. In 2014 the new country was requesting 2000 EU from us so that

1194 *Ibid.*

1195 Sekulić, 'Palic talks', *Op.cit.*

1196 Belgrade. Formal Informal: A Research on Urban Transformation, Eth Studio Basel, 2012.

1197 'Society on the move: new social movements in Yugoslavia from 1968 to the present', Tomić, Dorde Atanacković, Petar (ed.), 2009, Belgrade.



Fig. 341| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996

we could protest in front of it. Can you believe this?! To pay to protest?! Then, later, with our connections with the international bodies we put pressure on the local powers to give us the space for free. This tells you something very important – that the public space for critical thinking was shrinking too”.<sup>1198</sup>

Other protagonists reflected on the fact that even though there were enough open spaces for protests, in practice nothing ever changed. For instance, Žižek gave an example: the world is much more open to open discussions (something which in the past was hardly imaginable), yet nothing is changing because of the debates addressed and the criticism, showing that the significance of the public space does not correspond to the openness to criticize. Another example could be grasped from the protest for *GTC* (2016), which occurred in city of Skopje. Although a significant body of people did not support *GTC* to become part of *Skopje 2014*<sup>1199</sup>, the authorities continued to push the idea. *GTC* is a notable example because it shows how the people perceived (and self-identified with) the *cultural artefacts* which were created in the Yugoslav *Creative Model*. This also showed that *GTC* as a cultural artefact still conveyed meaning and significance for the citizens. Such a phenomenon is contrary to the more common reactions in the region, where the citizens normally gathered to express their dissatisfaction with speculations of the building under the *Creative Model* of the neo-liberal paradigm. The notion to hug the building of *GTC* as a sign of manifestation further shows that the building and its content had a special place in the hearts of the citizens of Skopje, [fig.342].<sup>1200</sup> This was how the public space (including the public buildings) was perceived. Moreover, around the years 1991-2017 several protests in the selected cities addressed civic space (and buildings), raising critical thinking of the civic society – concerning new challenges around the market-oriented notion of civic space. The protagonist too ‘expressed’ their support of such initiatives, noticing the shift from constructing transparently and openly with the opposition of being ‘wrapped’ and lacking transparency in building.<sup>1201</sup>



Fig. 342| Photo, Manifestation ‘I love GTC’, Skopje, 2016

The first traces could be observed around the initiative called *the First Architectural Brigade* (2008) in the city of Skopje: it emerged as an architectural

1198 Testimonial Asim Mujkić, 2021 (p.136).

1199 When Macedonia gained independence in 1991 the complexity accompanying the shift of governance in the new-born country was reflected in the new social and urban planning of the urban form – as well as in the morality, culture, and ethics of the social fabric. Following a slow and deliberate political transition, in 2008 the government announced an urban renewal plan, called ‘Skopje 2014’. Nevertheless, the complexity was not resolved, and the plan contributed for new civic confusion and fragmented built environment.

1200 Also this showed that people identified with the objectives, the moral and aesthetic criteria’s upon which *GTC* was built.

1201 Conversation with Georgi Konstantinovski, (where the architects address the problematic nature of the project *Skopje 2014*), Skopje, 2017.

call to express the opposition to the announced governmental project *Skopje 2014* and the building of a Church in the main square in the city of Skopje. Likewise, in the city of Belgrade, the civil society expressed their concerns through the initiative *Don't Drown Belgrade*, [fig.343], regarding the project *Belgrade on Water* – a large-scale residential project, a private investment from Abu Dhabi. The protagonist in Belgrade expressed their concerns too, firstly around the transparency of the project, and secondly about its professional (methodological) approach and its relationship with the city (p.332-p.333):



Fig. 343| Photo, Manifestation 'Don't Let Belgrade Drown', Belgrade, 2015

“When investors show their desire, city institutions prepare everything for them to realize their desire. It can no longer be called planning, it is in fact the end of planning in Belgrade. And this is the end of the institutional system in Belgrade. Imagine this: the Urban Institute does not plan *Belgrade on Water*, but writes an explanation about the project [...]”<sup>1202</sup>

Continuous criticism of the needs of the citizens and the aims and quality of the project:

“The one who designed the project did not even visit Belgrade. He designed three skyscrapers close to the Sava River. This can be technically done, but the question is who is going to pay for such expensive design and who needs that. It's stupid [...]. [...] Who are we building this for? For Hollywood stars who'd buy 400m<sup>2</sup> apartments and stay in them 10 days in the year or for the citizens of Belgrade”<sup>1203</sup>

Such initiatives are valuable since they show how the architects formed in the previous *Creative Model* discuss the cultural production (including the architecture) of the current neo-liberal one:

“All the experts who are listed in the project do not have public status, but they are administrators who work as their boss will order them to. This is normal, everywhere in the world it's like that. What I don't understand is that we have an engineering elite here, who build all over the world, when these Arab gentlemen don't even know what a shovel is. All this has been put out of use, so that some modeler and Mayor can now explain to us – let me be clear – everything is clear to us. That's why we made the declaration. [...] The Mayor is telling us that behind the project there are architectural companies from around the world with good references, etc., but when I saw the design of the skyscrapers by the Sava River, I noticed that it was all just nonsense”<sup>1204</sup>

To sum up, as the 'creative cities' and their ratings became increasingly popular in the international discourse, the more locally in the selected cities were the new urban problems emerging. The ideas which surfaced and emerged during the 1990s and 2000s did not show to be prosperous either. Therefore, the current *Creative Model* proved to be dysfunctional to react to those challenges,

1202 Branko Bojović: A state of emergency is being introduced in Serbia because of 'Belgrade on Water', <www.youtube.com>.

1203 *Ibid.*

1204 *Ibid.*

which naturally emerged in every environment. Architecture which develops from the profit-oriented model cannot respond to those challenges.

### V.2.5. “ART AND A BUSINESS PLAN DON’T GO TOGETHER”<sup>1205</sup>

“Art and a business plan don’t go together”<sup>1206</sup>, as said by the movie director Kosturica to criticize the ongoing cost-benefit valorization art (*cultural artefacts*) as negative. According to the movie director, no good art can occur if it is produced with the intention to appeal to the audience and generate greater profit on the market. For the protagonists, such limitations valorized can negatively impact the freedom of artistic expression: “we are free from the kind of propaganda that must be sold and enslaved by everyone in the West. Therefore, we truly have far greater freedom of expression”,<sup>1207</sup> implying that the ‘artistic modes of work’, upon which the *cultural artefacts* are created, can be impacted negatively because of their wrong relation with the audience:

“With Neo-liberal Capitalism, it is crucial in forming new conditions in art. As a consequence, this changed artist modes of work, their relations to the audiences and an experience of art that has found itself being pushed more and more to the fringe of social events”.<sup>1208</sup>

The goal of the cultural artefacts is to appeal to the audience and not to arise in her critical thinking, mirrored in the *Creative Model*, which does not stimulate the occurrence of the ‘right’ creation, but a creation which has an appealing (and therefore negative impact on the civic (human) environment and plays with the encouragement of ‘consumerism’. Therefore, the ‘cultural creators’ stated that good art should not emerge for the objective of becoming appealing to the audience and therefore be interesting to the market, but on the contrary, the protagonists noted the importance of the analysis of how the values of art are incorporated in the value system of the societies. For this reason, Kosturica states that only a society which goes to war and the financial centres which created the war, later want to create a movie about peace and establish charity organizations: “Thematically well embedded in that value system. Before you send someone to Iraq, you reward a Bosnian film for peace. That doesn’t suit a more serious view of things. Whoever such an idea fits is an important fish”.<sup>1209</sup> The movie director adds that the reason why today’s artists

1205 Kosturica, ‘Interview for RTS’, *Op.cit.*

1206 *Ibid.*

1207 ‘Boris Bucan, a graphic designer in the battle against the city grayness: creativity can’t be learnt in the schools’, *Op.cit.*

1208 Mojca Puncer, ‘The Politics of Aesthetics of Contemporary Art in Slovenia and Its Avant-Garde Sources’, *Filozofski Vestnik*, 2016, 133–156.

1209 Kosturica, ‘Interview for RTS’, *Op.cit.*

from the *Creative Model* of the neo-liberal past (Yugoslav city) do not achieve greater success is because they approach art with the wrong objective: “Let’s do something for the western market”<sup>1210</sup>, continuing with “you don’t create a film for the market”<sup>1211</sup>, or “to achieve a greater number”<sup>1212</sup>, yet:

“It’s a matter of good taste. You have fallen into turbulent war capitalism, where the only thing that matters today are ratings. Everything should be related to the individual and not how much and who looked at you. I succeeded in the West because I did not calculate the ratings, but I had my own human capacity as a primitive peasant to paint my region and my people who are authentic and strong [...]”.<sup>1213</sup>

The *cultural artefacts* which were produced under the *Creative Model of the Neo-liberal City* did not naturally offer stimulation of ‘critical thinking’, which was also part of the general understanding of what made a cultural artefact of good quality. For those reasons, the protagonists of the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* expressed the idea that today’s quality *creative artefacts* are not only rarer, but they have also become more stupid: “without any substantial immersion in things”.<sup>1214</sup> The same negative phenomenon led to the emergence of a celebrity as someone “immune to decay, who generates the decay of civilization”.<sup>1215</sup> What has been understood as negative is the departure from the essence of what makes the quality of the *cultural artefact*: “The kitsch which the world feeds on. It’s more important for them to go to the cinema where you can hear well, and that doesn’t matter, it’s on some catastrophic nonsense topics”.<sup>1216</sup> On the contrary, good art (or as in the particular case: the movie) represents art which “motivates discussion and communication”<sup>1217</sup>, or for which “you need to have an enemy to have a dialogue with”<sup>1218</sup> (p.182<sup>1219</sup>).

To describe good art, the protagonists pointed out that art does not have to be accurate or depict a reality; according to them, creative people don’t even need to know what they are talking about since good art is an interplay between many different forms. Such “formal game – as an interplay of certain forms”<sup>1220</sup> was acknowledged as quality for architecture too (p.186). They also warned that quality under the paradigm of capitalism is manifested through

1210 *Ibid.*

1211 *Ibid.*

1212 *Ibid.*

1213 *Ibid.*

1214 Žilnik, ‘Capitalism and Culture’, *Op.cit.*

1215 Kosturica, ‘Interview for RTS’, *Op.cit.*

1216 *Ibid.*

1217 Žilnik, ‘Capitalism and Culture’, *Op.cit.*

1218 *Ibid.*

1219 Read about the battle for greater quality as expressed by Stefanovski.

1220 Dušan Makavejev interviewed by George Melly, Nicely Offensive, *Op.cit.*

the creation of a belief, but is constructed by a narrative of those who are the strongest.<sup>1221</sup> Žižek uses the example of the label ‘bio’ Žižek to warn about the psychology behind the choices. So philosophers underline that the customer is not only buying the bio label because they believe they are better, but that a certain ideology of having a good life’ is present and popular in the public daily discourse, and the same impacts our understanding of quality.<sup>1222</sup> The understanding of quality (and values<sup>1223</sup>) might get impacted by certain subjective beliefs. Moreover, the same phenomenon (under the premises of healthy, bio and sustainable) can appear in the understanding of what is good architecture too. As labels are created by marketing rules, this can be counter-productive for the emergence of the ‘right creation’. For instance, the architect Čanak noted that architecture after the 2000s represents architecture which was made for the market – produced at a “20% lower quality with an idea to sell for 20% higher than the real price”.<sup>1224</sup>

Negative phenomena can occur when space and its aesthetics are approached to support the current economic system and to provide with growth.<sup>1225</sup> All of the stated above compromises the quality in architecture by factors which can negatively impacts it, and as already mentioned – driven by the human desire (and not to satisfy a human need). The *cultural artefacts* do not only want to ‘blunt the man’ and their critical thinking but also have a negative impact on their creativity as well because creativity firstly means a process in which a man can think. Therefore, creativity is a process of thinking and acting. The protagonists valorized the idea that culture plays a crucial role in exercising creativity, and as something which can anticipate the ‘right’ *cultural artefact* to emerge:

“The spirit of the small town is a pornographic (fake) spirit. You abolish that freedom, you abolish that imagination and you reduce yourself to an object. And there is the whole problem, man comes down to an object, an act that serves a machine that degenerates it, which turns him into an idiot because he

1221 As described by Goran Stefanovski, “Post colonial theory is question of representation [...]. Fight for supremacy, whos voice is going to be heard. And who will own the narative”.

1222 Slavoj Žižek, Fat-free chocolate and absolutely no smoking: why our guilt about consumption is all-consuming, 2014, <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/may/21/prix-pictet-photography-prize-consumption-slavoj-zizek>>.

1223 As noted by Mazzucato ambiguity can be created when the “value destruction disguise in value creation”.

1224 Čanak, ‘Belgrade apartment’, *Op.cit.*

1225 In the same connect has been written in an extract from the article, ‘How ‘Creativity’ Became a Capitalist Buzzword’, published 2019, “The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society,” wrote Marx and Engels in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, <[www.lithub.com](http://www.lithub.com)>.

keeps wanting to abolish culture, as culture is not what is given, but above all it is the potential to invent new things”.<sup>1226</sup>

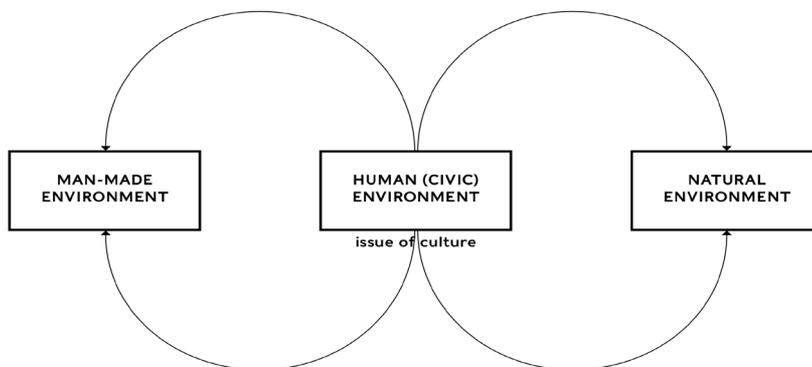
Therefore, creating an authentic environment which offers rich experiences (not repetitive) stimulates more innovative (not repetitive) *cultural artefacts* (including architecture). The experiences in the environment are important for the creation of an ambience, i.e. a crucial factor for the formation of an idea.<sup>1227</sup>

1226 'Me, us and others - the Spirit of the province', <[www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)>.

1227 Kosturica, 'Interview for RTS', *Op.cit.*

### Wrapping up

The 'socialist thinking' in particular shaped the Creative Model of the Yugoslav city, i.e. applying double criticism when designing – the first from the creation which emerged in the 'western consumer-oriented model', and the second from the 'eastern dogmatic one'. Moreover the 'socialist thinking' developed an authentic Yugoslav understanding (derived from the Marxist theoretical concept) for offering a new and qualitatively richer life to the people.<sup>1228</sup> This vision thus motivated the architects to also support the theoretical concept and seek adequate spatial inscriptions. Therefore, the thesis examines the Creative Model, conveying that it was keen to increase the living standards, and in terms of architecture, the newly imagined physical spaces. The Marxist concept anticipated the emergence of the concept of balance, which in the given context served as a primary point of departure when creating the objectives and the decisions. Overall, it shaped the Creative Model. In addition, the spatial Yugoslav theoreticians also supported the vision and defined three types of environments: the man-made, the natural, and the human (civic), which needed to seek an equilibrium [fig.34].



[fig.34] The concept of balance between the man-made environment, the human (civic) environment, and the natural environment, was suggested as a Yugoslav vision to respond to the ongoing natural, spatial and civic-human (cultural) crisis. As can be observed, the concept of balance centrally positioned (Marxist understanding) the human (civic) environment – and the question of culture (pg.x). 1 Source: The author.

The model proposed culture as something which needed to take care of the well-being of the human (civic) environment and place this element centrally in the model. This was due to the fact that it was estimated that if possible harm were to occur in the human (civic) environment, it would impact and possibly lead to the degradation of the other environments, such as the man-made and the natural environment. Therefore, cities, as the most condensed man-made environment (and in which the human (civic) environment intensively developed), were considered central to developing its creative forces, so further cyclical destruction between the environments could be avoided. Moreover, the protagonists estimated that such negative occurrences would lead to an overall 'cultural crisis' and for it to be resolved, fostering solutions coming from the cultural sphere were necessary. As such, by activating the cultural issue in the

1228 The vision of the socialist theoreticians which wanted to offer qualitatively better and more meaningful life. The same has been supported by the theories of Herbert Marcuse who defined the quality in the socialist case are not linked to wealth and value.

human (civic) environment, new and different directions of the objectives in the Creative Model emerged.

The theoretical concepts were further 'translated' into physical terms too, resulting in the creation of a strategic welfare infrastructure in the Yugoslav cities, on the one hand, and piloting tailor-made 'cultural programs' to deploy the 'development of creativity' (a major idea of the new desired qualitative life), on the other hand. The Creative Model adopted the historical Yugoslav situation, while it changed the everyday experience offered in the examined environments. For those reasons, the notion of the cultural artefacts (including the architecture) had their individual meaning and significance. As such, the Yugoslav context in the 20th century presented a 'rich laboratory' and a valuable thesis object since it offered an examination of the Creative Model and how it adapted to the ideological shifts. The first was *Point 1945*, when the socialist paradigm was introduced, and the second was *Point 1991*, which introduced the democratic (and tied to neo-liberalism) paradigm.

As the dissolution of Yugoslavia (1991) took place, the Yugoslav cities simultaneously started to display the troubled relationship with the concept of balance (already spotted), which led to the gradual decline of their qualitative spaces and an overall 'cultural crisis' causing a further degradation of the other environments. Such a 'cultural crisis' did not only affect the (post) Yugoslav region but also left global repercussions. The cities of Sarajevo, Belgrade and Skopje over the years (1945-2017) experienced a drastic size growth and territorial expansion. When combined with the unbalanced development, it contributed for widening of the gap between the growth of the selected cities and their qualitative (humanistic, intellectual and cultural) development, where the space constructed after 1991 aimed to help the gap to be widen.

The newly constructed space thus changed its significance and meaning, leading to the emergence of a Creative Model (and creativity) that no longer strived for crafting the 'right' creation able to cope with the current problems of the life in the community, but it got instrumentalized to the current logic – ensuring constant financial growth and quantitative expansion. *Point 1991* additionally disturbed the anatomy of the Yugoslav cities and their communities, when the newly imposed rules pushed by the market economy were introduced. Trapped in socio-economic transition, the existing cultural infrastructure in the cities passed through new challenges where legal privatization processes and overall low-maintenance led to a complex turning point: the existing civic spaces got partly commercialized and partly privatized, resulting in a gradual disappearance; the newly built space for commercial (financial-profit) purposes failed to ensure a qualitative development.

Therefore, the flow of creativity (in a cultural sense) was pushed towards the neo-liberal paradigm, impacting the process of creation (bringing design decisions in accordance with the logic of the market) and the final outcome of it – the cultural artefact. The mentioned instances were negative for the development of the cities too, resulting in human-cultural degradation and an unsystematic approach for the development of the cities (promoting quantitative growth and neglecting its culturally ‘curated space’). Also, as the typology of architecture shifted towards the mentioned neo-liberal premises, in the context the collective gatherings of the people from the ‘creative spaces’ were replaced with socialization in commercial or religious spaces where one aspect was lacking – the broad body of intellectual and imaginative work, the intimate association with art. For those reasons, the thesis is imagined as a possibility of exploring different modes of creation and asking the valid question of whether it is worth to reassess the current Creative Model and challenge it with a different approach of the flow of creativity, ultimately leading to the need for the ‘right creation’.

### V.3. CONCLUSION

The above stated proved the validity of the reassessment of the Creative Model which emerged in the Yugoslav context for re-actualizing the concept of balance. For those reasons, the thesis shortlists the following strengths of the model:

#### STRONG POINTS OF THE MODEL

- (1) Discusses creativity;
- (2) Managed by the cultural creators themselves;
- (3) Driven by the ongoing cultural challenges of the communities (directed innovation);
- (4) Curated man-made environment and curated artistic discourse;
- (5) Funded by the collective (regional) funds;
- (6) Aims to clear the path of the flow of creativity;
- (7) Turned towards the emergence of the 'right' creation rather than how to gain from it;
- (8) Supports to the investment in stimulation and progression of creativity;
- (9) Appreciating authentic culture;
- (10) Its cultural artefacts insist on the 'right and critical topics';
- (11) Fosters opportunities for creative human interactions to influence the environment.

Today, after approximately 75 years of the emergence of the Yugoslav *Creative Model*, in both global and local contexts, there are new complexities shaping the cities and communities. In such a situation, the dissertation provides the necessary theoretical knowledge for challenging the current dysfunctional Creative Model by re-directing it towards what it was used as a support for centuries. Having emerged from the results, this brings us to the thesis' two 'discoveries': primarily, showing that the *Creative Model* is not only significant for the 'creatives', such as architects, designers or spatial planners, but it also has an effect on the whole society. In addition, this dissertation introduces architecture more as a collective act rather than a creation from one single creator, i.e. the 'architect'. Therefore, the thesis proves that Yugoslavia's architecture has

had different qualities. It was socially, culturally and environmentally friendly. Secondly, it proves, that those three cities have divergent but still similar fabric/architecture, and they developed similar spatial evolution (as a result of being part of the same model).

The hypothesis according to which the content, anatomy, and ambiance of Belgrade, Skopje, and Sarajevo were politically preconditioned has proved efficient. Although these three cities had different scenarios, histories and had faced different challenges, we saw that they all were part of the same socio-political environment and thereby, made their approach towards creativity in more or less similar ways. For instance, the city of Skopje ‘exercised creativity’ through overcoming the natural disaster; the city of Belgrade ‘exercised creativity’ to catch up with the rapid spatial and population growth; and the city of Sarajevo did so through its multiculturalism. It can thus be stated that the *Creative Model of the Socialist City* was pro-active and adaptable to the circumstances which emerged from the ‘reality’. So, it guided its creative energy towards it. The model has also been examined diachronically to demonstrate that it evolved in a common manner and the larger context presented a common condition. We studied it in four periods: the first period, i.e. the *Cultural Revival* (1945-1960); the second period, i.e. the *Cultural Catch Up* (1960-1975) when there was intensification of the activities to foster creativity; the third period, i.e. the *Maturing Period* (1975-1980), i.e. a *Cultural Zest* (cultural peak), which occurred somewhere between the 1970s and the 1980s; and the fourth period (1980-1991), i.e. a *Gradual ‘Change of the Game’ (Market-Oriented Transformations)*.

Moreover, through capturing the strengths of the model, the following proposal concepts have emerged:

(1) A new formula of the cultural artefacts (determining clearer principles for the occurrence of the ‘right creation’):

This means changing the ‘recipe’ upon which the cultural creation is created. The same can be formed by formulating the basic principles upon which the Yugoslav cultural artefacts emerged. Furthermore, such universal principles could be adopted to each of the community’s current cultural challenges, resulting in a model that will be a direct innovation towards satisfying human needs (and having an emancipatory role), while also deepening the thematic content of the cultural artefacts and how it contributes to the current value system. Designing by such principles should contribute towards the emergence of the ‘right creation’ and a creation which is affirmative for the (human) cultural development, and the development of an authentic culture.

(2) Using the glasses of the Yugoslav Creative Model  
This theoretical knowledge of this thesis may serve as a basis for critical

reading of the current cities. Such an exercise means the development of a methodology which will 'operationalize' the Yugoslav critical lens, based on the major questions:

- How does a particular space (or building) promote human (cultural) development? How does a particular space satisfy human needs?
- What type of ambience emerges in an environment? How does a particular space hold a particular ambience? What type of negative issues occur in the cultural sense in an environment?
- Is the quality (as essence over form) of the cultural artefact (including architecture) the primary objective of a particular project? How should the particular space be created (knowing the above two)?

### (3) Matrix for the valorization of cultural-spatial creation

This means developing a spatial criterion of values in parallel, which would go beyond the cost and benefit and would valorize space. This would allow to account for the human, cultural and social criteria (grasped from the model) in establishing the real criteria of values.

All the above is not only suggested to decommercialize the creation, but also to bring it closer to its essence.

# appendix

ALTERNATIVE STORIES FROM THE  
THIRD WAY

- Architecture to Create the Needs of the People (Not to Follow Them)
- Spatial Living Standard
- Do Buildings Have Cultural Reach?
- Battle Against the Kitsch
- Stimulated Artistic Development
- Regional Affirmation
- An Environment with an Authentic Identity
- Civic [Друштвен] Interest Matter
- Environmental Cultural Renewal
- Integrated Spatial Planning
- The Value of Civic (Built and Unbuilt) Space
- Events Build
- Quantitative Growth vs. Qualitative Development
- New Architectural Typologies

- Architecture to Create the Needs of the People (Not to Follow Them)

*The Moral Codex of the Yugoslav Architects*, [fig.345], (*Set of Documents* (p.553)) is a document of significance which presents an attempt by the architects to reposition their professional practice within the society, and by that to create new architectural-societal engagements. As observed from the document, the profession also strived to transform itself as a ‘mission-oriented’ architectural practice. The document also demonstrates how the ‘socialist impulses’ penetrated practically in the whole architectural profession, seeking new architectural moral and civic engagement. Moreover, the document revealed the strive of the architects to impact the creation of the new ambience too. In the same vein, as it can be confirmed from other sources, architecture that would not only try to satisfy the existential minimum (p.186), but also offer new qualitative spaces was stimulated:

“[...] necessarily supporting architecture that is in the function of existential human needs (housing, sleeping, rest, warming, etc.) or is it possible to create such architectural projects and such urban planning projects that are in favour of development and higher human needs, the need to create according to the laws of beauty and the truth of time”.<sup>1229</sup>

It was noted in the *Moral Codex* that “[...] we do not create the ambience just to satisfy the biological conditions of existence (housing, work, recreation)”.<sup>1230</sup> ‘New ambience’ was suggested to overcome the limits of creating merely on ‘decision-making’ processes, resulting in new strategies that aimed to propose *cultural human development* as a cultural tool and *collaboration*, as a social tool, to the architects to reform their profession.<sup>1231</sup> The ambience in the environment needed to be beneficial to the people who strived for a world full of justice and better local living conditions. Moreover, when it came to architecture itself, the *Moral Codex* called for analysis and changes of the system in which architecture was created, showing that architecture (as a creation) was aimed towards understanding (having the context in mind).

The architects recognized that there was an architectural program, for which they wanted it to anticipate the analysis of the entire system embodied in the Yugoslav *cultural artefacts*. The fact that the document emerged as a result of the forum from the *III Congress of the Architects of Yugoslavia*<sup>1232</sup>,



Fig. 345| Extract from the page 5, *Moral Codex of the Architects, of SFR Yugoslavia*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.194, 1974, Zagreb

1229 Ralić, ‘Communist urbanism and not urbanistic futurism’ Opening word for the symposium in Vrnjacka Banja, *Op.cit.*

1230 ‘Moral codex of Yugoslav architects’, *Op.cit.*

1231 *Ibid.*

1232 This is also showing a developed capacity from the side of the architects to ‘read the problems in the context’ effectively and accurately. Therefore the ‘Codex’ is not only a manifesto, but it acts as a direct strategy to ‘do architecture differently’. Also, from the document is a sublime of the



Fig. 346| Extract from the page 1, a poster, *Congress of the Architect of Yugoslavia 1968*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.184, 1968, Zagreb

[fig.346], further demonstrates a developed and productive close and healthy relationship between the cultural creators and the management of their professions. A similar ‘action-oriented’ plan for the creation of the architectural program can be traced in a document titled *the Annual plan* (cc.1957).<sup>1233</sup> In this case, the transformation of the environment is envisioned to occur through creating a different cultural tool:

- “1. Cultural life of our cities (and cultural appearance of those cities, institutions and social buildings);
2. The state of libraries and public Universities;
3. Work on public (civic) enlightenment education (counselling the educators from all over the country [...]);
4. Cultural and mass work in the recreational resorts and summer resorts [...];
5. Work on improving the production of musical instruments, gramophones, gramophone records and other technical means for cultural and artistic work;
6. Provide more direct monitoring of cultural life in the Republics, especially in the Republican centres”.<sup>1234</sup>

Therefore, cultural development also fostered its guided ‘mission-oriented’ plans, which aimed to integrate cultural planning and the man-made environment. For the same reasons, architecture needed to become the new cultural platform – since it promoted new cultural-esthetic appearances and new purposes through the program it encompassed.<sup>1235</sup> Other cultural programs were simultaneously invented to insert newly-created content into specific spatial locations of interests, thus the new plug-ins needed to insert the cultural content in existing (or new) spatial forms, which further stimulated the emergence of new *cultural artefacts* (from the modernist movement) with different significance and meaning. The Republican centres, such as the cities of Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Skopje, etc. received their custom-made cultural plans and were recognized as “political and cultural environments”<sup>1236</sup> in which “extremely urban artistic and cultural phenomena”<sup>1237</sup> occurred. Another example explored the possibilities of the architects to yield new *ambiental values* and to evaluate them via new *ambiental metrics*:

“[...] For these functions to take place normally, within their philosophical limits (and without the health disorders) it is necessary to pay rigorous attention to the ambient values of the space in which this activity is performed. Those ambiental values should be in addition to the standard measures where this

architectural thought up-to-date issues which emerged in the 1950s. Therefore, one can grasp the current realities of the profession through discovering the document.

1233 ‘The general cultural issues’, extract from the ‘Annual Plan’, cc. 1957 (Archive of Yugoslavia, K-49, From the ideological commission 1956-1969).

1234 The plans suggest four independent artistic categories to be planned, the general cultural issues (presented in the text), the movie field, the literature and art field, and the cultural propaganda.

1235 ‘The general cultural issues’, extract from the ‘Annual Plan’, *Op.cit.*

1236 Švaković M. Avant-gardes in Yugoslavia. FV [Internet]. 2017 Jan.17

1237 *Ibid.*

sports activity takes place. So, the sports environment needs to represent where the human body and spirit converge into an extraordinary effort”.<sup>1238</sup>

Therefore, the Yugoslav man-made environment aimed to develop as an environment which would anticipate new ‘cultural values’ too, as mapped from Mušič: “We wanted architecture to be something more. The quality was to experience the space, and architecture to emit in the larger space and to form it”.<sup>1239</sup> The architect used the expression ‘to form’ the environment, i.e. to ‘culturally’ affirm it, and as such the cultural ‘plug-ins’ needed to reflect in the “appropriate favourable material and spiritual frameworks”<sup>1240</sup> in which architecture was formed so it could assist in “full flourishing of the kind of architecture that it needs, wants and should have”.<sup>1241</sup> According to the other protagonists, the Yugoslav architect needed to become “a planner of a new ambience without which there is no modernization”.<sup>1242</sup>

The same was said since it was mapped that the issue of the ‘classic position’ of the architect in the old society (between investors and clients) negatively impacted architecture. It was noticed that the architect “[...] found himself in a situation negative to his creativity, quality and fertility”<sup>1243</sup>, hence the protagonist wanted to better understand what they could provide to ameliorate the broader program which created the architecture. This was the reason why the given new ‘minimum precondition’ integrated the cultural aspects within the planning processes of the cities, as well as why the subject of space also became a subject of planning culture (p.355). This was theoretically suggested by the *Constructivists* (1920s), where space was envisioned as the “cultural base of mankind [...] and a design of a new way of life”.<sup>1244</sup>

Such a new and qualitatively better life (p.189) meant creating a space for the new personal, cultural, intellectual, and creative activities, as depicted in the movie *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, [fig.347], where the father (and the movie’s major role) speaks to his children about the importance of the cultural



Fig. 347| Scenes from the movie, *Do you remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1981

1238 Radomir Misić, ‘Sport and the human environment’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

1239 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

1240 Edit by Olga Divac, ‘Architecture and the public - VI Conversations on architecture in the island 7-9.XII’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1968)

1241 *Ibid.*

1242 Gvozdanović, ‘Competition’, *Op.cit.*

\* Reports written by Ravnikar – from the Congress of Yugoslav Architects in 1968 [fig.346]). Moreover, the report of the Congress maps the major obstacles of the architectural programs which are obstructing the Yugoslav architecture ‘to flourish’. Such approach to propose action as result from the outcomes from a congress became a ‘regularly exercised practices’.

1243 *Ibid.*

1244 Ginzburg, ‘Target Installation in Modern Architecture’, *Op.cit.*

bottom-up personal initiatives.<sup>1245</sup> This came about since the new cultural plans aspired towards a shift for initiating “youth self-development, fostering cultural personal initiatives, and individual creativity”<sup>1246</sup>, [fig.348]. The ‘form’ then needed to follow suit and contain different cultural content plug-ins which would later emit a different meaning and significance. In addition, the protagonist recognized that the phenomena occurred in all of the *cultural artefacts*: “Their ideology doesn’t apply today and they have ‘empty meaning’, but they are an important piece of art”.<sup>1247</sup> The same was not only detected as a phenomenon surrounding the monuments but it could be extended to the other cultural artefacts too, such as architecture.

It was a point of importance that common cultural strategies needed to be created to act as: “[...] systematic determinations in the field of culture”<sup>1248</sup> to enable the ‘mission-oriented’ occurrence of artistic and civic involvement in the man-made environment, or as stated by the protagonists, for a vibrant cultural scene to emerge.<sup>1249</sup> From here on, the Yugoslav architecture became a cultural platform for the new desired society. Such cultural premises aimed to confront the logic of ‘profit-oriented building’<sup>1250</sup> and later established a specific cultural mission-orientation of Yugoslav construction and a man-made environment which aimed to be promoted as beneficial for the cultural environment. Therefore, Yugoslav architecture opened itself towards creating the needs of the people (not just following them) and as a result, got closer to what was perceived as good artistic practice: “Old truth is ‘an artist must produce what the audience has yet to love and not what they already love’”.<sup>1251</sup>

Such an ‘upfront role’ of architecture transformed the relations between the investor, the cultural creator and the *cultural artefact*. In fact, the architect could directly foster initiatives that they believed were for the benefit of society. For instance, the initiative *Let’s Save Old Sarajevo – A Battle for Ambience*, [fig.349], by the architect Naidhardt, stood upfront and fostered an open call to stop the construction of new skyscrapers in the city of Sarajevo:



Fig. 349] Page 1, *Let's save old Sarajevo – battle for ambience. Action of Prof. Neidhardt against construction of skyscrapers in the beginning of the mountain Trebavica*, Juraj Neidhardt, in magazine *Man and Space*, No.191, 1969, Zagreb

- 1245 The movie depicts an average Yugoslav family in which the father is a ‘good communist’ (and acts as metaphor for the state). Therefore, the father regularly organizes ‘official family meetings’ to teach about the importance of the development of amateur bottom-up socialist cultural strategies etc. Humorous, one of the children act as dactylographer on those meetings etc. Also, the movie is an example that the system was critically examined in the bottom up (family) circles too.
- 1246 ‘Youth Development’, Cultural Plan, 1962, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 78, 1949-1953).
- 1247 Testimonial Ana Panić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.65).
- 1248 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.50).
- 1249 *Ibid.*
- 1250 As construction is conducted by the ‘free’ market-oriented logic.
- 1251 Keller, ‘Urbanism - Architecture - Social will’, *Op.cit.*

“Dear Comrades, we addressing you here to remind you: Construction of seven skyscrapers that are planned in the environment just below Trebavica [...]. [...] Now it is up to us, the citizens, who love and appreciate the beauties of Sarajevo, to decisively and briefly say – no! There is no place for them – and they do not beautify, but disturb the harmony and appearance of the environment as elements; they are killing the soul of old Sarajevo, where the slopes are an integral part of its shell”<sup>1252</sup>

As seen in the extract above, such early signs of ‘gentrification’ in the Yugoslav cities encountered resistance rather than support by the architects.<sup>1253</sup> Another example of such recognition of the ‘local ambience’ as quality can be observed in architectural gestures, e.g. incorporating the Bazaar built during the Ottoman Era, [fig.350], within the new spatial plans for the city centre of Skopje (following the tragic earthquake of 1963).<sup>1254</sup>



Fig. 350| Sketch, The Turkish bazaar in the city of Skopje, ITPA

#### • Spatial Living Standard

Yugoslav cities between 1945 and 1960 experienced intensive growth in terms of population and physical augmentation, followed by the formation of numerous neighbourhoods and municipalities. On the one hand, this budding construction boom intended to reply to the emerging necessities and answer to the ongoing trends, while on the other hand, the architects noticed that such intensive growth of the cities needed to be followed by adequate qualitative space, to form the collective *spatial living standards* the cities needed to have. What was meant under ‘qualitative space’ was a space which would reinforce and contribute to the human-cultural development:

“Raising the material forces of society and living standards, as well as changes in the way of life of a large number of working people, must not be simply equated with cultural progress. Such an understanding of leaving the cultural development to the elements is only one step; some have taken that step as well. This is reflected in a number of the easiest forms of fun life and varieties of primitivism”<sup>1255</sup>

Augmentation of the *spatial living standard* needed to contribute to the qualitative development of the city (and the human-cultural progress) (p.362) because the architects noticed that the quantitative growth would create a qualitative gap, a form affecting cities and thus creating cities lacking balance. Such

1252 Juraj Naidhard, ‘Let’s save old Sarajevo – battle for ambience’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

1253 Differently then today where people are expressing the resistance towards gentrification and architects are in favour (and have quid-pro-quo interests) the same to happen.

1254 See popular evidences: [fig.163, fig.164, fig.165].

1255 ‘Cultural Politics in the Municipality’, Conference, The position of the cultural activities in the municipality, The Permanent Conference of Yugoslav cities, 1965, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

unbalanced cities could no more offer qualitative qualities to the citizens who inhabited them. It was also mapped that these cities could no more create its "authentic culture" (p.157):

"What is mass culture? It is the 'standardized, stereotyped reproduction of reality and the presentation of such reproductions as a form of value.' In contrast, authentic culture is 'based on personal, creative rising [...] It is the creation of those values that demands a change of the world'" <sup>1256</sup>.

The goal was therefore to enlarge the *spatial living standard* by inserting qualitative aspects in the space to anticipate the desired cultural progress, having an impact on the perception of the environment of the people who sensed the qualitative aspects in their everyday life and felt it in their *reality*: "We had (and usually took for granted) extraordinary opportunities for personal development and cultural, artistic, scientific and ideological becoming". When referring to the quality of life, it is also necessary to outline the fact that 'Yugoslav quality of life' (for those in the cities) meant seeking a particular *reality for creation* in which human cultural development would be the priority:

"[...] my memories, as well as the memories of many of my close and distant friends and acquaintances from Belgrade, are mostly composed of memories of closely-knit families and communities, of rich personal and cultural experiences, of many opportunities we could be creative in. We felt equal to everyone. We often interacted with people of culture, considered to be renowned in their professions: artists and scientists, film and theatre actors and directors, world travellers, adventurers, writers and poets, etc. In the span of about 30-something years (from the late 50s and the start of the 60s, through the end of the 80s), children and the youth of Yugoslavia, especially those of us in big cities like Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Skoplje and particularly, Belgrade – the capital of Yugoslavia – lived in a curious, almost surreal 'window' in space and time – in an unparalleled 'chronotope'" <sup>1257</sup>.

This paragraph grasps how the particular desired quality was linked to the immediacy of human life with the creative fields. A particular 'culturally active environment' was desired, for which the architects (as well as the other cultural creators) needed to create their interpretation of what that quality should be. In essence, they posed the question of what type of gathering places and places to create is needed, and what form should follow the mapped social and architectural qualities (in their broader dimensions). The same could be made possible through the invention of new narratives and real discourses which positioned the *spatial living standard* as the subject of interest of both the architectural and spatial planning arenas:

- (1) Integrating spatial and civic planning;
- (2) New definition of qualitative development of the space;

1256 Blumenfeld, Seesaw: Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.225.

1257 Ana Marjanovic-Shane, 'The Golden Cage: Growing up in the Socialist Yugoslavia', 2018.

## (3) Stimulating spaces for socialization and creation.

Therefore, such visions were understood as something which would contribute towards augmentation of the *spatial living standard* and the general well-being.<sup>1258</sup> Surprisingly, although the country was relatively economically weak, the *spatial living standards* remained public priority partly due to the socialist paradigm, which reinforced the importance of collectivity and its recognition in the *Yugoslav Constitution - 1963*, where the self-management system needed to “regulate and improve the conditions of their work, organize protection at work and rest, provide conditions for their education and raise personal and social standards”.<sup>1259</sup> At that point, the care for meeting the spatial standards organically entered into the architectural discourse. In addition, the Yugoslav notion raised the question of what quality of the man-made environment had to do with financial wealth etc. In the given context, the ‘living standards’ and the ‘living minimum’ were uniquely understood, which overflowed into the architectural spatial discourse:

“[...] there were different norms for free spaces in domestic and in the foreign literature. The General Urban Plan of Belgrade of 1972 strived for the humanization of the city environment, treating free areas as an integral part of the living standard of the city population. It was predicted that in the year 2000, for the new settlements with medium and high housing densities, the free space will be directly connected to the apartment and it should be approximately the same per capita as the net area of the apartment (21m<sup>2</sup>).”<sup>1260</sup>

Architecture was viewed from the premise that could contribute to raising the existing *collective spatial living standard*.<sup>1261</sup> Such a vision differed from the situation in the cities of today, where architecture is approached on different individual premises. Hence, the collective efforts for contextually democratizing the quality of life came from the approach to architecture not as a privileged matter of the few, but as something which could help the collectivity and its spatial standards. The protagonist detected that this was possible because of the general notion of planning and the basis offered by the self-management

1258 From today's perspective, such stance sounds extraordinary since ‘well-being’ is reserved for the wealthy societies. Therefore, for the Yugoslav case achieving the level to discuss about ‘well-being’ is not particular since the topic of ‘well-being’ is linked to highly ‘economically and prosperous societies’.

1259 The Constitution of Yugoslavia, 1963.

1260 Vlade Dordzević, ‘Free space of the local community as an element of spatial planning’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1261 According to the protagonist's space shouldn't be formed according to how much an individual can pay for the space but created by other essential collective needs. Differently then the approach when the investor set up the task of the architect. Or as expressed by Ratko Redzenovic, “This puts the architect in a position to resolve spaces according to how much one can pay.” (in the conversation from the video ‘Skopje cultural figures talk about the phenomenon called Kafearna (1973)’).

system: “[...] relations in self-governing planning of all kinds, even in spatial socio-economic planning, and more narrowly speaking, urban planning, as part of planning in a broader sense”.<sup>1262</sup> Moreover, the architects focused on understanding the functions that the space needed to create to contribute towards raising the collective living standard.

Architects mapped several civic categories (and functions for spaces) which could contribute towards “development of social care for pre-school children, primary education, directed education, scientific research activities, health care, social protection, cultural activities, and development of physical culture”.<sup>1263</sup> From this point, those categories needed to receive their spatial transcriptions too, leading to the boom of civic spaces in the Yugoslav cities. Articles have also shown the rise of the *spatial living standards* through the construction of a new civic space. For instance, the city of Belgrade in a short period built its *MCA*, the *National Library* and the *Sava Centre*, [fig.351, fig.352]. Another example can be traced in the study titled *Valorization of the Spatial Systems for Cultural Activities*, where the architects mapped different “branches of activity”<sup>1264</sup> to raise the standards of living, such as: “a. Child care; b. Education; c. Culture; d. Physical culture; e. Health care; f. Social protection; g. Supply; h. Hospitality”.<sup>1265</sup> It was recognized that the activity of spatial planning was an activity of special social interest, playing a significant role in the contribution to the collective standard:



Fig. 351, 352| Article *Social activity in the social plan, development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No.63-64-65,1981, Belgrade

- Explore and build a comprehensive system in the field of spatial planning and protection and improvement of the human environment [...].
- Determine the position of spatial planning in the system of Civic Planning, which would mean equaling the status of spatial planning with economic planning.
- The activity of spatial planning should be of special social interest. Spatial plans must be a real instrument of spatial development policies of the socio-political community, so it is necessary to ensure continuous work and monitoring of plans.
- Socio-political communities should pool the resources of all users of the space and through social agreements provide a mechanism for continuous funding, planning, and fostering of the necessary conditions for the development of professional work and scientific-research work”.<sup>1266</sup>

1262 Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Op.cit.*

1263 Radmila Marić, ‘Social activity in the social plan of city development and plans of self-governing interest communities’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

1264 Milorad Macura, Darko Marusić, Study, ‘Valorisation of the spatial systems for cultural activities in Serbia’, Development of the culture in SR Serbia (conceptual plans), 1970-1980, *Institute for Cultural Development* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1970).

1265 *Ibid.*

1266 Neven Kovacević, ‘On the occasion of consulting ‘urban and spatial planning and spatial planning in SR Croatia in the function of the development of socialist self-governing society’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1977).

This was recognized by the constitutions of each of the individual socialist Republics, e.g. the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia states: “The main goal of spatial planning is to protect man’s natural and man-made environment and ambiances”.<sup>1267</sup> In the same amendment, the qualities of the collective civic space have been described: “They must contain ecological, sociological, national, cultural and scientific criteria”.<sup>1268</sup> The protagonist also detected that securing housing space can contribute towards raising the *spatial living standards*: “Housing space, as an essential condition of the living standard of the citizens and the socio-economic development, must be treated in the complex of construction and gratitude in the space and the totality of housing functions”.<sup>1269</sup> This could as well include rent policy, regulating the profit<sup>1270</sup> which emerges from the rent – to serve only for ameliorating the *spatial living standards* purposes.<sup>1271</sup> So, the *spatial living standard* was “the standard which rose according to the needs and the collective power”.<sup>1272</sup> Differentiation was outlined between the private spatial standard and the collective spatial standard. In the local context, the private spatial standard was related to the housing situation of the individuals, as an “exponential rise of the private and societal standard”<sup>1273</sup> was noticed, where “[...] in 1960, a four-member family could buy 64m<sup>2</sup>, in 1970 – 72m<sup>2</sup>, in 1980 – 82m<sup>2</sup>. The standard was rising”.<sup>1274</sup> It was concluded that the private spatial standard also depended on the investors and beneficiaries themselves.<sup>1275</sup> At the *Tenth Congress of the Yugoslav Architects and Spatial Planners*, it was stated that:

“They set many tasks before delegations and delegates, from the most vital ones such as housing policy or investment policy, through education, health, and culture to entertainment and leisure. And life in a certain commune will increasingly depend on the work and commitment of those we have chosen to represent us in this term”.<sup>1276</sup>

1267 ‘Opinions and proposals of the Society of Architects of the City of Zagreb with the draft amendment to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1971).

1268 *Ibid.*

1269 *Ibid.*

1270 In the article, the major topic is that it is essential to understand rent as something which can produce a surplus-value. According to the author of the article, in a socialist society, the rent should serve merely to maintain the quality of space, and not rent as something which can produce a sur-plus-value – as in capitalistic societies.

1271 *Ibid.*

1272 Branislav Piha, ‘Social and spatial planning in Yugoslavia’, Introduction written by Milorad Macura, Institute for the architectural and urban development, Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1965.

1273 *Ibid.*

1274 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.95).

1275 ‘Republic Day 1974: How Yugoslavia is the country with the highest rate of economic growth’, Dusan Mandić, Front, 1974, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1276 *Ibid.*

The Congress thus motivated architects to focus on “[...] finding new solutions in the field of higher standards – communal needs, sports and recreational activities, cultural life, etc. – which made every household life more comfortable and much better”.<sup>1277</sup> While in the Yugoslav context, the vision to create a balanced environment (p.469) already existed, architecture needed to contribute to the vision of “the right to live in a well-formed environment because this is one of the essential components of the standard of living and their culture”.<sup>1278</sup> Space and the collective spatial living standard became a matter of (as mentioned) providing for human-cultural development (p.352), leading to the issue of why culture was an element of civic activity, and even further – why architecture should contribute to that, as architecture was considered to be an aspect that could influence the collective civic standard of the people too.

The experts deemed that the *spatial living standards* would contribute not only towards a well-formed environment but also towards the creation of a more creative Yugoslav reality – something which would additionally impact Yugoslav architecture:

“Architecture-urbanism, as a special category of human creativity, unique in essence and properties, and differentiated by the scope of the formed ambience, cannot be left to the conscience of individual architects, nor to the personal understandings of responsible officials [...]. Because what can then happen is that it would gradually disappear not only from our regulations but also from our reality”.<sup>1279</sup>

It was suggested that architecture did not merely depend on the given norms and the regulations but that it was formed as a result of the overall ambience which impacted the *reality* in which a *cultural artefact* emerged.

- Do Buildings Have Cultural Reach?

The topic of cultural reach of the buildings in the context entered both the scientific and public discourses, and as a result several initiatives were initiated to measure the emitted cultural reach of the buildings and to examine how they created that reach, [fig.353]. Architects noticed that different buildings had a different ‘cultural impact’ upon the environment in which they were located and upon the issues they treated through their content, i.e. buildings acted as cultural ‘mediators’ between the environment and the society because each of them emanated a different cultural reach. For instance, according to the architect Macura, the buildings which had the greatest (and the furthest)

1277 *Ibid.*

1278 ‘Open question for architecture and spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1962).

1279 *Ibid.*

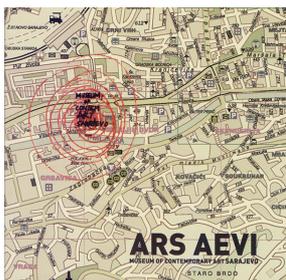


Fig. 353| Poster, *Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Sarajevo, Ars Aevi, Centre Skenderija, Sarajevo*

cultural reach were the ones that were dedicated to the civic activities, close to the field of culture – since they contributed towards creating an intimate human-art association:

“Theatres and other stage and art institutions/philharmonics, symphony orchestras, ensembles of folk dances and songs, choirs/performing artistic/dramatic and musical/works promote the development of cultural and artistic activities and meet the cultural and artistic needs of citizens, exerting a significant influence on taste and aesthetically new citizens”.<sup>1280</sup>

Such buildings were also labelled buildings of special social interest, and customarily covered the following: libraries, museums, galleries, scenes/artistic institutions, theatres, philharmonics, symphonies, folklore dance associations, choirs, units for protection of the natural rarities, etc.<sup>1281</sup> (financed by the *SCI*, falling under the category of culture (p.234)). The architects Milorad Macura and Darko Marusić proposed a system for study (and quantification) of the cultural reach that ‘spaces dedicated to raising the living standard’ make. They conducted a study titled *Valorization of the Spatial System for Cultural Activities* (Appendix, attachment No.6 (p.357), [fig.354]) for the purpose of innovating a system to valorize the space in the Yugoslav city and its cultural impact. In fact, this system aimed to stimulate the ‘increase of the living standard’ and it developed a basic element to measure it, called a ‘spatiological unit’: “[...] each cultural institution or organizational unit corresponds to two spatiological units. The first (room or building) is where it is located, and the other (residential community, village or settlement, city, municipality or region) is the area of its influential radiation”.<sup>1282</sup> Measuring the ‘influential radiation’ of the physical space was an attempt to demonstrate that each space had a cultural reach and made a cultural impact. Moreover, quantifying the qualitative brought about active criticism since the authors wanted to show the public that the authorities did not invest as much as they presented to the public that they did.<sup>1283</sup>

The document draft *Basic Law on Institutions* also treated the buildings dedicated to culture as buildings of special civic interest because “the field of culture is of first-class social interest”<sup>1284</sup> Recognized categories of ‘special civic

1280 ‘Cultural and Artistic Institutions’, ‘Some problem of social self-government in working organizations in the field of culture conditioned by the translation of these organizations into a new constitutional system’, 1964, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 171, 1956-1967).

1281 *Ibid.*

1282 Macura, Marusić, Study, ‘Valorisation of the spatial systems for cultural activities in Serbia’, *Op.cit.*

1283 *Ibid.*

1284 ‘Cultural and Artistic Institutions’, ‘Some problem of social self-government in working organizations in the field of culture conditioned by the translation of these organizations into a new constitutional system’, *Op.cit.*

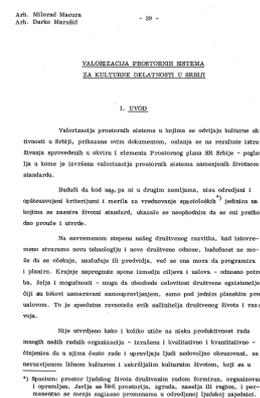


Fig. 354| Page 39, Study, *Valorization of spatial systems for cultural activities in Serbia*, Book, *Development of the Culture in SR Serbia, 1970-1980*, 1970, Belgrade

interest' status are: the field of education, health care, information, radio and television, culture, social services, etc. as well as other activities of institutions, all determined by the law.<sup>1285</sup> Also, according to the document, if those categories were officially recognized as categories of 'special civic interest', it would easily make them operational too.<sup>1286</sup> The idea that buildings had cultural reach was discussed in the announcing articles concerning the new building for the Zagreb Fair, whose architect was motivated to reflect on the future significance of the building for the city of Zagreb.<sup>1287</sup>

Similarly, the article *Library – Supermarket of Culture or Temple of Books* examines the relationship between the building and the environment in which a civic building is placed.<sup>1288</sup> The author seeks a better synthesis between the human being and their 'ecological consciousness' since each building replaces a piece of land and 'nature'. Therefore, the study suggests more spontaneous connections between the civic buildings and the environment, as well as seeking continuity of the 'spatial thought'. Discussion about the SCC in Belgrade also developed around the question of cultural reach. The protagonist indicated that the SCC between 1970 and 1980 emitted cultural power (and power of influence) both on the territory of the city of Belgrade and the whole of Europe.<sup>1289</sup> Other architects pursued greater cultural reach by organizing the cultural activities outside their buildings of origin:

"To make culture accessible to all, it is proposed that theatre performances move from theatre halls to factory halls, workers' magazines and clubs; that film performances and music concerts take place in city squares; and serious literature, gramophone records and art reproductions be sold on the street".<sup>1290</sup>

The popular evidence – the maps, [fig.355, fig.356], – depict the cultural reach of the MCA in the city of Belgrade and its exchanges with Europe and the world. As observed from the maps, the different cultural emission was bi-directional. Also, the cultural reach of the buildings was linked to the geopolitical situation of the country. So, *cultural artefacts* (including the buildings) play a particular role within a society and its relations with the others. That is why the civic value of the buildings was a frequent topic in the architectural public discourse, and why the narrative that certain buildings could 'intensify the cultural life' in Yugoslavia was fostered. The same intensified cultural life in

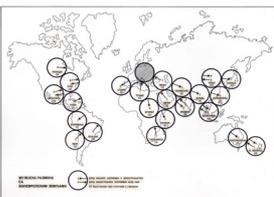


Fig. 355 and 356| Museum exchange with the outside Europe Countries, *Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia*, No. 3, *Institute for Studying Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

- 1285 'Activities or jobs of special social interest', 1964, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 171, 1956-1967).
- 1286 *Ibid.*
- 1287 Engineer Architect V.R., 'Two more urban problems of the city of Zagreb', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).
- 1288 Kokalevski, 'Supermarket of culture or temple of books', *Op.cit.*
- 1289 From the conversation with Stevan Zutić, Belgrade, 2019.
- 1290 Doknić, *Cultural politics of Yugoslavia*, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.178.

the country was ‘felt’ outside Yugoslavia too. For instance, John Lennon while visiting Yugoslavia stated:

“[...] he told me that ‘strong vibrations’ were coming to him from Yugoslavia, which had nothing to do with telepathy, as he might think, but it was simply a term used by hippies when talking about someone or something, most often a mental activity that provokes their sympathy”.<sup>1291</sup>

Or as described by Akira Kurosawa, who also visited the country:

“The people in Yugoslavia do not even know how much we, the Japanese, appreciate you, primarily because of your traditional freedom and courage. Your people and government have shown on several occasions that they know how to appreciate arts and artists”.<sup>1292</sup>

Besides architecture, it was noticed that other *cultural artefacts* were also emitting cultural power, e.g. for the winning proposal of the *Monument Kosmaj* the jury stated: “The sculpture is composed in such a way that with its dynamic movement of the masses it expresses one association, unification and immediately afterwards an intense flourishing, striving upwards and sideways of one radiation and far-reaching action”.<sup>1293</sup> Such cultural ‘radiation’ needed to send an international socialist message by using a universal figurative language.<sup>1294</sup> Therefore, *cultural artefacts* (including buildings and monuments) are ideologically determined and cultural reach always emit the current content they carry.<sup>1295</sup> *The Yugoslav Encyclopedia* (the first jointly created Yugoslav *cultural artefact*) signified:

“[...] The cultural reach of this work is invaluable, unprecedented in our region. No previous scientific and great endeavour has had so much significance for the general development and uplifting of our culture”.<sup>1296</sup>

For the authors, *the reality* (and the ambience) was also considered as being relevant for its form: “[...] it has fulfilled those aspects even more than we expected, given the cultural climate from which it originated”.<sup>1297</sup> Such a cultural climate could be designed too by creating the precondition for creative development:

1291 ‘It’s not Yoko Ono’s fault, I had misunderstanding with Paul because he’s right-wing’, Konstantin Miles, VUS, 1971, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1292 ‘Exclusive interview’, Dragutin Minić – Karlo, TV Revija, 1973, <www.yugopapir.com>.

1293 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘Competition for the conceptual design of the monument to the Kosmaj Partisan Unit’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

1294 Presentation Lapis, EPFL, 2018.

1295 Testimonial Sanja Petrović Todosijević, Belgrade, 2019 (p.36).

1296 ‘Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1960).

1297 *Ibid.*

“[...] Because, as a small country, Serbia cannot secure its place in the circle of Yugoslav Republics and other countries with quantitative but qualitative effects of its work and its production. And as relatively poor and regressive, it can rise only by engaging in every hour and every place a creative thought, and not through the material goods, which it still clearly lacks. For that purpose, it is necessary for the culture of each of its workers to be at the highest level”.<sup>1298</sup>

As it was detected that culture and creativity were linked, the protagonists proposed creativity as a source that could substitute the obvious lack of material possessions. Artistic skills were envisioned to help creativity become the motor of the overall development, but also impact the overall ambience in which those *cultural artefacts* were created:

“In the development of socialism in our country, applied art is gaining more and more traction every day. This is because it is an integral part of the struggle for a better and more beautiful life of the working man, for their higher standards of living. Applied art is expected, in all of its various expressions, forms and applications, to provide a cultural look to the ambience of our society, give artistic form to our propaganda and more beauty to the products of our industry and crafts. It should be an expression that not only comes from our creative possibilities, but also from our cultural understanding and level of development. Applied art should be applied to the things we use and to the ambience that surrounds us; it brings art into the broad strata of the working people, thus carrying out a cultural mission [...]”.<sup>1299</sup>

All of the *cultural artefacts* which were treated through the envisioned applied art became accessible in the everyday discourse because of the strong Yugoslav link between the art and the everyday. As such, those *cultural artefacts* emitted a cultural reach in the everyday life.

- Battle Against the Kitsch

As aesthetic questions became significant in the given context and its creative circles, the question of bad taste (and its honest hate) surfaced in the public architectural and wider artistic discourses. This motivated the protagonist to gradually develop their unique tools to battle the phenomena. The architects' preoccupation to detect the occurrences of bad taste in the man-made environment instigated the other cultural creators to also detect the bad taste in their cultural fields. The leading intellectual and artistic voices were seeking definitions of the phenomena and its inscription in the context:

1298 Mr. Milos Nemjanić, 'Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment', The Institute for Cultural Development, Belgrade.

1299 'State and problems of applied art in our country', article, Meaning and Role, circa 1946, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 507, VII, 1946-1948).

“Kitsch (according to the Art Encyclopedia) = German. Kitsch, from English. Sketch, means ‘an expression’ which, among the Nunchen art dealers, at the end of the 19th century, was used to refer to quickly performed works to the taste of a suburban audience. *Kitsch* later became a synonym for everything, which in fine arts is focused primarily on liking, which with its sentimentality, sensationalism or tattoo of the theme satisfies the uncritical taste of a wider audience, and has no artistic value. From the end of 19th century, and more recently, kitsch has manifested itself as a negative phenomenon in the fine arts and the countless tasteless products of the artistic craft. [...] In a figurative sense, it means a weak or wrong application of artistic means of expression’ - M.Krleža”.<sup>1300</sup>

From a bottom-up perspective, the phenomenon was associated with the style which emerged around Turbo Folk music (and the model of artistic expression preferred by the suburban and rural audience which gradually became popular in the 1960s and 1970s and received massive public visibility in the 1980s).<sup>1301</sup> The music (and the movement around it) was not appreciated by the Yugoslav officials, and viewed as bad by the artistic circles.<sup>1302</sup> Nevertheless, the movement gradually became the most popular artistic way of expression. Besides its gained popularity, the Turbo Folk artistic genre was rarely discussed and presented in the public discourse (something which later evoked frustration from its fans). The phenomenon reached its peak in 1972 when at the *Congress of Cultural Action* in Kragujevac, a policy – popularly known as the *Kitsch Tax* – was drafted. The tax aimed to detect (by the artistic commissions) bad taste among the created Yugoslav *cultural artefacts*, and to tax them afterwards accordingly. The tax puts the question of *diversity* into question:

“[...] This law took effect in Serbia on 1 July 1972 and introduced a 31.5% tax on sales of comics, books, magazines and music that were deemed ‘kitsch’, of generally lower value or not in accordance with the socialist principles of Yugoslavia. This law became known colloquially as ‘Kitsch Tax’”.<sup>1303</sup>

Therefore, a whole new palate of ‘regulatory bodies’ (less tolerant to artistic diversity) for artistic quality control originated across the country.<sup>1304</sup> The *Kitsch Tax* mostly referred to the production of music and books, so it naturally

1300 Antoaneta Pasinović, ‘Applied art and industrial aesthetics’, *Man and Space* (Beograd, SR Serbia, 1971).

1301 The Turbo Folk Movement became visible and notable in the public discourse especially after the 1980s (read more in chapter IV, and chapter V).

1302 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

\* The explanation is that it was suppressed by the Yugoslav officials, but latter enjoyed immense success.

1303 Uros Čvoro, *Turbo-folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia*, 2014.

1304 Jasmina Cibic, *Fruits of Our Land*, Slovenian Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennial, 2013.

\* In the movie *Fruits of Our Land*, depicted a scene from a parliamentary debate in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia where the members of the commission are passionately arguing and debating whether they should approve or not one cultural artefact.

entered the architectural discussions. The most common criticism about bad taste arose around the use of aesthetics for the sake of aesthetics.<sup>1305</sup> It was argued that there should be more ‘essential searching’ and deeper dialectical meanings, which needed to be embodied: “[...] isn’t architecture an object of aesthetics and much more useful for life observed in the dialectical movement of creative thought”.<sup>1306</sup> Organically the architecture too became a subject of quality control: “We emphasize ‘the idea of value’ in architectural creation as a motive. This can move us in the struggle for greater reach and the restrictions of the failures [škart] in every respect and whenever possible”.<sup>1307</sup> For the officials, kitsch was not only significant for the development of artistic and architectural tendencies, but also for the development of the overall socialist way of life. Therefore, it was regarded that the detected ‘kitsch lifestyle’, occurring in the everyday reality of the people, was bad. The artistic circles promoted such an extension of good taste as an idea to support the notion of ‘life as an esthetic act’.<sup>1308</sup> For instance, the movie *When Father was Away on Business*, [fig.357], discussed the relationship between everyday lifestyles and aesthetics. In one particular scene from the movie, the Yugoslav father explains to his young son how the ‘socialist has an inborn aesthetic sense’.<sup>1309</sup> The programs for cultural development suggested aesthetic education as “an organic need of each individual and our socialist community as a whole”.<sup>1310</sup>



Fig. 357| Scenes from the movie, *When father was away on Business*, Emir Kusturica, 1985

It was also argued that bad taste provoked *visual pollution* aimed to tackle the effect of the mentioned bad taste. Therefore, the *tool of ‘visual effect’* became a significant architectural tool to measure the visual significance of the environment: “We need a library as a sign of culture, but also as a ecological sign! Why only talk about noise and traffic near the reading area. We can make noise insulation, yet the visual effect will still remain”.<sup>1311</sup> In that manner, the ‘visual effect’ was significant and it formed the phenomenon of ‘seeing in the visual range’: “a sense of order and beauty of the ambience in which we move”.<sup>1312</sup> It became an acknowledged cultural criterion to deal with too:

“The aesthetic appearance of the houses in which we live, the offices and factories in which we work, the streets we pass through, the parks that should serve us for recreation etc., and certainly current and other interesting topics for

1305 Aljosa Sevgić, ‘On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarcev tribune and around it!’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1306 Nikola Dobrović, ‘The contribution of dialectics to the development of architectural thought’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

1307 Sevgić, ‘On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarcev tribune and around it!’, *Op.cit.*

1308 The art of the labor people, *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1983).

1309 Emir Kosturica, *When Father was Away on Business*, 1985 <easterneuropeanmovies.com>.

1310 ‘School and aesthetic education’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1954).

1311 Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*

1312 Mita Miljkovik, ‘School and aesthetic education’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1959).

our organizations, the cultural and educational communities – there are many general questions that depend on many societal factors”.<sup>1313</sup>

The topic of bad taste became stimulating for the general audience too. For example, the exhibition *Tasty-Untasty* (Skopje, 1959) was visited by 50.000 people.<sup>1314</sup> The same presented an attempt to democratize good art. Moreover, the *Movement Total* examined the possibilities to democratize good art simultaneously on two fronts: firstly, within the Yugoslav art and architecture, and secondly, among everyday life and the various life forms:

“[...] The causes of increasing rebellions of spirits who cannot reconcile themselves with the existing order and ossified schemes in which bureaucracy, technocracy, mediocre mentality and petty bourgeoisie of all colours find their safest defence. Various forms of combating also put various pressures on the agenda. Hairstyles and clothing, strikes, riots and barricades, secret and semi-public organizations, sex, group sex, the sexual revolution, pornography and drugs, youth and delinquencies, a significant part of modern music and underground art of young people, new philosophies and religions, group housing families, caves and handkerchiefs, fast vehicles, weapons, violence and terror, smashing, burning and self-immolation – different means for different occasions in a world of lying and segregation. In a world that has more and more power, knowledge and technological capabilities, there is more and more money and standards, more and more free time, and in all that – less and less peace and daily happiness of the human individual, reduced too often to the level of numbers and objects of manipulation in the ICT world, politics and economics, created (it is said) precisely for the sake of this little man”.<sup>1315</sup>

Others pointed out that bad taste was promoted by the uncritical massive Yugoslav cultural production and obsession for contemporary art exhibitions. For instance, the movie *Dancing in The Water*, [fig.358], depicts the enormous and boring ‘vernissages’ of an exhibition of Modern Art and the art criticism which rose to criticize them, [fig.359]. Moreover, bad taste was also noticed in the wider cultural and artistic sense:

“The struggle for progress has been going on for days on almost all of the important fronts of our society. Nevertheless, in art, there is a lack of strength that would in its specific way affirm the ideas for which the progressive people of our community are fighting without compromise. The vast work of Yugoslav contemporary art is composed of thousands and thousands of paintings, sculptures, graphics, countless applied arts, luxury design, stupid architectural and urban ideas and realizations, and even more stupid ‘critical’ interpretations. It looks like global and increasingly open reminiscence of pure and reactionary work, which more than ever needs the ideological power of art”.<sup>1316</sup>



Fig. 358 and 359| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985

1313 *Ibid.*

1314 *Ibid.*

1315 Darko Venturi, ‘Action ‘Total’ gallery of the student centre in Zagreb. Draft decree on the democratization of the arts (with explanation)’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

1316 *Ibid.*

It was noticeable that the phenomenon of consumerism also provoked bad taste. The protagonist detected that design (including architecture) was falling victim to the phenomenon of consumerism, which stimulated purchasing the *cultural artefacts* – objects as a matter of desire.<sup>1317</sup> For those reasons, in *Consumer Taste as a Life Problem*, [fig.360]) it was suggested that the taste of the future ‘consumer’ be shaped.<sup>1318</sup> Therefore the factory manager, who is interviewed in the article, explains that this is challenging since the factory workers’ collective is solely motivated to produce for the purpose of achieving greater financial gain. Moreover, he suggests the market be reshaped since the “heavy looks, walnut wood and rich profiling furniture”<sup>1319</sup> could not satisfy the new aesthetical requirements anymore, [fig.361].



Fig. 360| Extract from the page 6, *Consumers taste as a life problem*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.3,1954, Zagreb



Fig. 361| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, 1960s

A cultural strategy was thus recommended: to ‘orient the public discourse’ through organizing modern interior architecture exhibitions or opening architectural ateliers in the city for production of the furniture to ameliorate the designs. In the socialist paradigm, the consumer was seen differently than in the ‘classic societies’ as the production created the consumer and impacted the dynamic created by the human needs: “production produces not only the object for the subject but also the subject for the object”.<sup>1320</sup> What’s more, criticism about the commercialization in the context also became significant for those who were temporarily visiting the country. It was discussed that Yugoslavia should offer ‘good taste’ of the cultural and artistic experience to the people who visit it. Culture has a global dimension and it creates global dynamics:

“Commercialization in the spiritual lifestyle was criticized and analysed too, for example ‘To what purpose was the entire revolutionary experience, when the German capitalists are exploiting our workers, Americans are building hotels, and the government runs gambling casinos for the tourists? No, this is utter nonsense’.<sup>1321</sup>

Furthermore, in the same context he continues explaining the ambience from the late 1960s: “It makes me ill to see shoddy, made-in-Japan Eiffel Towers sold in Zagreb to the armies of German tourists”.<sup>1322</sup> Another author also pointed out the role of consumerism within the cultural Yugoslav paradigm: “he considered the commercialization of Yugoslav culture a spiritual disaster

1317 ‘Consumers taste as a life problem’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

1318 Skills of producing ‘good furniture’ were detected that are already there (even before the World War II). The only thing that needed to shift the ‘future consumer’ was their aesthetics.

1319 ‘Consumers taste as a life problem’, *Op.cit.*

1320 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

1321 Blumenfeld, Seesaw; Cultural Life in Eastern Europe, *Op.cit.*, p.229.

1322 *Ibid.*

for the country”.<sup>1323</sup> The ‘cultural consumerism’<sup>1324</sup> was early on identified atypically in the socialist society and manifested in the cultural life of the cities, in forms of ‘cheap parties’, ‘spectacular performances’ and, ‘kitsch shows’, which existed solely for the purpose of attracting more visitors and financially sustaining their work.<sup>1325</sup> Moreover, similar stances ensue in the international arena, and emerged related to the work of *the Society of the Spectacle* (1967), linked to the mass culture seen as a product of the phenomenon of consumerism.

In this context, the criticism of the phenomenon of bad taste intensified during the 1970s, coinciding with the emergence of the *Kitch Tax*. The first spatial manifestations of the phenomenon were noticed concerning the tourist zones in the cities, which became the first known ‘victims of the kitsch’; they were “superficially likeable”<sup>1326</sup> and full of “false tourist content”.<sup>1327</sup> Such ‘animated’ spaces were considered to degrade the meaning and significance of the valuable places where historically people use to gather and create. The particular ‘plastic ambience’ deployed a negative influence on the authenticity of the cities and the spatial sources which foster people creativity. Architects believed that such spaces negatively impacted and generated “cultural slackness” and “[...] indulgence among masses”.<sup>1328</sup>

“Kitsch is today imported as a collective, social program! From boutique mania, disco mania and weekend mania to the concept of uniform tourist offers. Tourism mania has led to the differentiation of kitsch into the collective and the individual. The former is carried out by the civic (social) sector, while the latter by the private sector. The first shows a tendency to program uniformization – from the tourist offer to the architectural, construction expression, while the second is the desire to issue new uniforms, from grey box-concrete huts, to completely scandalous buildings – monsters, when the architecture which was developed for our plain surfaces moves to the hills, and the architecture of the mountain with its ambience moves to the plain surfaces, or when a hut is invented in a dilettante way – with the freedom of the most ordinary decoration and dysfunction”.<sup>1329</sup>

In the global arena, similar cultural topics related to bad taste emerged, e.g. the Yugoslav authors referred to the movies *Mondo Cane* (Jacopetti, 1962, [fig.362]) and *Playtime* (Tati, 1972) as well the book *The Spirit of Our Time* (Morin, [fig.363]).<sup>1330</sup> The criticism later spread to different parts of Europe and became a well-known subject of discussion. Nevertheless, within the socialist

1323 Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

1324 The term arrives from the study of Gernot Böhme, in the book ‘Critique of aesthetic capitalism’.

1325 Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

1326 *Ibid.*

1327 *Ibid.*

1328 Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

1329 Pasiновиć, ‘Turismo mania and kitsch’, *Op.cit.*

1330 *Ibid.*

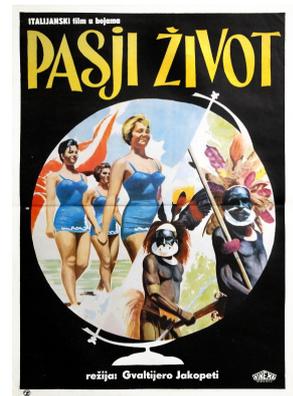


Fig. 362| Poster from the movie, *Mondo Cane* [*Pasji Život*], Gualtiero Jacopetti, Franco Proserpi, Paolo Cavara, 1962



Fig. 363| Book, *L'esprit du temps*, Edgar Morin, 1962

societies it was viewed as an attack on the ‘honest socialist values’ and the search for the desired: “[...] human values, true human space, the beauty of the geographical and spatial-historical ambience of man are irrelevant, this kitsch is much more dangerous and destructive in us!”<sup>1331</sup> It was noticed that bad taste impacted the *Socialist Everyday Urban Culture*, and by that, the whole artistic creation (p.311). For instance, the artist Ilić depicted a ‘real-life’ situation from downtown Zagreb of a girl refusing to shake the hand of a man because he was wearing a diamond ring.<sup>1332</sup> Such a situation was realistic – people developed their personal views that the strive for materialism was bad taste. In the same vein, Bogdanovich (who moved to the USA) criticized: “In Yugoslavia, the world has not yet gone crazy for money as in America”.<sup>1333</sup> Furthermore, the protagonist continued to depict the rise of bad taste in the American *reality*: “[...] American television is promoting the largest ‘suburban behaviour’ that exists anywhere. The American man puts his feet on the table, drinks a beer from a can and while waiting for his wife to invite him to the table, watches a certain show. If something is not aligned with the way he is used to watching, he changes the channel and protests”.<sup>1334</sup> In the local context bad taste was also detected in the *ambience* of everyday *reality*:

“We consider it kitsch if in the magazine they write about some American actress who has three fur coats, five lovers, a house with a swimming pool, etc. They considered this as kitsch since they believed they are brainwashing the youth with the value of material possessions. If someone brings a doll from Italy that talks and put this item in the house, that was also considered as kitsch. People were so afraid of this kitsch. Completely unnecessary. People just wanted to warm up their life”.<sup>1335</sup>

Moreover, Dragičević Šešić discovered that the ‘newly composed culture’ group was considered to convey the phenomenon of bad taste. Moreover, the group was considered to have its spatial transcriptions too: “The third category ‘newly composed culture’ was waiting for an apartment in the suburbs, or building their own houses. This is how ‘illegal housing’ came into the discourse”.<sup>1336</sup>

From the premises above, it can be concluded that what was considered as kitch in the Yugoslav aesthetics, emerged upon its original criticism and it can be described as an ‘alternative’ sub-culture which had an impact both on the Yugoslav man-made environment and on the general ambience in the

1331 *Ibid.*

1332 TV Interview with Mirko Ilić, they win, 2012 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gWK-9F4C-pok>>.

1333 ‘In Yugoslavia, the world has not yet gone crazy for money as in America’, Danica Radović, Duga, 1975, <[www.yugopapir.com](http://www.yugopapir.com)>.

1334 *Ibid.*

1335 Testimonial Branka Doknić, Belgrade, Serbia, 2019 (p.50).

1336 Testimonial Milena Dragičević Šešić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.75).

Yugoslav cities. Although the kitch was in all honesty hated, it still did not disappear: “Fearing loss of control over cultural events, the state government explained its interference by the need to ‘fight against the bad taste, fight ‘to raise the ideology’, or against all negative phenomena in culture, whatever that meant. It was a struggle against the bad taste [šund], which was a “negative phenomenon that arose as a consequence of the contradictory conditions of our movement forward [...]”<sup>1337</sup>

- Stimulated Artistic Development

In the period just after the end of World War II, and particularly during the 1950s, the artistic involvement in the architectural production of the country emerged as a topic of interest. Both the architects and the artists were challenging and reassessing the relationship between the two, as well as the artistic involvement in the *process of the materialization of architecture*. It was noted that the modernism which evolved in the whole ‘pre-war’ *architectural creation* [архитектонско стваралаштво] was standardized in a negative sense, blaming the architects’ curriculum and describing it as a profile which emerged from the schools, creating shallow architecture with ‘bad taste’.<sup>1338</sup> From this point on, various proposals emerged to overcome the issue and ‘to cleanse’ the link between the artistic and architectural coalition.

New and more effective ‘coalitions’ developed between architecture and art, aimed to overcome the architectural-artistic gap, as a result of the desired *synthesis* (p.242) which promoted the idea that: “Fine art mainly has three branches that show their togetherness: architecture, sculpture and painting with the totality of their fields and their disciplines”.<sup>1339</sup> The strategies advocated incorporating aesthetics classes for children (as part of the school curriculum), stimulating architecture through art professional and informal associations, opening hybrid ‘artist-architect’ ateliers; while some unusual ones were giving more time to architects for raising their general cultural knowledge, changing the bureaucracy related to practicing architecture, and creating exhibitions and forums to inform the wider audience about issues, i.e. fostering ‘alive’ discussions about issues. Positive shifts, which narrowed the gap, were visible: “[...] As is well known, many architects are also engaged in painting; some achieve notable successes, such as watercolourists, graphic artists, painters

1337 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.170.

1338 Document ‘Architecture as Art’, *Op.cit.*

1339 Lazar Licenovski, ‘Applied art and industrial aesthetics’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1957).

in general, some do caricatures, etc”.<sup>1340</sup> The measures were later also classified and disseminated by the cultural planning mechanisms:

“The direct and indirect measures bearing effects on the creative effort in culture and the arts can be divided into four groups: (a) enactments regulating the legal status of artists; (b) public tributes and awards; (c) scholarships, grants and other ways of promoting professional skills; and (d) diverse forms of assistance and encouragement: studios, purchase; preferential taxation, art colonies, housing, etc”.<sup>1341</sup>

The document *Architecture as Art* (*Set of Documents* (p.556), [fig.364]) presents the current realities in the 1950s around the problematic issues, and it discussed the possibility to overcome the *architectural-artistic gap* by organizing new hybrid ‘artistic-architectural ateliers’ to create a new desired profile of a cultural creator. The document emphasized that architecture should also be treated as an artistic branch from the side of the *Council for Culture and Art*. The author makes a case that architecture is significant because it “[...] is placed in the centre of our cultural upbringing [...]”.<sup>1342</sup> Vocalizing the same idea, the architect Milan Minić drafted the proposal *Problem of Architecture as Art* (*Set of Documents* (p.557), [fig.365]), where he introduces to the *Council for Culture and Art* the organization of the new hybrid architectural atelier, and suggests that the concept atelier be open in each of the capital cities of the country.

The document is of great significance since it explains a practical solution of how the architectural profession should not be practiced as the other bureaucratic professions are. The author emphasized that the architectural profession should be treated similarly to the ‘artistic profession’, even so some argued that the artistic and architectural, on the one hand, and the artistic profile, on the other hand, should not be completely professionalized as the other professions are. It is noteworthy to grasp such an atypical strategy that aims to cope with the everyday and the lifestyle of the architects, having become a subject of the cultural planification. Minić emphasized that the lifestyle of the architects should be closer to that of the artists since the architects also require more free time for their personal cultural development. Others tried to depict the everyday of the architects as:

“Today, there is no artist.  
Today there are only architects-clerks.  
All this architecture of construction is done in a completely bureaucratic way. Come to work at exactly 7:00. Sit down at the desk and at 7:05 start thinking. Repeat this action twice a week for two hours, also do it in the afternoon. On the first day of every month you receive a canvas envelope and figure out how

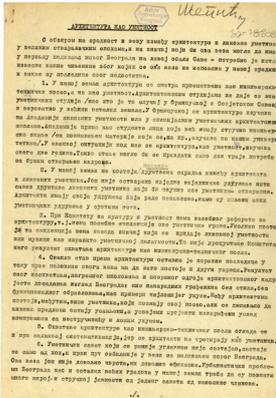


Fig. 364] Page 1, Document, *Architecture as Art*, from the *Council for Culture and Art of FНРY*, *Archive of Yugoslavia*, 1962, Belgrade

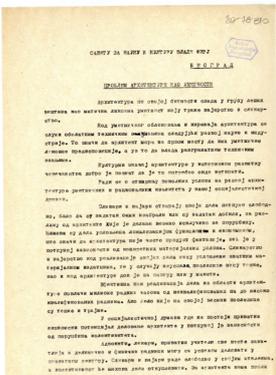


Fig. 365] Page 1, Document, *The problem of Architecture as Art*, from the *Council for Culture and Art of FНРY*, *Archive of Yugoslavia*, 1962, Belgrade

- 1340 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘Five years of urbanism in Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1974).
- 1341 *Ibid.*
- 1342 Document ‘The Problem of Architecture as Art’, *Op.cit.*

to stretch it until the next month. Then repeat the same action. Within the first two days of the month, you have to create some artwork. If you don't create it, you will be around for the next month, and make sure you are the first on the payroll. If, however, by some miracle, you create it, you can also come and pick it up with the same salary. Now that you are an artist, it is easier to stretch that canvas envelope with your salary inside in an artificial way. Is it clear to you, my friends, that the entire post-war architecture was made according to the above recipe? And that all that is quality is done only by heart and love?"<sup>1343</sup>

The documents mentioned above are significant since it can be observed that architects were self-initiators, who suggested their visions directly to those who impacted the model in which architecture was created, i.e. the authorities in the field of culture. The immediate approach in the good spirit of collaboration left space for the creative scene to be managed by the cultural creators themselves. Another unique proposal came from the architects, who suggested a new institution be established – *Centre for Monitoring and Study of Contemporary Theoretical Problems in the Field of World Literature, Aesthetics and Art* – in order to better understand the difficulty of artistic involvement in architecture. The institution aimed to analyze the general tendencies in the 'cultural sphere' and the relations between art and architecture in the other parts of the world. This centre needed to provide a critical examination of the ongoing global tendencies and to relate them with the ongoing planning of the cultural field of Yugoslavia. As such, several units were formed: (1) the unit which would follow the cultural development of Western Europe; (2) the cultural development of South and North America; (3) the cultural development in socialist countries; (4) the cultural development of Africa and Asia (with a focus on India and Japan); and (5) the cultural development of the Yugoslav Socialist Republics. Another protagonist suggested that architecture take part in cultural planning and the cultural-art life: "And finally, architecture as an art discipline cannot realize its progress if it does not take on its fundamental meaning in our art life".<sup>1344</sup> Yet another tried to assist in bringing art closer to architecture by defining what artistic quality in architecture should signify:

"The artistic component in architecture and urbanism is not created by the use of expensive materials nor does it depend on the number of funds used. It resulted in an upgrade from the surplus of the creative potential of the architect necessary for solving the task. For good architecture, it does not require material expenses, but the talent, time and effort of the author of the building and the conscious 'will of the community' to achieve artistic quality in architecture. We believe that architecture and urbanism are far more important in socialism than in classical formations. The increase in their significance stems from their democratization".<sup>1345</sup>

1343 Stojanović, 'Five years of urbanism in Belgrade', *Op.cit.*

1344 Rihter, 'Two articles about the first volume of the Encyclopedia', *Op.cit.*

1345 'Opened question about architecture and spatial planning', *Op.cit.*

To conclude, it was recognized that good architecture was formed (among others) by the qualitative (and non-material) aspects as well.<sup>1346</sup> The documented *Work Plan for 1963* presents strategies to overcome the obstacles of having the fine art incorporated in architecture. The first strategy in the document aims to regulate (on the Federal level) and design policies to oblige future builders to incorporate the applied art when creating a new building. Therefore, the strategy involved a percentage of ‘artistic investment’ when constructing a new civic building. Also, some of the individual Yugoslav socialist Republics generated their custom-made policies, e.g. the policy which was adopted in the socialist Republic of Macedonia:

“To achieve these goals, the recommendations from the *Council of Culture* of the People’s Republic of Macedonia, dating back to 1959, should be taken into account as they advocated the performance and use of art from the field of fine arts and crafts into the construction [...]”.<sup>1347</sup>

Furthermore, the *Yearly Program for the Development of the Art in SR Serbia* described a similar idea of insuring financing for the artistic involvement in the buildings: “Necessary adoption of a federal regulation that would determine the percentage of investment for art equipment in the civic buildings, such as the cultural, educational institutions, museums, libraries, hospitals, etc”.<sup>1348</sup> Such a strategy was considered to assist in the quality of the architecture, as well as to contribute towards affirmation of the artistic practices:

“[...] Problems of introducing art elements on public buildings – synthesis of fine arts and architecture. By considering and solving this problem, a broader perspective of fine arts would be provided, a fast process of synthesis and integration of fine arts and architecture would be achieved, and a mass affirmation of fine, sculptural, graphic and applied arts would be achieved”.<sup>1349</sup>

The mentioned *Yearly Program* proposed the introduction of new policies to firstly stimulate a non-lucrative space for the architect-artist *concept atelier* as a mechanism to go beyond the unwanted ‘business premises’ and the commercialisation of the profession. Therefore, such studios required a wider statute too. Secondly, a new solution was suggested to stimulate the domestic production of artistic materials. Lastly, the program discussed more fair manners for ‘redemption of artistic pieces’: “the problem is that art of the best quality somehow does not reach the door of the civic galleries from each of

1346 Therefore, later in the capitalistic paradigm the qualitative aspects of architecture, got gradually insisted since they could not be commercialise since they do not form markets, and by that they don’t generate a financial gain.

1347 Niko Tozi, ‘Esthetical – fine art shaping of new Skopje’, *Cultural Life* (Skopje, SR Macedonia, 1966).

1348 Secretariat of the Republican Secretary for Culture, Milan Vukos, ‘The plan for work of the Republican Secretariat for Culture, for the second half of 1963’, *Op.cit.*

1349 *Ibid.*

the countries”.<sup>1350</sup> To conclude, innovative cultural strategies were invented ‘to cleanse’ the link between the artistic and architectural coalition, and to bring the qualitative aspects of architecture closer to their physical manifestations. Moreover, in the given context, the cultural creators took part in the creation of *the model* in which the *cultural artefacts* materialized.

- Regional Affirmation

The formation of Yugoslavia extended the physical borders which were previously only accessible in the framework of the individual socialist countries, resulting in the citizens having a larger and unknown territory for exploration. In addition, the cultural planification aimed to better organize and stimulate the program, so the citizens could visit and explore the physical territory of the newly established country. As certain regions of the country were less known to the citizens, they needed to politically affirm themselves and be established as good cultural environments. Therefore, a set of strategies to develop them both economically and culturally was elaborated to transform those regions into autonomous cultural environments:

“When building social civic plans, the community takes special care to ensure the necessary conditions for further development of economically underdeveloped areas, primarily to better use or achieve conditions for the start of the use of their natural and other resources, and then to set the necessary material bases for their gradual economic and cultural uplift”.<sup>1351</sup>

For such *authentic recognition of the regions*, numerous cultural activities were planned on the entire territory, e.g. in the cultural planification programs, new *Cultural Houses* [*Културни Домови*] were envisioned on the entire territory (p.300): “They had some support from the state in a sense that it also wanted to make something out of it, so the environment could sustain itself politically”.<sup>1352</sup> Architects took part in the initiatives by being involved in programming and designing the cultural program across the whole Yugoslav territory, and later on in designing the buildings too,<sup>1353</sup> which was followed by spatially distributing the culture and art in the natural landscapes. This was also linked to practical ‘on-ground’ implementation of the theoretical self-managing system, which urged for political and cultural territorial decentralization.

Moreover, the attempts stimulated the emergence of the *cultural territorial thinking*, which sought the creation of common physical links across the

1350 *Ibid.*

1351 ‘Cultural Politics in the Municipality’, *Op.cit.*

1352 Testimonial Marko Mušič, Ljubljana, 2019 (p.102).

1353 *Ibid.*

Yugoslav space. In fact, this was created on the legacy of the *Partisan Movement*, having emerged during World War II and being active across the entire Yugoslav landscape, [fig.007]. The protagonists wanted to create a symbolic continuation of the heroic battles which took place in the natural landscapes (p.241). These were the reasons as to why the cultural programs proposed strategies for cultural and recreational activities and encouraged cultural mobility across the population: to motivate them to learn more about the natural landscapes of the new country and by that to personally associate with it. The strategy aimed at cultural transformation from a political perspective, i.e. politically affirming the places which were less recognized as good places:

“In Croatia, development and movement began together with the beginnings of industrialization in the last century, setting up railway connections, etc., and was accompanied by the growth of cities and the transformation of former small commercial and abandoned towns into towns where culture and social initiatives developed”.<sup>1354</sup>

As observed from the paragraph, this became possible due to the physical mobility and the new means of transport, such as the railway network, which was emerging in the epoch together with the industrialization processes, additionally contributing to the new cultural institutions and the new modern infrastructure to be territorially disseminated. The small cultural centres which appeared across the country stimulated the development of cultural life in each of the politically established Yugoslav regions. The cultural regionalization implied the territorial decentralization, while cultural life simultaneously remained an urban phenomenon, naturally concentrated in the cities:

“The rural local community is more strongly determined by tradition than the urban community; the village is harder than the city to adapt to change, and regardless of the possibilities of modern media and rapid circulation of culture and knowledge, it is in a much more difficult position to conquer novelties. In underdeveloped rural areas, more basic homes are proving to be one of the main means of effective cultural and educational action. A specific problem is the attitude towards folk culture (heritage, including construction), therefore in the countryside, there is now a battle between tradition and modernity, between folk culture and the culture of the industrial age. The cultural action is within the rural framework of preoccupation with the “cultural modernization” of the village, but also with respect to its cultural identity”.<sup>1355</sup>

Another example of cultural regionalization could be found in the report of the *Permanent Conference of the Yugoslav Cities*, organised in 1965 in Belgrade, which shows that the Conference dedicated sufficient time to discuss the development of the regional cultural life and to define it at the level of urban municipalities. Moreover, the report indicates that the federation should provide ‘equality of richness of the cultural life’ in the various municipalities

1354 ‘Contribution of architects to the twentieth anniversary of the socialist revolution’, *Op.cit.*

1355 *Ibid.*

and that each of the municipalities and regions should have their custom-made cultural programs because of their diversity – something which contributed to having different cultural needs too. This meant that the cultural programs were created upon detection of the common citizen needs:<sup>1356</sup>

“Due to this role of cultural activities, all societal political communities have certain obligations to them, depending on the nature and character of certain activities and certain institutions that exist in this area, as well as the degree of their connection with certain territories and the needs and interests of citizens who inhabit them”.<sup>1357</sup>

Similar cultural strategies, like the one of the *Cultural Houses* to culturally mark the territory, was created by the program which planned the dissemination of the *Yugoslav Memorials* in the natural resorts across the territory, [fig.366]. The idea behind the strategy was to connect the particular territory and the natural landscapes to the closer human association through art, [fig.367, fig.368]. Additionally, the *Yugoslav Memorials* were positioned in the places where the partisan battles took place. Indeed, their given names emphasized the connection with nature too, e.g. they are titled *Memorial Parks* since they included the territorial dimension and landscape design too. The same can be observed from the popular evidence, [fig.369], where the indicated memorials on the map are located in the natural reserves of the country. The map is physically located in the ‘fine arts’ unit in the atlas, showing that the *Regional Affirmation* was a thematic cluster that belonged to the cultural field. Another example is the *Monument Kosmaj* – the result of an architectural *synthesis* between the landscape and the art. As observed from the popular evidence, [fig.370], the article starts with the information and description of the choice of the location of the monument. Moreover, the author described how the monument would be positioned in the location of Mali Vis, on 10.00 hectares of available land – all architecturally treated and part of the architectural intervention. The mentioned *synthesis* was also described by the competition entering proving the popularity (and the considered importance) of the topic or the *Regional Affirmation* in the public discourse. The same topic was exposed at the symposium titled *Synthesis Process-Social Action*, held in Vrnjacka Banja in 1978:

“[...] started rather modestly, from the idea of an artistic and landscape synthesis, to end with significantly changed settings about the space as a form and synthesis as an open process which includes the totality of the behaviour in space, if the second, which occurred in 1975, entitled ‘Synthesis and Nature’, was organized by the Yugoslav Coordination Committee for Synthesis and OUR Cultural and Propaganda Centre) [...]”.<sup>1358</sup>

1356 Read about differentiation between cultural needs and cultural desires (p.323).

1357 ‘Cultural Politics in the Municipality’, *Op.cit.*

1358 ‘Synthesis Process - Social Action, a turning point in Vrnjacka Banja’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

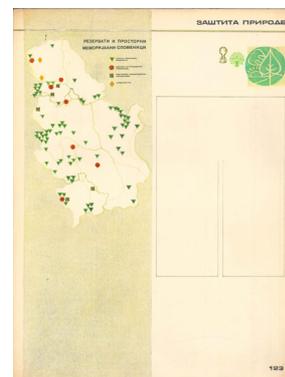


Fig. 366| Page 123, Map, *Protection of The Nature: the Reserves and Spatial Memorials, Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia, No. 3, Institute for Studying Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade*



Fig. 367 and 368| Photos, *Memorial Makedonium*, Jordan Grabuloski and Iskra Grabuloska, 1974, Krusevo, SR Macedonia

The extract presents the idea that synthesis from an artistic practice overflows into the everyday life and aims to influence the 'behaviour in space' (tackled in detail in the IV chapter). Another program that urged for *Regional Affirmation* was the development of youth cultural programs, where children needed to develop their artistic and cultural talents and as such, be organized by the municipalities where they live in.<sup>1359</sup> For those reasons, the common program was created for the municipalities where children could develop similar artistic skills regardless of their territorial position. The article *Aesthetical Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina – A Cultural Question* underlines several social-artistic strategies dedicated to the expansion of the qualitative programs for the youth:

- Developing students' abilities for analytical presentation, design work, understanding of works of art and arranging their local environment for the preservation of natural and cultural heritage;
- Introducing the students to the process of aesthetic and social behaviour;
- Activity in artistic and cultural life;
- Introduction to the current cultural and artistic development of Yugoslavia;
- Application of art and culture in one's independent professions".<sup>1360</sup>

The article envisioned that such youth cultural programs needed to push even further and develop their long-term vision of how to artistically engage the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In conclusion, the *Regional Affirmation* aimed to affirm the diverse Yugoslav regions and to provide a quality of political territorial cohesion and access to the citizens to achieve a coherently cultural territorial development.

#### • An Environment with an Authentic Identity

This subchapter aims to better understand the *authentic identity* noticeable in the everyday Yugoslav environment and the 'visual effect' it hence created, having arisen since the quality of the ordinary aesthetic was manifested in the Yugoslav man-made environment. Furthermore, this subchapter attempts to demonstrate the process in which the *cultural artefacts* materialized, and the 'visual effect' the Yugoslav cultural artefacts had. In the local Yugoslav context, the *authentic identity* was easily achieved because everything was created by one investor, i.e. the country. Therefore, the state mechanism was responsible for organizing the curriculum of the creators and the competitions, organizing the factories for production, and distributing the *cultural artefacts* in the everyday

1359 5-year cultural development program, II, the field of movie, literature and art, 1960, *Op.cit.*

1360 Slobodan Tovarisić, 'Aesthetical education in Bosnia and Herzegovina – cultural question', *Odjek* (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1985).

public discourse, as a result influencing the closeness of the relationship between the design and the everyday, and making the results readily observable.

The Yugoslav architects participated in designing the *cultural artefacts* which surrounded man in the authentic environment of the everyday, where the ‘authentic ordinary design’ prevailed and became noticeable. This was applied on the wide range of *cultural artefacts*, such as “the interior decorative architecture, stucco or façade, decorative texture, decorative sculptures, other wall-mounted packaging techniques, basic graphics, books, dolls, toys, etc”.<sup>1361</sup> The ultimate goal was to provide touch with good design to everyone – since those items were largely available. For instance, the designer Keller (from today’s perspective) described how each housewife could know what good design was but by having his well-designed product for cleaning in her houses the same will be enabled. According to him, this was significant since it meant that the museums would not be the only places where people could observe what ‘good design’ was.<sup>1362</sup>

Moreover, architecture was also treated like the rest of the *cultural artefacts* and needed to become part of the everyday ‘visual effect’ in the environment of the people, which was why the architects wanted to treat architecture as a product of industrial design by the popular total art approach from back in the day.<sup>1363</sup> This was also possible because the Yugoslav architects aimed to depart from the ‘representational’ notion of architecture (noticeable in the ‘classic formations’) and make Yugoslav (authentic) design accessible for everybody. Such a shift towards design accessibility and design democracy meant that the ‘ordinary man-made environment’ became a subject of interest of the collectivity, and not merely an individualistic private matter. Such a shift also impacted the understanding of the quality; as quality was not regarded anymore as representational but an ordinary phenomenon:

“Have we not underestimated the area of small tasks, which solve the ambience of ‘ordinary’, ‘everyday’ life, at the expense of ‘representative’ tasks? Haven’t we narrowed the realm of creative pathos too much?”<sup>1364</sup>

The category of ordinary encompassed the everyday design, i.e. what the protagonists considered as a totality of the ‘living and working environment’, so everything which was located in the environment became subject to design treatment:

1361 Licenovski, ‘Applied art and industrial aesthetics’, *Op.cit.*

1362 TV video, Interview with Goroslav Keller, Design for the new world, Museum of Yugoslavia, 2016.

1363 *Ibid.*

1364 ‘Social (civic) responsibility of architects’, *Man and Space* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1978).

