TOWARD A CONCRETE UTOPIA: ARCHITECTURE IN YUGOSLAVIA 1948–1980

MoMA

PORTFOLIO BY
VALENTIN JECK, 2016–2017

I

Revolution Square (today Republic Square), Ljubljana, Slovenia. 1960–74. Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993).
View of the East Office Tower and NLB Bank building

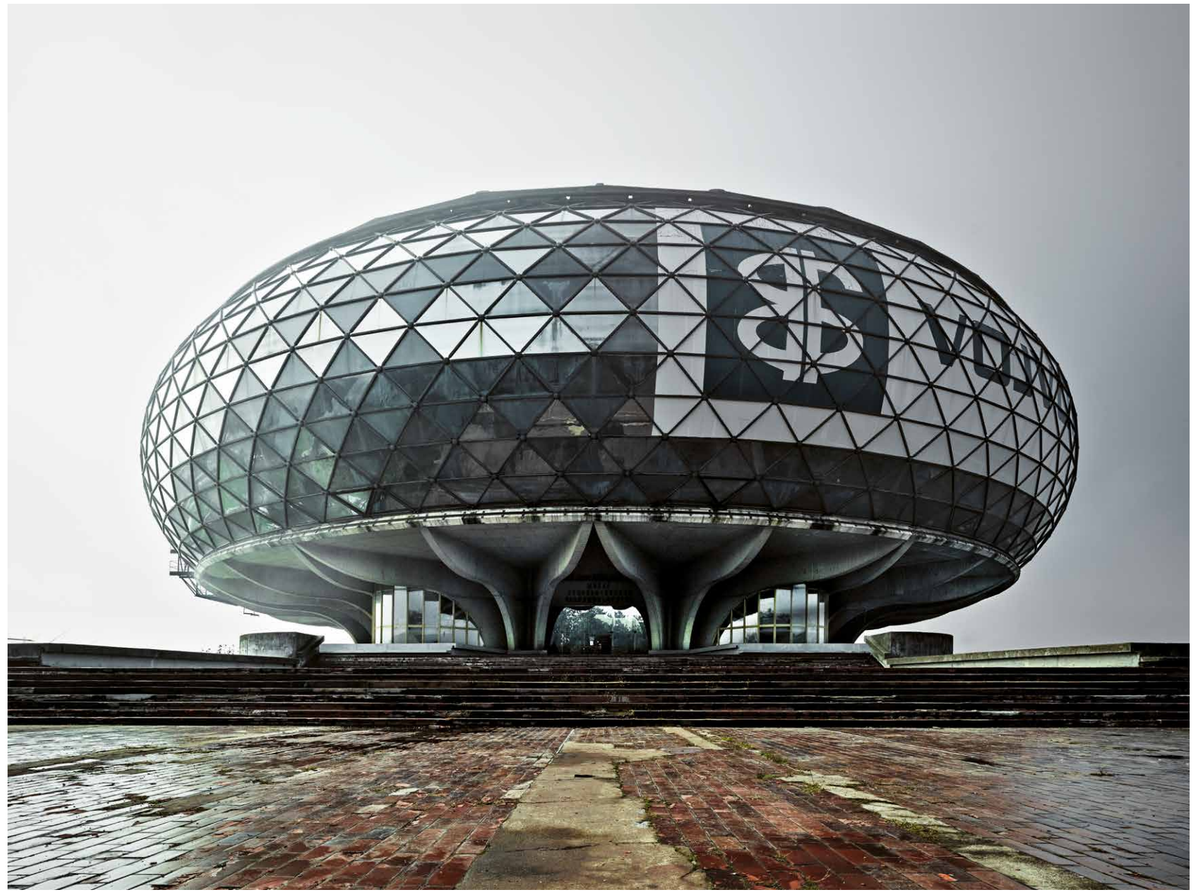
II Revolution Square (today Republic Square), Ljubljana, Slovenia. 1960–74. Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993).
← Northern view

III Jasenovac Memorial Site, Jasenovac, Croatia. 1959–66. Bogdan Bogdanović (1922–2010)

IV Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija, Petrova Gora, Croatia. 1979–81.
Architect: Berislav Šerbetić (1935–2017) and Zoran Bakić (1942–1992).
Sculptor: Vojin Bakić (1915–1992). Exterior view

V S2 Office Tower, Ljubljana, Slovenia. 1972–78.
Milan Mihelič (b. 1925). Exterior view

VI Danube Flower restaurant, Belgrade, Serbia. 1973–75.
Ivan Antič (1923–2005). Exterior view



VII Aeronautical Museum, Belgrade, Serbia. 1969–89.
Ivan Štraus (b. 1928). Exterior view

TOWARD A CONCRETE UTOPIA: ARCHITECTURE IN YUGOSLAVIA 1948–1980

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The Museum of Modern Art
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FOREWORD

Glenn D. Lowry

Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980 brings to the fore a body of work that has rarely been considered outside of the region for which it was originally conceived. The Museum of Modern Art embraced this exhibition as an opportunity to shine a light on a unique mid-century architecture culture at the intersection of East and West—one that, through Yugoslavia's leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement, had repercussions on a global scale. More than merely a historical investigation into largely uncharted territory, *Toward a Concrete Utopia* provides a lens through which to historicize and provide context to our contemporary age of globalization. In this vein, the exhibition also builds upon and expands the tenets of MoMA's interdisciplinary C-MAP (Contemporary and Modern Art Perspectives) research program, which investigates multiple art histories beyond North America and Western Europe in an effort to arrive at a better understanding of the complex and multivalent history and legacy of modernism around the globe.

While the history of Yugoslavia ended relatively quickly after the end of the Cold War, the country, which offered a "Third Way"—an alternative to capitalist West and Communist East—enjoyed an outsize international presence for a time, thanks to its unique geopolitical situation at the intersection of a bifurcated world. MoMA's interest in the nation's cultural production is longstanding, as evidenced by a series of programs in the 1960s, including, most notably, the exhibition *Yugoslavia: A Report* from 1969, which brought to an American public forty-five contemporary prints by twenty-four Yugoslav artists, among them figures such as Ivan Picelj, whose work is amply documented in the Museum's collection. Two film series, in 1961 and 1969, respectively, investigated the country's rich experimental cinema of the day.

In keeping with this history, *Toward a Concrete Utopia* also includes select works from contemporary architects and artists represented in the Museum's collection that comment on modern architecture in Yugoslavia, including the stunning architectural drawings of the American visionary Lebbeus Woods and work by the Croatian artist David Maljković, whose video piece *Scenes for a New Heritage* (2004)—which lent its name to a group show at MoMA in 2015—addresses the legacy of some of the memorials and monuments on display in the current exhibition.