“Our ambience, our home, our living and working spaces require aesthetic relief; our store displays and the objects exhibited in them are a mirror of our taste; the commercial demand for our products for export, in the struggle for the conquest of the international market and the strong competition, looking for aesthetic packaging, prospectuses, vignettes, etc., as well as all the objects around you that go deep into our lives – they are looking for a modern aesthetic form”.<sup>1365</sup>

As such, the design affirmation was not stimulated for the reasons of achieving greater financial gain, but rather giving the beneficiaries access to the modern aesthetic forms and to what was understood as good design. As can be understood from the paragraph above, the author outlines how objects which are located in the everyday man-made environment penetrate the life of the people. In the given context, new relations impacted design to become a collective interest of the beneficiaries, and design accessibility a matter of visual democracy. For the same to be achieved, new links needed to be created between the cultural creators and the industry, further followed by the distribution of the design goods too:

“However today everything is moving one step ahead, this is something which can make us happy. In our factories, young artists are working, and in some factories, scholarships are paid for students from the *School for Primary Arts*. In this school, they guide their students to achieve products with good industrial aesthetics. The school has seven departments which work normally. We hope that this school, with its young artistic power, will soon become an aesthetic centre in the Republic of Macedonia. We hope that the school will be interested in the overall aesthetic problematic issues in the country, on the level of the aesthetic, but also on the level of the existing societal needs”.<sup>1366</sup>

Design, in this context, had a different significance since it wasn't used to promote new styles (to generate growth and financial gains) but rather linked to serving human needs. Moreover, Yugoslavia was designed as self-sufficient (and design-ecological), meaning that the domestic artistic scene developed to come up with a good design and to satisfy the internal Yugoslav market; local design became massively available to the people. The Yugoslav design (and the cultural-artistic criteria upon which it was created) was greatly noticeable in the environment, leading to the environment achieving its authentic identity. Yugoslav architecture was largely manifest in the environment and contributed to the creation of authentic everyday scenography.

It can be observed in the movie *Part-Time Work*, [fig.371], that the entire everyday scenery is a creation that was realized in the Yugoslav era, i.e. the designed exteriors and interiors became everyday, ordinary and 'lived' spaces. The movie is significant because it shows how Yugoslav architecture and the



Fig. 371| Scenes from the movie, *Part-Time Work*, Milan Jelić, 1980

1365 Licenovski, 'Applied art and industrial aesthetics', *Op.cit.*

1366 *Ibid.*

spaces it created were communicated within the society,<sup>1367</sup> and was possible only because the architects (and their critical thinking) detected that there was lack of greater affirmation of the design – an idea that needed to be adequately present in the architecture too. Such thinking also followed the idea that the man-made environment was a platform for communication between the general audience (the beneficiaries), the cultural creators, and the future investors. It was demanded that the architects contribute and express greater societal engagement for the purpose of discussing the issues of design among the general public discourse:

“[...] we could not bring society and government together to engage in architecture through adequate bodies and forums (Seferov), nor did we engage in social - civic life and rhythm beyond the practice of design and thus affect the improved general climate and community relations towards architecture. We did not even use the chance to take on the task and role of a qualified social investor in the sequence of architecture [...]”<sup>1368</sup>

Good design was not the only issue that emerged related to housing, but the same needed to be affirmed in the ‘work environment’ as well since people spent their valuable time in it. Therefore, the factories (as other working spaces) became the subject of interest for the creation of an authentic environment. The protagonist had been searching for new forms on how to achieve synthesis in given work environments. For those reasons, the employees were encouraged to participate in the creation of the work environment:

“Despite product design, design of means for work and the working environment, care of experts and specially trained services in a growing number of work collectives’, cultural actions are launched so that other workers with their creative proposals and innovations constantly participate in the aesthetic design of objects they produce, work environments, work departments, the tools they work with, all the way to the radiant forms of the economic propaganda”<sup>1369</sup>

Art became present in the interiors and exterior gardens of the factory facilities, [fig. 372, fig.373], e.g. “[...] the workers in the factory of *Zelezara Sisak* (Croatia) had their art colony, they produced their sculptures in the factory yard. It’s amateur art but it’s still very important to note that it was a way to get closer to the space for creation. The sculptures were in the factory garden; they pass through there every day, proud of their piece of art”<sup>1370</sup> Some of them also offered their employers access to their internal small libraries etc.<sup>1371</sup> So,

1367 The story depicts a married couple which decides to divorce to become eligible to obtain an apartment in New Belgrade.

1368 Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Op.cit.*

1369 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

1370 Testimonial Ana Panić, Belgrade, 2019 (p.65).

1371 5-year cultural development program, II, the field of movie, literature and art, 1960, *Op.cit.*

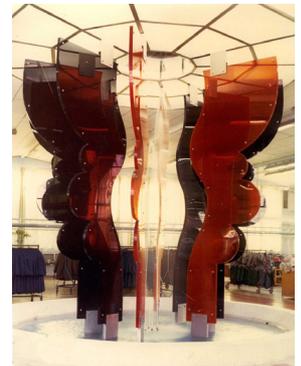


Fig. 372 and 373| Photos, Sculpture in the interior of the factory *Ist of May*, Miodrag Zivković, 1980, Pirot, SR Serbia

design and the newly formed cultural sceneries became increasingly present in the everyday:

“There is a growing number of working organizations that link this process of promoting their production with cultural action – from the publication of calendars, monographs, catalogues with cultural content, propaganda media material that includes cultural topics, through sponsorship co-financing of the cultural achievements. As such, one form of business activity puts itself out there for the care of the workers. That form also increasingly places itself in the service of the cultural activities, so in addition to the cultural propaganda, we also receive incentives for a wider cultural life. Needless to say, such a ‘house style’ (if it has legal values) constantly affects the cultural life of the workers [...]”<sup>1372</sup>

To conclude, the strategy to shape the environment was enforced for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of the ‘visual effect’ as an overall Yugoslav environment, acting as a cultural strategy aligned to the mission of amelioration and contribution to the dynamic of the overall cultural life. The ‘visual effect’ became equally available and represented a common ground to the investors, the cultural creators and the beneficiaries.

- Civic [Друштвен] Interest Matter

This subchapter aims to better understand why the *civic* [друштвен] *interest* mattered and the role it played in the process of materialization of the *cultural artefacts* in Yugoslavia. The topic of *civic* [друштвен] *interest* was previously often discussed and polemized in public discourse, resulting in it overflowing into the professional discourse and by that, influencing the formation of the cities and their built-in fabric too. Even though Yugoslavia measured its economic success through indicators such as ‘Gross Domestic Product’ (GDP) and ‘Human Development Index’ (HDI), (as any other country), the issue of the collective standard (including the collective spatial ones) remained the main interest. It left the question open as to why a socialist society such as the Yugoslav one measured its success through indicators that were developed in the ‘classic societies’. Such indicators in today’s discourse are criticized as not being able to capture the societal welfare, nor depicting a real image of the collective wellbeing. Nevertheless, in the local context, qualitative descriptions discussing the *civic* [друштвен] *interest* were regularly elaborated. For the same reason, the topic of *spatial living standards* was placed in the ‘shell’ of the professional architectural public discourse too, further influencing the projects that architects and the spatial planners considered as priorities. Since architecture and spatial planning were leading professions, *spatial living standards* were thus

1372 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

officially recognized as a profession of ‘special societal interest’. Such a label meant that the activities carried from society were of societal importance and therefore had priority over others.

Other professions also received the same status, such as the activities in the field of education, health care, information, and culture – as categories of the “first-class social interest”.<sup>1373</sup> This official recognition was determined by the law, regulating the organization of the institutions.<sup>1374</sup> Studies that followed the progress of the ‘special societal interest’ were conducted, i.e. studies that attempted to understand how the organization of the institutions carrying out the activities of *civic* [друштвен] *interest* could be ameliorated to have a more effective impact on the collective standard of the citizens.<sup>1375</sup> Such institutions also received the *civic* [друштвен] *interest* special tag in the field of culture as well because they recognized the “the libraries, the museums, the galleries, the stage and art institutions, the theatres, the philharmonics, the symphony orchestras, the ensembles of folk dances and songs, choirs, the institutes for protection of nature and natural rarities, etc”.<sup>1376</sup>

A wide palette of institutions received their special *civic* [друштвен] *interest* tag, such as “the communal utilities; the protection of the human environment; the national defence, the civil protection; and the further development of socio-political self-governing socialist relations in the local community”.<sup>1377</sup> Those categories received the tag because they were considered beneficial for the implementation of the self-management system, and according to the cultural planning, those institutions needed to encourage:

- “ - A further rise of self-governing social relations;
- Through the concrete realization of their interests and common needs;
- Strengthening the delegate system;
- Raising of the living standard and general cultural level of citizens;
- Continuous, organized and planned work on the implementation of the plan settings”.<sup>1378</sup>

Those institutions had their financial mechanisms which operated under the collective *SCI* financing (p.234), meaning that they were considered beneficial for the collective needs of the wider socio-political community. Institutions

1373 5-year cultural development program, II, the field of movie, literature and art, 1960, *Op.cit.*

1374 *Ibid.*

1375 ‘Cultural and Artistic Institutions’, ‘Some problem of social self-government in working organizations in the field of culture conditioned by the translation of these organizations into a new constitutional system’, *Op.cit.*

1376 *Ibid.*

1377 Kostić, ‘From the experience of local communities’, *Op.cit.*

1378 *Ibid.*

of special *civic* [опуумбеш] *interest* in the field of architecture and spatial planning were considered to be the institutions managing the profession and the institutions which needed to organize and develop the *collective spatial standard* in the cities. This also demonstrated that society had a different notion towards the profession of architecture, considering and acknowledging it as significant for the collectivity. To illustrate, below is an extract from the working statute of the *Urban Planning Institute of the city Belgrade* (p.364-368):

“Special civic interest will continue to be realized at the level of the entire Urban Institute [...]. Together these principles should contribute to the consolidation of the Urban Institute as a ‘self-governing working community’ and confirm and enable more efficient and professional activities of this organization that deals with activities of the special social civic interest”.<sup>1379</sup>

The same notion reflected on the individual architectural level, where the “activists from the ranks of the architects [...]”<sup>1380</sup> were encouraged to bring the profession of architecture closer to the *civic* [опуумбеш] *interest* of the ‘commune’:

“In the days of crystallization, of the social relations, to which the term of a ‘commune’ gives an essential meaning of the harmony between the community and the man, and gives the producer the right and duty to manage production at a time when Yugoslavia is an inspiration and a guide for many nations. Such a notion was manifested in our official understanding of architecture, urbanism and the problems of the architectural construction, which in the opinion of the ‘activists from the ranks of the architects’ are still not in the line with our general development and the civic interest”.<sup>1381</sup>

Activism to urge for the greater importance of the *civic* [опуумбеш] *interest* came in a bottom-up manner too. For instance, the 1968 student rebellion addressed the problems of the collective and the criticism regarding the neglect of the collective interest, suggesting greater validation of the same through inclusive activation the population as well: “We had a desire to fight and obtain the ‘right for a word’. We were looking for a space to participate in some kind of societal dialogue”.<sup>1382</sup> Even though the manifestation was smaller in terms of participation in Yugoslavia, it was noted that it had greater reach than the ones that occurred in the West, especially in the United Kingdom or France. It was believed that protests had greater significance in Yugoslavia since such neglect of the *civic* [опуумбеш] *interest* was considered unacceptable in the socialist society, while in ‘classic formations’ they were considered normal:

1379 Stojanović, ‘Five years of urbanism in Belgrade’, *Op.cit.*

1380 ‘An open question of architecture and spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1962).

1381 *Ibid.*

1382 Video youtube: ‘68: The scream of a generation (‘68: Vrisak generacije, 1. Deo).

“Viewing it from a short-term perspective, we won! We conquered culture, science, and art; we significantly influenced changes in the everyday life (not only on the individual level) and culture; from the ideological point of view, we delegitimized the system; we opened up a space for new social and art practices – for feminism, ecology, even conceptualism! Nothing was the same after 1968! [...] Looking at it from a longer-term perspective, unfortunately everything we fought against and everything we were warned it might happen if politics did not change – is today a reality. And that is a ‘new’ reason for struggle, for the continuation of struggles!”<sup>1383</sup>

The manifestation (as observed from the extract above) had a legitimate impact on the augmentation of the *civic* [друштвен] interest and brought new intellectual and artistic conceptions to support them. The top politicians (experts in the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s had parallel initiative too, [fig.374]), such as Kardelj, linked spatial planning to the importance of the development concerning *civic* [друштвен] interest, to the creation of a spatial qualitative network:

“[...] Comrade Kardelj also pointed out in the conversation that in the past we often underestimated the influence of spatial planning on the basic living conditions of man. Spatial planning should not only passively maintain material conditions and concepts, but should also influence such a distribution of activities in the area, which will encourage the equalization of living conditions of the entire population.”<sup>1384</sup>

Kardelj discouraged practicing spatial planning and architecture as merely “a technocratic professional activity”,<sup>1385</sup> but as a social activity based on scientific bases. In order for it to be realized as a social activity, it needed to be involved in the wider planning community in the spatial planning process:

“The spatial planning system, as an aspect of civic planning, must certainly consider the public opinion, however, the qualified one, and not the one in which these empirical forces or the egoistic interests are expressed. We will have to develop a system of advice, drawn upon a delegate basis. The delegates from *SCI*, the labour organizations, the socio-political organizations, the professional institutions, etc., should be represented. Such civic councils should strengthen the constant influence of qualified public opinion in the planning process, and thus incorporate professional foundations into the social organism.”<sup>1386</sup>

Such social-spatial planning aimed to assist the uneven development which started to appear in the Yugoslav cities:

“The problem of the central zone of Belgrade has certain similarities with the process of problem development in large western cities, but also several

1383 ‘The 1968 Student Revolt in Yugoslavia: ‘We demanded a radically different socialism!’ (Part 2)’, Philippe Alcoy, 2018, <https://www.criticatac.ro/lefteast/>.

1384 Goran Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1979).

1385 ‘Notes’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

1386 Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*



Fig. 374| Book Cover, *Civic and Spatial Planning in Yugoslavia*, Institute for Architecture and Urbanism, 1965, Belgrade

differences, some of which will help to successfully solve problems that exist or are expected, e.g., the existence of very effective means and institutions for the protection of the general social interests, and all the others that arise from the socialist basis of the organization of society, like the absence of class, the racial and ethnic contradictions in the social structure of the city, the absence of private ownership of land, etc. Some others will be an aggravating factor in the development and solution of problems, e.g. the restriction of the tangible material opportunities of the society”.<sup>1387</sup>

As observed from the extract above, such a situation came as unexpected since it was anticipated that the socialist paradigm would naturally overcome the phenomenon which occurred in the ‘classic formations’. This was also why the Yugoslav architects pursued a more ‘equilibrated development’ (as their understanding was in *civic [опуштвени] interest matter*) and put an effort in redefining the issue within the basic spatial unit: “Municipalities, as the basic bearers of spatial policy, should develop this policy following the civic interests themselves”.<sup>1388</sup> It was in the same vein that the architects defined that each basic spatial unit (municipality) should have three spatial components in planned equilibrated distribution – the *residential* (as an individual), the *accompanying content* (from civic collective interests), and *free space* (from civic collective interests).<sup>1389</sup>

To illustrate this point, the winning proposal from the design competition of *Block 28* (1974) proclaimed to offer “a modern organization of a local community”,<sup>1390</sup> meaning that *Block 28* was architecturally treated each as a *LC*, with all the necessary content to ameliorate the *civic [опуштвени] interest*. Such premises were influenced by the general ‘socialist impulses’ and the driving forces which sought creation of a more equalitarian community (p.169). Other studies also emphasized that collective facilities, such as schools, children’s institutions, buildings for basic health care and community buildings could contribute towards raising the *spatial living standard*.<sup>1391</sup> Likewise, the idea was to achieve spatial justice and equality by working on the “uniformity of the qualitative network of civic facilities which contributed to the idea”<sup>1392</sup> (p.297):

“There is a lack of facilities for the needs of cultural and social life. This is felt to a large extent by the citizens. All these shortcomings, which in our conditions

1387 Vladimir Petrović, ‘Central Zone of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1388 Branka Popović, ‘Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

1389 Kosta Karamata, ‘Local Community in the Block 28’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1974).

1390 *Ibid.*

1391 Popović, ‘Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers’, *Op.cit.*

1392 *Ibid.*

are accompanied by intensive housing construction, reduce the comfort of living in a new housing estate and make it impossible for spatial planners and designers to check the correctness of the theoretical setting and applied norms, important for planning and organizing the basic housing units”.<sup>1393</sup>

Consequently, the acknowledgement of *civic [опуумбени]* standards as a topic anticipated and stimulated civil (including architectural) thinking about its importance. The tendency to ameliorate the *collective spatial standard* was motivated since it was considered to be a possible solution for the widening of the spatial quality gap, which had been noticed to occur in the Yugoslav environment.

#### • Environmental Cultural Renewal

This subchapter aims to better understand how the *cultural renewal* participated in the ‘reconstruction’ processes in the Yugoslav environment. Due to the local context, *cultural renewal* needed to contribute towards ‘spiritually healing’ of the society (after World War II (p.148)), so the architects had to give their contribution towards the cultural-hygienic and aesthetic change too. They additionally took part in the wider cultural initiatives, but they also gave space to their own, [fig.375]:

“[...] The effect of architects on the cultural plan in the liberated territory was reflected in several important events organized by the cultural and public workers, such as the First Congress of the Cultural Workers of Croatia in Topusko (held on June 25, 1944), the Conference of artists, writers and publicists (held on Hvar, December 8, 1943), the meeting of professional workers in Otocac (on December 16, 1943)m and the urban planning seminar in Shibenik in the fall of 1944, etc”.<sup>1394</sup>

As observed from the extract from the *First Congress of the Cultural workers of Croatia* (p.157) (1944), cultural renewal should be stimulated in all of the smaller towns and villages on the territory and reactivated through the *People Self-Activation in Art*.<sup>1395</sup> As the goal was to rehabilitate both the physical and



Fig. 375| Extract from a page 26, Photo, from the seminar *Yugoslav space and the cities in 2000-year: Yugoslav Spatial Planners in Mostar*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 05,1969, Belgrade

1393 Karamata, ‘Local Community in the Block 28’, *Op.cit.*

1394 V. Delfin, ‘About revolution’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

1395 Therefore strategies to stimulate the same were encouraging the people to, 1.depicts the truth about the hard village life; 2.working with the villager’s consciousness to get closer to the contemporary literature and the general spiritual work; 3.Mapping talented villager’s for art; 4.To stimulate amateur artistic and writing development; 5.Find good amateur art and published it; 6.Propose professionals to criticize it; 7.Organize events to ‘culturally exchange’, such as literary nights, workshops, and lectures, or exhibitions (for establishing new cultural relationships); 8.Fight with the backwardness; 9.Detect who and how is ‘obstructing’ the cultural development; etc.- from the book from the congress, [fig.038].

civic environment, the ‘rehabilitation’ needed to be a further ‘catalyst’ for the overall post-war development. From that point on, the post-war construction was not simply a physical construction but rather a construction through which the society needed to heal and become coherent. Therefore, numerous cultural actions (p.303) were envisioned to renew the civic environment through the creation of new societal relationships:

“In parallel with physical activity, it is necessary to establish a new socially active relationship of all social agents - participants in social and physical reconstruction in all its phases from programming to implementation, and further in operation if it is about facilities and goals, examining the differences between the given and the planned. As a concept – reconstruction – has a universal and cosmopolitan significance”.<sup>1396</sup>

Architects, too, understood that the physical construction of the man-made environment was not merely a physical intervention but it involved rehabilitation of some social aspects. As a result, they adopted the word ‘renewal’ to emphasize the rehabilitation of both physical and social rehabilitation:

“Renewal is not the action of a technician.  
Reconstruction is the broadest movement of the masses in which technical personnel also participate.  
Renewal is a broad construction voluntarily, as unprofessional as it is winning.  
Renewal is a mobilized people’s experience of building, supported by man’s instinct for protection, awakened resourcefulness of necessity, poverty and despair. It is proto-architecture”.<sup>1397</sup>

Furthermore, the architects positioned the concept of action in the centre in order to foster cohesion within the man-made environment:

“With these claims, we more plastically underline the exceptional importance and topicality of cultural and educational action in both human spaces. Actions that will bind these spaces, connect them and not separate them, and rely not only on the existing model of culture (mostly institutional) but counting on satisfying all the cultural and educational aspirations of modern man in the wake of their differentiated structure”.<sup>1398</sup>

The *cultural renewal* was also initiated because it was thought that it would bring inter-neighbourhood cohesion and further stimulate qualitative transformations in the Yugoslav cities. Moreover, the *cultural renewal* aimed to create cohesion between the civic environment (the society) and the man-made environment:

“It is necessary through a theoretical approach and empirical-social research of the concept of a ‘society’ and the concept of the ‘city’ to find a common denominator through the unity of the general and the special in a self-fulfilling

1396 Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Op.cit.*

1397 Vjencislav Rihter, ‘About the renewal’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1969).

1398 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

correlation of parts of the city or the city as a whole and people-users of that city”.<sup>1399</sup>

For the architects, the concept of *cultural renewal* was significant since it could deal with the monotony of the mundane urban everyday, so it was suggested that the concept took part in the diverse cultural programs and cultural innovations to resolve the question of monotony in the environment:

“[...] the primary task is the constitution of active mobile educational-cultural cores in urban areas, which will be institutionally capable and capable in regards to human resources of shifting the monotony of the urban everyday life with diverse cultural programs and innovations”.<sup>1400</sup>

In the same direction, the movie *the Marathon Family*, [fig.376], depicts urban life in a small Serbian town (c.1935), and emphasizes the activation of the small town through the re-opening of the local cinema *New Europe*, where the latest perfection of the cinema technique and sound installation needed to attract an audience. As an announcement of the re-opening, a poster was put up on the plaza panel, announcing the different city cultural happenings.<sup>1401</sup> The event also heralded the first transformation of the Balkan cities and their pre-contemporary cultural backwardness and monotonous and provincial ambience. Moreover, the movie showed how through the *cultural renewal* the ‘modern cultural infrastructure’ aimed to gradually replace the inherited ‘provincial primitivism’.<sup>1402</sup> Experts, too, stressed the fact that the *cultural renewal* went hand in hand with the country goals that were better known in the expert public discourse as ‘renewal and construction’. For instance, Denegri in his testimonial explained how the ‘renewal and construction’ took place in Yugoslavia. Moreover, according to him, the word ‘renewal’ referred to the ambience created during the numerous *youths working actions*, organized for physical reconstruction of the environment across the county:

“That great promise that one new epoch arrived is highly controversial even today. Something arose, something that back then was titled as the parole ‘renewal and construction’. The country was ravaged after World War II. For example, New Belgrade did not exist back then. To build it they contracted it with the youth working actions. It came to the enthusiasm of one new generation which



Fig. 376| Scenes from the movie, *The Marathon family*, Slobodan Šijan, 1982

1399 Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Op.cit.*

1400 Aleksa, ‘Unity of the working and living space’, *Op.cit.*

1401 As seen on the movie, there is not other commercial posters on the main plaza, showing the importance of the ‘visual effect’ in the everyday environment.

1402 The same is depicted in several other scenes too. To illustrate, in one of the scenes, a young woman who would like to become an actress but it hesitates because she will need to expose her naked body in some of her theater engagements. Therefore, another protagonist is explaining to her that that is normal, if she would like to be part of the cultural movement which aim to transform the small Serbian town.

had that vision. Thousands of young people were working on it for months. This formula also appeared in other environments with fewer people”.<sup>1403</sup>

The cultural renewal was organized through the professional organization too, but also by working actions that employed the entire cultural institution’s employees. As such, those teams were also driven by the rising enthusiasm: “reconstruction advanced rapidly because of the great enthusiasm of the people. Voluntary public work was organized, with young people as its driving force, building railways [...]”.<sup>1404</sup> The same was depicted in the movie *You love only ones*,<sup>1405</sup> where the city theatre in a small Croatian city after World War II needed to be reconstructed, [fig.377]. The complete team of employees made the whole coordinations plans for the action and engaged in the physical reconstruction processes as well. A further scene from the movie, [fig.378], presents a working meeting at which the entire team of the ‘comrades, actors and artists’ declare that they can’t continue to work because they are hungry.

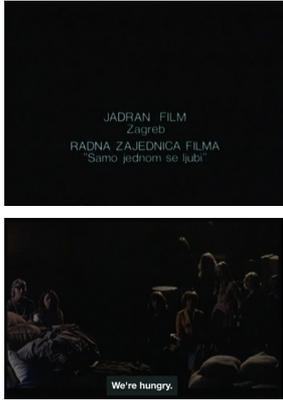


Fig. 377 and 378| Scenes from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



Fig. 379| Scene from the movie, *Underground*, Emir Kusturica, 1995



Fig. 380| Scene from the movie, *Underground*, Emir Kusturica, 1995

Other movies also explored the conditions of culture after the war.<sup>1406</sup>

For instance, the movie *Underground* depicts similar professional cultural working actions organized in the local contexts after World War II. The movie presents the renewal of the *National Theatre*, [fig.379], organized by the ‘working group – National Theatre’ and satirically presents the inauguration of one of the newly emerged cultural centres. This scene depicts the opening ceremony of the centre: the speech of the communist politicians who quickly gained their positions of comfort shortly after the war and gradually became conformists. Moreover, the movie depicts the duality between the accepted good cultural model and the unaccepted popular one, dominant in the rural context (p.236), [fig.380]. It was believed that the *environmental cultural renewal* can impact the new ‘picture’ to bring about a particular change:

“The lecturer concludes his paper on the future construction of our liberated homeland: cultural-hygienic and aesthetic change; therefore, the picture of one region, village and house should be different [...]. Because that belongs to our people; because man does not want to return to what it was, he deserves to live and live in a way worthy of man [...]”.<sup>1407</sup>

1403 Testimonial Jerko Ješa Denegri, Belgrade, 2020 (p.110).

1404 From the conversation with Stevan Zutić, Belgrade, 2019.

1405 The movie was produced by a ‘working community for movies’ - Jadran Film. According to Zutić (read the testimonial of Steven Zutić), the first private initiative became legally possible in the early 1980s.

1406 The movie express it is critical notion saying that the reached enthusiasm while lacking the basics, such as food, electricity etc. is overrated. Moreover, the fact that the main protagonists are a ballerina and a politician - leading figure in the Cultural Committee of the region is showing the presence of culture in the public discourse and the importance for the Yugoslav society.

1407 First Congress of the Cultural workers of Croatia, Topusko, 1944.

In conclusion, the *environmental cultural renewal* aimed to foster qualitative transformations of the entire territory of the country and to act as a tool which could contribute to the ‘cultural-hygienic and aesthetic’ mission of the entire region, aiming to be re-imagined.

- Integrated Spatial Planning

This subchapter aims to better understand how different planning processes in Yugoslavia were integrated into one plan, as such an integration attempted to synchronize the economic, human civic and spatial development into a single spatial practice. For those purposes, the protagonist has discussed several aspects to be aligned, like the integration of the social-civic ones with the economic and political ones. This integrated vision also opened the door for yielding a new field to be studied, hence interdisciplinary fields of studies emerged with the intention of forming a common spatial planning interdisciplinary practice. Such examples are the studies: *The Civic Planning in Yugoslavia*, the *Civic Plan of Yugoslavia*, or the *Civic and Spatial Planning in Yugoslavia*, [fig.374], etc.

Such an interdisciplinary approach was adopted for the short-term and long-term plans of the cities and the wider territories, [fig.261]. The economic plans of the country that were initiated needed to consider civic and social aspects when conducting their studies. In fact, the following paragraph explains how the exercise entered the Yugoslav society after World War II:

“The social (civic) planning was introduced in our country immediately after World War II to direct production, distribution and consumption. It originated and developed as economic planning that treats mainly the problems of the economy, so it retained its basic feature even after the adoption of the Law on Planning in 1951, which introduced the term *social plan*. Since 1952, all the five-year plans have been called the ‘social plan of economic development.’ The name itself shows that it is a merge of economic and social plans. The system of social planning is constantly evolving, and the field of planning is expanding, especially at the municipal level. There is a tendency for it to grow into more comprehensive planning, which would treat economic and non-economic activities, i.e. the overall development of our community”.<sup>1408</sup>

This invention gave new significance to spatial planning and architecture since the disciplines could adopt *the strive for the civic* within their range of activities. For the same reason, it was stressed that this could not be possible without adopting the emerging political paradigm:

“- There is no communism without urbanism!

1408 Piha, ‘Social and spatial planning in Yugoslavia’, *Op.cit.*

- Through urbanism – into communism!”<sup>1409</sup>

The spatial planning of Yugoslavia came as a result of such an interdisciplinary vision as it needed to arrange the ‘territorialization’ of the civic collective interests. The above-mentioned proclamation depicted the significance of the discipline in the context. In order for interdisciplinarity to become possible, what was firstly needed was for each of the ‘subjects’ of the different disciplines to be integrated into a single planning process. However, the challenge of the approach was to equilibrate the natural difference. For example, economic development is based on measuring an abstract growth (p.323), where civic development did not have it is fixed determinant, and spatial planning exclusively deals with actual and physical space:

“Conversely, economic planning and the projected growth-based development rests ipso facto on a mobile basis: it is difficult to predict the multiplier effect of a certain realization of social growth. On the contrary, the spatial planning, the subject of planning is the geographical space planning, deals with something that already exists, which is observable in its totality.”<sup>1410</sup>

Another article examined the possibility to adopt a common strategy because the society (civic planning) is dynamic and the space is inert (spatial planning), while the challenges which emerge from it:

“Besides this, many elements of social civic planning do not have spatial orientation, therefore cannot have spatial transcription, and there are also areas of interest in spatial planning that do not always have direct contact with social civic planning.”<sup>1411</sup>

Such a strategy to integrate the planning processes also ensued since it was noticed that space and society influence each other, but also that economic and social instances create a common dynamic:

“The economy grew at an average annual rate of about 5.7%, and in the social sector 6.4%, to which the growth of industrial production contributed the most (6.9%), while agricultural production grew at a rate of 1.9%. The standard of living grew at a rate of 5.3%, employment 4.0%, exports of goods and services 2.9%, and imports of goods and services were 0.2% lower on an annual average than in the previous period. Positive changes have been brought in the social and economic structure of the population.”<sup>1412</sup>

Not only did interdisciplinarity but also a multi-faced strategy from the architects’ side need to gradually ‘open up’ towards a more comprehensive approach, i.e. to encourage the architects to better understand the different

1409 Slogans from ‘Jeza’ on the occasion of the discussion on the theses of spatial planning in the federal assembly, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

1410 Goroslav Keller, ‘For clearer views of spatial planning’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1970).

1411 *Ibid.*

1412 Bozidar Djurović, ‘Social plan of Yugoslavia for the period 1981 - 1985’, Newspaper publishing work organization - Yugoslav reality, 1985.

planning possibilities and to acknowledge the overall importance of integrated planning. The same was possible because the society was also supportive of planning processes (and planning as a skill, in general, was regarded as something positive (p.299). Spatial planning in the context gradually gained significance and meaning; it shifted from an understanding of spatial planning as ‘urban art’ as merely design discipline to ‘spatial planning as an architectural discipline’, where the scope of activities were enlarged. Resulting after the 1950s to what is better known as *modern urbanism*, which needed to address the civic interest of the community:

“Spatial planning, in the modern sense of the word, appeared at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. With the development of urbanism (which it originated from), this type of planning was transformed, acquiring a social character. The notion that spatial planning was not an urban art but an architectural discipline which has been abandoned, or the thought of the city as a collection of buildings and streets. Such an understanding of the city as a physical framework in which people live and where their relationships give the city personality has limited understanding. This created the conditions for the development of modern urbanism. With the application of scientific urban settings in practice, and the rise of the impact of the civic communities, new urban planning was created, where the planning of the development of towns, villages and wider communities was also considered”<sup>1413</sup>

Spatial planning in the Yugoslav context needed to be linked to the self-management political systems and as such to contribute towards the creation of new and more meaningful relationships which would trigger a further impact since every ‘object affects the subject differently’:

“Our society today develops self-governing socialism based on its laws – in the direction of a complete system of self-governing and democratic socialist society. The social needs and demands are simultaneously pushing for new relations in self-governing planning of every kind, even in spatial socio-economic planning and, narrowly speaking, urban planning, as a part of planning in a broader sense. [...] In other words, it appears as a social activity – bringing new relationships in parts and the city as a whole, improving the way of life and functioning of the city as an economic and social category in which the object affects the subject, and vice versa”<sup>1414</sup>

Kardelj expressed his criticism that besides the well-developed theoretical acknowledgement and the right positioning of the civic and spatial planning in the constitution of the country, it had been “far from sufficiently developed”.<sup>1415</sup> Moreover, even experts were urging for spatial planning to be integrated with civic planning, but in practice it was more complicated to reach the concepts. Architects also viewed the merging of spatial planning and civic planning to be

1413 Piha, ‘Social and spatial planning in Yugoslavia’, *Op.cit.*

1414 Bojović, ‘A city that maintains and changes’, *Op.cit.*

1415 Goran Djurović, ‘Place and function of the old ambient units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1978).

beneficial because for them it was important that the integration would contribute towards treating the environment “not only as a physical but also as a social environment”.<sup>1416</sup> They further argued that spatial planning or territorial arrangements were both relatively young activities compared to the extensive and applicative socio-economic planning. Spatial planning should activate the ‘where’ when approaching certain problematic issues:

“Free disposal of space is endangered, and to some extent already disabled, by strong processes that are taking place in the populated areas of industrial civilization, such as urbanization, industrialization, agricultural intensification and bonification, tourism, use of the natural resources and energy and their consequences: mobility of people and goods. We are faced with the problem of rational management of the soil. It is no longer enough to answer the questions of what, when, how and how much, but also to answer the question of where?”<sup>1417</sup>

Synchronization of the spatial and social plans was tackled by the architecture and particularly the creation of the civic space. Theoreticians believed that by integrating the civic common beliefs with the spatial planning and architectural profession:

“[...] only one of these plans is called social, although in terms of content, it is not social in the true sense of the word. It does not treat all areas of human activity but only one part of it – the social production. And the construction of social space also belongs to social production. But this does not exhaust the social interest in this area. It merely begins here, coming to its full extent only in the phase of using the built space, its functional properties, and through the phenomenon of architecture and urbanism – the essential components of overall modern culture”.<sup>1418</sup>

Such integration between the spatial and civic planning contributed to actualization of the question of the emergence of the civic space which lacked appropriate facilities (p.296):

“Further development and application of free exchange of labour and association of labour and resources, as well as affirmation of the application of the principles of socialist solidarity and reciprocity, will provide the necessary conditions for more rational and efficient meeting of the common needs in education, culture, health, child and social protection, and housing and physical culture. The greater social orientation and rational use of funds intended for these needs (especially in the construction of appropriate facilities – buildings – for the social-civic standard) is of great importance”.<sup>1419</sup>

1416 ‘Notes’, *Op.cit.*

1417 Keller, ‘For clearer views of spatial planning’, *Op.cit.*

1418 Piha, ‘Social and spatial planning in Yugoslavia’, *Op.cit.*

1419 *Ibid.*

Those civic facilities were the first physical ‘products’ of such *Integrated Spatial Planning*, which have impacted the content of the Yugoslav city and made their contribution to the formation of civic and cultural life.

- The Value of Civic (Built and Unbuilt) Space

As a topic, the importance of having culturally planned and programmed parcels on which civic activities take place entered the professional architectural discourse in the Yugoslav context in the mid-1950s. The architects were indeed interested to better understand the meaning of such spaces for the cities and to study the relationship between the two. Those spaces were considered an individual category and on par with the residential spaces. Therefore, what was understood under the term *civic space* was parcels on which there were diverse activities (multi-purpose spaces) or/and their accompanying facilities. It was necessary for new methodological approaches to be developed to reinforce the methodology of creating such *civic (built and unbuilt) space*. Parks, recreational spaces, and transformable spaces (from one function to another), e.g. a playground which converts during a particular day of the week into a food market, were considered to be such multi-purpose spaces.

This subchapter is also interested in *the materialization process*, making the civic space possible, as well as the impact by the socialist paradigm which defined both the significance and the meaning of such *civic space*. The global spatial theoreticians also considered the *civic space* in Yugoslavia as something significant for the society: “Lefebvre believes that the programmed architectural and urban space, i.e. the space that corresponds to society (civic) and the orders of the ‘entrepreneurs’ and the government, actively and openly contributes to reproduction and social relations”.<sup>1420</sup> Moreover, locally in Yugoslavia, such *civic space* was also predetermined historically. For instance, the *Movement of the Bogomils* (10th century) developed their specific notion towards the *civic (unbuilt) space*.

The *Movement of the Bogomils* was an agnostic movement that arose across the territory of the Balkans (present-day Macedonia) and later stretched across Europe, such as the Patareni in the north of Italy, and the Cathari and the Albigenses, in the south of France.<sup>1421</sup> This movement developed a principle: not to engage with the physical possessions as a critical stance; “[...] thus whatever the differences between various branches of the Bogomils may have

1420 Branislav Savljević, ‘About the urban revolution of Henri Lefebvre’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1981).

1421 Janko Lavrin, ‘Bogomils and Bogomilism’, 1929.

been, they all agreed on one point – their rejection of everything physical and carnal”.<sup>1422</sup> As such, the Bogomils practised their rituals and lived their entire life under open air (*civic (unbuilt) space*), without physically building shelters or temples.<sup>1423</sup> Years later, as Yugoslavia wanted to position a *European alternative* it recalled the legacy of the Bogomils (p.263), who presented a certain counter-culture at the time.<sup>1424</sup> The *civic* (and the legacy of the Bogomils) entered the paradigm of the socialist city, and influenced the meaning of the civic space not only as an extension of the domestic living room but also as a space that had an extended cultural significance and meaning:

“The café has more functions than the living room, and some of those functions, such as the creation of artists, the gathering of the politicians, creating the regimes and bringing down the governments, is a specific working space. I think that these are the basic functions that the cafe has in itself, and such specific data needs to be presented to the architect when he treats the space of the café”.<sup>1425</sup>

The *civic space* needed to be treated as *societal agoras*, which aim to stimulate critical thinking and citizens’ participation in both public and cultural life. Therefore, the free space was recognized by the Yugoslav constitution as a space of social importance: “construction of facilities of social importance or other general interest is determined by the law”.<sup>1426</sup> From this point on, the *civic (built and unbuilt)* space (and its parcel) received the status of a parcel of *special social importance*, meaning that it could perform only in an appropriate function. This function, according to the Constitution, besides the professional spatial planning institutions could come from “an organization of associated labour, or another social legal entity”.<sup>1427</sup> The Federation had the right to confiscate private parcels if needed for the common needs of the people.<sup>1428</sup>

Each of the parcels dedicated to such civic functions [намена] (p.15) needed to be designed in a *city programming* plan also elaborated by the architects. For instance, as observed from the popular evidence, i.e. the map, [fig.381], presents how the entire area of Kalemegdan in the city of Belgrade, was re-programmed in the 1960s: a new territorial disposition of the accompanying facilities, such as space for rest, a sports park, children’s area, a civic area, an official area and an amusement park was suggested for the area.<sup>1429</sup>

Another example was the map *Urban Facilities*, displaying the categories: the

1422 *Ibid.*

1423 *Ibid.*

1424 Read more in the testimonial of Jerko Denegri (p.110).

1425 Lavrin, ‘Bogomils and Bogomilism’, *Op.cit.*

1426 *Ibid.*

1427 Yugoslav constitution 1974.

1428 *Ibid.*

1429 Map ‘Detailed town plan’, *Architecture and Urbanism* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1966).

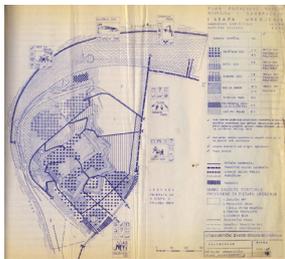


Fig. 381| Spatial plan, *Detailed Plan for Kalemegdan*, Urbanistic Institute of the city of Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade

faculties and buildings of higher education, other types of schools, theatres, court buildings, hospitals, and units for social security.<sup>1430</sup> The architects argued that *city programming* had the potential to extend the borders of its activities and to incorporate people participating in it:

“Where do you see the creative potential of a society to manage the environment?  
 SEGVIC: In the programming.  
 MAN AND SPACE: What will be the role of the architect in that programming?  
 SEGVIC: Like everyone else”.<sup>1431</sup>

Such a collaborative operation could impact the transformations of the city (and impact both the civic and man-made environment), and its institutions could be formed more critically. It was expected that *city programming* could influence the diversification of the Yugoslav cities (p.219):

“[...] uniformity should be avoided; only through a survey can concrete knowledge be obtained about the needs, wishes and possibilities of each larger group of inhabitants, provided that in addition to flexible forms of organization, expansion reserves must be provided”.<sup>1432</sup>

*Civic unbuilt spaces* and their related categories, such as physical culture and recreation, green areas, parks, city food markets etc. (or as one particular example describes them: “open and closed sports areas, club spaces and social meeting places of young amateur athletes, etc.”<sup>1433</sup>) participated in the territorial programming too. For instance, the maps, [fig.382], show the spatial arrangement of the sports and recreational ‘weekend activities’ across the territory of Yugoslavia.<sup>1434</sup> As new spots were rediscovered in the cities, it was intended that they be ‘injected’ into the *city programming* plans:

“[...] they can be created at the level of the ‘local community’ or the group of ‘local communities’, or in the old tissues, and the already built settlements, according to the conditions, depending on the construction of free areas for sports and spontaneous recreation of all categories of inhabitants. The ‘undeveloped spaces’ could be used, the ‘urbanly defined’, or those with a ‘temporary’ status, for activating the mass engagement of the residents, with the financial help of the ‘social communities’, to build small sports polygons with the basic contents [...]”.<sup>1435</sup>

1430 Map ‘Urban Facilities’, Planning Atlas of the spatial arrangement of Yugoslavia, Branislav Krstić, *Yugoslav Institute for Spatial planning and housing* (SR Serbia, Belgrade, 1973).

1431 Fredor Kritovac, ‘A humanely formulated goal leads to results, Interview with the architect prof. Neven Segvić’, *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1979).

1432 Popović, ‘Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers’, *Op.cit.*

1433 *Ibid.*

1434 The atlas was invented with the purpose to stimulate further engagement in achieving equal distribution of the ‘qualitative network’ on the whole Yugoslav territory.

1435 *Ibid.*

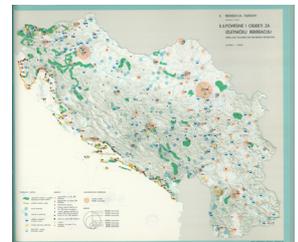


Fig. 382] Page 15, Map, *The areas for recreation, Planning Atlas of the spatial arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, *Yugoslav Institute*, 1973, Belgrade

The overall tendencies to acknowledge the importance of the civic space became gradually visible in the built fabric of the Yugoslav cities, and the civic spaces' architectural interventions and projects became part of the architectural printing press, present in the architectural arenas, [fig.383]. Moreover, cities started to gradually map and later transform their abundant areas by integrating civic programs, [fig.384, fig.385, fig.386]. It was also highlighted that such civic programs should be built in a planned and systematic manner. Therefore, initiatives of 'systematic constructions' were established, where the civic spaces needed to 'plug in' elements in the existing city infrastructure:

"[...] we neglected the idea that each school should have a space for physical education. While we have gone far ahead in the number of classrooms, we are stagnating in the construction of such spaces.

It should be noted that the systematic construction of parks, beaches and picnic areas has not yet begun and that the prevailing opinion of some municipal authorities is that these are facilities for aesthetic enjoyment and passive rest. The situation is identical with sports facilities in companies and factories, where the situation is even more difficult".<sup>1436</sup>

To sum up, a new and innovative Yugoslav approach aimed to overcome the civic gap in the cities through the systematic creation of the new civic spatial network.<sup>1437</sup> Moreover, each space had different meaning and significance which needed to be spatially determined, dimensioned and designed. Various mathematic equations and theoretical schemas, [fig.387, fig.388, fig.389], needed to determine the location and the size of the *civic (built and unbuilt) space*. These spaces were subject to the spatial territorial distribution both on the level of the country) and on the level of the cities, [fig.390], so the *civic (built and unbuilt) space* had a wide variety of characters: the "biological, hygienic-protective, recreational, psychophysical-emotional, formative, aesthetic",<sup>1438</sup> and they could be dimensioned according to the spatial unit they needed to serve too:

- A free area of the part of the territory intended for housing (free space directly connected to the apartment);
- Free areas of the complex of the 'ancillary facilities', the size of which was conditioned, at least as far as primary schools and children's institution were concerned, by the calculated capacity of these facilities;
- Free 'unplanned' areas and possibly some communal facilities which could serve 2-3 neighboring communities".<sup>1439</sup>

1436 Mirko Maretić, 'A humanely formulated goal leads to results, Interview with the architect prof. Neven Segvić', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1959).

1437 The same represents a Yugoslav innovation, since it departs from the traditional model where civic infrastructure is built on case by case premises.

1438 Dordzević, 'Free space of the local community as an element of spatial planning', *Op.cit.*

1439 *Ibid.*



Fig. 385| Page 26, Article, *Sport Centre 'Zvezdara'*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.83-84, 1979, Belgrade



Fig. 386| Page 26, Article, *Centre of the Local Community on the Territory of Belgrade*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.85, 1980, Belgrade

Their spatial location needed to be accessible for citizens' daily use: "places of daily gathering, mutual contacts, but also a factor of the cultural life, socialization and the mutual assistance of its inhabitants,"<sup>1440</sup> or represent a sort of space which would enable a contemporary societal agora to "meet, talk, and exchanges opinions".<sup>1441</sup> Gradually the *civic (built and unbuilt) space* was becoming the core of the community civic life, and as such the theoretical program was envisioned:

"- Social civic rooms for gathering of residents and for all types of public activities, with a library, having the function of a cultural meeting place and a place for the formation of amateur clubs; [...] they might also have projection rooms;  
- Health and social points, with the dual purpose of the premises of the local community in the first phase of the centre. This leads to prevention of protection, dental health and laboratory services, and basic control of the health of the population, thus fulfilling the social role for the elderly;  
- Polygons of physical culture and recreation of the residents in local communities, i.e. several 'fields' with accompanying closed spaces for gatherings and self-activity of the high school youth; the primary school supplemented by the departments for music and art education should continue to nurture and develop its role in the cultural centre for young people up to the age of fifteen".<sup>1442</sup>

Architects argued that the *civic (built and unbuilt) space* and its content could transform the city in physical terms, yet also impact the transformation of the society inhabiting it:

"The construction of civic space also belongs to civic production. But this does not exhaust the social interest in this area. And this is not when it begins, it will come to full expression only in the phase when we start using the 'built space', its functional properties and – through the phenomenon of architecture and urbanism – both factors of the general, modern culture".<sup>1443</sup>

Cultural scientists urged that such *civic (built and unbuilt) space* would be 'designed' through an interdisciplinary cultural-architectural approach:

"In terms of achieving social (civic) values and goals, and cultural needs, production of adequate space for our satisfaction is required. The creation of this space has always been – as it is now – socially-historically conditioned. The production of the space intended for cultural activities is very differentiated – as much as the cultural activities themselves, i.e. cultural needs, are differentiated. In any case, the creation of this space is always subject to social, cultural and technical standards. In that sense, this space is the subject of urban or spatial planning, but at the same time the subject of cultural development planning.

1440 *Ibid.*

1441 'The working man needs a varied cultural life'. The commission of the presidency of the SFRY for culture, Avdo Humo, president of commission, Belgrade, 1969. (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

1442 Popović, 'Development and spatial organization of social standard facilities and specialized centers', *Op.cit.*

1443 Piha, 'Social and spatial planning in Yugoslavia', *Op.cit.*

Very often these types of planning trees, which would otherwise have to be complementary, are not harmonized at all”.<sup>1444</sup>

As observed above, the civic spaces were pre-conditioned. The idea was not to degrade the authentic role of those spaces:<sup>1445</sup>

“Belgrade markets represent a continuation of a century-old tradition by supplying the city with fresh food and other agricultural products, which were brought by peasants from the immediate vicinity. The markets were the first ‘business centers of the city’ with a concentration of trade, crafts, catering shops and other ‘ancillary facilities’, spatially conceived in the form of the Bazaar [Чаршија]”.<sup>1446</sup>

Such authenticities were sought in the qualitative ambient qualities (p.312): “places with great tradition and ambient qualities are specially planned, which should be kept with the appropriate arrangement in terms of their vividness and symbolism of preserving the tradition”.<sup>1447</sup> In addition, “[...] These spaces should and must have the necessary cultural ambience. We have such possibilities and we have to look at their peculiarities in this way”.<sup>1448</sup> To conclude, the *civic (built and unbuilt) space* in the local context became a subject of interest of the wider architectural, spatial planning, social and cultural communities, who aimed to give dimension to, define, design, and program the *civic (built and unbuilt) space* in the Yugoslav cities. Such spaces were considered crucial since they stimulated and anticipated change both in the physical and non-material (societal) sense.

#### • Events built

This subchapter aims to better understand the significance and the meaning of the civic and cultural events which took place in the Yugoslav man-made environment. Indeed, it was thought that the nature of the events would have an impact on the *Socialist Urban Culture* – as a societal manifestation. Those events created dynamism in the man-made environment and became a subject of interest to both Yugoslav cultural and spatial planning mechanisms. A major turning point occurred in Vrnjačka Banja (1973), at the symposium titled *Shape in Space*, where the events were recognized as permanent micro-actions, constantly transforming the society (human civic environment). It was

1444 Nemjanić, ‘Production of space for culture, cultural needs and quality of the environment’, *Op.cit.*

1445 Today, the globalised model is creating universal and uniformed spaces.

1446 Smilja Kanacki, ‘Belgrade food markets’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

\* Čarshija [Чаршија] is a word coming from the Ottoman heritage.

1447 *Ibid.*

1448 Aser Deleon, ‘The working man needs a varied cultural life’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1958).

also concluded at the symposium that the physical man-made environment was transforming too, as a consequence of such micro-actions.

The events then became significant and better understood since they ‘translated’ the societal, cultural and artistic innovations from the theoretical basis: “From the sphere of conversation and theoretical approaches to the realization phase”.<sup>1449</sup> Moreover, the events became significant because it was believed that they contributed towards achieving a desired *synthesis* in the space and that they ‘concerted’ the particular theoretical beliefs into everyday *reality*. This synthesis was needed so that the particular man-made environment could create a coherent *reality*: “[...] Synthesis as an open process which includes the totality of behaviour in space [...]”.<sup>1450</sup> The symposium also fostered an initiative to operationalize the theoretical understanding of the *synthesis* and the outcomes of the seminar:<sup>1451</sup>

“The Third Symposium in Vrnjačka Banja achieved a qualitatively new possibility of operational action for the idea of synthesis, and in this respect, it represents a key turning point from which this civic action from the sphere of conversation and theory approaches the realization phase. Initially modest, but due to the nature of things, the complexity of the problem and the far-reaching implications, regardless of the magnitude of the initial results that could follow, the very act of civic acceptance of the idea of synthesis and synthetic, responsible behaviour is a huge act and quality in itself”.<sup>1452</sup>

The protagonists evaluated that once such *synthesis* was manifested in the *reality* as a civic phenomenon, it would impact the *Socialist Urban Cultural* and by that anticipate a permanent social action: “The synthesis gained more than the right to citizenship. It is on its way to turning into a long-lasting open process and permanent social action”.<sup>1453</sup> What’s more, the town of Vrnjacka Banja (with 7.000 inhabitants in the 1970s) created a set of events to work on the desired synthesis – a strategy which later became part of the cultural planning of the city;<sup>1454</sup> it wanted to reprogramme the annual events and to provide more adequate space for them. The events thus became one more element of the cultural planification and acted as a medium of the overall civic and cultural engagement of the cities and their cultural scene.

1449 *Ibid.*

1450 ‘Synthesis Process - Social Action, a turning point in Vrnjačka Banja’, *Op.cit.*

1451 To operationalise the outcomes of the seminar – was a method used often in the local context and it means to put in action something which is discussed on an open debate.

1452 ‘Synthesis Process - Social Action, a turning point in Vrnjačka Banja’, *Op.cit.*

1453 *Ibid.*

1454 The strategy has been created as collaboration between the Section for Science, Education and Culture of the Federal Conference of the FNRY, the Yugoslav Coordination Committee for Synthesis and OOUR Cultural and Propaganda Centre of Vrnjacka Banja.

The events acted as catalysts that participated in the *process of materialization* of the space because the cultural scene had an impact on the public discourse, which contributed to guiding the creation of the man-made environment. Numerous formats, such as the cultural grassroots, free associations, symposia, plenums, forums, etc. influenced the public discourse (the events which took place in the context) and the cultural planification processes. Architects, just like the other cultural creators, participated in such gatherings and were urged to be more publicly engaged and take part in the wider public discourse, so their voices could be heard beyond their architectural offices. Their skills also needed to be extended and their 'readings of a particular context' were required to re-activate it.<sup>1455</sup>

"[...] Why is it that in social work and engagement, and in other manifestations within the scope of builders, there is absence of mass (and more spontaneous) interest of architects? Why is our inactivity always evident? If we want to improve our activity, if we 'want and mourn' because of the declining importance and role of architects, our activity and our presence should be more noticeable in lectures, exhibitions, discussions on the presentation of works through competitions, both in the press (daily and periodical) as well as in the media of organizations of associated labour, the unions, etc."<sup>1456</sup>

The article continues to argue that the presence of architects at events should become a practice since each event has a transformative power influencing both the society and the man-made environment:

"All of the above, as well as our social activity in project bureaus and studios, in planning and urban planning institutions, construction directorates, utilities, chambers, business associations, schools, in associations of major investors, in unions and elsewhere, should be more directly connected with all the undertakings important for the advancement of our vocation. Let us add to all the optional activities from the broad domain of socio-political events. Especially in the organizations of the society of engineers and technicians, the association of architects, the association of urban planners, the association of sociologists and other experts with multidisciplinary activities from the field of protection of the natural and working environment of man."<sup>1457</sup>

Bottom-up participation on the part of the wider audience also encouraged the communal politics of the man-made environment. Therefore, a communal event called *Word [360p]* was initiated in the framework of the municipality facilities, popularly known as the *LC* building. The idea behind this was to create an infrastructure for support of the self-management system

1455 Aljosa Sevgić, 'On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarac tribune and around it!', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1456 *Ibid.*

1457 Sevgić, 'On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarac tribune and around it!', *Op.cit.*

and ‘development of the socialist path’.<sup>1458</sup> The format of *Word* [36op] was that of a monthly communal meeting where the inhabitants were undoubtedly invited to participate in the forum and the community creation. Later on, it was stated that the voluntary initiatives organized by *Word* were having performance limits since the people who were engaged in them were unprofessional assistance.<sup>1459</sup> The architects also criticized the *Word* meetings since they were not as good as they were imagined to be.<sup>1460</sup> Nevertheless, it was estimated that the experiences of each of the organized events could potentially contribute towards a better and more qualitative life (as a socialist paradigm):

“On the other hand, regarding the cultural experience, everyone has a certain influence on the productive power of working people and contribution to the material wealth of society. Before that, the development of cultural life as a whole was at the same time one of the goals set by the socialist society and one of the means it used to build better relations between people and a more complete life as a working man”.<sup>1461</sup>

The creation of a living cultural Yugoslav scene was also believed to contribute towards the creation of a socialist ‘flavoured’ ambience. The same gradually became recognizable and brought a new identity to Yugoslavia, as a country where the cultural life was on the rise:

“Due to this fact, Yugoslavia was at the stage of a rich and interesting spectrum of events in various fields of science, arts, and the cultural life: factories helped schools and festivals, workers and people of various professions participated in the work of school boards, amateur theatres, the doors of Universities were opened voluntary, elementary schools were being built in villages, a large number of Yugoslav scholars appeared at international Congresses, our theatre had already gained a worldwide reputation, our literature and cartoons as well, and it had many festivals (Dubrovnik, Split, Sarajevo, Pula, Hvar, Ljubljana). They all gave colour to the cultural life despite some unjustified calls to them”.<sup>1462</sup>

Such rich cultural life was achieved through intensification of the events. For instance, in 1977 it was announced that “426 events organized in the country every year have acquired international reputation”.<sup>1463</sup> Due to the noticeable intensification, articles about the development of the *Cultural Life* and

1458 Konstantin Kostić, ‘From the experience of local communities’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1459 *Ibid.*

1460 Testimonial Branko Bojović, Belgrade, 2019 (p.29).

1461 ‘Cultural Politics in the Municipality’, Conference, The position of the cultural activities in the municipality, The Permanent Conference of Yugoslav cities, 1965, Beograd (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

1462 ‘Inspiration for culture’, extract from a page, from a newspaper “Free Sajevo (Oslobodjenje Sarajevo)” (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967).

1463 Stevan Majstorović, *Cultural Policy in Yugoslavia: Self-management and culture*, Unesco, 1980, Novi Sad.

the *Socialist Urban Culture* emerged in the architectural press. Such is the case of the column titled *Culture – A Factor Which Makes the Face of the City*. The column was regularly published between 1974 and 1975 in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*,<sup>1464</sup> where the first trace of the notion of *Urban Culture* within the framework of the socialist city was elaborated. In addition, it examined the significance of the events for the city's character and the ambience they yielded, as well as their impact on the 'physical and spiritual identity' of the cities:

"[...] The editorial board of *Urbanism of Belgrade* introduces into its work the registration and monitoring of those public and cultural events which, with their peculiarity, contribute to the constitution of the spiritual and physical identity of the city".<sup>1465</sup>

The occurrence of authentic culture (p.157) was stimulated and the events were programmed to co-operate with the "local tradition, local ambience and historical heritage"<sup>1466</sup> (p.262):

"We do not have to go too far to see successful achievements of this kind: very soon we will think of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, the Mozart Festival in Salzburg, the Shopen Festival in Warsaw or the Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford. Sometimes new trends take root in the old fabric, while tradition and modernity merge into specific amalgams that captivate with this contrast, such as the Film Festival under the auspices of the Roman Amphitheatre in Pula, or the Philosophical Summer School in the ambience of old Korchula, or a piano concert in the St. Sofia Church in Ohrid".<sup>1467</sup>

Each environment needed to be treated individually and in accordance with the cultural potential it possessed and the uniqueness (authenticity) they were developing: "Today it has not yet gone far to discover the richness of uniqueness that Belgrade can offer in its urban totality".<sup>1468</sup> Moreover, the development of the cultural life needed to align its goals with the cultural and spatial development of the cities: "[...] *Urbanism of Belgrade* wants to contribute to the constitution of a broader, more vital understanding of urbanism as a discipline that studies, directs and follows the flows of life and the overall city development".<sup>1469</sup> The goal was to study the events because they contributed to the material and spiritual creative growth (and overall balance) of the Yugoslav cities. Even so, it was perceived that such balance was still not completely achieved because it was noted that Yugoslav cities had developed their creativity

1464 The column was part of a larger section titled Social and cultural events are a factor in the urban character of Belgrade.

1465 Milica Jaksić, 'Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade', *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1973).

1466 *Ibid.*

1467 *Ibid.*

1468 *Ibid.*

1469 Jaksić, 'Social and cultural events - factor of the urban character of Belgrade', *Op.cit.*

much more<sup>1470</sup> than it could be followed by appropriate material support: “The news discrepancy is evident in the comparison of the artistic, creative invention and the real possibilities of material support”.<sup>1471</sup>

- Quantitative Growth vs. Qualitative Development

As already explained (read II.1. *The Driving Forces*), the central Yugoslav common beliefs was placing the human in the centre, hence cultural strategies needed to be developed to offer alternative methodological approaches to support it. The ongoing construction boom (1950-1980) underlied the quantitative vs. qualitative development criticism, but also the exploration of ways of how to bring closer the architectural profession and the overall spatial planning to a qualitative manner. The same question and criticism occupied the minds of the philosophical circles too, who were against what we call today cost-benefit analysis: “[...] as the *Praxis* philosophers pointed out in their 1967 Summer Conference on ‘Creativity and Reification’: as soon as the measurement of art becomes the number of people it satisfies, art ends”.<sup>1472</sup> As such, they acknowledged that ‘quantification’ was used merely to justify the financial aspects in the process of cultural planning. The starting point was that man and the quality of life should be taken out of the quantitative tendencies:

“Man is expressed as a quantity.  
And quality?”<sup>1473</sup>

A suggested (from the field of philosophy) alternative was developed – finances would not be the primary but the secondary factor both when brainstorming and when bringing decisions in culture.<sup>1474</sup> The proposal was therefore ‘to place the human in the centre, while simultaneously thinking and caring about the finances’. Several initiatives were created to operationalize the qualitative aspects in space, which according to the protagonists were neglected because of the noticeable Yugoslav construction boom, and the general rapid expansion and growth of the country. It was argued that quantitative development would not bring quality by default.<sup>1475</sup> This was also the reason why the simple ques-

1470 Also, was discovered that the events yielded the creatively productive dynamism in the Yugoslav cities.

1471 ‘Culture – factor which make the face of the city – FEST 72’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1975).

1472 Blumenfeld, Seesaw;: *Cultural Life in Eastern Europe* (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), *Op.cit.*,p.226.

1473 Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*

1474 Original quote “This dramatic shift of interest does not mean that the Praxis group is ignoring economics as a factor in culture.”, Blumenfeld, Seesaw;: *Cultural Life in Eastern Europe*, *Op.cit.*, p.229.

1475 Kokalevski, ‘Supermarket of culture or temple of books’, *Op.cit.*

tion ‘what is good for the human?’ was regularly posed in the middle of the political-societal debate:

“The second half of the 1960s was a period of the highest reach of Tito’s Yugoslavia. From that position one could either head to something new, and different or irreversibly downhill. Our ‘elderly monarch’ not only lacked fresh ideas, but he was also running out of tricks. Whether Western politics still succumbed to the delusions of his Hegelian-Marxist dialectic, believing that investing in the ‘Yugoslav case’ would ultimately lead to ‘quantity’ turning into ‘quality’, has not yet been clarified. In any case, the leap into the new, different and better did not happen”.<sup>1476</sup>

The protagonist also valorized that the dominating quantitative tendencies would not bring the quality (as interpreted from the Yugoslav lens) which the country sought – progress in the human-cultural development, the central concept in the cultural field. For this reason, they proposed new qualitative measures and developed new qualitative methodologies to overcome the quantitative tendencies. This was also due to the criticism, i.e. the authorities’ (in the field of culture) measure of the the cultural fields in quantity, putting a burden on creativity. It was thus stated that was impossible to measure the achievements in the wider field of art by merely using the numbers: “[...] All successes were measured quantitatively, so the effort was to open as many institutions as possible”.<sup>1477</sup> The motive was to generate an alternative strategy (as in-house inventions) to promote the qualitative.

According to the architects, such strategies of bringing quality into the field of architecture included allocating more time for the preparation of the architectural projects: “narrow deadlines degrade quality both economically and artistically”.<sup>1478</sup> Furthermore, they described those extremely short deadlines and achieving solely “quantified success” as a cause of: “[...] great damage to both the material and cultural-artistic point of view”.<sup>1479</sup> In spatial terms, the qualitative paradigm needed to surround people with: “[...] greenery, playgrounds for younger children are in green spaces so that children can be controlled by adults, and a playground for older children is far from the size of the city”.<sup>1480</sup> Such spatial vision needed to reply to the *uncritical growth* and to insert a qualitative spatial characteristic on par with the ongoing quantitative expansion of the Yugoslav cities.

1476 Bogdanović, Haunted Builder (Ukleti Neimar), *Op.cit.* p.183.

1477 Doknić, Cultural politics of Yugoslavia, 1946-1963, *Op.cit.*, p.45.

1478 ‘Proposals regarding the reorganization of the design organization’, circa 1950, Committee for Science and Culture of the government of SFRY (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 317, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, Sub unit – art, No. file 78, 1949-1953’).

1479 *Ibid.*

1480 Dordžević, ‘Free space of the local community as an element of spatial planning’, *Op.cit.*

The architects wanted by their vision to demonstrate to the authorities the need for better study and understanding of what it meant to have qualitative development. Some of the architects even went a step further to ‘quantify the qualitative’ and to create and valorize systems to operationalize the thought, such as the study *Valorization of Spatial Systems for Cultural Activity in Serbia* (p.553, [fig.196]). Therefore, the criticism of quality vs. quantity turned into a critique of construction by the architects themselves:

“[...] How much is – and what is – OUR PRESENCE? How much is our activity and reality and events, which are related to our vocation, to our guild engagements?? How much are we present in construction and in what way? [...] HOW AND HOW MUCH !!”<sup>1481</sup>

The architects argued that their work should be brought into line with the general qualitative approach, which was stimulated in the field of art, since quality in architecture (as the other *cultural artefacts*) had to do with the immateriality aspects (p.267),<sup>1482</sup> something which the current quantitative expansion politics could not recognize and acknowledge. Quality as a paradigm was encouraged across the model in which the *cultural artefacts* materialized: “This work is an attempt to emphasize the ideas of quality and quantity in criticism and creativity, and to give importance and priority in the future to the QUALITY, not neglecting the usefulness of the quantity”.<sup>1483</sup> Particular “qualitative analysis in the methodological approach”<sup>1484</sup> was beneficial for the others, which needed to understand what the architects understood as quality:

“The desire to select the optimal proposal as much as possible objectifies the influence of the choice for qualitative analysis in the methodological approach. Based on the examination of relevant factors of the natural, created and social environment, the analysis criteria were determined”<sup>1485</sup>

The following extracts present a set of aspects to be incorporated in the “qualitative” approach to the spatial planning. What can be seen through this set was what was regarded as quality in the man-made environment:

1. Compliance of the proposed location or facility with the requirements of the Spatial Plan and in relation to the planned cultural zones;
2. Compliance with the interests of the city;
3. Possibility of contact with the central zone or secondary city centres;
4. Proximity to attractive city facilities (trade, catering, recreation);
5. Connection with relevant educational institutions of higher education;

1481 Aljosa Sevgić, ‘On criticism and critics of construction - echo from the Kolarac tribune and around it!’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1977).

1482 As seen in the Set of Documents, [fig.7 and fig.8], quality in Yugoslav architecture was only partly considered as quality of the used materials etc.

1483 Gordana Harisić, ‘The museum of the city’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1975).

1484 *Ibid.*

1485 *Ibid.*

6. Traffic connections: city traffic, individual vehicles, parking lots and pedestrian traffic;
7. Ambient content predispositions of the neighbourhood;
8. Alignment with tourism needs;
9. Alignment with the existing green areas;
10. Suitability of the terrain for construction or reconstruction;
11. Necessary investments for preparation, construction or adaptation;
12. Possibility of adaptation (for inherited objects);
13. Suitability of the facility or location for the required program;
14. Possibility of protection or location for the required program;
15. Equipment infrastructure”.<sup>1486</sup>

What was imagined was a particular quality in the ambience: “From here to the understanding and full acceptance of a qualitatively new and ideologically coloured, dialectical socio-spatial concept as outlined in the thesis”.<sup>1487</sup> The tendencies to profit (through quantification of quality) came as a criticized phenomenon:

“To conclude (regarding tourism): modern, mass tourism is in its tendency nothing more than a quantification of HUMAN QUALITY (characterized by the touristification of the Adriatic Region as a whole), setting up the issue of free time, therefore the countryside, recreation, creation, leisure that awaits not only of the future, but also of the modern man”.<sup>1488</sup>

In the same direction, other experts argued that the detected aspects of quantification of the quality transformed their significance through the process of industrialization; having been detected that industrialization actually anticipates the quantification phenomenon:

“For us, this statement is of particular importance because this process of industrialization has happened and is happening at a time of profound and qualitative changes in social relations, which were a prerequisite for this process [...]”.<sup>1489</sup>

The author in the article continues to describe that such quantified qualitative transformations harmed general material production:

“We live in a time when the technical and natural sciences have experienced leaps and bounds of unprecedented progress that have completely engulfed us so that our preoccupations with general social, economic, cultural and artistic wealth have waned”.<sup>1490</sup>

1486 Harisić, ‘The museum of the city’, *Urbanism Belgrade*, *Op.cit.*

1487 Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Op.cit.*

1488 Pasiновиć, ‘Turismo mania and kitsch’, *Op.cit.*

1489 Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Op.cit.*

1490 *Ibid.*

It was recognized in this context that capitalism, which accelerated the processes the industrialisation, brought about pure quantity, eventually contributing to the disappearance of the ‘spiritual infrastructure’ of the planet (where ‘spiritual’ stands for ‘quality’). Human life would be affected by such tendencies, therefore life in itself would become a topic of interest for discussions since: “Life under capitalism is, often rightly, presented as a distortion (a petrification or paralysis) of the human substance”.<sup>1491</sup> Similar criticism was made for the first traces of gentrification in the cities, where such areas of the cities degraded “its spiritual, cultural and artistic values”.<sup>1492</sup>

“First of all, we cannot reduce everything to how much something brings material gain. That is why we must remove from Skadarlija those who trade with the man’s desire to always be ‘in the currents of culture’, but without taking an activity. This would help to position the visitor as an active, critical recipient of the spiritual, cultural and artistic values offered. In this way, they would encourage the qualitative values of the inhabitants of Belgrade and develop in them a sense of true authentic value and a sense of beauty. [...] the struggle of our society to build an active creative individual”.<sup>1493</sup>

The *Qualitative Development* was in the position to provide a contrast to the *Quantitative Growth* as ‘the quality-over-quantity mantra’, which in the Yugoslav context came both as an ideological and a political paradigm. The same was stimulated through new and alternative methods and criteria for measurements prone to promote the qualitative aspects (both in the man-made environment of the cities and their spatial development too).

- New Architectural Typologies

This subchapter aims to better understand the impact of the *new socio-cultural hybrid organizations*, having emerged on the Yugoslav man-made environment. As mapped from the readings, several types of *socio-cultural hybrid organizations* participated in creating a network, which communicated the civic issues. The *socio-cultural hybrid organizations* were established with the formation of the country in 1945, and their network gradually developed and became more complex. As they were impacted by the new ‘socialist impulses’, their content also presented a unique socio-cultural invention as it emerged for the first time. They were also labelled as ‘hybrid’ since their emergence became

1491 György Lukács, *The meaning of contemporary realism*, 1963.

1492 Delfin, ‘Talks about architecture - twenty years of architecture and urbanism of Yugoslavia - after the talks in Skopje’, *Op.cit.*

1493 Djurović, ‘The place and function of the old environmental units of Belgrade in its cultural life’, *Op.cit.*

\* The paragraph argues that, ‘creativity in the individual can not emerge in gentrified environment because he is hunted by commercialization’.

possible because of the blend of the new political paradigm and the inherited human talent. The Yugoslav culture was already developed as a hybrid by incorporating the ongoing global trends with the new 'socialist impulses':

"Let me define culture in a few sentences in the words of Edgar Morin: 'Culture directs, develops, tames certain human abilities and suffocates or rejects others', or 'Culture presupposes a complex body of symbols, myths, images and norms that intimately permeate the individual, shape instincts, and direct emotions. Such a culture provides a practical life with imaginary strongholds, and to an imaginary life it provides practicality'".<sup>1494</sup>

As *synthesis* was a desired quality, it impacted the development of the new *socio-cultural hybrids* since hybrids also emerged as a consequence of blending ideas that previously existed separately:

"Therefore, many topics and aspects of the idea of synthesis were touched upon, from Marxist-humanistic settings to a self-governing practice of associated work, local communities and general social strategy, from theoretical work and fundamental research to concrete programs on partial tasks, from synthesis in art to technique, technology and sciences from architecture, spatial planning and fine arts to ecology and social (civic) planning etc. [...]"<sup>1495</sup>

New and complex issues from the cultural field became noticeable because new filters of criticism were applied. These filters derived from the new political paradigm and the idea it carried, e.g. the newly detected problem – aristocratisation of everyday life<sup>1496</sup> – aimed to be resolved by a hybrid multi-faced strategy:

- Favoring the so-called top culture and neglecting forms that are not sufficiently accessible to the general public, especially the workers;
- Neglecting facilities that are close to workers in terms of their organization, manner of work, activities and territorial distribution (cultural centres, workers' homes, various other cultural institutions, sports fields, entertainment facilities, etc.);
- Insufficient orientation of professional cultural institutions and institutions to gain new audiences;
- Disproportion between cheap facilities for sports, leisure and recreation, on the one hand, and representative hotels, stadiums, etc. on the other hand;
- Neglecting the periphery of large cities and workers' settlements, as well as remote industrial and mining centers;
- Disproportionate spending on the highest professional cultural institutions that serve a relatively small circle of the urban population;
- In addition to the general difficulties in converting the broad working class to more efficient use of their leisure time, to the wider use of cultural leisure and recreation institutions, special difficulties occur in the following categories:

1494 Miša David, 'Urbanism of Belgrade', Urbanism Belgrade, *Urban Institute Belgrade* (Urbanistički zavod Beograd), 1977.

1495 'Synthesis Process - Social Action, a turning point in Vrnjačka Banja', *Man and Space* (Zagreb, SR Croatia, 1978).

1496 The problem became visible once the critical lances of socialism were applied. This meant that the problem was detected since the socialist society will be valorised as a negative cultural tendency.

daily migrant workers who have little free time due to travel and work on the farms; workers at remote work sites, where the influence of nearby cities and larger centres is often very weak; seasonal workers, especially in the field of construction and agriculture; workers in the areas that were previously very backward, so that the efforts made so far to strengthen the economic areas of those areas could not be sufficiently followed by the results in the cultural development”<sup>1497</sup>.

In the Yugoslav context, the hybrid as a concept of culture became possible since it existed in the pre-Yugoslav context too. The 1960s saw the global gap between the urban-rural (because of industrialisation) widening; the spatial typological differences were not applicable anymore:

“a) In our cities, and the largest ones, there are more people with villages than the autonomous population. For example, 58% of the inhabitants of Belgrade today are newcomers from the countryside, in Zagreb – 64%. In Ljubljana as much as 65%.

b) On the other hand, the influence of the city has spread many times to the countryside, and through newspapers, radio, television, cinema, the development of roads and traffic, the city and the village have become closer, thus their culture is common, mixed, hybrid”<sup>1498</sup>.

As explained, the wide variety of emerging hybrids anticipated and stimulated the emergence of new architectural typologies, which aimed to foster the desired socialist cohesion. Such hybrid situations required a new space which needed to ‘host’ them. This newly emerged space gradually became increasingly visible and over time it was incorporated within the Yugoslav man-made environment, thus not only visually changing the overall Yugoslav man-made environment but also with its significance impacting the civic (human) environment. To exemplify the above stated: the newly emerged gallery of the *Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts* ((SASA), 1973, Belgrade), which has this new hybrid typology because it incorporates art and science for the first time. It also became possible because of the integration of the new Yugoslav socialist paradigm which urged for people’s science. Aleksandar Belić wrote in the first post-war Gazette of the *SASA*:

“Science is not an abstraction – it is worth as much as the people and humanity can benefit from it. The Academy is only one more people’s institution; it must be included in the life and development of the country and the people”<sup>1499</sup>.

This was aligned with the general idea about re-positioning everything towards socialism and making it serve the wider audience:

1497 ‘A reminder in the problems of workers’ education’, 1960, Committee for Science and Culture of the government of SFRY (Archive of Yugoslavia, File 318, Federal Council for Science and Culture, Unit for Upper education, Science and Art of SFRY, No. file 128, 1956-1967’.

1498 David, ‘Urbanism of Belgrade’, *Urbanism Belgrade, Op.cit.*

1499 Gordana Harisić, ‘Culture is a factor in the character of the city - Gallery of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU)’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1974).

“We want to open our doors to the world through the exhibition of artistic, scientific and cultural goods in general in what is created under the auspices of the Academy, what has been created and what is being created in our culture, what is established and what has been established as a lasting quality of gift, spirit, imagination and ideas in it”.<sup>1500</sup>

Under those new contextual premises’, the new socio-cultural hybrid organization named *Technique for the People* (formed in 1946) created its youth clubs in the Yugoslav neighbourhoods. The organization goal was to diffuse the technological innovations among the community and to attract the youth towards science and technology. The organization also aimed to offer new content in the life of the people and new content for their free time. For those purposes, *Technique for the People* launched a communal network of workshops – spaces which emerged massively in the Yugoslav neighbourhoods: “The great contribution of *Technique for the People* is in the development of our people’s interest in technology and science, even in underdeveloped environments”.<sup>1501</sup>

Among the year’s *Technique for the People*, it became the most popular association among people attracting both females and males: “Over 3,150,000 Yugoslavs completed seminars, courses and schools in its organizations throughout Yugoslavia”.<sup>1502</sup> For some of them, the association was the first step in engaging in their further future technological or cultural professional careers.<sup>1503</sup> Furthermore, the youth organically connected to their interests: “All of them learned and mastered the alphabet of technique very well, to attend schools or higher professional training in appropriate institutions”.<sup>1504</sup> The programs for such hybrid institutions were also part of the ongoing cultural planification:

“This People’s Technique has become a significant social and professional force in formulating the foundations of the technical culture of the people, in working on technical education and developing the love of young people for science, technology, and technical sports; in raising a new modern culture; active participation in the reconstruction and construction of the country, preparation of professional staff for the army and economy, and dissemination of technical knowledge and skills among young people. Patriotism permeated most of the activities the People’s Technique initiated and developed, alone or in cooperation with other socio-political factors and organizations; it is woven into all the work programs of its alliances”.<sup>1505</sup>

1500 *Ibid.*

1501 *Ibid.*

1502 Bratislav Stojanović, ‘25-years technique of the people’, *Urbanism Belgrade* (Belgrade, SR Serbia, 1971).

1503 From the conversation with Mladen Vujović, Belgrade, 2020.

1504 Stojanović, ‘25-years technique of the people’, *Op.cit.*

1505 *Ibid.*

Due to a large number of people who took part in the *Technique for the People*, smaller mass organizations as daughter organizations were born from the main initiative,<sup>1506</sup> further attracting even more population since it covered more hybrid activities for which a new space was provided, etc. The new typologies were developing their innovative programs, which were also pioneering inventions of their own, i.e. the document *Content of Pioneer's House* (see in its entirety in the *Set of Documents* attachment No.9 (p.559)) is a statute for the newly prototyped Youth Centre. This statute represents a method of how to place a theoretical institutional hybrid on the ground. The program and the content of the *Pioneer's House* needed to be in relation to the city and the society. For the architects, this was important because they needed to find an adequate form which would respond to the functions the new space needed to perform. The protagonists insisted on defining the role of the space they need to design, e.g. as a given concrete example for a Kafeana: "The basic functions that the Kafeana [Кафеана] has in itself, and that specific data that were placed before the architect when treating the space of the Kafeana".<sup>1507</sup> Moreover each program content required a different space to correspond to:

"Architecture, through its means of expression, in certain program units of these groups, which I would call a bar, restaurant, disco club, appears through the formation of space through applications that correspond to the program that takes place inside".<sup>1508</sup>

To sum up, the hybrids that emerged in the Yugoslav context anticipated the creation of appropriate architectural typologies that incorporated the role of the content they historically represented. Moreover, they anticipated the emergence of adequate spaces that would need to follow the new program (and the inherited role) of the typologies.

1506 Stojanović, '25-years technique of the people', *Op.cit.*

1507 Video 'Skopje cultural figures talk about the phenomenon called Kafeana (1973)'.

1508 *Ibid.*

### Set of Documents

1# document [fig.069] – an article *Tito on Culture and Art*, published in a newspaper (unknown), Wednesday, 23.V.1962. The document was found in the *Archive of Yugoslavia*, the article, is a testimonial of the president Tito, exposing his personal views, and the specific mission-oriented approach on art and culture:

#### ATTACHMENT 1:

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#### TITO ON CULTURE AND ART

It is well known that Comrade Tito is interested in all branches of art: he follows publishing and does not fail to read a good book, likes to go to theatres, regularly watches film, is interested in painting and sculpture, loves music.

At the same time, in many meetings and talks, President Tito stated his aesthetic views, his impressions and suggestions....

#### Our art should be connected to our lives

On the path of harmonious socialist development, both in theory and in practice, there has never been a concern about the cultural upliftment of the working people of our country. Comrade Tito especially emphasized the programmatic importance of this task, because 'in us there must be such enlightenment and cultural upliftment that will propel our social development forward, not to allow this development to stagnate, because any stagnation in social development means a setback.'

The dynamics of economic growth and rise also required rapid, parallel cultural development. In this connection, Comrade Tito said at the VI Congress of the SCJ: 'For the proper and successful development of socialism, it is necessary for civilization and socialist culture to move forward. A high degree of material culture and social development also requires a high degree of versatile spiritual culture. Only when it is harmonized, then we have the proper development of social transformation.'

Comrade Tito has repeatedly pointed to the need for this harmonization, 'because today there are countries that are sunbathing with a very high level of material culture, and in which the general culture is not at an enviable height'. He often spoke in culture in relation to civilization, or vice versa, but in one and the other, first – from the humanistic point of view: 'the culture of men and humanism should be at the height of today's civilian achievements in technology and science in general. In contrast, these achievements can become a curse for man.'

The harmony of such development and the happiness of man must be served by art as a real maintenance of the material base from which it comes. With this blazing glow, every message from Tito to all of the art contained a request to truly reflect our lives and to serve faithfully. Recalling once that recently our reality is a rich thematic mosaic and providing artists with an abundance of motifs, Comrade Tito said: 'Our art should be connected to our lives, and the artist, as part of our social being, should, without any hesitation, be the holder of our cultural tendencies free from the negative traits of the past.'

#### Writers should work to shape the character of new people with their works

The pages that talk about art, perhaps most of all, are about 'art of the word', about literature and its social functions. But which place to choose and quote more fully? From which interview and what year? Could it be possible to start with fragments of the interviews with Politics from the fifty-seventh, which state that 'the writers also create public opinion and can influence the disposition of people'? Or with the words from the message to the new 1950 year, which appealed to them 'to understand as deeply as possible the systems of events in the present age and to qualitatively give the best possible literary form of the process of revolutionary transformation of our socialist country' - Such a choice is certainly difficult to make.

Well, perhaps for the most upbeat, one should be reminded of a conversation of a much earlier date. In the meetings with our literary writers, as early as the fall of 1946, Comrade Tito defined both the educational importance and the literary value of literature. Speaking about the role of the writer, among other things, he said at the time: "It is not just that writers in an artistic, literary form perpetuate the great historical epoch that we have gone through and which we are still going through, it is also not that writers should to work on forming the character of new people. 'There is also immediately the thought of the essence of the freedom of artistic creativity:' Earlier, many people did not

agree to influence the direction of literary creativity. I am also against the falsification or destruction of literature. The writer should have full freedom of development. But - you will certainly agree with me - I am against the pretext of defending the freedom of literary creation, writing what is harmful.'

In the works of the classics of Marxism - Leninism, the particular value of literature is of particular importance, which helps people to grasp the social circumstances and economic structure of a particular society, one environment known or little known, one age. Lenin's words are well known that from Tolstoy's works, 'the Russian working class will get to know their enemies better,' as well as Engels's assessment of how much Balzac's works, regardless of his class sympathies and political prejudices, helped to introduce French reality in the first half of the nineteenth century.

These thoughts are also reminiscent of Tito's views on literature and, therefore, the abstract: 'Through literature, we need to get a picture of an age, to know its history. And history is not just a chronological recording of events. Such work is a documentary treatment of history. Historia is also written through literature, it is treated by artists, writers, in their works of art about past events and what is around us.'

The remark about the so-called time distance was followed by the answer: 'I understand when you say that we are too close to events, and too close to what characterizes our heroic epoch - to be able to give a brief picture of it. I know it will be much easier in the future. But we have to give the book documents about what's going on. Otherwise, our work today would be misjudged in the future if we did not contribute to it...

Therefore, it is necessary to create, to work, not to wait.'

#### Music has to enrich the hearts and souls of people

Many places concerning art and literature, as well as other forms of social superstition, are reminiscent of the famous words of Marx: 'It does not determine the consciousness of the people of their being, but the workable - social being determines their social consciousness.' The second Tito's aesthetic attitudes are always a well-developed association of the thoughts of the classics, in which it is emphasized that ideological forms, among which art and literariness in particular, are nothing but human consciousness of social life at one historical moment. And this, of course, is the kind of consciousness that affects the change of material base and which should be a faithful 'subjective reflection of objective reality.'

Recall the part of the interview with the delegation of the 2nd Congress of the Federation of Musicians of Yugoslavia. 'I look at music through its historical development,' says Comrade Tito, 'it must be different in different epochs, to maintain the elements of those different epochs ...' Therefore, he resents a hundred songs, such as Sevdalinka, even today - today. 'They have a very sad tone that was understandable in the time of slavery and Khmer Rouge.' Today, however, music must be made on other grounds, because 'musical processing should not adapt elements from earlier epochs to the present'.

For the music, which must be diverse, Comrade Tito then says that, of course, it cannot be all cheerful, it is rhyme and sad things, but in any case, it must be a true reflection of what is around us and in us. That's why 'when we make music, we need to create it on today's reality, which is heroic and optimistic. There is no reason to give music, although sometimes it is difficult for us, we create elements of pessimism, because our perspective is clear and optimistic.'

With this thought, there was no warning about the negative levers from the outside, which often carry with them insidious and tacit understandings and can impose their tone on us in music. Such influences do not contribute to the positive formation, but rather to the deformation of people, 'and this can be fatal in the fateful hours of history.' - « Music must contain what remains of the noblest in humanity, the sea enriches the hearts and souls of people. »

#### Even in painting it is not enough explained our heroic struggle

Here are some sketches from one conversation about painting.

The first was the great composition of Pregel's composition 'Sutjeska'.

- How do you like it, Comrade President? someone asked.

'It seems fine to me,' Comrade Tito replied. - The picture reflects collective drama, suffering and triumphs, Above the sacrifice symbols of triumph, impresses.

- It's a new, modern expression...

- Yes, new and modern is, but not ultra-modern, not abstraction.

In front of the picture "Sea", this dialogue is also written:

-and how do you rate this work?

-decorative, nice looking ---

-pictures the beauty and breadth of our country.

-only our sea is not as 'peaceful' as the image gives. On the contrary - it is one of the most dangerous. There should be a little more wind here, some waves blowing.

In a conversation that no longer concerned specific paintings, Comrade Tito said that no one was today for him, because he was called a coloured photograph in painting. In the opinion of the other Tito, a new, fresher expression is also needed, but our aspirations cannot be expressed in completely abstract symbols, which are often understood only by the author. Because:

- Future generations would not know what was happening in our time. They might see that we were in a difficult situation that we could barely get out of, but without a clear idea of it all.

'Not in painting,' he said then, is not enough given the heroics of our struggle. It is as if the period is a shamble. And the time is going away and the question arises as to what our great epic will become known in the future.... It is not a search for some outdated, conservative realism, but a matter of reality that must be immortalized in some way.

'Our greatness is,' one of the attendees observed, that anyone is free to express but. . .

- We will not interfere here: let everyone paint what he knows and wants. But we will not even allow the taste of individuals, like the supreme art, to flow to others who do not receive it ... We have some rights in this respect, because we are also shaping something. Namely, we all shape our socialist citizen together, and we will not allow anyone to disfigure him.

We continue our socialist culture in a positive approach - with us from the past

One paragraph from a report at the 6th SKJ Congress expresses succinctly the attitude towards cultural heritage: 'When I talk about our socialist culture, it goes without saying that I do not mean to dismiss the positive cultural heritage of the past. No, that would be completely incorrect. On the contrary, we continue our socialist culture precisely on these positive developments, enriching them with the scientific achievements of Marxism in the field of social development.'

Of course, it is not only about the achievements of our peoples, but in the positive heritage in general, and as if the mentioned thought from the papers at the VI Congress is further developed and completed in the report at the VII Congress, Comrade Tito says: 'Using the wealth of our own cultural and scientific achievements, which have been achieved in the specific conditions of the historical development of our peoples, we have not neglected at the same time, nor should we use the achievements of the human genius of other peoples...'

When it comes to our cultural heritage, it is clear that the troubled past did not provide opportunities for comprehensive development in this regard. To those who did not understand for a long time Comrade Tito, in a speech at a solemn session of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, said: 'For more than five hundred years, the Southern Slavs had to hold their hoe in one hand and defend their survival on this earth in this land, protecting themselves and caring for themselves and the West - who has always called us backward - and to enable it can be devoted to more cultural life. The peoples who have always defended the West from the Turkish invasion for over 50 years have not had the opportunity to devote themselves to the book and to take a pen in their hands...'

If those who had been approached by Comrade Tito had started from, it is certain that they would have treated our culture differently before it had made its way into the world, would not have underestimated it, 'nor would they barbarian' drive what you frolic as they burn!'

- as the great truth was told by the poet Mažuranić.

However, although historical circumstances were not favourable to our culture - they could never have prevented its development. And this is what Comrade Tito said on the same occasion, when he expressed 'his pleasure that the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts has set itself the task of collecting restorations and preserving various precious works of art of our past, which best testify to the high artistic level in our distant ancestors...'

On another occasion, referring to one review of folk songs and games and emphasizing that such events should receive even greater attention, Comrade Tito said: 'This is what we have left from ancient times, which our people have been clinging to. We need to preserve and cultivate those national treasures, the old folk artefacts.'

The present epoch of the literature must increasingly gain that general Yugoslav character

In an interview with representatives of the 'Mladost' newspaper two or three years ago, Comrade Tito urged the youth to be an element that would melt Yugoslavia and liquidate all negative notions of nationalism, chauvinism and the like. 'Of course,' he said at the time, 'I do not think that national culture should be liquidated; it took national, what is positive and what was created throughout history' - 'But' - to continue with the President's thought from the speech in Krapina for fifty-two years - 'from the moment we are united so wholeheartedly, we all together create a new common history, a new culture, a socialist culture, in which there is no particularism but a unity of thought and actions.'

A few years later, comrades always from this unity, Comrade Tito emphasized that the writers 'can, without leaving the national culture and its heritage from the past, look more closely at the character of the Yugoslav community in their work today.' For: 'he past is the past. It was a reality

and it should be cultivated in a positive sense... The positive things of the past can be written, but certainly, the present epoch must, in literature, increasingly acquire that other Yugoslav character, and of course, no special features of development need to be fostered...'

And whenever the criteria in our culture and the standards of values of literary and other works of art are debated, it is good to be reminded of the thoughts of this one: 'the form and content of social relations, which negates the narrow national frameworks and strives for universal integration.'

It's not enough just to listen the Tito's words. They should also be refreshed. Which is more common, on any occasion. Because these words always find their way to the heart of every human being, whether they are heard for the first time or repeated. Wasn't his message to the literary writers more than fifteen years ago still relevant today: "I wanted to point out one more important thing in the literature. This is the truth of the brotherhood and unity of our people. Wherever appropriate, it should be underlined and it will never be needless.'

Blažo Mandić

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#### ATTACHMENT 2:

2# document – from the valorization systems developed by the *Belgrade School of Housing* [Београдска Школа Становања]. The figure one, [fig.7], is showing the system systems for valorizations of the apartments, YU.88.S1, and the figure two, [fig.8], is showing the system for valorization of a building, CS'85. Here, presented entirely:

OVERVIEW OF CRITERIA FOR A MODEL OF VALUATION OF AN APARTMENT YU.88.S1

- 1 – USEFUL SPACE
  - 11 – Useful space in the apartment
    - 111 – Apartment as a whole
      - 111.1 – Dimensioned parameters of the apartment
        - 111.11 – Total area of the apartment
        - 111.12 – The ratio between living / auxiliary area of the apartment
      - 111.2 – Content of the apartment
        - 111.21 – Structure of apartment
          - 111.211 – Block of common rooms (living block)
          - 111.212 – Block of individual rooms (intimate block)
        - 111.22 – Organization of apartment
          - 111.221 – Connections between the rooms in the apartment
          - 111.222 – Flexibility of living space
    - 112 – Rooms in apartment
      - 112.1 – Living rooms
        - 112.11 – Multifunctional rooms
          - 112.111 – Living room
          - 112.112 – Open spaces in the apartment
        - 112.12 - Dedicated rooms
          - 112.121 – Dining room
          - 112.122 – Individual rooms (bedrooms)
            - Auxiliary rooms
      - 112.2
        - 112.21 – Technical rooms
          - 112.211 – Food preparation and storage rooms
        - 112.212 – Sanitary facilities premises
          - 112.222 – Ancillary premises
          - 112.221 – Communication in the apartment
          - 112.222 – Other rooms in the apartment
  - 12 – Useful space outside the apartments
    - 121 – Apartment and environment
      - 121.1 – Relationship between apartment and environment
        - 121.11 – External positive influences
          - 121.111 – Lighting of the apartment with daylight
          - 121.112 – Sun exposure of the apartment
        - 121.12 – Position of the apartment in the building
          - 121.121 – Position of the apartment in relation to the number of floors
          - 121.122 – Orientation of the apartment
      - 121.2 – Non-residential usable space in the apartments
        - 121.21 – Building as a whole
          - 121.211 – Type of the building
          - 121.212 – The condition of the building
        - 121.22 – Others spaces in the building (non-residential space)
          - 121.221 – Common communications
          - 121.222 – Other spaces in the building
    - 122 – The environment around the residential building
      - 122.1 – Plot
        - 122.11 – Significance of the plot
          - 122.111 - Dimensioned parameters of the building
          - 122.112 - Contents on the plot
        - 122.12 - Wider significance of the plot
          - 122.121 - Position of the plot
          - 122.122 - Type of housing
      - 122.2 – Settlement
        - 122.21 – Narrow significance of the plot
          - 122.211 – Equipment of the settlement
          - 122.212 – Contents of the settlement
        - 122.22 – Wider significance of the settlement
          - 122.221 – Social status of the settlement

122.221 – Connection of settlements with urban functions

## 2 – CONSTRUCTION-TECHNICAL COMPONENTS

### 21 – Physical structures

#### 211 – Supra structure

##### 211.1 – Primary structures

###### 211.11 – Load-bearing structure

211.111 – Quality of load-bearing structure

211.112 – Safety against seismic impacts

###### 211.12 – Exterior walls

211.121 – Quality of the exterior walls

211.122 – Quality of the façade

##### 211.2 – Secondary structure

###### 211.21 – Processing

211.211 – Internal processing

211.212 – Processing of common communications

###### 211.22 – Apartment equipment

211.221 – Sanitary equipment in apartment

211.222 – Kitchen equipment in apartment

#### 212 – Infrastructure

##### 212.1 – Energy installations

212.11 – Installations for the supply of electricity

212.12 – Installations for the supply of heat

##### 212.2 – Service installations

212.21 – Hydraulic installations

212.211 – Plumbing installations in the apartments/building

212.212 – Sewerage installations in the apartments/building in the apartment and building

212.22 – Communication installations

212.221 – Elevators

212.222 – Installations for reception of the information's

### 22 – Protection against negative external influences

#### 221 – Protection against natural influences

##### 221.1 – Protection against climatic influences

221.11 – Protection against thermal influences

221.111 – Thermal protection on the facade

221.112 – Sun protection

221.12 – Atmospheric street protection

221.121 – Leakage protection

221.122 – Blowing protection

##### 221.2 – Protection against terrestrial influences

221.21 – Impacts of land

221.211 – Stability of the soil

221.212 – Exposure of apartments to underground radiation

221.22 – Protection against hydrological influences

221.221 – Exposure of building to surface water

221.222 – Exposure of building to groundwater

#### 222 – Protection against external impact on buildings

222.11 – Protection against destructive influences

222.111 – Protection against fire

222.112 – Protection against war destruction

222.12 – Protection against interference

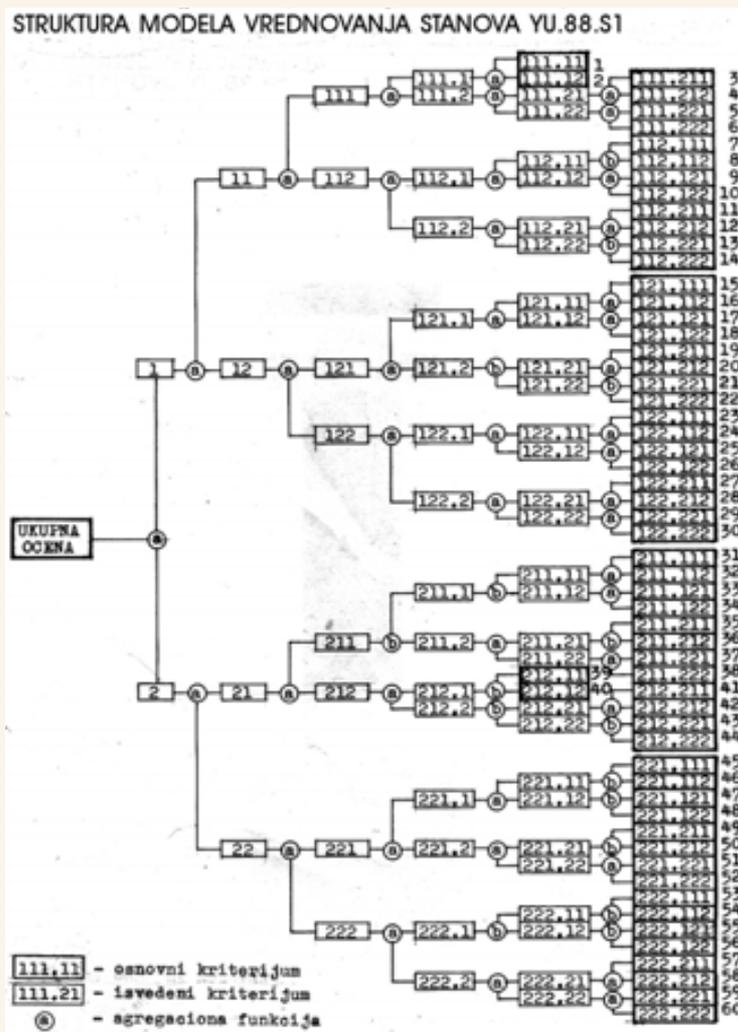
222.121 – Protection against burglary

222.122 – Protection against external views

222.2 – Protection against negative impacts on the health of the citizens

- 222.21 – Exposure against destructive influences
  - 222.211 – Exposure to artificial radiation
  - 222.212 – Exposure to air pollution
- 222.22 – Exposure to interference
  - 222.221 – Exposure to noise
  - 222.222 – Exposure to vibration

[fig.7] Structure to valorize the apartment YU.88.S1, as found in the auto monography of Mihailo Čanak



OVERVIEW OF CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION MODEL CS`85 FOR THE CITY OF BELGRADE

- q – QUALITY OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDING
  - q.1 – Quality of the building unit
    - q.11 – Protection of the building from external influences
      - q.111 – Protection from the influence of the natural environment
        - q.111.1 – Protection from climatic influences
          - q.111.11 – Protection against thermal in fluences
            - q.111.111 – Thermal protection of the build ings
            - q.111.112 – Protection against the sun
          - q.111.12 – Protection against atmospheric influences

- q.111.121 – Protection against leaks
    - q.111.122 – Protection against leakage
  - q.111.2 – Protection against terrestrial influences
    - q.111.21 – Protection against water
      - q.111.211 – Protection against groundwater
      - q.111.212 – Protection against floods
    - q.111.22 – Protection against earthquakes
  - q.112 – Protection against of the influence of the created environment
    - q.112.1 – Protection against technogenic influences
      - q.112.11 – Protection against external disturbances
        - q.112.111 – Protection against noise
        - q.112.112 – Protection against air pollution
      - q.112.12 – Protection against fire
    - q.112.2 – Protection against anthropogenic influences
      - q.112.21 – Protection against external disturbances
        - q.112.211 – Protection against burglary
        - q.112.212 – Protection against outside views
      - q.112.22 – Protection against war destruction
- q.12 – Connection of the building with the environment
  - q.121 – Technological connection of the building with the environment
    - q.121.1 – Supply
      - q.121.11 – Supply of energy resources
        - q.121.111 – Supply of electricity
        - q.121.112 – Heating in the building
      - q.121.12 – Supply of natural resources
        - q.121.121 – Ventilation in the building
        - q.121.122 – Water supply
    - q.121.2 – Eliminations
      - q.121.21 – Elimination of wastewater
      - q.121.22 – Elimination of garbage
  - q.122 – Ecological connection of the building with the environment
    - q.122.1 – Connection of the building to the immediate surroundings
      - q.122.11 – Sunlight and daylight illumination
        - q.122.111 – Daylight illumination of the rooms in the building
        - q.122.112 – Sunlight of the apartments in the building
      - q.122.12 – Openness of the building to the exterior
    - q.122.2 – Connection of the building with the wider environment
- q.2 – Quality of usable space
  - q.21 – Quality of apartments
    - q.211 – Primary functions in apartments
      - q.211.1 – Satisfaction of physiological needs
        - q.211.11 – Individualized functions
          - q.211.111 – Satisfaction of sleeping needs
          - q.211.112 – Satisfaction of hygiene needs
        - q.211.12 – Common functions
          - q.211.121 – Satisfying the need for dining preparation
          - q.211.122 – Satisfying the need for food preparation
      - q.211.2 – Satisfying socio – psychological needs
        - q.211.21 – Satisfying psychological needs
          - q.211.211 – Satisfying the need for solitude and individual activities
          - q.211.212 – Meeting the need for an aesthetic experience of the interior
        - q.211.22 – Meeting the social needs
          - q.211.221 – Meeting the need for socializing and togetherness in the family

- q.211.222 – Meeting the specific needs of disabled people in the apartment
- q.212 – Secondary functions in apartments
  - q.212.1 – Auxiliary functions in apartments
    - q.212.11 – Meeting the need for movement in apartments
    - q.212.12 – Meeting the need for maintenance of housing
  - q.212.2 – Potential functions of the apartments
    - q.212.21 – Adaptation of the existing housing space
      - q.212.211 – Spatial reserves in housing
      - q.212.212 – Adaptability of housing
    - q.212.22 – Variability of housing space
      - q.212.221 – Internal flexibility of the apartments
      - q.212.222 – External flexibility of the apartments
- q.22 – Quality of non-residential space
  - q.221 – Secondary functions in non-residential space
    - q.221.1 – Meeting the need for communication in non-residential areas
      - q.221.11 – Meeting the need for communication of healthy people in non-residential areas
      - q.221.12 – Meeting the need for communication of disabled and dependent persons in non-residential areas
    - q.221.2 – Meeting the need for maintenance of non-residential space and the space for the common standard
      - q.221.21 – Auxiliary spaces in non-residential spaces
        - q.221.211 – Meeting the need for maintenance of non-residential spaces
        - q.221.212 – Meeting the need for drying clothes
      - q.221.22 – Storage
        - q.221.221 – Satisfaction the need to store objects
        - q.221.222 – Satisfying the need to store vehicles
  - q.222 – Primary functions in non-residential areas
    - q.222.1 – Group activities in non-residential spaces
    - q.222.2 – Satisfying the need for aesthetic experience of the exterior
- e – ECONOMICS OF A RESIDENTIAL BUILDING
  - e.1 – Economy of the building
    - e.11 – Construction parameters
      - e.111 – Dimensions in the apartments
        - e.111.1 – Areas in apartments
          - e.111.11 – Maximum areas of the apartments
          - e.111.12 – Rational use of the living space
        - e.111.2 – Linear dimensions in apartments
          - e.111.21 – The maximum widths of the rooms
          - e.111.22 – The maximum heights of the rooms
      - e.112 – Dimensions in a residential building
        - e.112.1 – The areas in a residential building
          - e.112.11 – Rationality of space organization on typical residential floors
          - e.112.12 – Rationality of space organization in the building as a whole
        - e.112.2 – Linear dimensions in a residential building
          - e.112.21 – Rationality of the dimensions of a typical residential floor
          - e.112.22 – Minimum depth of the typical residential floor
    - e.12 – Spatial parameters



- e.212.2 – Control instruments in the building
  - e.22 – Economy in the realization
    - e.221 – Standardization
      - e.221.1 – Standardization of the elements and components
      - e.221.2 – Standardization of the module
    - e.222 - Modular coordination
- Note: The basic criteria are highlighted.

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3# document [fig.113], *Inspiration for culture* (extract from the Newspaper ‘Liberation’, 1962 (*Archive of Yugoslavia*, File 318, *Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture of SFRY*, No. file 128, 1956-1967), is an authentic description of the ‘experiences’ in the time in which the author Čedo Kisić lived and worked. Kisić was a Bosnian writer, journalist, publicist, translator and prominent cultural creator – and active protagonist in Yugoslavia, “He was one of the most prominent intellectuals in Bosnia and Herzegovina who dedicated their entire lives and working lives to the principles of tolerance and nurturing true human values”.<sup>1509</sup>

### ATTACHMENT 3:

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#### INSPIRATION FOR CULTURE

Much of the success in all areas of culture is related to the fruitful work of hundreds of councils – in the theatre, art, publishing, university, film urban, the scientific community, for the school board. Thousands of people take part in these councils and their suggestions, remarks, help to resolve important issues of our cultural policy, extending the stage of the action of the large national parliament - the Socialist Alliance - to the widest action radius. This path of broad consultation has yielded multiple results. He relied, no doubt, on the astonishing results of the workers’ councils, on the strong growth of economic democracy, which was richly inspired and drew its driving force from the ideas of free associations of direct producers. Without this organic connection and the mutual irradiation of the material and spiritual spheres, it would not be possible to imagine all these significant successes in the democratization of culture. The development has shown that is a very subtle process, in which all kinds of moments have to be thought of – historical, sociological, psychological, regional, political, etc., has brought and ceases to bring waves of freshness into the cultural realms. A better way, at least in our country, could not be to break down bureaucratic and vulgar tendencies and sterile quasi-cultural theorists to inaugurate a fresh and new humanistic style in culture.

Due to this fact, Yugoslavia is the stage of a rich and interesting spectrum of events in various fields of science, art, cultural life: factories help schools and festivals, workers and people of various professions participate in the work of school boards, amateur theatres, the doors of universities are opened voluntary, elementary schools are being built in the villages, a large number of Yugoslav scholars appear at international congresses, our theatre has already gained a worldwide reputation, our literature and cartoon also, it reads many festivals (Dubrovnik, Split, Sarajevo, Pula, Hvar, Ljubljana [...]) Give their cultural colours their colours, despite some unjustified cries for them.

All of this can only make us happy and still optimistic. Of course, this optimism should not overshadow and cast aside many serious and complex issues: shortcomings in various areas of cultural life, for example, from small letter mistakes and books and newspapers to affirmation of higher forms of cultural life organization to the fight against the emergence of primitivism, narrow-mindedness, chauvinism, intolerance, and for a free, democratic, frank dialogue, the tone and measure of which will carry within itself the warm soul of Tito’s words, to which we would return more often:

1509 Budo Vukobrat, ‘Čedomir Čedo Kisić: A life dedicated to human values’, 2013 <<https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/cedomir-cedo-kisic-zivot-posvecen-ljudskim-vrijednostima/24987114.html>>.

“One must know how to enter into the personal life of every man and understand his difficulties because every man is the whole world for himself, there will be both happy and sad moments in his life. It’s not necessary to be a psychologist; it is enough to be human, to have a heart and to feel people. We are not, of course, some Samaritans; but, we are communists, and communists must be humanists in the first place. They need to understand that people have to be of service to their people [...]” (from a speech in Zrenjanin).

In Zrenjanin, these words were spoken several years ago, Split and Belgrade, they were recently confirmed in another way, when President Tito spoke with indignation about some of the corrosive and harmful phenomena in various areas of our lives, including cultural ones.

Just discussing the numerous and complex problems in the cultural life, we should feel that deep organic connection because, as stated in Zrenjanin and in Split and in Belgrade, these words are the warmest support of the humanistic culture, because they unite us in the struggle for the same ideal.

And one more thing: all the constitutional values of our culture and civilization have been sold through our own efforts. Well, if the idea was taken from the side-lines, it also allowed for transformation and metamorphosis, which again dictated and inspired the kind of spiritual movement of our peoples, our community. It must be admitted that our peoples possessed the programmatic power of the spirit when in this conflict of holy civilizations, they manifested their fruitful individuality, as evidenced by our cultural history.

Inspire yourself, therefore, we have from what and from where...

Čedo Kisić

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4# video, is document where several significant figures from the artistic circles in Skopje gather to discuss the role of the Kafeana in the contemporary life of the city. Present of the talk are, the writer Jovan Pavlovski (JP), the architects Živko Popovski (ŽP), and Radovan Rađenović (RR), and the artist Gligor Čemerski (GČ). Here is the transcript from the conversation. Here is the transcription of the conversation:

#### ATTACHMENT 4:

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‘Skopje cultural figures talk about the phenomenon called Kafeana (1973)’

**GČ:** Let’s try to define the term Kafeana [Кафеана], no matter under which names it occurs in the various countries. There is the French ‘Bistro’, there is Italian ‘Buffet’, and there is the English ‘Pub’ etc.

**ZP:** Yes, that’s true. They are all a place where you can go out, to sit, to talk, and eventually to eat something. Kafeana is a space which has a purpose to gather people, where people want to talk to other people. In Kafeana you can listen to a radio, you can even watch TV, you can listen to music, and let’s say we are witnessing through the history that from basic Kafeana, there was an emergence of transformations. For example, in France, from the simple Cafe de Music they evolved latter in some Music halls, such as Folies Bergère etc.

**GČ:** Where do you place at our region this phenomenon?

**JP:** Look firstly the Kafeana, she stepped on us here on the Balkan centuries ago. As they say the first Kafeana’s, emerged in the 15th century in Mecca and in Syria, Tsargrad etc.

**ŽP:** Kafeana in a way came after the AN (Ottoman Hotel). Or the AN precedes the Kafeana. We can say that the Kafeana is originating from the AN as a ‘place of shelter’. Then it evolves in one new institution, let’s call it Kafeana.

**RR:** Over time, the Kafeana evolves and as function goes aside from the AN, because she receives

one more new function. She only starts with the AN - with housing and food. Later she receives its specific character, which set her as independent, but even so she can be as part of the AN too.

**GČ:** How much significant pieces from history of literature and history of philosophy has been written in Kafeana? As I remember, the Kafeana plays serious role in emergence of art and literature. It's a space of gathering but it's also space of creation.

**JP:** I think there is no need to mention much she contributed about the history of literature and the wider artistic history. They all give indications that Kafeana was back at the days (and in some countries still is) a space where the artists can create. What is more important, and maybe the architects can say how the Kafeana today is supporting such possibilities, in current reality. Also, maybe they can say how is she perceived.

**GČ:** Before everything is the Kafeana only a decoration?

**ŽP:** I want to say something different. In a sense for the architecture I am not sure if the Kafeana has a big impact and significance on it. In some sense the Kafeana, is an extended living room of the citizens which habitat in one city or they are organized as nation.

**RR:** I believed that the Kafeana contains more functions then the living room. Part of those functions – as you already mentioned, here the artists are meeting, the politicians also gather here, so here the regimes were torn out and new parties emerged. Therefore, I believe that those are the basic functions that the Kafeana has in itself, is that she is also a working space. She has all this specific data and characteristics which needs to be in front of the architects when treating the space of the kafana.

**ŽP:** Look the Kafeana beside the big state functions, she carries a lot of emotion functions too. Do you know how much human drama emerged here? Marriages has been decided, people also talked about the size of the family they want to have. How much we will be in love etc. So, she carries thousands of subjective and emotional moments.

**GČ:** Let's make a proper rule in our anarchic conversation. Nonetheless, the same was precious because it brings us to the subject (continuing addressing to the camera):

Hello, we are in one Kafeana. Today we talk about its qualities and its negative points of the Kafeana, and here we have all the props, such as the tea (and I won't mention the alcohol). The subject of our talk is the Kafeana. With the purpose to include her in the thing we call architecture. Maybe not in its highest achievements, but I believe not in its lowest neither. Because large part of the life and the public sphere happens in the Kafeana, we asked some of our cultural figures such as the writer Jovan Pavlovski, the architects Živko Popovski, and Radovan Rađenović, to discuss how much an in which sense the Kafeana has its culture, architectural and social, and eventually to discovered its larger dimension.

**JP:** I think we leading one dialog, for a first time, for one topic which was always here but we somehow, we never took it seriously. I will try in a short to define the role of the Kafeana, and its place now in our everyday life. This is needed. Moreover, I believe the Kafeana because of the lack of other institutions such as cultural houses, sports spaces, etc. today is representing a space for one psychological and physical relaxation. Furthermore because of the lack of domestic spaces, she replaces some problems. Such as, the problem of the lack of housing space, and we know that across the country this is a major issue. So as soon as you receive a call that guests are coming, and as you have lack of space to receive them at home, you need (wanting or not) to great them in home, so you have no option but to take them to Kafeana. Secondly, the factor of time is very significant. Today as we are living dynamic life and we don't have a lot of free time so every try to have a conversation with the others is taking place in Kafeana instead of home. This is because at home you will need to clean little bit to take care while in Kafeana some else is doing this for you. Lastly, I believe that the Kafeana plays one selective role. She is selector of one particular social structure. So, she is a selector, which define the exact place for one category of people.

**ŽP:** The city as urban phenomena, with the new social structure, through the Kafeana pushed for one new form. Such as the Buffet, Bar, Express Restaurant etc. We are witnessing one new phenomena of Disco Clubs. That new moment in the story. Therefore, in those space new structure of people (new generation) are gathering, consume, is contacting and has fun.

**ĠĢ:** Where do you see the connection with the architecture? Because all those occurrences you mention have their individual architectonics.

**ŹP:** Yes exactly. The architecture through its expressional means in some specific program units of those groupings as I mentioned them the Buffet, the Bar etc. It manifests through the forming the space, through applications which are appropriate for the program which take place in that space. So, people have that characteristics that they want to gather, they want to see each other they want to make an impression on each other, to communicate etc. That's why in different places different types of people are gathering which have similar interests.

**RR:** The essence of the problem is in the preset of the Kafeana as space, as task of the architects, when she has been programmed as such to serve for some sort of weddings (in any case interesting manifestation and interesting task for the architect). And she has been programed for some weddings which looks like as political manifestations. So she carries one more problem – the problem of the investor as people who define the task of the architect. Therefore, the architect is put in a position to 'resolves space' according to how much one can pay. From here it emerges a differentiation of the Kafeana by her essence, comes down to differentiation in this society by the 'pocket' and not by its essential thing.

**ŹP:** Yes, yes, it's true. We don't need to make a sports hall from the Kafeana. And these days we can witness the same, there is only need to put some sport equipment, not to talk how will be possible some human relations do develop in such ambience.

**JP:** Exactly, horrible cold ambience has been emitted in such space. The man does not feel on its own, it feels not good in one space with such dimensions.

**RR:** I believe, that the architects form the space of the Kafeana as such so they don't have their adequate evolvement of the space because they don't pay attention to their basic function. Or those who supported the contemporary architecture, thinking that they follow the rhythm of the contemporary life they 'translate' at the interiors of the pubs of the bistros in the other environment, which in any case not as a function a neither as space, did not correspond to our needs.

**ĠĢ:** We start to behave as in Kafeana, where the conversation never ends. Let's define what the Kafeana means for our environment today.

**JP:** I think the Kafeana holds a precious perspective, because the she represents a great possibility for the human to depart from one norm of behavior, depart from the obligations it has, the civic ones, the professional ones, the family ones etc. She is possibility for one emptying let's say. To feel one bigger environment to feel people around you. In any case I have a feeling that we are degrading the role of the Kafeana, not only as architectural space but also with our beliefs for what she needs to serves.

**ŹP:** It's a space which gives possibilities for human compensations, physical and emotional from all the areas.

**RR:** For me, that's it a task for the architect giving him a great possibility for a real creation for essential creation, something which can gives great results and something which will be result to something which is 'right architecture'.

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No.5 document [fig.344], *The Moral Codex of the Yugoslav Architects* (extract from the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 194, 1974), is a resolution brought by the Yugoslav architects on the forum *III Congress of the Architect of Yugoslavia* organised by the *Alliance of Architects of Yugoslavia* in 1974. The document was published the same year in the magazine *Man and Space* and here presented in the original format.

## ATTACHMENT 4:

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### MORAL CODEX OF YUGOSLAV ARCHITECTS

#### RESOLUTION

The Association of Architects of Yugoslavia states:

- that architecture is an eminent human phenomenon of creating an ambience,
- that we do not create the ambience just to realize the biological conditions of existence (housing, work, recreation)
- and not just to represent the present
- that it is impossible to change the world, and man in his social being, if it is not understood that the essential element of that will, is the transformation of the ambience as a condition for the development of his existence towards a better and freer life
- that the knowledge of development and the knowledge of our role and responsibility become the ideological force and precondition of each of our actions in creating and forming the structure and form of the human environment
- that the reality in which such aspirations are to be realized is burdened by the complexity of the problem, the frequent misunderstanding of its essence and the resistance arising from the contradictions between our development and our architectural reality, and therefore the goal cannot be achieved only by decision-making, but rather with personal self-development, and extensive collaboration

#### Wants:

To set the basic principles by which the CODEX OF ARCHITECTS OF SFR YUGOSLAVIA should be followed by every architect, especially for:

- emphasis of the broad, significant and responsible social role of architecture,
- closer determination of the rights and duties of architects,
- determining the basic principles of professional morality and rules of conduct for architects and their professional organizations,
- improving the social climate in which the architect performs their activity,

And thus, to contribute to the humane development of architecture, the correct attitude of architects towards society, architects among themselves and society towards architecture.

#### I MORAL CODE OF ARCHITECTS

1. An architect is an expert and cultural worker who deals with architecture. For his creative work, he must be educated and qualified.

2. Professional work, of architects, can be expressed in various fields:

- in design organizations
- in construction companies
- in scientific and educational institutions
- in public administration
- in a free architectural activity.

#### II SOCIAL ROLE OF ARCHITECTS

The work or work of architects must be an expression of:

- economic basis and needs of the community,
- national and world cultural trends
- creative knowledge with which the architect arranges and shapes the landscape, settlements and spaces that man needs.

Given that urbanism and architecture are disciplines that are connected, they contribute:

- continuous striving for the general progress of human thought, technology and art,
- constant immersion of architects in their profession,
- respect for the individual and society.

#### III DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF ARCHITECTS

1. The architect must dedicate his knowledge and experience with full responsibility when planning, programming, designing and performing works to the extent that is by the benefits of the individual and society.

The same applies to an architect who deals with other branches of professional activity.

2. The architect must, in any case, remain free, and especially independent of financial gain.

3. The reputation of an architect and his rights must be based on personal abilities and qualities.

4. The architect must selflessly transfer all his experiences and knowledge to the younger ones and enable them to reach a higher level of professional knowledge and position by their abilities.
5. When evaluating someone else's work, the architect must be objective and polite and receive evaluations of his work in the same spirit.
6. An architect employed in public administration, who would have the task of evaluating his work, must renounce that evaluation and must not accept it even if he has received an exceptional permit for it.
7. If the cooperation of various experts is necessary for the realization of architectural work, the architect must determine the rights, duties and responsibilities from the very beginning and achieve such harmony with his authority, so that his idea is realized in full.
8. The architect must not use plagiarism in his work and respect the principles that are common among all the cultural workers.
9. The work of an architect is automatically and legally protected based on the international agreements and by applicable domestic regulations.
10. The architect is entitled to an appropriate reward for his work.
11. The architect may not offer or take over his works for lower pay than is determined by the hays-tacks.
12. An architect who, in cooperation with the industry, has developed a new production method or form of product, is entitled to a reward according to applicable regulations or a contract.
13. An architect may not seek or take over any work if a contract has already been concluded with another architect or project organization for the same work. The same applies to all other branches of professional activity.
14. The architect must not agree to any decision, neither in his design documentation nor in the offer of the contractor or supplier, which would be related to financial benefits for him personally or for his project organization, except when specifically requested by the client, which must be in contract text to be mentioned.

THIS CODEX WAS ADOPTED AT THE III CONGRESS OF THE ARCHITECT OF YUGOSLAVIA, IN LJUBLJANA, ON MAY 17, 1968, AND IS OBLIGATORY FOR ALL ARCHITECTS OF YUGOSLAVIA.

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No.6 document [fig.353] *Valorisation of the Spatial System for Cultural Activities*, is part of the study *Development of the Culture in SR Serbia, 1970-1980*. The study has been conducted as part of the *Institute for Cultural Development* located in Belgrade, and has been published in 1981.

#### ATTACHMENT 6:

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Arch. Milorad Macura  
Arch. Darko Marušić

#### VALORIZATION OF SPATIAL SYSTEMS FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN SERBIA

##### I. INTRODUCTION

Valorization of spatial systems in which the cultural activities take place in Serbia, presented in this document, relies on the results of research conducted within the framework of the Spatial Plan of SR Serbia – more precisely in the chapter, in which a valorization of spatial systems intended for living standards has been conducted.

At general at our country and as well as in other countries, the accepted criteria and measures for the evaluation of spatial units\*) on which the standard of living is based have not been determined, it was necessary to study and determine them in advance.

At the modern stage of our social development, when we simultaneously create new technology and new social relations, the future cannot be expected, foreseen or predicted, but it must be programmed and planned. Extremely tense links between goals and conditions - that is, needs, desires and possibilities - can ensure the integrity of social existence, the flows of which are directed by self-management, only under one planned precondition. It is the absolute balance of all the components of social life and development.

It has not been determined how and to what extent it affects the low productivity of many of our work organizations, expressed both qualitatively and quantitatively - the fact that they of-

ten employ and manage people insufficiently educated, with underdeveloped personal culture and stunted cultural life, who are in [...]

\*) Spacium: space for human life formed from social work, organized and equipped. It occurs as a room, a building, a settlement or a region, and is constantly changing following the changes in a particular human community.

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7# document, *Architecture as Arts* [fig.363], was found in the *Archive of Yugoslavia*. Moreover, the document presents an open letter from an architect to the *Council for Science and Culture*, dating from 1962.

#### ATTACHMENT 7:

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##### ARCHITECTURE AS ART

Considering the similarity and connection between the architecture and fine art in the great creative epochs, and in the significance of which this connection might have, in the period of the new Belgrade on the left bank of the Sava, it is necessary to emphasize certain important facts about which this connection do not appear in our environment and what are the consequences of this lack:

In our country an architect is considered primarily as an engineering-technical job, and not as art. Architectural studies are not given the same importance of artistic studies, which is the case in France and the Soviet Union, and probably in most of the other countries. For example, in France, architecture is drawn at the Academy of Fine Arts or in special artistic-architectural schools. The Academy accepts students who already have the expertise and professional title – such as knowledge of the materials that are being studied at our universities. In this situation, architecture, as art, is practised only for two years. Such a situation could only be justified as long as the need for rapid creation of personnel persists.

In our countries there is no social co-operation between architects and artists. It has not achieved any joint association or association of artists' associations that would bring together all artists - creators. Architects have their own associations that work independently, although the goals of all artistic associations are essentially the same.

The Committee for Culture and Art has no separate papers on architecture, i.e. there is no special record of all artistic branches. If there is evidence, there is no occupancy of the importance attached to fine arts or music as an extremely artistic activity. It is not a failure of the Committee, but a result of the understanding of architecture as an engineering-technical work.

This attitude towards architecture has left devastating consequences during the first half of this century, although there are other causes. The result of this discrepancy, the wrong education and the superficial upbringing of the architectural staff is Belgrade's dull appearance; A series of unfinished buildings without style, without functional explanation, as examples of bent taste. There are several architects, however, who are more aware of their work, but their proposals remain solitary, and the adopted projects are incompetent due to incompetence and bad taste.

The understanding of architecture as an engineering and technical work is also reflected in the current systematization because architects are not treated as artists.

The artistic council that mostly has not organized meetings before, only ad hoc meetings, for the first time organized more serious discussion about the creation of the New Belgrade. This connection is still not sufficiently solid, nor sufficiently effective. The urban problems of Belgrade, as well as other major cities in our country, should be better known to the whole expert public from then only to one council with several members.

Large gradient problems are not treated fairly at project exhibitions, neither they have their publications or their survey system. The artistic council can remain ineffective if its action does not transform 'alive discussion' for the interest of the entire general public. The questions that the council resolves should become the material for various articles, small exhibitions, discussions and, in particular, surveys.

Considering that architecture is placed in the centre of our cultural upbringing, I think that the Committee, considering the further perspective of developing our art, and at the moment when

solving the problem of teaching in all our schools of art, a lot of accounts should be taken of architecture as art.

The committee could recommend that architectural teaching be communicated to artistic teaching, i.e. that architecture is being studied in art academies and that in our academies of fine arts there is an architectural section through which the students of the academy pass through the sessions, and later the architects (for the moment they only have one course) and later through the regular highest school of architecture. This teaching system would enable very bonded contact and joint development of students of architecture, sculpture and painting.

Considering the basic fact that architecture is primarily art, that is, it should become art, and that in our close future it should become an art - the mother, the Committee would easily find its orientation towards its attitude towards architecture.

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8# document, *The Problem of Architecture as Arts* [fig.364], was found in the *Archive of Yugoslavia*. Moreover, the document presents an open letter from the architect Milan Minić to the *Council for Science and Culture*, dating from 1962.

#### ATTACHMENT 8:

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FNRY GOVERNMENT SCIENCE AND CULTURE COUNCIL

BELGRADE

#### THE PROBLEM OF ARCHITECTURE AS ARTS

Architecture, by its very importance, belongs to the group of fine arts as the main fine art required by sculpture and painting.

In artistic design and expression, the architecture uses a wide range of technical professions, following the development of science and industry. This means that the architect must first have artistic fundamentals as an artist and in addition to mastering extensive technical knowledge.

The cultural significance of architecture in the historical development of humanity is well known to be emphasized here.

It is about creating favourable conditions for the development of architecture with artistic and rational qualities in our socialist state.

Painters and sculptors create their works completely freely, whether they chose the task themselves or were given the task, unlike the architect, which work is exclusively related to an order. Their works are conditioned by the localization of function and economics, which means that architecture is not often a product of fantasy, but is completely dependent on concrete material conditions. Painting and sculpture in the realization of their works are not conditioned by considerable material expenditures, and in case of failure, the consequences are not severe, the same applies for architecture while she is on still on the paper or in the model.

Effective implementation of the work in the field of architecture drags millions of working hours from unskilled to highly skilled workers. If the work is not at its height, the consequences are severe and lasting.

In a socialist state where there is no private economic potential, the architect's actions are completely dependent on the orders of the collective.

For example, the lawyers, doctors, teachers of all kinds of craftsmen and partly physical workers can succeed in the private sector. Painters and sculptors work freely in their studios, and their collective will redeem them. There is no job for an architect without the orders from the collective. It means that architects and their associates must have job security.

The current axes of Architecture contain the following categories:

1. Urbanism
2. Designing objects
3. Performance - technical inspection
4. Regular maintenance of existing facilities
5. Conservation and restoration of objects of historical and artistic importance

There are special organisms for the categories: 1/ urbanism and under 5/ conservation and restoration. For the 3/ Performance - operative, there should be a relationship between the designer and contractor required. All architects must have a track of contractors. For the 4/ The regular maintenance of the facilities should be carried out under the direction of experts who have sufficient outside practice. Lastly, for the Category under 2/ Designing, there should be:

Conditions for the long-term development of an artist-architect

As you can see from the preview, the technical service for architecture is not so simple and it is all within the domain of the respective institutions.

However, for the advancement of architecture along the lines of the often-artistic Council for Science and Culture, the Government of the SFRY should allow for the creation of several 'hotspots' that would have all the conditions for artistic creation and at the same time for the selective upbringing of gifted young architects with a degree in architect. Faculties, academies for the application of arts, and associate assistants with a secondary technical school.

In particular, several architectural ateliers should be established in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, similar to the master workshops of visual artists.

Salaries:	Such ateliers would consist of:
25,000 dinars	1 / architects - masters
20,000 dinars	1 / deputy master
8-15,000 dinars	3-4 junior architects with faculty
6-10,000 dinars	2-4 technicians with secondary technical school
8-15,000 dinars	2-3 architects from the Applied Art Academy
Total budget per month should be 135.000 dinars	

The studio would receive concrete tasks for the development of studies and definitive projects, as well as inspiration for the realization. The commissioners would pay the studios to pay for the studio - according to the established tariff.

The atelier would be funded partly by its own income and partly by a subsidy. A certain percentage of the proceeds would go to the prize pool.

In addition to specific tasks and studies, in order to train and execute young architects, the studio would work on special tasks or study exuberant problems if they were not immediately up-to-date.

After a long study and reflection, we concluded that this would be the most appropriate way to raise the level of artistry on the level of architectural activity and to connect with the whole work on applied art in our socialist state. In addition to the young architects from the faculties, the secondary technical schools would join the united collaborative emerging young generations from the academies for the application of arts and the same as the existing Institute for the application of arts. This would make the best of all these branches of the fine arts come together into one harmonious whole, which has remained divisive so far, without intimate cooperation and without authoritative leadership.

The salary levels listed above are calculated at the same time as to allow these artists a decent cultural life that would free them from being overworked in search of overtime earnings - which harms their physical fitness - and prevents them from additional working, in contrary they would focus on their personal cultural development in their free time.

We are convinced that such an organized studio could survive on its own income. A subsidy, due to the anticipation of working with a planned loss, would probably only be needed for the first time. It goes without saying that the Council would need to inform the interested parties, by a circular, with a single circular, that they turn to the studio for their orders in the field of architecture concerned. At the same time, this studio would fill the gap with the existing design institutes as it could be useful to work on problems of an artistic character, for which the institutes today do not have the necessary conditions for a successful resolution.

We hope that the Council, in the spirit of its aspirations for the comprehensive cultural upliftment of our peoples, will consider the institutions as soon as possible for the immediate formation of such institutions. We are convinced that such an approach would quickly show results both in the studies and especially in the formation of beautiful groups of young staff from selected and endowed artists.

DEATH OF FASCISM – FREEDOM TO PEOPLE!

Arch. Milan Minić

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9# document, is a document located in the study of the *Republican Ministry for Education and Culture of SR Macedonia*. The document presents a

draft program for a new youth cultural centre. The study was published circa 1948 and is signed by the minister of culture of SR Macedonia. Here is presented in original:

## ATTACHMENT 9:

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### CONTENT OF PIONEERS HOUSE Organization and work of pioneer homes

#### Article 1

##### I Tasks:

#### Article 2

The task of the pioneer homes is:

a / to help us with the education and the pioneering organization in the establishment and education of the students, but on the path of various forms and equality of the high school education work, and in close cooperation with the education.

b / to assist in the provision, training and pioneering management in the organization and to ensure the teaching of the work.

c / to develop interest, abilities and talents of students for various sciences, for various branches of science, technology, literature, art, etc.

d / to enable the study, application and popularization of the best media from the out-of-school education and the education of the students to harden, expand and deepen the knowledge gained in the school.

#### II Opening and self-sufficiency of the institution

#### Article 3

Pioneer homes are created and produced in cooperation with the People's youth political power and the organs of the People's government and the industrial enterprise to meet their budgets.

#### Article 4

Pioneer homes are being set up on the site of large-scale industrial centres as well as in low-lying places and areas of the city ready to be used by the Ministry of Education for consolidation with the governmental bodies of People's youth political power.

#### III Organisation

#### Article 5

Pioneer homes in large cities and industrial centres have these divisions: rooms for organisation for the pioneer home, premises home improvement and for economic administrative service; a hall for manifestations; a large number of spaces for the work of crusaders \ the youngest historians, geographers, mathematicians, naturalists, physicists and chemists, lovers of literature, lovers of art, young technicians; office space, library and capital; spaces for mass culture – educational work; for physical education as I site need spaces (example for home cooking).

#### Article 6

Pioneer homes in the smaller towns have a smaller number of rooms but the same content.

#### Article 7

In every Pioneer home, you need to post land for gardens, for cultivating different natural crops. When there is no possibility of land to see in their garden, People's choices are needed for that whole, according to the possibilities to be assigned to the Pioneer home near their building.

#### IV Forms for work and working time

#### Article 8

In the Pioneer houses, various forms of education and training are organized.

The basic branches of high school work are:

- a / Ideal – political education
- b / Work in which you obtain knowledge
- c / Work in the field of engineering
- d / Physical education, basic physical education and health care

This work requires the preparation of sprays needed and contained in various cruises, workshops, trailers, on the grid, in the gradation of the common pole, on excursions and so on. The work is done with the ability and talent of the students to look at the post collectively or individually.

#### Article 9

The regular “addition to school work” in the Pioneer homes should be carried out at a time when it is determined and published in the building in the coordination of the schools and the local communities (mjesni zajednici), and according to the plan which has been done by the management of the Pioneers home in accordance with the management of the schools too.

#### Article 10

The management of the Pioneer home and the personal trainers make work plans: each year, each month, and for each day the basic work, and based on the real needs of the specifics of the Pioneers homes.

#### Article 11

Occasionally, there is an organisation of the assemblies of the pioneers, meetings of the teaching and educational staff, meetings of the pioneer leaders, meetings of the entire staff, meetings of the personal lot and the pioneers, and the parent meetings.

#### Article 12

From the site of the pioneers from the Pioneer House, from time to time there will be happenings such as special events, events for some holiday, shows and concerts.

#### Article 13

The management top of the Pioneer House has accordance with the schools, Pioneer organisations and mass organisations. On another side, the schools, the pioneer and the mass organisations have the right to visit the Pioneer House too. Organized meetings of the pioneers with writers, artists, scientists, national heroes, heroes of labour and other weekly workers. In the work plan it is arranged what will be worked in the working days, what for the weekends and what on the school holidays. \ Page 2 of article 11\.

#### Article 14

At the time of the school’s summer holiday, the pioneers who did not leave the country are gathering. At that time, work should be done in the Pioneer Park, in the playgrounds, in the garden, at the common pole, to organize excursions, etc. In addition to the day-to-day scheduling, which has been done and published, the Pioneer Home has been determined for each of the pioneers and handicrafts that will be discarded in the department, and the overall work of the Pioneer House.

#### V receiving the students

##### Article 15

The pioneer homes accept pioneers from the primary and secondary schools, who will approve the city, regional, local staffs of the Union of Pioneers in agreement with the administration of the school. Admission to the homes will be done regularly at the beginning of the school year.

##### Article 16

The applied pioneers take place in the Home for upbringing and education in the time that will be determined and announced in a visible place by the management of the Home for each group separately.

##### Article 17

The applied pioneers distribute them to the circles, groups and sections. The Home Administration treats the wishes, inclinations, abilities and talents of the pioneers.

#### VI Management and personnel

##### Article 18

The Pioneer House is managed by the administration of the House, which consists of The Manager of the House, the Pioneer Head of the House and the General Manager of the various forms and the work of the House.

Article 19

The warden is a member of the family of capable pedagogues, civil servants, who are appointed to this duty by the Ministry of Education.

Article 20

The chief managers of the various forms of work are selected from the ranks of the teachers, educators, moderators, engineers and masters who work in the Pioneer Home.

Article 21

The pioneer leader in the Home appointed the Local leadership of the People's Youth by the higher leadership.

Article 22

The educational bodies of the People's government, which maintain the Home, assign the required number of educators, artists, engineers and masters to the management of the Pioneer Home. This staff works in the Home as an educator, or as instructors in the individual departments.

Article 23

The local committees of the People's Youth assign the required number of Youth-pioneer leaders who help them to the educators, instructors, and the pioneers responsible for the groups.

Article 24

According to the needs of the Home, the budget possibilities are indicated in the Home by the administrative and technical staff / caretaker of the Home, cleaner, gardener, etc.

VII The work of management and staff

Article 25

With the entire work in the Pioneer House, the management manages the manager of the whole.

Article 26

The manager is responsible for the entire work in the Home.

Article 27

He convenes at least two regular monthly meetings with the administration. At the meetings of the administration, decisions are made on all issues concerning the work and life in the Home; Work plans are developed: annual, quarterly and monthly and a proposal of the budget / revenues and expenditures / of the Home for each budget year is made promptly.

Article 28

The management of the Home approves the plans for the work of the circles, groups and sections that exist in the Home, bringing them in line with the work plan of the home.

Article 29

The decisions of the administration in the House are made by voice; in the event of an equal number of votes, the decision shall be made by the administrator of the House.

Article 30

Minutes are kept of the meetings of the administration. A regulation from the minutes shall be submitted by the head of the Home to the education department of the People's Government at the high forum of the People's Youth.

Article 31

The management of the Home keeps correspondence with the management of the other pioneer homes, the schools, the children's homes, the pioneer organizations, the institutions, the enterprises and the mass organizations.

Article 32

The administration of the Home gives them all kinds of help, advice and guidance that parents, teachers and other persons or institutions will ask for.

Article 33

Disagreements in the administration of the Home are resolved by the educational authorities

Article 34

The entire staff in the Home, as well as the educator and the administrative-technical one, are obliged to conscientiously perform all the tasks determined by the management of the Home.

VIII Collaboration with the school

Article 35

The management of the Pioneer Home realizes its tasks in close cooperation with the schools from which the pioneers in the Home come.

Article 36

The management of the Home is regularly informed by the management of the school about the participants and the behaviour of each pioneer, as well as about the general condition and progress of the students at the school.

Article 37

In agreement with the management of the university, the management of the Pioneer Home develops an annual perspective work plan.

Article 38

At the meetings in the pioneer homes, at which issues for teaching and educational work are discussed, the head of the home invites them and the management of the school to take part in the work through his / her representative.

Article 39

The management of the school, for its part, is obliged to aid the pioneer homes and the pioneer organization to improve the teaching and educational work, in that sense to organize joint consultations and in their annual work plans provide for cooperation and assistance of the pioneer organization. pioneer homes.

IX House Educational Council

Article 40

An educational council is organized at the Pioneer Homes to raise the level of teaching and educational work in the Home and to study the methods of teaching and educational work.

Article 41

The members of the educational council of the educators, the instructors, the leaders of the teaching and educational work, i.e. the entire staff in the Home who are interested in the upbringing, education and cultural uplift of the pioneers.

Article 42

The Board of Education is headed by the manager or a person who has determined the management of the home to replace the manager in his absence.

Article 43

Today, the House Education Council holds a monthly plenary meeting with the participation of all members of the Board, all educators, instructors, leaders of the clubs, groups and sections in the House.

At these meetings, the management of the Pioneer Home also invited various experts who do not work in the Home.

Article 44

At these meetings, a report is submitted and the basic forms and directions of the 'outside the school' teaching and educational work are discussed: various methods of work are studied; the work plans submitted to the managers of the circles, groups and sections are prepared and discussed; Decisions are made on the proposals that relate to teaching - educational work and cultural education - in circles, groups and sections.

Article 45

The conclusions of the Pioneer Homes Educational Council are submitted for the defence to the management of the Pioneer Home.

Article 46

In addition to the planned meetings, the Home Education Council also holds meetings by departments. These meetings are led by an educator, instructor or club leader, group or section leader. These meetings are attended by all pioneers, teaching and educational staff from the circle, group or section.

These meetings can be convened separately: each circle, group or section or several circles, groups or sections together, depending on the purpose of the work for which the conference is convened.

#### Article 47

These meetings, which are convened according to need, are discussed for the work, for drawing up a work plan, for fulfilling the plan for acquiring books, magazines, and aids, for individual tasks, for connecting with other similar circles in the same or another place.

#### Article 48

The conclusions of these meetings are given to the House Education Council, which submits them for consideration at the sessions of the home administration.

#### X Domestic Pioneer Council.

#### Article 49

Pioneer councils are also organized in the pioneer homes. They have the task to coordinate all forms of work in the Home, to supervise the work and individuals of the pioneers, with their advice and guidance for the work of the pioneers to contribute to the improvement of the work, the success and success in the Home and the school.

Members of the Pioneer Council with all leaders and pioneer representatives of the circles, groups and sections of the pioneer home.

#### Article 50

The meetings of the Pioneer House Council are chaired by the head of the pioneer organization of the Home.

#### Article 51

Meetings of the House Pioneer Council are convened once a month. At these meetings, the pioneer leaders of the circles, groups and sections submit a report on their work, discuss the way of working in the circles, groups and sections, as well as the measures necessary to improve the work, for example, liaison with the union, mass and visits to enterprises and scientific institutions, connection with prominent scientific workers, writers, artists, public workers, labour workers, etc. Organizing visits to a pioneer detachment and inviting the pioneer detachments to visit Pioneer House, to organize excursions, etc.

#### Article 52

The conclusions of the House Pioneer Council are submitted for approval to the management of the Pioneer Home.

#### Article 53

The manager of the Home convenes, as needed, the heads of the municipal House meetings, in which they participate: the entire staff of the Pioneer House and all the pioneers with their leaders. At these meetings, the warden educates, brings out and opens life in the Home.

#### Article 54

The head of the Home convenes the needs and manages the parent meetings. In the parent meetings, the manager invites representatives from the university as well as the representatives from the union and the mass organizations.

Parents' meetings are presented and discussed in issues related to the upbringing of children in the home, the help that can be given to them by the pioneer homes of the parents, the help that can be given by trade unions, enterprises and mass organizations. The pioneer homes.

#### XII. Material assets and accounting of the Pioneer Home

#### Article 55

Within the calculation made by the administration of the Home, and with the approval of the educational body and the people's government, the administration of the Home performs the distribution of the credits, procurements and payments.

Article 56

The management of the Home is responsible for the allocation of funds, proper and accurate accounting by the law.

Each income and expenditure in cash should be entered in the cash book based on properly submitted cash documents.

All procurements and any expenditure of materials should be entered in the inventory book based on the correct document.

Article 57

The material resources of the Pioneer Home are supplemented with the funds received by the management of the home from the mass organizations, enterprises, trade unions and other various institutions. These tangible assets should be read in the cash register and inventory book. For each such outcome or expenditure, there must be valid documents.

XIII Patronage

Article 58

Enterprises, factories, institutions, trade unions or mass organizations can take patronage over the entire Pioneer Home or a circle, group or section in the Pioneer Home.

During the partnership with the enterprises, the factory, the institution or the organization, it is taken care that the home or the separate departments in the home will supply them with material and will give professional help in the education of the pioneers.

XIV Supervision

Article 59

The educational bodies of the People's Government and the organization of the People's Youth supervise the pioneer homes.

XV Final Provision

Article 60

Based on of this Rulebook, the Management of the Pioneer House shall draw up a house order for its House and submit it for approval to the educational body of the People's Government and the Senior Forum of the People's Youth.

Article 61

This Regulation shall enter into force on the day of its issuance.

Death of Fascism - Freedom of the People!

1948, Skopje

Minister, D. Mirs

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#### Appendix:

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### Set of Documents

1. Document, 'Tito on Culture and Art', published in newspaper (unknown), 1962, found in Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
2. Book pages, 'Belgrade School of Housing, Monography of Mihailo Čanak, Belgrade.
3. Document, 'Inspiration for Culture', 1962, Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture, found in found in Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
4. Newspaper Article, 'Moral Codex of Yugoslav Architects', Man and Space, No.194, 1974, Zagreb.
5. Study Chapter, Valorization of spatial systems for cultural activities in Serbia, Development of the Culture in SR Serbia, 1970-1980, 1081, found in Institute for Cultural Development located in Belgrade.
6. Document, 'Architecture as Art', 1962, Council for Science and Culture, found in Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
7. Document, 'The Problem of Architecture as Arts', 1962, Council for Science and Culture, found in Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.
8. Content of Pioneer's House, Republican Ministry for Education and Culture of SR Macedonia, 1948, found in the States Archives of Republic of Macedonia, Skopje.
9. Video, 'Skopje cultural figures talk about the phenomenon called Kafeara (1973)', found < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZP44exP5NM>>.

## Curriculum Vitae

Jana Konstantinova Doctoral Candidate

Born at October 24, 1987, in Skopje (today's North Macedonia)

### 1. Education

- April 2017      Doctoral thesis starting from April 2017, under the direction of the Prof.Nicola Braghieri, and co-direction of Dr.Luca Pattaroni  
Doctoral Program Architecture and Sciences of the City, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne (Switzerland)
- Sep. 2011      Graduated Engineer of Architecture  
Faculty of Architecture, Ss Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, North Macedonia
- June 2006      “Josip Broz Tito”, International Baccalaureate (IB)

### 2. Practice

- 04.2017                      Doctoral Candidate  
In the framework of the doctorate, attached to Arts of Sciences Laboratory (LAPIS) and Laboratory of Urban Sociology (LASUR) at Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne (Switzerland)
- 03.2016                      Exhibit: Skopje, North Macedonia, NGO
- 02.2016 – 08.2016      Foundation Braillard Architectes, Geneva, Switzerland, Junior researcher (20%)
- 08.2015 – 12.2015      Doublethink Foundation, Rural and Urban Unit, (20%)
- 05.2016 – 02.2017      A.D.E. Architects, Geneva – Architect (100%)
- 01.2015 – 02.2016      Atelier Fabien Pont, Geneva, Architect (80%)
- 08.2013 – 05.2014      A.D.E. Architects, Geneva – Internship Architect (50%)
- 06.2011 – 03.2013      Wens Engineering, Skopje, North Macedonia, junior architect (80%)
- 01.2012 – 04.2012      METAMAK, junior researcher (20%)

### 3. Institutional tasks

- February 2019      Teaching assistant - (Course organized by LASUR) Sociologie Urbaine – Course given by Luca Pattaroni
- February 2018      Invited guest critic - Final Critics  
Die Angewandte, IoA Cross Over Studio, Vienna, Austria
- From Sep. 2018      Master Thesis Supervision, from September 2018 up until today  
Master Thesis Projects, Swiss Federal Institute of

- From April 2017 Technology Lausanne (Switzerland)  
Regular participation in the Final Critics - for the courses FIRE 2, FIRE 3 and VETU
- From April 2017 Teaching assistant - (Courses organized by LAPIS)  
FIRE 2- The spring semester 2017; FIRE 3, VETU - fall semester 2017; FIRE 2 spring semester; FIRE 3, VETU - fall semester 2018; FIRE2 spring semester 2019;

#### 4. Financed research

- April 2017 Ongoing doctoral thesis  
Financed by: the Fondation Gandur pour l'Art (Geneva), USM Möbelsystem Foundation (Bern), Fondation Alcea (Lausanne) and the Arts of Sciences Laboratory (LAPIS) – EPFL

#### 5. Teaching activities

##### A. Teaching assistantship

- From April 2017 FIRE 2 (LAPIS), FIRE 3 (LAPIS), VETU(LAPIS), Urban Sociology (LASUR),

##### B. Given Lectures

- February 2019 3 Cities X3 Ideas, Die Angewandte, Vienna, Austria  
December 2018 Skopje - rock (Styrofoam) me baby, LAPIS, EPFL  
November 2017 There is no urbanism without Communism, LAPIS, EPFL

##### C. Study Trips Organization

- June 2020 Trip of the laboratory LASUR – Between Pristina and Skopje  
February 2019 Classe Grisse – Sicily (LAPIS)  
February 2018 Classe Grisse – Between Belgrade and Skopje (LAPIS)

##### D. Supervision of student master thesis – Maître EPFL

- 2018-2020 Master thesis of Blerta Axhija, Isabel Anna Julia Schmid, Fiona Uka

#### 6. Organisation of Conferences

- February 2018 BALKANISE!, Round Table Moderator, La Datcha, Lausanne

#### 7. Prizes, awards, fellowships

- April 2020 – April 2021 Fondation Alcea (PhD Research Award Grant)  
April 2017 – April 2019 USM Möbelsystem Foundation (PhD Research Award Grant)  
April 2017 – April 2018 Fondation Gandur pour l'Art (PhD Research Grant)  
February 2016 ROTA Forum “Social Entrepreneurship” – Qatar (Conference Sponsorship)  
July-August 2015 European Forum Alpbach, Austria “Inequality” an

2010 June	nual conference (Conference Sponsorship) 4th International Summer Academy “Sustainable cities”, TU DELFT, Holland, (Student Sponsorship)
July – August 2009	Italian Embassy, studying Italian art and architecture, Perugia, Italy (Student Sponsorship)

### 8. Personal Skills

Language competences: Macedonian (Maternal language), English (Fluent), French (Fluent), Serbo-Croatian (Fluent)

Diverse competences: Critical thinking, adaptability, self-motivation, friendliness, working in interdisciplinary environment, terrain research

Digital competences: Project Management, Layout (InDesign, Photoshop, Illustrator, Office, AutoCAD)

### 9. Extra curriculum research activities

Nov 2019	Keynote, Creative Forum Ljubljana, Slovenia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Slovenia and the Union for the Mediterranean
July 2019	Research days at the terrain in Skopje, North Macedonia under the supervision of Prof. Vincent Kaufman, and Dr. Luca Pattaroni, and Dr. Yves Pedrazzini
June 2019	Conference - Ghost Writers: Collectors, Creators, Archives, and Memory. Archizoom Gallery, EPFL
May 2016	TRACÉS – Magazine Article, ‘Gradski Trgovski Centar, le centre commercial de Skopje’
Sept 2016	Assistanship for the exhibition ‘Reactivate Sarajevo’ – UTT (ETHZ)

### 10. Presentations of the thesis research

May 2019	‘Territorial aspects of the Yugoslav living standards: Contribution of the architects’ (Rencontres de l’EDAR, PhD Colloquium)
March 2019	Thesis Concept Presentation PhD Internal Seminar at EPFL
May 2017	‘Rediscovering everyday life as an urban phenomenon: The city of Skopje’ (Rencontres de l’EDAR, PhD Colloquium)
October 2018	‘The civic movement as the city of Skopje’ Course Politics and Design, EPFL

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## A Third Way Alternative; Critical Assessments from the Model of the Yugoslav City

Présentée le 23 novembre 2021

Faculté de l'environnement naturel, architectural et construit  
Laboratoire des arts pour les sciences - Archives de l'imaginaire  
Programme doctoral en architecture et sciences de la ville

pour l'obtention du grade de Docteur ès Sciences

par

**Jana KONSTANTINOVA**

Acceptée sur proposition du jury

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Prof. A. Brillembourg, rapporteur  
Dr M. Dragicevic Sestic, rapporteuse  
Prof. M. Fröhlich, rapporteur





Fig. 001| Catalogue Cover, Exhibition, *Balkan States, Earl's Court*, 1907, London



Fig. 002| Book Cover, *Anarchism in (ex) Yugoslavia*, Trivo Indic, 1990, Belgrade



Fig. 003| Magazine Cover, *Voice*, No.1, 1898, Geneva



Fig. 004| Magazine Cover, *Zenit*, No.17-18, 1907, Beograd - Zagreb



# NASTANAK I RAZVOJ KOMUNIZMA U NAŠIM ZEMLJAMA

**AUSTRIJA**

**ITALIJA**

Ivan Cankar 1876-1918. Ljubljana. France Zeleznikar. Etbin Kristan 1867-1953. Krapina. Koprivnica.

**SLOVENIJA**

Zagreb 1894. Juraj Demetrović. Bjelovar. Vilim Bukšeg. Karlovac. Sisak. Sl. Požega. Sl. Brod. Osijek. Sombor. Drava. Dunav. Sava. Sabor. Novi S.

**HRVATSKA**

Ivan Ancel. Zadar. Štrajk 1906. Banja Luka. Vrbas. Stričići. Petar Kočić 1877-1916. Vaso Pelagić 1838-1899. Kreta. Mičo Sokolović. Franjo Raušer. Sarajevo. Rogatica. Z.

**BOSNA**

**HERCEGOVINA**

Mostar. Neretva. Cetina. Split. Brač. Hvar. Tura. CRNA. Niški. Podgorica. Celina. Sarajevo. 1903.

**INTERNACIONALA**

Ustajte svi na zemlji kleti!  
Svi sužnji koje mori glad!  
Nepravdi razum sad se sveti.  
Tutnji već selo i grad.  
Nek tiranstvo sruši naša snaga,  
Bezbrojno roblje sad ustaj!  
Nek svetu starom nema traga,  
Svoj bedi biće sutra kraj!  
Ežen Potje, pariski komunar,  
1875. godine

»Proleterii svih zemalja, ujedinite se!«

## Do pobjede

**KARL MARKS (1818-1883)**

**FRIDRIH ENGELS (1820-1895)**

**VLADIMIR ILJIČ LENJIN (1870-1924)**

Marks i Engels 1848. godine pišu »Komunistički manifest«, koji je postao program borbe radničke klase celoga sveta. Oni su naučno objasnili istorijski položaj i ulogu radničke klase. Ukazali su na to šta je čeka i za šta se ona mora boriti. Oni su ujedno stvorili i »Savez komunista«...

Velika oktobarska revolucija u Rusiji 1917. godine, pod vođstvom Lenjina, stvorila je prvu zemlju socijalizma - Sovjetski Savez. U toku drugog svetskog rata socijalistička revolucija pobeđuje u Jugoslaviji i u drugim zemljama. Proces socijalizma u svetu danas ide ka svojoj punoj pobjedi nad kapitalizmom.

# ZVITAK RADNIČKOG POKRETA OD 1848. DO PRVOG SVETSKOG RATA

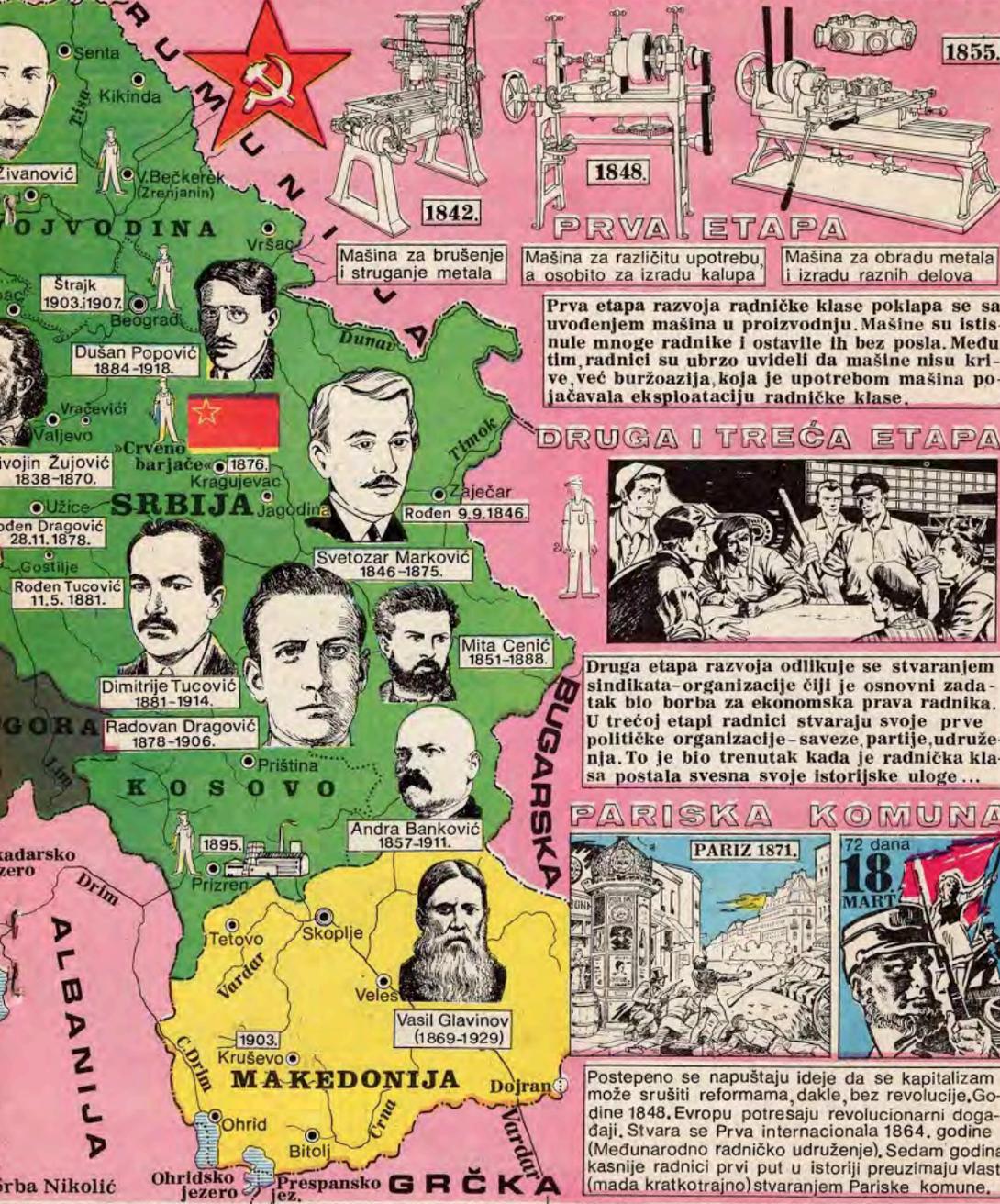


Fig. 006| Map, 'The emergence and development of the labour movement in our countries until the First World War', Srba Nikolić, in the magazine *Decje Novine*, 1975

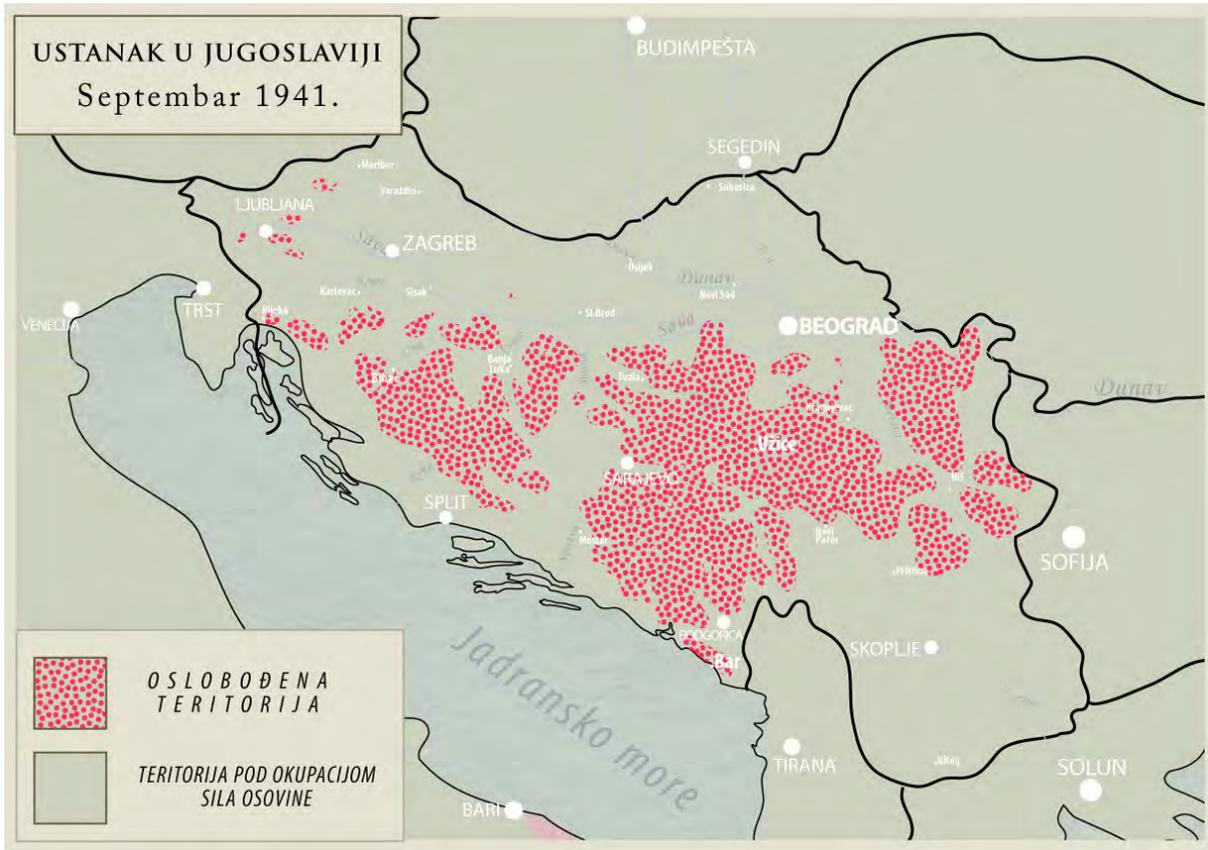


Fig. 007| Map, 'Uprising in Yugoslavia: September 1941'



Fig. 008| Scene from the movie, *The elusive summer of '68*, Goran Paskaljević, 1984

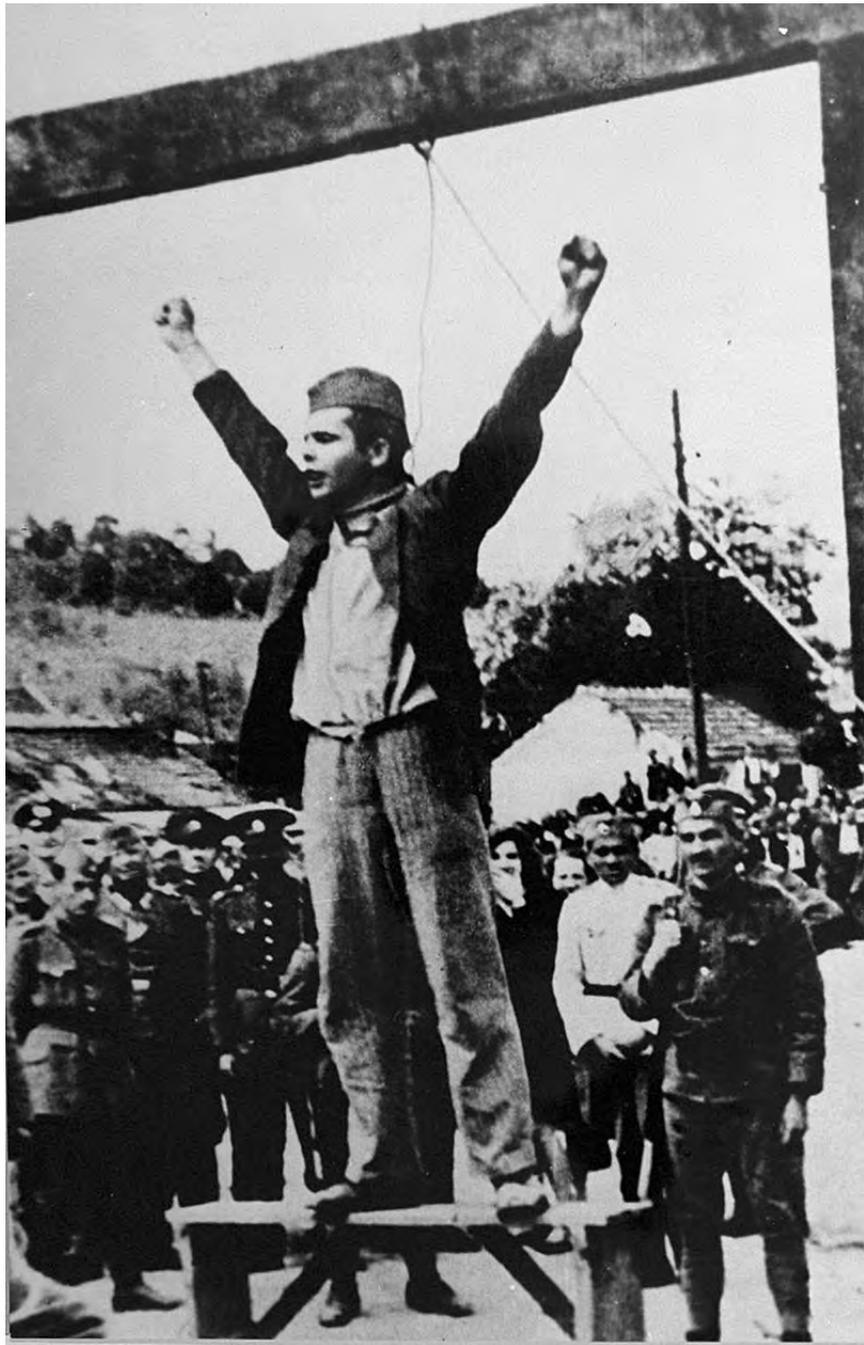


Fig. 009| Photo, Stjepan Filipović – everlasting symbol of anti-fascism, Valjevo, 1942

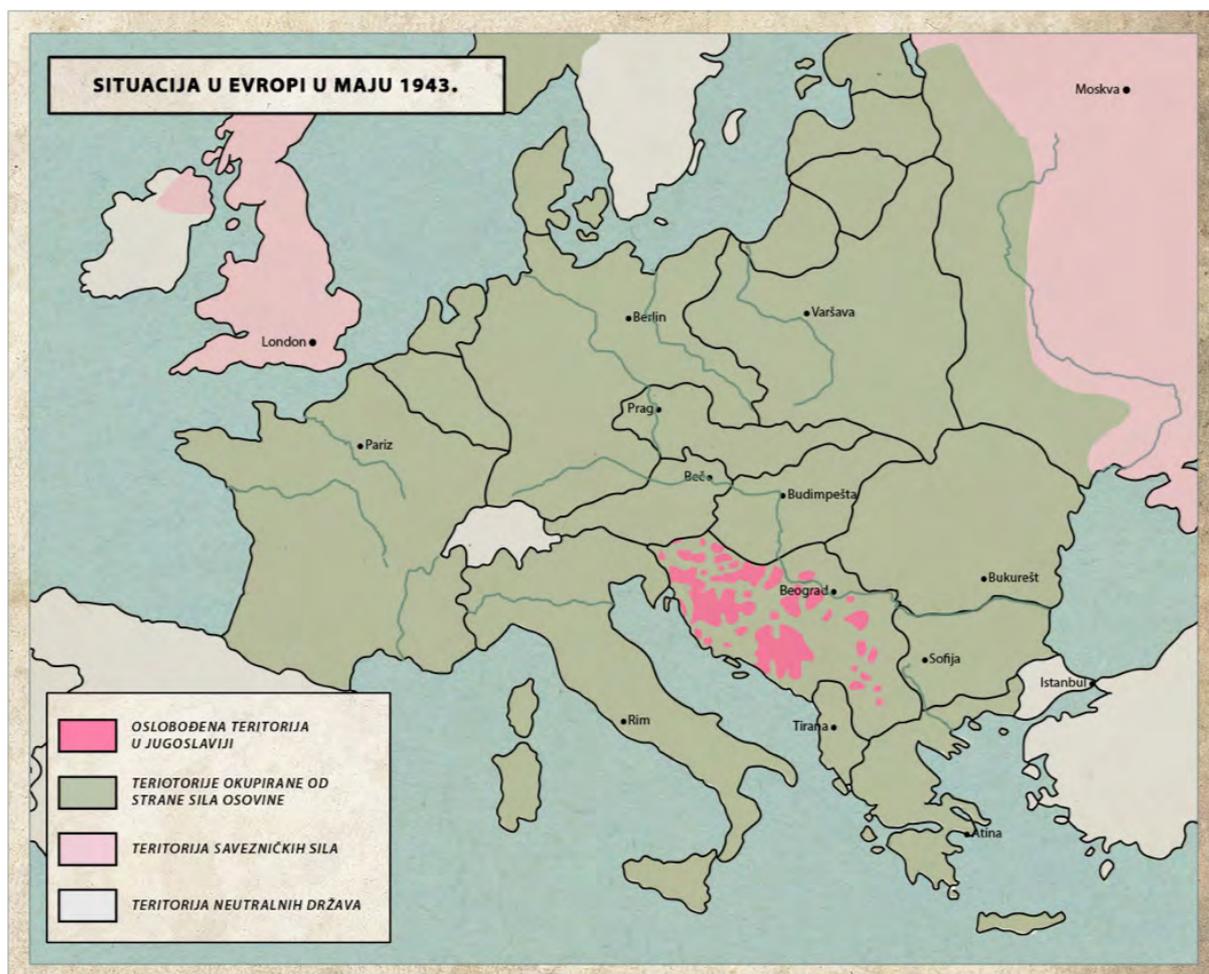


Fig. 010| Map, 'The situation in Europe in May 1943'

ности: у име зенитизма! Боримо се удружени, да разоримо све килаве филозофије: и у име зенитософије! Јер, варварски зенитизам као тотализатор новог живота, и ваша је колевка будуће велике победе. Организација новог духа мора да буде уведена у живот. То хоће зенитизам. А варвари су неисцрпиви извор чистоте духа, варвари су пребогати у свом несобичном давању.

Зенитизам је први развио заставу варварства: у борби за еманципацију и прочишћење од културе. Зенитизам није више школа. Зенитизам је варварска револуција духа, варварска револуција мисли, варварска револуција свих осећања. Ми смо у другој борби прешли велик и напоран пут: од културног индивидуализма до варварског колективизма. Ми зенитисти ајдуци смо у прашуми културе и комите у цунгли цивилизације: за ново варварско доба живота! Све друго је вапаш европске парализе и политике. Све друго је ђубре европске књижевности и уметности. Све друго је романтика и сифилис-култура.

Руке у вис антиварвари!  
Руке у вис антизенитисти!

— Београд —  
25. октобра 1925.

Љубомир МИЦИЋ — Београд

## MANIFESTE aux barbares d' esprit et de la pensée sur tous les continents

Hourraaaaaah barbares!

Hourraaaaaah zénitistes!

Nous avons à faire — plein les bras — dans la lutte contre la culture-bourreau.

Car on a chanté trop de hymnes, à la gloire des nobles potences du soit-disant continent européen.

Nous grinçons les dents derrière les barreaux de fer de la liberté empestée.

Nous avons assez de la culture de contrebande et de la civilisation votée. Nous avons assez d' une telle boue.

Nous hurlons du fond de l' antique berceau de la culture. Nous hurlons des Balkans: anticulture!... antieurope!..

Nous voulons nous venger dûment: oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent!  
Nous combattons aujourd' hui avec des poèmes rebelles, car être poètes rebelles, aidouks-comitadjis en revotte contre la culture, telle est notre profession.

Oui, nous sommes des comitadjis dans la lutte pour l' émancipation de la culture, qui nous asservit, qui nous tyrannise. Et seuls sont grands ceux, qui prennent part à la lutte sublime: pour la délivrance essentielle de l' homme. Seuls sont vraiment contemporains et grands les poètes, dont les vers sont des cris de rebellion et de revotte contre la culture. La délivrance parfaite de l' imaginaire culture — voilà la libération fondamentale des hommes.

Dame Europe! Nous crachons sous votre sale langue et sous les tabes-plantes de vos pieds pleins d' abscess. Nous lançons les bombes de nos poèmes dans votre hideux ciel européen. Avec les canons de nos idées nouvelles, nous tirons dans le zénit de la bourgeoisie en soie. Dans le zénit, et non dans l' imaginaire nombril de dieux — symbole unique de tous les génies d' Europe. Quoiqu' il s' agisse de canons et de bombes — laissons toute politique — à bas l' Europe, à bas les guerres! Nous détestons la politique, ce crapaud galeux, car il n' est pas dans notre nature de faire le commerce d' esclaves, ni noirs, ni blancs. Notre temps et notre travail sont des poèmes de rebellion.

Hourraaaaaah barbares!

Hourraaaaaah zénitistes!

Nous sommes frères de tous les poètes barbares sur tous les continents. Frères continents, magnifiques frères barbares — multipliez nos rangs serrés. Tendez nous vos mains pures par dessus des fils de fer rouillés de la culture, au-dessus de frontières tranchantes de la civilisation cannibale. Formons un commun poigne d' esprit barbare pour fracasser le crâne hydrocephale de notre maratre séculaire, de notre maratre l' Europe. Vous verrez: au lieu d' amour, au lieu de pures pensées, il en jaillira un torrent d' idées souillées de haine éternelle et de servitude.

A pleine gorge nous jettons des injures à la face de la culture, n' est ce pas? Mais c' est par la tête que sent mauvais le poisson.

Europe puant requin! C' est pourquoi nous voulons enlever le masque à tous les mensonges de l' humanisme cruel au nom de la pureté barbare, au nom du primordial amour barbare. Nous ne voulons

Fig. 011| Page 5-6, 'Manifest: barbarians of spirit and thought on all continents', in the magazine Zenit, No.38, 1926, Beograd - Zagreb



Fig. 012| Extract from a Cover Page, 'Architects that fall in the battle for freedom', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.90, 1959, Zagreb



Fig. 013| Photo, Marshal Tito during the Second World War with it is closest collaborators, 1944



Fig. 014| Photo, The Marshal performs the national dense



Fig. 015| Photo, Miroslav Krleža - photo taken by the president Tito



Fig. 016| Photo, President Tito discussing with Edvard Kardelj, 1964

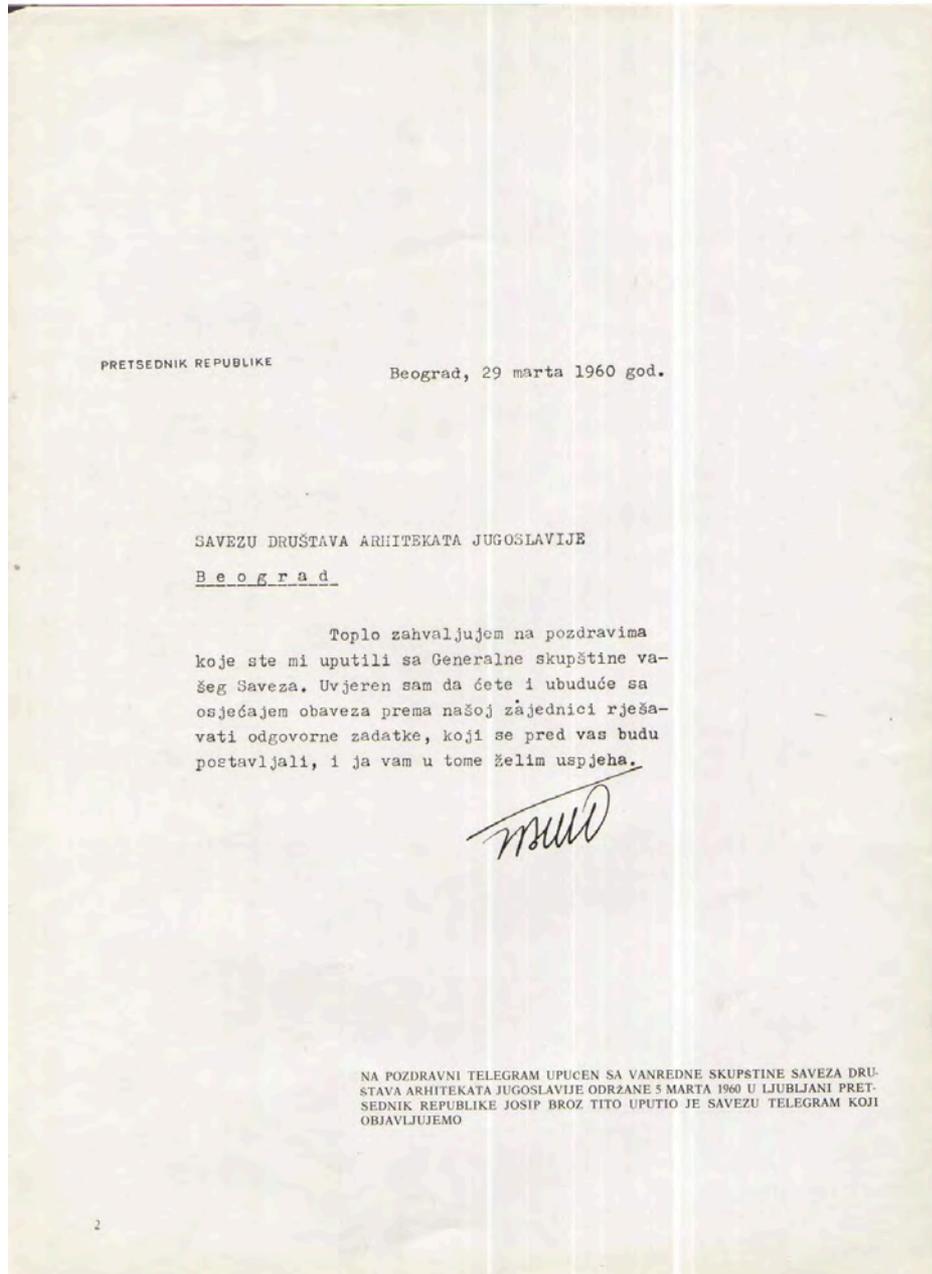


Fig. 017| Page 2, Letter to the architects, from the president Tito, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.2, 1960, Beograd



Fig. 018| Scene from the movie, *Happy New Year '69*, Stole Popov, 1949



Fig. 019| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 020| Poster, *BITEF 10*, 1976, Beograd





Fig. 021| Map, 'The new constitution of SFRY', Srba Nikolic, in the magazine *Decje Novine*, 1975



Fig. 022| Photo, The members of the theatre on the *National Liberation of Yugoslavia*, Ticevo, 1944



*Prva ratna redakcija Tanjuga sa Lolom Ribarom, Mošom Pijade i dr Ivanom Ribarom*

Fig. 023| Photo, The first editorial staff of *Tanjug*, 1943

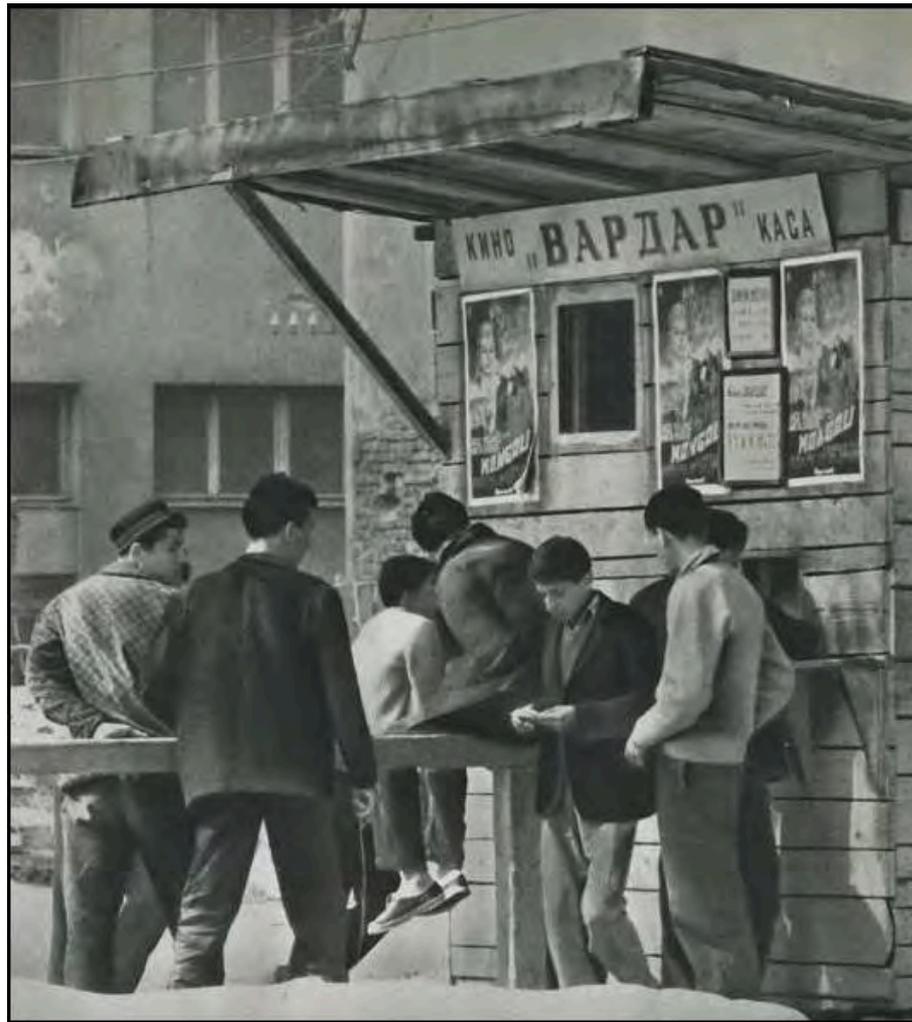


Fig. 024| Photo, Cinema ticket office, ~ 1940, Skopje

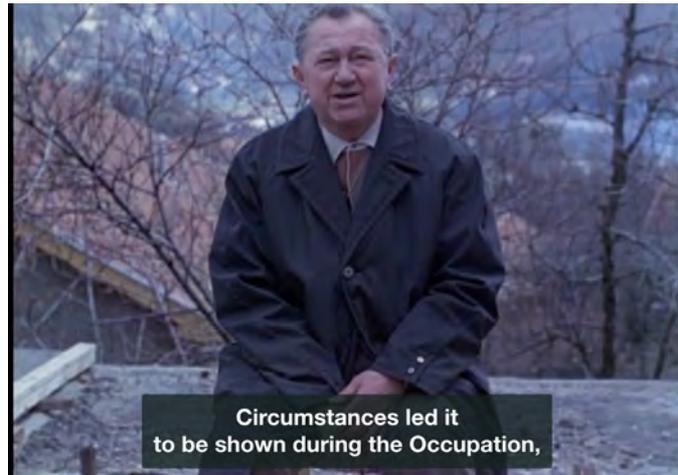


Fig. 025| Scenes from the movie, *Innocence Unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968



Fig. 026| Scenes from the movie, *Innocence Unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968



Fig. 027| Scenes from the movie, *Walter Defends Sarajevo*, Hajrudin Krvavac, 1972



Fig. 028| Extract from the page 8, Map, *FNRY, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 1, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

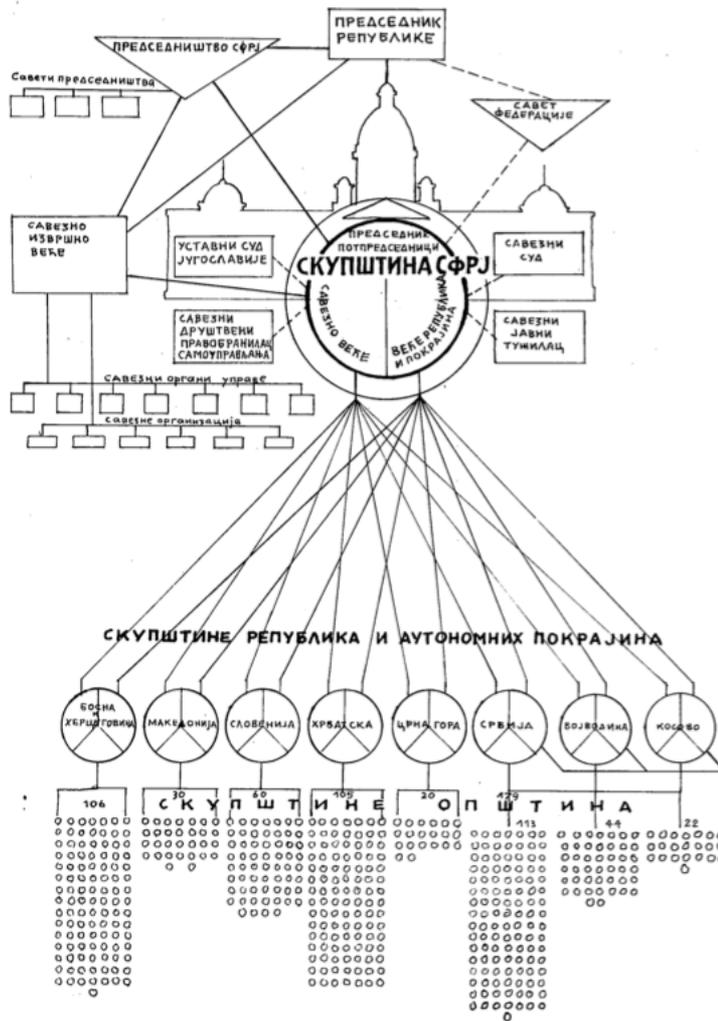


Fig. 029| Extract from the page 10, Graphic, 'The assembly of FNRJ', Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia, book 1, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 030| Extract from the page 13, Graphic, 'The region of the city of Belgrade', *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 1, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 031| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 032| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 033| Scenes from the movie, *When I am dead and gone*, Zivojin Pavlović, 1967

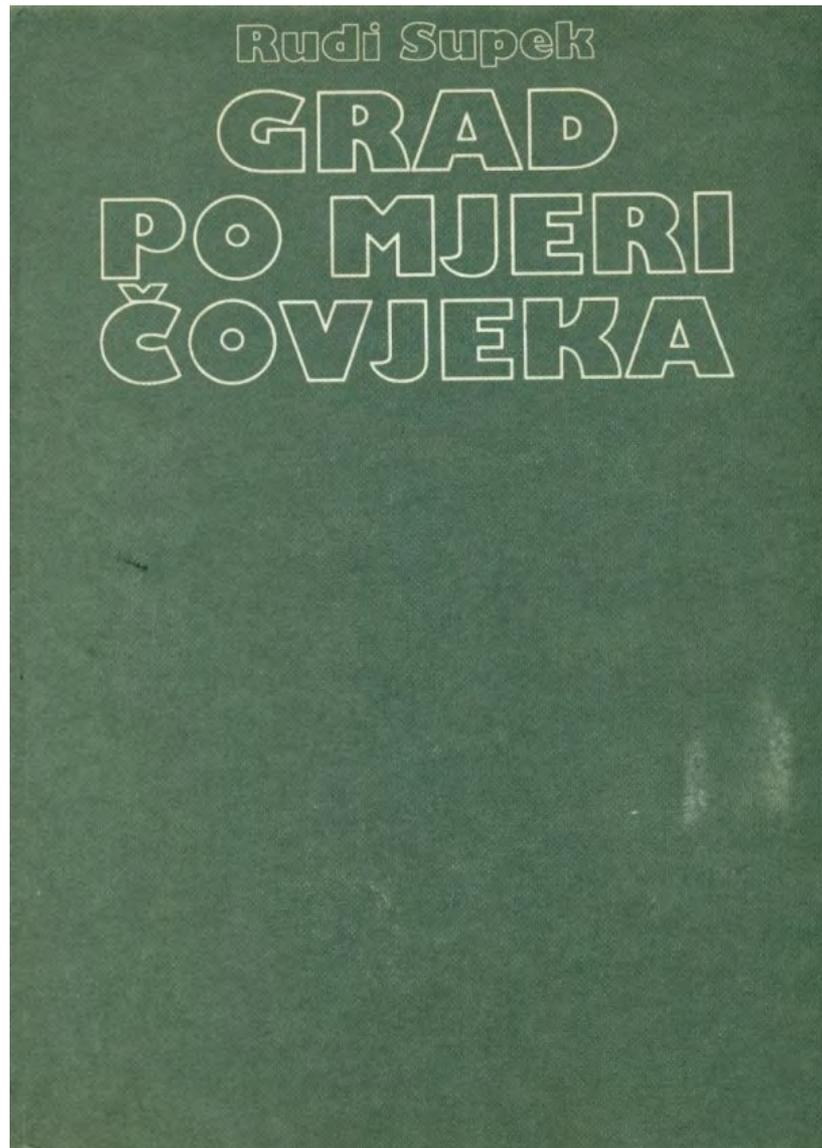


Fig. 034| Book Cover, *City Tailored to Man*, Rudi Supek, 1990



Fig. 035| Scenes from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



Fig. 036| Scenes from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



Fig. 037| Scene from the movie, *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1981

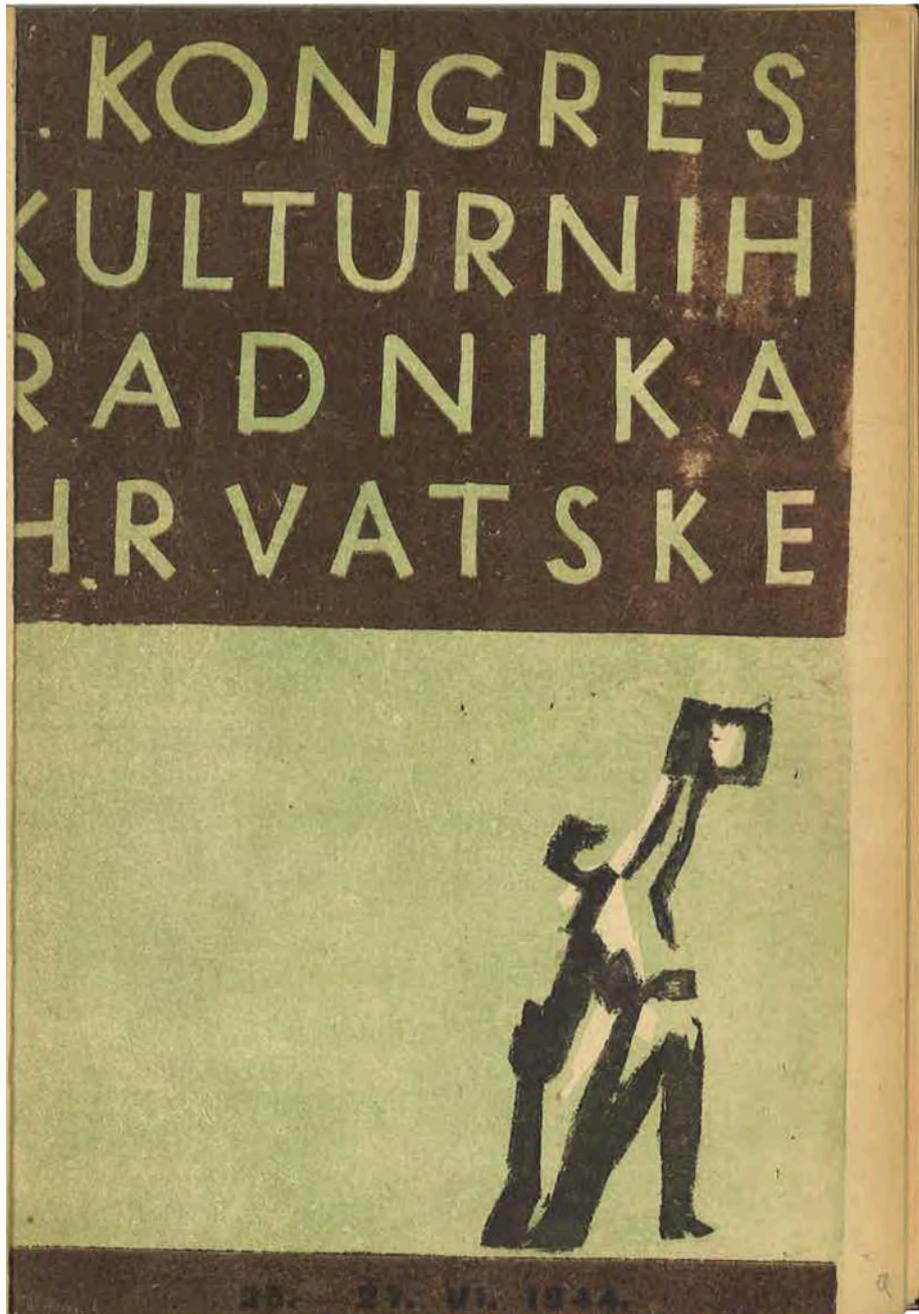


Fig. 038| Book Cover, *First Congress of the Cultural Workers of Croatia*, ed. Ivan Jelić, 1944, Zagreb



Fig. 039| Scenes from the movie, *The Battle of Neretva*, Veljko Bulajić, 1968

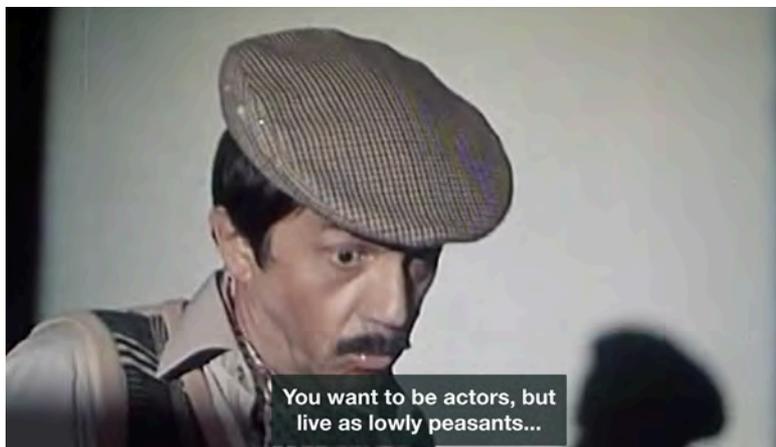


Fig. 040| Scenes from the movie, *The Marathon Family*, Slobodan Šijan, 1982

ZAGORKA GOLUBOVIĆ

## CULTURE AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN UTOPIA AND REALITY

## I

Defined as a process of *humanization* of man and his world – as an image of a more human world – culture always stands midway between conception and realization, between the ideal and reality, between the new and the already attained.

But in sociology and anthropology, culture is not usually defined as a process of humanization, the results of which are measured by the humanization of man. Culture is instead usually viewed much more narrowly and pragmatically as the social heritage of a people in a given social system.