To facilitate the groundbreaking research behind *Toward a Concrete Utopia*, the curatorial team of Martino Stierli, The Philip Johnson Chief Curator of Architecture and Design, and Vladimir Kulić (with Anna Kats, Curatorial Assistant) assembled an advisory board of locally based scholars and architects. These participants brought not only regional expertise to the project but also access to a multitude of institutions and individuals, many of whom became generous lenders to the exhibition. As the Museum moves toward exploring similarly uncharted non-Western geographies, this spirit of collaboration may serve as a model.

We are grateful to those lenders and to The International Council of The Museum of Modern Art and the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts, without whose support this exhibition would not have been possible. Finally, we are thankful for the generous funding of this volume by the Jo Carole Lauder Publication Fund of The International Council of The Museum of Modern Art.

Glenn D. Lowry, Director, The Museum of Modern Art

INTRODUCTION

Martino Stierli
Vladimir Kulić

Toward a Concrete Utopia examines, by means of a large survey exhibition and the present volume, the architectural production of a country that ceased to exist more than twenty-five years ago and whose violent demise haunts the Western Balkans region to the present day. Despite, or precisely because of this trauma, we believe such a consideration of Yugoslav architecture culture—from the break with Stalinism in 1948 up to the death, in 1980, of Tito, the country's long-term authoritarian leader—is both a timely and a necessary undertaking. The year 1980 also marked the beginning of an economic and political crisis, as well as the emergence of the concept of postmodernism in Yugoslav architectural discourse, which together heralded considerable changes in architectural production going forward. During the period bracketed by these two historical turning points, Yugoslav architects produced a massive body of work that can be broadly identified as modernist for its social, aesthetic, and technological aspirations, but at the same time they added varied novel dimensions to that general category. However, as with many innovative, postwar architectural cultures in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia's has, until quite recently and with few exceptions, received little sustained attention. Indeed, Eastern European architecture as a whole has largely been left out of the discipline's modern canonical history, an oversight that not only underscores an ongoing Eurocentric (Western) bias, but also reflects the prolongation of the cultural logic of the Cold War long after its end.[1] A Western perception of the Balkans region as Europe's "Orient"—an exotic, "other" territory between East and West—has further hindered a serious evaluation of cultural production in the region on par with the Western canon.[2] *Toward a Concrete Utopia* sets out to fill one of the gaps that have resulted from such a myopic perspective. To do so seems particularly timely in an age of rapid globalization and an increasing awareness—not only in academia but also in a larger cultural conversation—that the old bipolar model of center and periphery of cultural production has produced a skewed and deeply problematic outlook onto history. What is needed instead is a fundamental recharting of the world map and an investigation into the many channels of cultural—and, by extension, architectural—exchange that have intensified between cities and regions outside the traditional cultural centers, but have been active and productive all along. Such a methodological recalibration would provide, as it were, a prehistory of that age of globalization, allowing us to critically reconsider the assumptions that led to that previous, flawed model of cultural production in the first place. As a major agent in the genesis and dissemination of that canonical history, The Museum of Modern Art has a special responsibility in its revision.

The former Yugoslavia provides a particularly promising inroad into such a recharting mission. After a short alliance with the Eastern Bloc and a break with Joseph Stalin's USSR in 1948, the socialist state went on to pursue a relatively independent brand of socialism based on workers' self-management, becoming the torchbearer of a "Third Way" in the bifurcated world of the Cold War. Tito's Yugoslavia deliberately defied the geopolitics of the East-West divide, pursuing friendly relations, cultural connections, and economic exchange with both rival blocs. From the early 1960s onward, as a founding nation of the Non-Aligned Movement, it also forged economic and political bonds with partner nations across Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, many of them entering a process of decolonization after newly gained independence. The ensuing network of global

relationships—many of which have only recently moved into the focus of serious research[3]—provided manifold opportunities for the exchange of architectural knowledge outside of the Western world's established systems of communication.

If the Non-Aligned Movement enabled the emergence of networks of knowledge and material exchange within a specifically postcolonial framework, the federal and multiethnic state provided a structure for cultivating internal multiculturalism, another distinctive feature of the postwar Yugoslav project. Comprising numerous ethnicities, some of which had been engaged in bitter conflict during World War II, the country sought to acknowledge the various identities of its constituent groups. Architecture became one of the most visible bearers of the process, tapping not only into the repositories of *longue durée* traditions but also into the more recent lineages of local modernism, present in the region since the turn of the twentieth century. The result was a range of early and coherent regional(ist) cultures on par with other similar, simultaneous phenomena elsewhere. That many of the local modernists involved in this process were already allied with leftist politics prior to World War II was certainly beneficial to the socialist project. When socialism finally arrived, they and their disciples thus invested a great deal of effort in adapting the existing manifestations of modern architecture to the specificities of the new Yugoslav society. Affordable mass housing, new civic and social institutions, public spaces for interaction and participation, tourism facilities, and even commemorative structures all became grounds for experimentation, giving rise to some extraordinary, internationally relevant results.

Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, many of the buildings and projects featured in this selection have fallen into disrepair. The commons—from urban public spaces to the various civic, educational, and cultural facilities—have been subject to shady privatization schemes, reduced to mere real estate. Many of the monuments commemorating the victims of fascism and the antifascist struggle of World War II have been vandalized or completely destroyed, now discredited as "Communist." Though the vast majority of buildings and structures continue to be used and inhabited, they—as with postwar and brutalist architecture in other parts of the world—have suffered from neglect due to a general lack of appreciation of the architectural propositions and concerns of that period. One objective of our exhibition and catalogue is to bring attention to the outstanding architectural and spatial qualities of many of these buildings and the ensuing need for their long-term preservation and care. This concern is expressed—explicitly and implicitly—in the portfolio of photographs by the Swiss photographer Valentin Jeck that preludes the catalogue, as well as in select contemporary photography throughout the book. Jeck's photographs capture a sense of the temporality of works of architecture, an aspect that is all too often forgotten when we talk about architecture's presence in the world.

Postwar Yugoslavia legitimized itself by claiming to pursue emancipation along intersecting axes: internally, from class oppression and ethnic rivalry, and externally, by supporting anticolonialism. It is due to such wide-reaching ambitions that we may consider the country, for better or worse, a paradigm of a utopian project, one geared toward the creation of a pluralistic, secular, and idealistic society. Hence the title of our exhibition and book, which echoes German philosopher Ernst Bloch's theorization of utopia as a hopeful, future-oriented process in a perpetual state of emergence.[4] Translated into an architectural context, Bloch's "concrete utopia" becomes more than merely a pun evoking the ubiquitous material of Europe's postwar reconstruction; rather, it highlights architecture's power and responsibility to give material shape to a larger social project. In an age beholden to a global "star" system, when architecture in many parts of the world has ceased to contribute to the common good and is seen instead as a luxury commodity, Yugoslavia serves as a reminder that architecture culture can only thrive in the presence of a strong social and political consensus about its capacity to transform society.

As we now know, Yugoslavia's utopian vision was sadly doomed to fail, perhaps not so much because the project itself was at fault but because the divisionist rhetoric of emerging nationalism ultimately discredited it. However, the architecture produced during the country's short existence still testifies to its aspirations and achievements. We hope that

Toward a Concrete Utopia will not only help to recover the memory of these achievements, but also contribute to reviving architecture's potential for, and commitment to, social responsibility. This is crucial for architecture as a discipline and for the multifold movements of emancipation that continue to shape our contested present.

1 One major noteworthy exception in the early Western reception of Eastern European architecture is Udo Kultermann, *Zeitgenössische Architektur in Osteuropa* [Contemporary Architecture in Eastern Europe] (Cologne: DuMont, 1985).

2 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, rev. ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2009). Before Todorova, Larry Wolff argued that the entire Eastern Europe was long subject to a "demi-Orientalization"; Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994).

3 See, among other sources, "Cold War Transfer: Architecture and Planning from Socialist Countries in the 'Third World,'" ed. Łukasz Stanek, special issue, *Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 3 (2012); Christina Schwenkel, "Traveling Architecture: East German Urban Designs in Vietnam," *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 2, no. 2 (2014): 155–74; Dubravka Sekulić, "Energoprojekt in Nigeria: Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Developing World," *Southeastern Europe* 41, no. 2 (2017): 200–29; Vladimir Kulić, "Building the Non-Aligned Babel: Babylon Hotel in Baghdad and Mobile Design in the Global Cold War," in "Socialist Networks," special issue, *ABE Journal*, no. 6 (2014), available online at https://abe.revues.org/924.

4 Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, vols. 1–3 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995 [1954, 1955, 1959]).

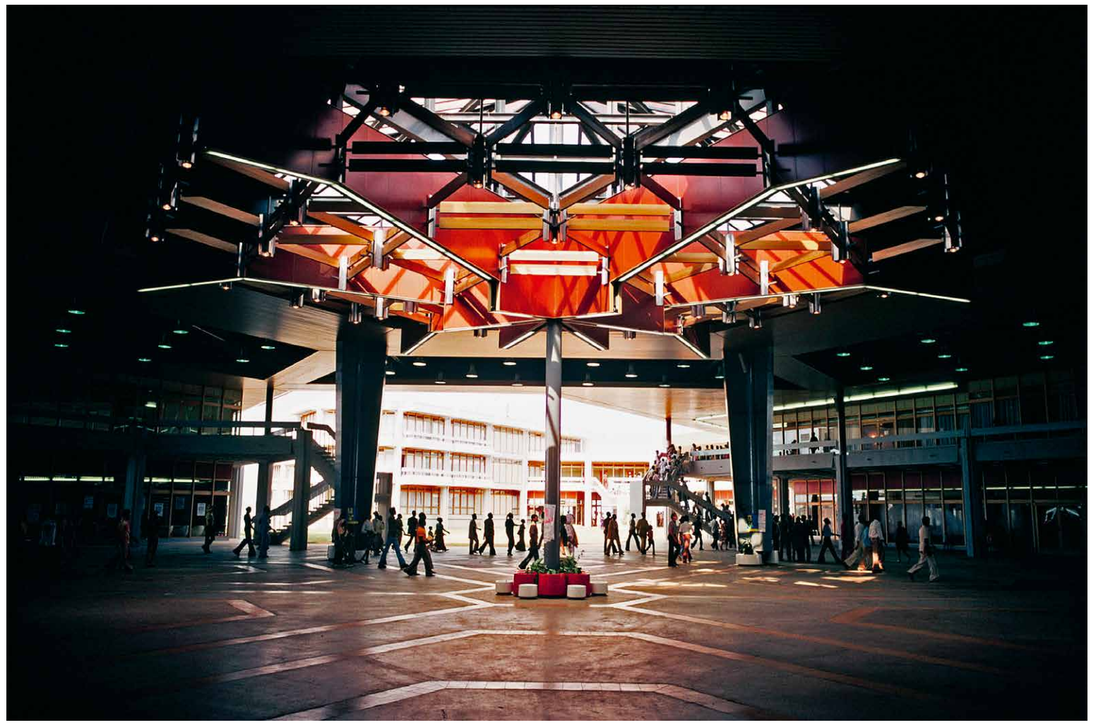

Fig. 1

NETWORKS AND CROSSROADS:

THE ARCHITECTURE OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA AS A LABORATORY OF GLOBALIZATION IN THE COLD WAR

Martino Stierli

Viewed through a contemporary Western lens, the Balkans region, and the former Yugoslavia more specifically, is hardly considered a hotspot of cultural or architectural innovation. Despite the worldwide resonance of artists such as Belgrade-born Marina Abramović or several young Slovenian and Croatian architects, little has changed the notion that Yugoslavia and its successor states have been peripheral to the cultural mainstream; the region is still mainly associated with the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s and the ensuing, violent wars of separation along lines of ethno-national divisions. Indeed, as historian Maria Todorova asserts in her groundbreaking study, a view of the Balkans as only peripherally associated with the project of Enlightenment in the Western world—as Europe's internal "other"—dominates the history of the region's representation in Western art, literature, and culture.[1]

However, if one carefully considers Yugoslav architects' production and networks of exchange between the years 1948 and 1980, a very different picture emerges. Rather than being a backwater of the modern world, Yugoslavia was instead at the forefront of international architectural discourse during that period, due in large part to the country's diverse associations with architects on both sides of the Iron Curtain as well as in Africa and the Middle East. While the political, economic, and cultural processes of globalization accelerated rapidly after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War in 1989, Yugoslavia's leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement provided local architects (and engineers) a broad stage on which to exchange architectural knowledge and ideas across ideological divisions, political borders, and cultural gaps—a unique position that anticipated the current age of globalism. A climate of relative ideological openness allowed these architects—as well as artists more broadly—to look for inspiration in East and West, and to apply notions of modernism to specific local conditions, both topographically and culturally. Situated at the crossroads of geopolitical poles, Yugoslav architects had a double agency in the postwar project of global modernity: as absorbers of the prewar legacy of Western and Central European modernism, on the one hand, and on the other, as carriers and promoters of notions of modernity in many newly independent postcolonial nations.