Those definitions of culture as standardized, learned behavior or as traditionally acquired habits (such as, for example, Linton's,<sup>1</sup> Margaret Mead's 'forms of traditional behavior,' and Ford's<sup>2</sup> are sociologically one-sided. Such a concept of culture is doubly limited. First, culture is viewed exclusively as a means of adjusting the individual to social conditions. This ignores the fundamental characteristic of culture – man's work of altering his environment and adapting it to himself, in the course of which both the natural and the social conditions are altered. Second, such a concept of culture reduces culture to the forms and components of the *social behavior* of the individual and – even more narrowly – to that standardized behavior prescribed as 'normal'. Thus all other significant areas of life and creativity find no place in such a definition of culture since they cannot be classified under the concept of behavior, and certainly not standardized behavior. (Using this definition, art and philosophy would certainly be classified as 'deviant' behavior, inasmuch as they cannot be standardized.) These definitions make provision only for the pragmatic functions of culture. But reducing the concept of culture in this way prevents an explanation of the total content of culture and its development. If culture is understood as *standardized* behavior (i.e., exclusively relative to social standards which level down individuality and anything exceeding the bounds of the standard, the officially accepted, that which is supported and favored at a given moment), then how is it possible to explain the cultural process arising from invention, or the appearance of the new, the original, the nonstandard, in opposition to the given and fixed? Culture (even in regulating

167

Mihailo Marković and Gajo Petrović (eds.), *Praxis*, 167–185.  
This translation © 1979 by D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Fig. 041| Page 167, *Culture as a bridge between utopia and reality*, Zagorka Golubović, *Praxis: Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 1979

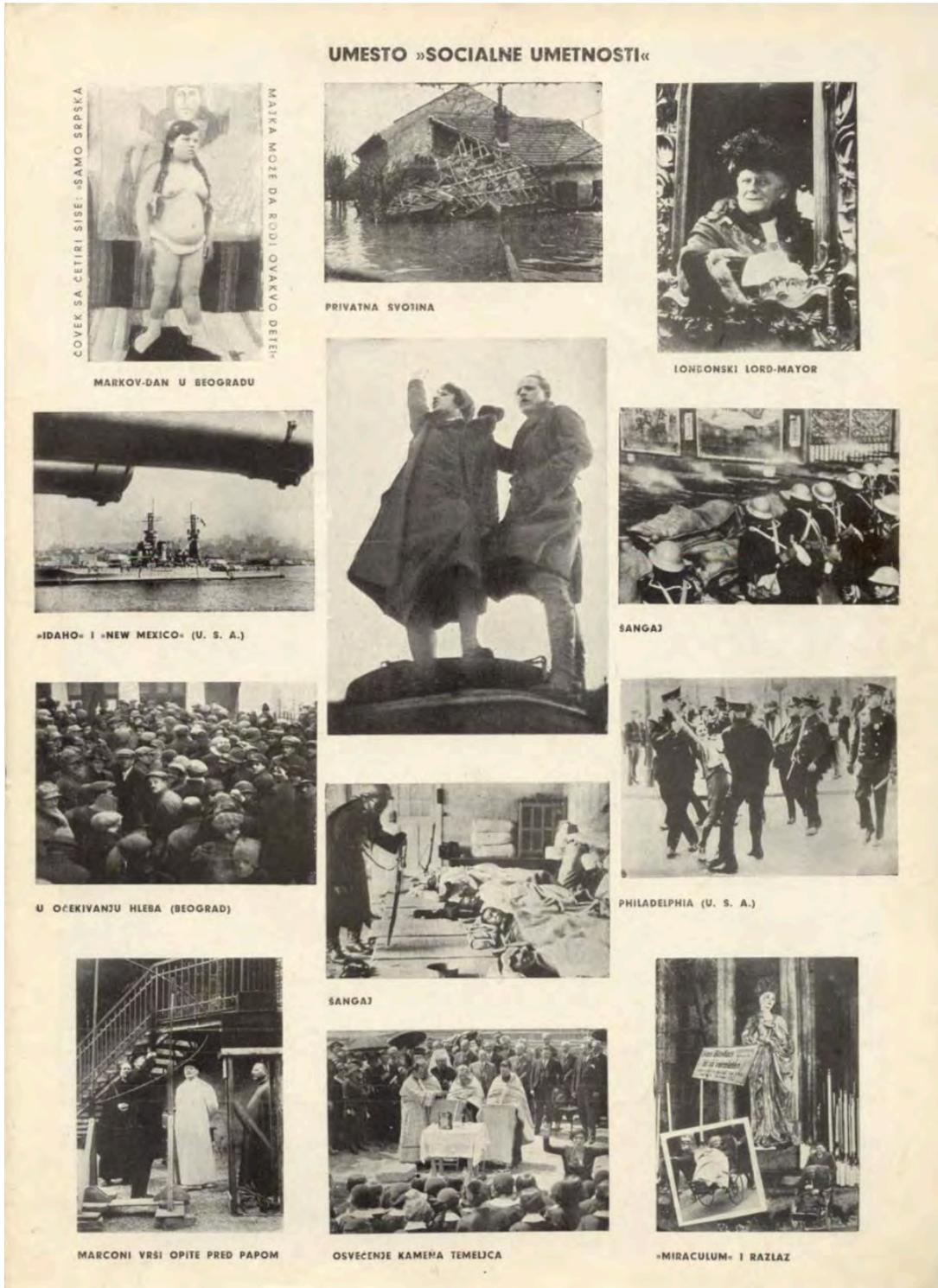


Fig. 042| Page, 'Instead of Social Art', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.2, 1960, Beograd

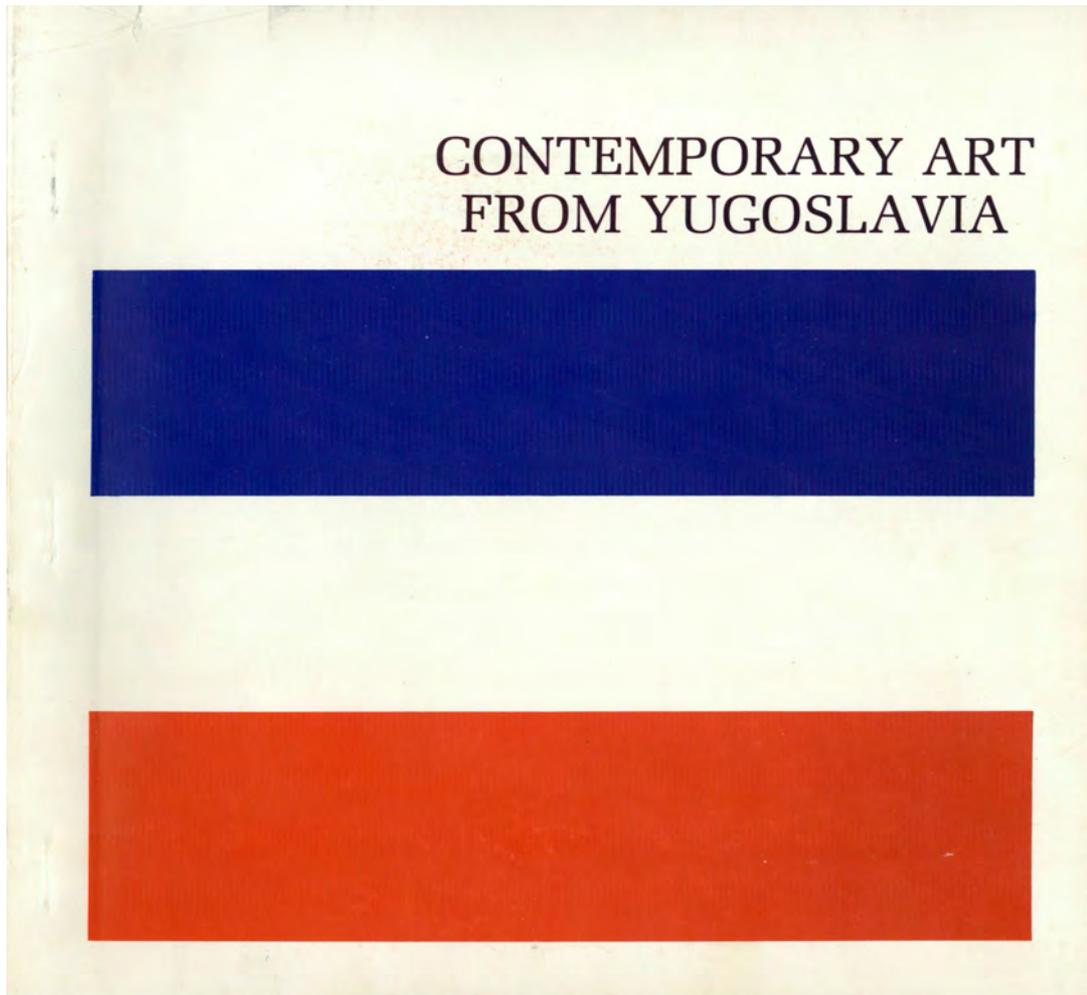


Fig. 043| Cover Page, '*Contemporary Art from Yugoslavia*', exhibition, shown at *Auckland City Art Gallery*, 1978, Auckland



Fig. 044| Photo, the friendship and collaboration between Latinka Golubović and Marko Nikezić



Fig. 045| Photo, Croatian Partisan Women in liberated Split, 1944, Split



Fig. 046| Extract from a page 10, *The Women's Antifascist Front*, in the magazine *Yugoslav Institute for Urbanism and Housing*, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 047| Photo, The iconic Kozarčanka (Women from Kozara)



Fig. 048| Extract from the pages 23-25, The excursions of the students of architecture, Generation 1958-1959, Book, Branko Bojović, 2003

Na radnom sastanku



Fig. 049| Extract from the page 9, *'From the working meetings'*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No.51, 1979, Belgrade



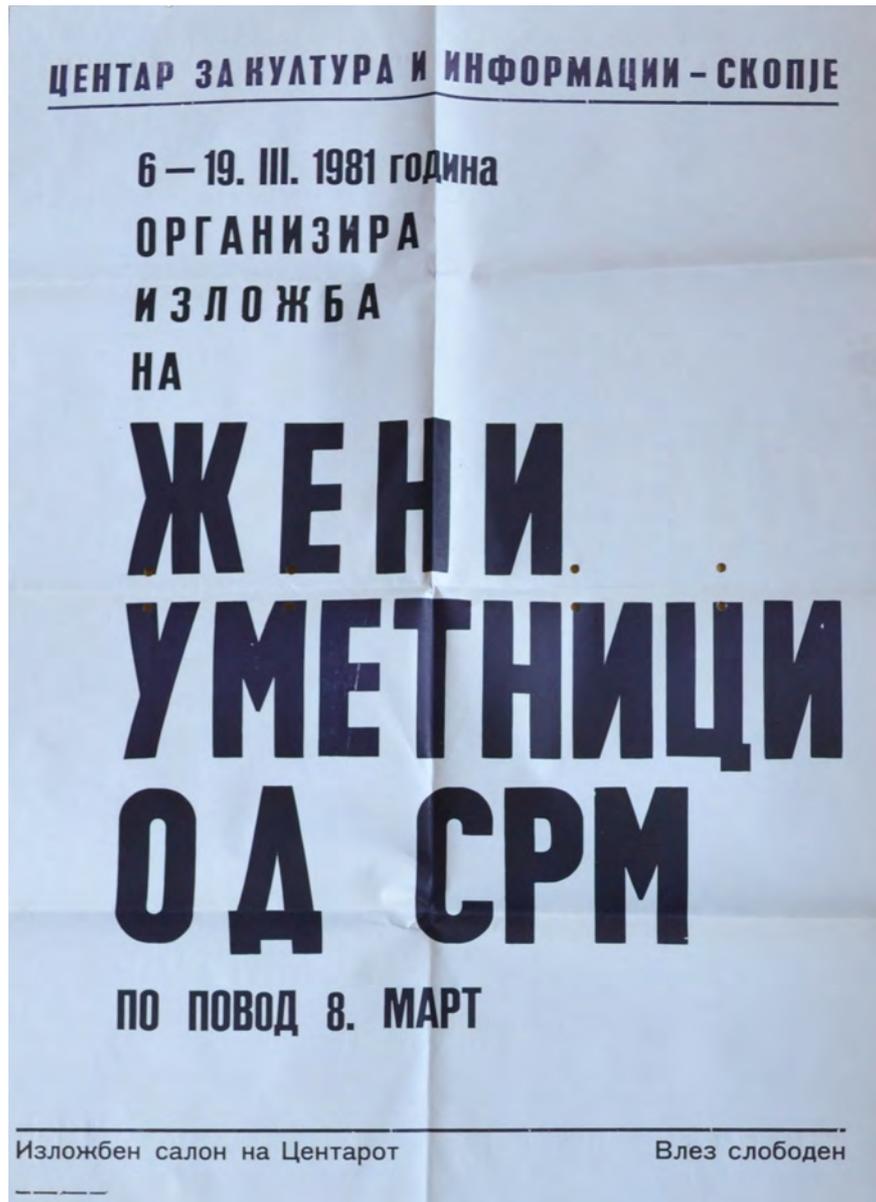


Fig. 051| Poster, 'Woman artists from SR Macedonia', Exhibition, Centre for Culture and Information's, 1981, Skopje

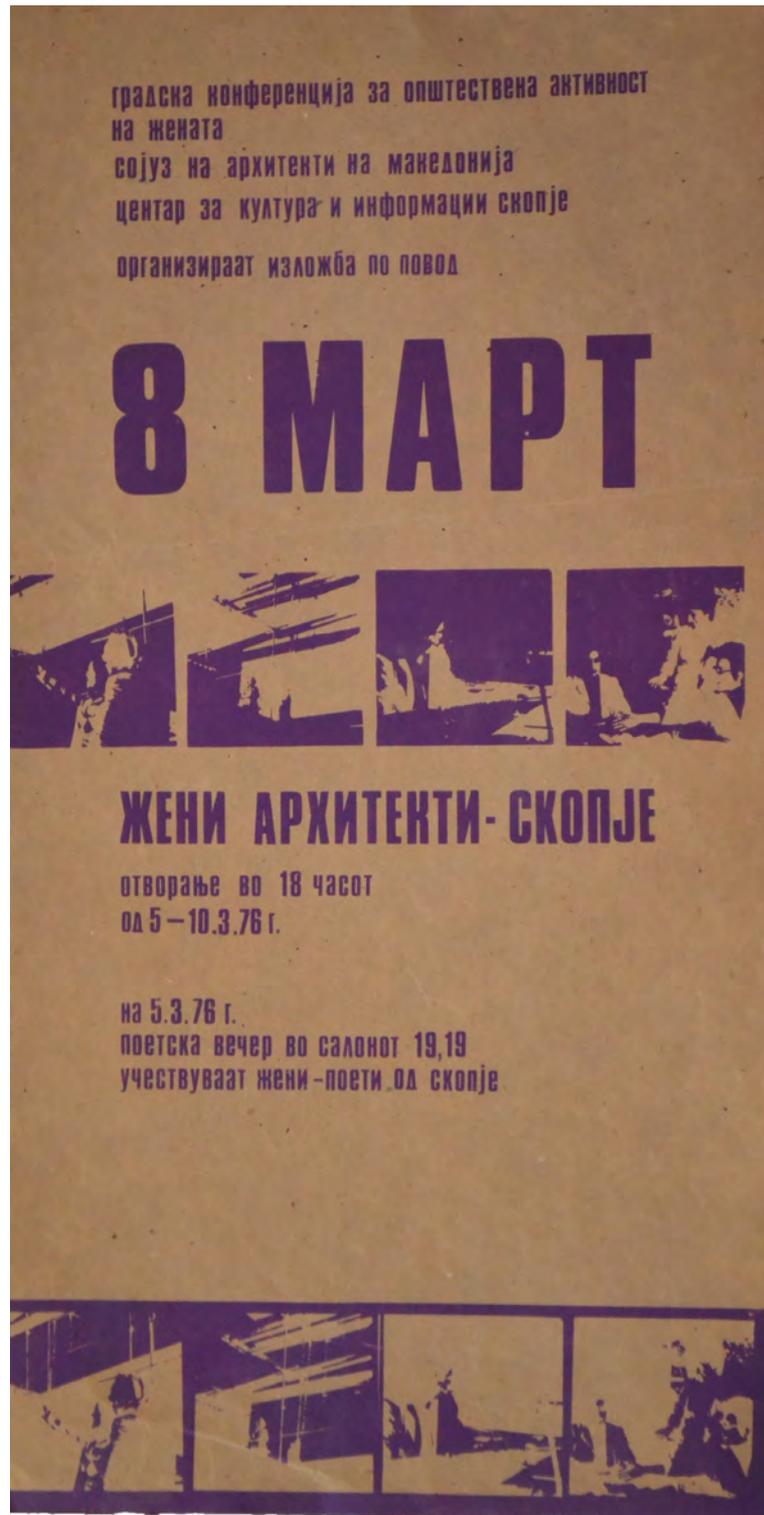


Fig. 052| Poster, 'Woman architects - Skopje, Exhibition', Centre for Culture and Information's, 1976, Skopje



Fig. 053| Photo, Lira Grabul in front of the model of the *Makedonium Monument*



Fig. 054| Map, the Balkans in the 1815

D 3808

Miloš NEMANJIĆ  
Ružica ROSANDIĆ  
Milivoje IVANIŠEVIĆ  
Mirjana NIKOLIĆ  
Branimir STOJKOVIĆ

**PROGRAM KULTURNOG RAZVOJA BANJALUKE  
1976—1990.**

BANJALUKA  
1977.

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Fig. 055| Study, 'Program of Cultural Development for the city of Banja Luka', Study, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1977, Banja Luka, SR Serbia



Fig. 056| Extract from the cover page, *The Yugoslav Pavilion for the Brussels Expo*, Brussels, Belgium Vjencislav Richter, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 75, 1958, Zagreb



Fig. 057| Extract from the cover page, *The Yugoslav Pavilion for the Brussels Expo*, Brussels, Belgium Vjencislav Richter, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 75, 1958, Zagreb



Fig. 058| Cover page, '1818-1883-1983', in the magazine *Odjek*, No. 18, 1983, Sarajevo

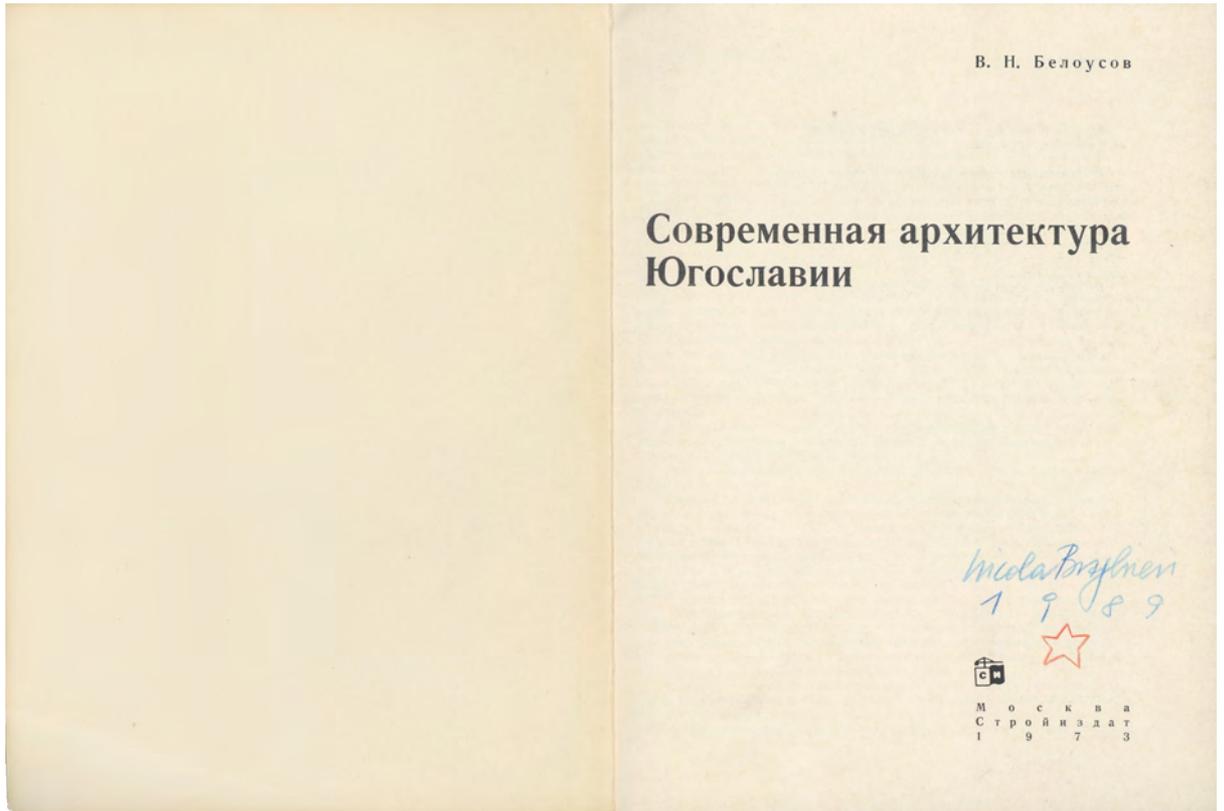


Fig. 059| Book cover, *Contemporary Architecture of Yugoslavia*, Vladimir Nikolaevic Belousov, 1973, Moscow, USSR

IZ SERIJE »RAZGLLEDNICE«, KARIKATURA ZLATKA BASTASIĆA: POZDRAV IZ ZAGREBA



Fig. 060| Extract from the cover page, Caricature, *Greetings from Zagreb*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, Zlatko Bastasić, No. 9, 1971, Zagreb

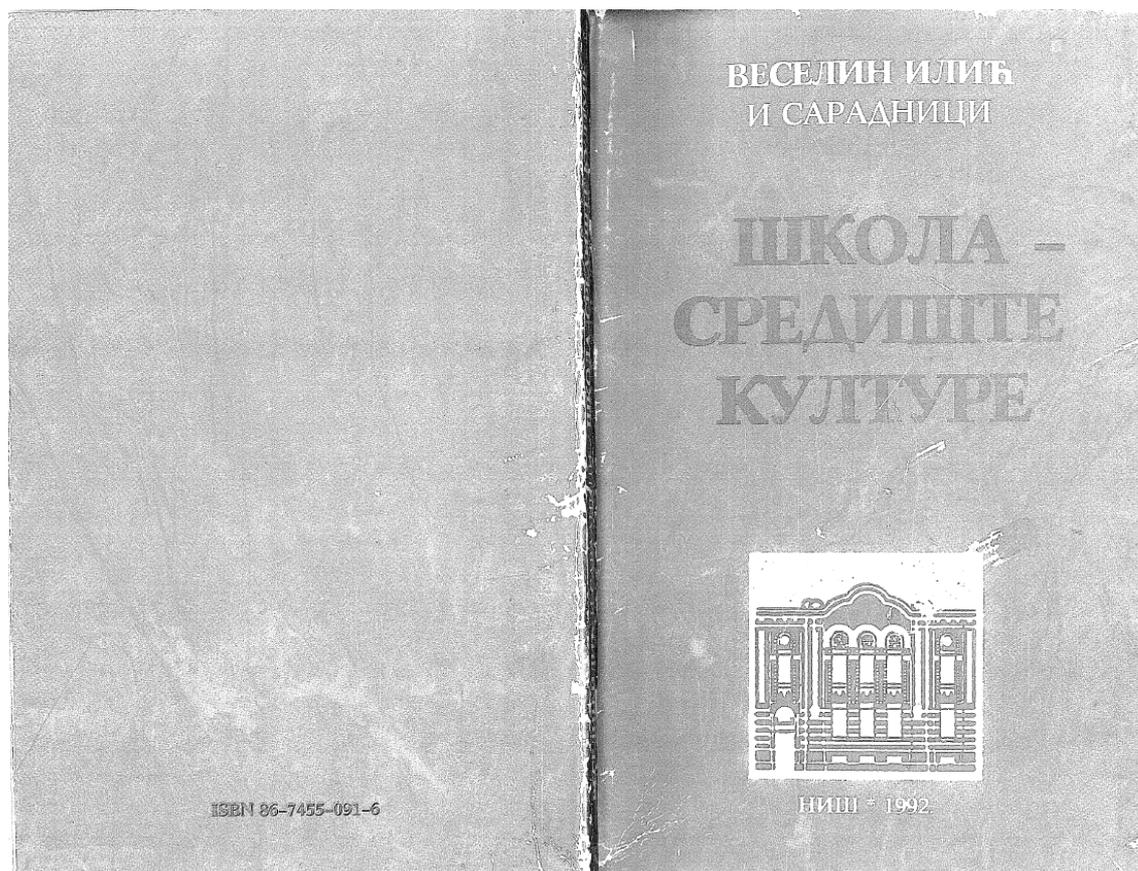


Fig. 061| Book cover, *'The School – the core for culture'*, Veselin Ilić, 1992, Niš

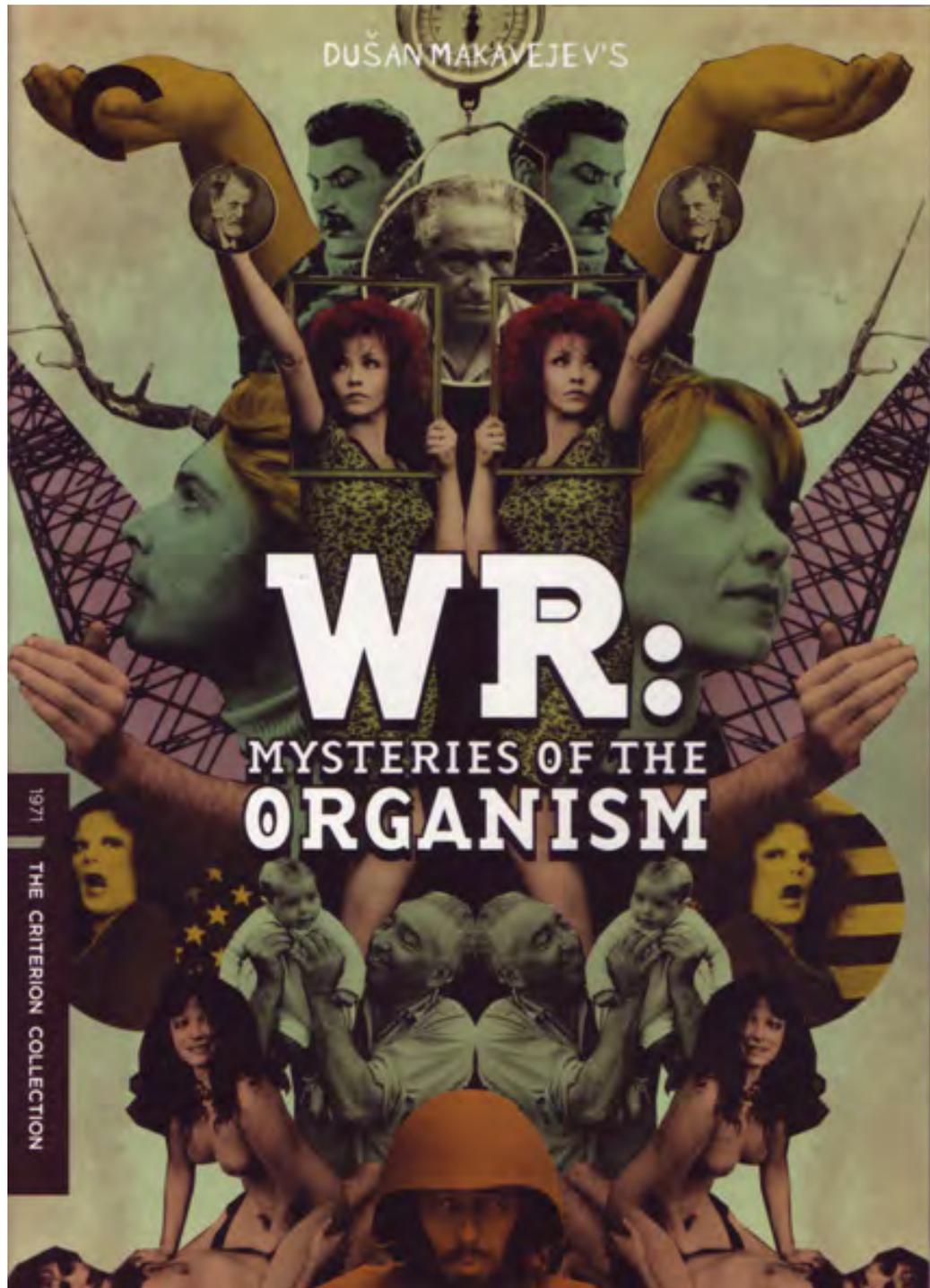


Fig. 062| Poster, the movie *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Dušan Makavejev, 1971



Fig. 063| Scene from the movie, *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Dušan Makavejev, 1971



Fig. 064| Scenes from the movie, *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Dušan Makavejev, 1971



Fig. 065| Cover page, in the magazine *Odjek*, No. 21, 1984, Sarajevo



# čovjek i prostor

GODINA XVI BROJ 181 – ZAGREB, TRAVANJ 1968 CIJENA ND 3,30 IZDAVAČ: SAVEZ ARHITEKATA HRVATSKE

Prije pedeset godina, u danima Oktobarske Revolucije polariziralo se — uzimajući ovako slikoviti izraz — mnoštvo pramenova pokretnih činjenica jedva sagledive raznolikosti iz tadanje, vremenski neposredne i daljnje prošlosti i budućnosti. Ovdje bi sada trebalo naknadno iskatalizirati, uza sve objektivne i subjektivne teškoće nešto, trebalo bi pronaći ono što određuje još i danas kao neizbježnost važeće, a i za budućnost za sva likovna kretanja, povezana sa socijalističkom revolucijom, a posebno za arhitektonsko stvaralaštvo.

Kad se, ovako prisilno, moramo sabrati da svjedemo na optimalnu mjeru postupak redukcije do suštine prema stanju

kao što je današnje sa svim svojim heterogenostima što još traju, bit će opravdana svaka malodušnost. Stojimo pred činjenicama nastalim kroz ovo pola vijeka. Naši gradovi, trgovi, avenije, naši prostori za rekreaciju danas sa svojim magistralama i energetske mamutskim objektima, sve do najintimnijeg kutića u domu, odišu sasvim novom atmosferom. To je atmosfera današnjeg čovjeka koji tek stvara novi sklad.

U oblasti likovne primjene (uključiv dabome arhitektonske) principa što su proklamirani kroz ovih pet decenija do sada još nije bilo opozicije. Ipak, javljaju se i savremeno obrisi nečeg kao prilagodbe na mnogim stranama. Kraj toga

su se mnoge suprotnosti još i zaostriale toliko da crte kretanja idu parabolom za koju nema već vjerojatnosti da će se ikada približiti. Postoje, na primjer, i dijalektičke analize o tome kako je tzv. apstraktna umjetnost već prešla iz kvantiteta u kvalitet. Postoji međutim činjenica da, osim masovnosti kod samih stvaralaca, nema još općeg prihvatanja u narodu. Slično je stanje i kod odgovornih kritičara odgojenih u naučnim ustanovama. Ovdje još vlada kao neka konvencionalna učtivost po dužnosti profesije, kao da se još uvijek očekuje nešto. Još nije, međutim, uspjelo da metod naučnog pristupa historiji umjetnosti bude prilagođen, a kamoli da bi se mogli i samo ponuditi nekoj kompleksnijoj obnovi naučnog prilazanja sasvim novim kvalitetima. To je međutim, npr. u fizici ili biologiji već provedeno i usavršeno. Tamo su čak i prevaziđeni klasični pogledi na »prostor i vrijeme« (ruski fizičar nobelovac 1958. Igor Tam).

Iz tog razloga neka ovaj prigodni osvrt još ostane kao skraćeni prikaz presjeka kroz stanje što ga proživljava arhitektura Sovjetskog Saveza prvih godina poslije Oktobarske Revolucije do 1931., kad su rješavana dva značajna internacionalna natječaja tj. onaj za kazalište u Harkovu i onaj za palaču Sovjeta u Moskvi.

Registriranjem samih činjenica uz vlastita tumačenja samih pokretača bit će najautentičnije oslikana situacija kroz prikazano historijsko razdoblje.

ALFRED ALBINI

## ARHITEKTURA SSSR-a IZ DOBA OKTOBARSKE REVOLUCIJE

Vladimir Tatlin: Spomenik III Internacionalne, 1920

Fig. 066| Cover page, 'Architecture from USSR from the time of the October Revolution', Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 4, 1968, Zagreb



Fig. 067| Scenes from the movie, *How I Was Systematically Destroyed by an Idiot*, Slobodan Šijan, 1968

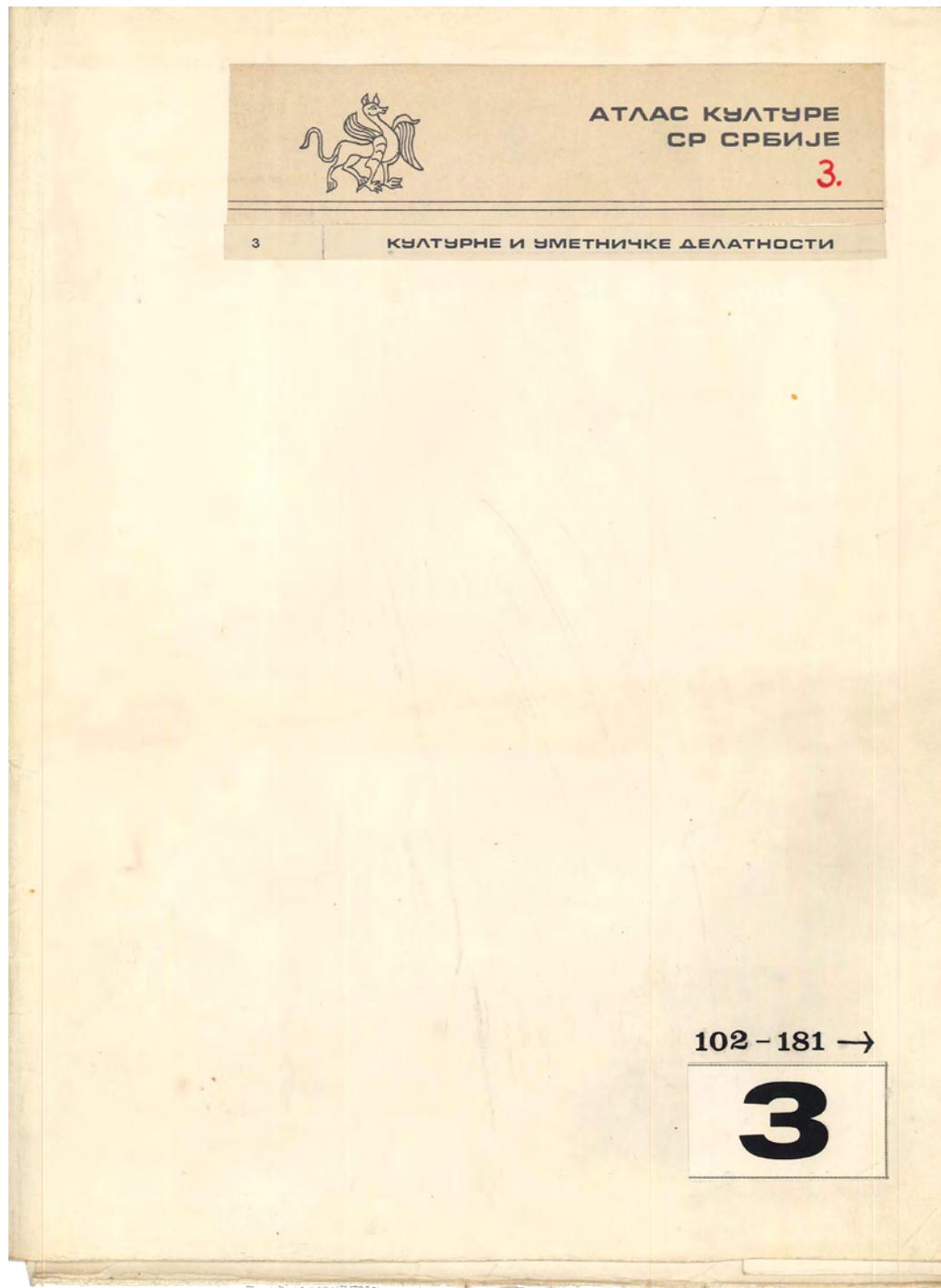


Fig. 068| Cover page, *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade



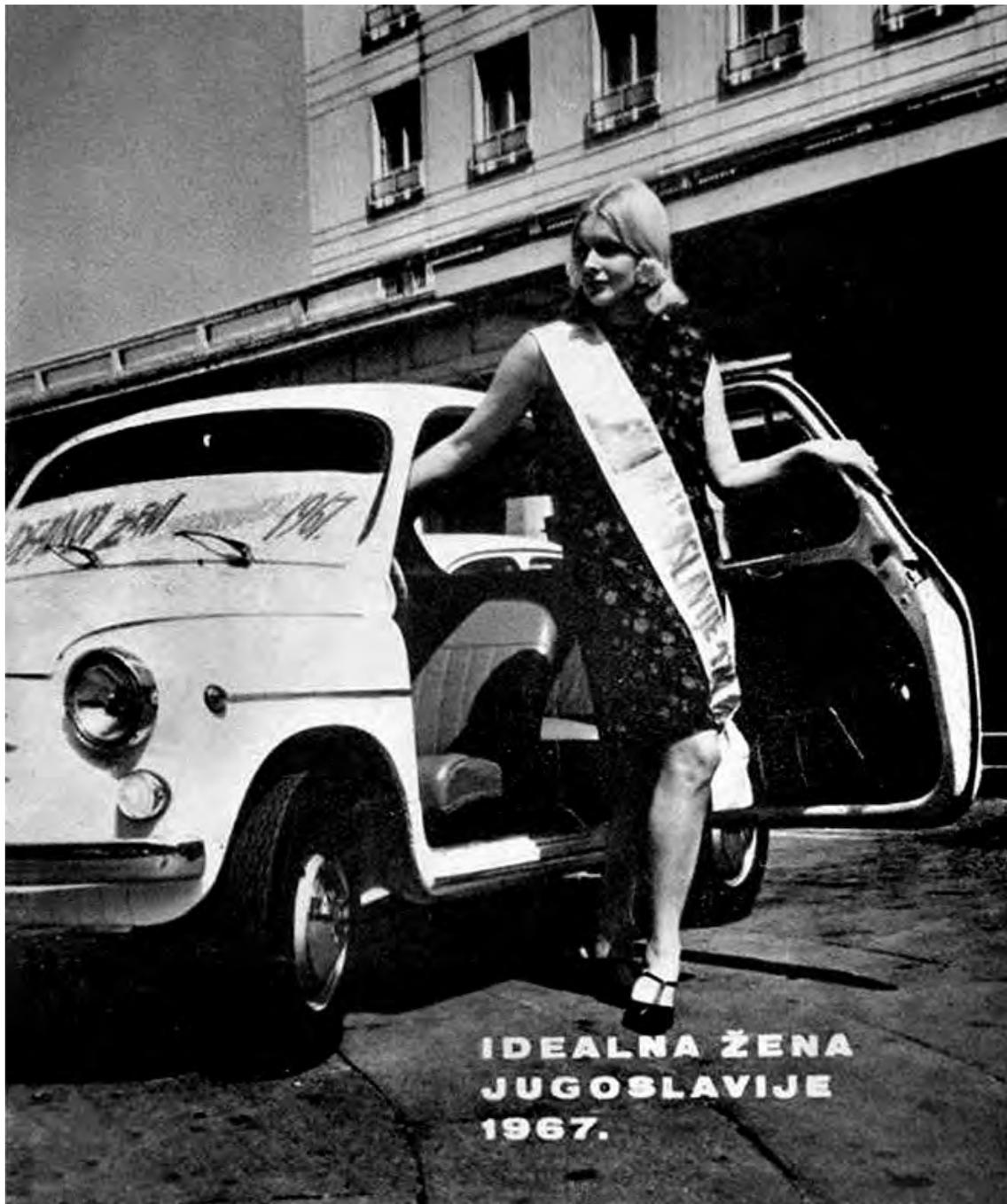


Fig. 070| Photo, Ideal Yugoslav woman, 1967



Fig. 071| Photo, 'New house', Belgrade



Fig. 072| Page 13, 'New Achievements', in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No.25, 1974, Belgrade

# NOVI VIDICI BEOGRADA



Novi Beograd — blok 1 sa centrom mesne zajednice

Fig. 073| Page 27, *'New perspectives', New Belgrade – Block 1 Belgrade*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 2, 1969, Belgrade



Nagrađeni rad (Maketa)

Autori: Kenzo Tange sa Arata Isozaki, Sadao Watanabe, Jerry Sheerin, Koichi Sano, Yoshio Taniguchi, Shunichi Watanabe, Takeshi Iyama, Shingo Inaoka, Atsushi Arata, Akira Murai, Toshiyuki Matsumoto, Gen Kato, Jiro Onuma.

NOVI CENTAR SKOPJA

Fig. 074| Extract from the cover page, 'The new centre Skopje', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 156, 1966, Belgrade

Ing. arh. Saša SEDLAR

## VELENJE NAŠ NOVI GRAD

INVESTITOR:

Kudnik lignita i Narodni odbor  
opštine Velenje

PROJEKTANT URBANISTIČKOG  
PLANA I KOORDINATOR PRO-  
JEKTA:

ing. arh. Janez TRENZ, Slove-  
nija projekt

SARADNIK:

ing. arh. Franc ŠMID, Slove-  
nija projekt

PROJEKTANT KOMUNALNIH  
UREDJAJA:

ing. Ciril POGAČNIK, Slove-  
nija projekt

PROJEKTANT DALJINSKOG  
GREJANJA — ELEKTROPROJEKT:

ing. Alojz JAVORNIK.

Pogled na centar

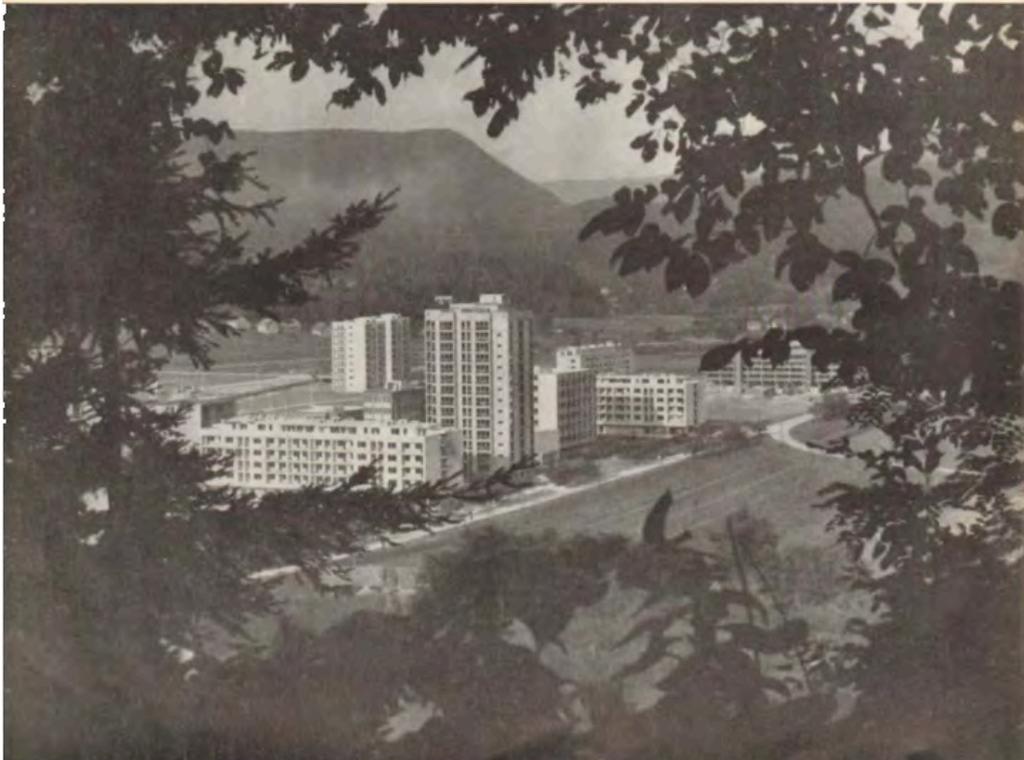


Fig. 075| Page 4, 'Velenje our new city', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 1, 1960, Belgrade



Fig. 076| Scene from the movie, *Black Film*, Želimir Žilnik, 1971





Fig. 078| Cover page, *Planning Atlas - Spatial Planning of Yugoslavia*, Yugoslav institute for *Urbanism and Housing*, 1973, Belgrade

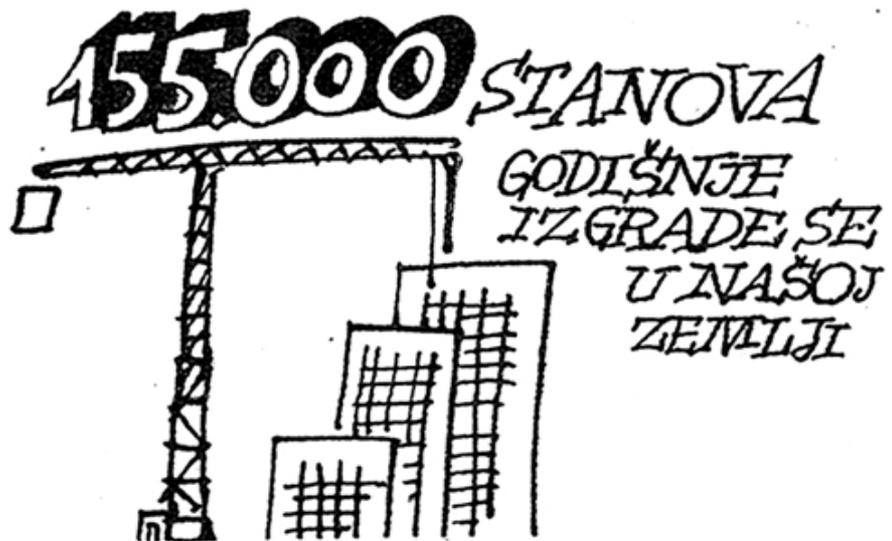
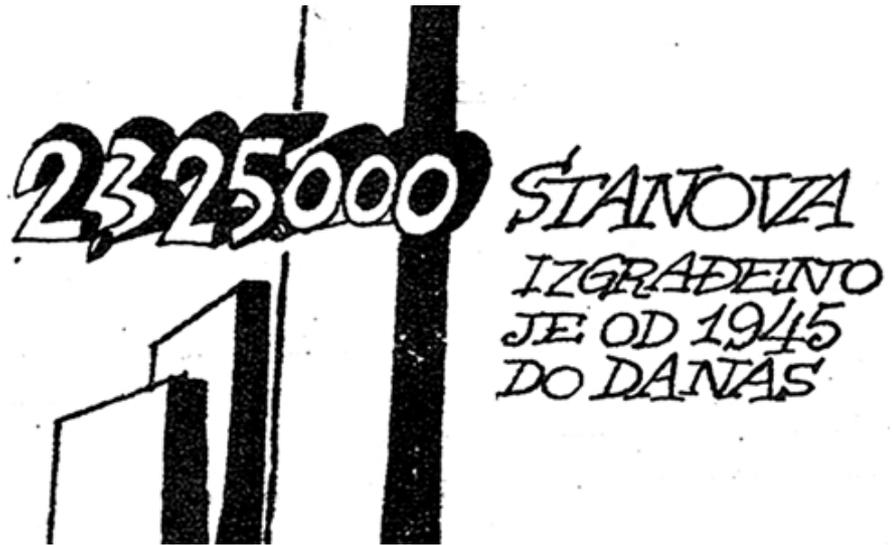


Fig. 079| above – 2,325.000 apartments are built from 1945 until today  
below – 155.000 apartments per year are being built in our country



Fig. 080| Logo for the magazine, *Institute for Housing*, 1979, Belgrade

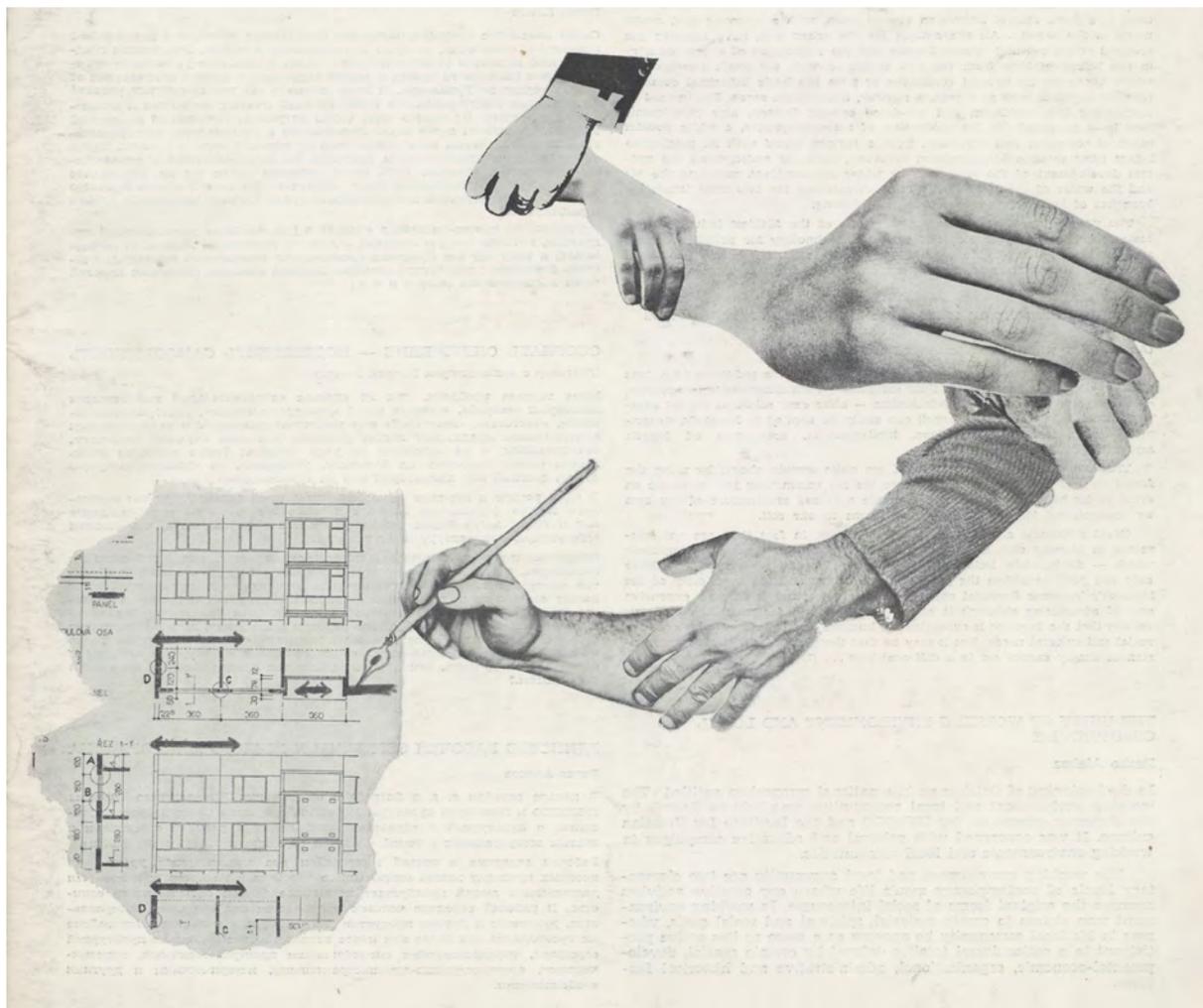


Fig. 081| Extract from the cover page, caricature, Zlatko Bastasić, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 11, 1978, Zagreb

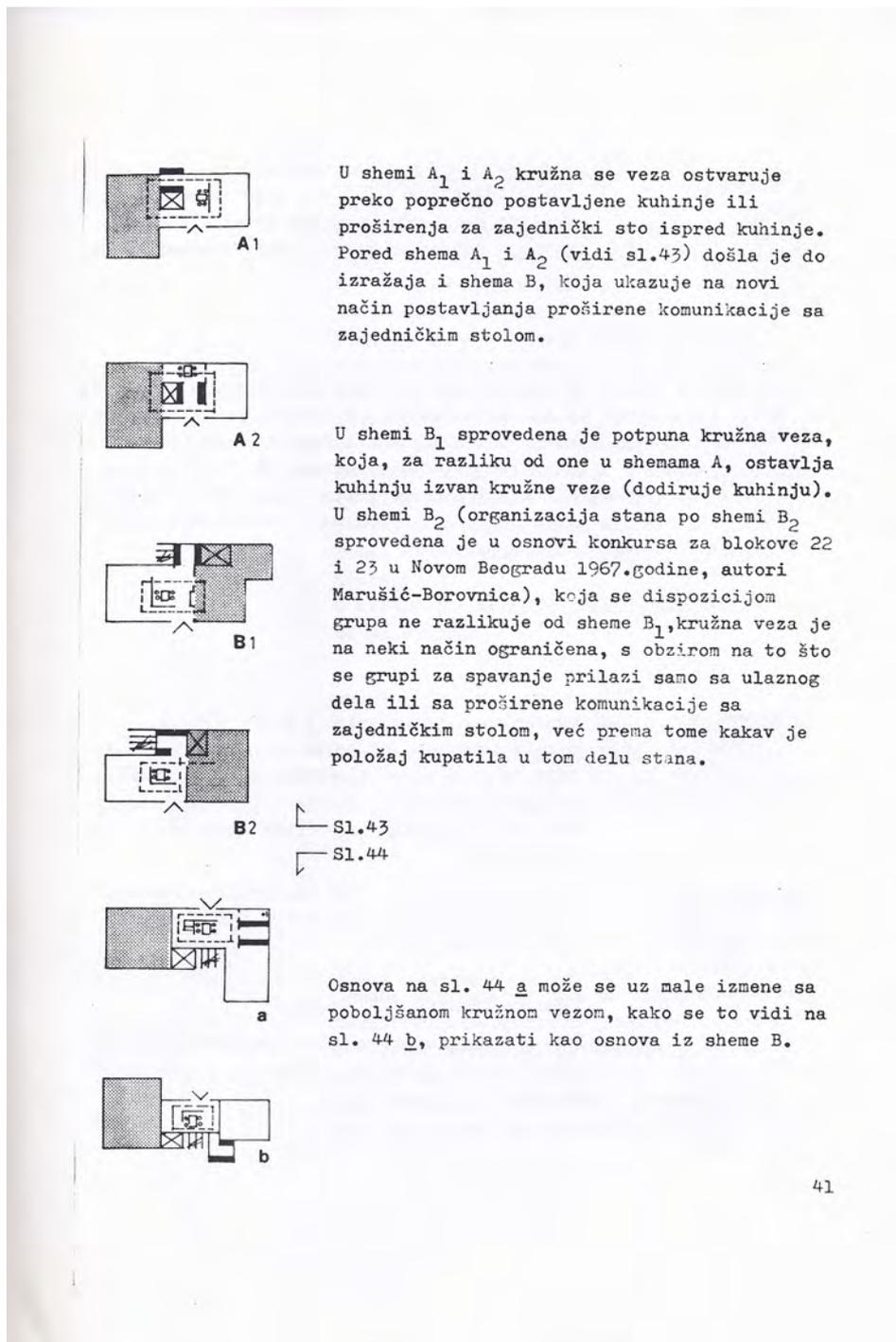
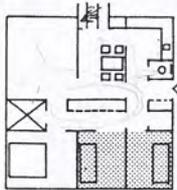


Fig. 082| Page 41, *Circular movement in the apartment*, Study, *Organisation of the Apartment*, Mate Baylon

### Odvajanje dece prema polu

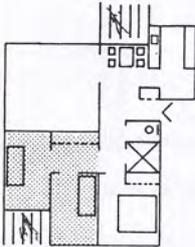
Mogućnost odvajanja dece prema polu, odnosno mogućnost odvajanja dece različitog pola uopšte u stanu, uveliko povećava upotrebnu vrednost stana. Mada to odvajanje treba da bude jedan od osnovnih uslova prilikom organizacije prostora stana, pošto je čest slučaj da su u obitelji sa dva deteta deca različitog pola, ono se retko uzima u obzir. Obično se smatra, dakako pogrešno, da je korišćenjem jednog ležaja u dnevnoj sobi to pitanje skinuto s dnevnog reda, iako su površine predviđene za obitelj od četiri člana omogućavale da se pomenuto odvajanje izvrši.

U nekoliko primera prikazana su rešenja koja to potvrđuju:



Sl. 50

Osnova studentskog rada na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Beogradu iz 1970 godine (vidi DGA-1216, sveska 233). Korisna površina stana iznosi 70 m<sup>2</sup>. U stanu je i dobro naglašena kružna veza.



Sl. 51

Osnova studentskog rada na Arhitektonskom fakultetu u Beogradu iz 1968 godine (vidi DGA-1076, sveska 194). Korisna površina stana iznosi oko 75 m<sup>2</sup>. Pored odvajanja dece ili odraslih, u stanu je naglašena veza: kuhinja-zajednički sto-dnevni boravak.

Lično-zajedničko (organizacija kretanja)

U organizaciji osnove stana značajnu ulogu ima funkcionalno odvajanje grupa prostorija namenjenih ličnom životu članova porodice na način da se izbegne presecanje intimnih veza sa kretanjem posetilaca. U nekoliko primera su, za tri različita tipa stana, prikazane: levo- osnove stanova u kojima nema pomenutih presecanja, a desno- osnove u kojima pomenuto presecanje nepovoljno utiče na organizaciju života u stanu.

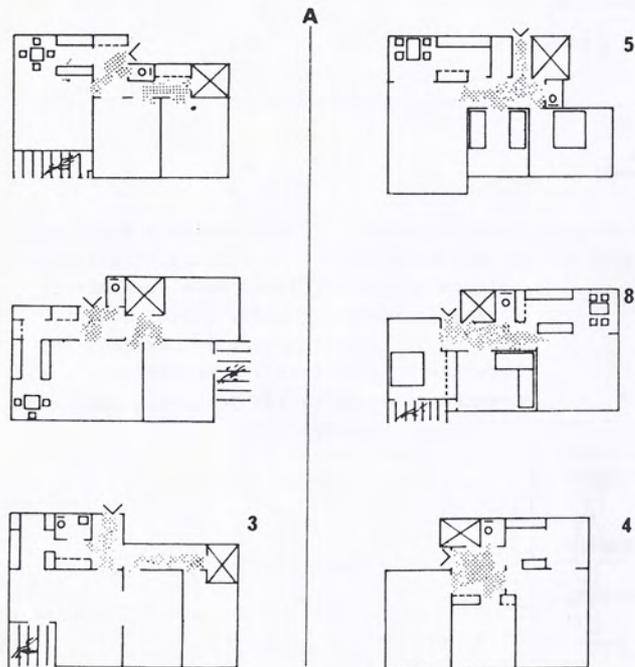
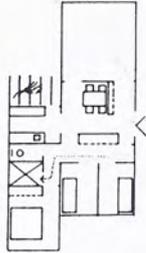


Fig. 084| Page 46, *Organization of the movement considering 'personal' and 'family life'*, Study, *Organisation of the Apartment*, Mate Baylon

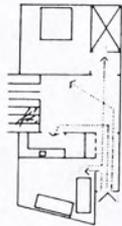
### Društveni život

Kada osnovne komunikacije koje se koriste za prijem posetilaca ne presecaju intimne veze u stanu, ili kada preko "dnevne sobe" (prolazna dnevna soba) ne vodi jedna jedina veza za intimne delove stana, može se smatrati da je omogućen dobar prijem posetilaca i da on ne ometa intimni život pojedinih članova.



Sl. 58

U primeru prikazanom na sl. 58 osnova stana u punoj meri sadrži to preimućstvo, dok u osnovi stana prikazanoj na sl. 59, dnevna soba kao prolazna razdvaja intimne delove stana i u određenim situacijama otežava odgovarajuću izolaciju ili potrebno otvaranje prema vani.



Sl. 59

U osnovama sa proširenom komunikacijom kada se ona kao jedini zajednički prostor koristi za prijem gostiju, postavlja se takodje zahtev za uvođenjem interne veze mimo ovog prilaza (vidi sl. 60).



Sl. 60

Sl. 58 Osnova stana- H. Milosavljević.

Sl. 59 Osnova stana- Dj. Mivarski.

Sl. 60 Osnova stana- grupa Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Beogradu.

Neometano okupljanje

Okupljanje porodice oko zajedničkog stola na način da ne ometa život pojedinih članova porodice u potrebi za ličnom izolacijom i posedovanjem "vlastitog prostora" jedan je od vidova jačanja veza porodice i stoga to u organizaciji stana treba omogućiti.

Obitelj se oko zajedničkog stola okuplja uglavnom u dnevnoj sobi ili u za to predviđenom prostoru, a mogućnost okupljanja u sklopu kuhinjskog prostora, kao jedina odnosno isključiva, ne bi se mogla smatrati dovoljnom. Mogućnost za okupljanjem obitelji u stanovima bez dnevne sobe prikazana je, u dva karakteristična primera, na sl.61 a i b. Takav stan zauzima određeno mesto u analizi upotrebne vrednosti stana, o čemu je bilo reči u poglavlju o proširenoj komunikaciji na str.22-27.

Proširena komunikacija, koja je uglavnom i nastala iz potrebe da se stvori mogućnost neometanog okupljanja porodice za zajedničkim stolom, tamo gde prenatrpanost stana to dovodi u pitanje, sve se više s porastom standarda stanovanja uvodi kao dodatak uz dnevnu sobu i tako se proširuje zajednička zona. Inače, navodjenje da je takav prostor potreban zato da bi se u dnevnoj sobi mogao predvideti ležaj za jednog člana obitelji, nije na mestu, jer "dnevna soba" s ležajem za jednog člana obitelji nije prihvatljiva.

Sl.61

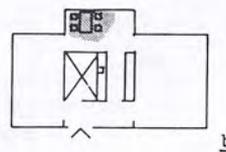
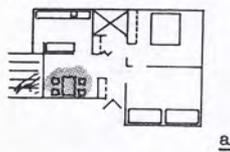
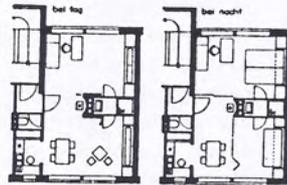


Fig. 086| Page 49, Possibilities for undisturbed gathering, Study, Organisation of the Apartment, Mate Baylon

### Prilagodljivost

Prilagodljivost osnove stana s obzirom na njegovo trajanje poprima različite vidove koji su u vezi s različitim situacijama, odnosno uslovima. Ta prilagodljivost, koja se u našim prilikama, a i u svetu uopšte, u poslednje vreme naročito često pominje, nije nešto novo; ona je uglavnom sastavni deo svake dobre organizacije stana i kao takva pojavljuje se u raznim oblicima i ranije. Tako, u jednoj osnovi iz Nemačke, iz 1931, sl. 62 (M. Breuer), vidimo da se prostor različito prilagodjava dnevnom, a različito noćnom životu obitelji. Jedna karakteristika stana je u tome što se u noćnoj varijanti sto za ručavanje nalazi u proširenoj komunikaciji koja nastaje pregradjivanjem dnevne sobe.

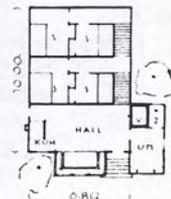
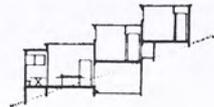


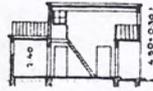
Sl. 62

Jedan drugi način prilagodljivosti nalazimo u kući koja raste tako kako se uvećava broj članova porodice. Primer na sl. 63 i 64 su tipske osnove uz plan regulacije malog mesta Gradac u Dalmaciji (M. Baylon, 1928. godine).



Sl. 63

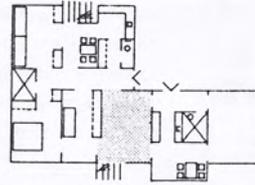




Sl.64



Rešenje sa dva stana u etaži koja se mogu povećati, odnosno smanjiti jedan na račun drugog dodavanjem ili oduzimanjem jedne od prostorija u slučaju da se porodica povećava ili smanjuje, prikazan je na sl. 65. Prikazani stan je u referatu M.B. "Stan i stanovanje", na simpozijumu u organizaciji Biroa za gradjevinarstvo 1971, nazvan stan "plus-minus".



Sl.65

Pored rešenja u kojima se granice izmedju stanova pomeraju u vezi s promenama koje mogu nastati u životu porodice (povećanje broja članova, porast standarda i dr.) postoje ujedno i mogućnosti da se to donekle reši i u granicama samog stana.

Na primer, osnova koja je radjena za stan za tri osobe u bloku 61 i 62 u N.Beogradu (D. i M. Marušić može se s minimalnim izmenama prilagoditi i za veći broj stanara a da pri tome ostane u granicama koje se u socijalnom pogledu, a i u pogledu udobnosti, s obzirom na stanje našeg stambenog fonda mogu bez daljnjeg prihvatiti.

Neki primeri dobrog uključenja slobodnih površina stana u stambeni prostor prikazani su u primerima : sl. 71 - E.i B. Milenković 1966, sl. 72 - stud. rad J. Bilosavljević 1969, sl. 73 - V. Tvrković 1967. sl. 74 - B. Aleksić 1966, sl. 75 - Bakić.

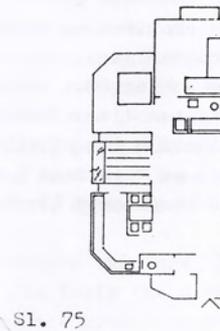
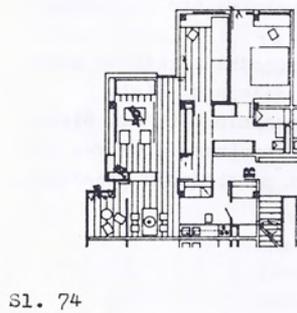
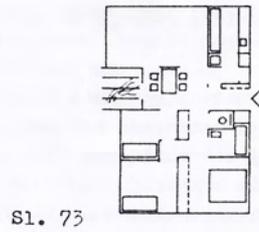
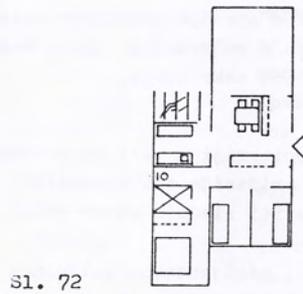


Fig. 089| Page 55, *Solutioning of free surfaces in the apartment, Study, Organisation of the Apartment*, Mate Baylon

## NOVA ZGRADA FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA U BEOGRADU



Fig. 090| Extract from the page 9, *the new building of the philosophical faculty*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 8-9, 1970, Belgrade

# DOM KULTURE NA TREŠNJEVKI

Prije kraćeg vremena završeno je pod predsjedavanjem ing. Borisa Bakrača žiriranje radova užeg konkursa za idejni projekt Doma kulture na Trešnjevki. Na konkurs su bili pozvani ing. arh. Ivo Geršić, ing. arh. Kazimir Ostrogović, ing. arh. Riko Marasović i arh. Lavoslav Horvat.

Dom je prema zamisli raspisivača trebao da postane centar društvenog života ovog gradskog predjela, koji već danas broji oko 60.000 stanovnika. Za Dom je odobreno mjesto pored nove gimnazije. Prostor između ta dva objekta bi se oblikovao kao trg, gdje bi po mogućnosti trebao biti lociran i spomenik trešnjevčanima palim u NOB-i.

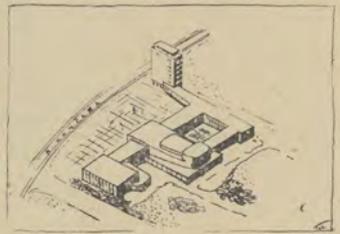
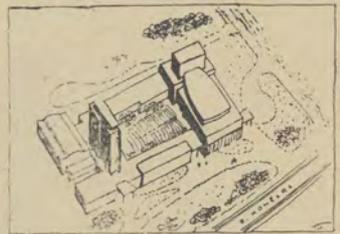
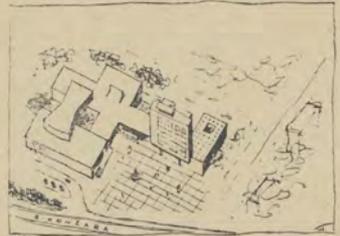
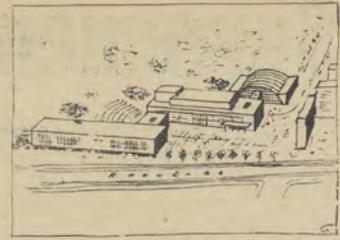
Građevni program obuhvaća uglavnom slijedeće odvojene elemente: veliku dvoranu za kazališne i kino predstave s oko 1000 mjesta, sportsku dvoranu, manju dvoranu za sastanke, knjižnicu s čitaonicom kapaciteta oko 30.000 svezaka, zatim uredske i društvene prostorije raznih organizacija i konačno restoran.

Sva četiri pozvana arhitekta predložila su zanimljive projekte, koji će ovih dana biti izloženi u dvorani SSRN na Trešnjevki.

Osim predviđene odštete, posebno je nagrađen sa 100.000 Din. projekt ing. arh. Kazimira Ostrogovića.

R. Č.\*

Dolje: PRVA NAGRADA. Dom kulture na Trešnjevki u Zagrebu. Projektant ing. arh. Kazimir Ostrogović



Idejna skica Doma kulture na Trešnjevki u Zagrebu. Projekti arhitekata Kazimira Ostrogovića, Rikarda Marasovića, Ive Geršića i Lavoslava Horvata (crtano istom ružom. Crtao R. Č.)

Fig. 091| Extract from the page 3, announcement of the new building, *Cultural house in Trešnjevki*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 7, 1954, Zagreb

# SKOPJE

(Svršetak sa str. 3.)

Ponovo jedan interesantan pokus objekata od 6 etaža u nizu s izmicanjem pojedinih stanova u horizontali i po vertikali, jer se u jedan stan ulazi i s polupodesta.

Arhitektura — razigrana — interesantna — nenametljiva.

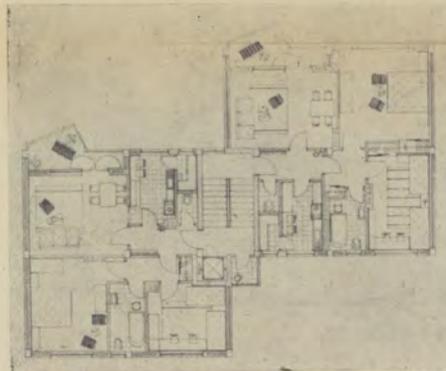


SKOPJE. U najstarijem centru probijena je i izgrađena nova ulica.



Arh. S. BREZOVSKI:

Stambeni blok u Skopju



Arh. S. BREZOVSKI:

Floerit stambene kuće

Fig. 092| Extract from the page 8, *Skopje*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.74, 1958, Zagreb



Fig. 093| Extract from the page 3, *Residential Building in Split*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.4, 1954, Zagreb

## 5.0 blok 22

Opšti jugoslovenski konkurs  
za arhitektonsko rešenje  
stambenog naselja Blok 22  
u Novom Beogradu, 1968.

5. 1  
(Blok 22)  
I nagrada

autori:  
Božidar Janković, arh  
Branislav Karadžić, arh  
Aleksandar Stjepanović, arh

Realizacija je počela 1969.  
Izvođač: GP »Napred«, Beograd

Stambeni objekti se međusobno razlikuju u pogledu volumena i mogu se razvrstati u dva osnovna tipa:  
— volumen u osnovi približno kvadratnog oblika  
— volumen sastavljen od podužnih trakastih elemenata.

Pri opredeljivanju za neki opšti tip organizacije stana, bitnije je uticao trakasti volumen podužnih objekata. Sistem zajedničkih vertikalnih i horizontalnih komunikacija sugerirali su tip stana koji se podužno razvija duž jedne osnovne linije nizanjem određenog broja raspona poprečnih zidova (upravnih na tu osnovnu liniju).

Ovakav tip stana moguće je sklopiti u oba pravca — horizontalno, nizanjem, ili vertikalno, pod uglom od 90°, čime su rešeni problemi organizovanja svih sklopova, različitih volumena.

Glavni problem pri određivanju osnovnog funkcionalnog koncepta stana bio je da se kod usvojenog tipa linearne stambene jedinice

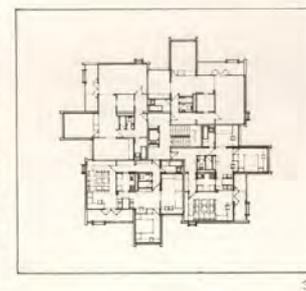
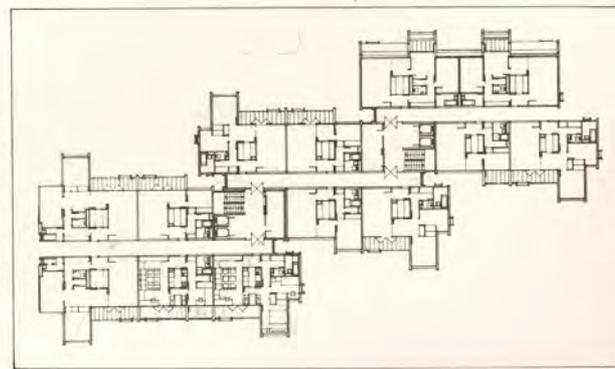
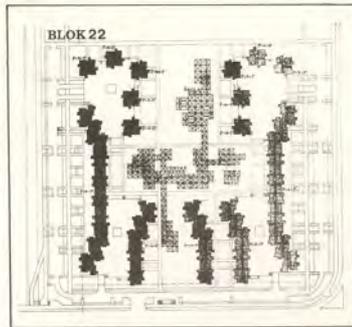
— izbegne jednodimenzionalna organizacija i  
— da se izvrši sažimanje dužine fasadnog platna po stambenoj jedinici.

Ovaj problem je razrešavan na taj način što je degažiranjem jedne spavaće sobe (froditejske), u odnosu na podužno fasadno platno, stan dobio i drugu dimenziju, a sa tim i sve prostorne kvalitete, neophodne da može da odgovori svim potrebama savremenog stanovanja.

Osnovno, zajedničko jezgro stana sačinjavaju: prostorija za dnevni boravak, prostor za obedovanje, kuhinja i ulazni deo. Ostali delovi stana se vezuju na to jezgro i zavisno od veličine grade sve tražene strukture.

Nagoveštaji i mogućnosti koje je pružalo ponuđeno urbanističko rešenje u odnosu na podužne stambene volumene rasmatrana je u dva pravca: horizontalnom i vertikalnom. Ideja smicanja u horizontalnom planu ostvaruje se usvajanjem osnovnog jezgra baziranog na principu dve paralelne trake, koje sadrže stambene jedinice, međusobno povezane komunikacionom trakom kao transparentnim elementom. Produžavanjem jedne od dveju paralelnih traka prelazi se na sledeće jezgro i proces horizontalnog smicanja teče dalje. U vertikalnom planu ideja smicanja je ostvarena formiranjem vertikalne podužne kičme koju čini šestospratni volumen, u odnosu na koju, se horizontalno već raščlanjeni volumeni, logično visinski stepenjuju do visine od četiri sprata i to u oba pravca kod dužih, odnosno u jednom kod kraćih objekata.

Središnja zona bloka namenjena je objektima odgovarajućeg pratećeg sadržaja. Specifičnost prostornog rešenja bloka, njegova zgusnutost, gradski karakter, prosto su nametnuli i logično rešenje ove zone. Započetju ideju povratku gradskom ambijentu sa oživljavanjem pozitivnih strana ulice bilo je potrebno nadgraditi i dovršiti. Iz tog razloga sadržaj pratećih objekata nije tretiran kao niz odvojenih raseckanih volumena različitog sadržaja, već kao složen organizam, baziran na osnovnoj prostornoj inicijalnoj jedinici, kao zajedničkom inenitetu za sve sadržaje.



1. situacija, 1:7000  
2. deo sklopa objekta, 1:500  
3. osnovna kula, 1:500  
4.5. stambene jedinice, 1:200

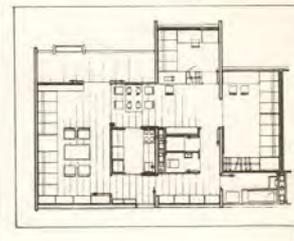
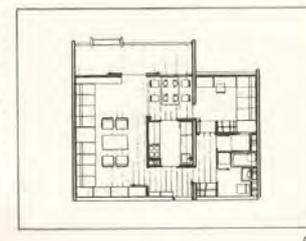


Fig. 094| Page 54, *Blok 22*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 095| Extracts from the page 55, *Block 22*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

## 6.0 blok 23

Opšti jugoslovenski konkurs  
za arhitektonsko rešenje  
stambenog naselja Blok 23  
u Novom Beogradu, 1968.

6. 1  
(Blok 23)  
I nagrada

autori:  
Božidar Janković, arh  
Branislav Karadžić, arh  
Aleksandar Stjepanović, arh

Realizacija je počela 1969.  
Izdavač: GP »Ratko Mitrović«, GP »Napred«, Beograd

Prema osnovnoj urbanističkoj koncepciji blok 23 sačinjavaju tri vrste objekata, podeljeni u nekoliko prostornih grupa.  
Prvu vrstu objekata čine grupu stambenih kula, visine P+21 sprat, lociranih u jugozapadnom delu bloka. Druga vrsta objekata zastupljena je sa dva objekta dužine oko 280 m i visine P+10 spratova. Obe zgrade su postavljene paralelno podužnoj osi bloka, odnosno, paralelno autoputu, na južnoj odnosno severnoj granici bloka. Treću vrstu zgrada predstavljaju dva objekta meanderskog tipa visine P+4 sprata, locirani u istočnoj odnosno zapadnoj zoni bloka.

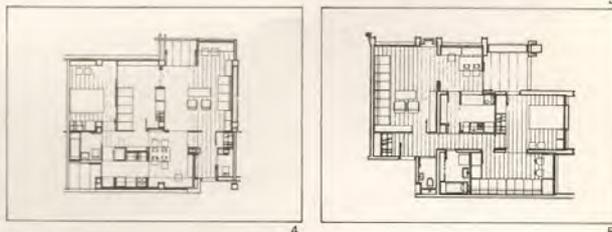
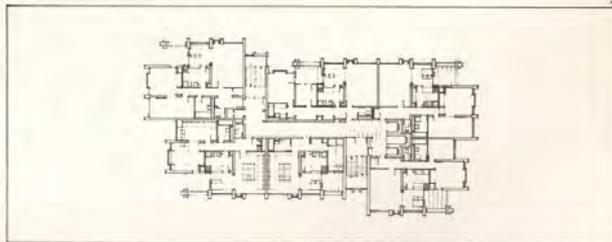
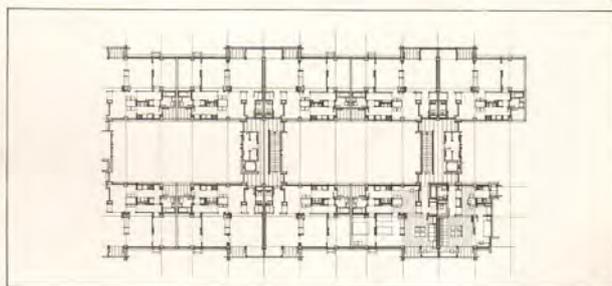
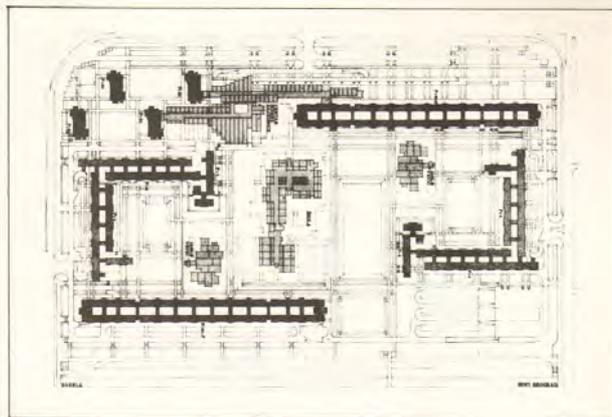
Na osnovu obe podela objekata u bloku, usvojene prostornom koncepcijom, usledila su i dva osnovna tipa jedinice — stana, karakteristične za objekte P+4 i P+10, odnosno za objekte P+21. Ova po dela na dva osnovna tipa praćena je i odgovarajućim konstruktivnim sklopom, vezanim za usvojeni tip stambene jedinice.

Sistem udvojenog trakta (P+4 i P+10) sa međuprostorom pruža niz specifičnosti, karakterističnih za ovaj tip:

- smanjenje dužine osnovne jedinice na račun dubine za razliku od jednostrano orijentisane jedinice — linearnog tipa postiže se povećanje broja jedinica na istoj dužini;
- povoljniji način osunčanja, osvetljavanja i provetranja jedinice;
- mogućnost svodenja i skraćivanja komunikativnih površina na minimum;
- uvođenjem dve podelone ose omogućava se veći broj kombinacija, a jedinica dobija i veću upotrebnu vrednost.

Dve podelone ose dele jedinicu u dva pravca po dubini i po dužini. Dvostruka orijentacija jedinice uslovljava je podelu jedinice po dubini. Ovom podelom prva grupa stambenih prostora orijentisana je ka slobodnim — otvorenim prostorima bloka. Druga grupa stambenih prostora, grupa pratećih prostorija, orijentisana je ka zatvorenim prostorima — atrijumima koji se u zoni prizemlja otvaraju na obe strane omogućavajući provetranje atrijuma. Prva grupa sadrži sledeće prostore: dnevni boravak, lođu, sobu sa jednom, odnosno dve postelje (zavisno od veličine jedinice) i roditeljsku sobu. Druga grupa sadrži sledeće prostore: ulaz sa garderobom sa manjim higijenskim čvorom (odnosno higijenskim čvorom kod jednoosobnih jedinica), prostor za obeđovanje i porodične aktivnosti, pripremu obroka — kuhinjski blok, higijenski čvor i ekonomske lođu (kod srednjih i velikih jedinica).

Sklop objekta P+21 se sastoji od četiri ugaoine i dve linearne organizacije jedinice, pa je ova činjenica, u pogledu usvajanja karakteristične čelije-tipa imala i određeni uticaj. Osnovno jezgro tipične čelije predstavlja prostor za pripremu obroka — kuhinjski blok, koji deli jedinicu na dve grupe prostorija. S jedne strane se ovaj blok vezuje sa prostorom za obeđovanje, a sa druge strane se putem internog hodnika vezuje sa blokom soba. Na ovaj način postignuta je podela jedinice na dve grupe prostora dan—noć, odnosno na čisto porodični i društveni deo stana.



1. situacija, 1:500  
2. sklop objekta, 1:500  
3. osnova kule, 1:500  
4. 5. stambene jedinice, 1:200  
6, 7. pogled na objekat

Fig. 096| Page 57, *Block 23*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 097| Extracts from the page 58, *Block 23*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 098| Photo inside the *Block 23*, Belgrade

## 13.0 blokovi 61.62.

Interni beogradski konkurs za arhitektonsko rešenje stambenog naselja Blokovi 61. 62. u Novom Beogradu 1971.

13.1  
(Blokovi 61.62. južni deo)

autori:  
Darko Marušić, arh  
Milenija Marušić, arh  
Milan Miodragović, arh

Realizacija je počela 1973.  
Izdavač: GP »Rad«, Beograd

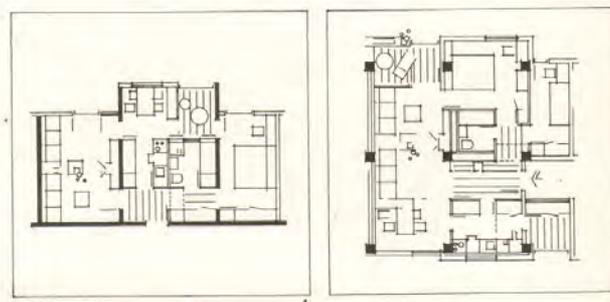
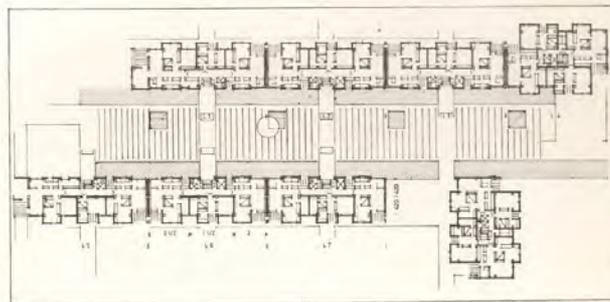
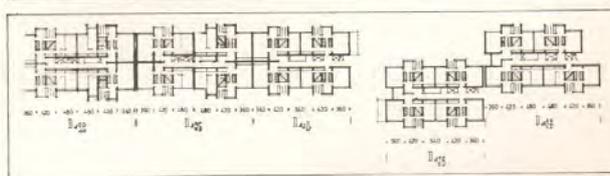
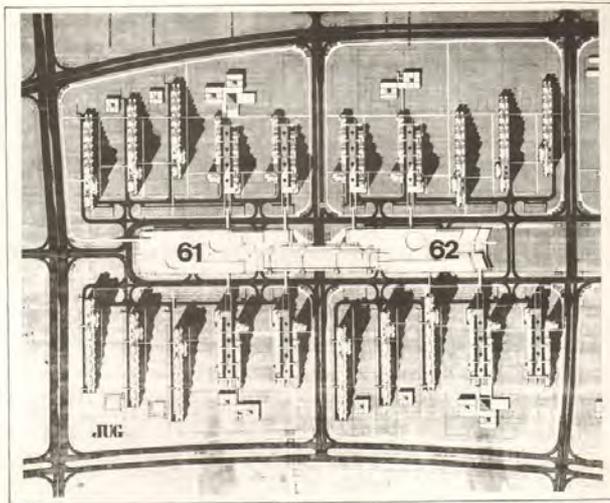
Detaljni urbanistički plan naselja urađen je 1965. godine u Urbanističkom zavodu grada Beograda. Autor je arh. Josip Svoboda.

### Stambeni objekti

Objekti tipa »A« pojavljuju se u grupaciji od tri objekta. Koncipirani su u sistemu od šest stepenišnih lamela sa po četiri stana na stepeništu. Stepenišna lamela predstavlja primarni element komponovanja objekta, strukturiranja stanova, kao i osnovni statički segment. Spratnost se kreće od četiri do dvadeset stambenih etaža. Konstruktivni sistem čine pune ploče kao tavarnice i vertikalna zidna platna raspona 3,60, 4,20, 4,80 i 5,40 m. Konstrukcija se lije na licu mesta u kiznoj oplati. Fasadna platna su prefabrikovana, dimenzija celog raspona i cele spratne visine sa ugrađenim prozorskim otvorima. Objekti tipa »B« pojavljuju se u paru. Objekat je rešen u dva traktova sa po četiri stepenišne lamelle u svakom od traktova. Na međurazmak, prostor koji je omeđen snaknutim traktovima objekta, orijentisane su nestambene prostorije stana. Ovaj prostor je premošćen pločom iznad garažnog trakta direktno vezanom za stepeništa u objektu, prilazni etaži i parter. Sa nivoa ove ploče, koja predstavlja jednu vrstu pešačke stambene ulice, neometano se prilazi u centar, s jedne, i školske i preškolske ustanove s druge strane. Konstruktivni sistem objekta je skeletni montažni sistem »Želje« uobičajenih, kataloških raspona (3,60/4,20 i 4,20/4,20 m). Fasadni elementi su prefabrikovani, montažni, dimenzija celog raspona i cele spratne visine.

### Stanovi

U objektima tipa »A« stambene jedinice su jednostrano orijentisane. Prostor stana, podeljen na zonu dnevnog i noćnog boravka, gradi se oko jezgra koje se sastoji iz kuhinje, obedovanja, kupatila i lođe. Veze između zona ostvarene su preko ulaza i degazmana, sa jedne, i obedovanja sa druge strane. U dvotraktinim objektima tipa »B« dvosobni i veći stanovi dvostrano su orijentisani. Na spoljnu stranu objekta orijentisani su međusobno povezani dnevni i noćni boravak, a na unutrašnju stranu linija ručavanja, kuhinje, servisa i ekonomske lođe. U poprečnom pravcu ostvarena je puna prostorna integracija dnevnog boravka, ručavanja i lođe, što predstavlja osnovnu karakteristiku rešenja.



1. situacija, 1:7500  
2, 3. osnovni objekta, 1:1000  
4, 5. stambene jedinice, 1:200

Fig. 099| Page 78, *Block 61 and Block 62*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

**13.1.1**  
**blokovi 61. 62,**  
**severni deo**

autori:  
Darko Marušić, arh  
Milenija Marušić, arh

**Urbanističko rešenje**

Primena industrijske tehnologije gradnja u severnim delovima blokova 61, 62 uslovlja je svodenje tipova različitih elemenata — lamele na najmanji broj, neophodan da se ostvari tražena struktura stanova. Iz ovog razloga broj tipova objekata-grupacija sveden je sa dva na jedan. Uvođenje jednog tipa objekta nametnuo je delikatan problem suštinskog očuvanja makrokompozicije naselja i otvorio problem rešavanja međuprostora — ambijenta između objekata.

Usvojeni tip lamele velike dubine i sažetog fasadnog fronta omogućio je skraćene dužine objekata. Ovakav koncept osnovne jedinice-lamele pružio je mogućnost da se umesto pet objekata u svakoj polovini bloka formiraju četiri objekta-grupacije. Jedinice susjedstva sastavljene su od dve grupacije, čije lamele blagim pomeranjem u horizontalnom pravcu grade stambeni ambijent izraženog identiteta, koji je istovremeno zatvoren i protočan.

U datoj dispoziciji jasno su izražene dve vrste ambijenta. U okviru jedinice susjedstva to je prostor dečijih igrališta, odmora odraslih, zona mirnih aktivnosti koja predstavlja pravi prođetetak stana, dok se u kontaktnoj zoni, gde je smešten centar, formira ambijent urbanog, gradskog karaktera.

Prostor lokalnog centra predstavlja jasno naglašen integracioni motiv organizacije manje stambene zajednice od oko pet hiljada stanovnika. Prosečna spratnost u odnosu na južni deo smanjena je sa dvanaest na devet stambenih etaža, što, osim povoljnosti na planu racionalnosti, doprinosi humanizovanju prostora naselja.

Sledeći ideju da se u novim uslovima industrijskog gradnja stvori humani okvir življenja, urađeno je modifikovano rešenje internog kolskog saobraćaja. Interne saobraćajnice su postavljene obodno uz spoljne grupacije sa garažama i parkinzima u polunivou, tako da su unutrašnji prostori oslobođeni buke i zagađenja.

**Stambeni objekti-grupacije**

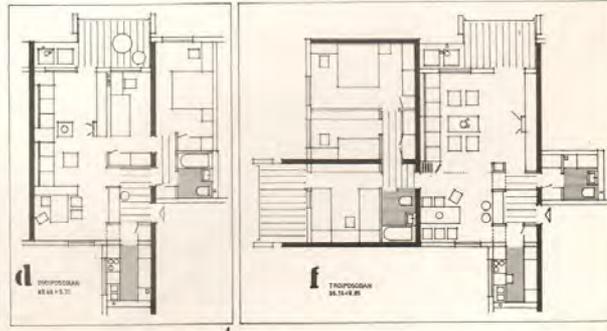
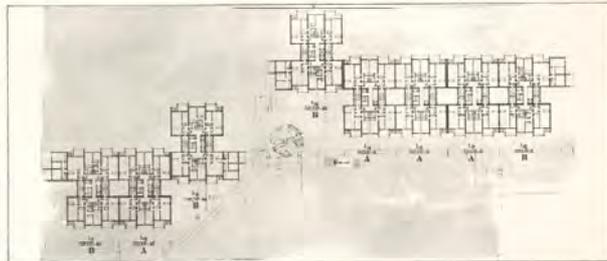
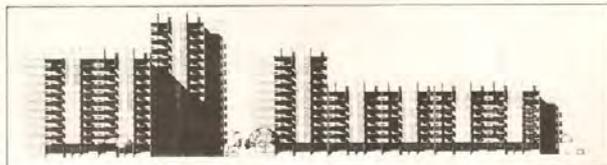
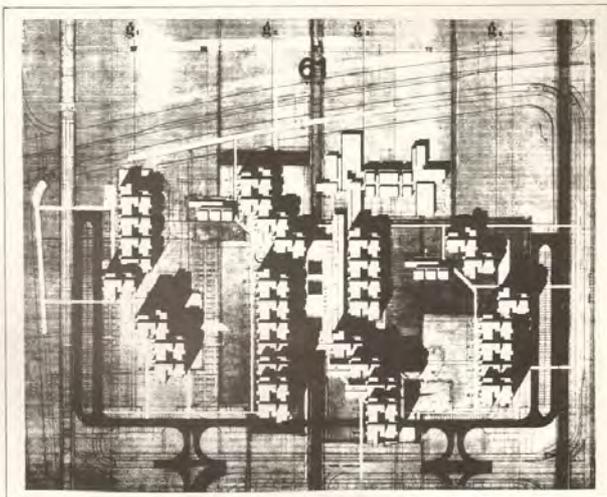
Tražena struktura stanova, od jednosobnog do troiposobnog, ostvarena je sa dva osnovna i jednim podtipom stepenišne lamele.

Broj prefabrikovanih elemenata koji sačinjavaju lamelu sveden je na minimum. Postoji samo jedan stepenišni izvor za sve spratnosti (P-6, P-10, P-14 i P-18). Odnos neto površine stanova prema bruto površini sprata je 1 : 1,29.P.

Predloženo rešenje je u potpunosti prilagođeno novoj tehnologiji gradnja francuske firme »Balency«.

**Stan**

Prostor stana se razvija po dubini i organizovan je tako da se može prilagoditi različitim potrebama u životu porodice. Mogućnost izdvajanja i mogućnost povezivanja prostora ostvarena je dispozicijom dnevnog boravka, pola sobe, obeđovanja i ulaznog prostora u stan (organizovanje porodičnih svečanosti i dr.).



1. deo situacije  
2. izgled objekta, 1:1400  
3. osnovna objekta, 1:1400  
4.5. stambene jedinice, 1:200  
6. maketa



Fig. 100| Page 79, Block 61 and Block 62, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

## 15.0 „Đuro Đaković“, Sarajevo

Opšti jugoslovenski konkurs za urbanističko-arhitektonsko rešenje stambenog naselja „Đuro Đaković“ u Sarajevu 1975.

15.1  
 („Đuro Đaković“, Sarajevo)

II nagrada

autori:

Dragana Dragičević, stud. arh

Oliver Stanković, stud. arh

Mirko Savčić, stud. arh.

Buduće naselje »Đuro Đaković« u Sarajevu locirano je na centralnom području grada, tako da je jedan od odlučujućih elemenata i zahteva urbanističke koncepcije — oformljenje gradskog ambijenta u naselju, odnosno uklapanje i ostvarivanje prostornog kontinuiteta novoprojektovanog naselja sa postojećim gradskim tkivom.

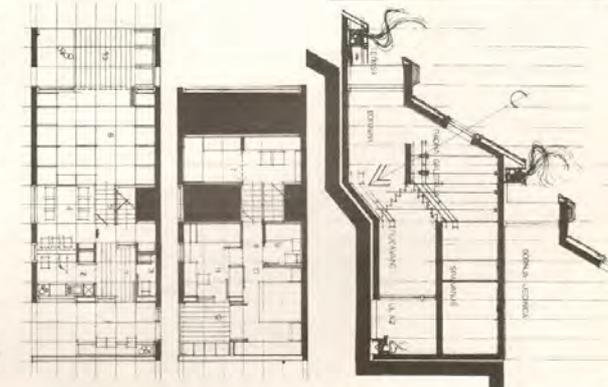
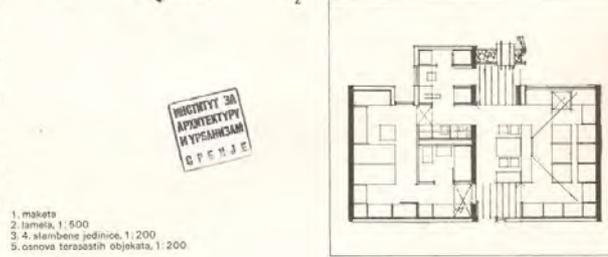
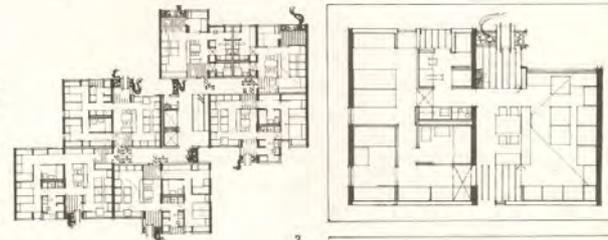
Stanovanje je rešeno sa dva osnovna tipa objekata — kaskadnim i spratnim, međusobno zglobno vezanim. Osnovni element urbanističkog sklopa jeste grupacija od 12 (ili 9) jedinica tipa tripleksa, čijim se udvajanjem i preklapanjem ostvaruju različiti sklopovi. Oni prekrivaju padinu kao plást iz koga iskaču visoki objekti razbijajući mirno platno.

U stanicama kaskadnih objekata ostvaruje se viši standard stanovanja. Pri utvrđivanju dispozicija pojedinih funkcija težilo se ostvarivanju što jače međusobne povezanosti, odnosno prozimanju prostora unutar stana, njegovoj fleksibilnosti. Uklanjanjem zidova i transparentnim plakarima ostvaruje se tečnije prostora jednog u drugi. Tri, odnosno četiri nivoa stana istovremeno omogućuju i nužnu segregaciju pojedinih funkcija. Kao veza između dnevnog i noćnog prostora javlja se radna galerija, koja sa oslobođenim stepeništem lebdi u prostoru. Osnovne žižne tačke u stanu, kojima je samim tim data prednost u dimenzionisanju, jesu prostor dnevnog boravka i trpezarije, međusobno prostorno i funkcionalno razdvojeni, ali i vizuelno povezani. Neodvojivi deo dnevnog boravka je prostrana terasa, sa koje se, kroz široka staklena platna, ostvaruju prodori zelenila u kuću.

U spratnim objektima ostvarena su tri osnovna tipa inicijalne lamele, koji pružaju raznovrsne mogućnosti zalancavanja. Stepenište je kompaktno, ali prodori svetlosti omogućavaju ugodnost kretanja. Stanovi su nešto nižeg standarda u poređenju sa kaskadnim objektima. Logika u funkcionisanju prostora je ista. U stanu postoje dve žiže: okupljanje u dnevnoj sobi i oko trpezarijskog stola, koji su istovremeno vezani transparentnim plakarom i čine jedinstven prostor. Kuhinja sa prostorom za domaćinstvo vezana je u blok sa kupatilom, što je tipski element.

U oba stambena tipa, prilikom dimenzionisanja pojedinih prostora, prednost je data dnevnim aktivnostima u odnosu na spavaci blok. Iz njega je eliminisan radni prostor, tako da je sveden, kao jedno-funkcionalna jedinica, na minimalne dimenzije. Smatrano je da je za današnji standard uputna koncentracija visokog broja manjih stanova (do dvoiposobnih) u lamelama, u odnosu na broj standardom viših, velikih stanova u kaskadama (od trospobnih do četvorosposobnih).

Slobodne površine unutar stambenih grupacija takođe podležu gradaciji. Negovanje kulta susudstva, u današnje vreme zanemareno, potencirano je oformljenjem zajedničkih intimnih prostora u zelenilu, »gnezda« za igru dece, časkeanje komšija. Veće zajedničke površine gube intimni karakter, dobijajući u bučnosti i živosti. Čovekomernost je bitna odlika takvih prostora.



1. maketa
2. lamela, 1: 500
3. 4. stambene jedinice, 1: 200
5. osnova terasastih objekata, 1: 200

Fig. 101| Page 83, neighborhood *Ciglane* - Sarajevo, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

15.2  
 („Đuro Đaković“, Sarajevo)  
 III nagrada  
 autori:  
 Branko Aleksić, arh  
 Miodrag Ružić, arh  
 Vladimir Tvrković, arh

Data lokacija ima specifičan oblik: ovalni plato, koji tangira Ulicu Đure Đakovića, obuhvaćen je strmim grebenom, koji se nadmoćno propinje — natkriljuje ga i prebacuje se, odnosno stapa sa padinom na kojoj leži deo grada Sarajeva. Odnos prema ovom fenomenu presudan je za formiranje konceptijske osnove rešenja.

Prednosti koje greben pruža mogu se realizovati ukoliko se ostvare sledeće humane relacije:

- ako se čoveku (odnosno stanu) obezbedi pravo na vidik i participaciju u prostorima zajedničkog prebivanja, odnosno ako se iskoriste vizuelne prednosti pozicije i njene psihološke implikacije;
- ako se obezbedi »ispiranje« prostora (ugrožen je smogom) strujama koje se kreću u pravcu sever—jug.

Negativni učinak grebena može se, s druge strane, neutralizovati ako se zaposedne u pojasevima, objektima razloženim po horizontali i vertikali, na način koji će njegovu masu svesti na ljudsku meru, dati mu humano shvatljivije i prihvatljivije oblike.

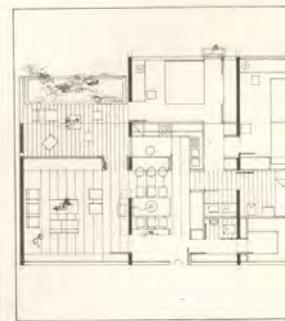
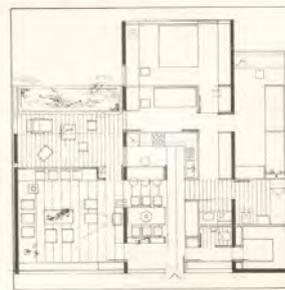
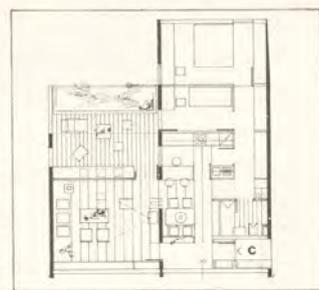
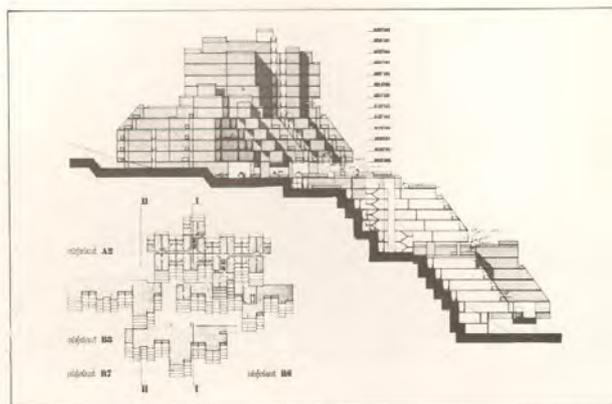
Pravila koja su koristili stari graditelji, usklađena sa zahtevima moderne tehnologije, inicirala su sledeće rešenje:

- kuća je inicijalno jednog kontinualnog i koherentnog sistema, čija je bit određena nizom težišta, hijerarhijski spregnutih stepenovanih prema obuhvatnosti;
- kuće se grupišu, zadržavajući svoju individualnost, formiraju sisteme sklopova — objekata, ukрупnjenih, zato sadržinski obogaćenih;
- objekti se grupišu u sisteme višeg reda duž okosnica koje se na ovoj vrsti terena realizuju u vidu horizontalnih platoa — terasa vidikovaca — pešačkih prospekata;
- pešački prospekti su povezani vertikalnim, kaskadnim čvorištima koja ih uvode u prostore centra, ulapaju u zelene prostore namenjene rekreaciji.