Fig. 1 International Trade Fair, Lagos. 1973–77. Zoran Bojović (1936–2018) for Energoprojekt (est. 1951). Entrance hallway. 1977. Personal archive of Zoran Bojović. Photograph: Zoran Bojović

LOOKING WEST AND ELSEWHERE: CENTERS OF EDUCATION AS NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE

Despite the Western misconception that Yugoslavia's postwar architecture culture operated largely in the orbit of the Soviet Union—and its massive quest for standardization and prefabrication—Yugoslav architects maintained strong bonds to centers of architectural discourse in Western Europe and North America. The Yugoslav regime had in fact broken with Stalinism

in 1948, only three years after the end of World War II and the foundation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Thus, architects were freed from the eclectic, historical mandate of socialist realism—even as it was concurrently installed in East Berlin and Warsaw as the singular architectural style of socialist society. Instead, Yugoslav architects looked to the modernist legacy of the interwar period. Architectural magazines played a particularly significant role in the internationalization of the country's design discourse after its geopolitical recalibration. The editorial policies of *Arhitektura*, the leading Zagreb-based architectural journal, exemplify the rapid response to this ideological about-face.[2] Starting with its first issue in 1947, the journal published a table of contents and captions in both French and Russian as well as in the native Serbo-Croatian. Russian was dropped in the last issue of 1949, coinciding with the publication of a feature on Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles. This multifunctional building typology converged easily with notions of communal living in the fledgling socialist state. The prominence granted to Le Corbusier's work also underscored the westward recalibration of the country's political outlook, while anticipating a veritable Corbusier fever, which ultimately produced a number of prominent buildings in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana directly inspired by the Unité paradigm. *Arhitektura* continued to include translated feature texts from foreign journals, and from mid-1951 onward, the magazine adopted English as its second foreign language, signaling a conclusive turn of the regime's political compass needle to the West.

Education proved an even more decisive arena for facilitating a continuous dialogue with Western modernism. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, many Yugoslav architects who would become leading figures in the postwar period studied or worked in offices abroad. Given the long-standing political and economic ties of the northern parts of the country to Central Europe, it is not surprising that various prominent Yugoslav architects trained in Vienna or other major cities of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. Nikola Dobrović (1897–1967), for example, often regarded as one of the most influential Serbian modernist architects (and Bogdan Bogdanović's [1922–2010] teacher at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade), undertook his training in Budapest and at the Technical University in Prague before coming to Yugoslavia in the 1930s. Muhamed (1906–1983) and Reuf Kadić (1908–1974), who would advance to become the defining figures of modernism in the 1930s in Bosnia, also studied at the Technical University in Prague in the late 1920s. Likewise, the prominent Slovene architects Max Fabiani (1865–1962) and Ivan Vurnik (1884–1971) both received their degrees from the Technical University in Vienna. The tradition revived in the 1950s and 1960s, this time within the framework of grant and aid programs funded by Western nations to curry political influence and strategic partnership with a country that had distanced itself from the Soviet Union.

Among these various workshops for learning abroad, Le Corbusier's Paris studio at rue de Sèvres arguably had the most impact. Though fed through a variety of competing traditions and increasingly informed by American postwar architecture, the lure of Paris was strong for postwar Yugoslav architecture culture, particularly for students of the Ljubljana Faculty of Architecture. Established in 1919, the school would become one of the leading centers of architectural discourse in Central-Eastern Europe under the leadership of Vurnik and, especially, Jože Plečnik (1872–1957). Among Plečnik's graduate students who left for Paris in the interwar period was Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993), who would become one of the most prolific and influential architectural figures in postwar Yugoslavia. Equally, Croatian architects Ernest Weissmann (1903–1985) and Juraj Neidhardt (1901–1979), who were paid assistants in Le Corbusier's studio from 1927 to 1930 and 1933 to 1935, respectively, facilitated the influx of younger Yugoslav colleagues to the atelier.[3] And another prominent Corbusier student, Milorad Pantović (1910–1986), later designed the much-celebrated Belgrade Fair.

Ravnikar and Neidhardt, in particular, through their built work and theoretical contributions, were both key in defining Yugoslav modern architecture in the postwar period. Neidhardt had been initiated into the gospel of modern architecture as early as 1920, when he started his four-year architectural education at the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts under Peter Behrens, whose Berlin office he joined for another eighteen months in 1930.[4] In Le Corbusier's studio later that decade, he worked mainly on urbanist projects such as La Ville Radieuse and the plan for Algiers. After Neidhardt returned to Yugoslavia, a steel company in the Bosnian town of Zenica hired him in 1939 to design housing stock for its workers; he made his home in Sarajevo and taught at the Faculty of Architecture there.[5] He would go on to become the most important Bosnian architect of the postwar period. Though few of his projects were executed—among them the seat of Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina and two apartment blocks on Sarajevo's Đure Đakovića Street (fig. 2), both of which interpreted Le Corbusier's Five Points for a New Architecture in a regionalist, texture-rich register—Neidhardt's most seminal contributions were theoretical. His book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity*, published in 1957 and written during the emergence of a modernist "regionalism" in the 1930s,[6] is considered the apogee of Neidhardt's architectural thinking. It was co-authored by the Slovene architect Dušan Grabrijan (1899–1952), another Plečnik disciple gone modernist during a yearlong stint in Paris, though he did not work for Le Corbusier. Based on a thorough ethnographic analysis of the legacy of Ottoman building typologies and notions of urbanism in the region, Neidhardt and Grabrijan articulated what they saw as proto-modernist features in traditional Ottoman houses, underscoring the abstract cubic volumes, large horizontal windows, whitewashed walls, and, perhaps

Fig. 2 Residential buildings on Đure Đakovića Street, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. 1952–53. Juraj Neidhardt (1901–1979). Exterior view. 2010. Photograph: Wolfgang Thaler

Fig. 3 Sketch of a *divanhana* from Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt, *Arhitektura Bosne i put u suvremeno/Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1957), 169.

Fig. 2

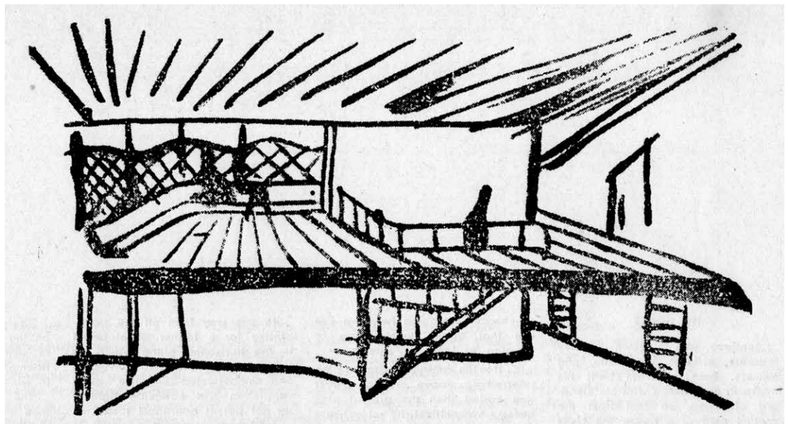

Fig. 3

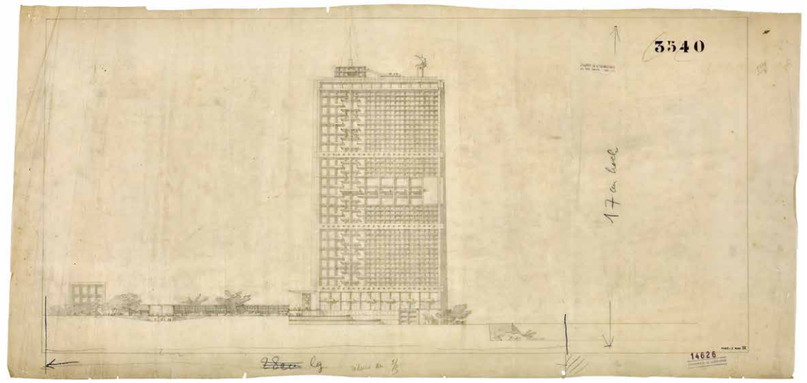

Fig. 4

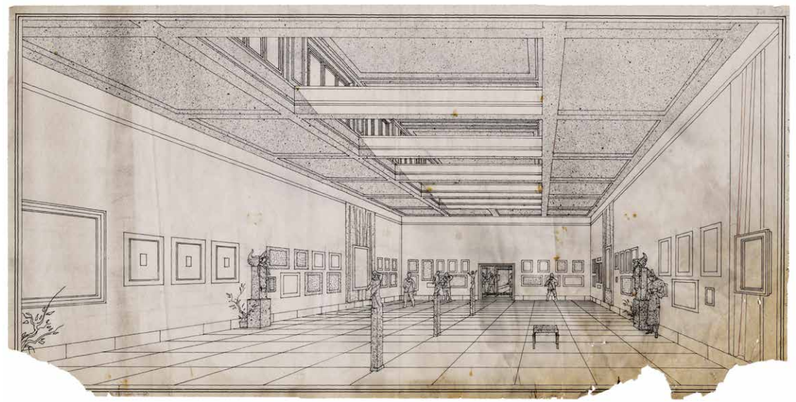

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

decisively, the interaction between exterior and interior spaces in traditional features such as the *divanhana*, an open porch wrapping around the core of the house (fig. 3). Despite being published bilingually in Serbo-Croatian and English, however, the book was largely ignored outside of Bosnia and has only recently been reconsidered as an important source text of Yugoslav modern architecture.

Ravnikar, too, became one of the leading dramatis personae in Yugoslav architecture culture and one of the most prolific and innovative architects of his generation. Much like his Swiss mentor, Ravnikar produced a great many projects and was also an avid writer and theorist.[7] Though Ravnikar's employment in Le Corbusier's studio lasted only a few months in 1939, it would prove to be a transformative experience for the young Slovene. During his tenure at the studio, Ravnikar worked on an unexecuted high-rise for Algiers, for which he produced a number of drawings, among them a spectacular large-scale rendering of the elegant structure indicative of his artistic capacity (fig. 4).

Many of Ravnikar's projects display an idiosyncratic ambiguity between an allegiance to Plečnik's predilection for classicist elements and exploration of material textures, on the one hand, and a reference to Le Corbusier's abstract and sculptural thinking on the other. This unique synthesis of competing architectural aesthetics was already evident in Ravnikar's Modern Gallery in Ljubljana (1936–51) (fig. 5). The building's liberal interpretation of the classical language of architecture, the texturally rich handling of the facades, and the organization of the spaces all clearly reference Plečnik's precedent. However, the ceremonial canopy framing the main entrance, reminiscent of Le Corbusier's white villas of the 1920s, clearly speaks a different language. If Corbusian thinking here appears to be little more than an afterthought, his principles had clearly registered fully by the time Ravnikar started to work on the regulatory plan for the new city of Nova Gorica in 1948 (p. 60, fig. 4), an urban plan he modeled after the Athens Charter, with a clear division of differing functions (working, dwelling, leisure, circulation), a civic center with ample public spaces, and an open, parklike landscape into which high-rise slabs are loosely placed following an underlying orthogonal grid. Similarly, at the Memorial Complex at Kampor (1953) (p. 108, figs. 6 and 7), which commemorates the victims of the Croatian island's former Italian Fascist concentration camp, Ravnikar synthesized Corbusian principles (such as the organization of the complex into a ritualized sequence according to the notion of the *promenade architecturale*) with Plečnik's sensibility for materiality and texture, taking its cue from eminent German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper's widely influential *Stoffwechseltheorie* (theory of material transformation).[8] The dialectic allegiance to both a Germanic understanding of architecture as an atectonic art of dressing and the constructive rationalism in the French tradition would become a hallmark of much of Ravnikar's later work and is the core of his unique and idiosyncratic oeuvre.[9]

Le Corbusier's studio not only established a sense of continuity with the "heroic" period of prewar modern architecture, but his work also became a very direct source of reference for architectural modernism in and for the fledgling socialist state in the postwar period. A traveling exhibition on the work of the Swiss master—the very first international architectural exhibition to come to Yugoslavia after the end of World War II and the country's break with Stalin in 1948—provided an opportunity for direct contact and learning (fig. 6). The political significance of this embrace of Le Corbusier's ideas in the context of shifting tectonics in the Cold War landscape should not be underestimated. While his architecture was deemed "bourgeois" and unfit to serve as a model for the construction of a new socialist society during the short years of Yugoslavia's alignment with the Soviet Union, its championing in the early 1950s underscored Yugoslavia's political realignment and commitment to modernism as opposed to the dictums of socialist realism. (Except for a few important government competitions for administrative buildings in New Belgrade—none of which were built—socialist realism never took hold in Yugoslavia.) Originally organized by the Boston Institute of Contemporary Art in 1948, the exhibition traveled to several venues in North and South America before arriving in Europe in the fall of 1952.[10] There it was shown only in the divided city of Berlin and in Yugoslavia (at the request of the country's Committee for Science and Culture). The symbolism inherent in the exhibition's appearance in two highly contested territories in the early Cold War context cannot go unnoticed. In Yugoslavia, notably, the exhibition received wide exposure, with stops in Belgrade, Skopje, Sarajevo, Split, Ljubljana, and Zagreb between December 1952 and May 1953, drawing large audiences and multiple reviews in the professional and general press.