Sklop se začine u vertikalnom čvorištu — tipiziran je: formira se zavistno od situacije: dodavanjem, superponiranjem i prebacivanjem transformabilne jedinice — stana. Na toj osnovi tipiziraju se svi elementi: vertikalna čvorišta, rasponi, konstruktivni i likovni detalji. Stvoreni su dakle uslovi za prefabrickovano građenje.

Okosnicu čitave sistema — stana čini rastuće jezgro, koju čine kuhinja, kupatilo i međuprostor sa više namena (primarno služi obedovanju). Baza rasta je dvosobni, odnosno dvoiposobni stan: dodavanjem polovine, odnosno celog polja, dobijamo trosobni, odnosno četvorosobni stan, takođe troiposobni, odnosno četvoriposobni stan. Jednopolosobni i dvoiposobni stanovi, inicijalni za formiranje vertikalnog čvorišta, takođe su transformabilni. Ovaj postupak omogućuje da se strukture stanova podešavaju i sastavni je deo nastojanja da se ostvare uslovi za punu tipizaciju, odnosno tehnološku i ekonomsku racionalizaciju.

Karakteristiku stanu daje loda-terasa, delimično ozelenjena (terasa i pešački prospekti formiraju sistem »viseciha« — vertikalnih bašti): shvaćena je kao težni prostor, sa izuzetnom ekspozicijom, oko koga se grupišu osnovni prostori stana. Nastojalo se da se među ključnim delovima stana ostvare tokovi i odnosi koji će pojačavati njihove pojedinačne učinke.



1. situacija, 1:8000  
 2. karakterističan sklop i presjek, 1:1200  
 3. 4. 5. 6. stambene jedinice, 1:200

Fig. 102| Page 84, neighborhood Ciglane, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

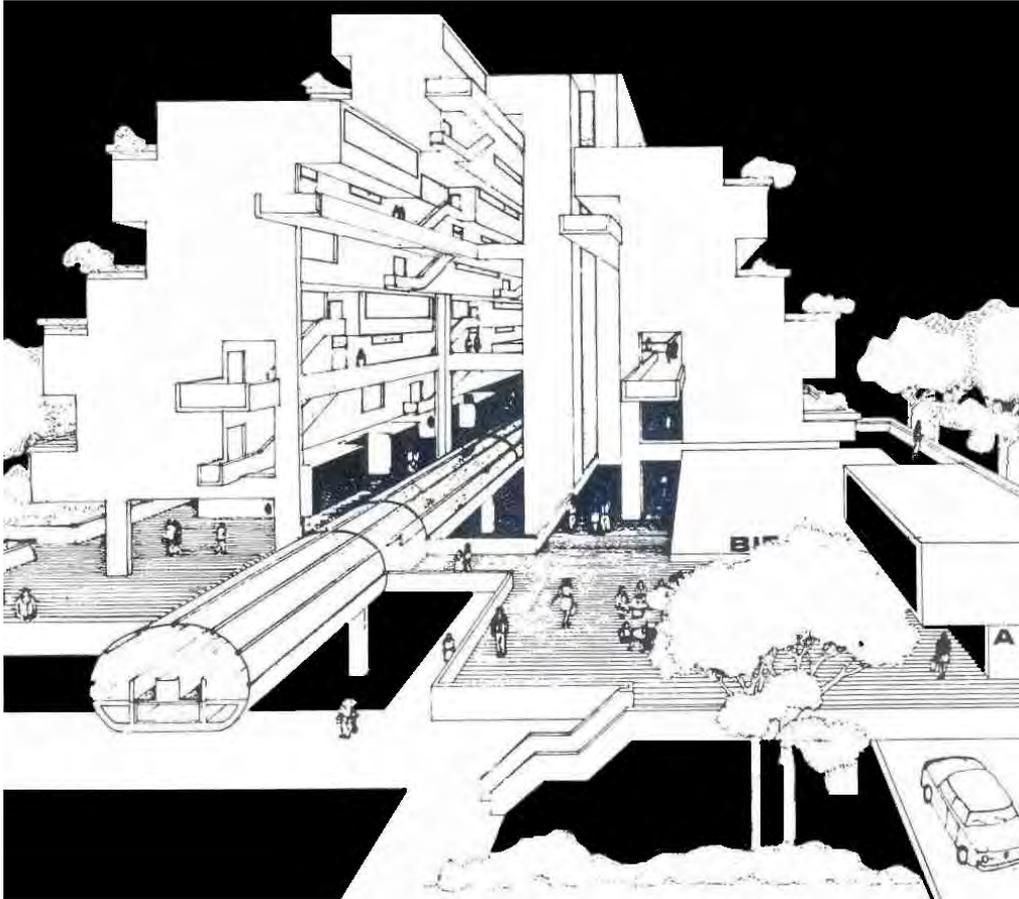


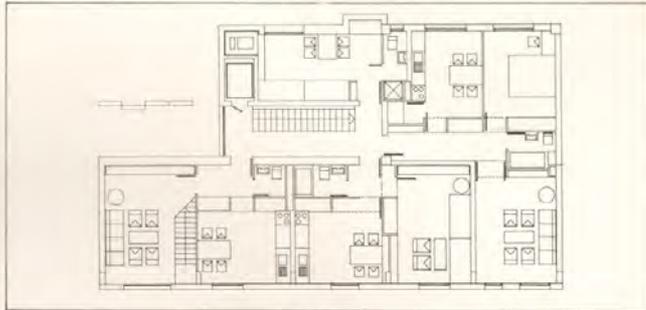
Fig. 103| Illustration, the neighborhood *Ciglane*, Radovan Delalle, 1969

## stambeni objekat u ulici braće jugovića u beogradu

autor:  
Mihajlo Mitrović, arh

Projektovano 1964.  
Realizovano 1964–1967.  
Izvođač: GP »Pomoravlje«, Svetozařevo

U vremenu kada je projektovana ova zgrada bio je donet propis o obaveznoj primeni tipskih prozora u stambenoj izgradnji. A kako je ovaj objekat trebalo graditi u koridornoj ulici, kulisnim zatvaranjem jednog neizgrađenog terena između dve zgrade, bilo je neminovno uputili se u istraživanje arhitektonskih sredstava kojima bi se savladale ove nepogodnosti. Umesto prozora po celoj fasadi su postavljena sva četiri tipa vrata koja je u tom trenutku nudila tipizacija. U prostornom oblikovanju, nevoljno, svesno je žrtvovana treća dimenzija, tako da se problem sveo na postupak ab imago. On je rešen kolažom vrata (pretvorenih u francuske prozore) i napu-pelih betonskih prizmi složenih u kvadriran slikarski red kome je pikturalna podloga crvena boja opeke kojom je ispunjena konstrukcija. Da bi se omogućilo večernje viđenje te slike učinjeni su fasadni prorezi sa trakama luksver prizmi koje svojim ritmom unose svetlosni crtež u igru prozorskih polja. Zgrada sadrži 14 stanova, od kojih su četiri rešavana dvoetažno u duplex sistemu.



1. osnova objekta, 1:200  
2. detalj fasade  
3. pogled na objekat

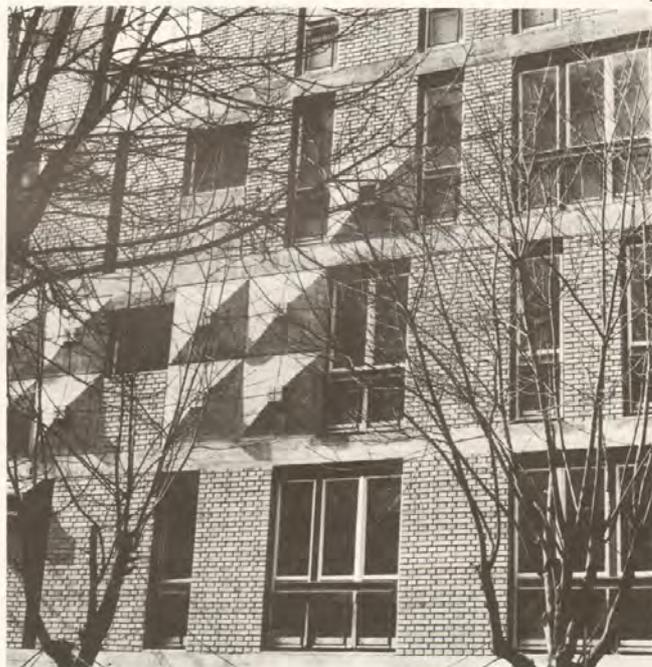


Fig. 104| Page without a No., illustration, building in the street *Braća Jugovića*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 74-77, 1975, Belgrade

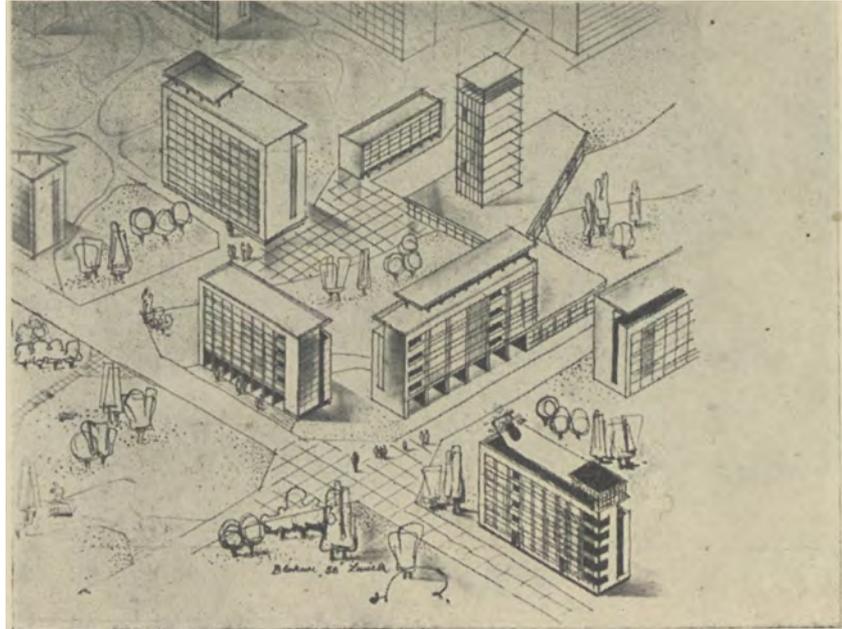


Fig. 105| Extract from a page 3, sketch, *Zenica* neighborhood, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 73, 1958, Zagreb

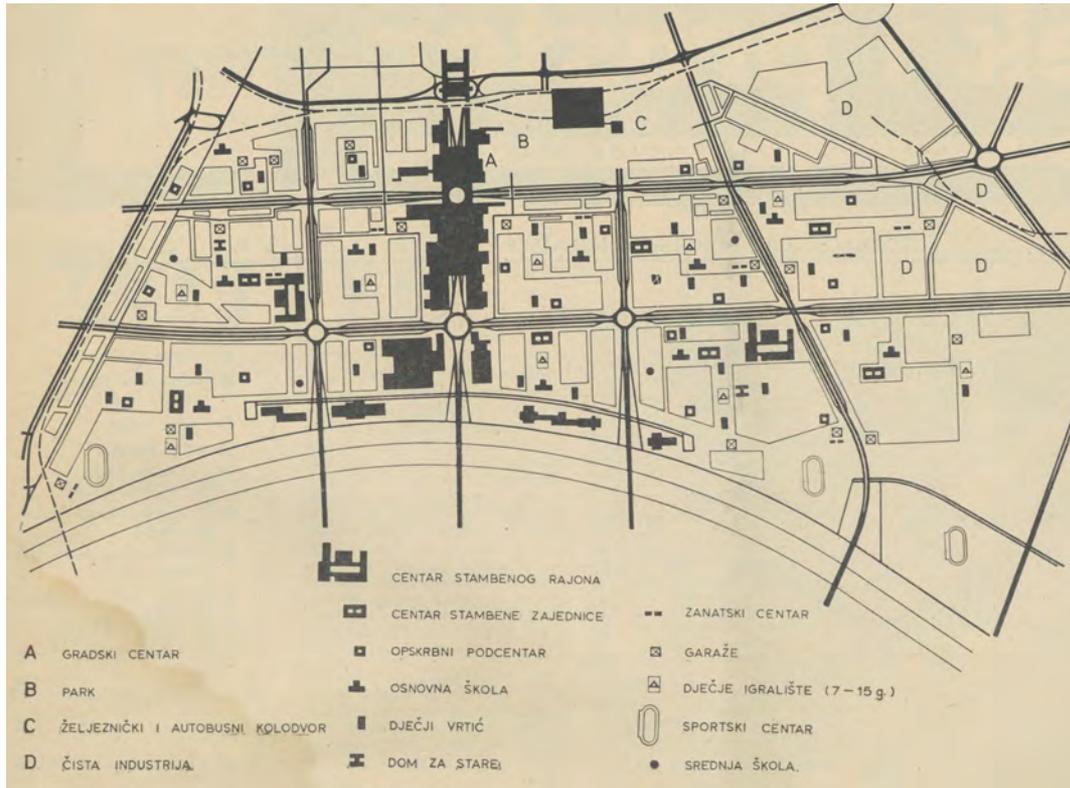


Fig. 106| Extract from the page 3, Conceptual Plan, *Centre of Trnje*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968, Zagreb

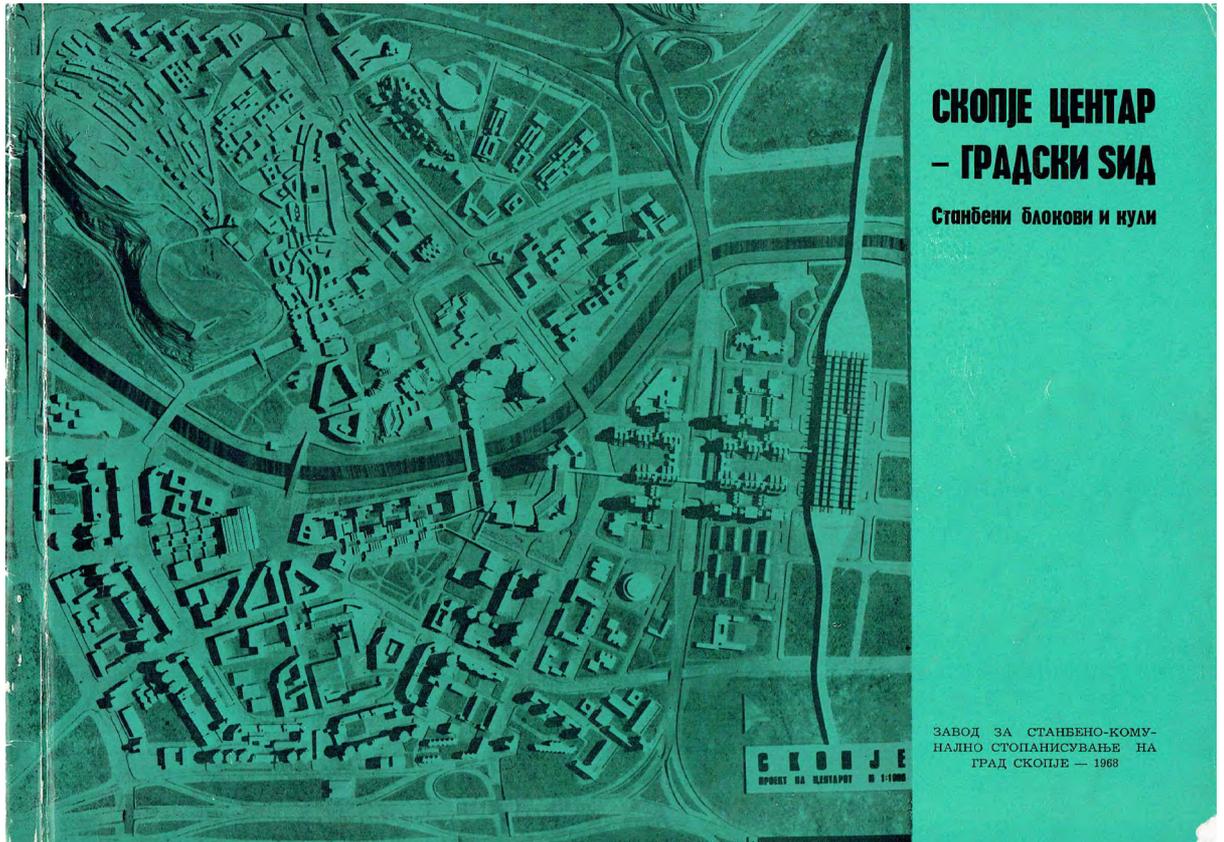


Fig. 107| Cover page, Skopje Centre - the City Wall, *Study for Urbanistic Plan for Skopje*, 1968, Skopje

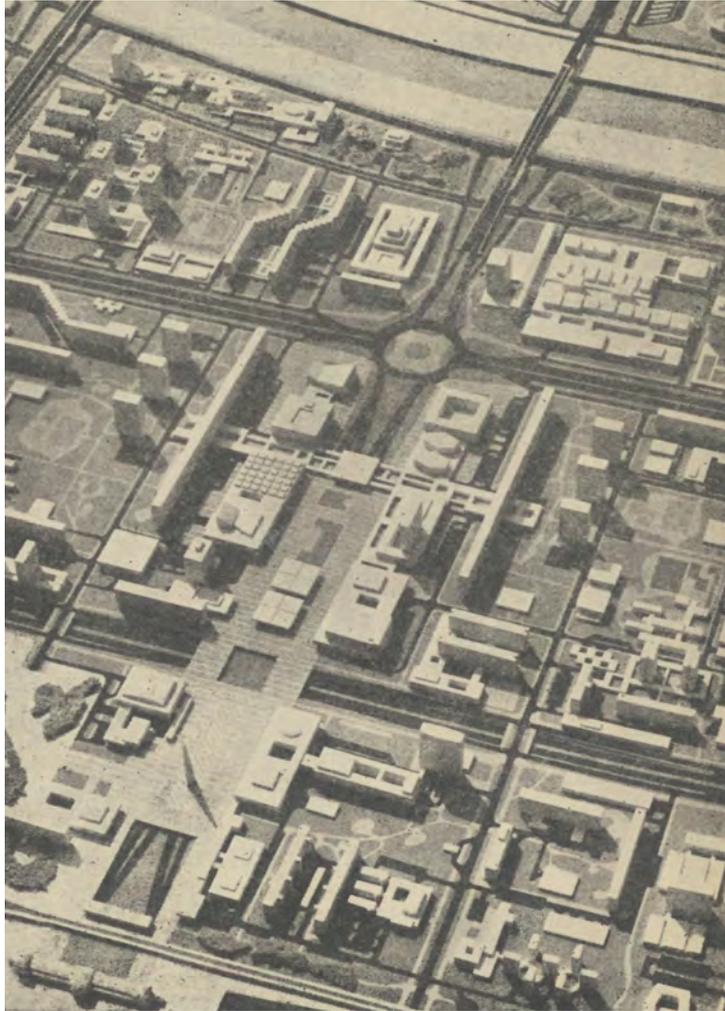


Fig. 108| Extract from the page 2, *Dilemmas on Trnje*, Centre of Trnje, Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968, Zagreb

# VODA I DJEČJA IGRA

Voda je na dječjim igralištima potrebna ne samo kao pitka voda, ili voda za zalijevanje nasada ili održavanje čistoće pojedinih objekata. Ona ovdje ima veliki značaj kao element dječje igre i rashlađenja u danima sunčane žege za ljetnih mjeseci, a kao element gibanja i igre na ledu zimi. Ne treba posebno naglašavati, kolika je radost pružena djeci u igri s vodom, kada oslobođeni odjeće mogu slobodno gacati po vodi, ili

po volji brzo i lako mijenjati. On je izgrađen u svrhu dječje igre s ladicama i jedrenjacima. Po odluci sanitarnih vlasti on ostaje cijele godine prazan, iako se čistoća vode može lako održavati tim više, što je sav njegov okoliš oploćen kamenom. Držim da bi se osoblju, koje je zaduženo za održavanje čistoće na igralištu, lako mogli odrediti higijenski uvjeti za održavanje čistoće vode i okoliša, pa da se on opet приведе

U velikim parkovima u svim gradskim kvartovima, osim velikog broja krasnih dječjih igrališta, izveden je posebni tip dječjih rekreacionih objekata a to su "dječja kupališta na otvorenom prostoru". Ovih dječjih kupališta imade na području grada Beča 27 s ukupnom površinom od 277.000 m<sup>2</sup>, što je vrlo impresivan dokaz posebne brige za djecu ovog velikog grada. To su krasne vodene površine i livadice



ZVONIMIR FRÖHLICH:

Dječje igralište i bazen u Zagrebu



ZDENKO SILA: Dječje igralište u Rijeci (»Školjić« — Partizanski trg)

Fig. 109| Extract from the page 4, 'Water and children game', Magazine *Man and Space*, No. 157, 1968, Zagreb

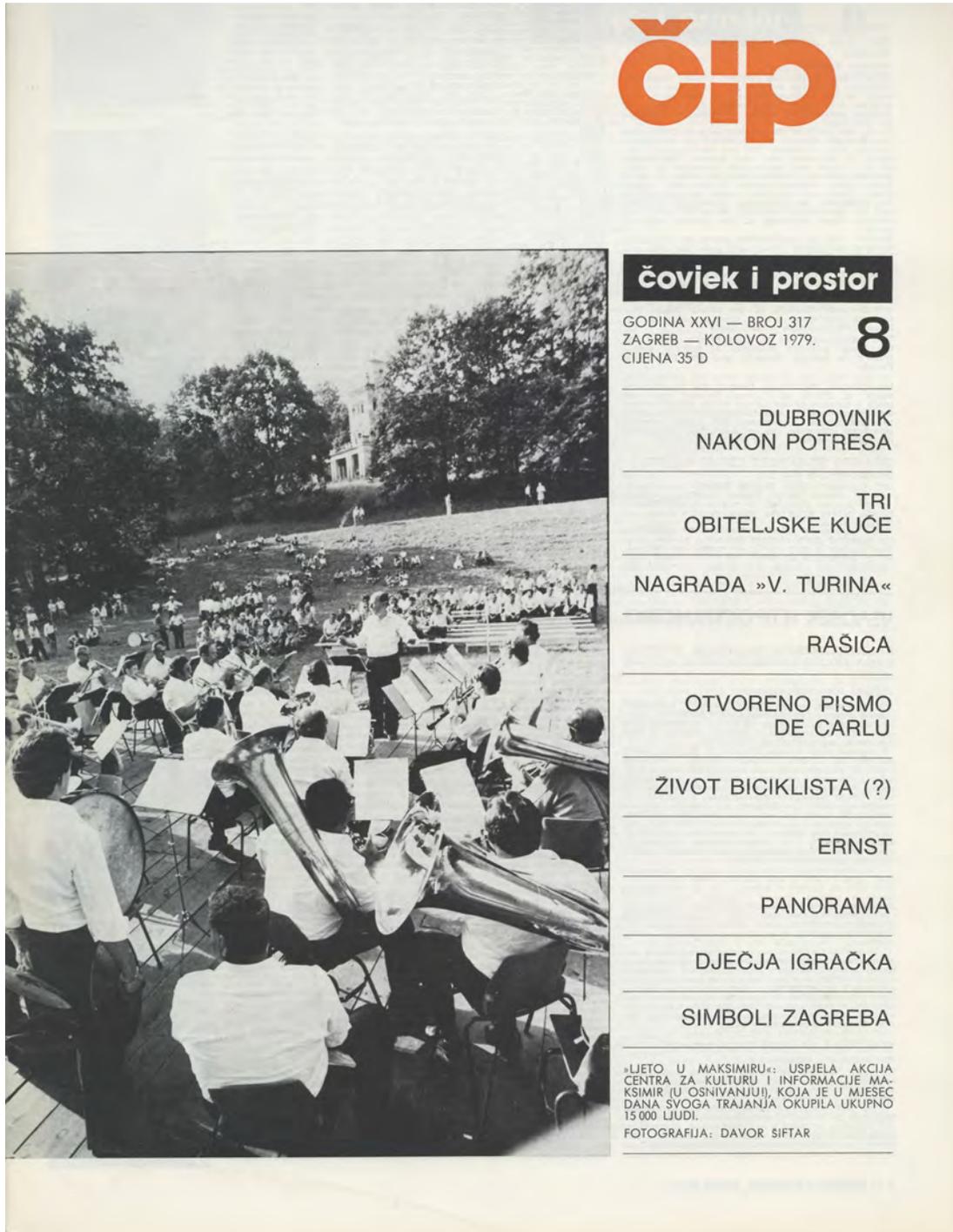


Fig. 110| Cover page, 'Summer in Maksimir', the action in the centre of culture and information was successful [...], in the magazine *Man and Space*, 1979, Zagreb



Fig. 111| Scenes from the movie, *And Love Has Vanished*, Aleksandar Petrović, 1961

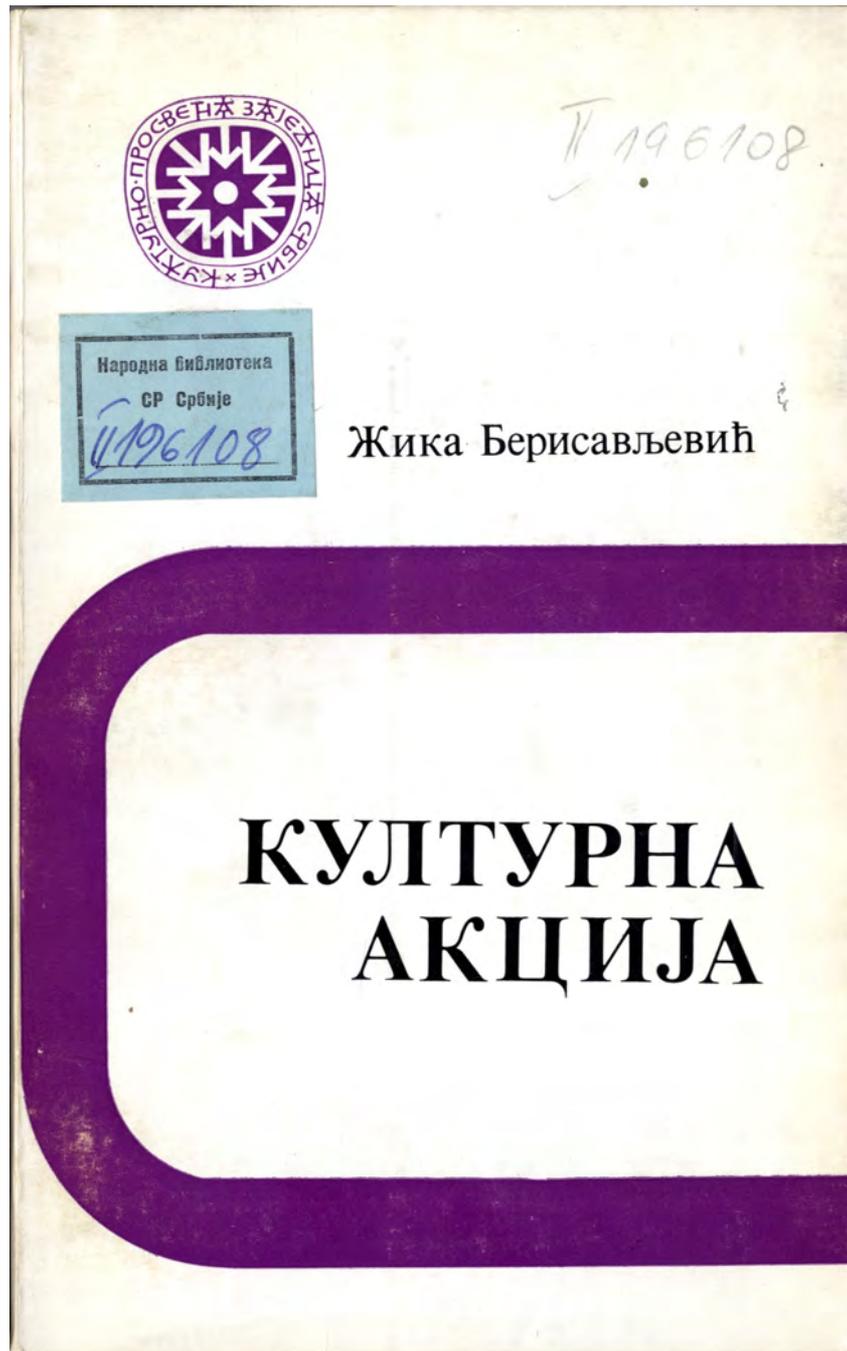


Fig. 112| Book Cover, *Cultural Action*, Zivan Berisavljević, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 113| Extract from the page, an article, *Inspiration for Culture*, newspaper *Liberation*, 1962, Sarajevo

# čovjek i prostor

ARHITEKTURA, KIPARSTVO, SLIKARSTVO I PRIMIJENJENA UMJETNOST

GOĐ. I. Zagreb, 15. II. 1954.

CIJENA 20 DINARA



Nema sumnje da stambeni problemi, posebno u posljednje vrijeme, kao i opći problemi stanovanja, su jedan od najvažnijih i najtežih problema svijeta uopće. Prva grupa problema, posebno u vezi s odgovarajućim stanovima za oko 100 milijuna stanovnika u razvijajućim područjima, u industrijski razvijenoj zemlji značajni su defeciti, treba izmisliti, izvesti više od 20 milijuna stanova.

U razvijajućim zemljama u svijetu socijalni statusi i materijalne uvjete na životni standard, životni uvjeti narode Orijenta su ostali po siromašni. New York, 1953. — Izdavač: "Kultura", Zagreb 1954.

Od želje da zemanite, od epigatskih stambenih čelija radnika do konformnog stana u individualnoj kući ili Le Corbusierovog stambenog zajedništva u neboderu i s druge strane do skromnih ili izokrenutih stambenih, svuda je jedan vapaj: stambeno pitanje! Čovječanstvo raste, proludno se množi povećavaju, u usporedu s tim rastu i problemi! Pucaju gradovi kao čirevi

riješeni ekonomski i socijalni problemi, pogotovo zbog rata, ali pruz sv — za dugoročnog karaktera".  
Na osnovi takvog deficita proučili stoljeća i prošlog stoljeća napose nadovezuje se primova ustijed primatstva stanovanja, divnu vojvotah ratova i velike ekonomske krize, a mjesto prvotnog parača, napredovanja građevinske industrije i zamjene dotrajalih objekata novim i suvremenim kao da se i uvijek zadovoljavamo pali-jativnim rješenjima. Vlade i režimi, bez obzira na svoje stvarne ili demagogičke oklonosti prema svome građanstvu, pristajale su u takvoj situaciji intervencirati, i one pod raznim modalitetima pokušavale da vodeći elastično stambeno politiku stimuliraju i planiraju planski izgradnju gradova, uvijek da stambeni protori ne zadovoljavaju većina stanovništva. Potrebe za kvalitetnim stanovanjem raste stalno povećavaju, komforna i razumna — novim domovima nauke i tehnike, a stambeni nivo jedva da se održava na visini,

znatnog smanjenja realnih cijena (trube i natruga) u posljednje vrijeme, ali te nije slabla u građevinarstvu. Dok je porastao pojedini standard novih stambenih zgrada namijenjenih masama, to nije popratilo odgovarajuće smanjenje cijena. Stvar se kompleksnija skupoći komunalnih usluga, te se također pokazalo da nema drugog izlaza, nego s jedne strane pojedini i unaprediti građevinske usluga, a s druge strane dijeliti cijena najsiromašnijima na odgovarajući odnos.  
Kod nas je država gotovo jedini i uključivi investitor. Ona gradi mnoge, ali za potrebe još uvijek nedovoljno. Protokla godina upada je u izokrenuto razmatranje te materije, a ovih je dana lalila sredstva u uređivanju stambenim zgradama, kao uvod i pokušaj namiranja problema stanovanja. Pravo čovjeka na stan. Da li je to samo prava norma, ili tekovina koju treba realizirati?  
— Borba: pita anketom u oči Nove Godine što misle o napretku zadaci-

## PRAVO NA STAN

Zadruge "Arhitekti" kao organ Društva arhitekata Hrvatske odobila je pokrenuti polunamjerno glasilo u obliku novina. Svaki 12-dnevni izdanjem "ČOVJEK I PROSTOR" bi trebao prete svima ispuniti situ proučeno koja danas oblikuje projekata i njihovih realizacija, ubo spomenuta časopisa se pružala dovoljno prostora za sva ona problematika koja vezane je realizaciji arhitektonskog djela, a on je svakodnevno djelevanja arhitekta. Zelimo s različitih stambenih malih struktura arhitekata i likovnih umjetnika osvjetljati sljedeći problematiku: **pravo čovjeka i prostor**, "stanovanje" u primaru i sekundarnu sredstvu i sredstva stanovanja, napose u srednjoj i malo arhitektonskoj, a i lina oblikovne oblikuje, pa je arhitektonska distancijom poveznica u život i društvo, ono je oblikuje, pa je razumljivo da se materijalnih vrhova nalazi u okviru problematike izgradnje našeg socijalističkog društva.  
Na ovim stranicama nađi se mjesto svaka suradnja, koja lidejno stoji na posljednjem daljnjem razvijanju socijalizma, ne formalno, već sadržinski, a zavest o arhitekturi i likovnim oblikovnim i likovnim problemima.  
U ovom smislu upućujemo poziv na suradnja svima, napose arhitektima, te javnim i kulturnim radnicima.

i istuđu nove površine da ih zasnu i sagrade, i u tom bolnom traženju i gubljenju arhitekta i urbanisti, koji od kao tehnici svijetici mogu pomoći u rješavanju ovog teškog stanja istuđu svoje manifeste, održavaju za- stanke i zajedno s ekonomistima, sociolozima i ljepotcima napredno analiziraju na opasnost i neodoljivost nadalje materijalnog uspona, dok se ne riješi goruće pitanje: nemjerenost stana, dobrog stana, krova nad glavom.  
U tom smislu čitav je svijet nalaziti Evropu kao i time u blizini razvijenim podzemlja u Švedskoj i Južnoj Americi, kao i gusto naseljenoj Aziji ili na obodu Afrike, sve osim ozbiljna iznizaka u Švicarskoj i Nordijskim

koliko ne opada. Gotovo apokaliptički djeluju citati iz Bilena OUN-a: "Da bi se ocijeno stambeni problem u Evropi, treba podcijeliti na godine između dva vijetaka rata, kada su se "skum- plitici i tekli uvjeti zajedno... sve više povećavali i širili. Čak i zemlje, koje su industrijski visoko razvijene, nisu bile kadre pružiti sve većem kroju ljudi pristojne domove po cijeni, koji svi mogu plaćati. Građansko stanovanje Evrope živjelo je u sve gorim stambenim problemima. Posljedica je 12,7 milijuna stambenih jedinica, stanova, stan- stanica i koji dovodi u opasnost zdravlje i sigurnost mnogih milijuna ljudi u opustošenim zemljama. Osim toga Evropa nije bila građila dovoljan broj stanova, da bi udovoljila potreba-

ma, a svi odgovaraju — graditi stanove. Što smo mi do sada izgradili? Koliko je stanova podignuto u 1953. godini?  
Koliko je odobrenih investicija za stanove ostalo nesiskorizanih?"  
Nalaz stamno dnevno donosi niz činjenica o loj stambenoj problematiki Čilena. "Treba bi mnogo više graditi... Podignuti je niz novih stambenih zgrada... Prevedla se mnogo živ- i nepopunjavajućeg Zagreb on petnaest izgradnji 2.500—3.000 stanova."  
Diskusije su ishodim još uvijek of- ficijelne, uključujući većinom optimistički i novinarski neprecizni.

Fig. 114| Extract from the page 1, an article, *The right of an apartment*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 1, 1954, Zagreb

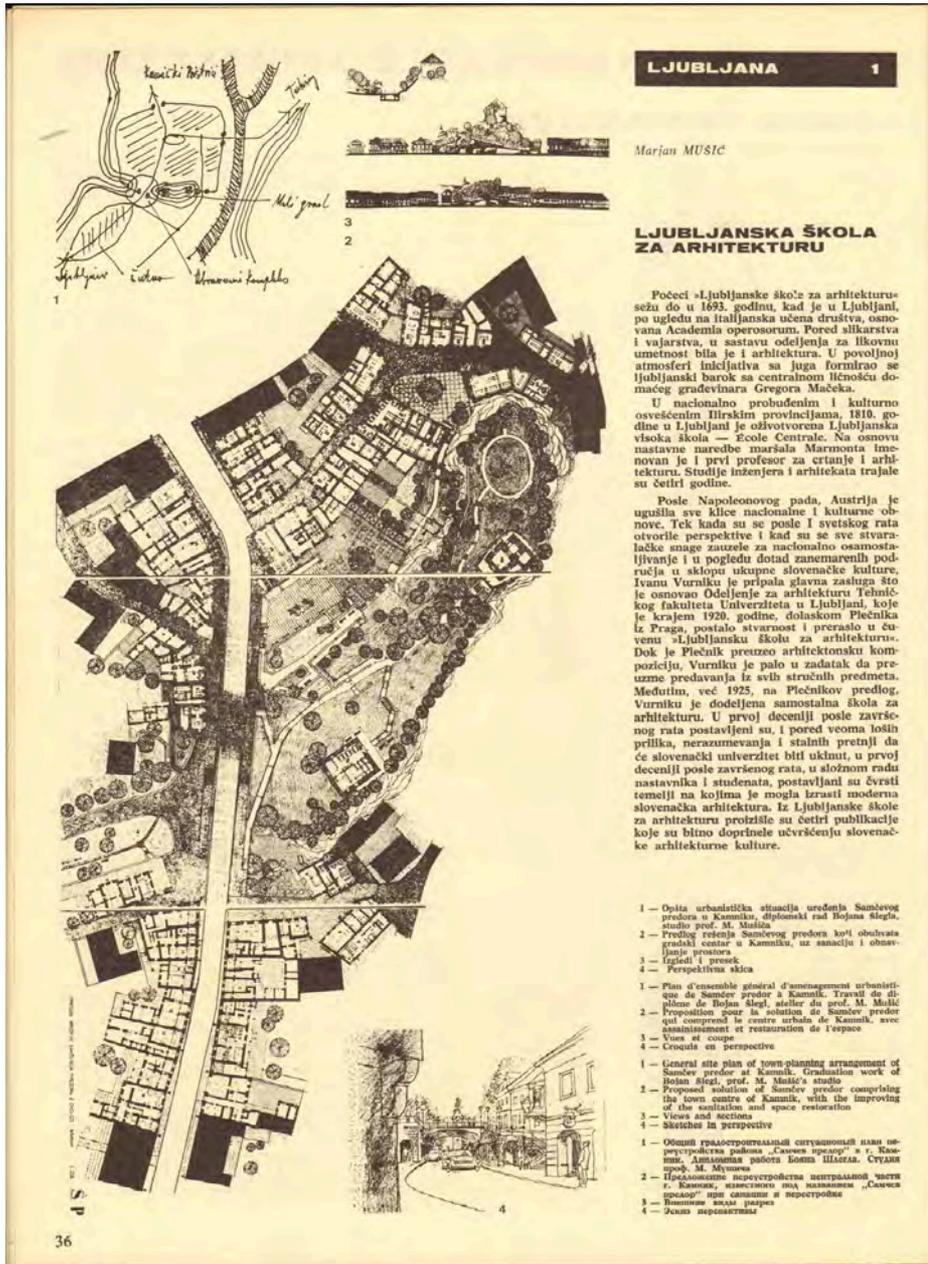


THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE SOCIALIST  
FEDERAL REPUBLIC  
OF YUGOSLAVIA

Fig. 115| Cover, The constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1974



Fig. 116| Book Cover, *Small Town Philosophy*, Radomir Konstantinović, 1969, Belgrade



**LJUBLJANA 1**

Marian MUSIČ

**LJUBLJANSKA ŠKOLA ZA ARHITEKTURU**

Počeci »Ljubljanske šole« za arhitekturo sežu do u 1693. godinu, kad je u Ljubljani, po ugledu na italijanska učena društva, osnovana Academia operosorum. Pored slikarstva i vajarstva, u sastavu odeljenja za likovnu umetnost bila je i arhitektura. U povoljnoj atmosferi inicijativa sa juga formirao se ljubljanski barok sa centralnom ličnošću domaćeeg građevinara Gregora Mackea.

U nacionalno probuđenim i kulturno osvešćenim ilirskim provincijama, 1810. godine u Ljubljani je oživotvorena Ljubljanska visoka škola — Ecole Centrale. Na osnovu nastavne naredbe maršala Marmonta imenovan je i prvi profesor za crtanje i arhitekturu. Studije inženjera i arhitekata trajale su četiri godine.

Posle Napoleonovog pada, Austrija je ugušila sve klice nacionalne i kulturne obnove. Tek kada su se posle i svetskog rata otvorile perspektive i kad su se sve stvaralačke snage zauzele za nacionalno osamostaljivanje i u pogledu dotad zanemarenih područja u sklopu ukupne slovenačke kulture, Ivanu Vurniku je pripala glavna zasluga što je osnovan Odeljenje za arhitekturu Tehničkog fakulteta Univerziteta u Ljubljani, koje je krajem 1920. godine, dolaskom Plečnika iz Praga, postalo stvarnost i prezvalo u savenu »Ljubljansku školu za arhitekturu«. Dok je Plečnik preuzeo arhitektonsku kompoziciju, Vurniku je palo u zadatak da preuzme predavanja iz svih stručnih predmeta. Međutim, već 1925. na Plečnikov predlog, Vurniku je dodeljena samostalna škola za arhitekturu. U prvoj deceniji posle završenog rata postavljani su, i pored veoma loših prilika, nerazumevanja i stalnih pretnji da će slovenački univerzitet biti ukinut, u prvoj deceniji posle završenog rata, u složnom radu nastavnika i studenata, postavljani su čvrsti temelji na kojima je mogla izrasti moderna slovenačka arhitektura. Iz Ljubljanske škole za arhitekturu proizašla su četiri publikacija koje su bitno doprinele učvršćenju slovenačke arhitekturne kulture.

- 1 — Opšta urbanistička situacija uređenja Samčevog predora u Kamniku, diplomski rad Bojana Šlegla.
  - 2 — Predlog rešenja Samčevog predora koji obuhvata gradski centar u Kamniku, uz sanaciju i obnovu ljanje prostora.
  - 3 — Ugladi i preseki.
  - 4 — Perspektivna skica.
- 1 — Plan d'ensemble général d'aménagement urbanistique de Samčev predor à Kamnik. Travail de diplôme de Bojan Šlegl, atelier du prof. M. Musič.
  - 2 — Proposition pour la solution de Samčev predor qui comprend le centre urbain de Kamnik, avec assainissement et restauration de l'espace.
  - 3 — Vues et coupes.
  - 4 — Croquis en perspective.
- 1 — General site plan of town-planning arrangement of Samčev predor at Kamnik. Graduation work of Bojan Šlegl, prof. M. Musič's studio.
  - 2 — Proposed solution of Samčev predor comprising the town centre of Kamnik, with the improving of the sanitation and space restoration.
  - 3 — Views and sections.
  - 4 — Sketches in perspective.
- 1 — Општи градостројилацки ситуациони план уређења предора у Камнику. Дипломски рад Бојана Шлегла. Студија проф. М. Мушића.
  - 2 — Предложено решење уређења централног дела г. Камника, укључујући одржавање „Самчевог предора“ при санацији и вестројби.
  - 3 — Вишеви и пресеци.
  - 4 — Скице перспективе.

Fig. 117| Page 36, Ljubljana School of Architecture, in the magazine Architecture and Urbanism, No.52, 1968, Belgrade





Fig. 119| Monument, Stone Flower, Bogdan Bogdanović, 1966, Jasenovac, SR Croatia



Fig. 120| Yugoslav pavilion, *the Biennale of Venice*, 1938, Venice, Italy

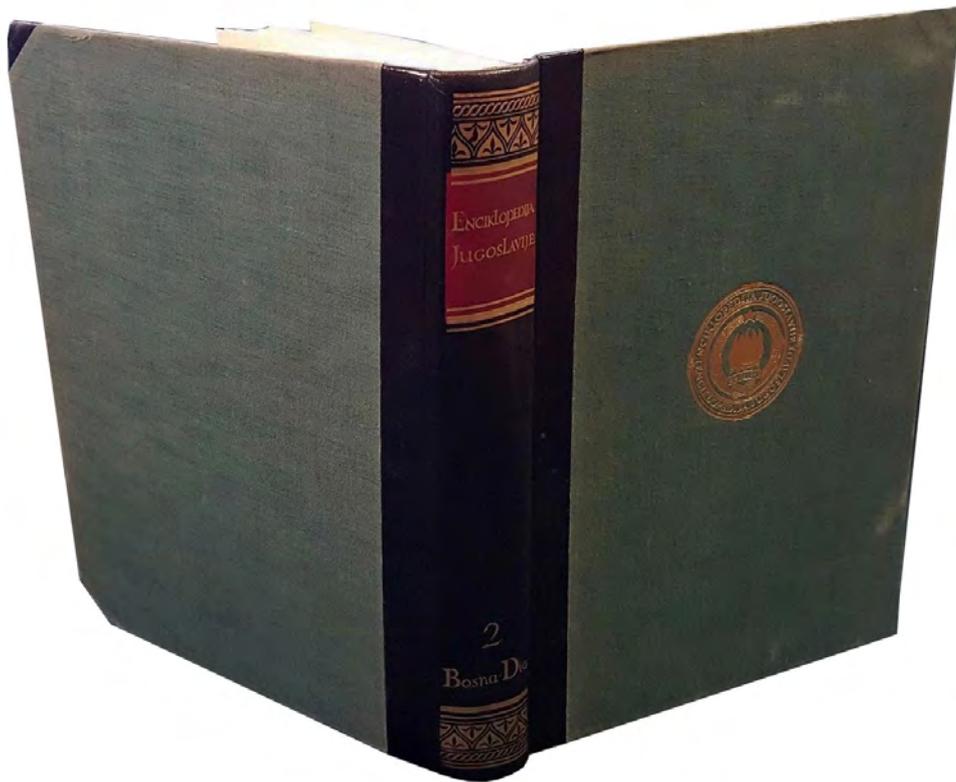


Fig. 121| Book Cover, *Yugoslav Encyclopedia*, 1955

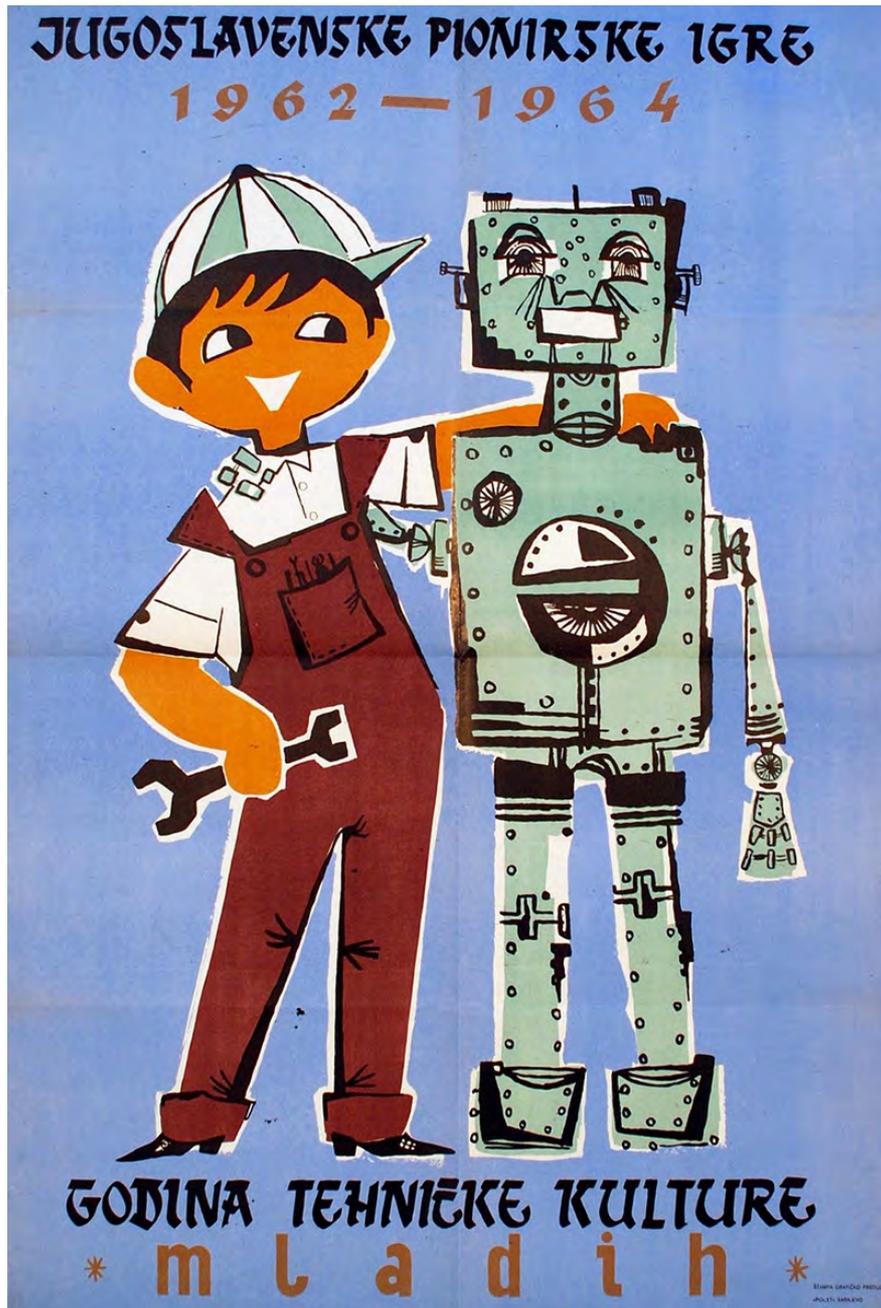


Fig. 122| Poster, *Yugoslav Pioneer Games 1962-1964: Years of the techniques and culture of the youth*, 1962



Fig. 123| Student excursion, *Monument, Makedonium*, Jordan and Iskra Grabul, Kruševo, 1974, SR Macedonia



Fig. 124| Student excursion, Monument, Necropolis for the Victims of Fascism, Bogdan Bogdanović, 1975, Novi Travnik, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina

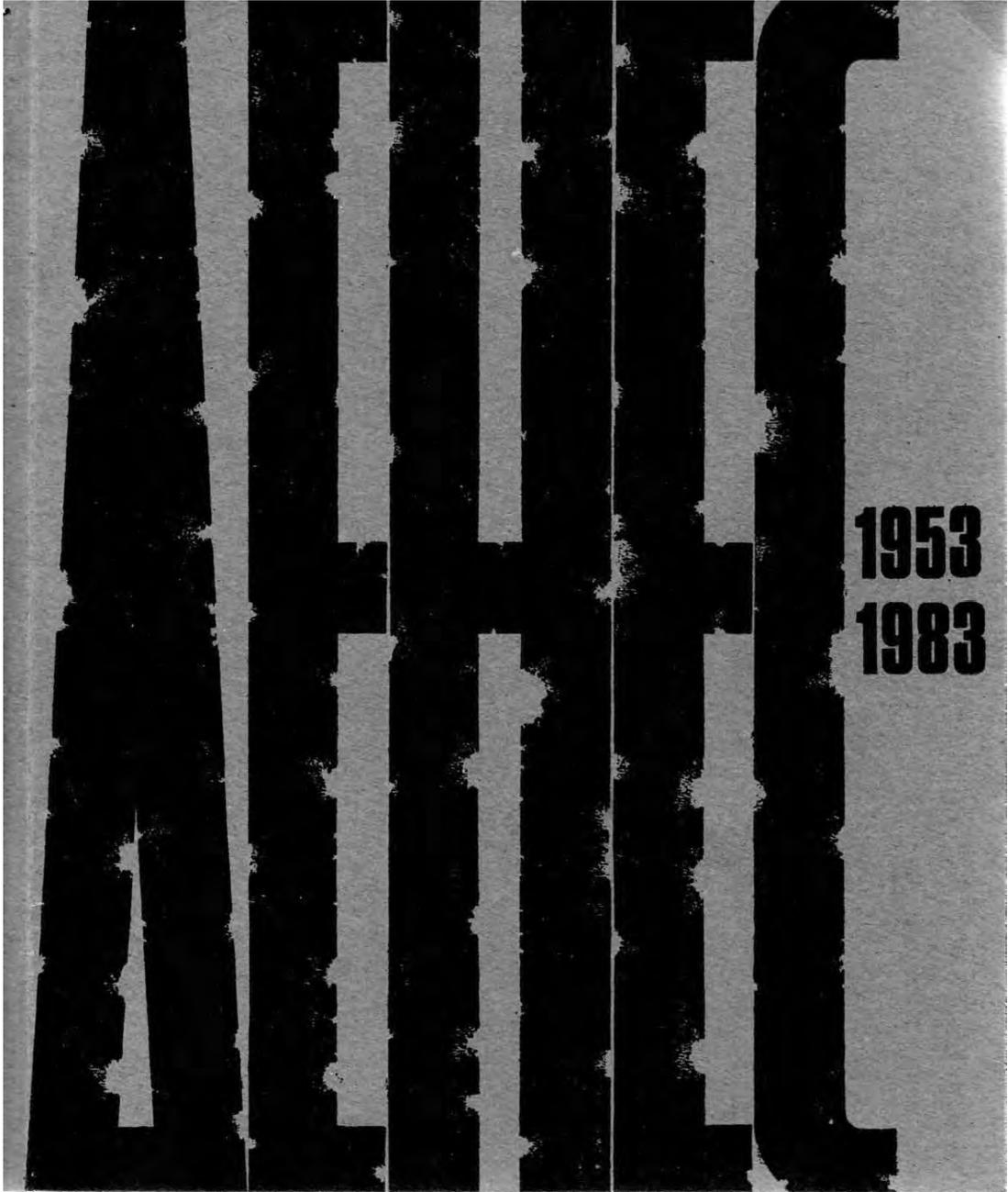


Fig. 125| Catalogue Cover, *Group Denes*, for 30th year of the existence, *Art Gallery Skopje*, 1983, Skopje



Fig. 126| Extract from the cover page, *Art Regulator: industrial production*, Vjenceslav Richter, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 75, 1958, Zagreb



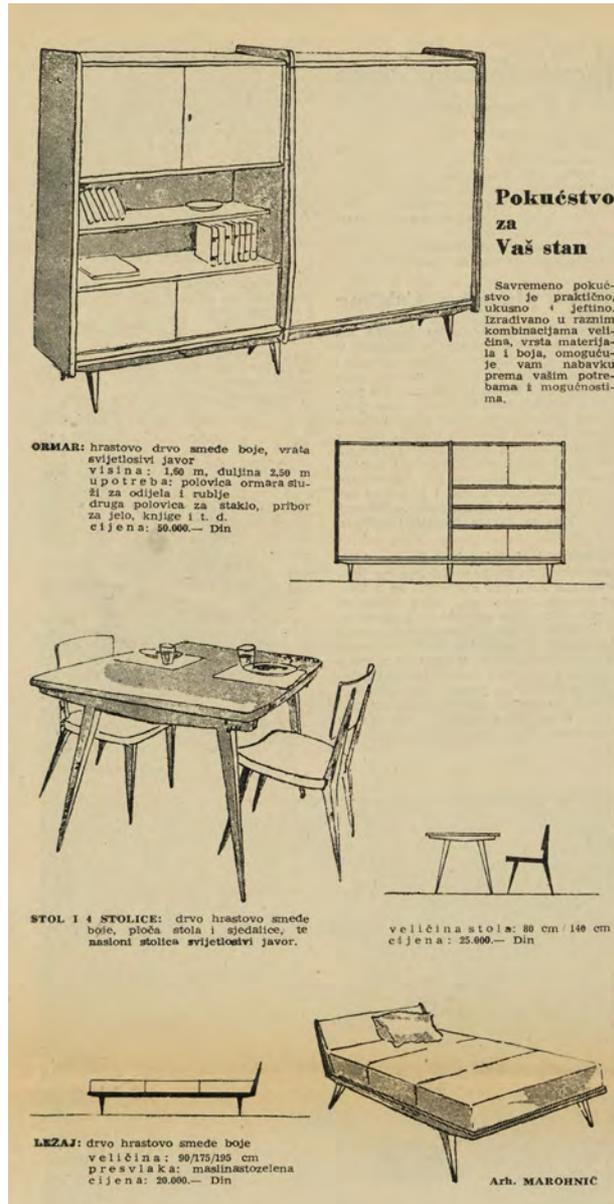
Fig. 127| Scene from the movie, *Love Affair, or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*, Dušan Makavejev, 1967



Fig. 128| Student Dormitory, *Goce Delcev*, Georgi Konstantinovski, 1968, Skopje



Fig. 129| Interior, Student Dormitory, *Goce Delcev*, Georgi Konstantinovski, 1968, Skopje



**Pokućstvo  
za  
Vaš stan**

Savremeno pokućstvo je praktično, ukusno i jeftino. Izrađivano u raznim kombinacijama veličina, vrsta materijala i boja, omogućuje vam nabavku prema vašim potrebama i mogućostima.

**ORMAR:** hrastovo drvo smeđe boje, vrata svijetlosivi javor  
visina: 1,90 m, duljina 2,50 m  
upotreba: polovica ormara služi za odijela i rublje  
druga polovica za staklo, pribor za jelo, knjige i t. d.  
cijena: 59.000.— Din

**STOL I 4 STOLICE:** drvo hrastovo smeđe boje, ploča stola i sjedalice, te nasloni stolica svijetlosivi javor.  
veličina stola: 80 cm / 140 cm  
cijena: 25.000.— Din

**LEZAJ:** drvo hrastovo smeđe boje  
veličina: 90/175/195 cm  
presvlaka: maslinastozelena  
cijena: 29.000.— Din

Arh. MAROHNIC

Fig. 130| Extract from the page 6, Article, *Furniture for your apartment*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 4, 1954, Zagreb





Fig. 132| Photo, The Archive of the city Skopje, Georgi Konstantinovski, 1966, Skopje

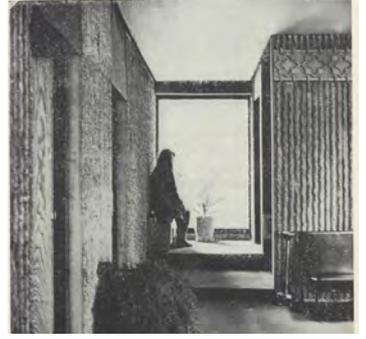
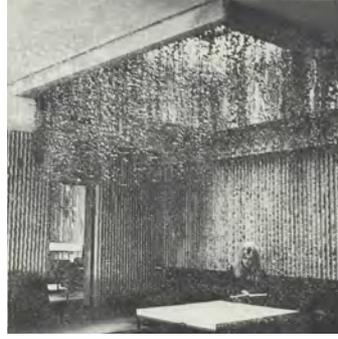


Fig. 133| Extract from the pages 16-17, 'the Historical Archive of Skopje', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 228, 1972, Zagreb



Fig. 134| Page 153, *Architecture, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

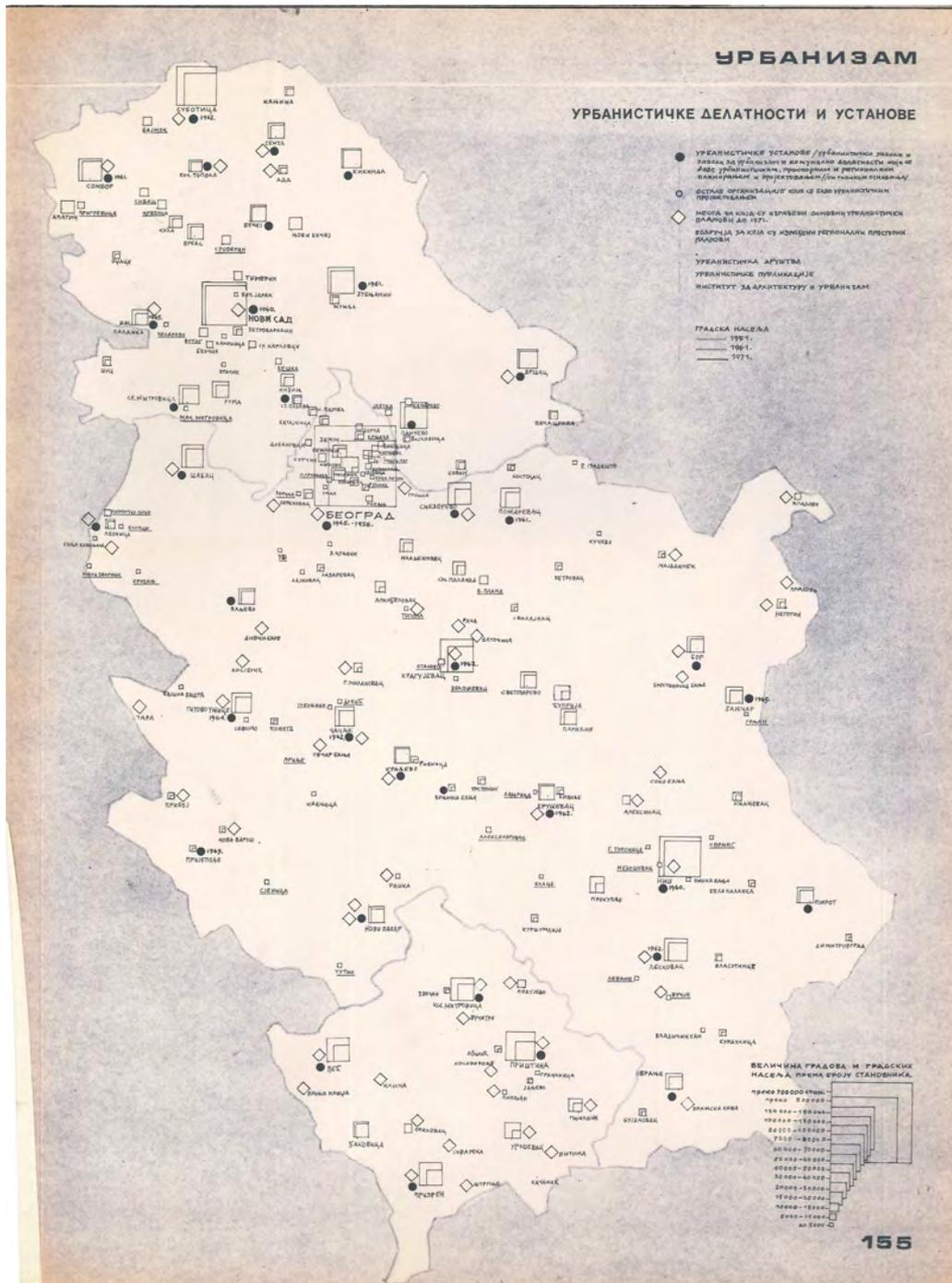


Fig. 135| Page 155, *Urbanism, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, the *Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

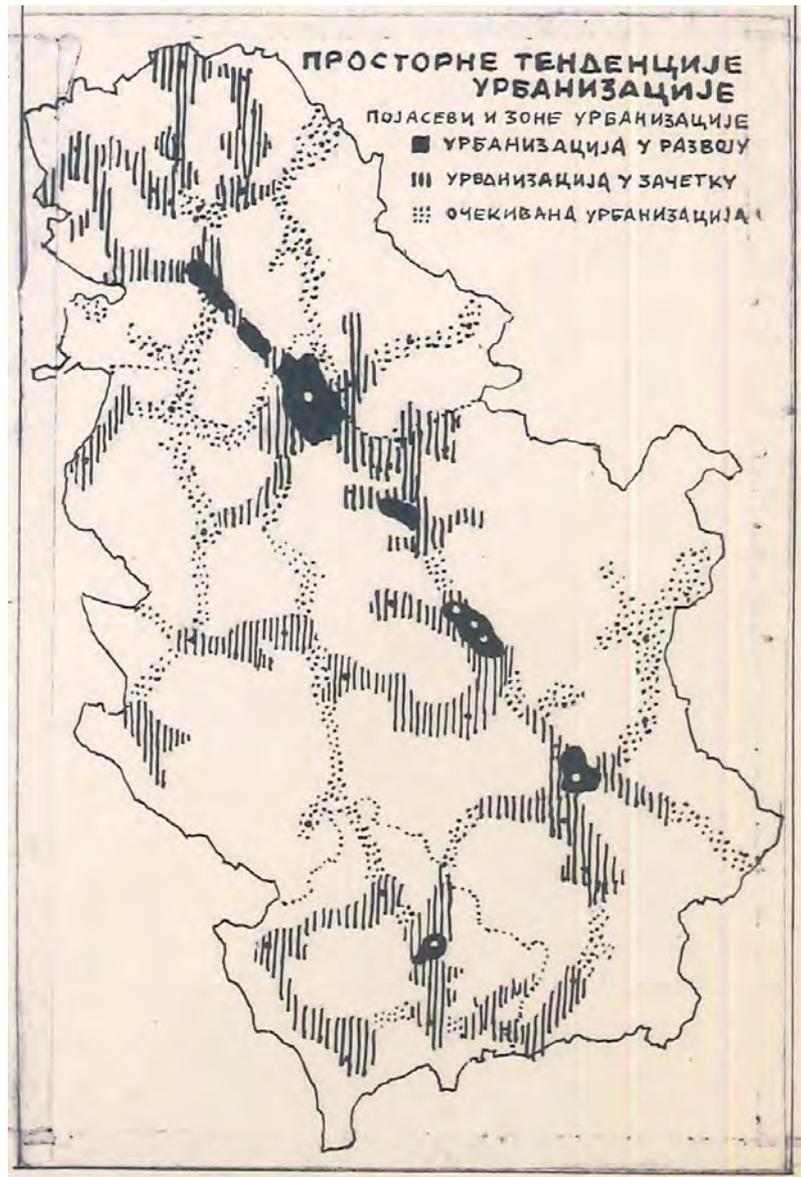


Fig. 136| Extract from the Page 154, *Spatial Tendencies for Urbanization, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade

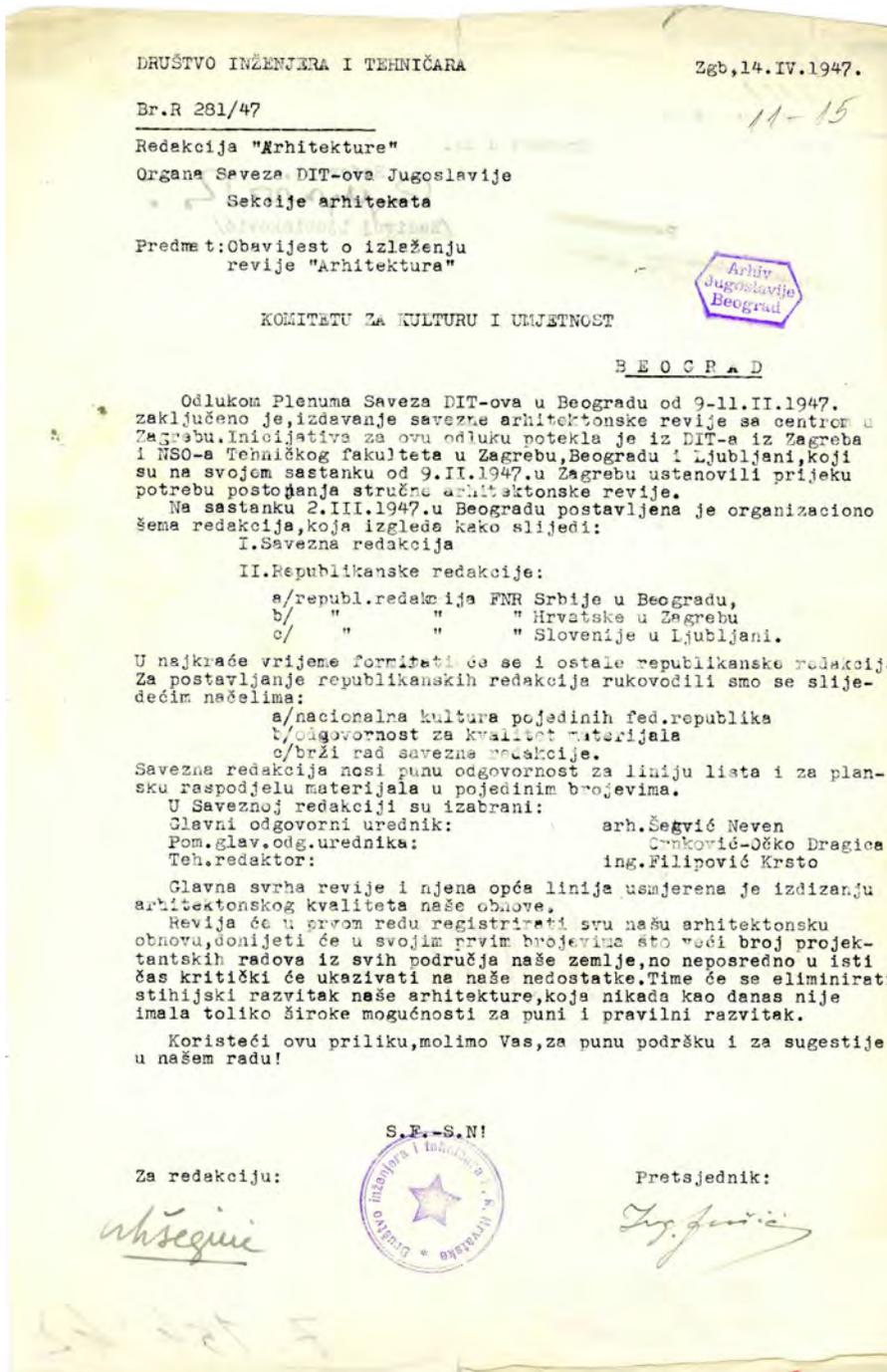


Fig. 137| Letter, Decision for publishing of the review Architecture, *Committee for Culture and Art*, 1947, Belgrade



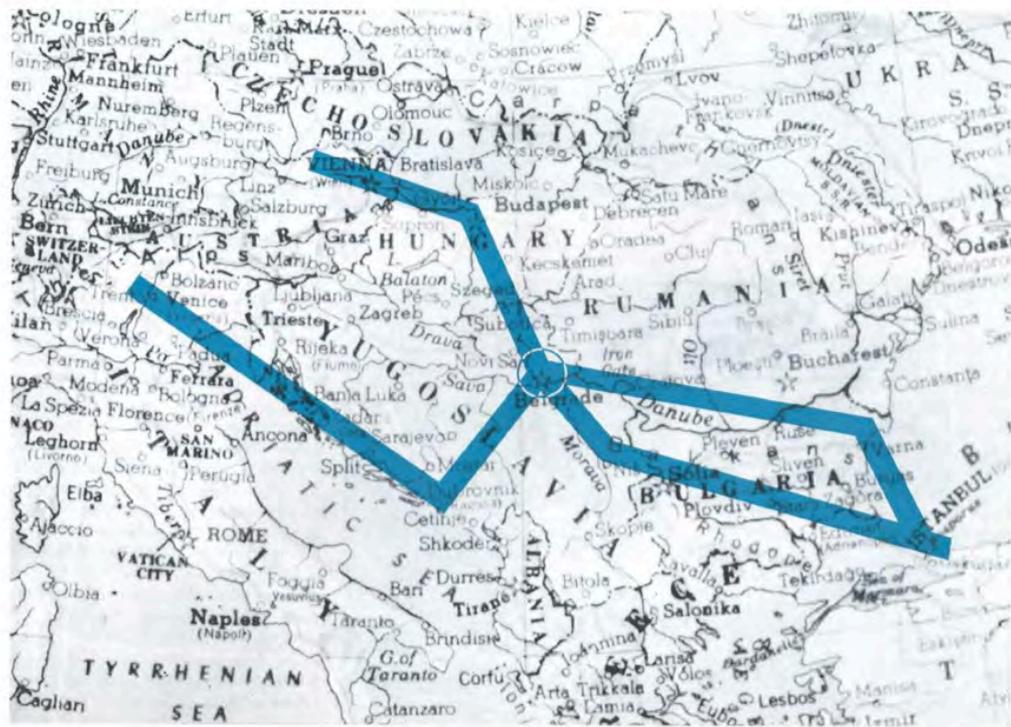
Fig. 138| Scenes from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 139| Book cover and map, *The cities of Yugoslavia*, Dr. Jovan Đ Marković, 1971



Fig. 140| Scenes from the movie, *You love only once*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



5

Fig. 141| Page 5, from the article, *Geography of Culture of the City of Belgrade*, Dr. Miodrag Kolarić, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, 1971, Belgrade





Fig. 143| Extract from the page 65, *Medieval Culture, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 2, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

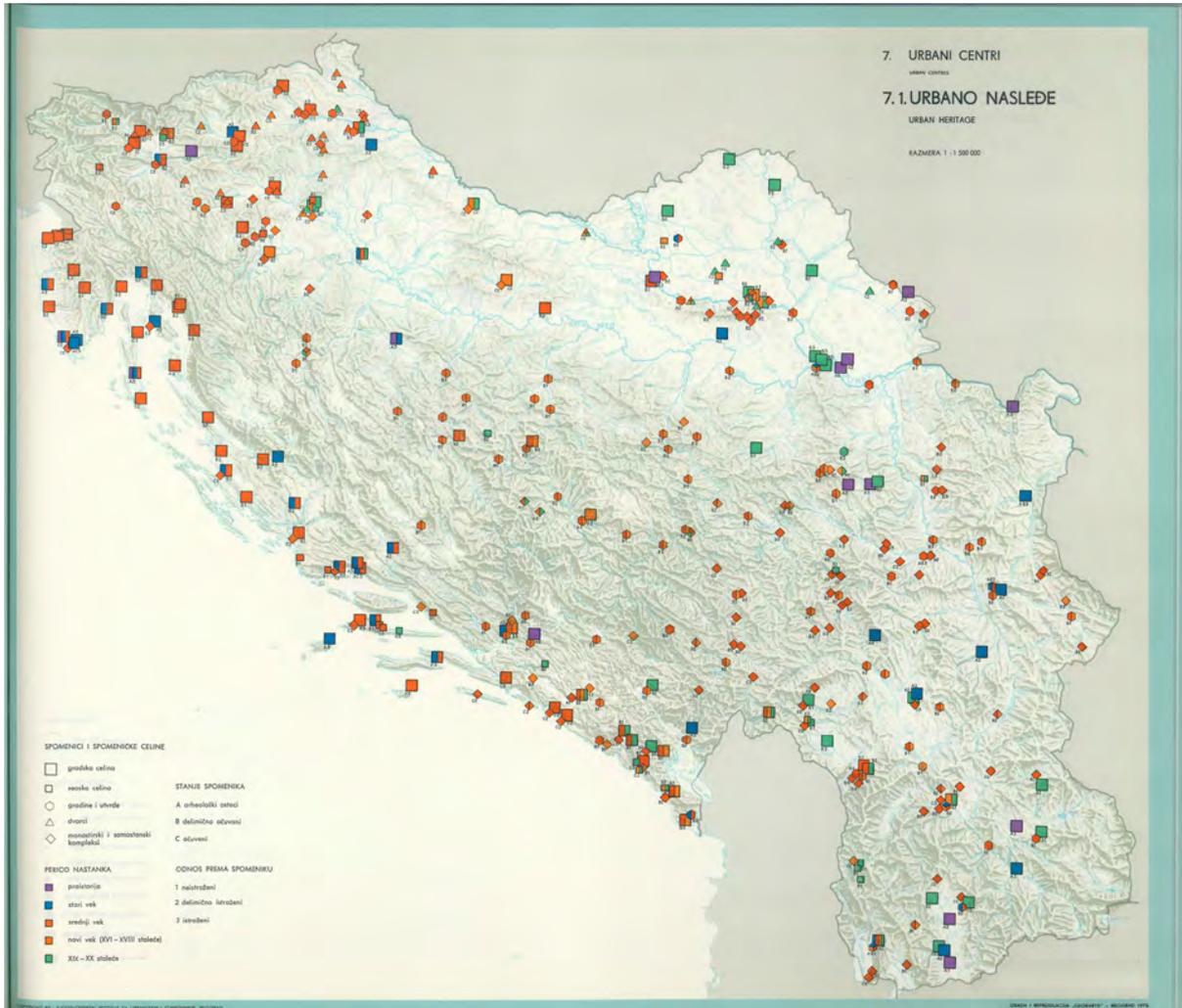


Fig. 144| Page 19, Map, *Urban Heritage*, *Planning Atlas of the Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973



Fig. 145| Scenes from the movie, *Innocence unprotected*, Dušan Makavejev, 1968



Fig. 146| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985

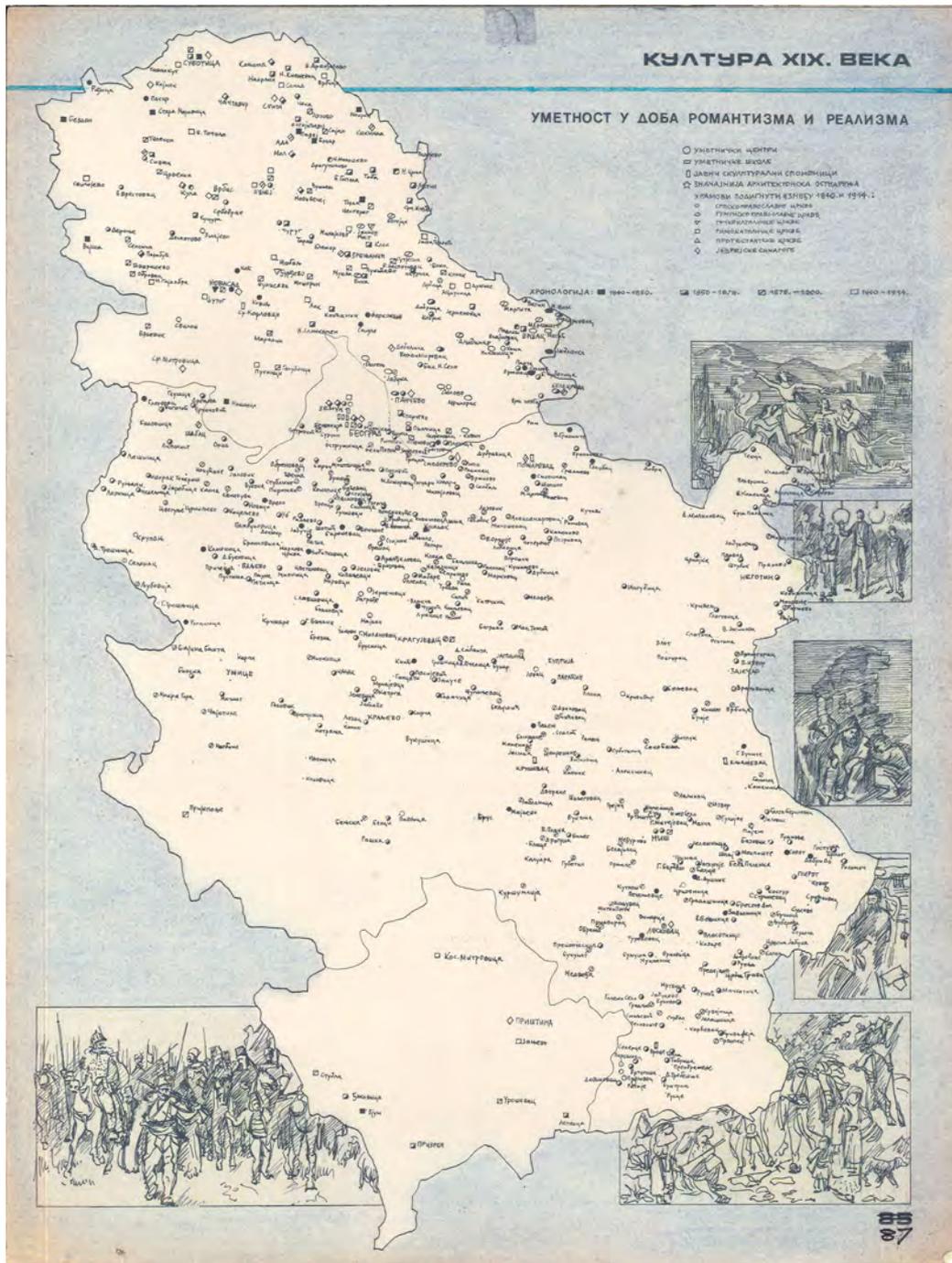


Fig. 147| Page 85-87, *Culture of XIX century*, *Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia*, book 3, *the Institute of Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

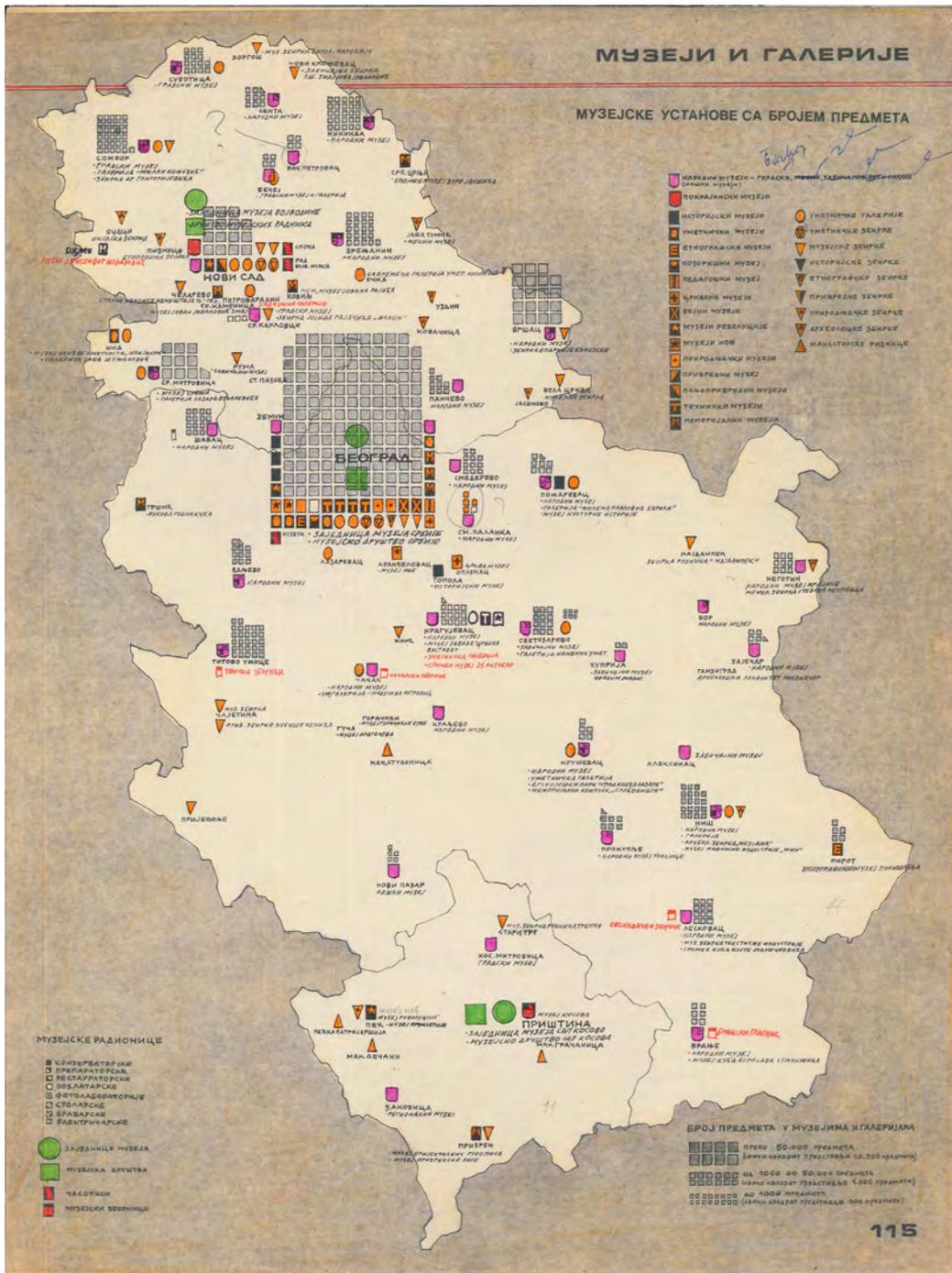


Fig. 148| Page 115, *Culture of XIX century, Atlas of Culture – of Socialist Republic of Serbia, book 3, the Institute of Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade*

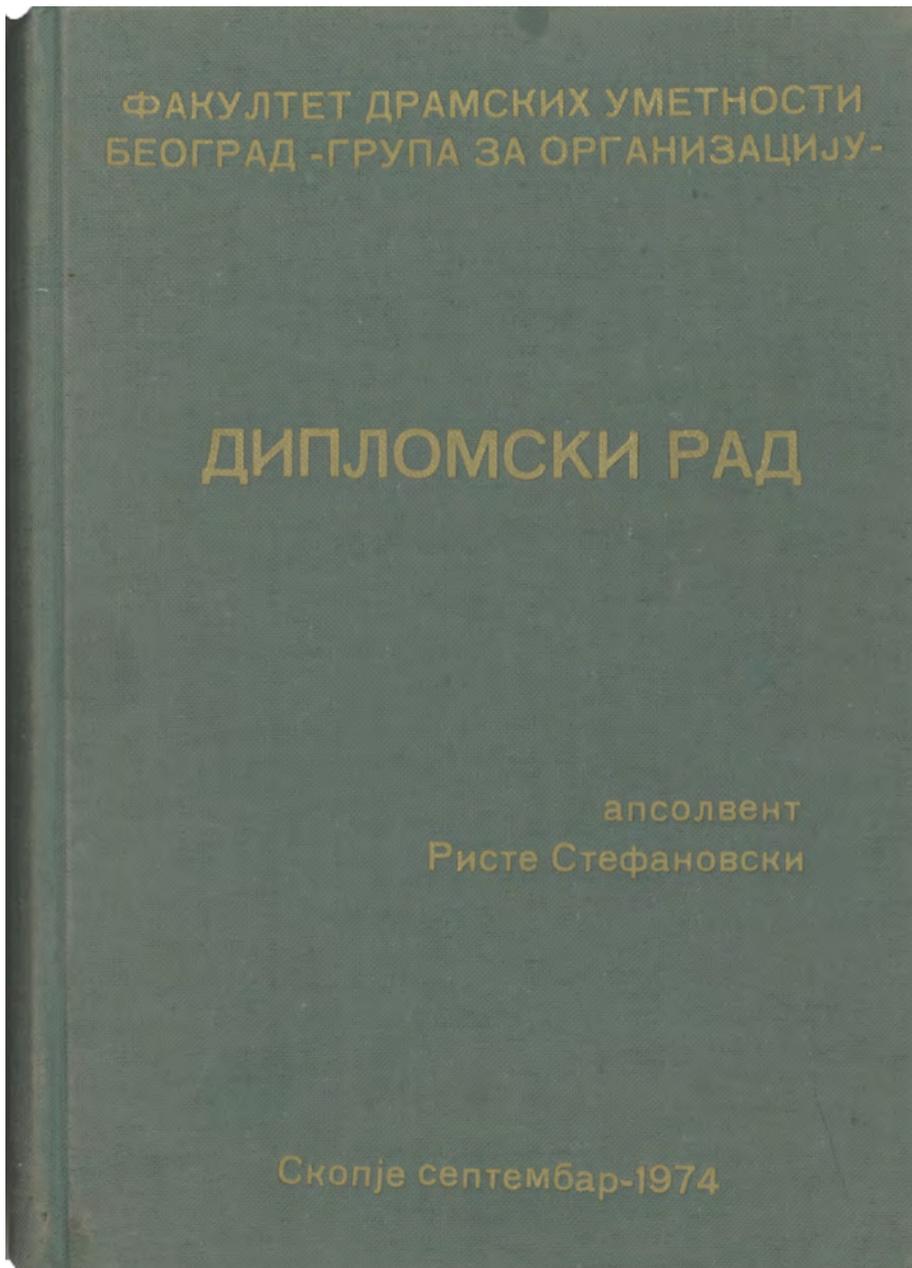


Fig. 149| Cover of diploma work, graduate Riste Stefanovski, *Faculty for Dramatic Arts Belgrade, Group for Organization*, 1974, Skopje



Fig. 150| Scenes from the movie, *The Beauty of Vice*, Živko Nikolić, 1986

JULIJE GOLIK, dipl. inž. arh.

## TURISTIČKO NASELJE »VALALTA« – NUDISTIČKI KAMP U ISTRI



Nudističko naselje »Valalta« prvo je organizirano naselje takve vrste u Evropi. Koliko je poznato, postoji još jedno takvog karaktera na Korzici, no građeno je nekompletno, improvizatorski, za brzo iskorištenje.

Naselje je locirano na sjevernom rubu zone, predviđene za izgradnju objekata komercijalnog turizma, na području općine Rovinj. Kompleks veličine cca 10 ha tangira ulaz u Linski kanal, rezervat »zaštićene prirode«, koji omogućava potrebnu izolaciju.

Naselje i camp su smješteni na poluotoku »Valalta«, čiji su oblik (plaža dužine preko 1 km) konfiguracija terena (blagi pad) i vegetacija (djelomično maslinik i djelomično makija) omogućili organizaciju svih nužnih funkcija i uklapanje u mjerilo postojećeg ambijenta do te mjere, da je izvedeno naselje »nefotogenično«.

Izvedeno naselje je tek prva etapa izgradnje. U ostalim etapama se predviđa proširenje campa, te izvedba hotela i centra za zabavu i opskrbu, koji su iz prve etape otpali zbog pomanjkanja finansijskih sredstava.

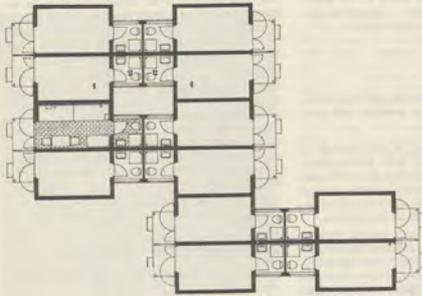
INVESTITOR:  
»PROGRES« – »GENERALTURIST«, ZAGREB  
PROJEKT I INŽENJERING:  
»JUGRADINVEST«, ZAGREB  
GLAVNI PROJEKTANT:  
JULIJE GOLIK, dipl. inž. arh.  
SURADNICI:  
OTO PERICKI, dipl. inž. arh.  
DURO SAJIN, dipl. inž. arh.  
BRANKA HOŠT-AIEDVEN, dipl. inž. arh.  
VLASTA VUJNOVIĆ, stud. arh.  
HERTA DVORNIK, ops. arh.

MIRA PETRINJAK, dipl. inž. arh.  
IVANKA ČOTIĆ, dipl. inž. arh.  
MAJA SIMIĆ, dipl. inž. arh.  
NADZORNI ORGAN ZA GRAD. DIO:  
IVAN MILIĆ, tehn. arh.  
NADZORNI ORGAN ZA OPREMU:  
EDUARD KAJMAR, dipl. ecc.  
KONSTRUKTOR:  
VEJKO VIDAN, dipl. inž.  
TEHNOLOŠKI PROJEKT:  
TEREZA MATIĆ, dipl. inž. arh.  
INSTALACIJE:  
»TERMOPROJEKT«, ZAGREB

CENTRALNO GRUPLANJE:  
IVAN BANCIC, dipl. inž.  
VODOVOD I KANALIZACIJA:  
CEDO BEGAČ, stud. tehn.  
SLABA I JAKA STRUJA:  
IVAN SIMUNIĆ, dipl. inž.  
PROJEKT CESTA:  
JOSIP PAVACIĆ, dipl. inž.  
PROJEKT MOLA:  
CVETKO DOMIAN, dipl. inž.  
HORTIKULARNI PROJEKT:  
MIRA HALAMBEK-WENZLER, dipl. inž.

IZVOBAČ RADOVA:  
G. K. »MEDIMORJE«  
RUKOVODIOCI GRADNJE:  
NIKOLA IVACIĆ, dipl. inž.  
SLAVOLJUB KNEŽEVIĆ, dipl. inž.  
OPREMA:  
»SLOVENIJALEKS«, LJUBLJANA  
LOKACIJA:  
POLUOTOK »VALALTA«, 5,5 km sjeverno od ROVINJA na slazu u LINSKI KANAL  
NAMJENA:  
EKSKLUZIVNO NUDISTIČKO NASELJE  
KAPACITETA 600 LEŽAJA (300 BUNGALOVA)  
I CAMP KAPACITETA 200 OSOBA

Smještajne jedinice za goste: 1 soba, 2. kupaošnice



Tlocrt restorana kampa

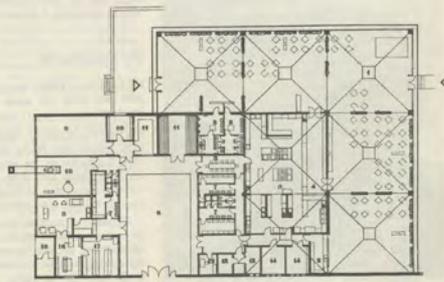


Fig. 151| Page 6, 'Tourist Resort 'Valata', Nudist Camp in Istria', in the magazine *Man and Space*, Zlatko Bastasić, No. 191, 1969, Zagreb



Fig. 152| Poster, Exhibition, *L'Art Médiéval Yougoslave*, Palais de Chaillot, Paris, France, 1950



Fig. 153| Scene from the movie, *The Battle for Neretva*, Veljko Bulajić, 1969







Fig. 156| Cover page, magazine, *Zenit*, No. 41, 1926, Belgrade - Zagreb

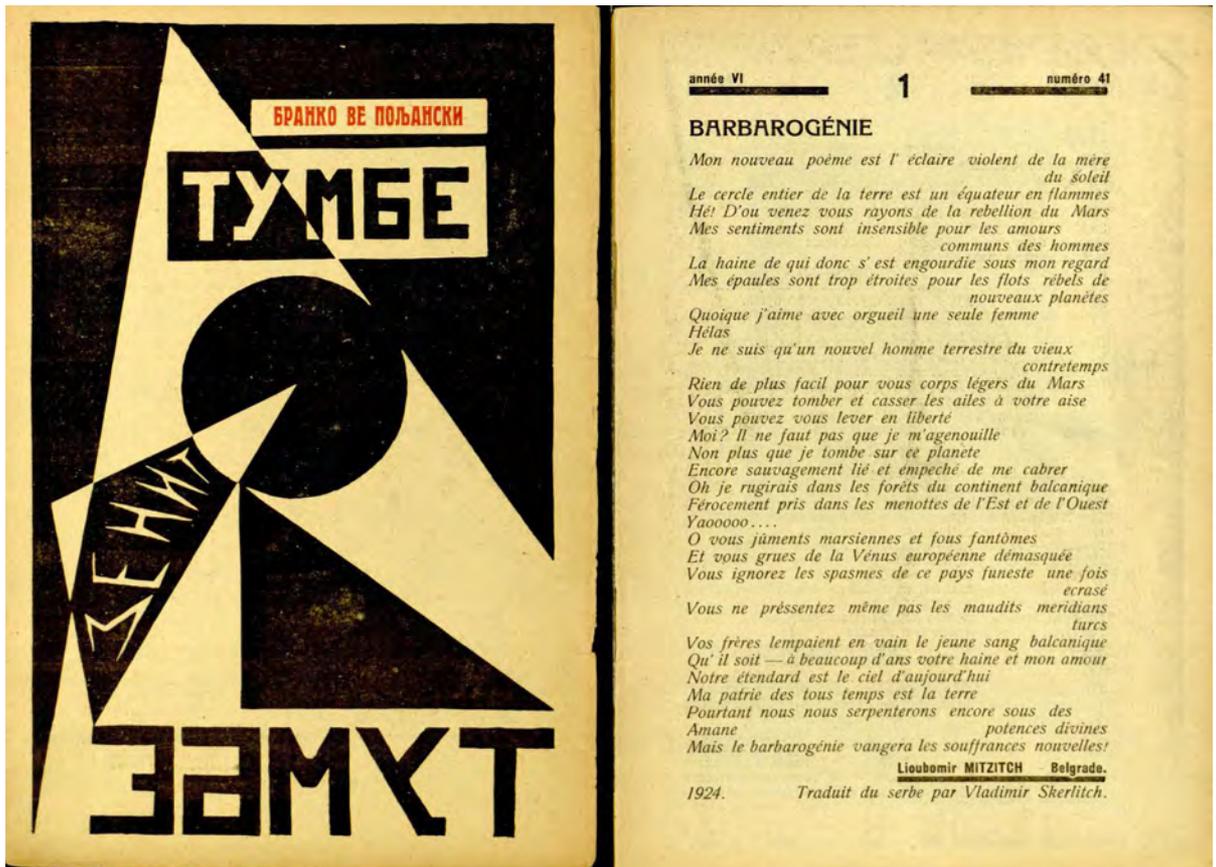


Fig. 157| Pages 0-1, *Barbarogenie*, in the magazine *Zenit*, No. 41, 1926, Belgrade – Zagreb



Fig. 158| Cover from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 159| Scenes from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 160| Drawing, *Telecommunication Centre Skopje*, Janko Konstantinov, 1974



Fig. 161| Extract from the page 15, View towards the *Telecommunication Centre Skopje*, Janko Konstantinov, *Skopje 30 years free development: Skopje 1945 -1975, 1977*, Skopje



Fig. 162| Postcard, View towards the *Gradski Trgovski Centre*, Živko Popovski, 1967, Skopje



Fig. 163| Plan, IX Variant, *ITPA*, 1965, Skopje



Fig. 164| Plan, Kenzo Tange – Japan, *ITPA*, 1965, Skopje

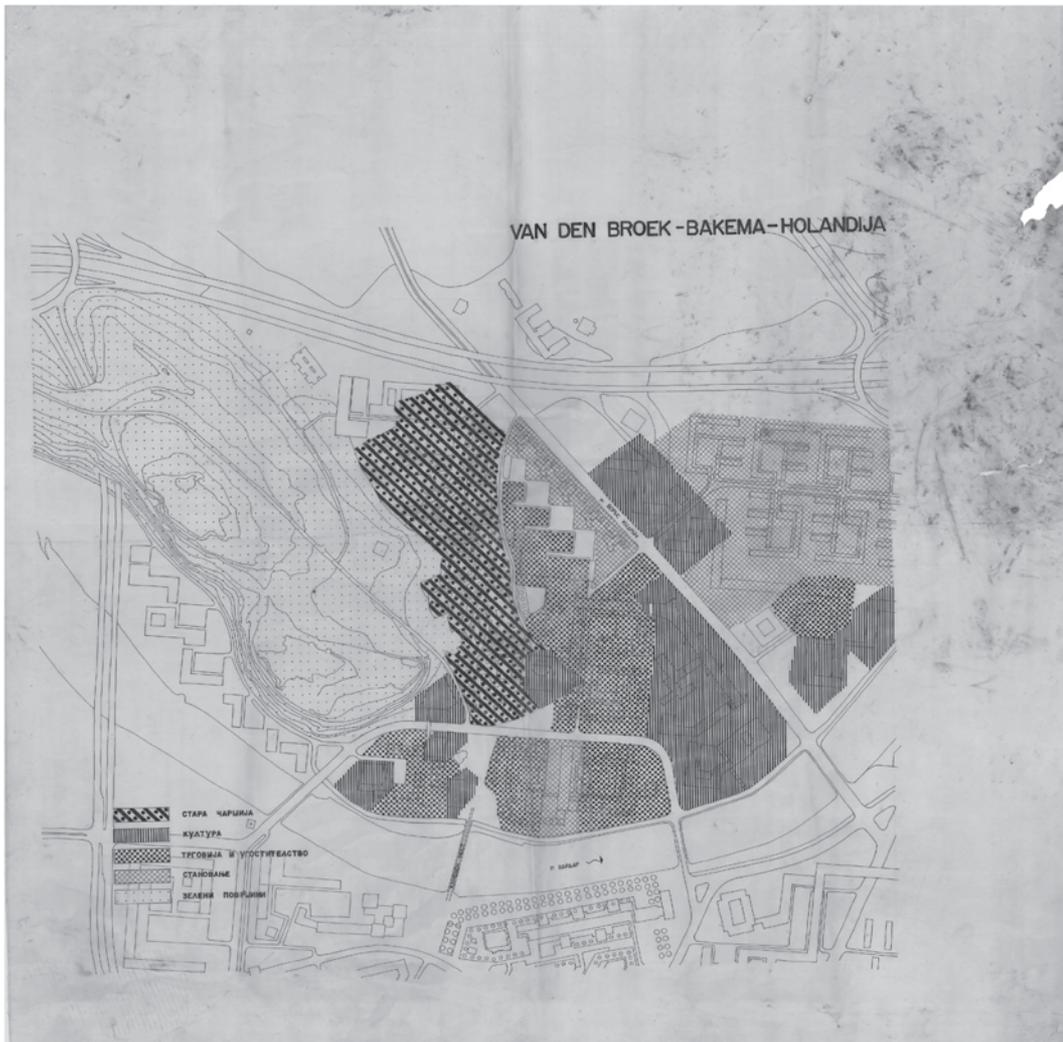


Fig. 165| Plan, Van den Broek - Bakema – The Netherlands, *ITPA*, 1965, Skopje

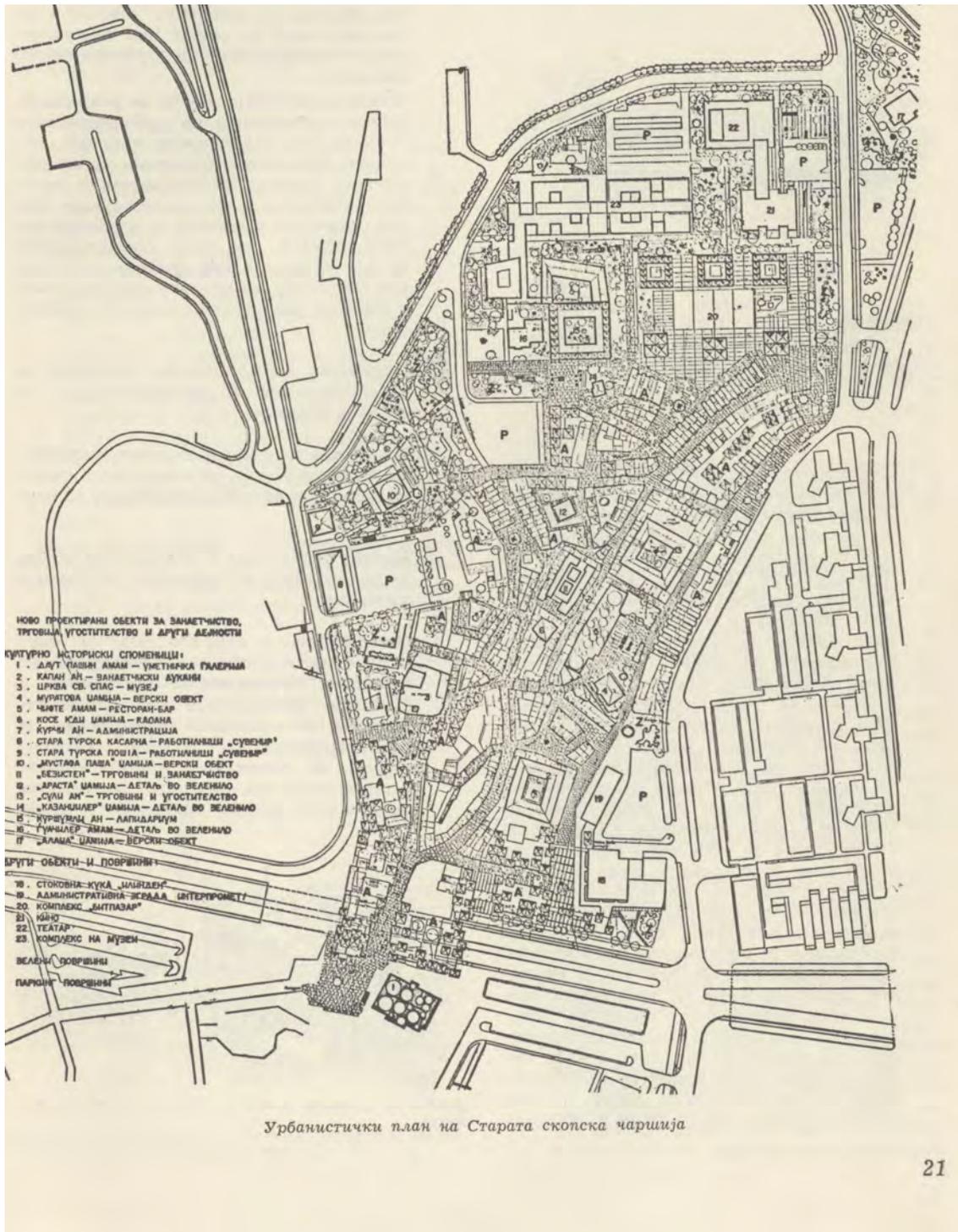


Fig. 166| Extract from the page 21, Plan, *Spatial Plan for the old Bazaar of the City of Skopje*, The pedestrian space of Skopje, Tihomir Arsovski, 1982, Skopje



Fig. 167| Illustration, *The group Smak embarks on a big JU tour: rockers aim to push the folk into the background*, Rock 82, 1982, Skopje



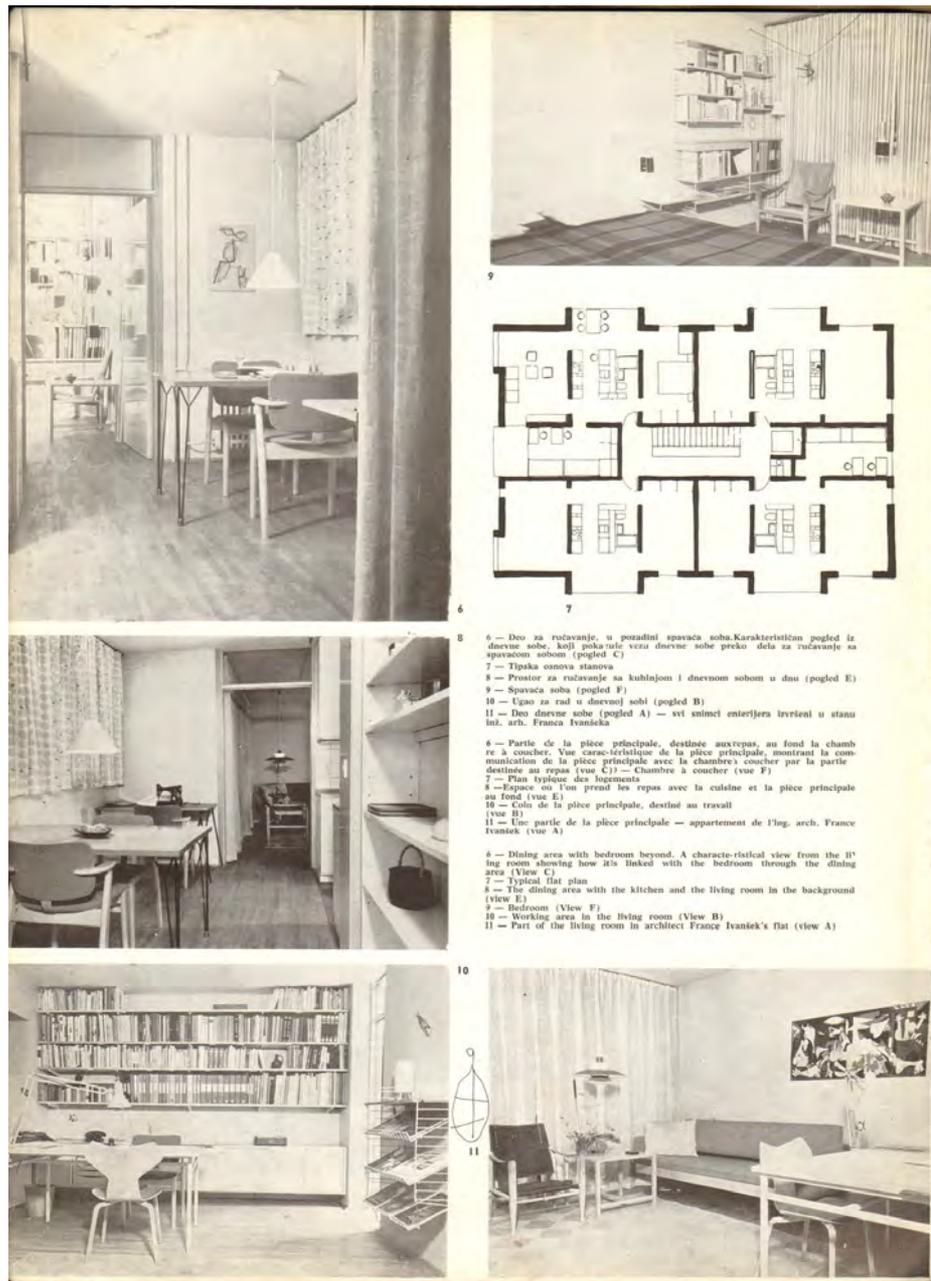


Fig. 169| Extract from the page without No., 'Residential Towers on Roska Cesta in Ljubljana', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 11-12, 1961, Belgrade



Fig. 170| Scene from the movie, *The Promising Boy*, Miloš Radivojević, 1981



Fig. 171| Scenes from the movie, *It Isn't Easy to Get Along with Men*, Mihailo Vukobratović, 1981



Fig. 172| Scene from the video, *Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeana*, 1973



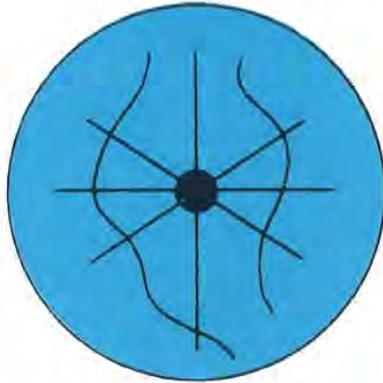
Fig. 173| Scenes from the video, *Skopje cultural figures discuss phenomenon called Kafeana*, 1973



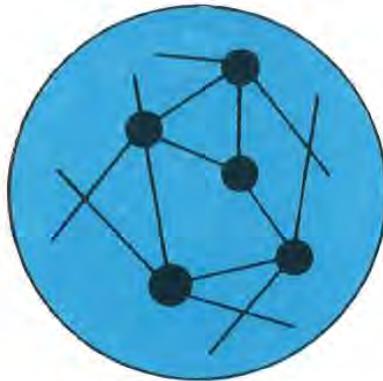
Fig. 174| Extract from the page 12, *Construction of the local community centers in new settlements*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, Vera Paunović, No.85, 1985, Belgrade

imaju univerzalni karakter, odnosno služe javnim potrebama.  
Koncentracija aktivnosti se meri pomoću kumulirane atraktivnosti i komple-

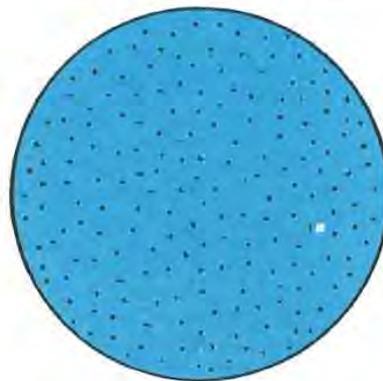
strukcije i rasporedu zgrada u okviru datog perimetra. U savremeno doba nije moguće jednostavno insistirati na snazi i pre-  
(Nastavak na 32 strani)



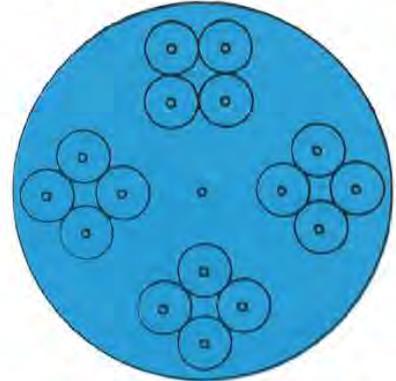
1. Koncentracija u jednoj lokaciji



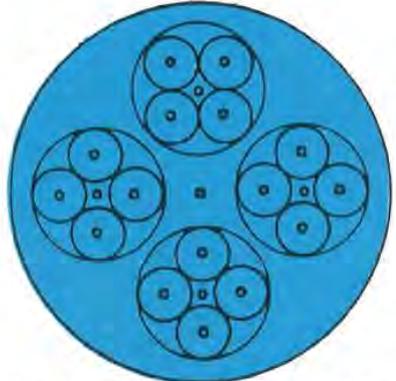
2. Distribucija između nekoliko centara



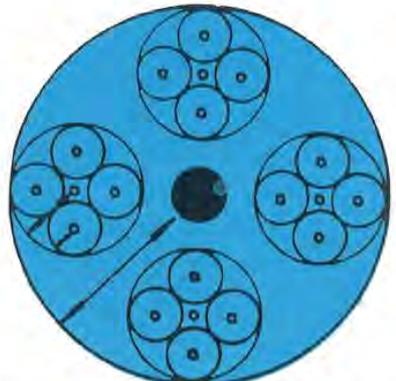
3. Disperzija



1. Raspored usluga na pešačkom odstojanju od mesta stanovanja



2. Kombinacija pešačkog i kretanja automobilom na kraćoj distanci



3. Kombinacija pešačkog i kraćeg i dužeg kretanja automobila

Fig. 175| Extracts from the page 12-13, *Methodological approach to planning city centers*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, Miodrag Janić, No.85, 1985, Belgrade



Архив  
Југославије  
Београд

ИП - 1      7-36

ВЛАДА ФНРЈ			Комитет за културу и уметност Владе ФНРЈ						АОР:				Предлог плана инв. за 1949 год.			
Непосредни инвеститор:			Комитет за културу и уметност Владе ФНРЈ						ФНРЈ				Капит. изгр. друштв. стандард, велике оправке			
шиф. бр.	Р. гра. де-латн.	Инвестициони обј. место изградње група производа	Капацитет						Вредност инвестиција од 1-1-47				Структ. инв. у 1949 г. идеј. /на колоне 11/			
			Јед. мере	укупно год. конач. ни	у 1948	31-децем. у 1948	планир. повећ. у 1949	укупно до потпуног довршав.	1947	у 1948	у 1949	после 1949	граф. објекти	опре-ма	оста-хо	идеј. про-јект има нема
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
<b>РЕКАПИТУЛАЦИЈА</b>																
		Укупне инвестиције						1,673.000	30.000	848.000	825.000	762.000	56.000			
		А. Капит. изградња						-	-	-	-	-	-			
		Б. Друштв. стандард														
		Друштвени стандард укупно						1,673.000	30.000	848.000	825.000	762.000	56.000			
		911 културна и просветна делатност						1,545.000	30.000	745.000	770.000	690.000	55.000			
		811 управљање јавним зградама						115.000	-	60.000	55.000	60.000	-			
		812 станбене зграде						13.000	-	13.000	-	12.000	1.000			

Fig. 177 | Chart, Total investments, *Committee for Culture and Art of SFRY*, 1949, Belgrade

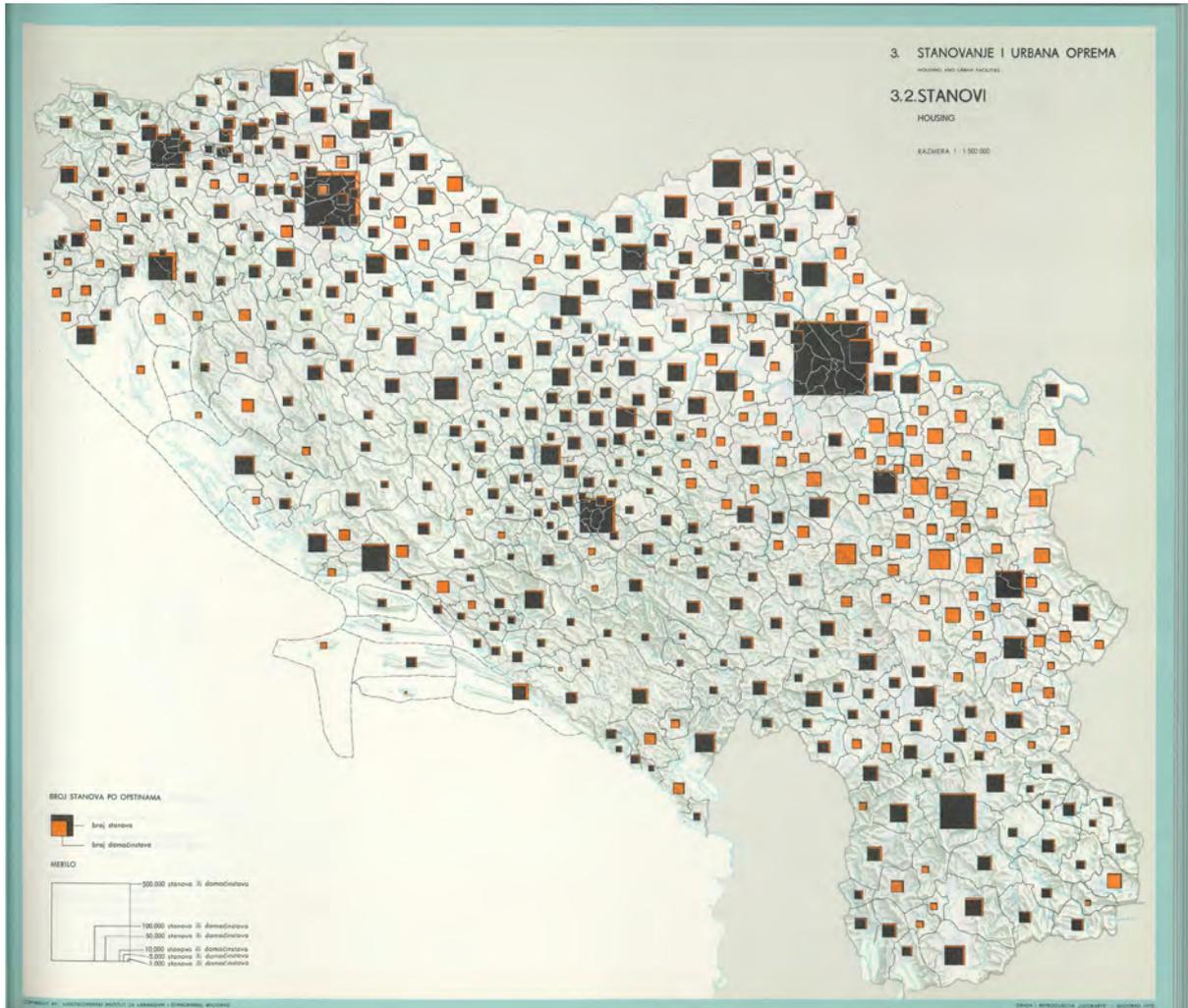


Fig. 178| Map, *Apartments*, *Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, *Yugoslav Institute*, 1973, Belgrade

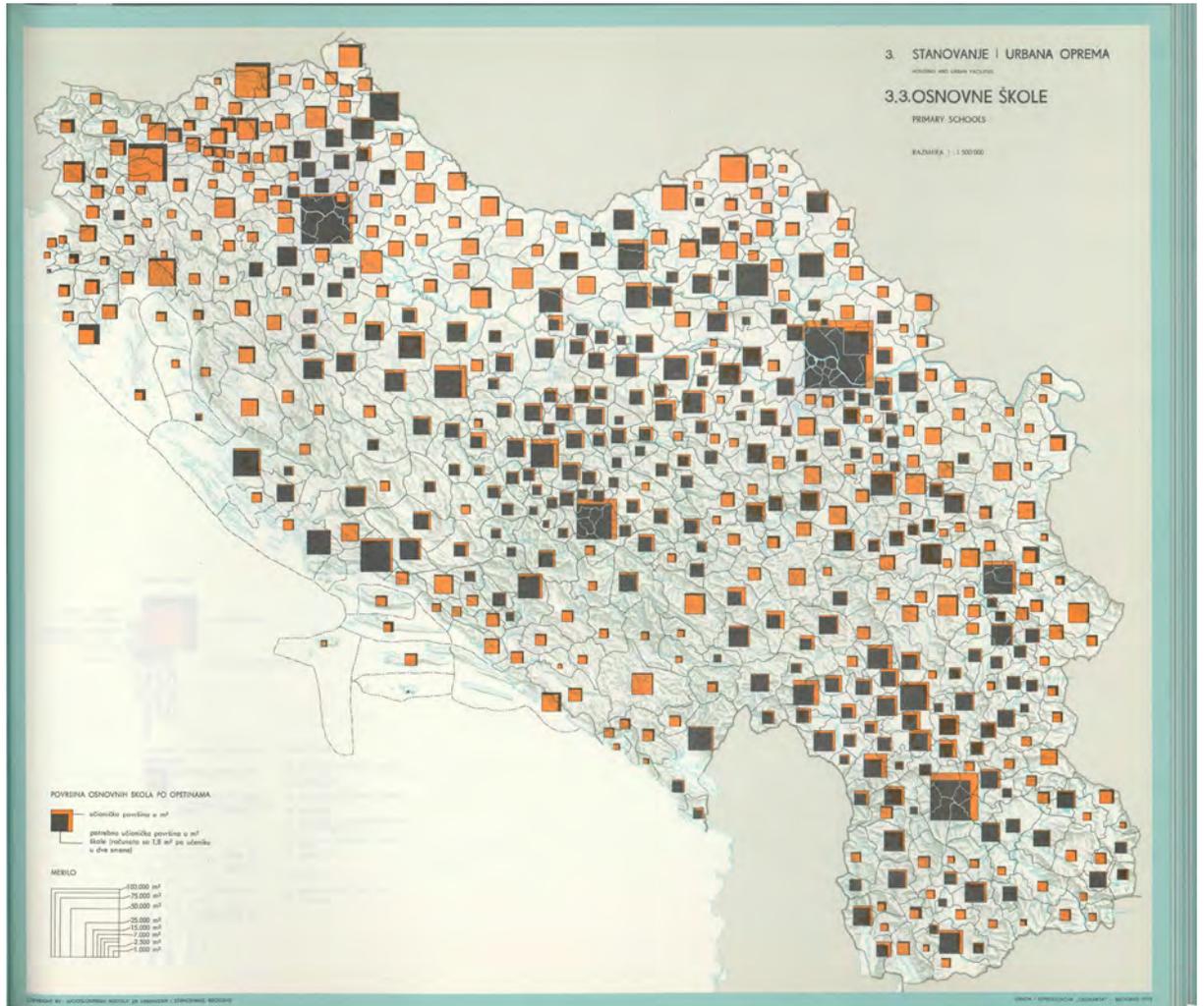


Fig. 179| Map, *Primary Schools*, *Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973, Belgrade

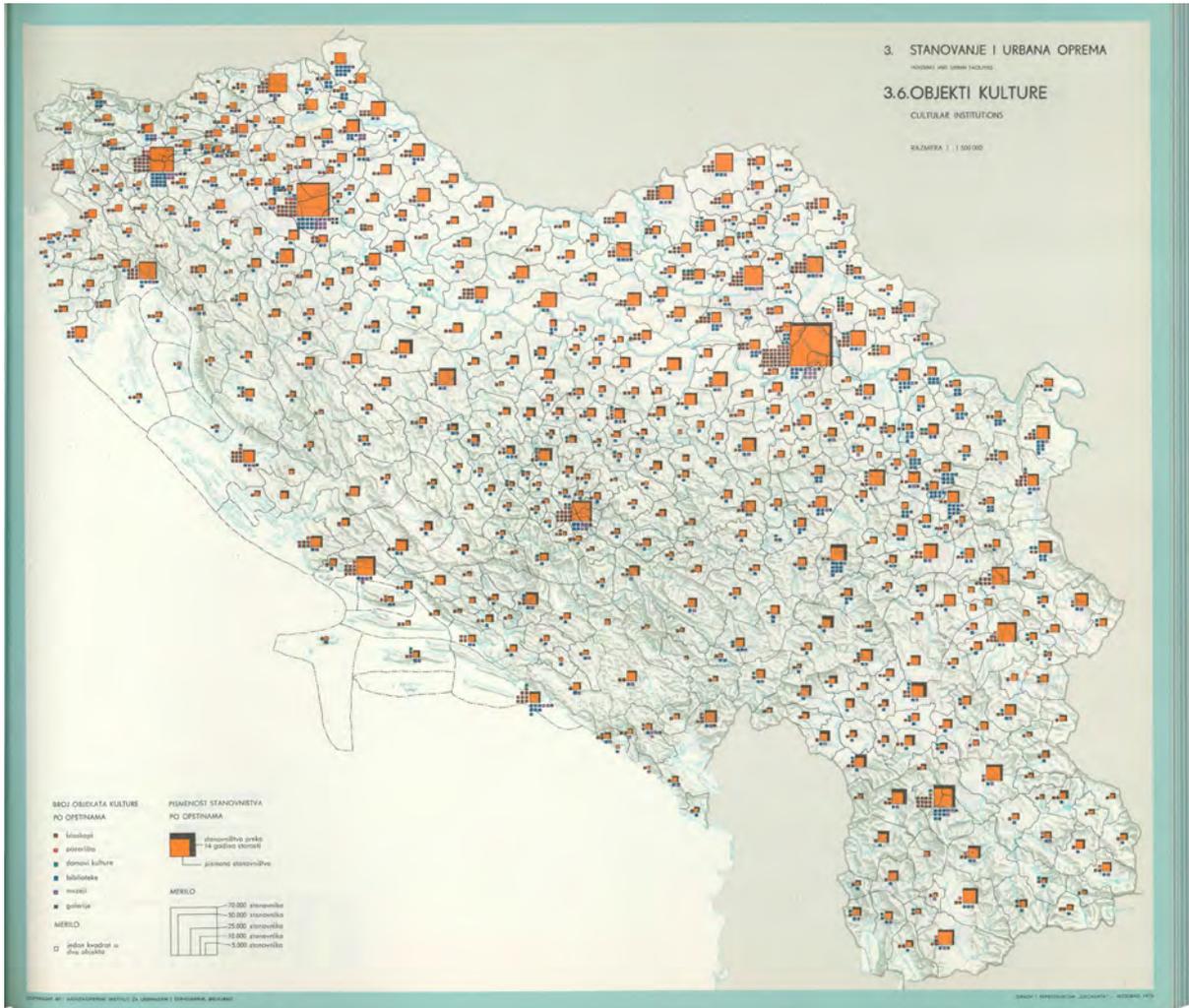


Fig. 180| Map, *Culture, Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973, Belgrade

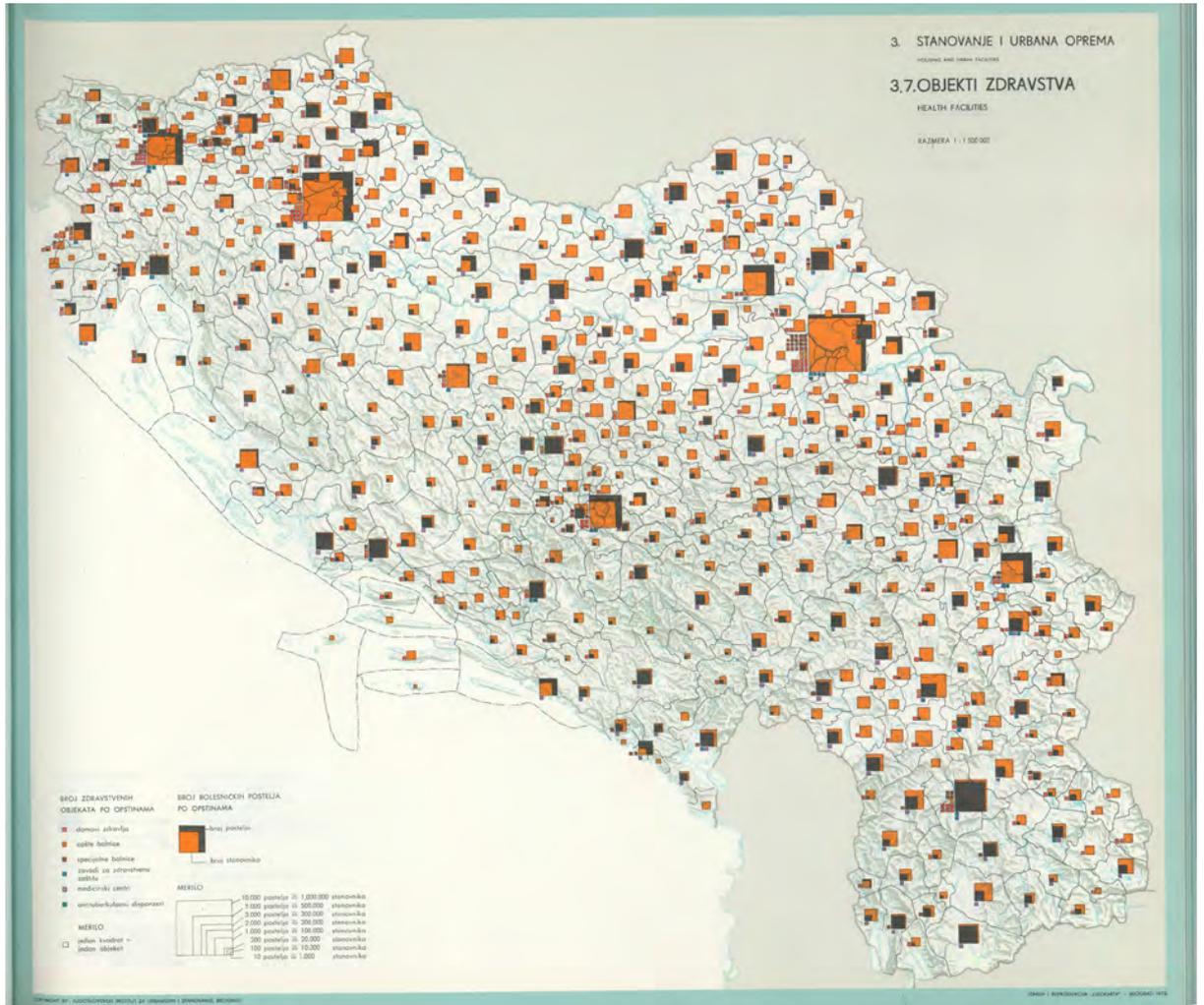


Fig. 181| Map, *Health, Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973, Belgrade

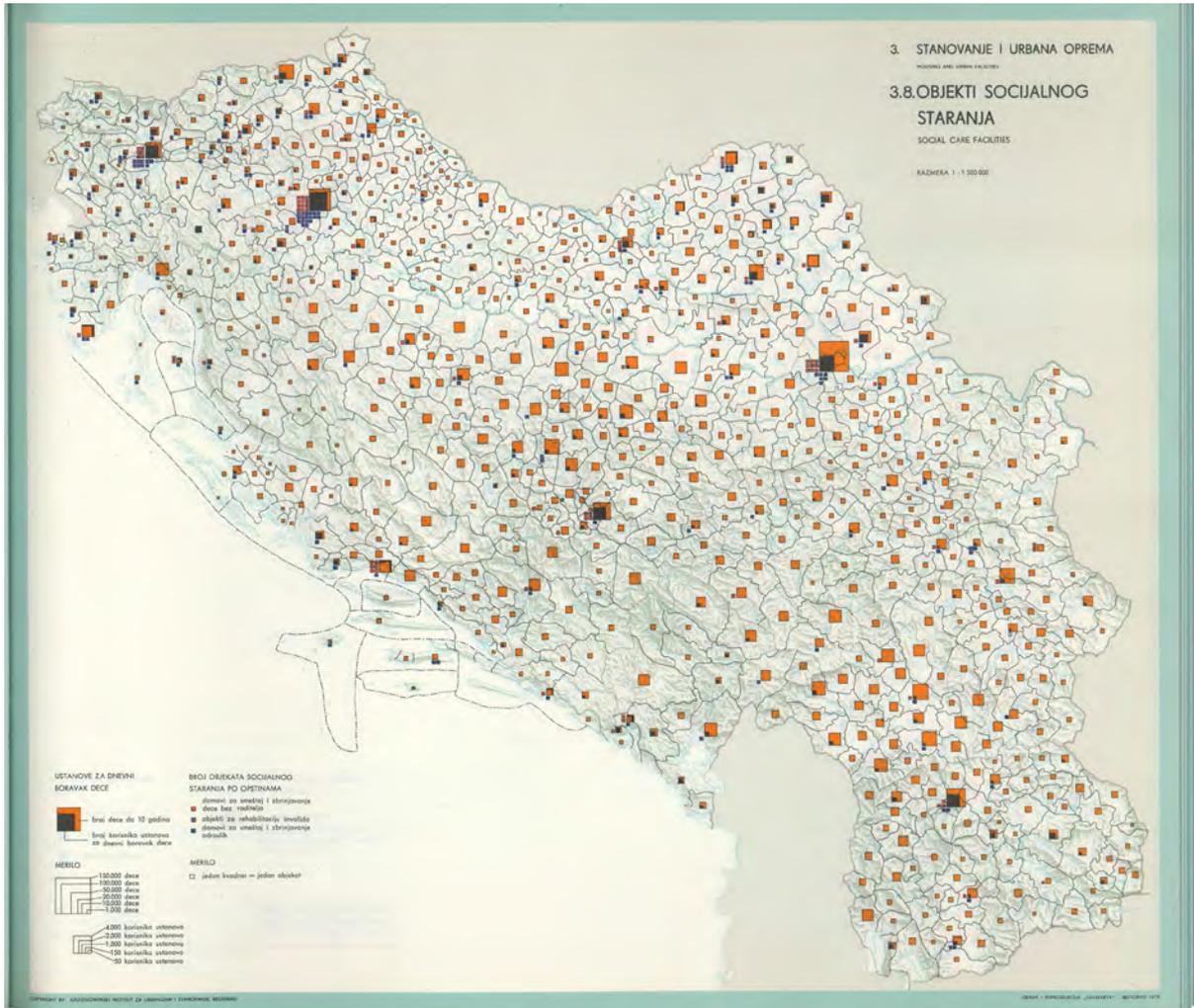


Fig. 182| Map, *Social Security, Planning Atlas of The Spatial Arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973, Belgrade

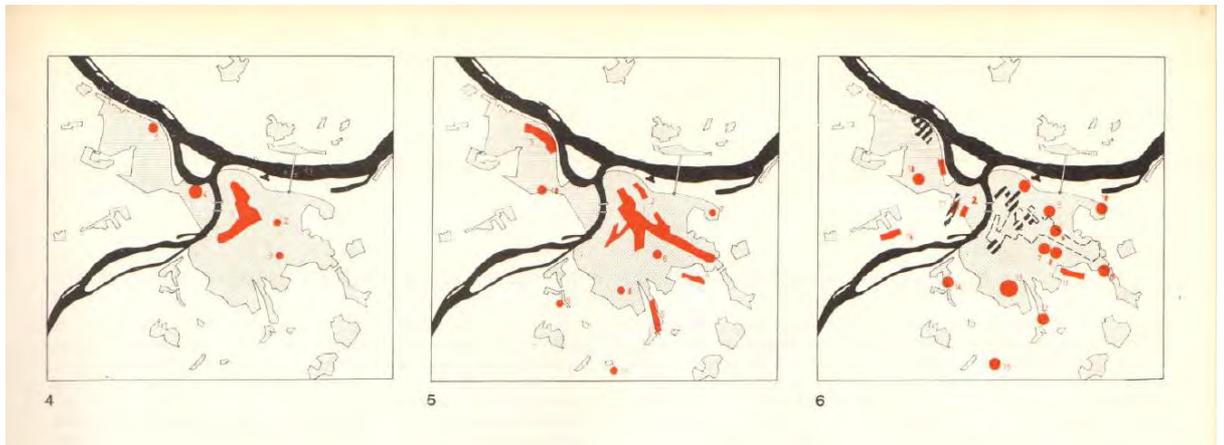
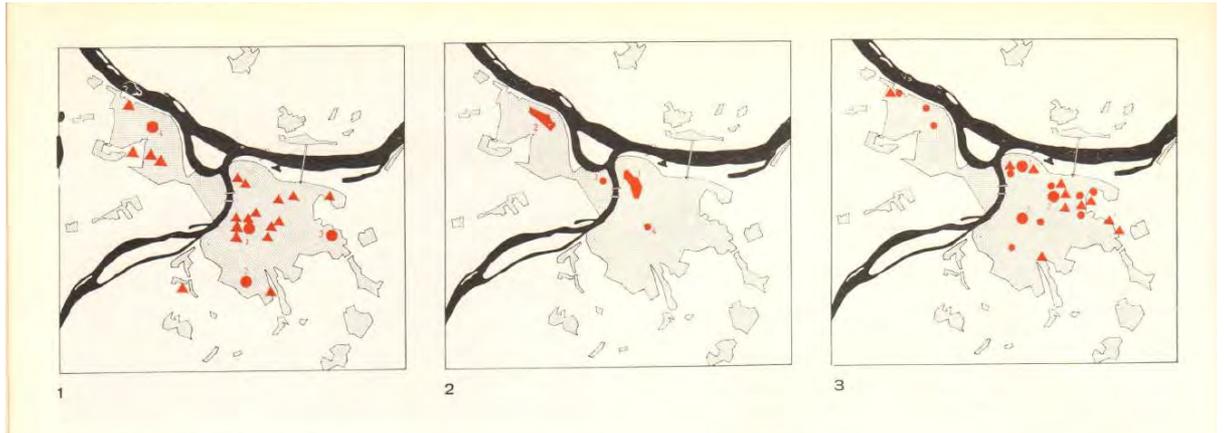


Fig. 183| Extracts from the pages 30-31, *Basic Elements for Planning the Network of Public Service Facilities*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, Smilja Kanacki, No.4, 1969, Belgrade

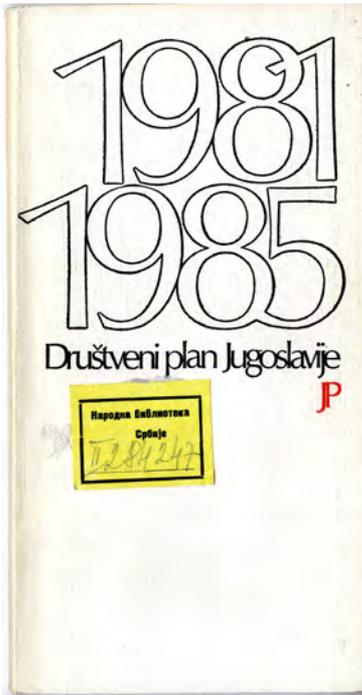


Fig. 184| Book Covers, (1) *the Civic Plan of Yugoslavia 1981-1985*, (2) *the Civic Plan of Yugoslavia for the period 1971-1975*, (3) *the medium-term plan of the city of Belgrade 1971-1972*

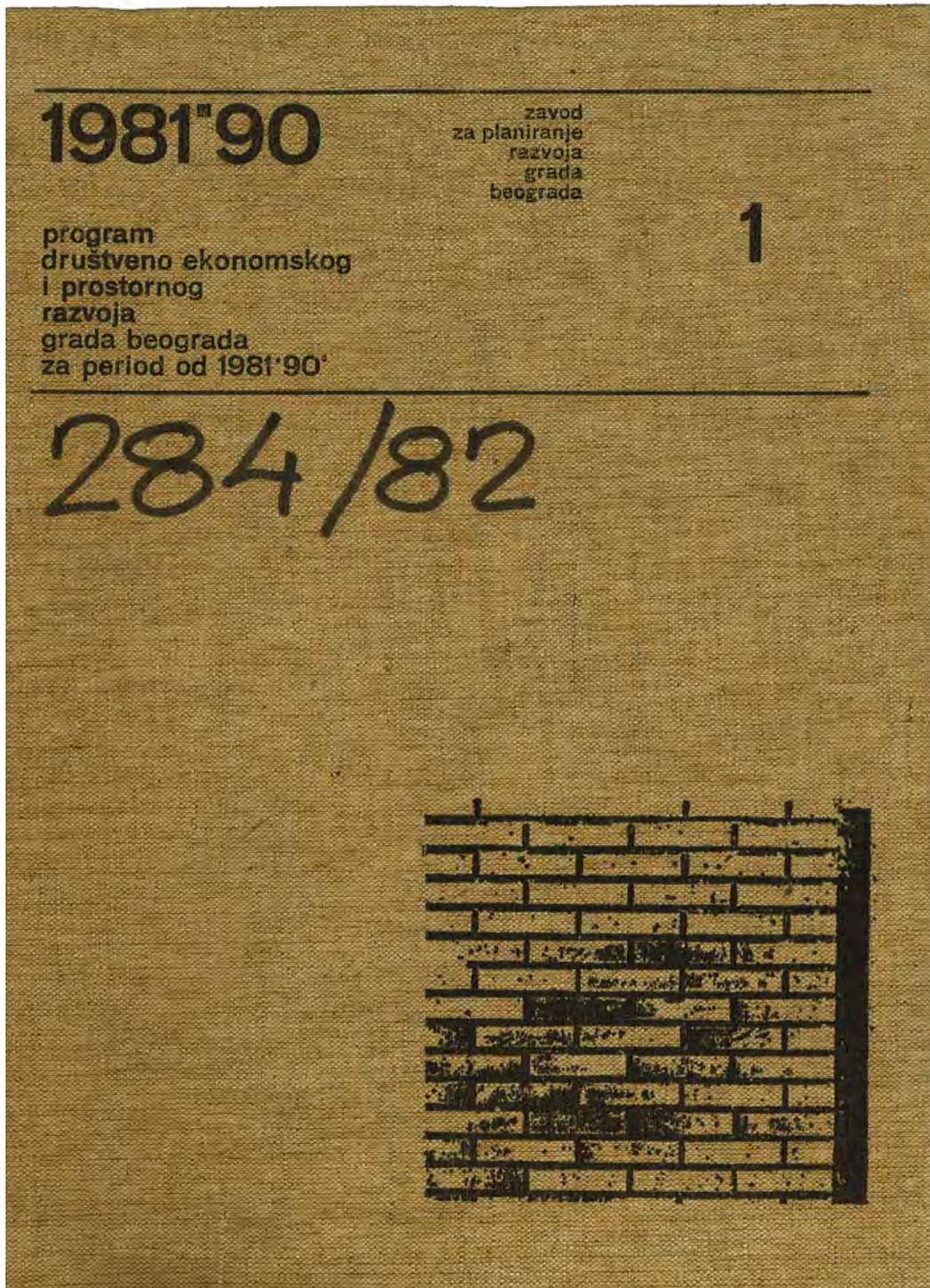


Fig. 185| Study Cover, *The Program for Civic, Economic, and Spatial Development of The City of Belgrade, for the period 1981-1990*, Institute for Development Planning of the City of Belgrade, 1980, Belgrade



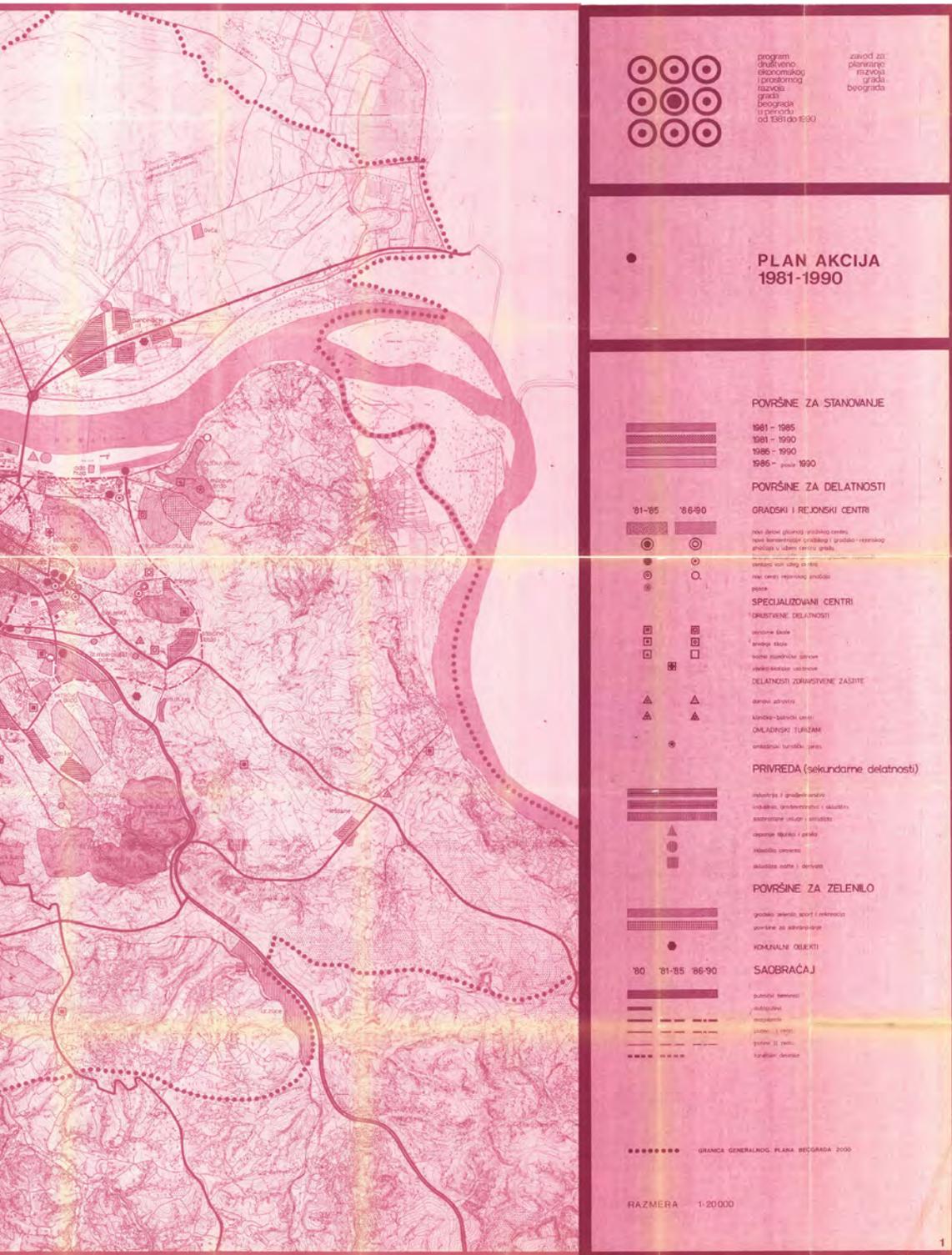


Fig. 186| Map, Action Plan 1981-1990, The program for civic, economic, and spatial development of the city of Belgrade, for the period 1981-1990, Institute for Development Planning of the City of Belgrade, 1980, Belgrade

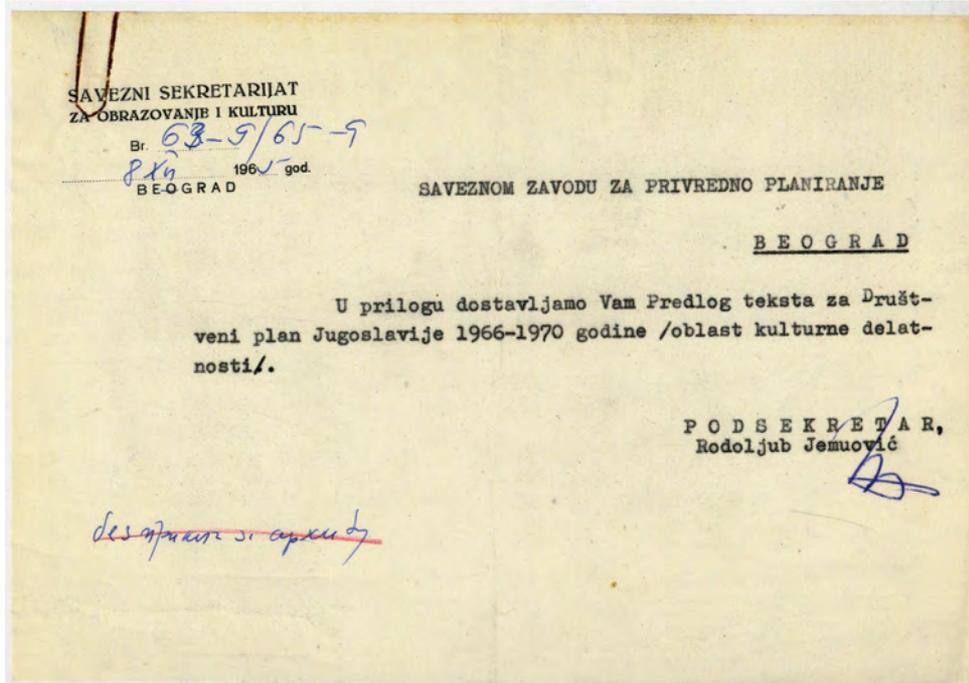


Fig. 187| Confirmation, *Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture*, 1965, Belgrade



Fig. 188| Scenes from the movie, *Part-Time Work*, Milan Jelić, 1980

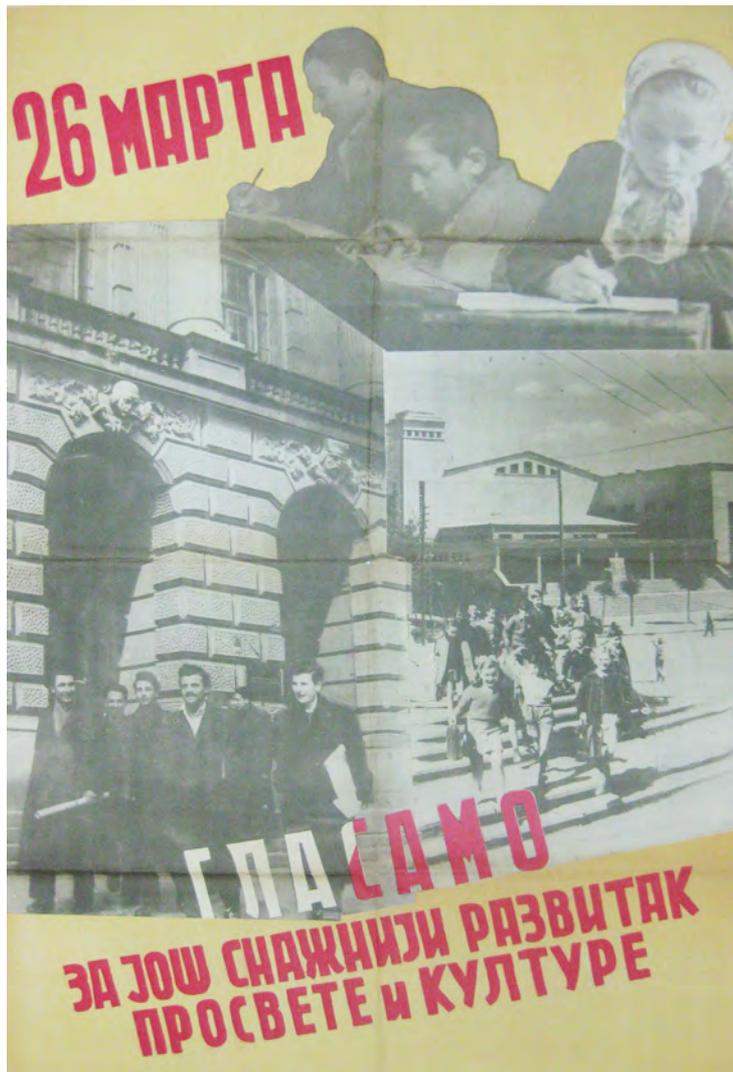


Fig. 189| Poster, 'WE WOTE - for an even stronger development of education and culture', ~ 1950s



Fig. 190| Photo, The first Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade, 1961, Belgrade

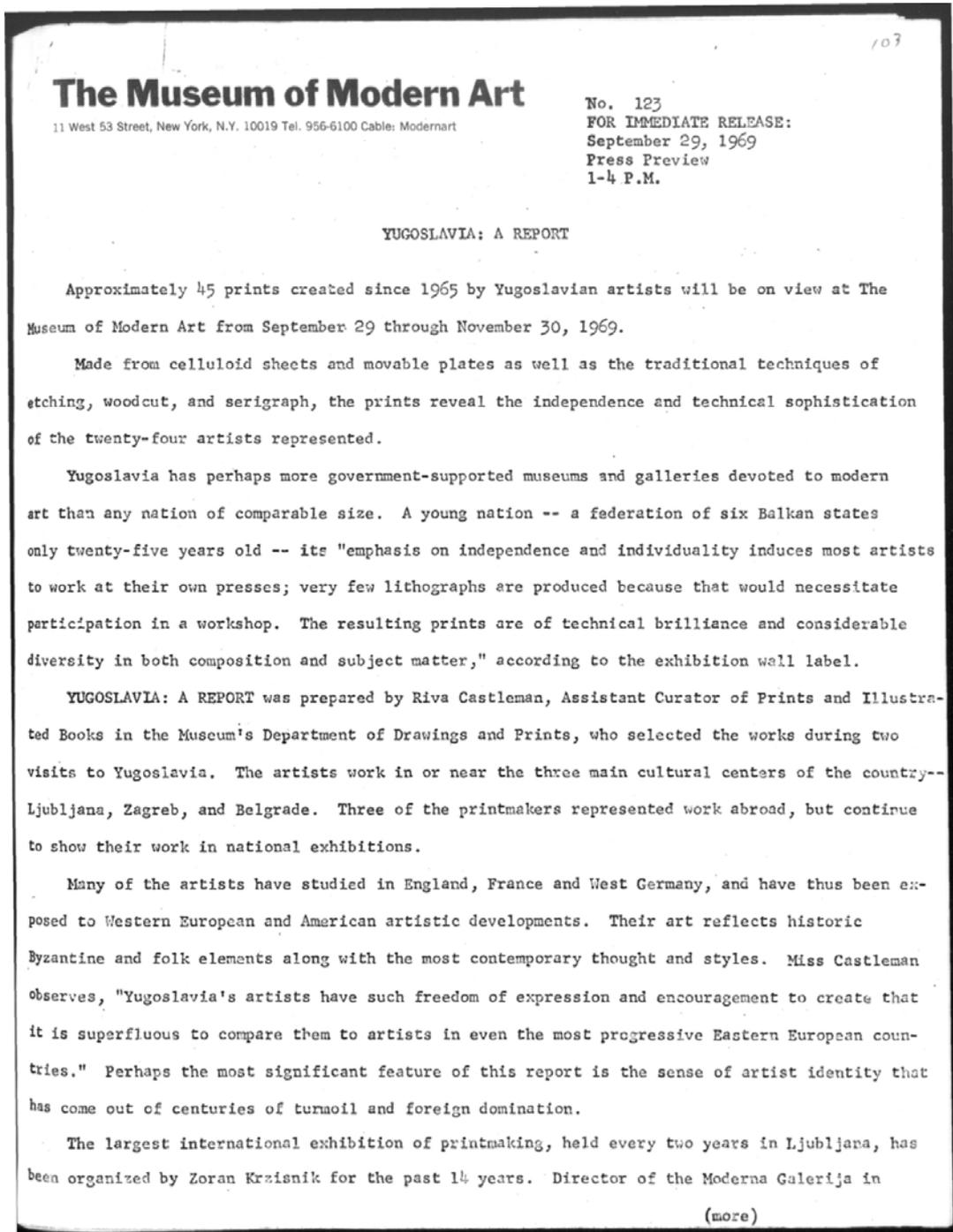


Fig. 191| Report, From the held exhibition of Yugoslav art in MoMA, 1969, New York

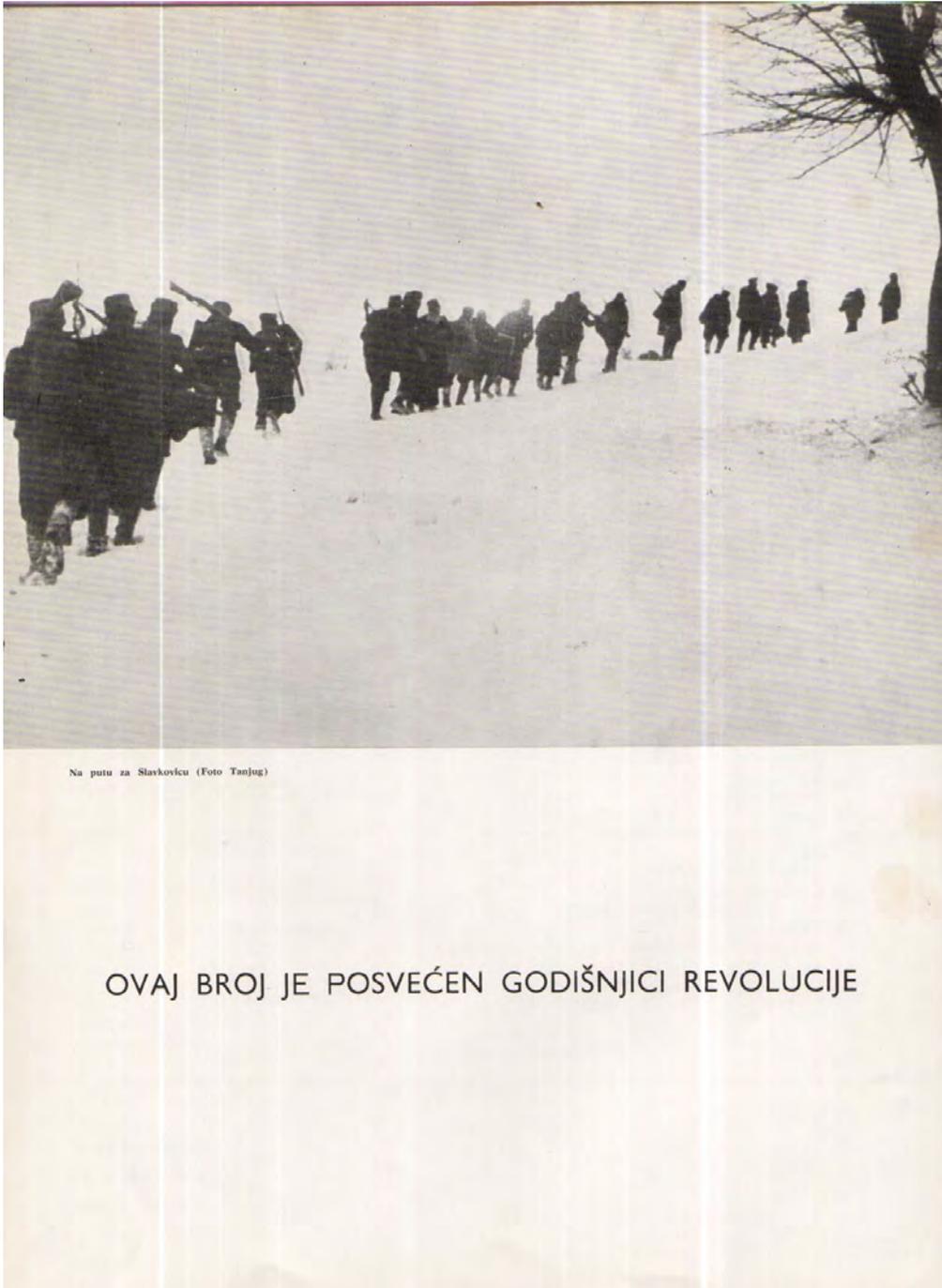


Fig. 192| Page 3, *This Number is dedicated to the Revolution*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.10, 1961, Belgrade

ANTUN ŽVAN

### ECSTASY AND HANGOVER OF A REVOLUTION

Today the development of socialism appears as some sort of social cyclothymia: periods of elation and revolutionary enthusiasm have been followed by those of melancholy and depression.

During the first period, following the first seizure of socialist revolutions, when these are still striving for the abolition of the old ruling class as an embodiment of social injustice, the revolution – together with its combatants and the entire oppressed population – is imbued with a strong feeling of enthusiasm. Inspired by ideas of freedom, social justice and humanity, the revolutionaries 'scale the skies' to dethrone the 'Gods' and re-establish a human world. But when the ruling class is abolished, when the revolution – being a 'political act' – fulfills its task of winning power, when socialism has to reject the 'political disguise', when it ought to develop its 'organized activity' and reveal its 'self-purpose' (Marx), the revolutionaries appear to give up all the elation and enthusiasm they had been imbued with at the very moment of struggle against the old system. The ideas of freedom, humanity and justice, which used to inspire them in the old days and seemed to them so close and easy to be fulfilled, now appear to lose ground among the people. Coincidentally, society is seized by the feeling of depression, for that which seemed once possible appears now, all of sudden, aloof and almost impossible. But it may occur that some new, revolutionary goals emerge, their chances for materializing being small, and people are, once again, imbued with a new enthusiasm . . .

One can observe such a cyclic alternation of elation and depression in almost any socialist revolution of our century. The only difference seems to be in the incidence and intensity of these changes.

At the beginning, during the period of armed fights against the ruling class and its institutions, all socialist revolutions – from the October Revolution in Russia to the Yugoslav, Chinese or Cuban Revolutions – revealed one common trait: they were imbued with enthusiasm and ecstasy. But after a certain time, when the old class system was abolished and power gained, the revolutionary zeal started to lose its vigour unexpectedly among the participants of the revolution. Along these lines, I do not think only of enthusiasm and (later on) disappointment with the final cause of the revolution on the part of its

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Mihailo Marković and Gajo Petrović (eds.), *Praxis*, 357–369.  
D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Fig. 193| Essay, *Ecstasy and Hangover of a Revolution*, *Praxis - Yugoslav Essays in the Philosophy and Methodology of the Social Sciences*, Antun Žvan, 1961



Fig. 194| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 195| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985

Community initiative; but who will collect the profits? The inert property owner who lets things be done? Only he? Never! He shall have his part, and the community initiative its part, in fair proportions.

But what is *community initiative*? It is authority. Who is the authority in this field? It needs to be defined, to be established. If one created an undersecretaryship of statistics, a ministry of planning could also be created. The whole country needs to be planned. The cities of France are the only ones in the world whose mortality rate is higher than their birth rate, as a result of their state of obsolescence and the absence of modern planning. It is a major problem.

Real estate ownership is too divided: it prevents any planning initiative; properties should be regrouped. And to avoid blackmail and speculation, to be able to follow national planning studies calmly, it is necessary, for public welfare, to mobilize *real property*. To mobilize? It will be for the purpose of valorization. There will be profits to share as a result of carrying out important works of public utility. Someone has said it here: the expropriated always profit.

Authority, mobilization of the ground; a decision on major projects is still necessary; the major projects of the Paris region, those of the whole country. The state guarantees them, that is enough; naturally, it doesn't undertake them itself.

There is no doctrine in French aviation. There isn't any in planning. Will the city spread out on 60 or 100 kilometers or on the contrary will it be drawn in on itself? Paris lives under its 20-meter height limit. Everything is compressed, without air, without vegetation, and density is too low. Consequently distances are too great. To work in town and live in a suburb is perhaps a deceitful dream. The enthusiasm for garden cities, which isolate men and deprive them of the advantages of organization—public services particularly—is perhaps the romantic error of recent times.

To spread the business district to the periphery is also a contradictory dream. Here we claim the right, in the name of technical progress, to dig underground as much as one likes; would it not be better to break through the 20-meter ceiling?

To escape from Paris, to transfer the city to a well-developed straight line is to annul, by a single gesture, the biggest real estate values, those of the geometric center of the urban region. It is risking a dangerous state of accounts to start by putting such high values in the loss column.

If we had statistics established for planners, we would no longer discuss, we would act and our theses would no longer be contradictory.

It has been asked: what are other cities in other countries doing? Many have their eyes fixed on Paris, from whom they expect a gesture showing that modern techniques themselves will bring the solution to the disturbances due to mechanization. This solution will write a new page of architectural greatness in the history of the city.

Moscow, March 1930

## THE ATMOSPHERE OF MOSCOW

I am not trying to learn Russian, that would be a wager. But I hear people saying *kraasi* and *krassivo*. I question. *Kraasi* means red, *krassivo* means beautiful. Before, they say, the terms meant the same: red and beautiful. Red was beautiful.

If I base myself on my own perceptions, I affirm: red is what is a living being, life, intensity, activeness; there is no doubt.

So naturally I feel I have the right to admit that life is beautiful, or that the beautiful is life.

That little linguistic mathematics is not so ridiculous when one is preoccupied by architecture and planning.

\* \*

The USSR has decided on a general program of equipment for the country: the five-year plan. It is being carried out. It was even decided to consecrate the greater part of the product of present work to carrying out this program: that is why there is no longer any butter on the spinach<sup>1</sup> here, nor any more caviar in Moscow; the savings are used to make foreign exchange.

The equipment of the country, factories, dams, canals, mills, etc. So much for work. For the population—their dwellings—360 new towns will be built. They have already been started.

1. Translator's note: a French expression meaning to have the superfluous with the essential.

Fig. 196| Pages 258 -259, Book, *Precisions – On the present state of Architecture and City Planning*, Le Corbusier, 1986



Fig. 197| Photo, 'Communist Youth', Korcula Summer School of Philosophy, - mid 1965, Korčula





Fig. 199| Photo, Forum, *'Another Woman: The Women's Question, A New Approach?'*, Student Cultural Center, 1978, Belgrade

# FEST, AN UNIQUE EVENT

I think there is no need for me to say any generalities about the repertoire which, I hope, after two Festivals cannot be contested, or about the subject of new theoretic discussions concerning the formula. The principles of its artistic and general cultural and social policy have proved their rationale and their viability so that FEST 72 has even acquired a broader social and spiritual influence. It has been manifested in different ways — both in the sphere of a more direct, film activity, and in other ways. Many towns ask for a second showing or a selected FEST program; this is also the case of Culture clubs, Workers' and People's Universities, Army Clubs, et al.

The FEST has created a genuine Festival psychosis; under its influence many film festivals are being founded, such as: the *Seven Arts Festival* (Arandelovac), *Amateur Films Festival's Festival* (Leskovac), *Freedom-loving Film Festival* (Sopot), *Festival of Students' Amateur Films* (Sokpje), *The International Animated Films Festival* (Zagreb) ... The enquiry conducted by the daily *Politika* has demonstrated that, to the question *Which cultural event do you consider the most important in 1972* — twice as many votes had been given to the FEST, as to the next in line. That had also been the case with FEST 71 in last year's enquiry conducted by the same daily. The weekly *NIN* (Zika Bogdanović) writes in this connection:

*... FEST is such an authentic, such a new and such an indicative event, that the elan it carried had a contagious effect of absolute novelty under our climate. If the FEST, for all those attending it, had a great impact, the echos of this impact are being felt for several months. It is increasingly being manifested that the FEST, having a first-rate power of attraction, has also a farreaching cultural influence.*

The FEST impact is proven in the day to day movie theatre practice: as soon as the press or the advertisement boards announce that a film had been presented at the FEST, the movie theatres register twice as many spectators as usual.

At the *Politika* and Cultural Center Festival in Belgrade (re-run of the best films presented during the preceeding season) the program of which was 95% made up of FEST films — tickets were sold out in an hour.

Prvi američki film prikazan Formosa-  
inoću je uspešno i na FEST-u

Milutin Čolić



Fig. 200| Page, 'Fest an Unique Event', Catalog *FEST*, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 201| Photo, Cultural Life of Belgrade, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 202| Poster, 'My University', - late 1940 - mid 1950s, Belgrade



Fig. 203| Poster, 'Our libraries provide all citizens with a good, truth and a beautiful book',  
- late 1940 - mid 1950s, Belgrade



Fig. 204| Photo, Public Library, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade



Fig. 205| Scenes from the movie, *The Elusive Summer of '68*, Goran Paskaljević, 1984



Fig. 206| Scenes from the documentary, *The Student City*, 1968



Fig. 207 | Photo, *Ss. Cyril and Methodius University*, Marko Mušić, 1974, Skopje



Fig. 208| Photo, Initiative Karl-Marx Red University, 1968, Belgrade

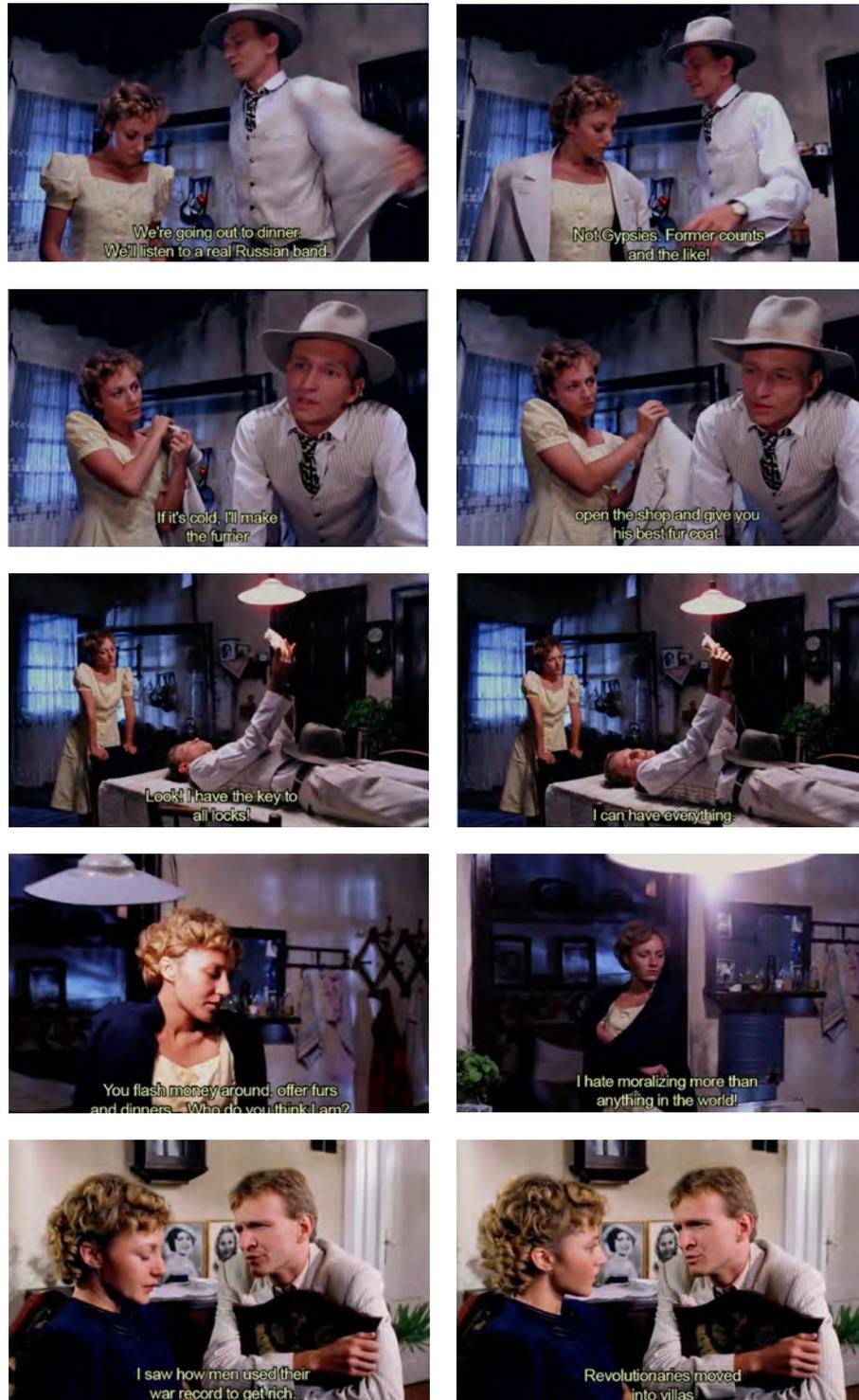


Fig. 209| Scenes from the movie, *Happy New Year '49*, Stole Popov, 1986



Fig. 210| Extract from a page, *Roof under Gorica*, in the popular magazine *SN Revija*, Husein Tuzovic, 1979



Fig. 211| Photo, *Centre Sava* and New Belgrade, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade

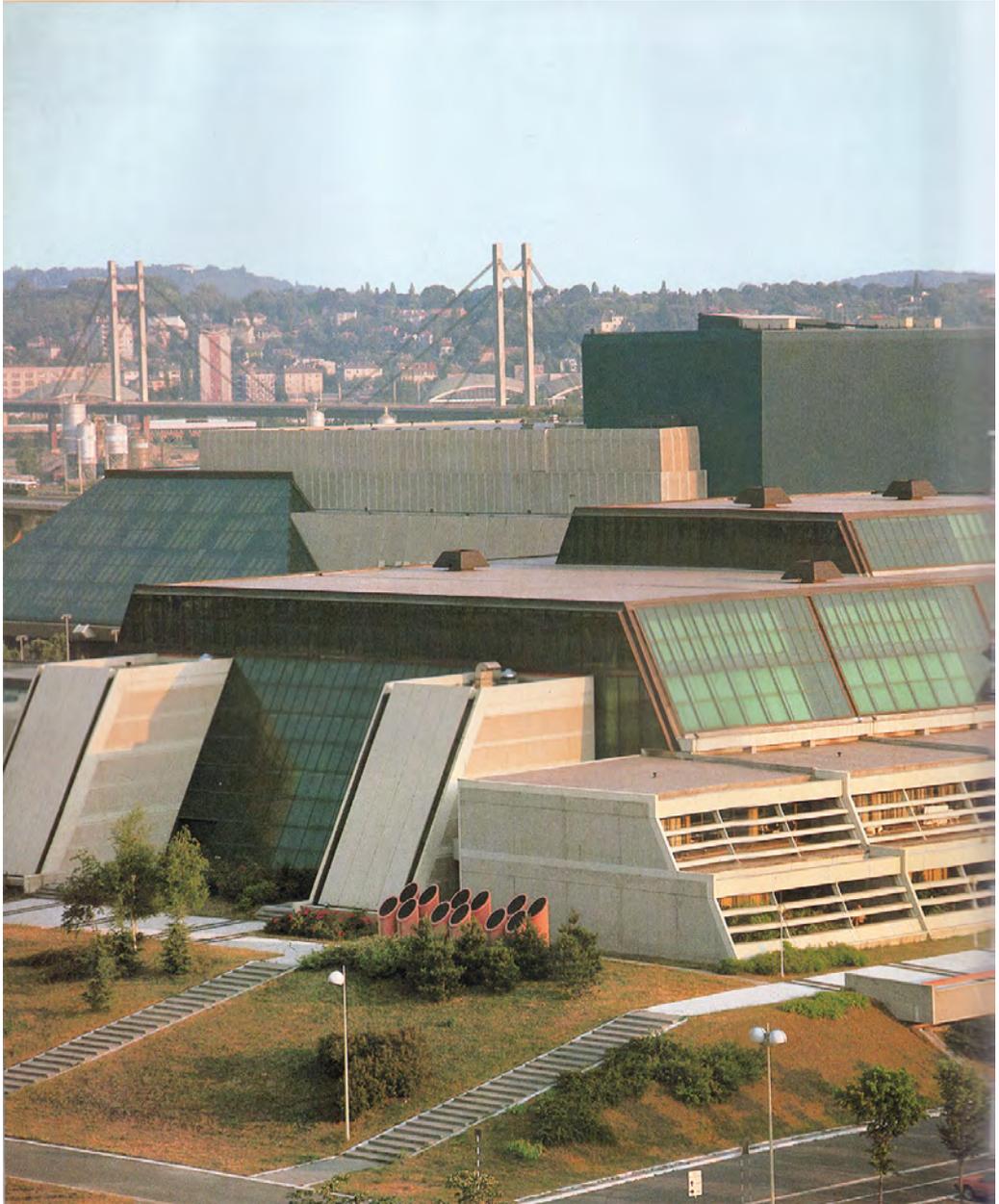


Fig. 212| Photo, *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade



Fig. 213| Photo, inauguration of *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade



Fig. 214| Photo, interior of *Centre Sava*, Stojan Maksimović, 1977, Belgrade

IVICA MLADENOVIC

# KONGRESNI CENTAR »SAVA« U BEOGRADU

DOBITNIK SAVEZNE NAGRADE »BORBE« 1977. ZA ARHITEKTURU

**REALIZACIJA:**

početak: 15. VI 76  
otvaranje objekta: 14. V 77.

**SUDIONICI U IZGRADNJI:**

»KGM TRUDBENIK«, »JANKO LISJAK«, »ELEKTRON«, »VODOTERMA«, »BEOGRAD«, »MEBLO«, »JUGOPUND«, »IZOLACIJA«, »POBEDA«, »ISKRA«, »MORAVA-MERMER«, »DELO«, »KERAMIKA«, »JAVOR«, »KOLOR«, »TAPETA«, »TEMPO«, »PLASTIKAPARKET«, »TEHNOOPREMA«, »IGO«, »LTH«, »KAMNIK«, »ZVEZDA«, »RASADNICI«, »KRIN«, DIREKCIJA ZA GRADSKO ZELENILO, »ITI«, »PROLETER«, »ZABOK«, »SJAJ«, »DAVID PAJIC«, i druga poduzeća, te više inozemnih tvrtki.

DOBITNICI OKTOBARSKE NAGRADE BEOGRADA ZA 1977. godinu: arh. STOJAN MAKSIMOVIC, arh. RADOMIR MIHAJLOVIC, arh. ALEKSANDAR SALETIC, inž. MILUTIN DOVLJANIC

RAZGOVARALI I OBLAZILI KONGRESNI CENTAR »SAVA« dana 11. X 1977. od 16 do 19 h: arh. STOJAN MAKSIMOVIC, autor projekta i arh. IVICA MLADENOVIC, autor teksta.



KONGRESNI CENTAR »SAVA« U BEOGRADU



Kao što je poznato, Helsinška konferencija o evropskoj sigurnosti i suradnji donijela je 1. VIII 1975. godine Završni dokument. Potpisali 35 uglednih državnika Evrope, SAD i Kanade nisu bili samo formalna potvrda procesa popuštanja zategnutosti i uklanjanja nepovjerenja među narodima ovog dijela svijeta već su značili i novi korak u budućnosti bez rata. Do Helsinkija se stiglo tek poslije sporazuma u Zapadnom Berlinu kolovoza 1971. godine i ratifikacije ugovora SR Njemačke sa SSSR i Poljskom u svibnju 1972. godine, ali i poslije ministarskih sastanaka u Helsinkiju (3-7. VII 1973) i mnogih ženevskih susreta (18. IX 1973 - 18. VII 1975).

Našoj zemlji, istaknutom predstavniku nesvrstanih, povjerenje je u Helsinkiju da organizira novi skup evropskih zemalja. Tri poglavlja Završnog dokumenta trebalo je u Beogradu dalje produbiti i modificirati. Pripremni sastanak 197 delegata iz 35 zemalja Evrope, SAD i Kanade, posvećen početku rada Beogradskog sastanka Konferencije o evropskoj sigurnosti i suradnji, održan je 15. VI 77. do 5. VIII 77. Već 4. listopada ove godine Beograd je grad u kojem se, u pravi trenutak, raspravlja o sudbini Mediterana, Evrope ili, bolje rečeno, tog najvitalnijeg dijela svijeta.

Cio ovaj uvod napravio sam da bih objasnio kako je došlo do izgradnje Kongresnog centra »Sava« u Beogradu. Jer taj grandiozan objekt, projektiran i realiziran u prvoj fazi za samo godinu i po dana, mjesto je u kojem se od 15. VI do 5. VIII 1977. održavao pripremni sastanak Konferencije o evropskoj sigurnosti i suradnji, a u kojem se od 15. VI do 5. VIII 1977. održavao pripremni sastanak Konferencije o evropskoj sigurnosti i suradnji, a u kojem se upravo održava glavni, Beogradski sastanak.

Beograd je otvorio svoja vrata predstavnicima 35 evropskih zemalja, SAD i Kanade, ali i novim audiencijama, delegatima mediteranskih zemalja. Veća, ljepša vrata od onih koje ima Kongresni centar »Sava«, Beograd i nije mogao otvoriti. Tom trenutku otvaranja vjerojatno su se najviše radovali arh. Stojan Maksimović, inž. Radomir Mihajlović, arh. Aleksandar Saletić i inž. Milutin Dovoljan, danas već dobitnici Oktobarske nagrade Beograda za 1977. godinu. Ali, i mnogi drugi suradnici u projektiranju i građenju. Treba reći, svi radnici na gradilištu bili su dio toga poletnog tima, koji je s toliko volje i ljubavi gradilo novo djelo beogradske arhitekture.

Rijetko se kada kritičarima arhitekture pruža prilika da u objektu koji posjećuju imaju za sugovornika glavnog projektanta,

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Fig. 215| Page 7, an article, 'Congress Centre 'Sava' in Belgrade', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 298, 1978, Zagreb

tako šagolosa i mekšovinskih čovjeka kakav je upravnik arh. Stojan Makinović. Vidni sam i razgledni Kongresni centar kad nije završen. U njegovom su dvoranama sjedili delegati Beogradskog sastanka KPS-a, po odluci, svim i manjim predstavnicima izvanjskih zemalja, ministri, ministri, ministri, ministri i mnogi drugi prilično su si omogućili nezamislivo funkcionisanje. Tako mladog mehaničara i rastvorom funkcionalista i namjerama, ispušili reke arhitekture moge se nalaziti, upravo jedino kad je u njoj čovjek sa svim bližnjima, pa je i to razlog što je ovaj kongresni centar, čiji su osnivači, izvanjski delegati i čestitiji po trijegovima, galerijama, skrivajući od otvorenosti produktima Kongresnog centra, ja sam poželio da to ne ostane neprojektirano, nego se samo održavaju kongresi i skupovi različitih ljudi. Ovo treba da postane njegova kama de ulazni mladi, obdani na svoj svojek sudom, ma, a i stari, bez valnih stihala ili letiga u svjetla terena i zgrada.

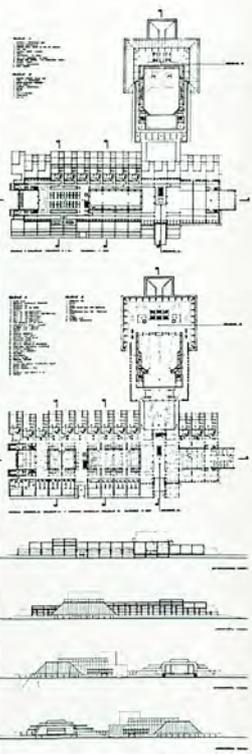
Fotografije uz ovaj tekst, a mnogi građanski prihodi, pomoci su, naravno, sigurno, da se ovaj odrednik proporcije Kongresnog centra. Na žalost, one neke otkrili i neke letne stvari. Naime, u velikom prostoru, razgledajući, Novog Beograda Kongresni centar je najpogodniji izvanjski kongresni centar, različit konvencionalistički arhitekture bez tragnih simbola i poruka. Razumljivo, sa čaše izlinski. Novi Beograd, a čiji su osnivači, više ne odvajaju i ne vjeruju da su se ikada odvojili je ih solim na ovaj način, različit je, mora se priznati, po modulu koji je bio preuzet od prije petnaestak godina. Trebalo je da nas potakne lokacija prostora, želja za stambeni blok 18a i Kongresni centar u blizini 19. prošle godine, pa da se, naravno, u pravom trenutku, što smo sve izgubili dostignim približavanjem konvencija od prije dva desetljeća i više. Blok 18a je najviše izričito ortogonalni shemom Novog Beograda, a Kongresni je centar u njegovom najvišojem nivou arhitekture bez dimenzioniranja i letima i mladog ljuda. Otpetom, kao brod na rijeci, kao "Houses-Moore" nad Senom, ali i pjevala, izvan je kubna razmaka i namirn odnosa i odnosa. Uz taj razmjerni stakleni svod, ispod kojeg se nalazi elementi konstruktivne, jedinstvenosti se ne upleće staze horizontalne dvostranih ili gljivičastih trostranih masa. Arh. Stojan Makinović je malčice tragao za ravnotežom između partera i razapetih staklenih okvira. Tu vana nije ostavio otvoreni prostor, kako se to najviše radi, već upletio horizontalnih trazenata iznad i ispod malih vjetrovitih balkona, koje čine izgleda najviše odnosa funkcionalnog sklopa. Zato i čvrsta boja različitih eljci, koje su jednostavno iznimno iz njegovog partera, ne odnjava i ne zasjenjuje kao na odnosa u "Housesburg" u Parizu. Urbanu parter, vedno malčice rukom arh. Branimira Jovina i tina u kojim su bili i arh. S. Lasević, arh. J. Filipanović, arh. N. Zecović i in. M. Matić, skladno je, prije svega, navršava, a to je i jednako da ovaj oblik zadnji, oim konvencionalistički, i nešto od svoj ljubitelja boje i naših mehanika.

Poduzetom je stranom Kongresni centar okrenut Aveniji Milutina Popovića, odnosno izgrađenom bloku 22, a zatim rijeci Savi, veštačastoj rijeci Beograda. Ova ulaza u Kongresni centar, i stambeni, reprezentativni, i ovaj drugi, nešto manji, centar, u blizini, reprezentativni, i ovaj drugi, nešto manji, nalaze se u Aveniji Milutina Popovića. Budući je postalo jasno da u njegovoj strani veći de obale Sava s gradom u zaludu. Beogradski terena, sam prije deset godina preminog arh. Nikole Dobrovića, nije realizirao, ali ovo, sa njegove strane rijeka-rijeka postaje sve više novom, bijelom gradu i njegovim zastajališta.

Valja reći da de čitav i prostor, kao i, vjerovatno, prvi u priču da se preko građakih priloga upoznaju s novom dvoranom koja se upravo gradi. Kongresni centar de izgrađenog boga njegov oblika i oblika, prema svojemu, svima novom. Beograd nije dobio digne predstavnikova nova Opetra pod staklenom zvonom, ali je zasigurno, bolje nego što se očekivalo, dobio koncertna dvorana, odnosno dvoranu viličastog sadržaja. Kadro di-lio, namjerno, premda se dvorana tek gradi — u vrijeme dok je u ovom tekstu. To zna da li de hanganje ovog briga "Čovjeka i prostora" koji, kao od građakih? Vrijeme, razmjerni smo se.

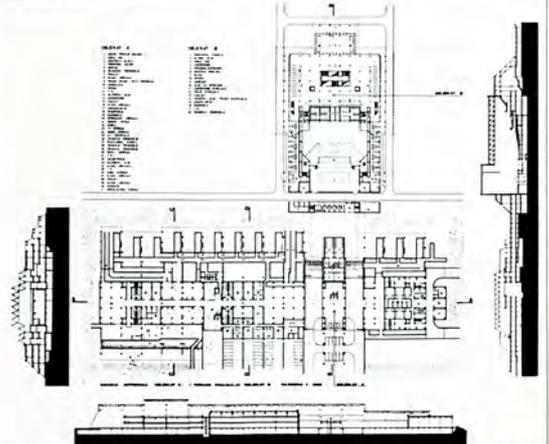
Prispio sam se, a red je već da vas uvedem u Kongresni centar.

U priručniku, nije su dimenzije 240 x 90 cm, postaje, kao i rekoh, dva ulaza — glavni i stambeni. Između ta dva ulaza, koji se predlažu u vrijeme manjih dimenzija, nalaze se tri dvorane s ukupno 1800 sjedala. Te dvorane mogu funkcionirati se-



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KONGRESNI CENTAR 'SAVA' U BEOGRADU



zavljeno jedna od druge, ali se mogu i upotrijebiti ukupnjim programom u jednom prostoru. U centralnom, glavnom trijemu, otvaraju se prostori i zvonj dvoranu koja se upravo gradi. S dvoranom strane tog trijema smješten je restoran na 500 mjesta, i, dakako, u predviđeno kuhinja. S lijeve strane manjeg trijema, u koji se ulazi preko sklađenog ulaza, nalaze se dvije veće dvorane s ukupno 280 sjedala. Tu je već i kafe-restoran sa 400 mjesta. S lijeve strane dvorane i restorana nalaze se bijeli, zapravo ugostni, ukupno prostori ili sedišta. U glavnom sedištu nalazi se i kafe-pregledni i pokik. Vodena se površina sastavlja na dvosloj, njegova svojevrsnom krivina, a čiji je — čiji da iznad jedina biro-ovrsta. Svaki biro-ovrsta ima sedam kancelarija, ali ih može biti i manje manje ukupnjim programom. Ne treba posebno izdvojiti da svi ljudi imaju svoje sanitarne uređaje i prostore za odmor.

Ali što misli da ru van dalje voditi kroz Kongresni centar, prevazi se se? Sad se već može nazvati sa građakim pristupom, i njih ima dovoljno. Oim navodne ostave pristupila predstavljamo vam i ostave sistema, te prvi i drugi galerije. Uvodi se da se ostave pojedinih etala prema vjeh smanjaju u jednom pravcu.

Arhitektura tog dana imena najviše može upotrijebiti i druge galerije. Prvi van se ostava svijet neskrivene konstrukcije, ali na nezaporedno impresivnosti našim mgu što je to uradeno u "Housesburg". Predviđajući naš. Radom Makinović u samoj konstrukciji nije ostavio nijedan naveden detalj, ave je u sviremi jednostavnosti ravnoteže. Sistem arhitektoničkih stupova, usmjeren odnosa, vezan je za četiri

krveni stolci, ali u smijem kakvo, vjerovatno, nije videlo pod našim podbojkom. Što da se dalje kaže?

Intencije, u kojim se nalazi arh. Stojan Makinović ali i veliki ukulato arh. Aleksandra Šabeta, odno jednostavnosti forme i istaknutim usjecima za ritmove materijala, boje, svjetla ili zvuka. Tu u jednom prostoru našim upotrijebili su ukulato i preporici ekshibicionizam. Osvjetljenje, ventilacija i uređavanje trijevima ostavreni je upadanjem više staklenih masa u obliku samonijavo rješenih kvadrata. Razumljivo, tu su i četiri različiti tehnološki uređaji i sprema. Misli naš pristupila, ostavreni su i sprema, a tu, mislim, prije svega, na "Moble", ostavreni su da se ostave postavljen dojam o rafiniranosti i perfekciji rezerve ostavreni.

Nišam vidio suncu u trijevima i pa galerijama. Dan je bio tmuran i hladan. Ali, treba upoznati arh. Stojana Makinovića kad kaže da je želio uvesti bijelo novobevogradsko suncu u zatvorene prostore Kongresnog centra, i da je upotrijebio kom idejom, u trijemu, tragao za vjetrovitostima — u kojima nikada nije završao sve?

Ovo moje priča u Kongresnom centru "Sava" u Beogradu nije zapazna na način kako bi to poželio — svaki uređaj? Istom ostavreni i pravom arhitekta naša pristupila i javni aplaud, a nisi ni demokratskom državi potrebne unapredne ostave.

Zalud, Beograd je predo pmo povremeno, ovaj put arh. Stojana Makinovića, a taj mladi, vjetrovan čovjek, ostavreni se kvacijom boje de naš u svaku arhitekta vjetrovan arhitekta našeg vremena. Beogradski građevinarci izveli su pothvat koji je ostavri tragno razložen — pa građevinarci i smijela, prije svega.

ČOVJEK I PROSTOR 298

Fig. 216| Page 8 - 9, an article, Congress Centre 'Sava' in Belgrade, in the magazine Man and Space, No. 298, 1978, Zagreb



Maketa Kongresnog centra

## DOM PRIJATELJSTVA

U okviru šire zamišljenog **Doma prijateljstva** na dvema obalama Save, u istorijskom i Novom Beogradu — počela je izgradnja **Kongresnog centra**. U objektu koji se gradi, čiji je glavni projektant dipl. inž. arh. Stojan Maksimović, održaće se 1977. godine, Druga konferencija o evropskoj bezbednosti. Registrujući ovaj početak na realizaciji Doma prijateljstva — nadamo se da će taj poduhvat u izgradnji jednog od izuzetno

značajnih sadržaja grada — mobilisati i prave projektantske i graditeljske snage Beograda i zemlje u celini. Za očekivanje je da će se do budućih projekata pojedinih delova centara dolaziti i putem konkursa — prakse koju Beograd neguje pri projektovanju svojih značajnih objekata; ovo u toliko pre jer će se oni i projektovati i graditi uz dovoljno vremena za postizanje dometa za kakve imamo talentovane i sposobne stvaralačke snage.