The country's architects showed particular interest in Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation mass-housing typology, which had only just been completed in Marseille, hailing it as a model for communal living that combined a strong modernist assertion with an adaptability to the social standards of the newly emerging socialist state. Within a few years, the major urban centers of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubliana all received their own simplified and adapted versions of the Unité, many of which were located at key urban nodes. Among these, two apartment buildings in Zagreb by the architect Drago Galić (1907–1992) stand out (fig. 7; p. 93, fig. 6).

Against this backdrop, the tenth (and final) conference of the International Congresses for Modern Architecture

Fig. 4 Skyscraper at the quartier de la Marine, Algiers. 1938–39. Le Corbusier (1887–1965). Drawing: Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993). Longitudinal elevation. 1939. Pencil on tracing paper, 20 1/16 × 42 7/16 in. (51 × 108 cm). Fondation Le Corbusier

Fig. 5 Modern Gallery, Ljubljana, Slovenia. 1936–51. Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993). Perspective of the central hall. c. 1940. Ink on tracing paper, 9 15/16 × 19 7/16 in. (25.2 × 49.3 cm). Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana

Fig. 6 Exhibition poster, *Le Corbusier: Architecture—Urban planning—Sculpture—Painting*. 1952. Color lithography, 33 7/16 × 24 in. (85 × 61 cm). Poster collection of the Department of Prints and Drawings, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Fig. 7 Apartment Building of the Military Directorate, Zagreb, Croatia. 1953–57. Drago Galić (1907–1992). View of the piloti. c. 1964. Tošo Dabac Archive, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb. Photograph: Tošo Dabac

(CIAM), which took place in Dubrovnik in August 1956, could have been the triumphant acknowledgment of the country's full integration into Western modernism. However, the CIAM was already disintegrating at this point, and none of the protagonists of the old guard (Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Alvar Aalto) participated in the conference.[11] The meeting became a swan song to the first generation of modern architects and produced little lasting effect on Yugoslavia's contemporary and thriving architecture culture. Under the rubric of Team 10, whose thinking would greatly inform architectural production in Yugoslavia in the following years, the young guard was in the process of taking over the discursive leadership. That same year, in 1956, the young Croatian architect Radovan Nikšić (1920–1987) spent half a year studying and working in the Netherlands through a program of technical aid to Yugoslavia. There, he was employed in the Rotterdam studio of Johannes van den Broek and Jacob Bakema, the latter one of the leaders of Team 10, whose thinking would greatly inform architectural production in Yugoslavia in the following years—evidenced most prominently in the Moša Pijade Workers' University in Zagreb (see Kulić, pp. 124–27) that Nikšić designed together with Ninoslav Kučan (1927–1994) upon his return home.[12]

YUGOSLAV ARCHITECTURE IN COLD WAR POLITICS

The break with Stalin in 1948 had left the fledgling socialist Yugoslavia with uncertain prospects and without any ideological or financial support to construct a socialist society. However, this crisis also paved the way for the disproportionately large role that the small country was to assume in the Cold War. Under Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, the United States quickly sought to step in, viewing Yugoslavia as a possible "wedge" to be driven into the Communist bloc, a spearhead of Western influence that would potentially destabilize the USSR's firm grip on Eastern Europe.[13] Throughout the 1950s, the US generously supported the country with economic and military means, while Yugoslavia's authoritarian leader and long-term president, Josip Broz Tito (commonly known as Tito), succeeded in sustaining both Yugoslavia's independence from NATO and commitment to a socialist system—according to its own terms and the decentralized ideology of "socialist self-management."[14]

It is well known that the US fought the Cold War to no small degree with the soft power of cultural politics, seeking to disperse American values throughout Europe, and architecture played a prominent role in this endeavor. Art historian Serge Guilbaut and others have described how the mostly leftist social agenda of the prewar avant-gardes was refashioned and aesthetically neutralized into a program of abstraction that celebrated an unbridled freedom of artistic expression that conveniently aligned with the political tenets of Western liberal democracies.[15] In this context, it is interesting to note a heightened interest in Yugoslavia's artistic and architectural production on the part of Western cultural institutions, including The Museum of Modern Art. At the same time, Yugoslavia conversely sought to promote Western artistic production, of which the Le Corbusier retrospective was a prominent first example. Demonstrating the country's new prominence on the world stage, the Yugoslav section won two awards at the Bienal do São Paulo. In reviewing the exhibition, *New York Times* critic Aline Louchheim explicitly referenced the political context in her assessment of the work of prize-winning Montenegrin painter Petar Lubarda (fig. 8):

> One country in particular realized how emphatically art can make a point. Yugoslavia, keenly aware that the Western World queries how philosophically deep the break with Russia is, shrewdly eschewed the over-life-size bronze of Tito … which dominated the Yugoslav pavilion in the Venice international show three years ago. Here all the eggs were put into the modern basket—the work of Petar Lubarda. It was perfectly clear that these semiabstract, expressionist works indicated a freedom of expression and a modern idiom, which … would not have been acceptable in the Soviet Union.[16]

Another *New York Times* article, published in 1957, specifically addressed the architecture of New Belgrade and again underscored the allegiance of Yugoslav cultural politics to a Western corollary. Its author, Harrison Salisbury, drew clear lines between what he saw there and what was favored in the USSR in terms of architecture:

> To a visitor from eastern Europe a stroll in Belgrade is like walking out of a grim barracks of ferro-concrete into a light and imaginative world of pastel buildings, "flying saucers," and Italianate patios. Nowhere is Yugoslavia's break with the drab monotony and tasteless gingerbread of "Socialist Realism" more dramatic than in the graceful office buildings, apartment houses and public structures that have replaced the rubble of World War II.… Simplicity, airiness, pastel pinks, blues, and yellows are the hallmark of the new Belgrade school, sharply contrasting not only with the mixed baroque of Stalinist style but with the heavy, dark constructions that were typical of the pre-war city.[17]

Recognizing how instrumental such statements were in securing international support, the Yugoslav government increasingly used modernist architecture and progressive cultural politics for its own aims. Croatian