Perspektiva dela kompleksa u Novom Beogradu

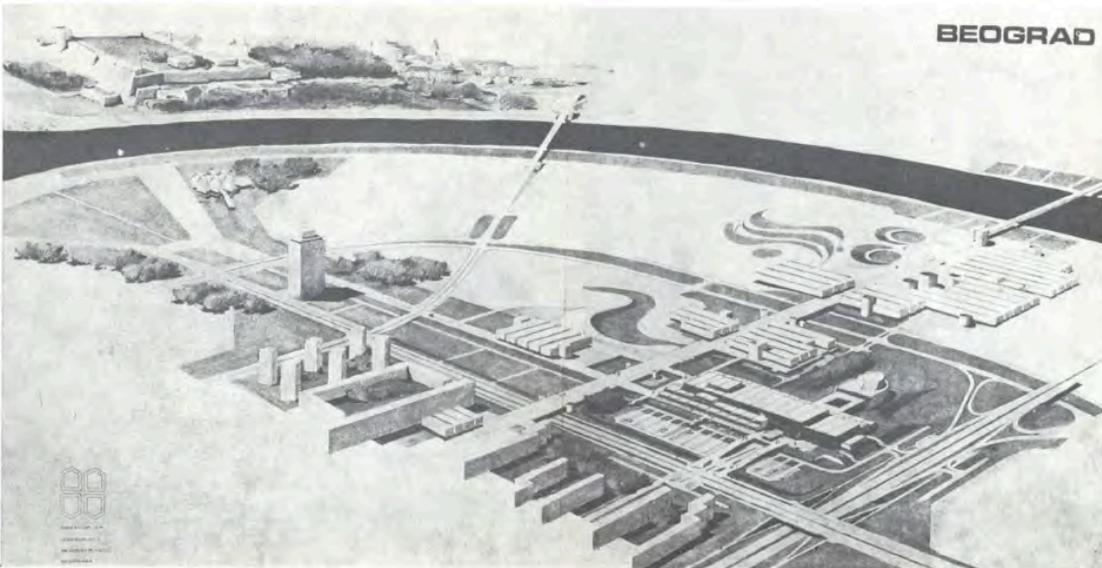


Fig. 217| Page 9, an article, *House of Friendship*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 38-39, 1977, Belgrade

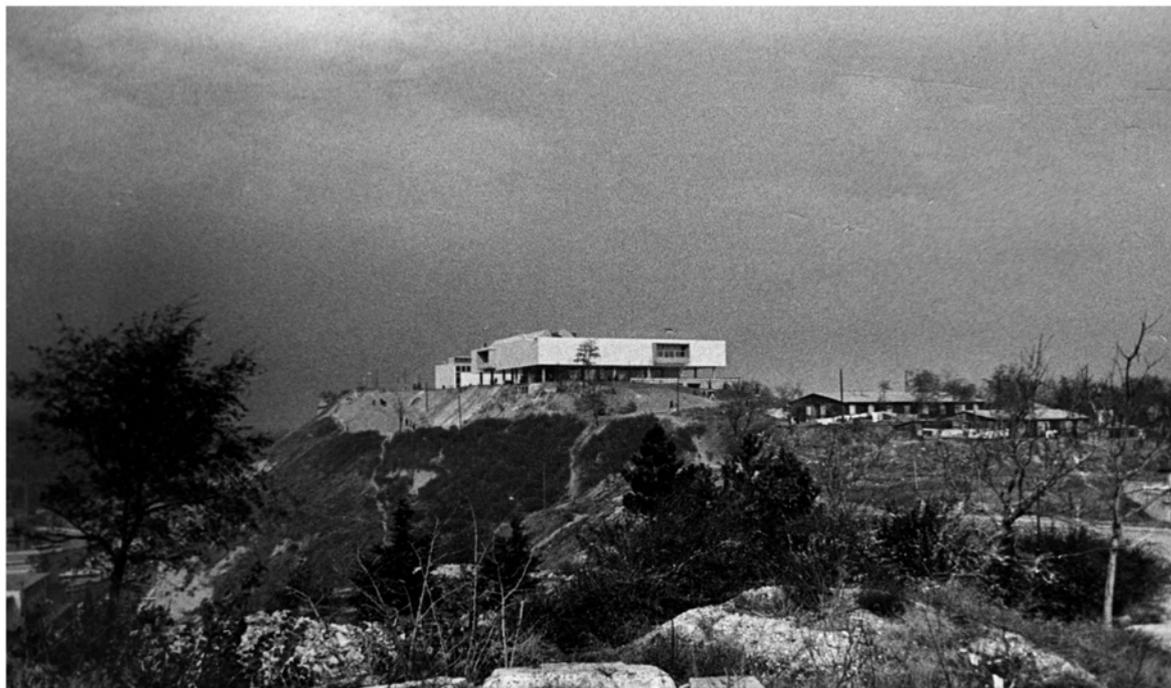


Fig. 218| Extract from the page 10, photo, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, view on MoCA, Skopje

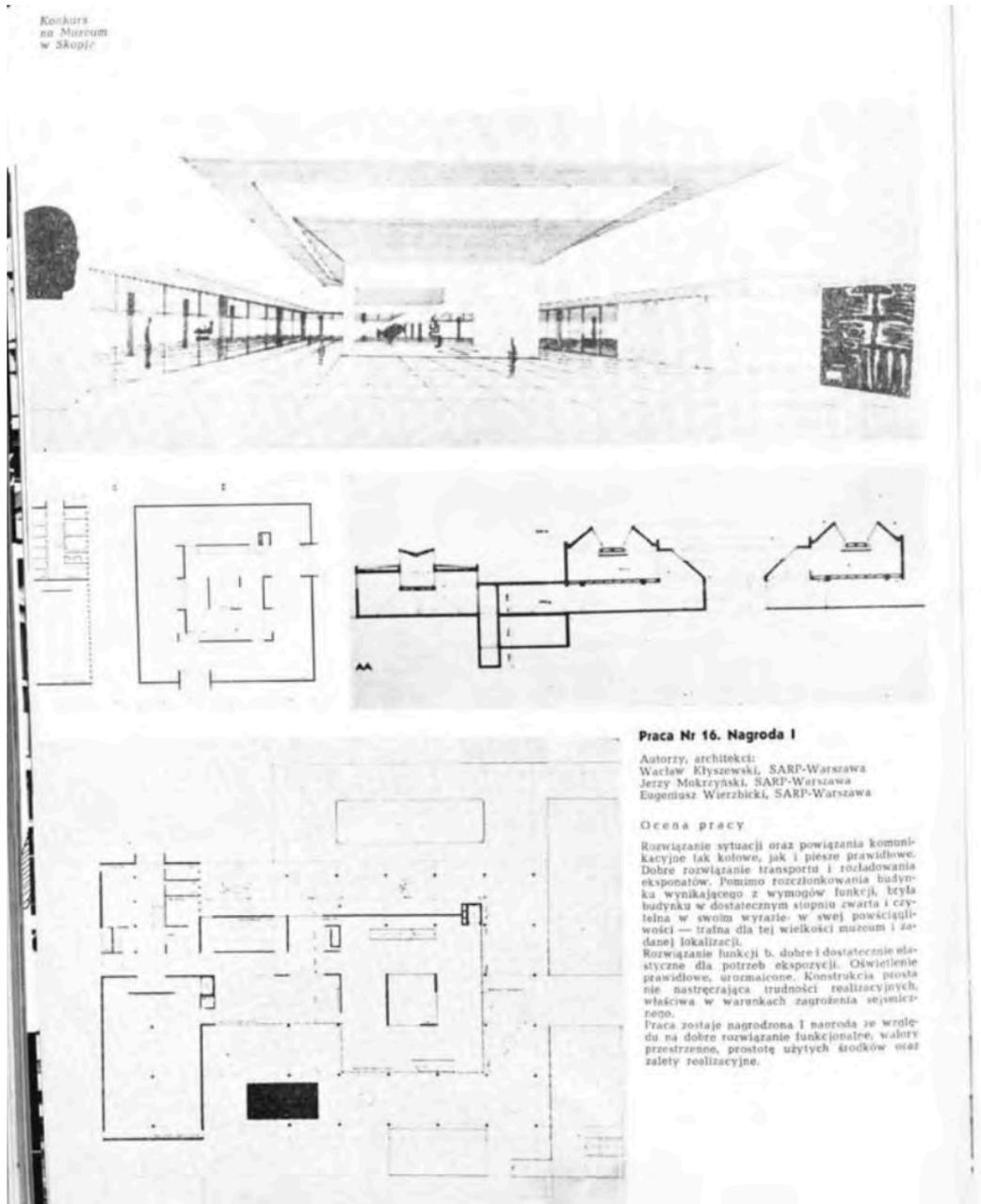


Fig. 219| Extract from the page 41, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, project proposal, Skopje

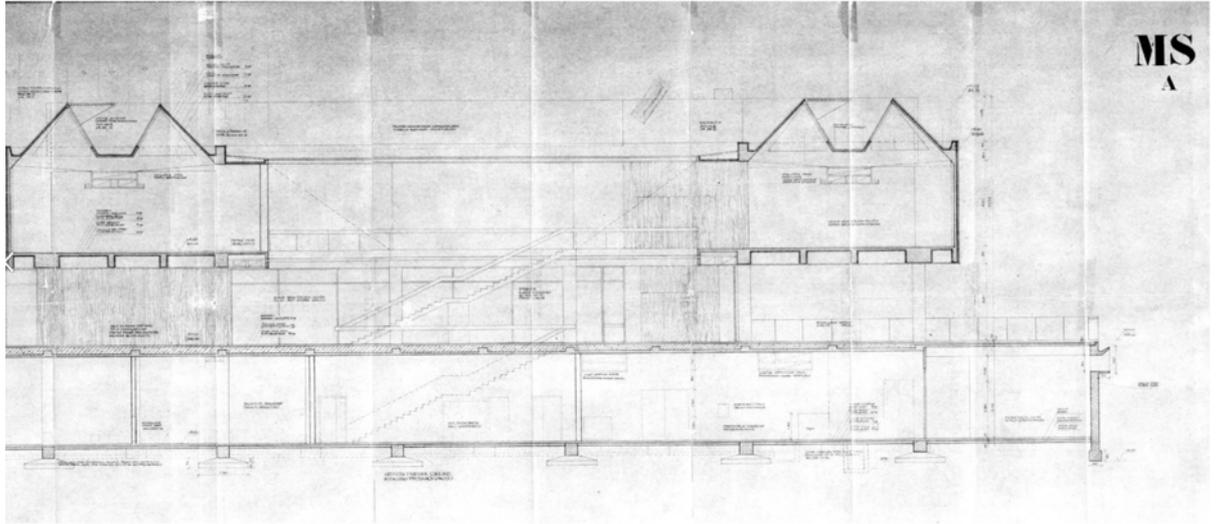


Fig. 220| Extract from the page 80-81, drawing, section, an exhibition catalogue (2014),  
*The Warsaw Tigers*, Skopje



Fig. 221| Extract from the page 124, photo, an exhibition catalogue (2014), *The Warsaw Tigers*, aero view on MoCA, Skopje



Fig. 222| Extract from the page 222, Safe places, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970, Skopje



Fig. 223| Extract from a page, photo, Mimicking Room, Book, *Skopje: 1963-1973*, Skopje, 1963

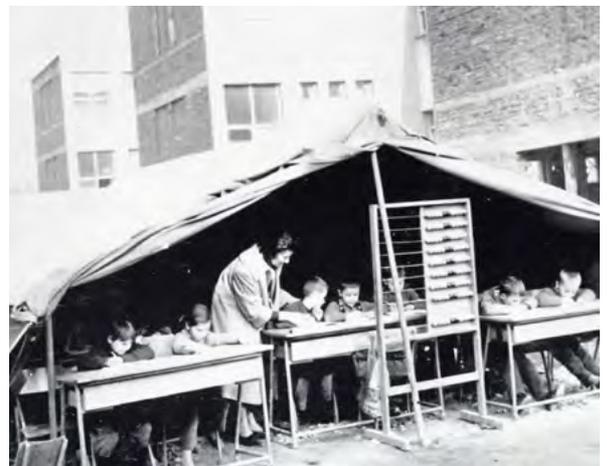
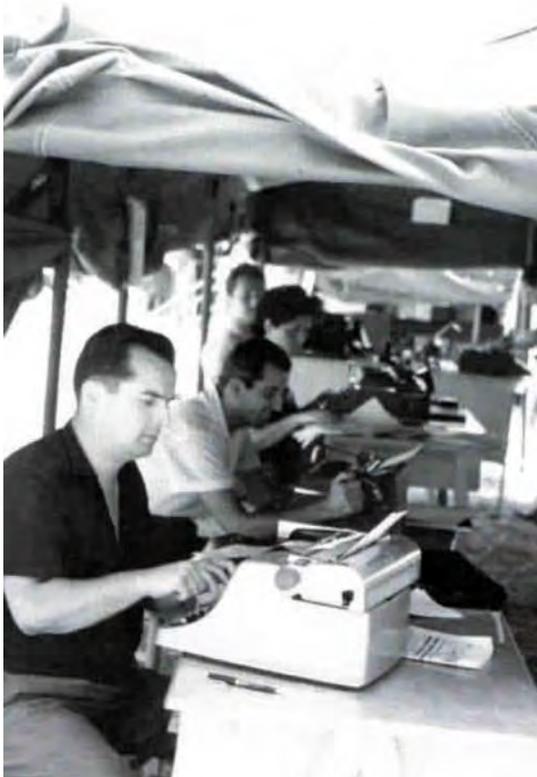


Fig. 224| Extract from a pages 23-24, photo, Temporary institutions, *Catalog, 78 memories from the album from one friend*, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 225| Photo, *Centre Skenderija*, Zivorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilović, 1969, Sarajevo

## KULTURNO SPORTSKI CENTAR »SKENDERIJA« U SARAJEVU

Za Dan Republike svečano je otvoren na Skenderiji u Sarajevu grandiozni Kulturno sportski centar, koji obuhvaća slijedeće sadržaje:

- gradska hala sa dvoranom za sportove,
- omladinski dom,
- poslovno-izložbene prostorije,
- zatvoreno gradsko kupalište sa olimpijskim bazenom i
- otvorena sportska igrališta s gledalištima.

Autori ovog značajnog arhitektonskog djela jesu: Živorad Janaković dipl. inž. arh., Halid Muhasilović, dipl. inž. arh. te konstruktor Ognjeslav Malkin, dipl. inž. građ. — suradnici Zavoda za

studije i projektiranje »DOM« Sarajevo.

Izvedba G. P. »Vranica« Sarajevo.

»Čovjek i prostor« je još u broju 6/68. donio sliku makete tog objekta i kratku obavijest prilikom početka gradnje, a u broju 12/68. objavljen je iscrpni osvrt Slavka Medića, dipl. inž. arh. iz Sarajeva, sa slikama projekta.

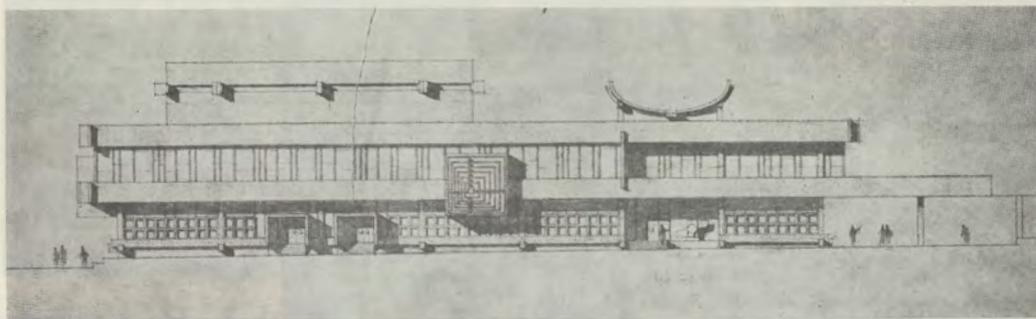
Objekt je dobio nagradu »Borbe« za najbolje arhitektonsko ostvarenje u Jugoslaviji za 1969. g.

**B. B.**

Redakcija se pridružuje svim ostalim čestitkama i nada se da će uskoro biti u mogućnosti upoznati svoje čitaoce s ovim značajnim objektom.



Kulturno-sportski centar Sarajevo. Snimljeno koncem listopada 1963. Osnova: Poduzeće za projektiranje i studije »Dom« Sarajevo. Autori: Živorad Janaković i Halid Muhasilović, dipl. inž. arh.



Kulturno sportski centar »Skenderija« u Sarajevu. Zapadno pročelje objekta sportskog centra i omladinskog doma

Fig. 226| Page 11, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre 'Skenderija' in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 204, 1970, Zagreb

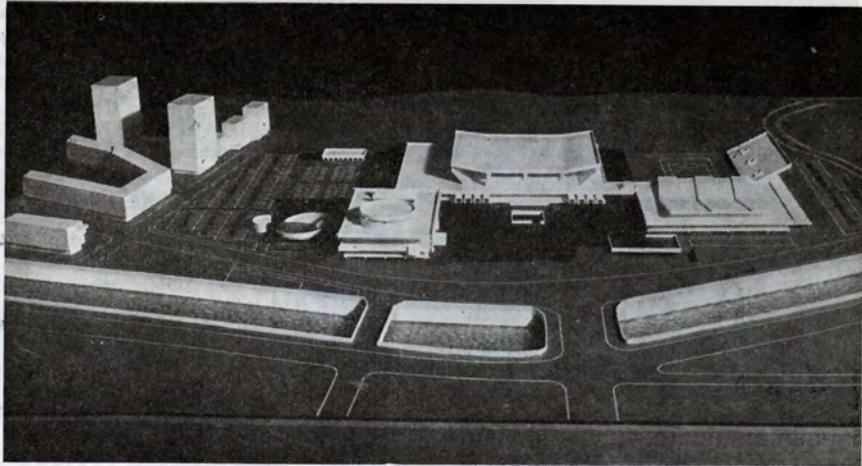
## SPORTSKI CENTAR I OMLADINSKI DOM U SARAJEVU

AUTORI:

M. JANKOVIĆ

H. MUHASILOVIĆ

I SURADNICI



U Sarajevu se na Skenderiji, prema projektu Zavoda za studije i projektiranje »DOM« iz Sarajeva, užurbano gradi ogromni sportski centar sa Omladinskim domom. Rok dovršenja predviđen je za Dan Republike o.g. Autori tog značajnog arhitektonskog djela su dipl. inž. arh. M. Janković, H. Muhasilović i dr. U slijedećem broju donijet ćemo ostali materijal sa opisom i osvrtom dipl. inž. arh. Milana Medića iz Sarajeva. B. B-č

Fig. 227| Page 9, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre ‘Skenderija’ in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 59, 1969, Belgrade



1

### KULTURNO-SPORTSKI CENTAR »SKENDERIJA« U SARAJEVU

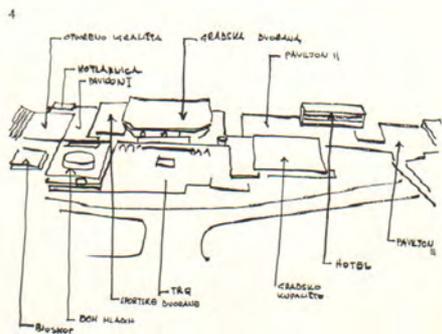
Projektanti: Živorad JANKOVIĆ, dipl. ing. arh. i Halid MUHASILOVIĆ, dipl. ing. arh.  
Konstruktor: Ognjeslav MALKIN, dipl. ing.



2



3



4

Fig. 228| Page 8, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre 'Skenderija' in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 59, 1969, Belgrade



5

»Duboko sam uvjeren da je izgradnja gradskih centara čak bitnija od same stambene izgradnje, jer ti centri predstavljaju kulturno-odgojno i lo koje pojedincima omogućuje potpun razvitak unutar zajednice.«

Arhitekt Gropius

U starom sarajevskom centru, Baščaršiji, na izvanredan način bili su okupljeni svi gradski sadržaji. Tu na javnom mjestu, u pravom mjerilu, organski je izraslo jezgro grude: Raznovrni sadržaji: zanati, trgovine, prenoćišta, sakralni objekti, biblioteke, škole i kupaćila, bili su organizovano grupisani i povezani u jedinstvenu celinu.

Jedna od karakteristika ovoga jezgra koja nas je inspirisala pri programiranju i projektovanju centra Skenderija jeste upravo ovo poveđivanje sadržaja. Oko zidova džamija, kupaćila i banova nizale su se trgovine i male zanatske radionice. Ovi sadržaji nisu smetali ovim objektima, nisu ih obcizvređivali ni vredali njihov sadržaj. Naprotiv, baš ova činjenica je doprinela njegovom jedinstvu izraza i unijela život u sve dijelove Centra.

6

- 1 — Pogled na Dom mladih
- 2 — Hol u društvenom delu Doma mladih
- 3, 4 — Maketa kompleksa Skenderija
- 5 — Dom mladih — zapadna fasada i atrijum
- 6 — Jugoslovska fasada — gradska dvorana
- 1 — Vue sur la Maison des Jeunes
- 2 — Hall dans la partie de la Maison des Jeunes, destinée aux réunions et activités sociales
- 3, 4 — Maquette de l'ensemble de Skenderija
- 5 — Maison des Jeunes — façade ouest et atrium
- 6 — Façade sud-ouest — salle municipale
- 1 — View of the Youth Hostel
- 2 — Hall in the part of the Youth Hostel, intended for social gatherings and activities
- 3, 4 — Small scale model of the Skenderija block
- 5 — Youth Hostel — west frontage and atrium
- 6 — South-west frontage — municipal hall
- 1 — Видение вида Дома молодежи
- 2 — Хол в общественной части Дома молодежи
- 3, 4 — Макет комплекса Скендерия
- 5 — Дом молодежи — западная часть фасада и атриум
- 6 — Юго-западная часть фасада — общен. социальный зал



Fig. 229| Page 9, an article, *Cultural – Sports Centre ‘Skenderija’ in Sarajevo*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No. 59, 1969, Belgrade



Fig. 230| Photo, Event in the *Centre Skenderija*, - early 1970s

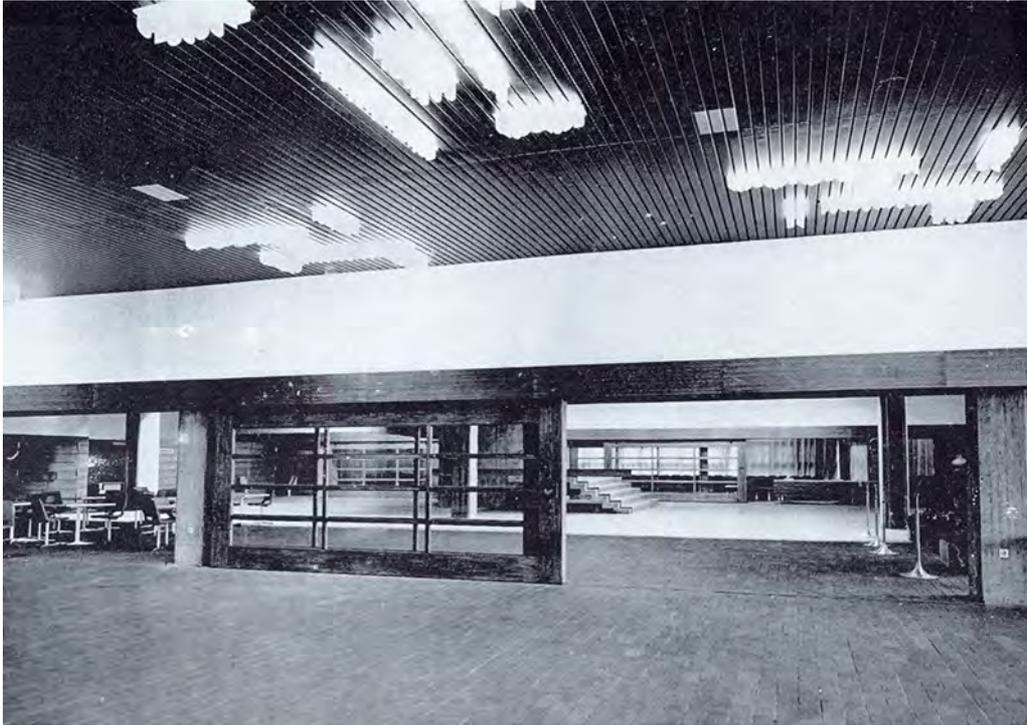


Fig. 231| Photo, interior from the *Youth Centre in Centre Skenderija*, - early 1970s



Fig. 232| Cover Page, *Centre Skenderija*, Delegate Bulletin, No.43, 1981, Sarajevo



Fig. 233| Photo, *Centre Skenderija*, in the popular magazine *Ilustrovana*, 1970s

teorija

# UNAPREĐENJE ŽIVOTNE OKOLINE = UNAPREĐENJE DRUŠTVA

Proces svjesnog uništavanja biosfere izvlačenjem kratkoročnih koristi iz prirode na svoj način je uznemirio svjetsku javnost. Presudnost biološke egzistencije neslućenom je snagom zblížila ljudska bića, bez obzira na ideološku, socijalnu ili rasnu pripadnost. Pojavom konferencije u Stockholmu otvara se proces globalne intenzifikacije zaokupljanja problemima životne okoline. Primjetan je međutim naglasak u području svjetskih masovnih komunikacija, stavljen pretežno na problem ZAŠTITE, što će nehotice u javnosti ostaviti dojam intervencija prvenstveno ili isključivo RESTRIKTIVNE PRIRODE. Takve će formulacije odmah prihvatiti strukture birokratskog mentaliteta, i u sjeni rezolutnih, euforičnih deklaracija o zaštiti gradit će nove prepreke boljitku. Može se lako dogoditi da bitni problem KREATIVNOG UNAPREĐIVANJA životne okoline u međuovisnosti s razvitkom društva, postane margina na stranpatici individualnih astraktnih interpretacija.

Čovjek je faktor društvene zajednice, čiju ukupnost transmitira u životnu okolicu različitim aktivnostima. No on nije samo eksponent nego i izvjestan društveni senzor u okolišu, tako da u reverzibilnom procesu prenosi sublimirane, doživljene predstave stanja životne sredine natrag u društvo.

Proizlazi tako da nije samo društvo nego i životna okolina relevantna u formiranju čovjeka. Dakle, njenim KONTINUIRANIM UNAPREĐIVANJEM, čiji će refleksi prožimati čovjeka, stvorit će se uvjeti da se konstituiraju društvo sposobno da adekvatnim akcijama pokrene ciklus poboljšavanja u spirali DRUŠTVO — ČOVJEK — ŽIVOTNA OKOLICA — ČOVJEK — DRUŠTVO itd.

Na žalost, ovakav pristup problematici nije dovoljno afirmiran, a društvo još ne uvida potrebitost da svoju ukupnu aktivnost i razvoj tehnike promatra unutar globalnog koncepta unapređenja okoline. Kult je tehnologije pod zastavom profiterstva paralizirao društveni nerv za šire aspekte u domeni društvo — čovjek — okolica. Tako je fenomen životnog prostora prilično izostao iz struktura suvremene naučne misli, da bi zatim kaotična situacija postala drastično upozorenje. Promatrano kibernet-

ski, nastala su stanja nemogućnosti komuniciranja i normalnog prijenosa informacija. To je reproduciralo neizbalansirane artefijacije životne okoline, uzastopce ponavljane zahvaljujući jednostranostima prostornih politika. Sto su društvene snage na nižem stupnju organizacionih i razvojnih sposobnosti, pogreške su čestice, a povratni efekti porazno otežava buduća kretanja.

Treba naglasiti značenje AKCIJA u životnom prostoru,

Nastavak na 32. strani

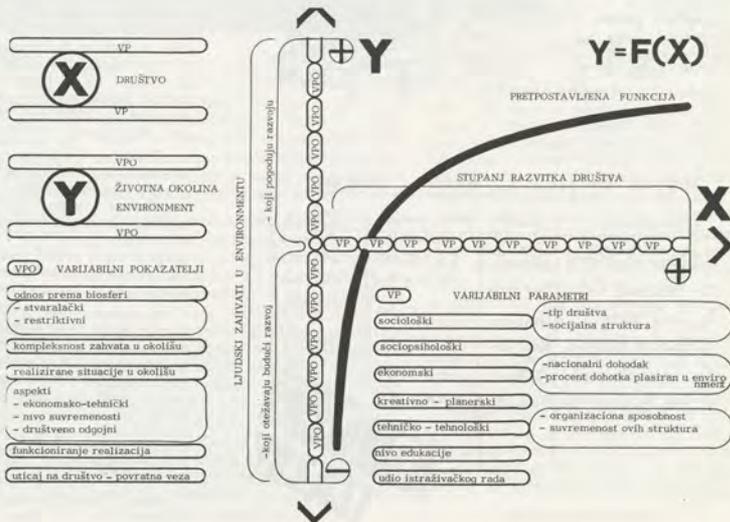
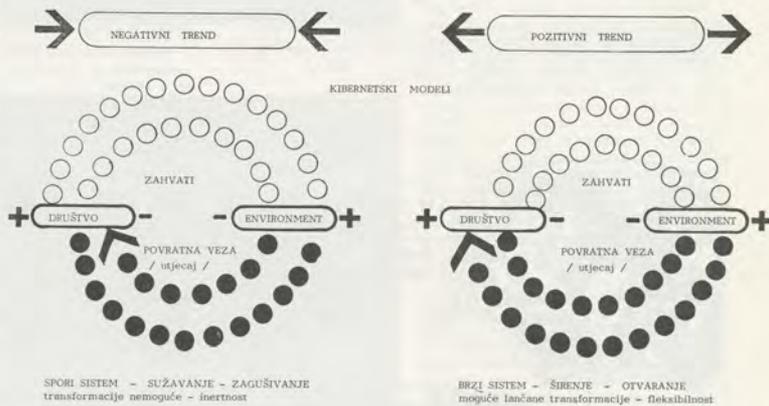


Fig. 234| Page 21, an article, *Environmental improvement = society improvement*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 233, 1972, Zagreb

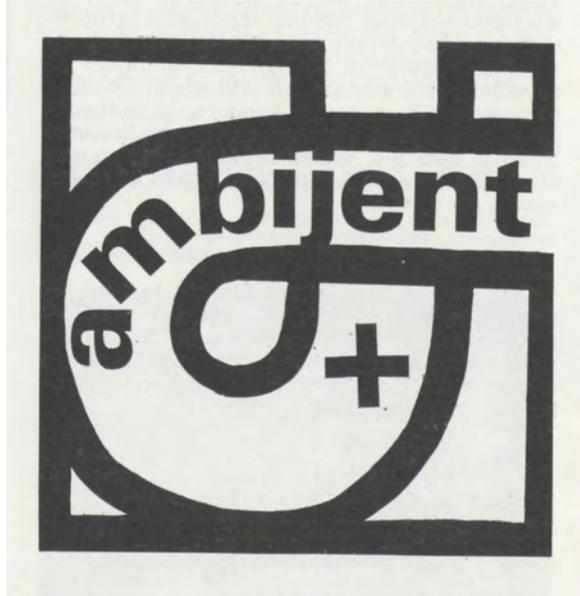


Fig. 235| Extract from the page 21, an article, *the butterfly hides in the canopy before the terrible rain*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 207, 1970, Zagreb

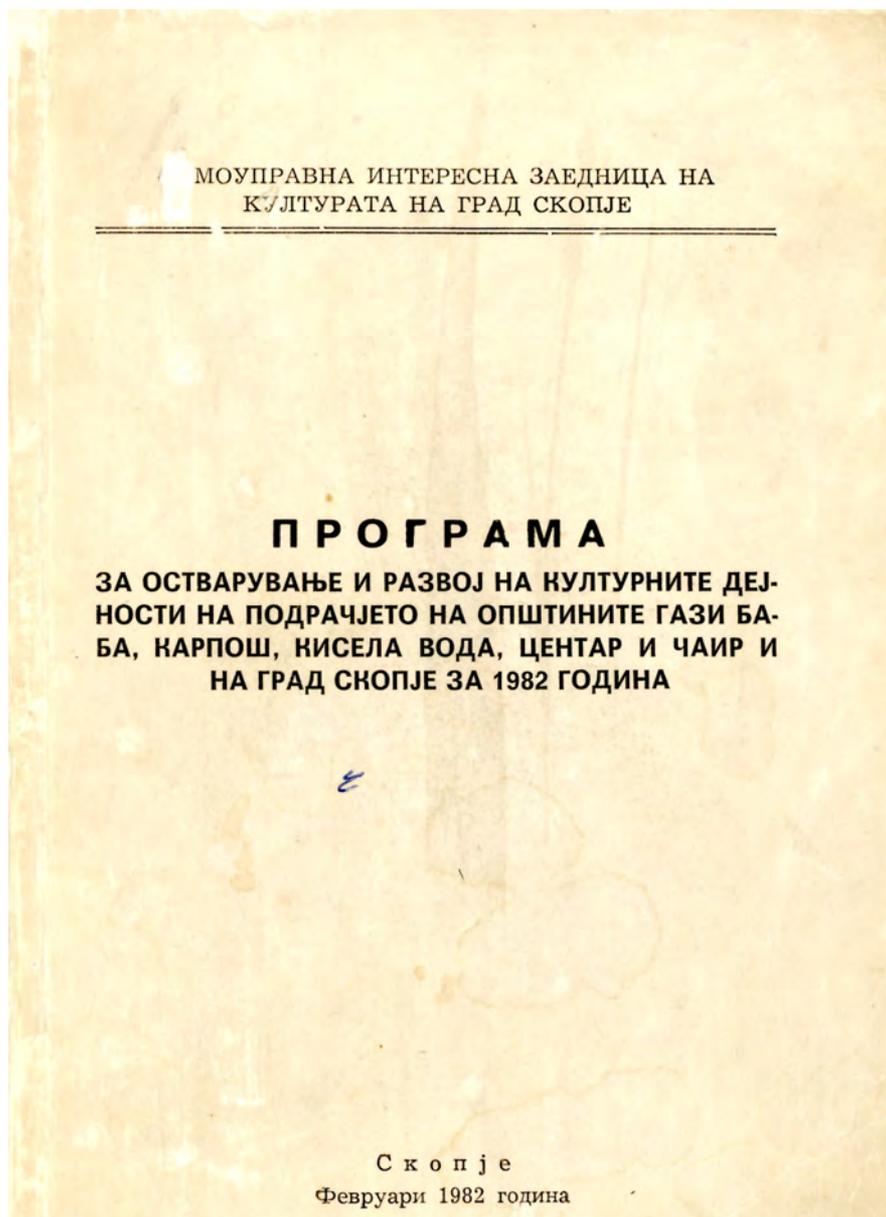


Fig. 236| Book cover, *Program for development of the cultural activities*, SCIs Skopje, 1982, Skopje







Konceptija društveno-ekonomskog razvoja  
i program prostornog razvoja i izgradnje  
Beograda u periodu 1976-1985.  
Zavod za planiranje razvoja grada Beograda

### Procenat osoba sa visokim stručnim obrazovanjem



019

Istraživanje strukture Beograda  
Multivarijantna analiza i kompjuter atlas kontinualno izgrađenog područja

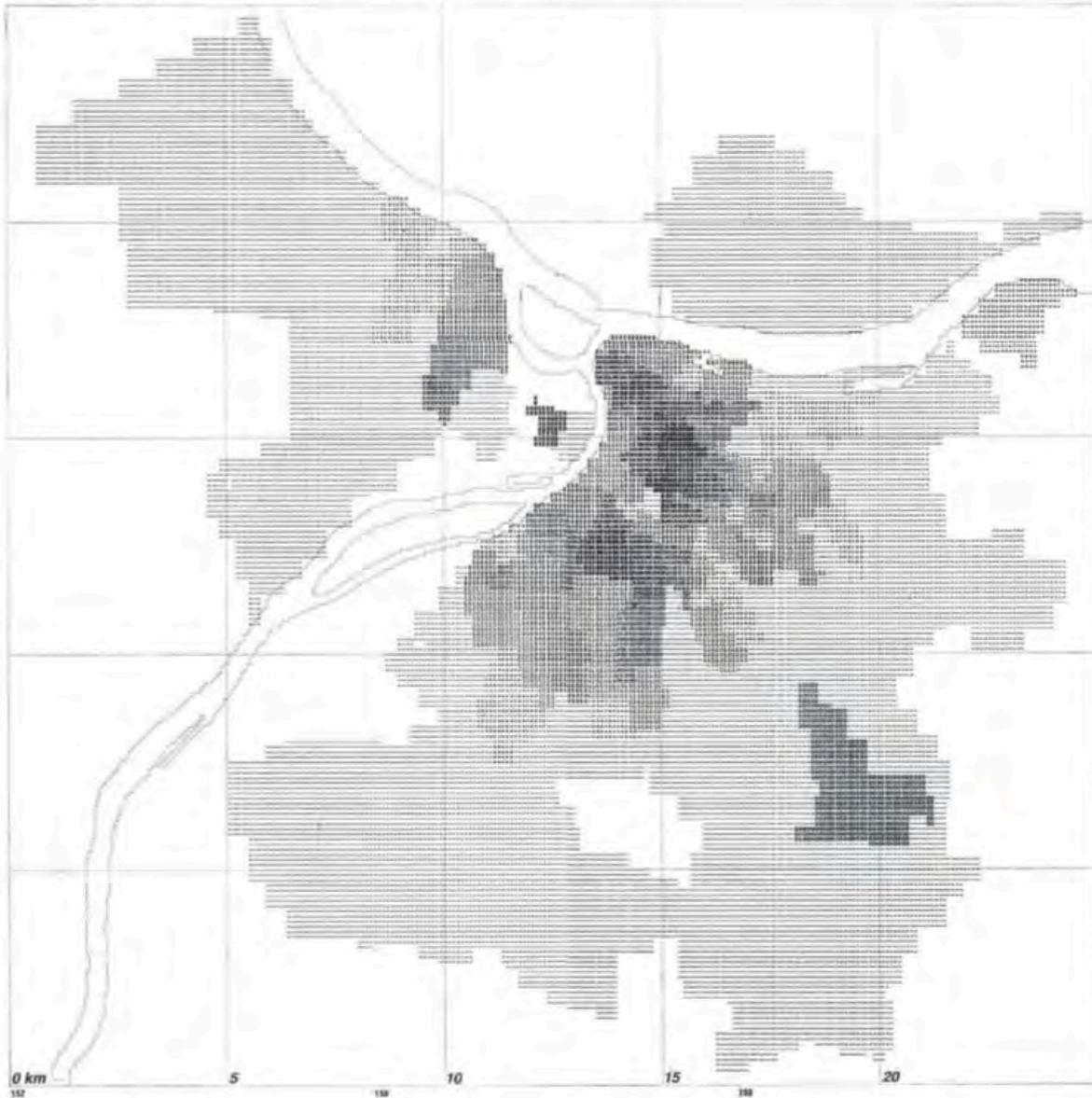


Fig. 239| Page 62, Map, *the City of Belgrade, the percentage of people with higher education*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 51, 1979, Belgrade



Fig. 240| Photo, the Yugoslav theater, Belgrade, ~ early 1950s



Fig. 241| Photo, Museum of the Yugoslav Cinematography, Belgrade



Fig. 242| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, Belgrade, ~ 1960s



Fig. 243| Photos, Manifestations 'Solidarity with the Vietnamese people', 1966s, Belgrade



Fig. 244| Photo, Manifestations 'Solidarity with the Vietnamese people', 1960s, Belgrade



Fig. 245| Scene from the Movie, *How I Was Systematically Destroyed by an Idiot*, Slobodan Šijan, 1983



Fig. 246| Scene from the Movie, *We are not angels*, Srdjan Dragojević, 1992



Fig. 247| Scene from the movie, *The Elusive Summer of '68*, Goran Paskaljević, 1984



Fig. 248| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, 1970



Fig. 249| Photo, *Belgrade Youth Center*, Dragoljub Filipović and Zoran Tasić, 1964



Fig. 250| Photo, Interior from the dancing hall, *Belgrade Youth Center*, interior design Momcilo Belobrk, 1964

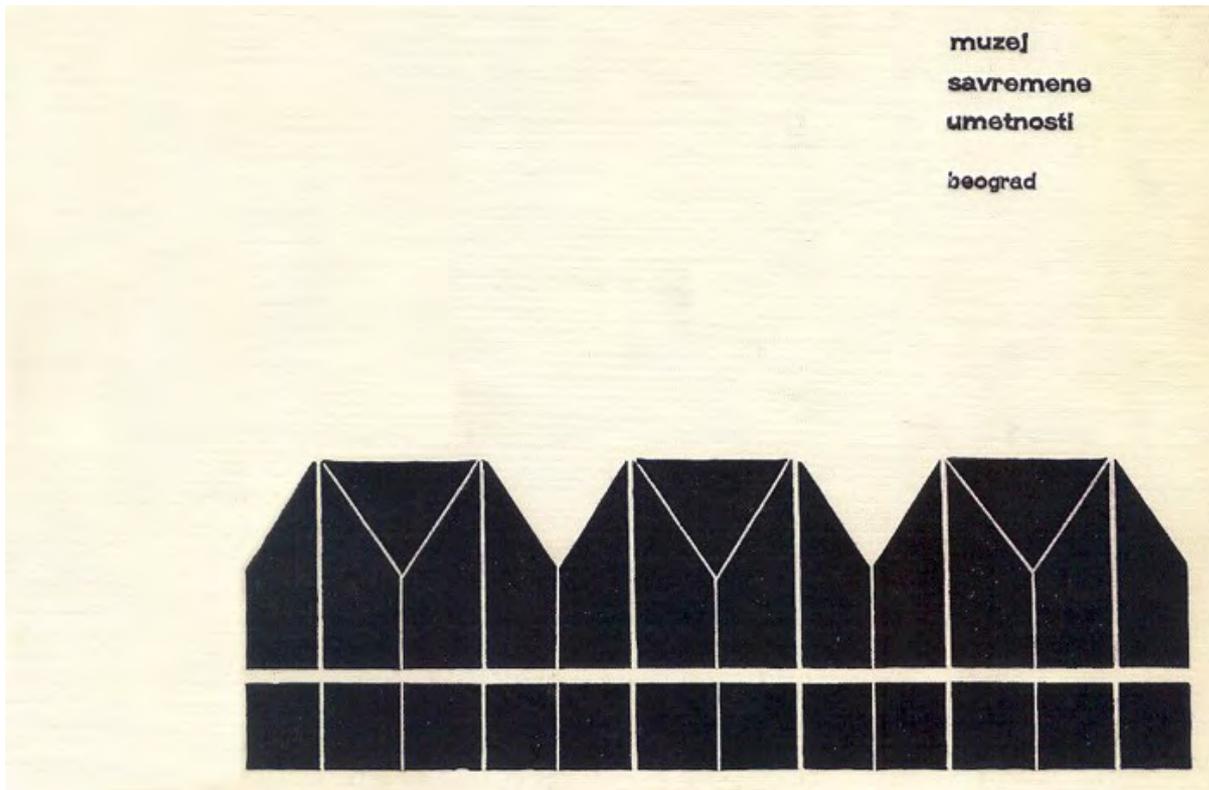
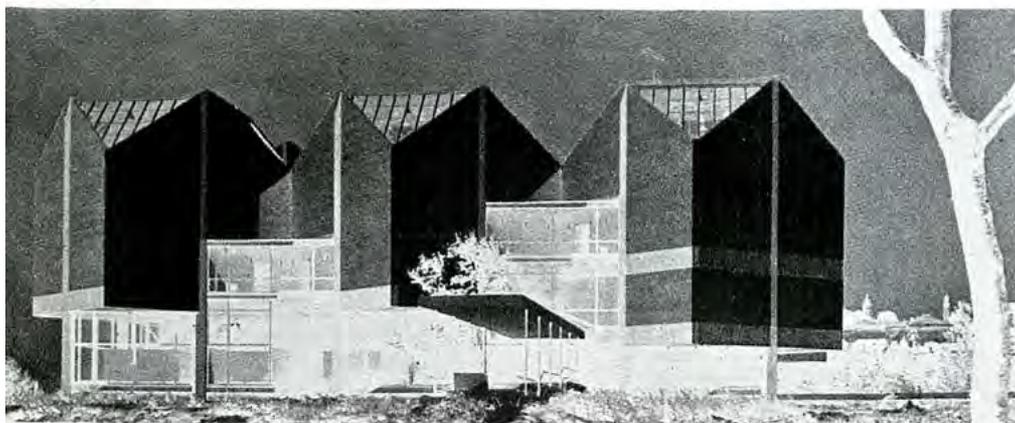


Fig. 251| Logo, *Museum of Contemporary Art of Belgrade*, Belgrade



1



2

- 1 — Kasi izgled severozatočne strane Muzeja. Vidi se zastakljeni nivo skulptura
- 2 — Proporcije Muzeja (fotografija u negativu)
- 1 — Vue de biais du côté nord-est du Musée. On voit le niveau vitré des sculptures
- 2 — Proportions du Musée
- 1 — Oblique view of the north-west side of the Museum. To be seen the glazed level with sculptures
- 2 — Proportions of the Museum

Oliver MINIC

**JEDNA NOVA PROSTORNA  
KONCEPCIJA MUZEJA**

Projektanti: arh. Ivan ANTIC, arh. Ivanka RASPOPOVIC

Podizanjem zgrade Muzeja moderne umetnosti, na obali Save u Novom Beogradu, naspram vizije Kalemegdana i Beogradske tvrđave, nastalo je jedno osobeno arhitektonsko delo bez presedana. Ovo delo, čije nastajanje pratimo od konkursa 1959. nije još dovoljno proučeno, još manje ocenjeno njegovo mesto u jugoslovenskoj ili svetskoj arhitekturi. Odmernavanje u svetskim razmerama nije nemarno, ni suviše neskomorno, jer takvih muzeja je u svetu malo.

Umetnički muzeji su nastali u doba apsolutizma i renesanse od kneževskih i kraljevskih zbirki. Palata Pitti u Firenci, za vreme vlade Medičija, bila je prepuna najlepših slika i pretvorena je docnije u muzej. Jedan od najstarijih umetničkih muzeja bila je galerija Uffizi koju je sagradio Vazari 1560, istina prvobitno za neke državne službe odakle je i ime ostalo, da malo kasnije primi bogate ko-

lekcije medičijevskih slika. I kraljevska rezidencija Luvr bila je puna slika. Posle francuske revolucije, i dvorac i sve slike prelaze u svojinu naroda, a Luvr postaje jedan od najbogatijih muzeja koji se i dalje popunjava. Kasnije je bio običaj da se umetnički muzeji smestaju u stare dvorce koji više nisu mogli služiti kao luksuzne rezidencije.

Između dva rata počelo je gradjenje umetničkih muzeja. Najviše je izgradila Holandija, ukupno četiri, u Roterdamu (Boymans), u Oterloo (Müller-Kroler, arh. Rietveld), u Hagu (gradski muzej, arh. Berlage) i aneks modernog muzeja u Amsterdamu. Svi ovi muzeji bili su savremeni i funkcionalni ali su se držali uobičajenih prostornih i funkcionalnih rešenja. Posle drugog svetskog rata nastaje veći broj novih muzeja, u Kopenhagenu muzej Luiziana, u Le Havru mu-

Fig. 252| Page 17, article, 'One new spatial conception for a museum', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.38, 1966, Belgrade

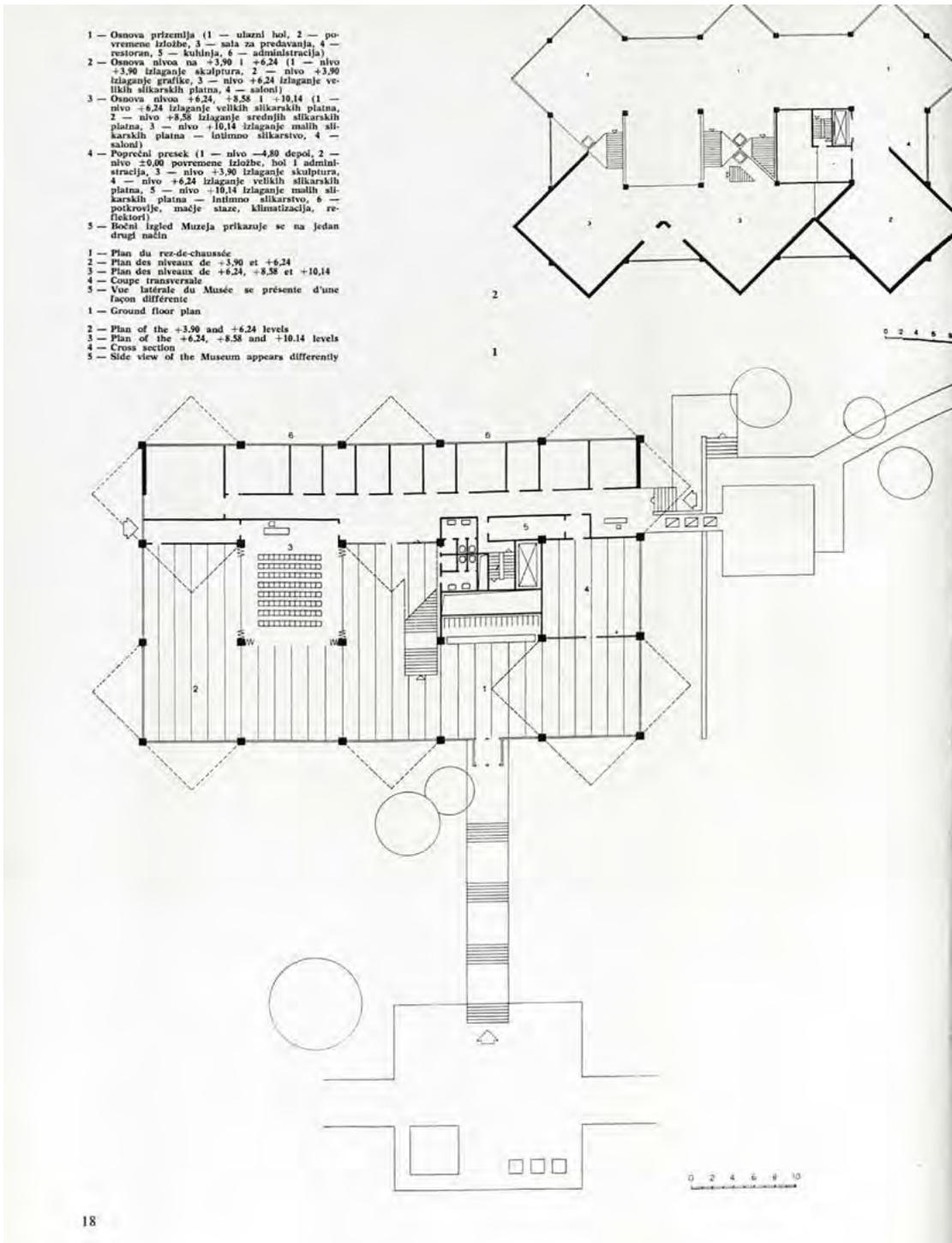


Fig. 253| Page 18, article, 'One new spatial conception for a museum', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.38, 1966, Belgrade

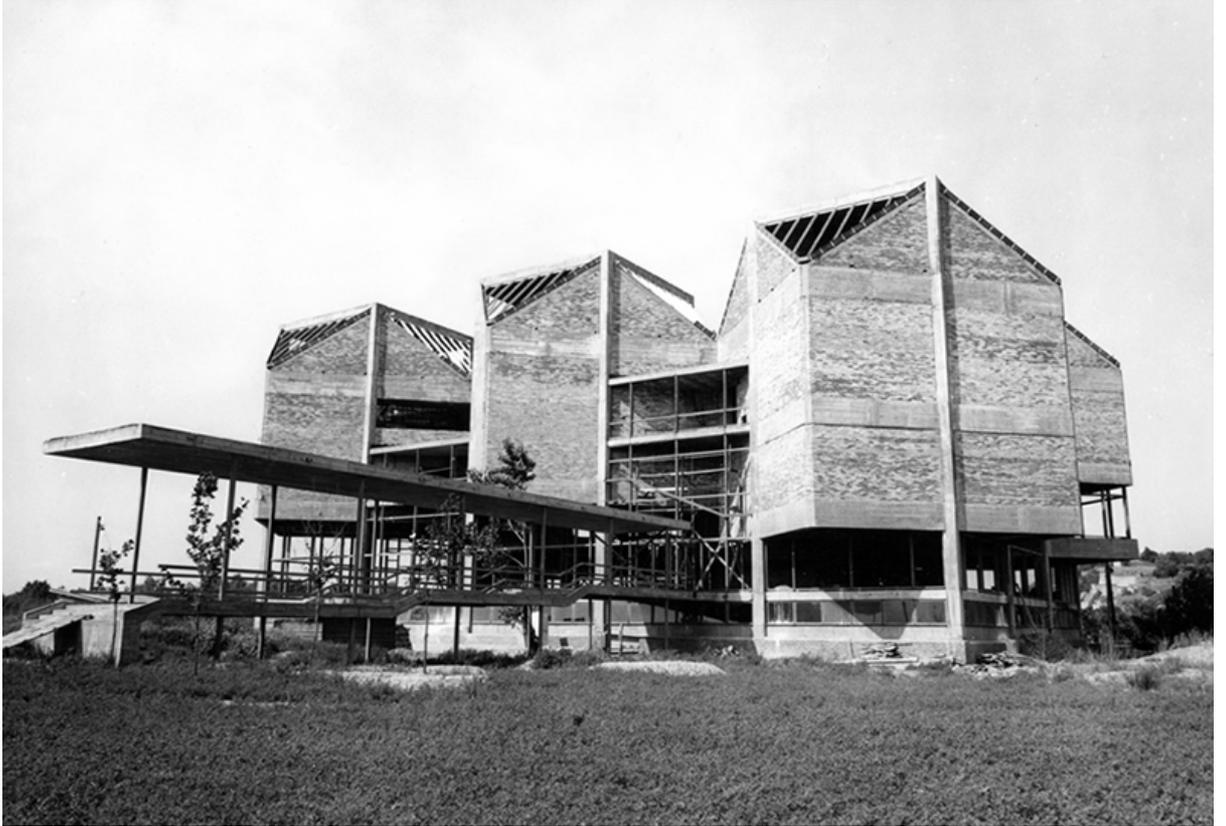


Fig. 254| Photo, *Museum of Contemporary Art of Belgrade*, Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1965, Belgrade



Fig. 255| Photo, Interior of the *Student Cultural Centre*, Belgrade, ~ early 1970s



Fig. 256| Photo, Belgrade everyday life, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade



Fig. 257| Photo, *Youth Forum*, - mid 1970s, Zagreb



Fig. 258| Photo, plateau of the *Faculty of Philosophy*, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade

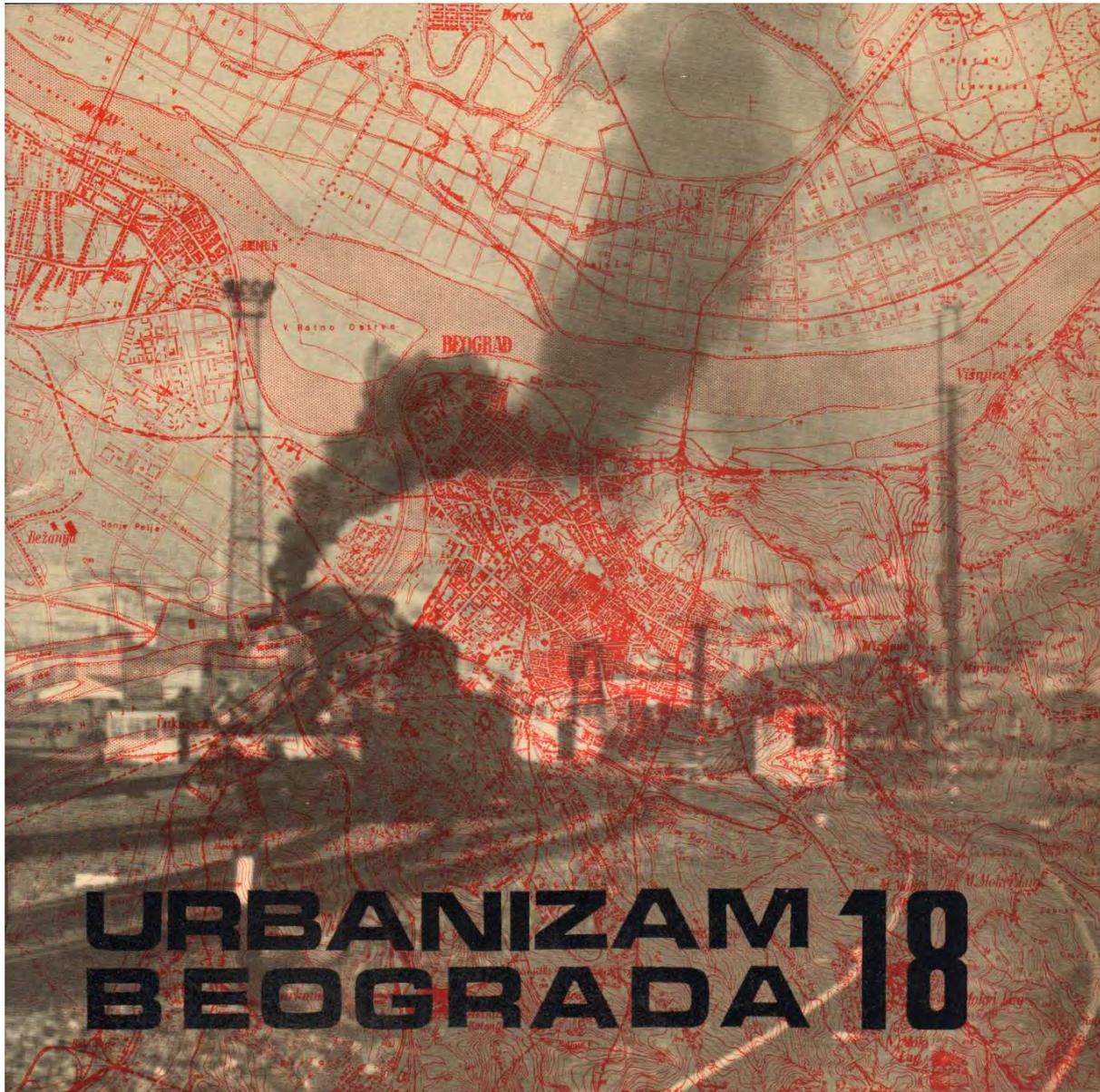


Fig. 259| Cover Page, illustration, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 18, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 260| Extracts from the pages 3 - 5, photography, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 18, 1972, Belgrade



Fig. 261| Cover Page, illustration, Catalogue *FEST*, 1972



Fig. 262| Photo, Entrance to get to *FEST*, ~ early 1970s, Belgrade



Fig. 263| Poster, *BITEF 9*, 1975, Belgrade



Fig. 264| Photo, *Gallery Sebastijan*, - late 1970s, Belgrade



Fig. 265 | Scenes from the movie, *Strangler vs. Strangler*, Slobodan Šijan, 1984

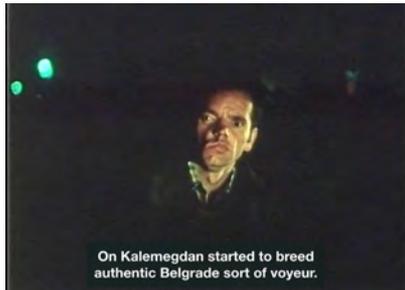


Fig. 266| Scenes from the movie, *Strangler vs. Strangler*, Slobodan Šijan, 1984



Fig. 267 | Scenes from the movie, *Strangler vs. Strangler*, Slobodan Šijan, 1984



Fig. 268| Cover page, Symposium, *The Future of New Belgrade*, 1986, Belgrade



Fig. 269| Poster, the turbo folk singer Lepa Brena, ~ 1980s



Fig. 270| Photo, Kenzo Tange and his team in front of the model for the future city, 1964, Skopje

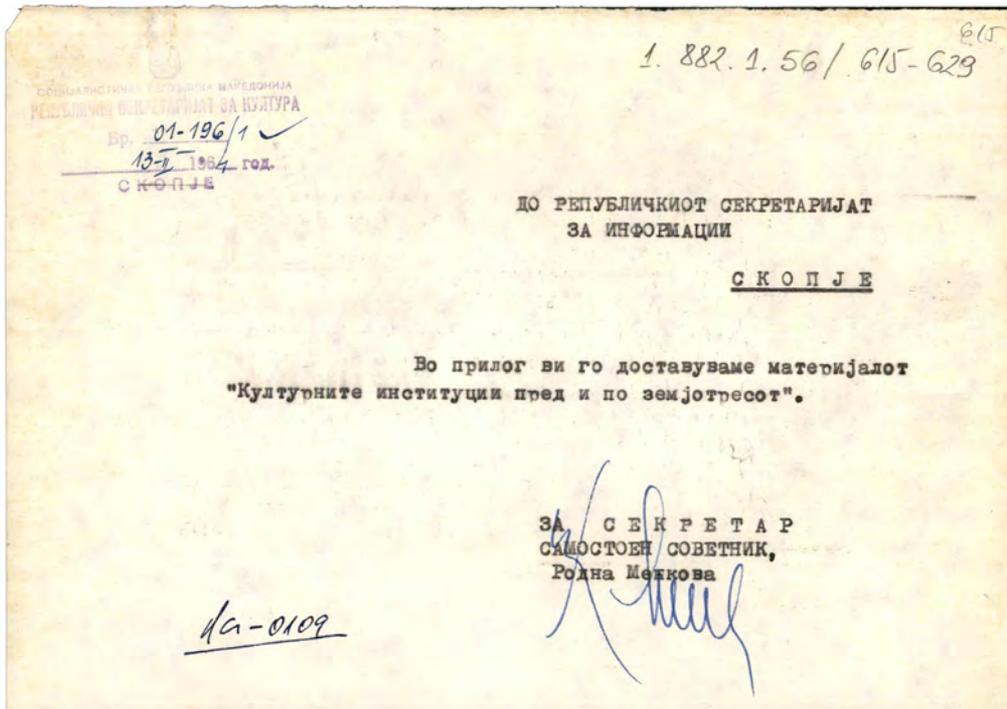


Fig. 271| Photo, Certificate for delivered material 'Cultural Institutions before and after the earthquake' to the Republic Secretariat for Information', 1964, Skopje



Fig. 272| Photo, Skopje on the day of the tragic earthquake, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 273| Photo, Skopje's Tent Neighborhoods, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 274| Photo, Everyday life in Skopje's Tent Neighborhoods, 1963, Skopje



Fig. 275| above – Extract from the page 65, Top-down City Assembly Meeting in the Tent Neighborhoods, Book, *Skopje-Catastrophe-Reconstruction-Experience*, 1963, Skopje  
below – Photo, bottom-up action in the Tent Neighborhoods, 1963, Skopje

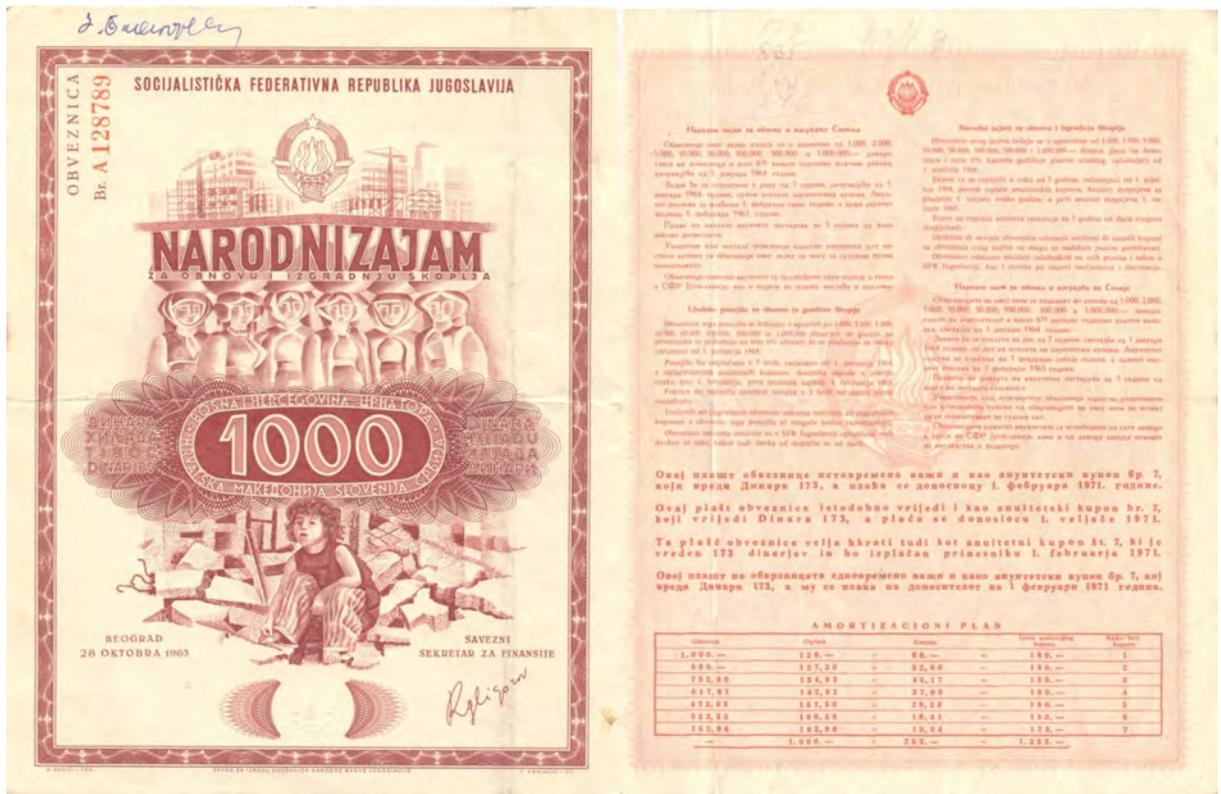


Fig. 276| Photo, Bond for reconstruction of Skopje's, 1963



Fig. 277 | Extract from a page, *The meetings of Solidarity*, Book, *Skopje 1964*, 1964, Skopje

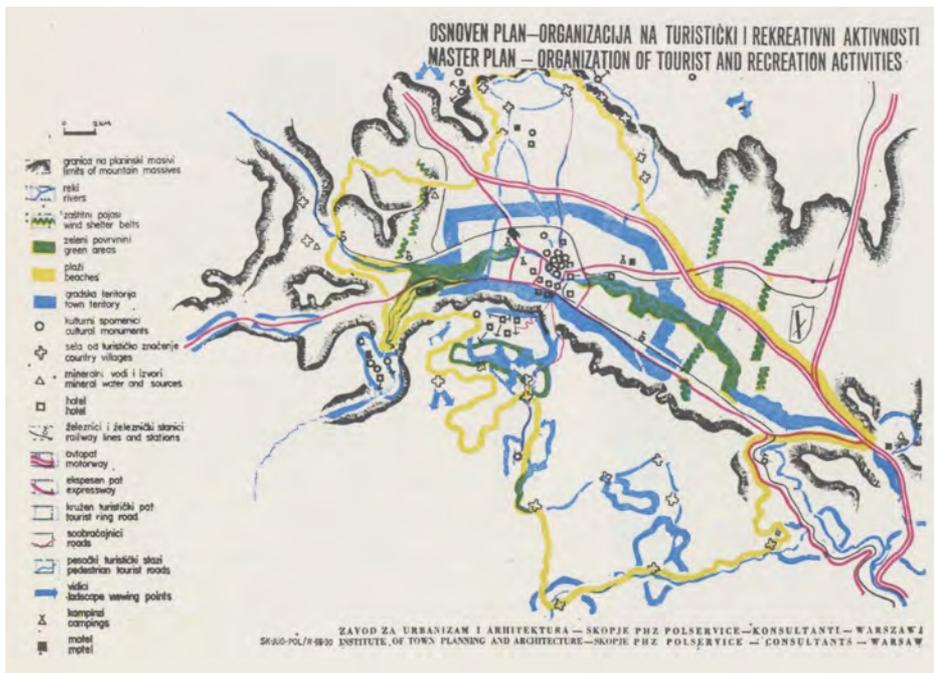
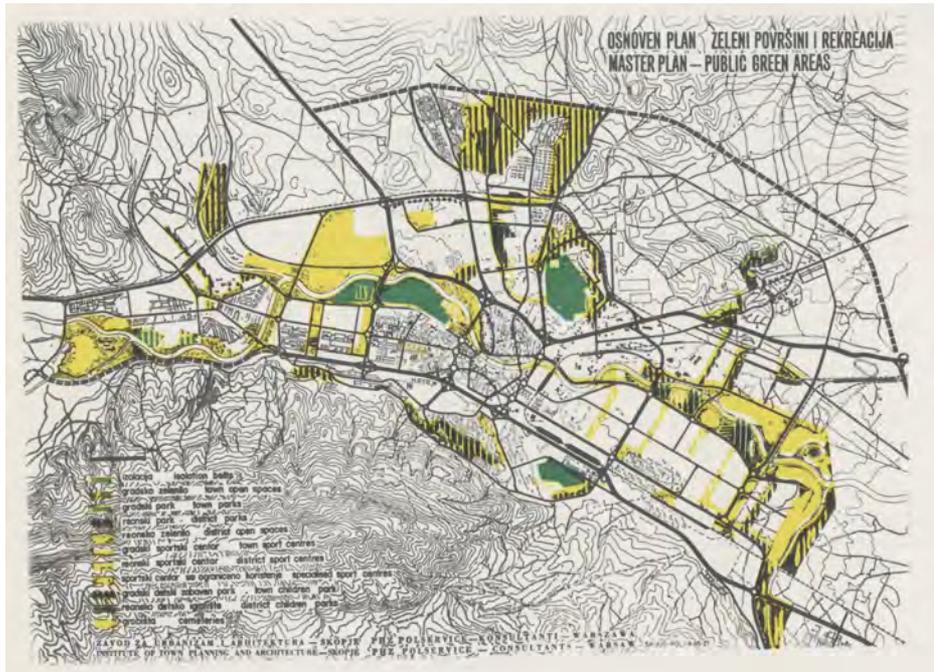


Fig. 278| Extract from the page 98, drawings, *Master Plan – Public Green Areas and Master Plan – Organization of Tourist and Recreation Activities*, Book, *Urbanistic Plan – Skopje*, 1965



Fig. 279| Extract from the page 97, Everyday Life in Skopje, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970

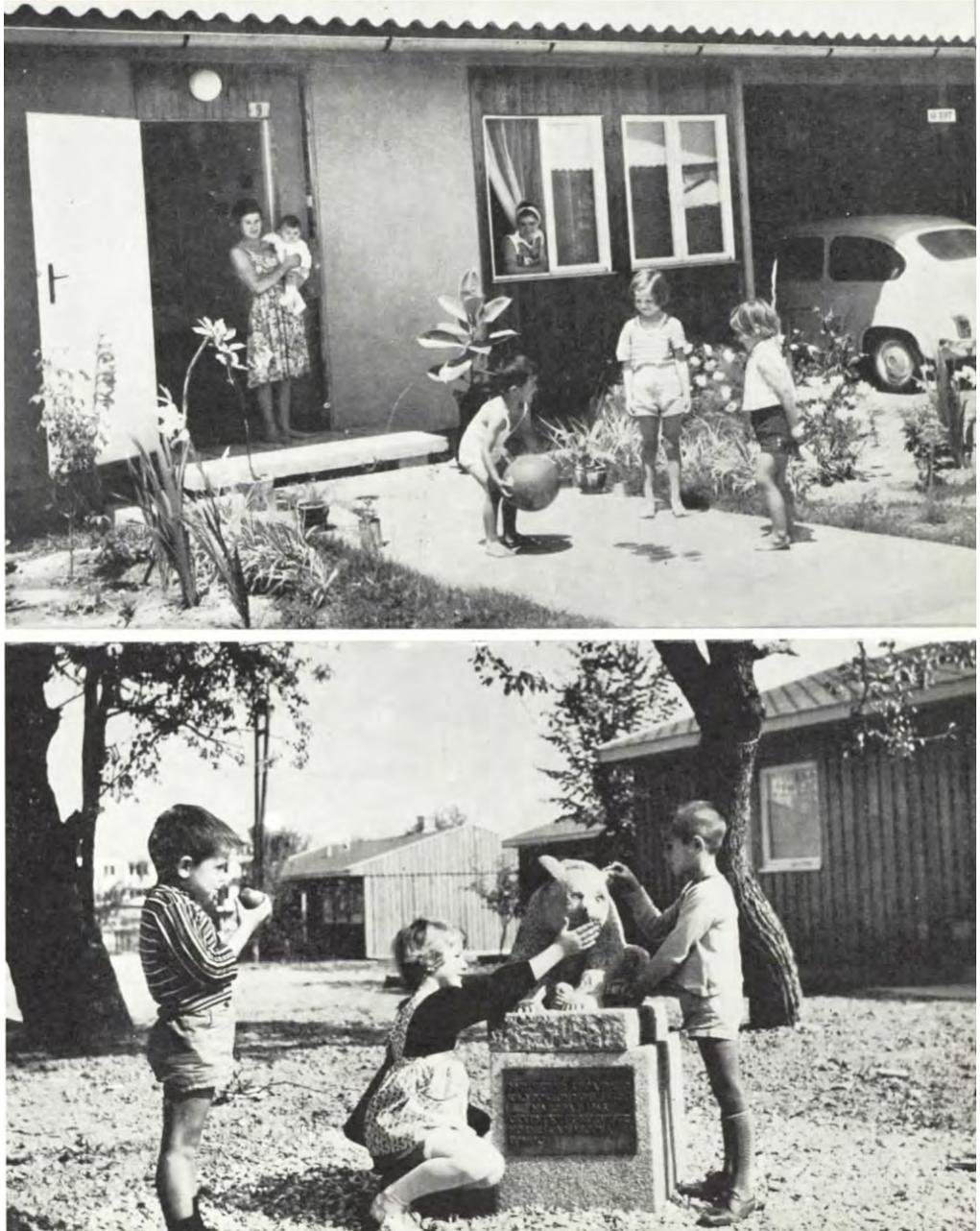


Fig. 280| Extract from a page, Everyday Life in Skopje, Book, *Skopje 1964*, 1970s

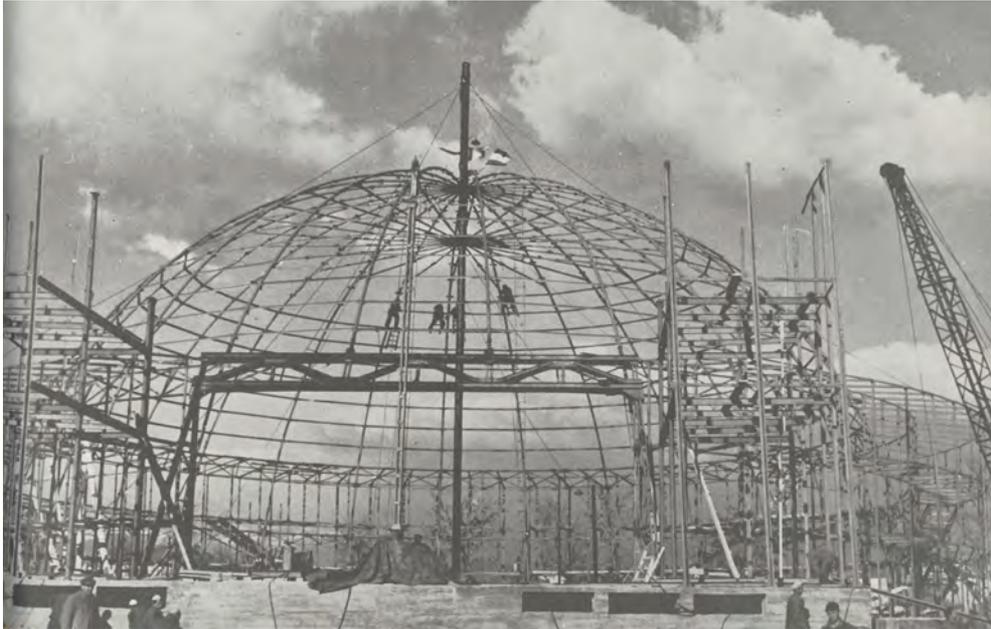


Fig. 281| Extract from a page, photo, Construction of the Universal Hall, Book, *Skopje 1964, 1966*



Fig. 282| Photo, the *Universal Hall*, Skopje, early ~ 1970s



Fig. 283| Extract from the page 240, photo, Everyday Life in Skopje, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970



Fig. 284| Photo, Parts of the newly constructed City Gate, early ~ 1980s, Skopje

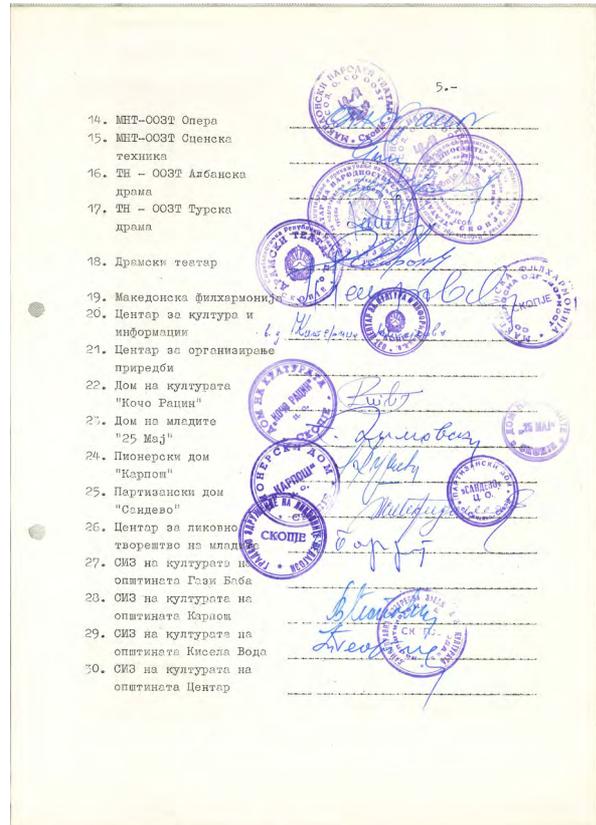


Fig. 285| Extract from the pages 4-5, Document, Self-managing agreement, 1983



Fig. 286| Extract from the page 265-257, photo, Everyday Life in Skopje, Book, *Skopje 1945-1975*, 1970, Skopje



Fig. 287 | Drawing, plan of the *Opera and Ballet Building*, Biro 77, Skopje, 1979

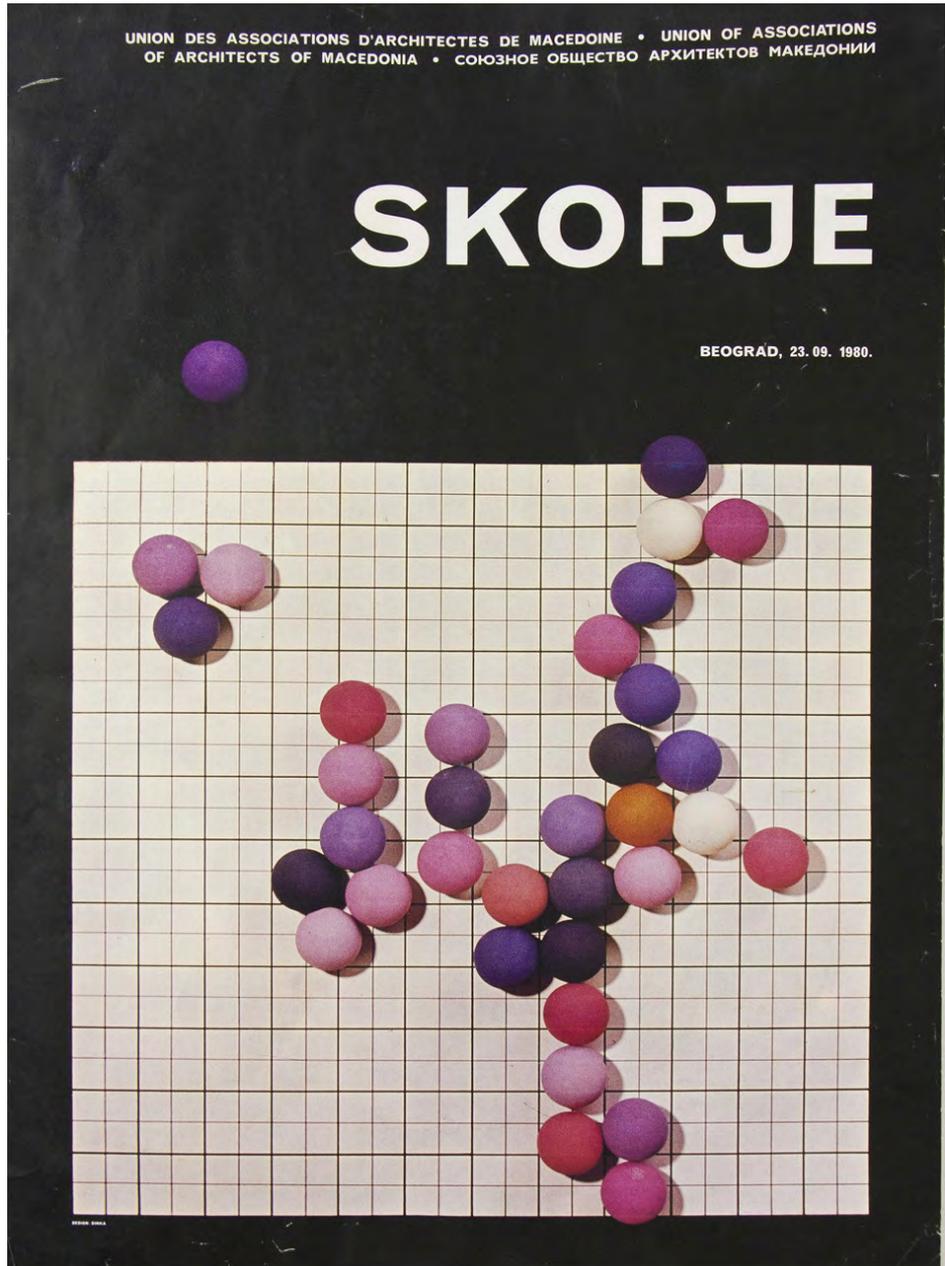


Fig. 288| Cover Page, Catalogue from an exhibition Skopje, 1980, Beograd



Fig. 289| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~ 1970s, Sarajevo



Fig. 290| Scenes from the movie, *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1984



Fig. 291| Scene from the movie, *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1984

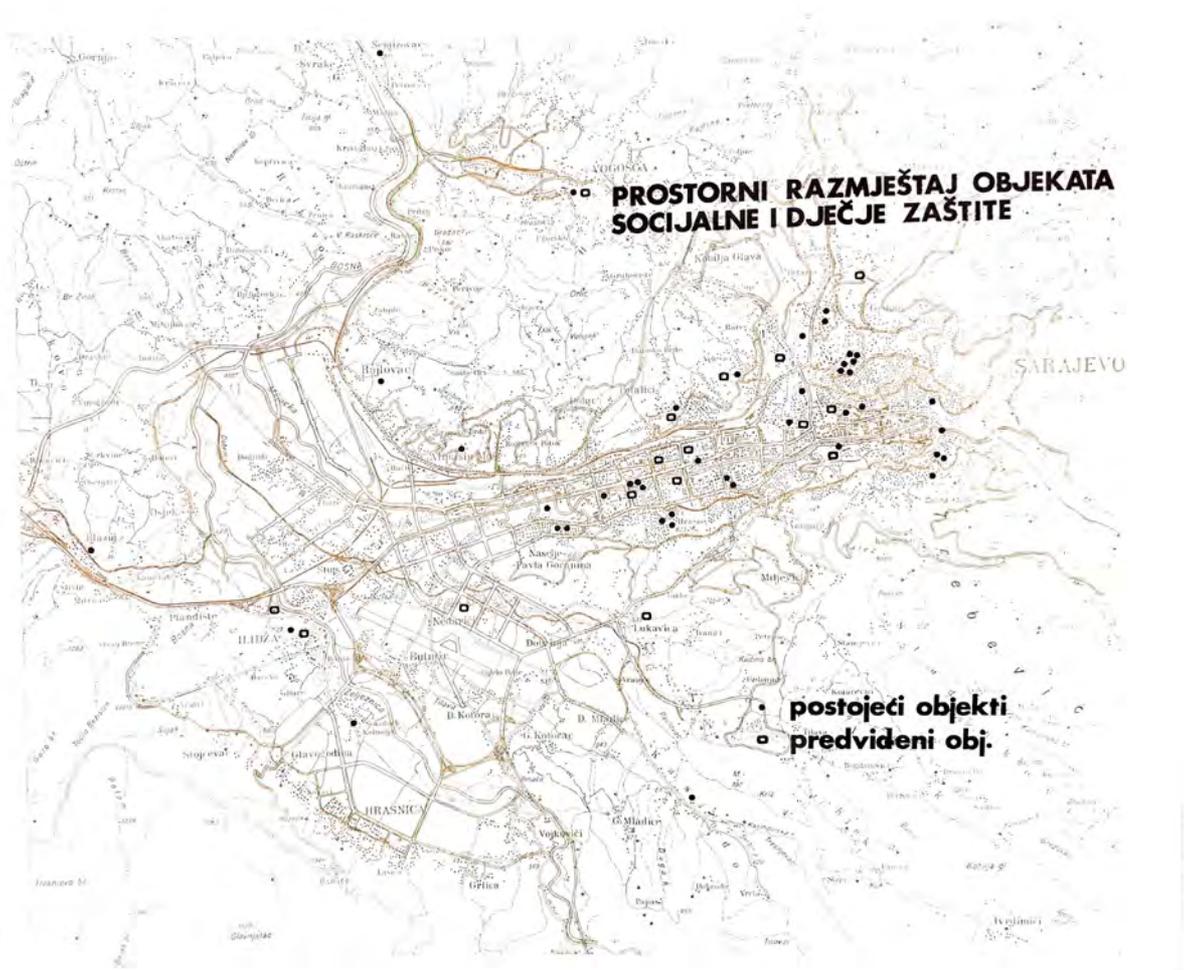


Fig. 292| Map, 'Spatial Distribution of buildings for social and children care', Sarajevo



Fig.293| Map, 'Orientation schedule for the district centre for physical culture', Sarajevo

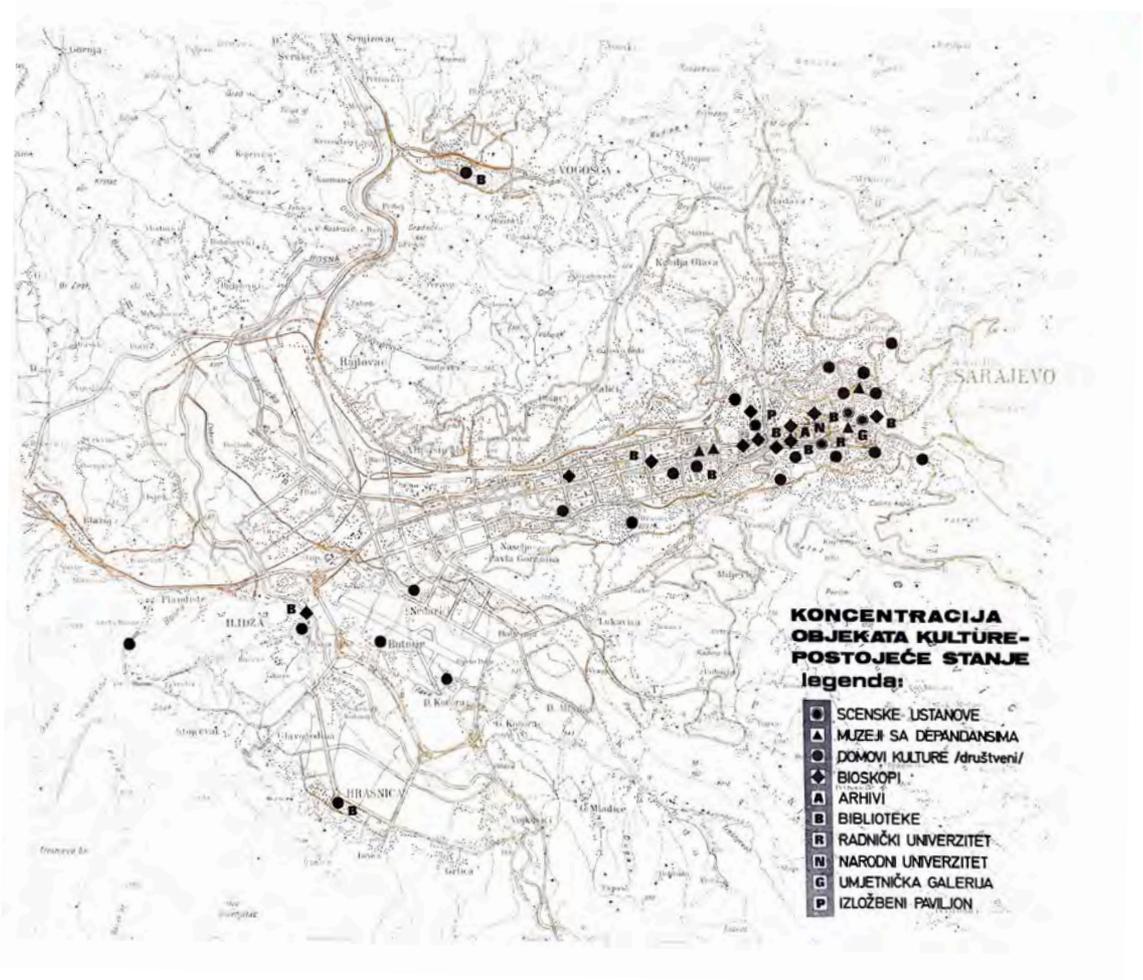


Fig.294| Map, 'Concentration of Buildings for Culture – Existing situation', Sarajevo



Fig. 295| Document, conclusions on the organization of culture in the OOUR and local Communities, 1976, Sarajevo



Fig. 296| Cover page, *City Secretariat for mobility*, 1982, Sarajevo

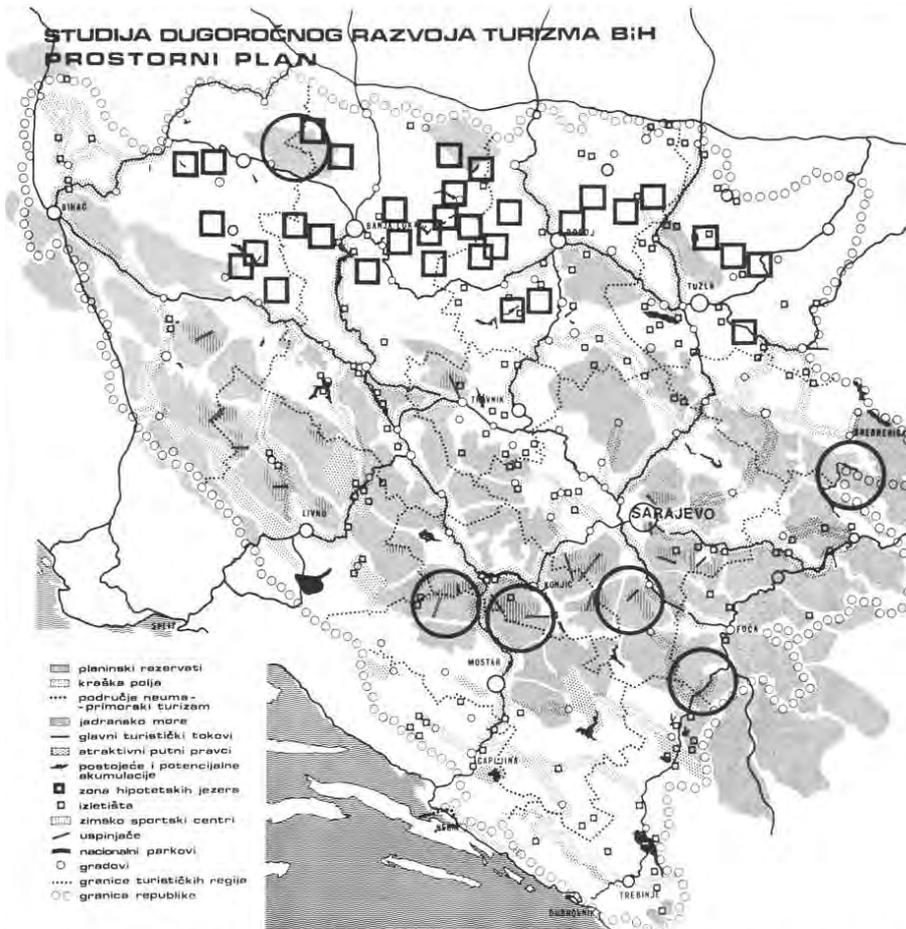


Fig. 297| Extract from the page 22, Map, 'Study for long term development of the tourism in BiH – spatial plan', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.94/95, Belgrade



Fig. 298| Extract from the page 22, Map, 'Study for long term development of the tourism in BiH – spatial plan', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.94/95, Belgrade

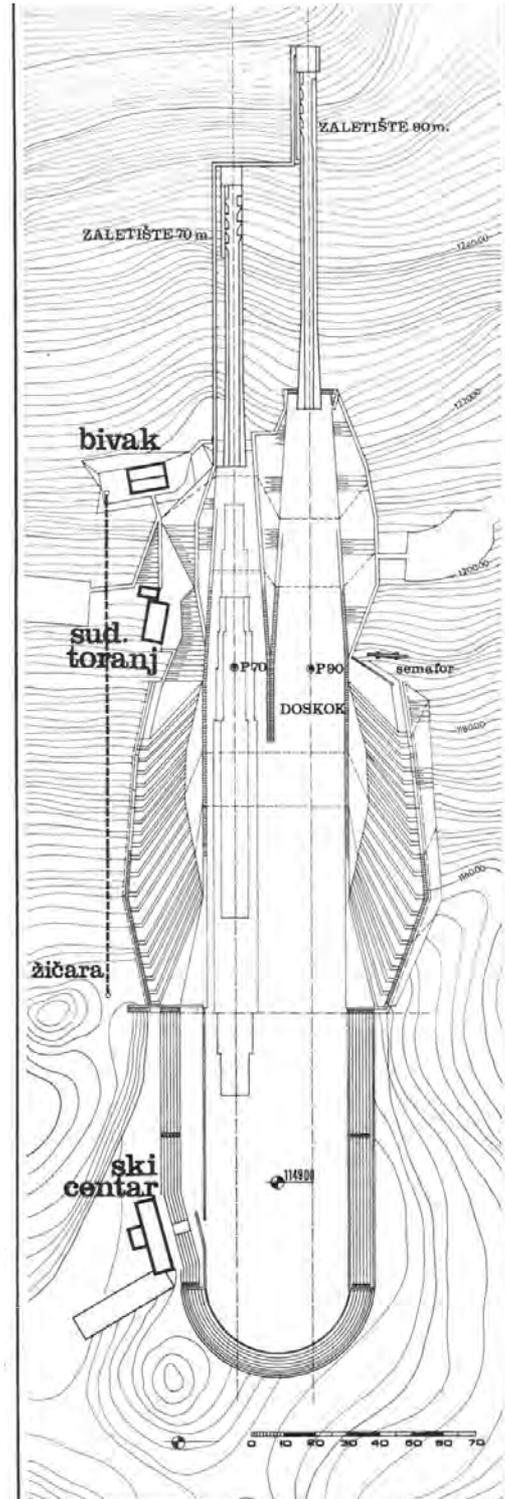


Fig. 299| Extract from the page 31, Drawing, 'Olympic Ski-Jumps', in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.94/95, Belgrade



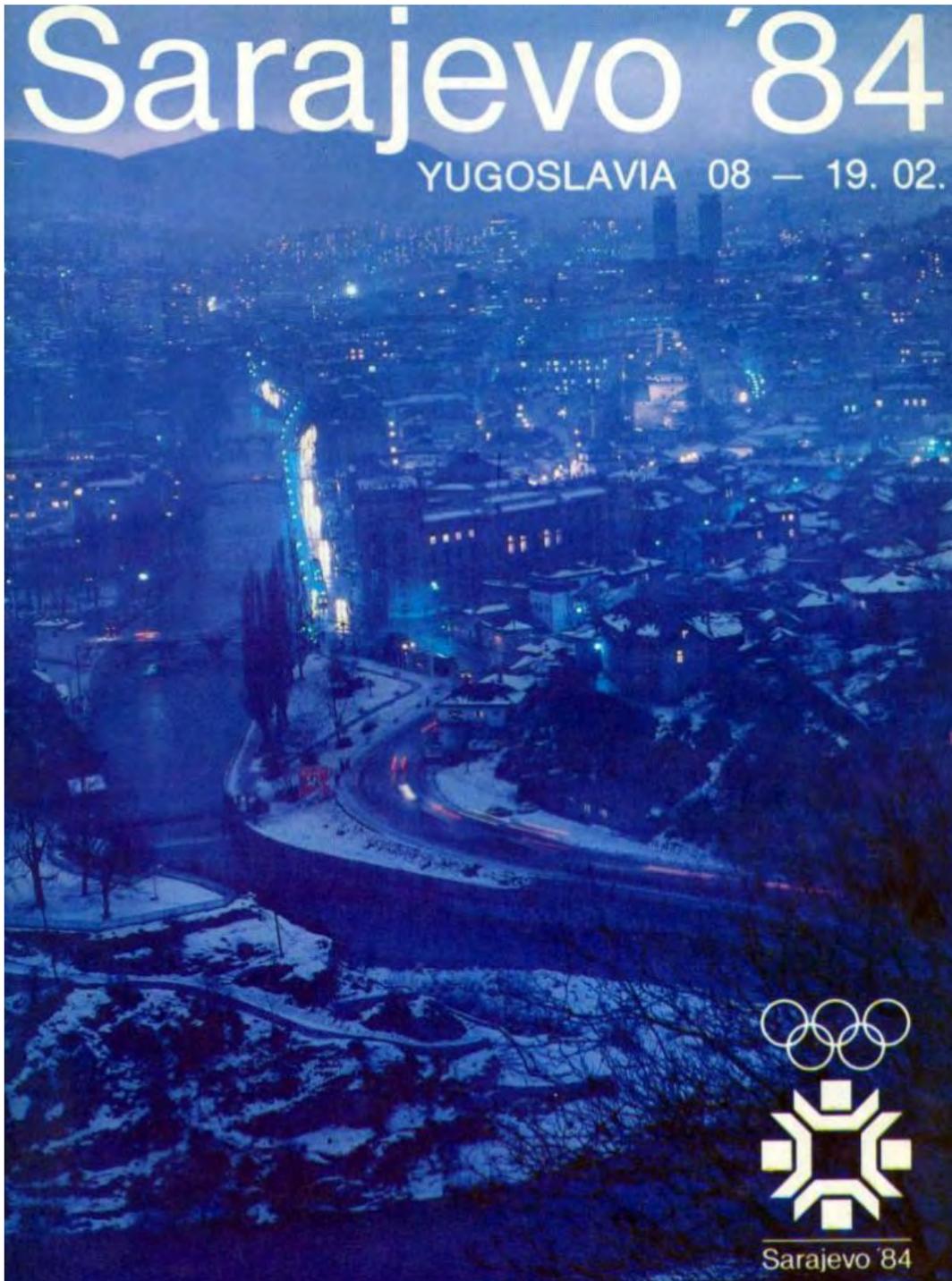


Fig. 301| Poster, 'Sarajevo 84' - Yugoslavia 08 - 19.02', 1984, Sarajevo



Fig. 302| Scene from sitcom, *'the Division of Sarajevo'*, the group *Top Lista Nadrelalista*, 1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 303| Photo, *Top Lista Nadrelalista* on the manifestations for peace in the city of Sarajevo, 1992, Sarajevo

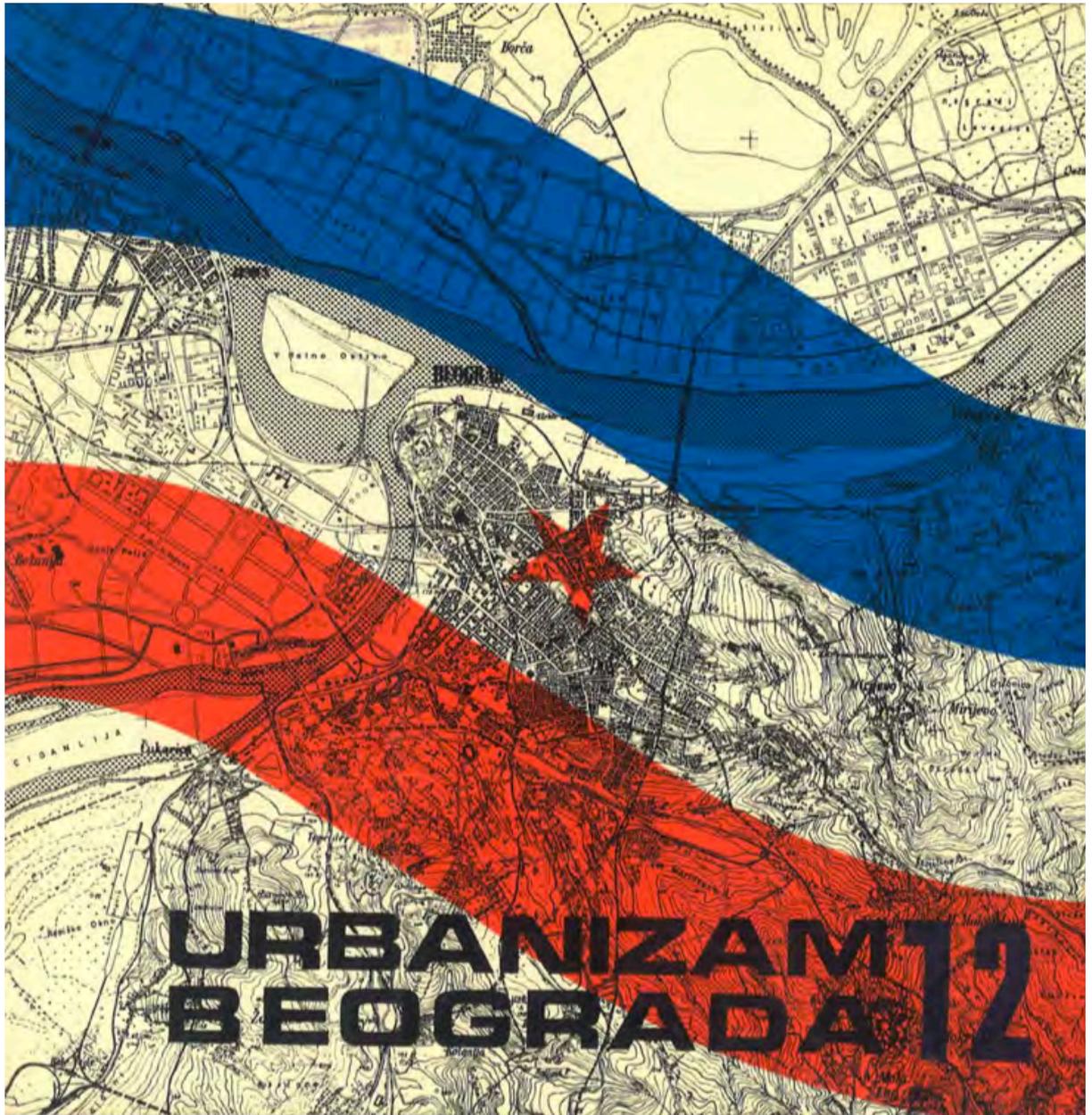


Fig. 304| Cover Page, illustration, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 12, 1971, Belgrade