Fig. 8

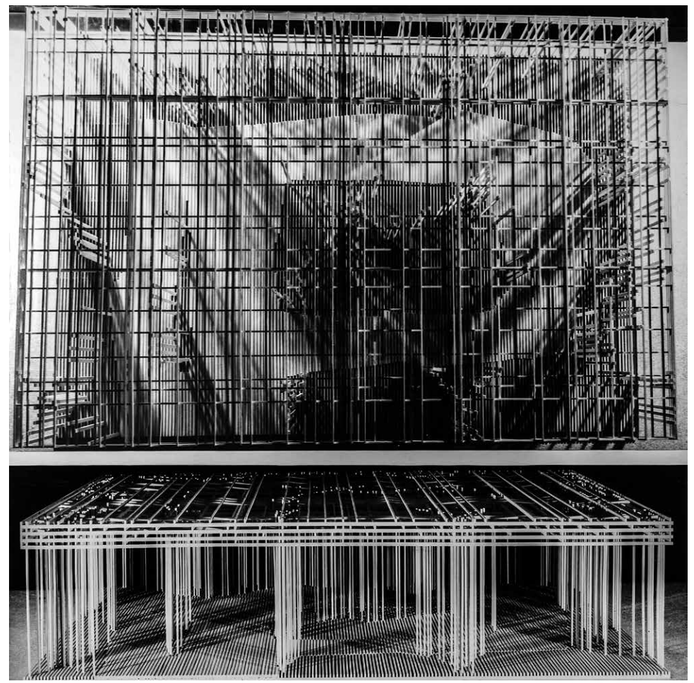

Fig. 9

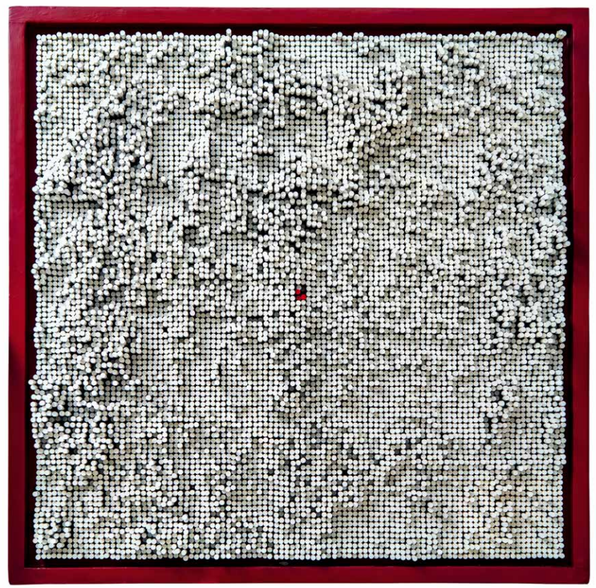

Fig. 10

Fig. 8 Petar Lubarda (1907–1974). *Guslar*. 1952. Oil on canvas, 64⅛ × 58 in. (163 × 147.5 cm). Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade

Fig. 9 Yugoslav Pavilion at the XIII Milan Triennial. 1963. Vjenceslav Richter (1917–2002). Two black-and-white photographs of the model on panelboard, 43⅛ × 39⅜ in. (110 × 100 cm). Vjenceslav Richter Archive, Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb. Photo: Branko Balić

Fig. 10 Vjenceslav Richter (1917–2002). *Reliefometar* (Reliefmeter). 1964. Frame holding adjustable aluminum rods, 43⅛ × 43⅛ × 4¼ in. (110 × 110 × 12 cm). Vjenceslav Richter and Nada Kareš Richter Collection, Zagreb

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

architect Vjenceslav Richter's (1917–2002) split-level, transparent pavilion, which represented Yugoslavia at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels (see Kats, pp. 132–35), underlined this strategy most effectively while also providing an opportunity to present the country's distinct system of socialist self-management to an international audience.[18] Both Richter's pavilion and a 1959 exhibition, *Contemporary Yugoslav Architecture*, which traveled to Oslo, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Warsaw, London, Glasgow, and Liverpool, received flattering reviews.[19] Richter was also responsible for the radically innovative design of the official national pavilions at the International Labor Exhibition in Turin, in 1961, and at the XIII Milan Triennial in 1963 (fig. 9). In subsequent years, he increasingly gravitated toward the visual arts,[20] becoming one of the leading international exponents of Yugoslav avant-garde art,[21] first as a co-founder and chief ideologue of the EXAT 51 (Experimental Studio 51) group and later through his membership in the Zagreb-based New Tendencies movement (fig. 10).[22]

Throughout the 1950s, the United States forcefully spread the blessings of Western culture—both high and low—in Yugoslavia. The Museum of Modern Art and its international program played an important part in this undertaking. At the invitation of the Yugoslav Committee on Foreign Cultural Relations and in cooperation with the American Embassy, the traveling exhibition *Modern Art in the United States* presented a selection of works from MoMA's permanent collection to audiences in various European cities, including Belgrade in the summer of 1956 (figs. 11 and 12).[23] The exhibition featured an architecture section with sixteen buildings. Shown at the local Fresco Museum, the checklist included works by, among others, Mies van der Rohe; Philip Johnson; Frank Lloyd Wright; Eero Saarinen; Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill; and Harrison & Abramovitz.[24] The exhibition catalogue was translated into Serbo-Croatian and included an essay by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler on postwar American architecture. (Hitchcock and Drexler adapted their text from the catalogue for the 1953 MoMA exhibition *Built in the USA: Post-War Architecture*, which was exhibited in its entirety in Yugoslavia in 1958–59.) In his foreword to the 1956 exhibition, the Museum's director, René d'Harnoncourt, underscored the significance of cultural initiatives in the context of Cold War politics:

> The cooperation of Yugoslavia in the art activities of UNESCO, her participation in international exhibitions around the world, and the lively program of exhibitions brought from other countries through the enterprise of the Yugoslav Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries all testify to her conviction that artistic exchange is one of the most potent instruments for fostering understanding among the peoples of the world.[25]

With over 24,000 visitors in only one month, *Modern Art in the United States* was the most popular art exhibition in Belgrade since the war,[26] and was received very positively in the press. Bogdan Bogdanović, who would emerge as one of the defining figures of postwar Yugoslav architecture culture, reviewed the architectural section for *Politika*. Bogdanović described the show as mainly focused on functionalist architecture and lamented what he viewed as an underrepresentation of Frank Lloyd Wright, even though two of the sixteen projects were by him (the Johnson Wax Laboratory and Office and the V.C. Morris store) and another one by his son Lloyd (the Wayfarers' Chapel).[27] The 1956 exhibition also marked the end of the Corbusier fever that raged in Yugoslavia a few years earlier, only to be replaced by a preference for American postwar modernism and its attributes of transparency, slab buildings, and curtain walls.