Fig. 305| Scenes from the movie, *Mondo Cane*, Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1962



Fig. 306| Scenes from the movie, *Mondo Cane*, Gualtiero Jacopetti, 1962



Fig. 307| Extract from the page, *Skopje 1964, Nip Nova Makedonija, 1964*



Fig. 308| Scene from sitcom, *Production of nothing*, the group *Top Lista Nadrelalista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 309| Scene from sitcom, *'The Market'*, the group *Top Lista Nadrelalista*, -1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 310| Scene from sitcome, *'The Market'*, the group *Top Lista Nadrelalista*, -1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 311| Scene from sitcom, *'The first private work action'*, the group *Top Lista Nadrealista*, ~1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 312| Photo, Dobrica Ćosić and Slobodan Milošević, ~1990, Belgrade



Fig. 313| Photo, Josip Broz Tito and Miroslav Krleža, ~1950, Belgrade



Fig. 314| Photo, Political Session in *Sava Centre* where Bogdan Bogdanović and Ivan Stambolić, end of 1980, Belgrade



Fig. 315| Photo, Serbian National Manifestations, beginning 1991, Serbia



Fig. 316| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 317| Scene from the music video, Belgrade, 1995  
Scene from the music video, Yugoslavian, 1989



Fig. 318| Cover from a study, *Study of Religious Buildings I Location for larger buildings on the territory of the city municipalities of Belgrade within the limits of the general plan of Belgrade until 2021*, 1989, Institute for Development Planning of the City of Belgrade, Belgrade



Fig. 319| Photo, Arkan and his paramilitary forces, 1993



Fig. 320| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

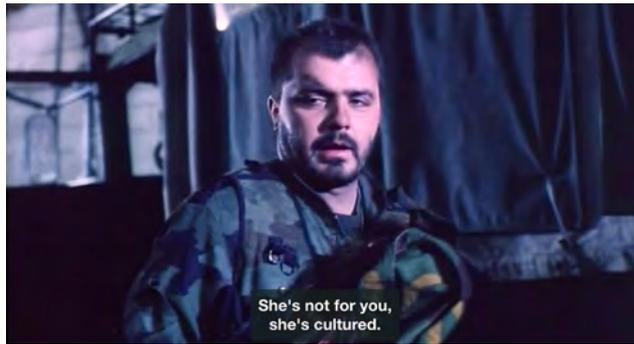


Fig. 321| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996



Fig. 322| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996



Fig. 323| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 324| Scenes from the movie, *How I was systematically destroyed by an idiot*, Slobodan Sijan, 1998



Fig. 325| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998

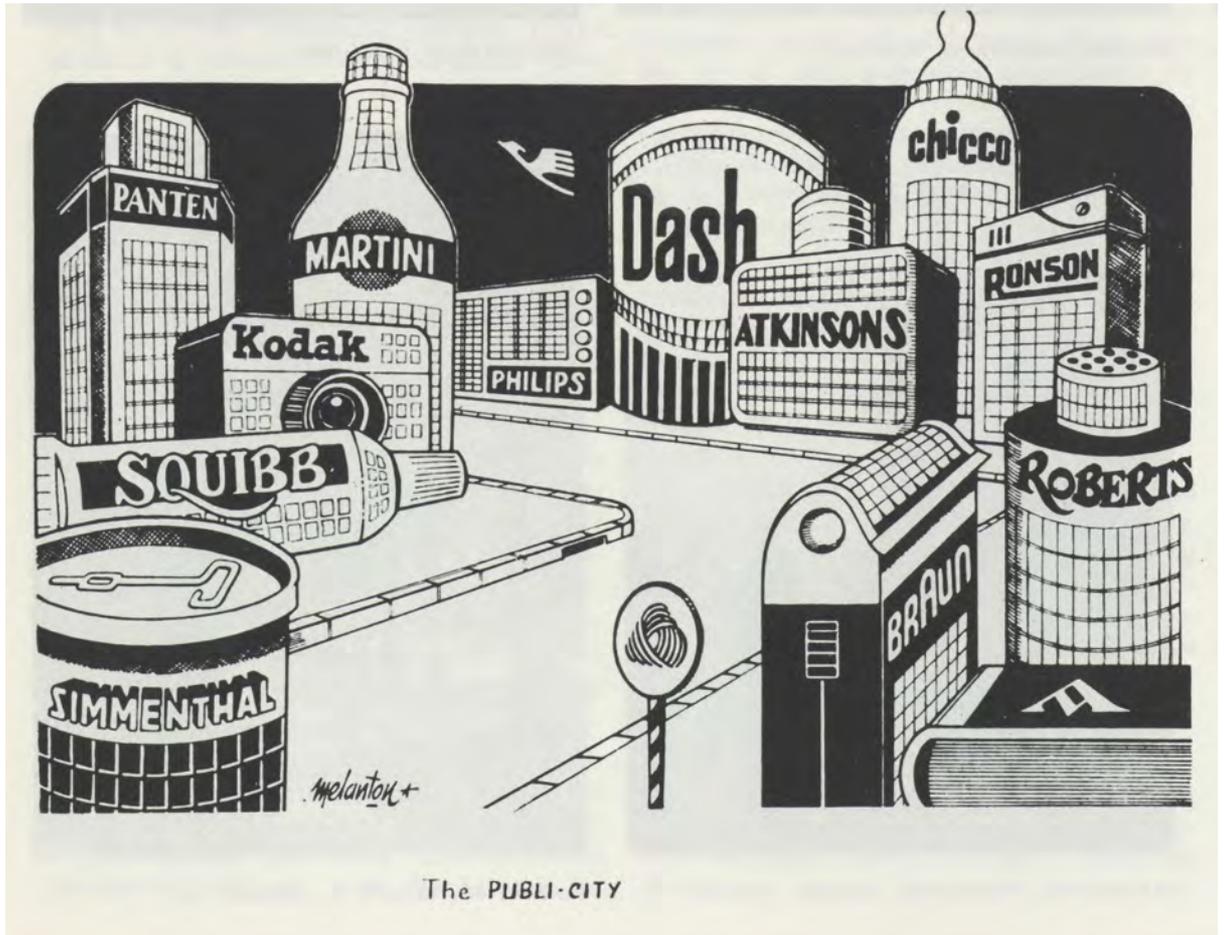


Fig. 326| Extract from page 20, 'Caricature', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 291, 1977, Zagreb



Fig. 327| Extract from page 23, 'Caricature', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 212, 1970, Zagreb

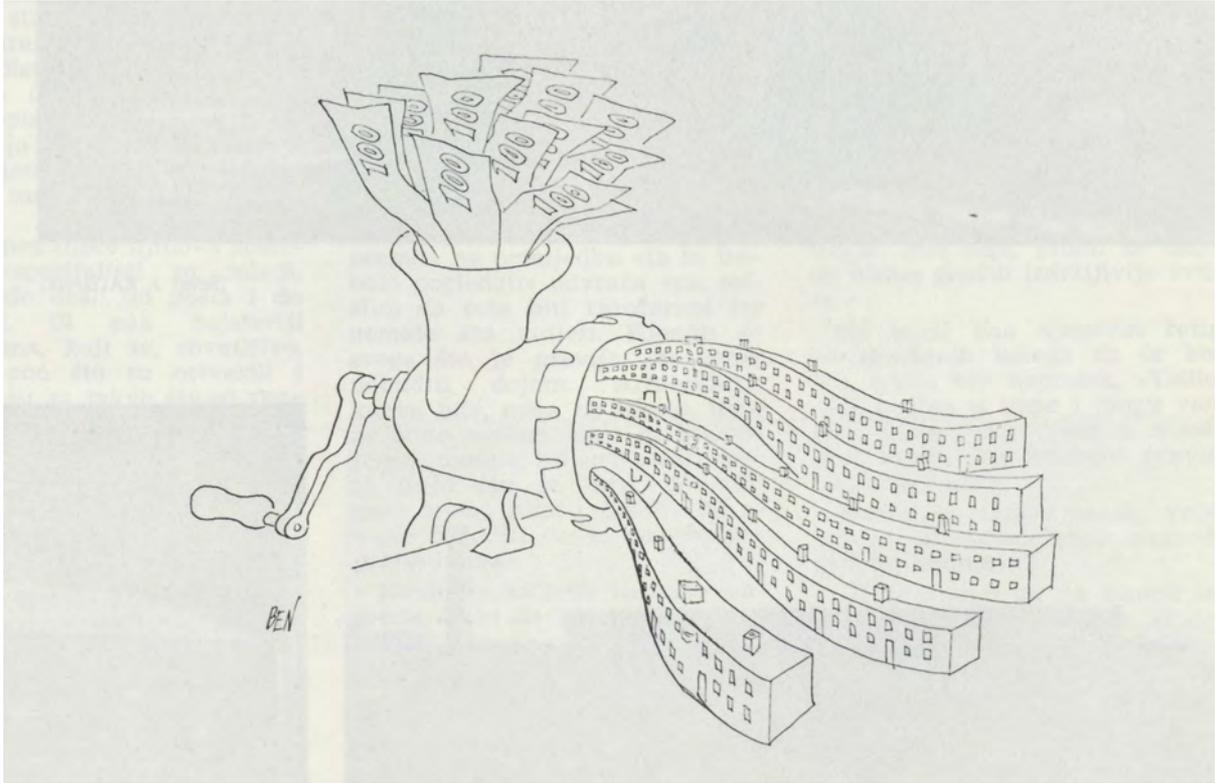


Fig. 328| Extract from page 16, 'Caricature', in the magazine *Man and Space*, No. 291, 1977, Zagreb



Fig. 329| Photo, *'Belgrade is the world'*, ~1990, Belgrade



Fig. 330| Photo, Belgrade manifestations, ~1990, Belgrade



Fig. 331| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 332| Photo, *What's out Sniper*, -1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 333| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 334| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 335| Scenes from the movie, *the Wounds*, Srđan Dragojević, 1998



Fig. 336| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, -1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 337| Photo, Everyday life in Sarajevo, ~1993, Sarajevo



Fig. 338| Scene from sitcome, 'War Nadrealists', the group *Top Lista Nadrelalista*, -1990, Sarajevo



Fig. 339| Photo, Beauty pageant contest, -1993, Sarajevo

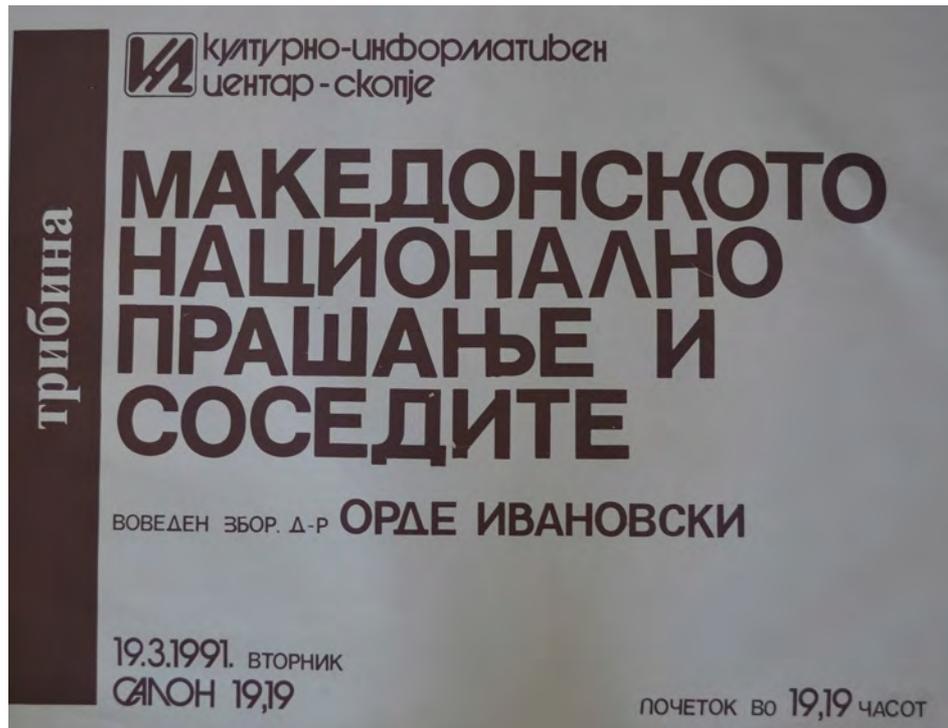


Fig. 340| Photo, Macedonian national question and the neighborhoods, ~1993, Skopje



Fig. 341| Scenes from the movie, *Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, Srđan Dragojević, 1996



Fig. 342| Photo, Manifestation *I love GTC*, Skopje, 2016



Fig. 343| Photo, Manifestation '*Don't Let Belgrade D(r)own*', Belgrade, 2015



Fig. 344| Scenes from the movie, *Underground*, Emir Kosturica, 1995

## MORALNI KODEKS ARHITEKATA SFR JUGOSLAVIJE

### REZOLUCIJA

Saveza arhitekata Jugoslavije  
konstatira:

- da je arhitektura eminentni ljudski fenomen stvaranja ambijenta,
- da ambijent ne stvaramo samo zato da bismo realizirali biološke uvjete egzistencije (stanovanja, rad, rekreacija) - a niti samo zato da bismo odrazili današnjicu,
- da ambijent nije samo odraz, već u isti mah i uvjet ljudskog postojanja,
- da je stvaranje ambijenta rezultat djelovanja aktivnih društvenih i stvaralačkih faktora i time dio kontakta općeg idejnog stremjenja društva,
- da je nemoguće izmijeniti svijet, čovjeka u njegovom društvenom biću, ako se ne shvati da je bitan element tog htjenja i izmjena ambijenta kao uvjet razvoja njegove egzistencije ka boljem i slobodnijem životu,
- da spoznaja razvoja i spoznaja naše vlastite uloge i odgovornosti postaju idejna snaga i pretpostavka svakog našeg djelovanja u kreiranju i formiranju strukture i oblika ljudskog ambijenta,
- da je realnost u kojoj se takva stremjenja žele oživotvoriti - opterećena kompleksnošću problema, čestim neshvaćanjem njegove suštine i otporima koji proizlaze iz suprotnosti našeg razvoja i naše arhitektonske stvarnosti, te se stoga cilj ne može postići donošenjem odluka, već vlastitim sazrijevanjem i širokom suradnjom,

### Ž e l i :

- da kodeksom arhitekata SFR Jugoslavije postavi osnovna načela kojima treba da je prožet svaki arhitekt i to naročito u svrhu:
- isticanje široke, značajne i odgovorne društvene uloge arhitekture,
- bližeg određivanja prava i dužnosti arhitekata,
- utvrđivanja osnovnih principa stručnog morala i pravila vladanja za arhitekate i njihove stručne organizacije,
- poboljšanja društvene klime u kojoj arhitekt obavlja svoju djelatnost,
- i da time doprinose humanom razvoju arhitekture, ispravnom odnosu arhitekata prema društvu, arhitekata među sobom i društva prema arhitekturi.

### MORALNI KODEKS ARHITEKATA

1. Arhitekt je stručnjak i kulturni radnik koji se bavi arhitekturom.

Za svoj stvaralački rad mora biti školovan i kvalificiran.

2. Profesionalni rad arhitekata može se izražavati na raznim područjima:
  - u projektnim organizacijama
  - u građevinskim poduzećima
  - u naučnim i odgojnim ustanovama
  - u javnoj upravi
  - u slobodnoj arhitektonskoj djelatnosti.

### II

#### DRUSTVENA ULOGA ARHITEKATA

Rad ili djelo arhitekta mora biti izraz:

- privrednih osnova i potreba društvene zajednice,
- narodnih i svjetskih kulturnih tokova,
- stvaralačkog znanja kojim arhitekt uređuje i oblikuje pokrajinu, naselja i prostore koji su čovjeku potrebni. Obzirom na to, urbanizam i arhitektura su discipline koje se povezuju i dopunjuju,
- stalnog stremjenja za opći napredak ljudske misli, tehnologije i umjetnosti,
- stalnog poniranja arhitekta u vlastitu struku,
- poštovanja pojedinca i društva.

### III

#### DUZNOSTI I PRAVA ARHITEKATA

1. Arhitekt mora s punom odgovornošću posvetiti svoje znanje i iskustvo prilikom planiranja, programiranja, projektiranja i izvođenja radova i to da te mjere koja je u skladu s koristima pojedinca i društva. Isto važi i za arhitekta koji se bavi drugim granama stručne djelatnosti.
2. Arhitekt mora u svakom slučaju ostati slobodan, a pogotovo nezavisan od financijske koristi.
3. Ugled arhitekta i njegova prava moraju počivati na ličnim sposobnostima i kvalitetama.
4. Arhitekt mora nesebično sva svoja iskustva i znanje prenositi na mlađe i omogućiti im da dostignu viši nivo stručnog znanja i položaj koji je u skladu s njihovim sposobnostima.
5. Pri ocjeni tuđeg rada arhitekt mora biti objektivn i učtiv i da u istom duhu prima ocjene svoga rada.
6. Arhitekt zaposlen u javnoj upravi, koji bi imao zadatak da ocjenjuje svoje lično djelo, mora se odreći tog ocjenjivanja i ne smije ga se prihvatiti ni u slučaju da je za to dobio izuzetnu dozvolu.
7. Ako je za ostvarenje arhitektonskog djela potrebna suradnja raznih stručnjaka, arhitekt mora već na početku odrediti pra-

va, dužnosti i odgovornosti i svojim autoritetom postići takvu skladnost, da njegova zamisao bude ostvarena u punoj mjeri.

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10. Arhitekt ima pravo na odgovarajuću nagradu za svoj rad.
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17. Arhitekt ne smije učestvovati na javnom ili užem natječaju ako je u žiriju i jedan član s kojim je u užem srodstvu.
18. Objava rezultata arhitektonskog djela sa imenom autora nije dozvoljena u trgovinsko-reklamne svrhe.
19. U slučaju spora između naručioca, projektanta i izvođača, arhitekt mora ostati nepristrani i učtiv sudac koji tumači propise, dogovore i postojeću praksu.
20. U slučaju spora kojeg arhitekt-sudac ne može riješiti, mjerodavno je mišljenje odgovarajuće komisije organizacije arhitekata.

**OVAJ KODEKS USVOJEN JE NA III KONGRESU ARHITEKATA JUGOSLAVIJE U LJUBLJANI 17. MAJA 1968. GODINE TE JE OBAVEZAN ZA SVE ARHITEKTE JUGOSLAVIJE.**

Fig. 345| Extract from the page 5, *Moral Codex of the Architects, of SFR Yugoslavia*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.194, 1974, Zagreb



Fig. 346| Extract from the page 1, a poster, *Congress of the Architect of Yugoslavia 1968*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.184, 1968, Zagreb



Fig. 347| Scenes from the movie, *Do you remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1981



Fig. 348| Scenes from the movie, *Do you remember Dolly Bell?*, Emir Kusturica, 1981



# čovjek i prostor

GODINA XVI BROJ 191

CIJENA ND 4,00

ZAGREB, VELJACA 1969



Stara čipkasta naselja kao nastloga skrivena na obroncima Trebević-planine. Zivi primjer uzornog sklopa! Habitat XVII stoljeća.

## 2

- SPASAVAJMO STARO SARAJEVO
- EXPO 67 - HABITAT
- NUDISTICKI KAMP U ISTRI
- KUĆA S DVA LICA
- GRADITELJ STAROG HRVATSKOG KAZALISTA
- NA RUBU STRANICE
- RESTORAN I KAVANA »ZABICA« NA RIJEČI
- MORSKI GRAD
- MALA LIKOVNA KRONIKA
- ESTETSKI ZAHTEVI ZA IGRACKU
- KNJIGE I CASOPISI

## SPAŠAVAJMO STARO SARAJEVO - BORBA ZA AMBIJENT

AKCIJA PROF. NAJDHARDA PROTIV IZGRADNJE NEBODERA NA PODNOŽJU TREBEVIĆA



Planirani neboderi sakrivaju upravo jedinstvene vidike na Trebević i stara naselja. Rješiti primjer potpunog nesklada!

Arhitekt Juraj Najdhardt, profesor Arhitektonsko-urbanističkog fakulteta u Sarajevu, već se gotovo trideset godina zdušno i nesebično bori za očuvanje sarajevskih prirodnih i povijesnih ambijenata. S težnjom da se osužeti daljnje uništavanje baštinih pozitivnih arhitektonskih i urbanističkih vrednota, a povodom predviđene i započete daljnje izgradnje nebodera na podnožju Trebevića, prof. Najd-

hardt je nedavno objavio brošuru o svetosti i neprikosnovnosti ambijenta protiv urbanističkih divljanja i ujedno uputio javnosti protest zbog naše indolencije.

Sada je prof. Najdhardt poveo široku akciju i uputio svoj poziv javnosti zbog poduzimanja hitnih mjera kako bi se spriječila započeta izgradnja dvaju 18-katnih »monstruma« na lijevoj obali Miljacke.

Ova je akcija zapravo nastavak akcije građana s područja Skenderije. S tim u vezi održan je 26. XI 1968. javni sastanak na Arhitektonsko-urbanističkom fakultetu, na kome je zaključeno da se predsjedništvu općine Sarajevo pošalju predstavnici građana sa otvorenim pismom i potpisima protiv spomenute gradnje solitera u tom starom dijelu grada.

BRANKO BUNIC

Poziv prof. Najdharta javnosti glasi:

DRAGI DRUGOVI,

Obraćamo Vam se ovim pismom da Vas podsjetimo:

Izgradnja sedam nebodera koji su planirani u ambijentu neposredno ispod Trebevića — na lijevoj obali Miljacke — nenadoknadivo će okrnjiti ljepotu i izgled našeg grada, naročito zato jer će neboderi stršiti iz svoje sredine i svojom voluminoznošću zaklanjati i sukcesivno sve više podrediti Trebević. Na tome prostoru su, nažalost, već izgrađena dva nebodera, a treći je u izgradnji. Za ostale izgradnja je u pripremi.

Sada je na nama građanima, koji volimo i cijenimo ljepote Sarajeva, da odlučno i kratko kažemo — ne! — ne dižite nebodere tamo gdje im nije mjesto — gdje ne uljepšavaju, nego narušavaju harmoniju i izgled ambijenta i kao stihija — jer stihija i jesu — ubijaju dušu starog Sarajeva kojemu su padine Trebevića sastavni dio njegove školjke.

Nastavak na 2. strani

Fig. 349| Page 1, Lets save old Sarajevo – battle for ambience. Action of Prof. Neidhardt against construction of skyscrapers in the beginning of the mountain Trebavica, Juraj Neidhardt, in magazine Man and Space, No.191, 1969, Zagreb



Fig. 350| Sketch, The Turkish bazaar in the city of Skopje, *ITPA*



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Fig. 351| Page 158, Article, *Social activity in the social plan, development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 63-64-65, 1981, Belgrade



164

Fig. 352| Page 164, Article, *Social activity in the social plan, development plan and plans of self-governing interest communities*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 63-64-65, 1981, Belgrade

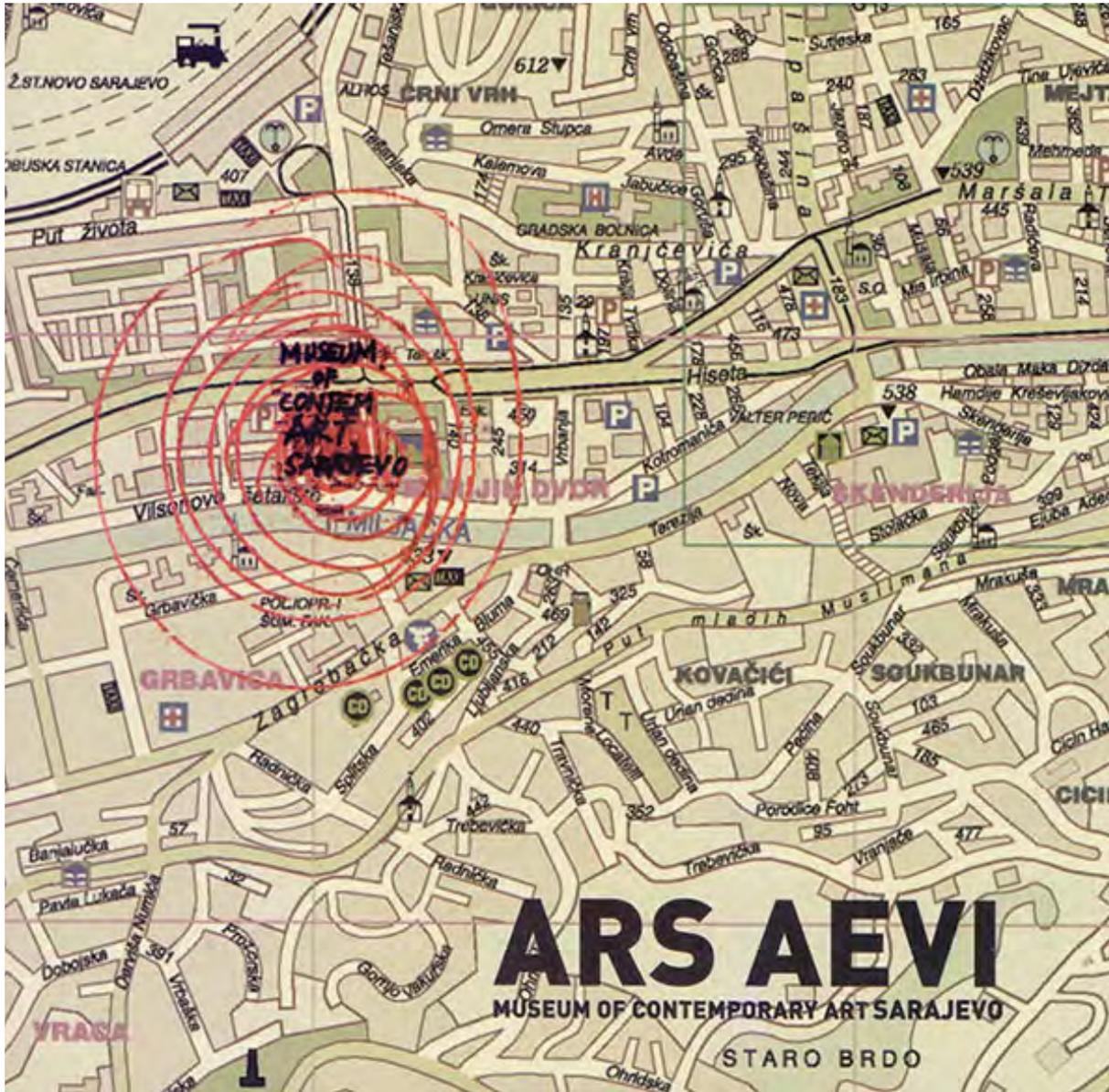


Fig. 353| Poster, *Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Sarajevo, Ars Aevi, Centre Skenderija, Sarajevo*

Arh. Milorad Macura  
Arh. Darko Marušić

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VALORIZACIJA PROSTORNIH SISTEMA  
ZA KULTURNE DELATNOSTI U SRBIJI

I. UVOD

Valorizacija prostornih sistema u kojima se odvijaju kulturne aktivnosti u Srbiji, prikazana ovim dokumentom, oslanja se na rezultate istraživanja sprovedenih u okviru I elementa Prostornog plana SR Srbije - poglavlja u kome je izvršena valorizacija prostornih sistema namenjenih životnom standardu.

Budući da kod naš, pa ni u drugim zemljama, nisu određeni i opšteusvojeni kriterijumi i merila za vrednovanje spacioloških<sup>\*)</sup> jedinica na kojima se zasniva životni standard, ukazalo se neophodnim da se oni prethodno prouče i utvrde.

Na savremenom stepenu našeg društvenog razvitka, kad istovremeno stvaramo novu tehnologiju i nove društvene odnose, budućnost ne može da se očekuje, naslućuje ili predvidja, već se ona mora da programira i planira. Krajnje napregnute spona između ciljeva i uslova - odnosno potreba, želja i mogućnosti - mogu da obezbede celovitost društvene egzistencije čiji su tokovi usmeravani samoupravljanjem, samo pod jednim planskim preduslovom. To je apsolutna ravnoteža svih sačinitelja društvenog života i razvoja.

Nije utvrđeno kako i koliko utiče na nisku produktivnost rada mnogih naših radnih organizacija - izraženu i kvalitativno i kvantitativno - činjenica da u njima često rade i upravljaju ljudi nedovoljno obrazovani, sa nerazvijenom ličnom kulturom i zakržljanim kulturnim životom, koji su u

\*) Spacium: prostor ljudskog života društvenim radom formiran, organizovan i opremljen. Javlja se kao prostorija, zgrada, naselja ili region, i permanentno se menja sagiasno promenama u određenoj ljudskoj zajednici.

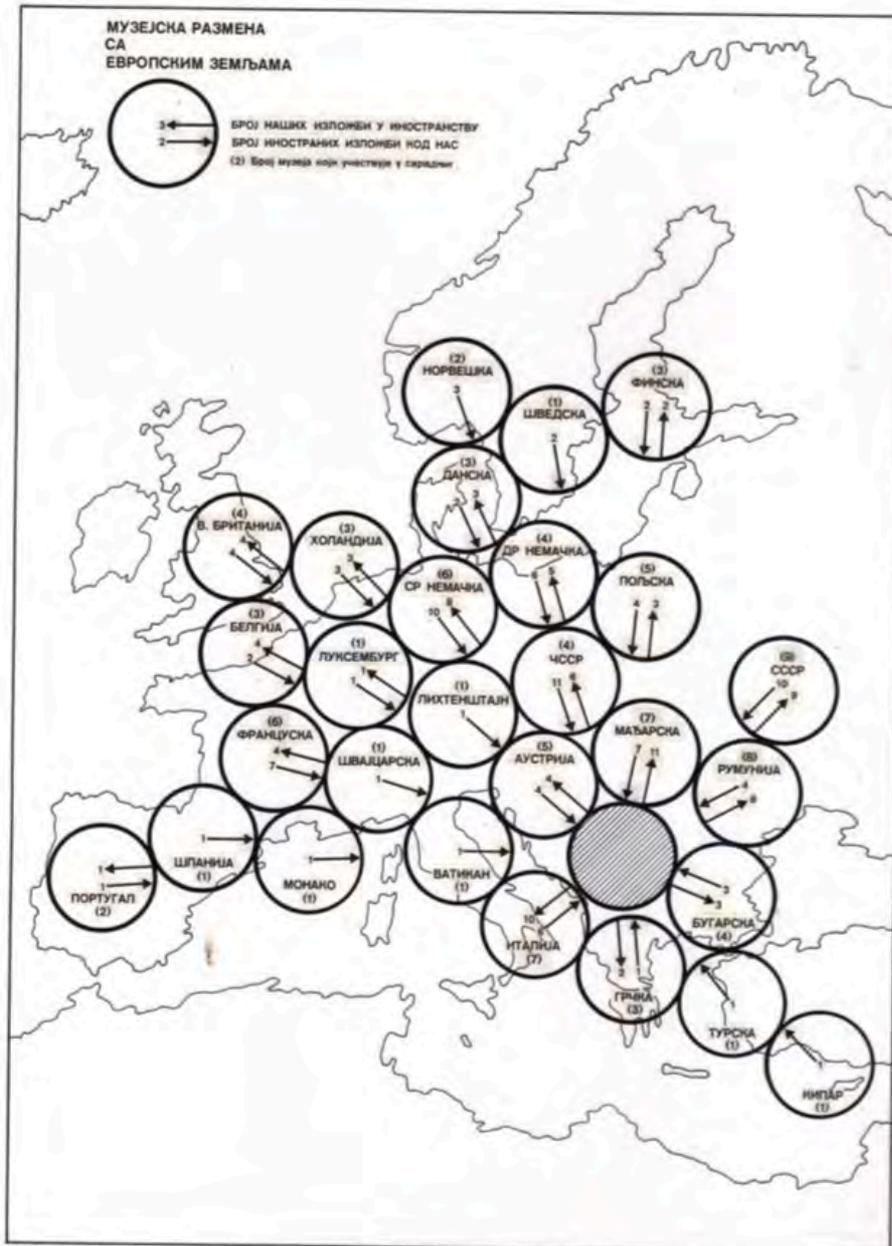


Fig. 355| Page 110, Museum exchange with the outside Europe Countries, *Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia*, No. 3, Institute for Studying Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 356| Page 110, Museum exchange with the outside Europe Countries, *Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia*, No. 3, *Institute for Studying Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade



Fig. 357 | Scenes from the movie, *When father was away on Business*, Emir Kusturica, 1985



Fig. 358| Scene from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Fig. 359| Scenes from the movie, *Dancing in Water*, Jovan Aćin, 1985



Kako ne će naći Tehničara i arhitekta ima jako malo. Neka se nama jave. Međi cemo ih trojicu zaposliti, a ne jednoga!

Kako gledate na budućnost proizvodnje?

Jugoslavija je prije rata brala prve nagrade na internacionalnim izložbama namještaja. Ona ima uspjeha i danas, ali unutra je zbrka. Bogati smo drvotom. Mogli bismo proizvoditi i te kako dobar namještaj i postati dobar izvoznik. Ali to treba riješiti najprije u proizvodnji, u strojevima i tehničkom radu, a onda preći na tržište unutarnje, pa i vanjsko.

### Ukus potrošača kao prvotni problem

U razgovoru, koji se vodio o tome pitanju, učestvovali su uz druga direktora, komercijalni direktor i članovi radničkog savjeta tvornice pokuštva -Marko Šavrić. Njihove misli, radi kraćoće prostora, donosimo kao zajednički odgovor.

Zašto nemamo suvremenog pokuštva? Da li je tome krivnja u produkciji, projektiranju ili ukusu potrošača?

Prema našem mišljenju problem, koji trebamo svladati u proizvodnji suvremenog namještaja prvenstveno je ukus potrošača. Ne stoji da taj ukus teži još uvijek za stilskim namještajem. Mi smo se uvjerali, da se stilski namještaj, koji smo izrađivali, ne prodaje i prekinuli smo s njegovom proizvodnjom. Ali ukus potrošača se priučio na sadašnje uobičajene tipove namještaja i oni se općenito smatraju i modernim i lijepim. Specijalno se to odnosi na orahovinom furnirani namještaj s njegovim tamnim, upravo mrtvačkim bojama, koji publika gotovo isključivo traži. Ako mi kao poduzeće hoćemo opstojati, moramo proizvoditi ono što se prodaje. Naši široki potrošači ne bi danas prihvatili jednostavno pokuštvo bez boga-

Suvremeni, skladni i jeftini sobni namještaj

Fig. 360| Extract from the page 6, *Consumers taste as a life problem*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.3,1954, Zagreb



Fig. 361| Photo, Everyday life in Belgrade, 1960s

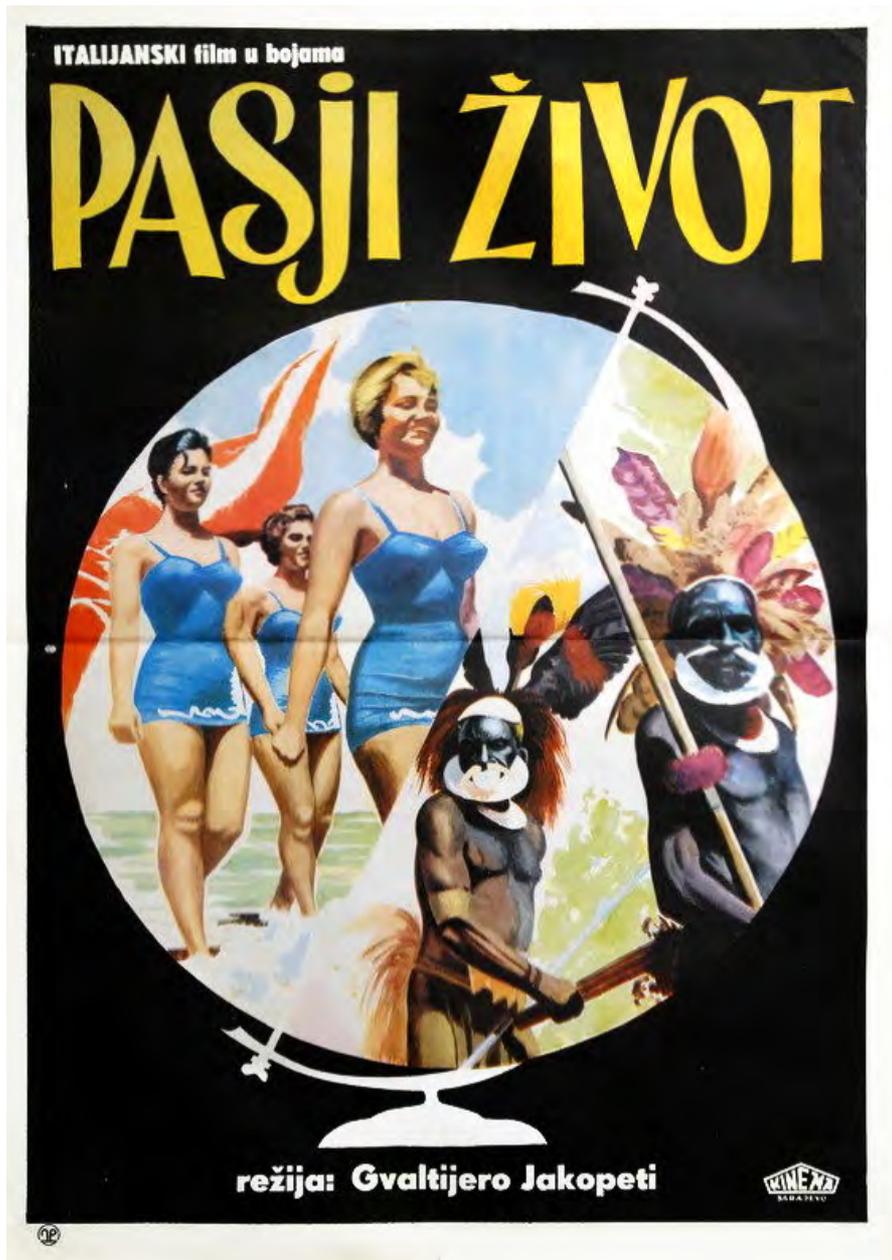


Fig. 362| Poster from the movie, *Mondo Cane* [*Pasji Život*], Gualtiero Jacopetti, Franco Prosperi, Paolo Cavara, 1962

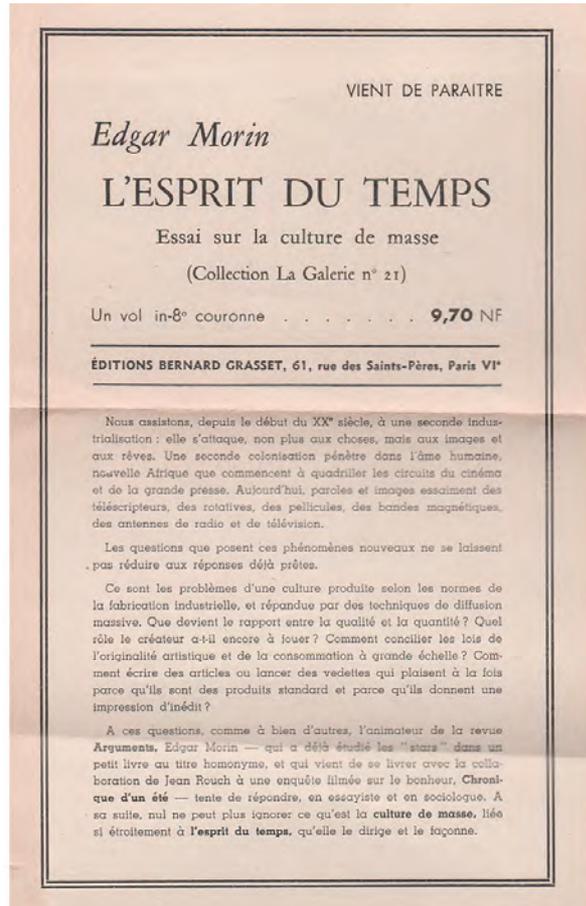
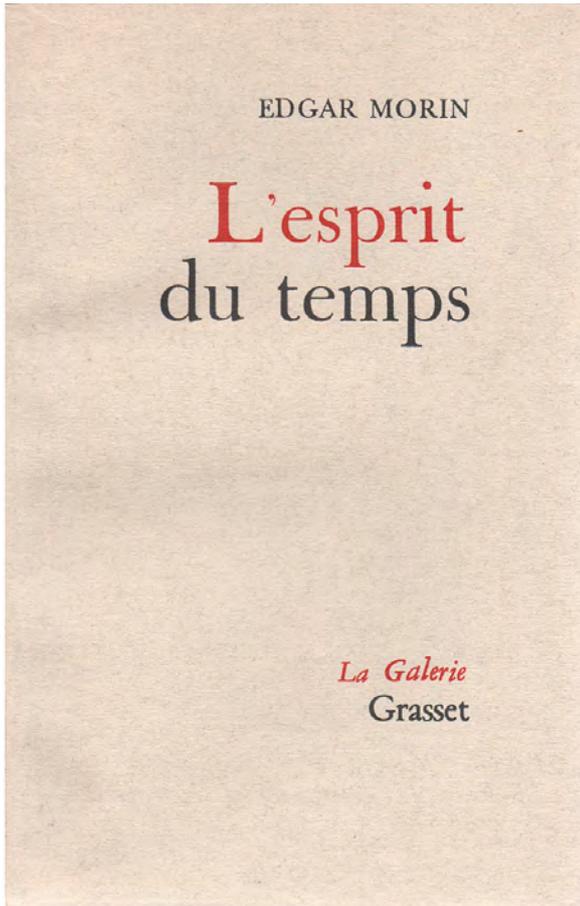


Fig. 363| Book, *L'esprit du temps*, Edgar Morin, 1962

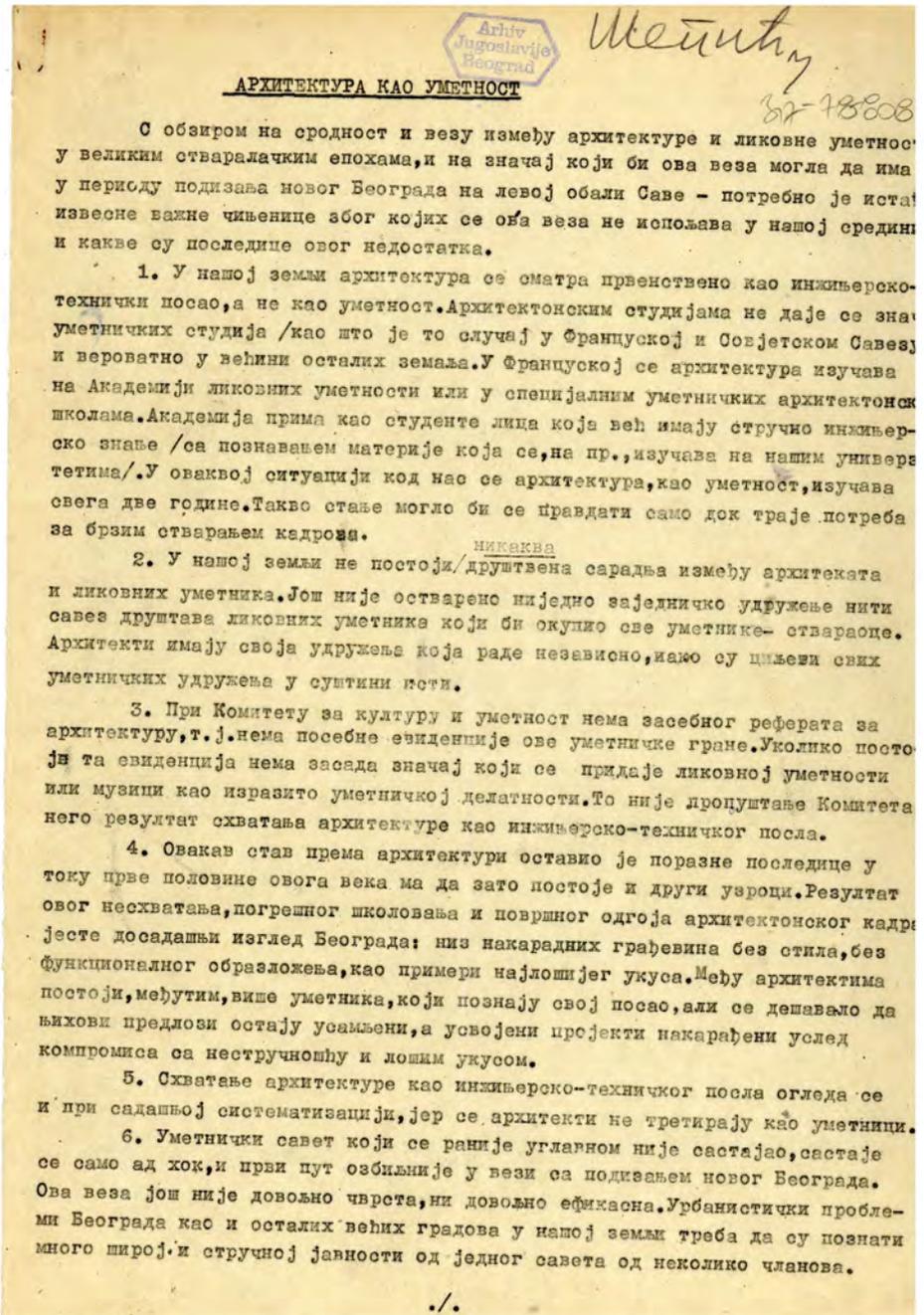


Fig. 364| Page 1, Document, *Architecture as Art*, from the *Council for Culture and Art of FНРY*, Archive of Yugoslavia, 1962, Belgrade

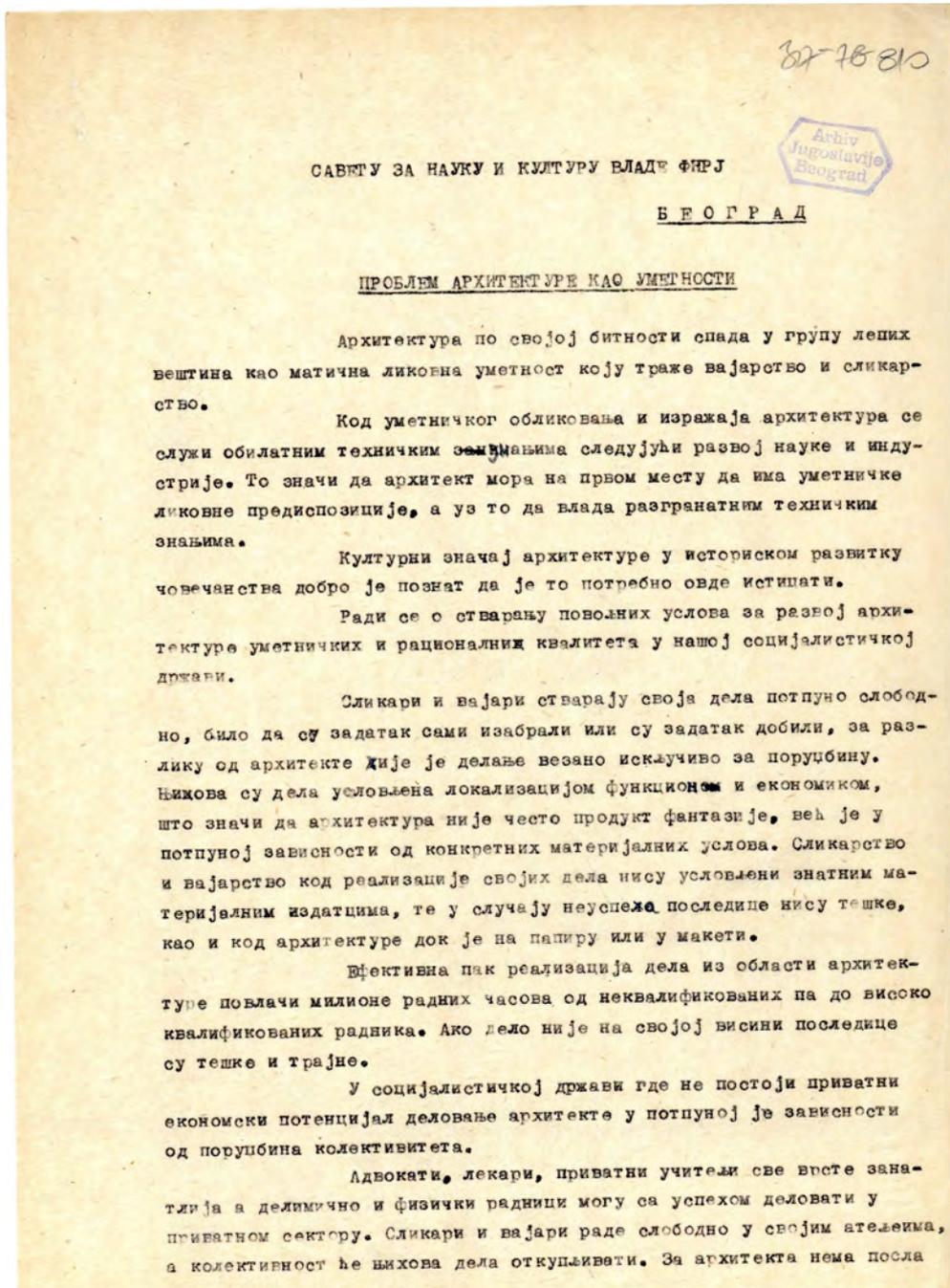


Fig. 365| Page 1, Document, *The problem of Architecture as Art*, from the *Council for Culture and Art of FNRJ, Archive of Yugoslavia*, 1962, Belgrade

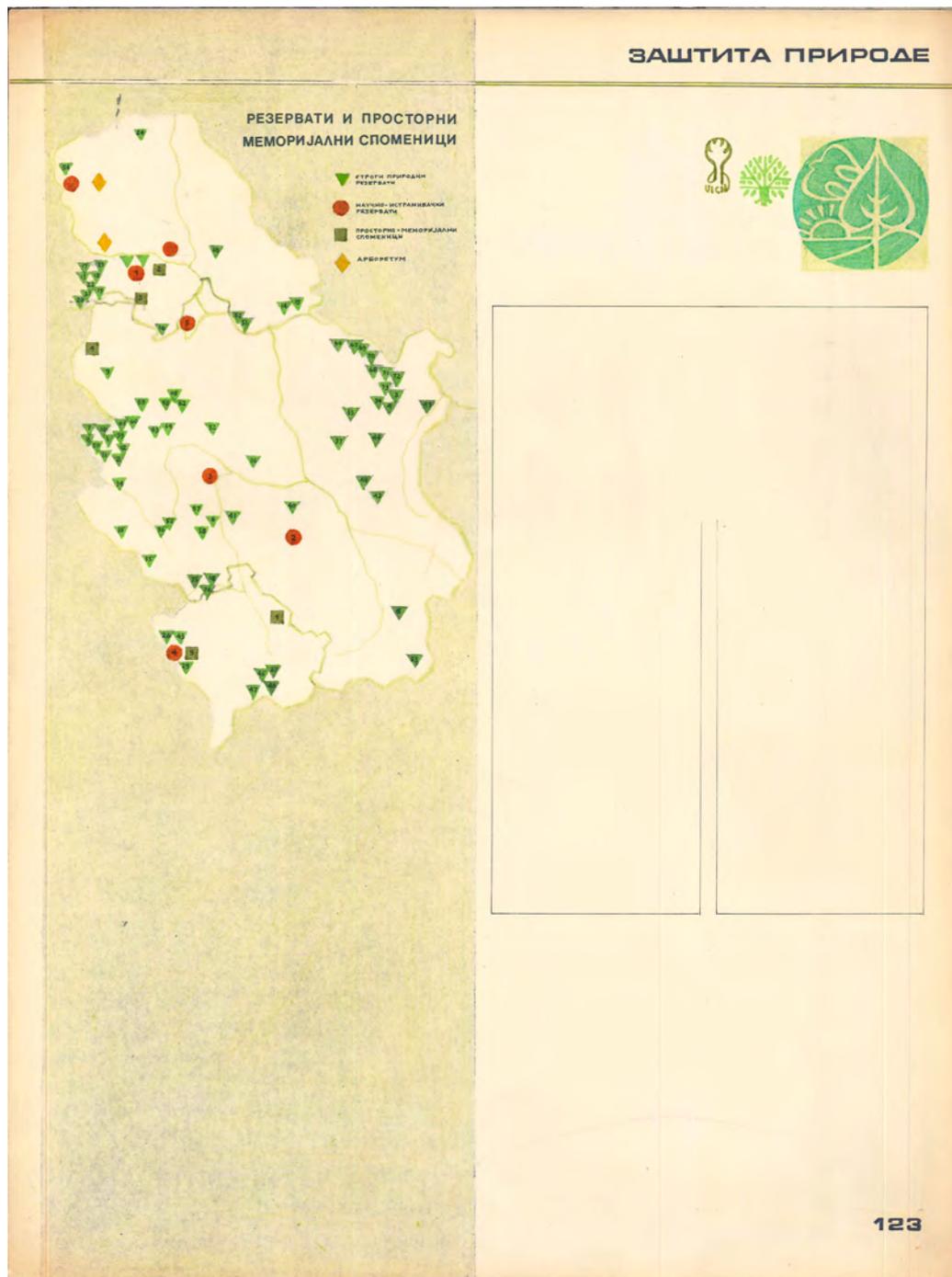


Fig. 366| Page 123, Map, *Protection of The Nature: the Reserves and Spatial Memorials*, *Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia*, No. 3, *Institute for Studying Cultural Development*, 1974, Belgrade

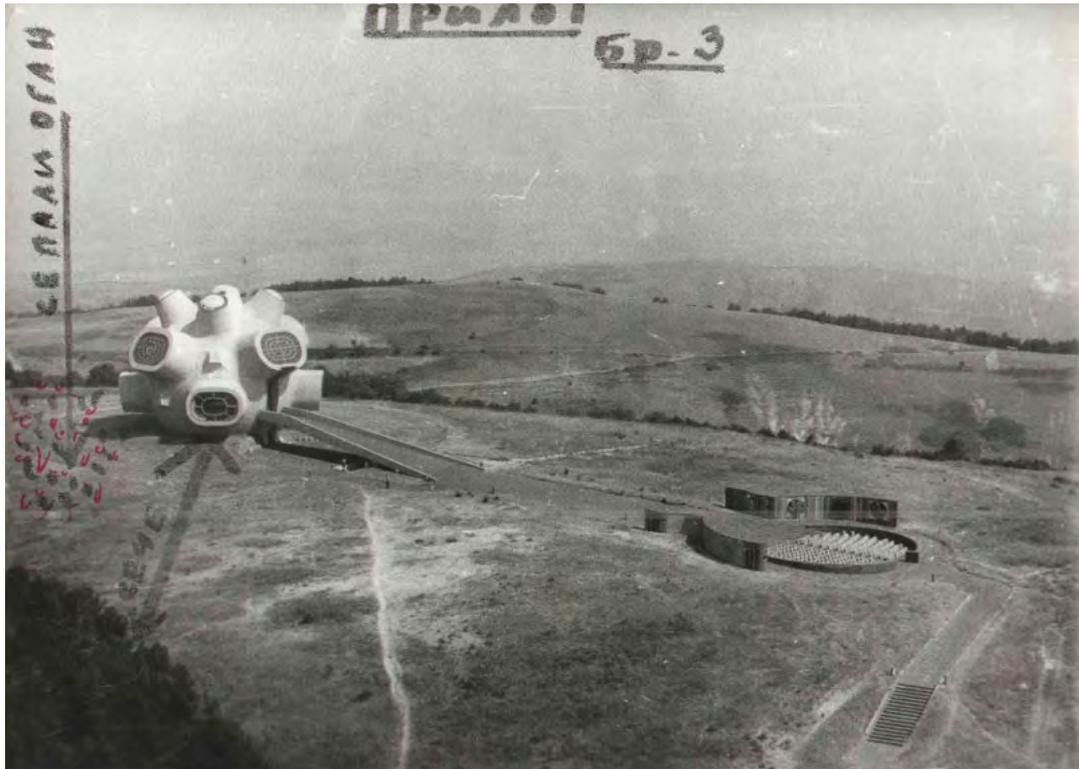


Fig. 367| Photo, *Memorial Makedonium*, Jordan Grabuloski and Iskra Grabuloska, 1974, Krusevo, SR Macedonia



Fig. 368| Photo, *Memorial Makedonium*, Jordan Grabuloski and Iskra Grabuloska, 1974, Krusevo, SR Macedonia

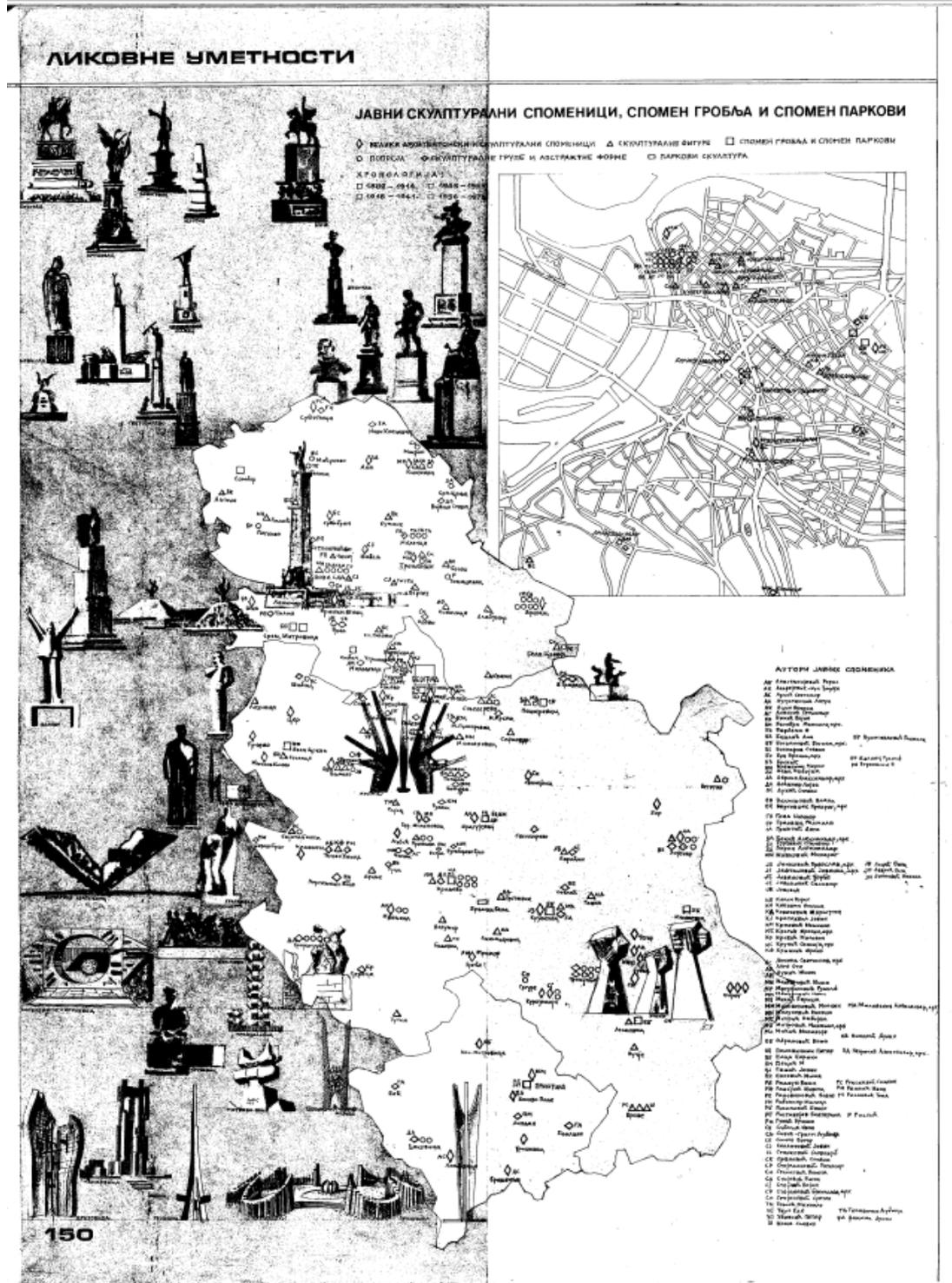


Fig. 369| Page 150, Map, *Art: Public Monuments, Memorial Cemeteries Memorial Parks, Atlas of Culture –of SR Serbia, No. 3, Institute for Studying Cultural Development, 1974, Belgrade*

Bratislav STOJANOVIĆ, dipl. ing. arh.

## KONKURS ZA IDEJNO REŠENJE SPOMENIKA KOSMAJSKOM PARTIZANSKOM ODREDU

Raspisivač konkursa:

Odbor za izgradnju spomenika Kosmajskom partizanskom odred.

Lokacija spomenika:

Kosmaj — prostor zvani »Mali vise na površini od 10,0 ha. (Prema Programu za uređenje Kosmaja izrađenom u Urbanističkom zavodu Beograda).

Vreme trajanja konkursa:

Od 1. marta do 30. septembra 1969. godine.

Ocenjivački sud:

Predsednik — Moma MARKOVIĆ, predsednik Odbora za podizanje spomenika;

Članovi: Aleksa CELEBONOVIĆ, Branko PETRIĆIĆ, Bratislav STOJANOVIĆ, Vladeta PETRIĆ, Jovan SEKULIĆ, Ljubomir IVKOVIĆ, Mika JANKOVIĆ, Milan VUKAS, Pavle BLAŽIĆ, Radenko MIŠEVIĆ.

Konkurs je bio jugoslovenski, javni, opšti i anonimni. Prispelo je 26 radova koji su zadovoljili konkursne uslove (dva rada nisu udovoljili raspisanim uslovima). Izložba konkursnih radova održana je u Umetničkom paviljonu na Kalemegdanu od 25. do 28. novembra 1969. godine.

Dodeljene su, većinom glasova, sledeće nagrade:

I nagradu, u iznosu od 50.000 novih dinara, dobio je rad pod šifrom »MAJ« — čiji su autori vajar Vojin Stojić i arh. Gradimir Medaković, iz Beograda.



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Za ovaj rad žiri je konstatovao:

— Da je to skulptorsko — arhitektonsko delo koje ulazi u apstraktan način likovnog izražavanja, i da je njime uspešno izražena namera autora... čisto likovnim sredstvima, bez naracije, saopšti veličanstvenost i karakter Odrada. On se sastajao, narastao i odmah nezadrživo hitao u borbu. Skulptura je tako komponovana da svojim dinamičnim kretanjem masa izražava jedno združivanje, sjedinjavanje i odmah zatim silovito bujanje, stremljenje u vis i u stranu, jedno zračenje i dalekosežno dejstvovanje.

— Da, iako ne predstavlja apsolutnu novinu u likovnom izražavanju kao spomenik, poseduje dovoljno specifičnosti.

— Da čistoća i jednostavnost oblika idejnog konkursnog rešenja garantuje da će i realizacije spomenika u prirodnoj veličini zadržati isto likovno i idejno dejstvo.

Žiri je uslovio da se, pre izvođenja, urbanističko rešenje dopuni u duhu i na nivou nekih predloga dobijenih na konkursu.

II nagradu, u iznosu od 30.000 novih dinara, dobio je rad pod šifrom »B9000« — čiji su autori arh. Miodrag Stanković i vajar Ante Gržetić, iz Beograda.

Za ovaj rad žiri je između ostalog rekao:

— Dosledno organizujući unutrašnji prostor i neposrednu okolinu kroz skulptorske forme bliske figurativnom izražavanju, — autor omogućava da se spomenik sagledava u svojim vrednostima sa svih strana.

— Originalnim urbanističkim rešenjem uspešno je definisan užji spomenički prostor i saobražen ambijentalnim vrednostima Kosmaja.

— Postignut je sklad između svih elemenata koji ulaze u sintezu složenog dela.

Žiri je povećao sumu predviđenu za treću nagradu i dodelio dve ravnopravne treće nagrade:

Radu pod šifrom »ZAKLETVA«, u iznosu od 15.000 novih dinara — čiji su autori vajar Nandor Glid, arh. Vera Ko-

vačević, konsultant za hortikulturu inž. Petar Pecelj, iz Beograda, i

radu pod šifrom »SOPOT — Y«, u iznosu od 15.000 novih dinara — čiji je autor vajar Jovan Kratofil, iz Beograda. Za rad pod šifrom »Zakletva« žiri je konstatovao:

— Da je skulptorska kompozicija izrasla iz snažnog dramskog osećanja, izražena kvalitetnim likovnim jezikom.

— Na manjem delu skulpture narušen je osećaj monumentalnosti zbog izvesne nestabilnosti.

— Arhitektura predloženih platoa i ostalih elemenata nalazi se u izvesnom apornom stavu sa skulpturom i ambijentom.

Za rad pod šifrom »Sopot — Y« žiri je između ostalog konstatovao:

— Skulptorsko delo je zrelo. Autor se izražava na asocijativan način, ideja je sprovedena dosledno. Simbolika odgovara postavljenoj temi.

— Plato — postojne skulpture nije adekvatno spomeniku po arhitektonskoj obradi i dimenzijama — i umanjuje ukupnu vrednost spomenika, naročito kod niskih prizemnih vizura.

Otkup, u iznosu od 10.000 novih dinara, dobio je rad pod šifrom »Javka«.

Iako otkup nije bio predviđen raspisom konkursa, žiri ga je dodelio ovome radu jer je osobito cenio ideju koja se sastoji u povezivanju života novih generacija koje nastupaju sa gajenjem uspomene na Kosmajski partizanski odred, čime spomenik postaje stalno aktivan činilac u životu naroda. Između ostalog žiri je konstatovao:

— Da se autor izražava arhitektonskim formama, koje imaju tendenciju da se približe skulpturi.

— Međutim, u ostvarivanju ideje, u rešavanju funkcionalnog i prostorno — likovnog, predlog nije dovoljno izdiferenciran i nije dosegao u potpunosti adekvatan izraz polazne ideje.

Obeštećenje, u iznosu od po 5.000 novih dinara, dobili su radovi pod šiframa:

»K. Oro«, »78987«, »17171«, »123457«,

Fig. 370| Page 24, Article, *Competition for the design of the monument Kosmaj partisan group*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 05,1969, Belgrade



Fig. 371| Scenes from the movie, *Part-Time Work*, Milan Jelić, 1980



Fig. 372| Photo, Sculpture in the interior of the factory *1st of May*, Miodrag Zivković, 1980, Pirot, SR Serbia



Fig. 373| Photo, Sculpture in the interior of the factory *Ist of May*, Miodrag Zivković, 1980, Pirot, SR Serbia

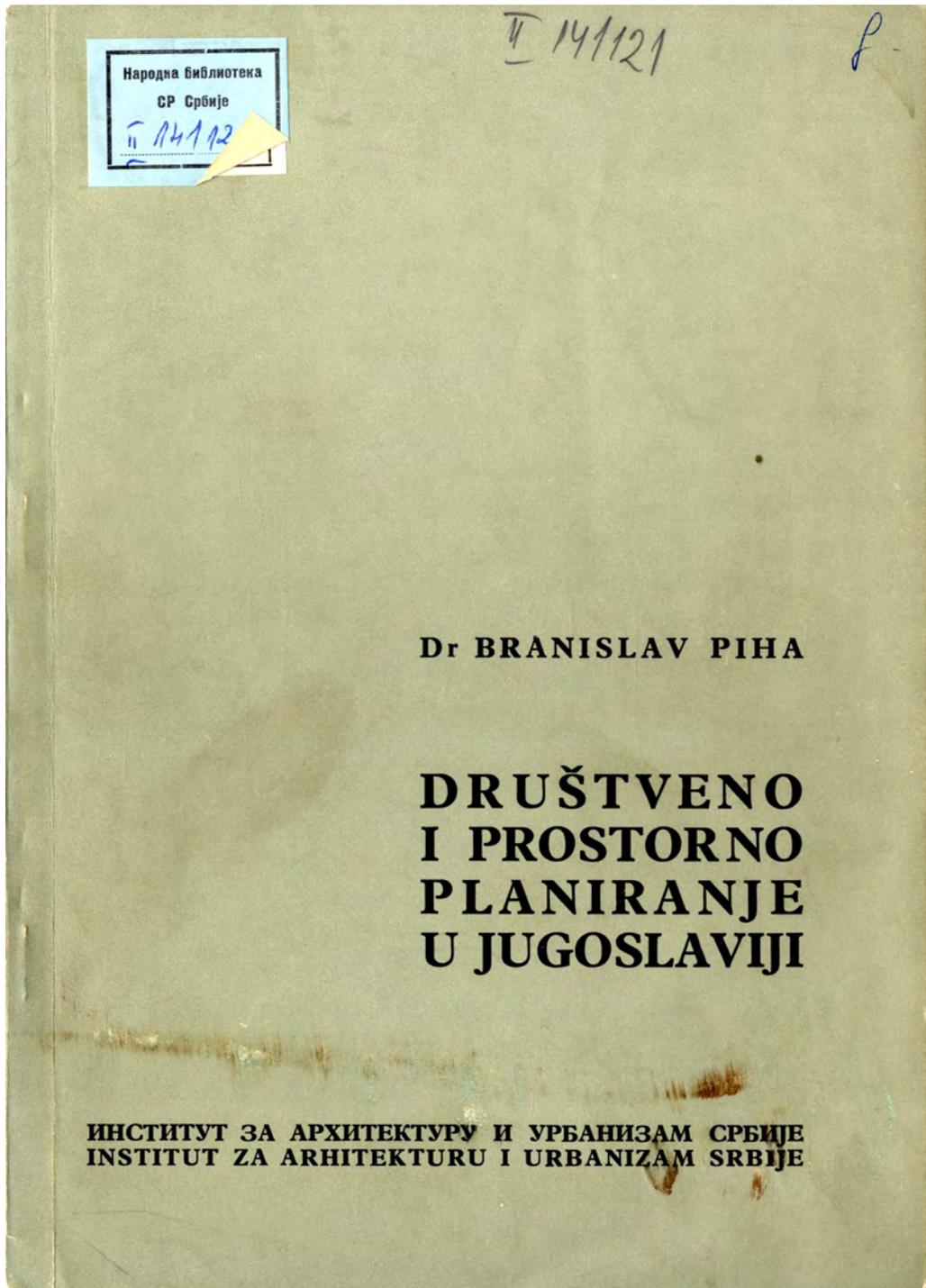


Fig. 374| Book Cover, *Civic and Spatial Planning in Yugoslavia*, Institute for Architecture and Urbanism, 1965, Belgrade



Fig. 375| Extract from a page 26, Photo, from the seminar *Yugoslav space and the cities in 2000-year: Yugoslav Spatial Planners in Mostar*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 05,1969, Belgrade



Fig. 376| Scenes from the movie, *The Marathon family*, Slobodan Šijan, 1982



Fig. 377 | Scenes from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981

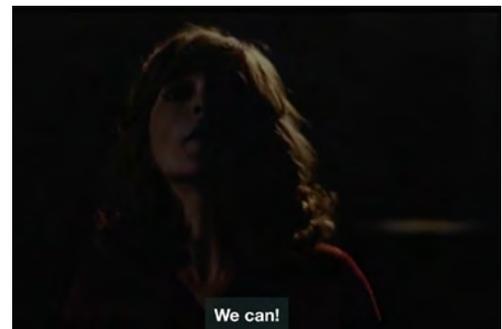


Fig. 378 | Scenes from the movie, *You love only ones*, Rajko Grlić, 1981



Fig. 379| Scenes from the movie, *Underground*, Emir Kusturica, 1995



Fig. 380| Scenes from the movie, *Underground*, Emir Kusturica, 1995

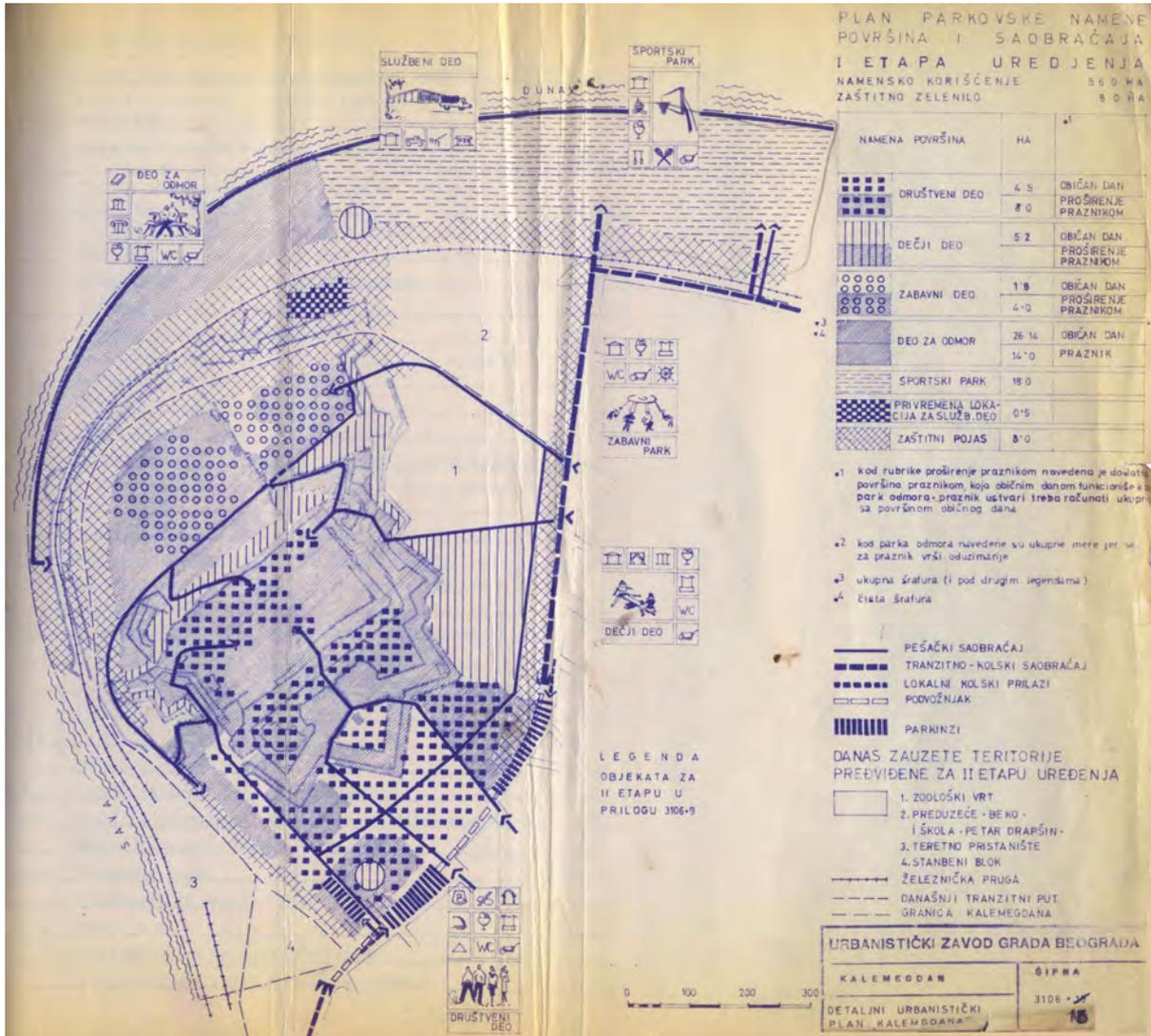


Fig. 381| Spatial plan, *Detailed Plan for Kalemegdan, Urbanistic Institute of the city of Belgrade, 1966, Belgrade*



Fig. 382| Page 13, Map, *Free areas and building for picnic recreation, Planning Atlas of the spatial arrangement of Yugoslavia*, Krstić, Yugoslav Institute, 1973

## ADA CIGANLIJA — REKREATIVNI SPORTSKI CENTAR

moгу да завиде многе metropole u svetu, doći do punog izražaja i omogućiti da se obale Save i Dunava obogate novim urbanističkim sadržajima.

Rekreativno-sportski kompleks Ade Ciganlije ima izuzetan značaj za stanovnike milionskog Beograda. Njegova najveća vrednost je, po mom mišljenju, u tome što se nalazi, tako reći u centru Beograda i u njegovom najužem urbanom tkivu. Hiljade Beograđana, koji svoj dnevni odmor provode na rekama i koji se bave sportovima na vodi — neće morati ubuduće da rekreaciju i razonodu traže kilometrima daleko od centra grada.

Mada u ovoj publikaciji ima dosta tehničkih i drugih podataka o Adi Ciganliji, hteo bih da napomenem da su najveći kvaliteti Savskog jezera — njegova hemijski i biološki čista voda, što je postignuto sistemima za prečišćavanje i taloženje, kao i sportska staza koje je po oceni mnogih međunarodnih i domaćih stručnjaka jedna od najboljih u Evropi.

Na kraju želim da istaknem, da završetak izgradnje Ade Ciganlije neće predstavljati i završetak aktivnosti na podizanju novih sportsko-rekreativnih objekata na obalama Save i Dunava i u Beogradu uopšte. Uveren sam da će ovaj objekat biti samo jedan u nizu sličnih, koji će se u bližoj i daljoj budućnosti podići na obalama naše dve velike i lepe reke.



Projektant: Miodrag Jovićić, dipl. inž. arh. — projektni atelje Grad. pred. «Komgrupu



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Fig. 383| Page 17, Article, *Ada Ciganlija-Recreative Sport Centre*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 13-14, 1971, Belgrade





## Sportsko rekreacioni centar »Zvezdara« u Beogradu

### AUTORI:

Kosta Popović, Milan Ilić, Đorđe Nešić,  
Mihajlo Teletinović, Radimir Čolić, An-  
drej Papkov, Ivan Stojković, Vladan Si-  
mović

### STATIKA:

Vojislav Melka

PROJEKTA ORGANIZACIJA:  
»SPORTPROJEKT«, BEOGRAD

GODINA PROJEKTOVANJA:

1967–1968.

GODINA IZGRADNJE:

1969–1971.

### IZVOĐAČ:

GP »NEIMAR«, BEOGRAD

### INVESTITOR:

SPORTSKI CENTAR »ZVEZDARA«,  
SKUPŠTINA OPŠTINE ZVEZDARA,  
BEOGRAD

Urbanističko-tehnički uslovi, koji su sa-  
stavni deo Odluke o regulacionom planu za  
područje Opštine Zvezdara, određen je pro-  
stor između ulica Milana Rakića sa severne  
strane, Vjekoslava Kovača sa južne, komplek-  
sa vodovodnog rezervoara sa zapadne i novog  
stambenog dela sa istočne strane za izgrad-  
nju rejonskog opštinskog sportsko-rekreativ-  
nog centra organizovanog na površini od 6 ha.  
U skladu sa terenskim mogućnostima i potre-  
bom za postizanje međusobne povezanosti  
raznorodnih funkcija centar je zamišljen u ne-  
koliko platoa terasasto postavljenih na terenu  
nekadašnje ciglane »Brunclik«, a sama denive-  
lacija je višestruko iskorišćena u rešenju.

26

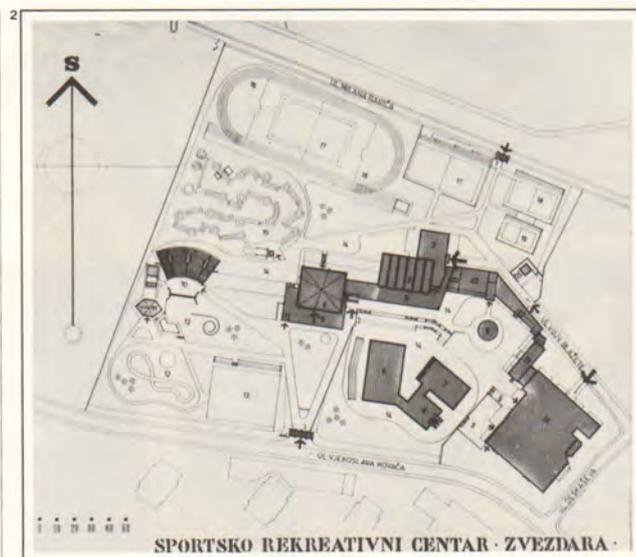


Fig. 385| Page 26, Article, *Sport Centre 'Zvezdara'*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.83-84, 1979, Belgrade



## CENTRI MESNIH ZAJEDNICA NA TERITORIJI BEOGRADA

Na teritoriji Beograda izgrađeno je više novih gradskih i priogradskih stambenih naselja. Ova naselja su građena prema Generalnom urbanističkom planu i njihove veličine se kreću od 1000 do 5000 stanova. Kako su podizani samo stambeni objekti, a kompletno snabdevanje stanara i dalje se odvijalo iz starog dela grada, mesne zajednice su zahtevale da se jednovremeno podižu i prateći objekti potrebni za normalan život novih naselja.

Gradska skupština grada Beograda došla je na ideju da preko Zavoda za izgradnju grada izgradi centre mesnih zajednica u kojima će se naći kompletan program koji je neophodan za život stanara. Na taj način su sastavili i razvrstali ceo program na sledeće objekte:

**OBJEKAT «A»:** obuhvata površinu koja je neophodna za potrebe mesne zajednice kao administracija, a služi za ujedinjavanje ostalih objekata.

**OBJEKAT «B»:** u njemu su smeštene velike i male sale kao i razni klubovi za omladinu i odrasle. Objekat služi u svako doba dana za rekreaciju stanovnika.

**OBJEKAT «C»:** u njegovom sastavu predviđen je restoran sa pratećim prostorijama kao i samoposluga – «supermarket» sa svojim pratećim prostorijama. Predviđene su najmodernije hladnjače po sistemu LTH sa centralnom pripremom rashladnog sistema: podstanice, klimatizacije i ventilacije, jednom rečju supermarket je savremena, tehnički opremljena tržna i pijućna površina, čija se površina kreće od 300 do 900 m<sup>2</sup>.

**OBJEKAT «D»:** ovo je najstroženi program s obzirom da su u njemu zastupljene sve potrebe stanovnika i to: zanati, servisi, prodavnice, banke, apoteke, pošte, itd.

20 Zavod za izgradnju grada je konkursom došao

do projektanta i izvođača. Odlučio je da ovi objekti budu brzo izvedeni i to montažnog tipa. «Konjanik II», «Miljakovac II», «Stara Rakovica»

Sva ova tri centra su površine od 3500 do 5500 m<sup>2</sup> i sadrže sve gore pomenute objekte. Generalnim i Detaljnim urbanističkim planom predviđene lokacije veoma su nepovoljne. Uglavnom su na strmim i podvodnim, klizajućim terenima i zbog toga je njihova osnovna karakteristika ista. Sadržaji su izdvojeni po objektima i na taj način su se formirali platoi i trgovci. Velike denivelacije bile su neophodne zbog prilaza objektima – bilo glavnih, bilo ekonomskih.

Ovi centri su skupljeni od centara na ravnim terenima, jer su potporni zidovi, dijafragme i šajbne armiranobetonske kontrafore bile masivne i složene, kako bi obezbedile teren od pokretanja.

Centri mesnih zajednica «Železnik» i Blok 37 su veličine 4000 i 3500 m<sup>2</sup> podignuti na potpuno ravnim terenima. Njihova cena po m<sup>2</sup> je 50% jeftinija.

Svi centri su izvedeni, posle denivelacije, od montažnih betonskih i klasičnih bondručnih konstrukcija. Denivelacije su suterenski delovi i kao ukupne površine livene su na licu mesta. Ostali materijali koji su ugrađivani domaće su proizvodnje.

Izvođač radova kao i projektna organizacija bio je «Komgrap» i to za sledeće centre: «Konjanik II», «Miljakovački izvori», «Železnik» i Blok 37.

Centar mesne zajednice «Stara Rakovica» projektovao je «Komgrap», a izvođač radova je «Dom», Beograd.

Za sve centre glavni i vodeći projektant je arh. Aleksandar Stanković sa saradnicima.



1-4 – CMZ Stara Rakovica



Fig. 386| Page 26, Article, *Centre of the Local Community on the Territory of Belgrade*, in the magazine *Architecture and Urbanism*, No.85, 1980, Belgrade

VLADETA DORĐEVIĆ, dipl. inž. šum.

## SLOBODNI PROSTOR MESNE ZAJEDNICE KAO ELEMENAT PROSTORNOG PLANIRANJA

Za najveći deo gradskog stanovništva — za malu i školsku decu, domaćice, starije osobe, pa i za većinu zaposlenih — mesna zajednica predstavlja životnu sredinu u kojoj ono provodi najviše vremena, te su zbog toga od svih vrsta slobodnih površina u gradskom tkivu one u mesnoj zajednici i najvažnije za život stanovništva.

Stoga se pri planiranju, kao i pri projektovanju savremeno koncipirane mesne zajednice teži da se stanovništvu obezbedi, pored ostalih pogodnosti, i što prostraniji i za uređenje pogodan slobodan prostor koji bi mogao uspešno vršiti sve svoja složene funkcije: biološke, higijensko-zaštitne, rekreativne, psihofizičko-emotivne, oblikovno-estetske ili i druge, u konkretnim slučajevima.

Kao što je poznato, slobodne površine mesne zajednice čine:

- slobodna površina dela teritorija koji je namenjen stanovanju (slobodni prostor neposredno vezan za stan),
- slobodne površine kompleksa pratećih objekata, čije su veličine uslovljene, bar što se tiče osnovne škole i dečje ustanove, proračunatim kapacitetom ovih objekata,
- slobodne površine saobraćajnica i, eventualno, nekih komunalnih objekata predviđenih za 2—3 susedne zajednice.

Ako su u pitanju mesne zajednice sa većom teritorijom i većim brojem stanovnika (8.000 — 10.000), ovim slobodnim površinama priključuje se i kompleks grupisanih sportskih objekata i terena.

Za sada predmet razmatranja biće samo slobodna površina dela mesne zajednice namenjenog stanovanju — u daljem tekstu slobodni prostor, čiji su obim i značaj i najveći.

U detaljnim urbanističkim planovima za područje Beograda radenim ranijih godina planirane veličine slobodnih prostora u m<sup>2</sup> po stanovniku za pojedine blokove,

komplekse i mesne zajednice, sa različitim prirodnim i stvorenim uslovima, u postojećim ili novim delovima grada, znatno se razlikuju, kao što su različiti i normativi za slobodne prostore koji se nalaze u domaćoj i stranoj literaturi. Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda iz 1972. godine, težeći humanizaciji gradske sredine i tretirajući slobodne površine kao deo životnog standarda gradskog stanovništva, predviđeo je da 2.000. godine u novim naseljima za srednjim i velikim gustinama stanovanja da slobodni prostor neposredno vezan za stan treba da iznosi po stanovniku približno koliko i neto površina stana (21 m<sup>2</sup>).

Ne upuštajući se, za sada, u analitičko procenjivanje samog normativa, već smatrajući ga prihvaćenim, obaveznim elementom planiranja pri izradi detaljnih urbanističkih planova, pokušaćemo se, uz njegovu primenu, da se detaljnije analiziraju međusobni odnosi i povezanost slobodnog prostora i ostalih elemenata prostornog planiranja mesne zajednice.

Za usvojenu kvadraturu stambene površine od neto 21 m<sup>2</sup>, odnosno bruto 28,5 m<sup>2</sup> po stanovniku i neku gustinu stanovanja G st/ha ukupna bruto stambena površina iznosila bi:

$$28,5 \cdot G \text{ m}^2.$$

Gustina stanovanja pri kojoj bi cela obračunska stambena površina — blok od 1 ha — bila, teorijski, pod jednim velikim jednospratnim objektom (ili više spojenih) dobija se iz odnosa:

$$28,5 \cdot G = 10.000$$

$$G = \frac{10.000}{28,5} = 351 \text{ st/ha}$$

To je, u isto vreme, i gustina stanovanja pri kojoj je indeks izgrađenosti I=1,0:

$$I = \frac{28,5 \cdot 351}{10.000} = 1,0$$

Ako bi se objekat izgradio, ne menjajući mu ukupnu obračunsku stambenu površinu, sa dve ili više etaža (E), smanjila bi se površina pod objektom (F<sub>o</sub>), dok bi se povećala površina dela bloka koji bi ostao kao slobodni prostor (F<sub>s</sub>). Površina pod objektom (ili više objekata) u tom slučaju biće:

$$F_o = \frac{28,5 \cdot G}{E}$$

a slobodni prostor:

$$F_s = 10.000 - \frac{28,5 \cdot G}{E}$$

Kvadratura slobodnog prostora po stanovniku (f<sub>s</sub>) dobija se iz odnosa:

$$f_s = \frac{F_s}{G} = \frac{10.000 - \frac{28,5 \cdot G}{E}}{G} = \frac{10.000 \cdot E - 28,5 \cdot G}{E \cdot G}$$

Iz ovog obrasca proizilazi da za konstantnu gustinu stanovanja (G), odnosno indeks izgrađenosti (I), vrednost kvadrature slobodnog prostora (f<sub>s</sub>) raste s povećanjem broja etaža (E), usled smanjenja površine pod objektima; obratno, za konstantnu spratnost (E) ona opada sa povećanjem gustine stanovanja.

Za gustinu stanovanja G=175 st/ha (I=0,5), na primer, bruto stambena površina (bruto površina stambenih etaža) iznosila bi:

28,5 · 175 = 4.988 m<sup>2</sup>; ukoliko bi objekti bili od jedne etaže, slobodni prostor bi iz-

Fig. 387 | Page 15, Article, *Free space in the local community as element for spatial planning*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 41, 1977, Belgrade

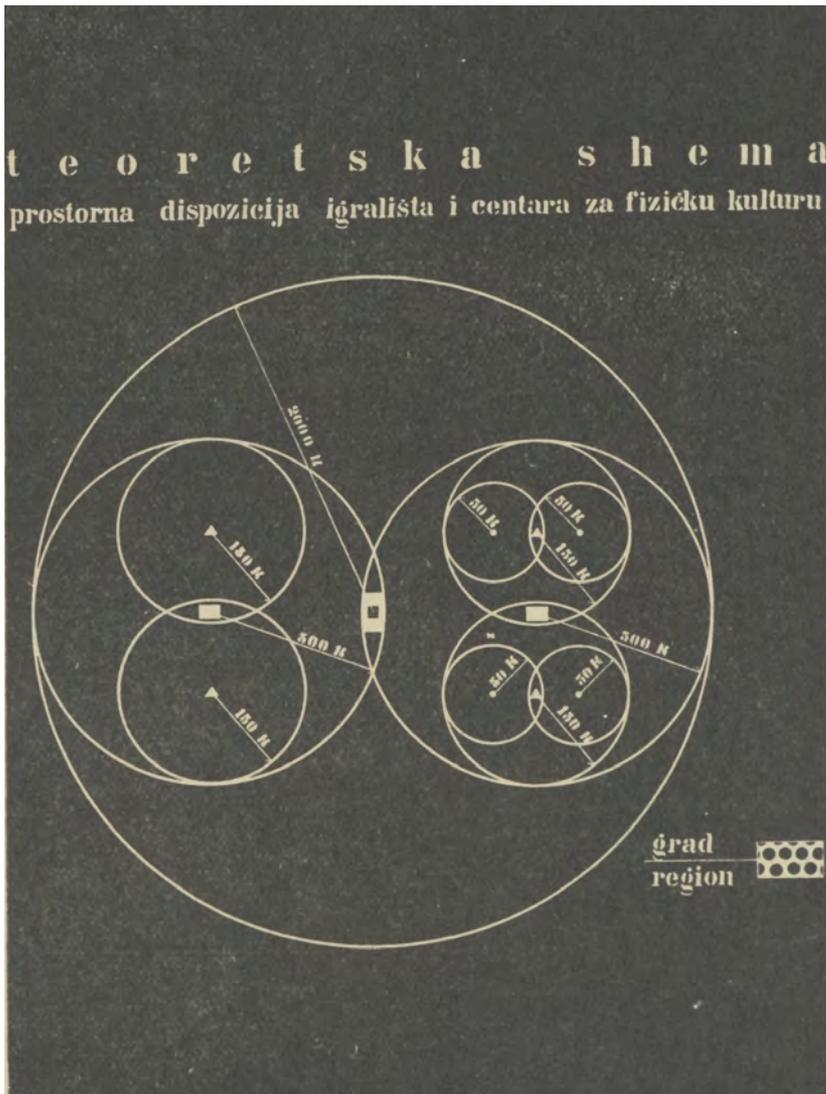


Fig. 388| Extract from page 3, Article, *Designing and constructing and sustaining the objects for physical culture*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.184, 1959, Zagreb

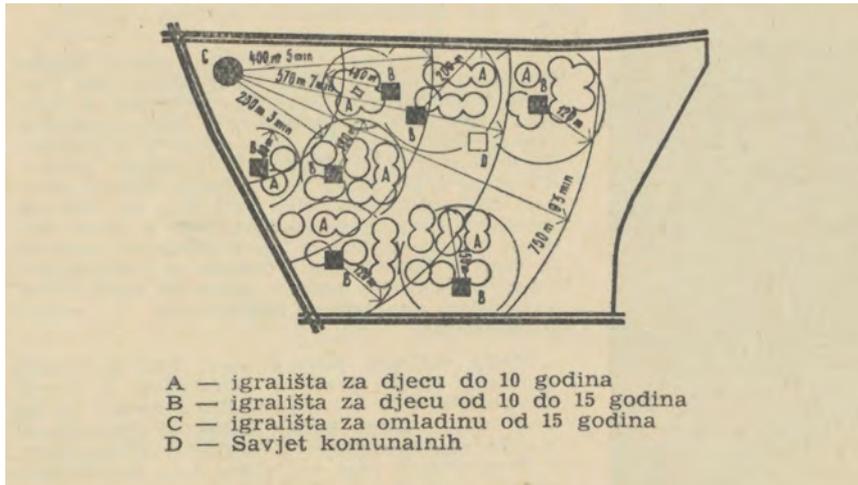


Fig. 389| Extract from page 3, Article, *Designing and constructing and sustaining the objects for physical culture*, in the magazine *Man and Space*, No.184, 1959, Zagreb

Beogradske pijace predstavljaju nastavak vekovne tradicije u načinu snabdevanja grada svežim životnim namirnicama i u prodaji ostalih poljoprivrednih proizvoda, koje su donosili seljaci iz neposredne okoline. Istovremeno, pijace su bile prvi »poslovni centri grada« sa koncentracijom trgovinskih, zanatskih i ugostiteljskih radnji i drugih pratećih objekata, prostorno koncipiranih u obliku »čaršije«. I danas naše najjače pijace kao što su Kalenićeva, Bajlonijeva, Zeleni Venac, Deram ili pijaca u Zemunu, nastavak su te tradicije dok je jedna od najstarijih Jovanova pijaca, na žalost izgubila i svoje mesto i svoj značaj. Atraktivnost i živopisnost ovih prostora simboličnih obeležja Beograda, njegovog podneblja i bogatog zaleđa, kao i navika njegovih stanovnika na veliki izbor proizvoda i na neposrednu kupovinu od proizvođača, obavezuju da se pijace ne izbace olako iz sistema budućeg načina snabdevanja kao i da se iznadu načini njihovog uključenja u tehnološki savremene procese.

#### Stanje pijaca i njeni problemi

Današnja mreža pijaca pokazuje izrazite simptome nasleđenog sistema bez neophodnih dopuna i rekonstrukcija u cilju prilagodavanja novonastalom stanju usled naglog razvoja i širenja Beograda. Najveći broj pijaca predstavlja koncentraciju u centralnom delu grada dok su periferni delovi i novoizgrađena naselja ostali skoro ili potpuno neopsluženi. Otuda pojava da su pijace u centru preopterećene, iako se

doda činjenica da objekti zahtevaju rekonstrukcije, savremeni sadržaj i tehnološku opremljenost, da su teže zastarele i nedovoljno funkcionalne, da nema pro-

stora za skladištenje, da je higijenski sanitarni nivo nizak, da nema ni manipulativnog prostora ni parkinga, slika stanja je jasna.

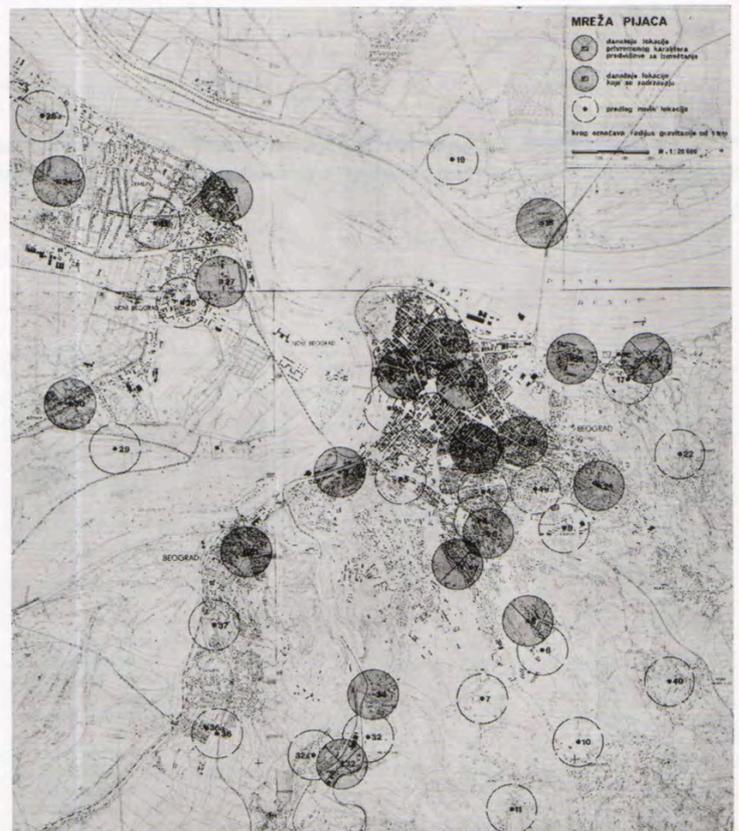


Fig. 390| Extract from the page 10, Map, *The network of the food markets*, from the article, *Belgrade's food markets*, in the magazine *Urbanism Belgrade*, No. 22, 1973, Belgrade