MoMA's aforementioned exhibition *Built in the USA* arrived in its entirety in Yugoslavia in 1958 and toured, through the efforts of the Yugoslav Association of Architects, to Niš and Subotica in Serbia, Skopje in Macedonia, and Titograd in Montenegro. This dissemination of postwar American modernism to audiences in regional centers further sustained a shift in architectural aesthetics and a taste for "American facades." In 1963, *Visionary Architecture*—another highly popular, MoMA-produced architectural exhibition from 1960—traveled to Zagreb and Belgrade. As before, a catalogue was produced in Serbo-Croatian,[28] but the exhibition reviews were not unequivocally positive.[29]

The extent of American cultural investment in Yugoslavia is exemplified in the 1957 Zagreb Fair (the same year in which MoMA's *The Family of Man* photo exhibition was also displayed in Belgrade to enormous success [fig. 13]). The United States contributed a fully blown supermarket meant to promote Western consumerism—in pointed contrast to the USSR's concurrent display of industrial machinery. While the US pavilion's ultimate effect on Yugoslav socialism is hard to determine, the self-service supermarket introduced a new retail model into the country, which would quickly spread across Yugoslavia in the following years.[30] The confrontation between Soviet productivism and American consumerism anticipated the famous "Kitchen Debate" fought between US Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on the occasion of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959.

Perhaps the most striking symbol of the Western orientation of Yugoslav architecture and cultural politics was the Belgrade Museum of Contemporary Art (1959–65) by Ivan Antić (1923–2005) and Ivanka Raspopović (1930–2015) (see Kulić, pp. 137–39). While

Fig. 11 *Modern Art in the United States: Selections from the Collections of the Museum of Modern Art, New York*, Belgrade, Serbia, July 6–August 6, 1956. View of the exhibition's architecture section at Muzej Fresaka. IC/IP, I.A.517. MoMA Archives, NY

Fig. 12 Cover of the exhibition catalogue *Savremena umetnost u SAD. iz zbirki Museum of Modern Art New York* [Modern Art in the United States: Selections from the Collections of The Museum of Modern Art, New York]. Belgrade: Komisija za kulturne veze s inostranstvom FNRJ, 1956. IC/IP, I.A.517. MoMA Archives, NY

Fig. 13 *The Family of Man*, Belgrade, Serbia, January–February 1957. View of the queue outside the exhibition venue, Cvijeta Zuzorić Art Pavillion. IC/IP, I.A.517. MoMA Archives, NY

the museum's architecture—six interconnected volumes rotated by 45 degrees on an underlying structural grid—seems not to be directly informed by any contemporary Western museum buildings (although the diagonals as well as the brutalist handling of surface materials in the original conception may relate to Louis Kahn's contemporary work), the institution's organization was explicitly modeled after The Museum of Modern Art. The Belgrade museum was founded by the local artist, critic, and curator Miodrag Protić, who had spent two months in New York in 1962 on a Ford Foundation grant and was keenly interested in MoMA director Alfred Barr's vision of how to showcase contemporary art in a museum setting. Protić sought to translate MoMA's curatorial mission for the specific Yugoslav context. In a first for a Yugoslavian museum, his Museum of Contemporary Art instituted permanent departments for education, public programs, international exchange, and so forth, an organization clearly informed by what he had seen and learned in New York. The building's successful completion in 1965 did not go unnoticed. MoMA architecture curator Ludwig Glaeser considered including the building in his *Architecture of Museums* exhibition in 1968 but eventually decided against it.[31] The opening made it to the international news, however, with *Newsweek* magazine once again underscoring the significance of the achievement in terms of Cold War cultural politics, calling the structure "an ultramodern monument to artistic freedom" and even—rather imprecisely—"a modern and joyful tombstone to socialist realism."[32]

While such international recognition culminated in the late 1950s, Western and American interest quickly waned in the following years, and articles in the press became increasingly scant. The USSR's readjustment of cultural politics in the wake of de-Stalinization had severe consequences for Yugoslavia, which was faced with the loss of its special status and strategic role as a "wedge" into the Eastern Bloc. Looking for new geopolitical alliances, in 1956 Tito, together with the leaders of India and Egypt (Jahawarlal Nehru and Gamal Abdul Nasser, respectively) signed the Brioni Declaration, which is generally seen as the founding document of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) (fig. 14). The NAM, an alliance that sought to establish a third way between the two dominant opposing blocs of the Cold War, was formalized in the first conference of the Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade in 1961. The loose association of nations, predominantly from Africa and the Middle East (many of which had just recently won independence and embarked on decolonization processes), provided Yugoslavia with a powerful platform for securing economic independence from both East and West while also opening up a multitude of opportunities for exporting its modernist architecture and engineering expertise overseas.

ENTER THE UN: THE ARCHITECTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Socialist Yugoslavia's engagement on the world stage is exemplified in the figure of Croatian-born architect Ernest Weissmann. Weissmann had worked in Le Corbusier's atelier in the late 1920s and later became a founding member of the Croatian CIAM group.[33] After the end of World War II, he took a job in the newly founded UN Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs, a position that would prove pivotal in directing attention and resources to his homeland in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake that struck the Macedonian capital of Skopje in 1963. In the wake of the earthquake, the international community committed to an ambitious reconstruction initiative, with many countries in both East and West actively involved in the project. Weissmann became Chair of the International Consulting Team in charge of the reconstruction and in 1965 helped facilitate an international competition, jointly organized by the UN and the Yugoslav government, for the rebuilding of Skopje's city center (fig. 15).[34] Of the eight invited teams, the somewhat unlikely winner was the Japanese architect Kenzō Tange. The first major commission for a Japanese architect outside of Japan, Tange's Skopje project, if fully executed, would also have been one of the prime examples of Japanese Metabolism on an urban scale (see Deskov et al., pp. 72–77).[35] The list of Tange's collaborators in the Skopje competition reads like a who's who of Japanese architecture of the late twentieth century, including, among others, the young Arata Isozaki as well as Yoshio Taniguchi, who would, many years later, design MoMA's 2004 expansion project.

Even though Tange's winning scheme was only partially implemented, Skopje's reconstruction did produce a significant number of buildings and projects by major international architects from both sides of the Iron Curtain, making the city an "international architectural exhibition of sorts."[36] The Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi Elementary School, funded by the Swiss government and designed by Alfred Roth,[37] was a particularly successful project (fig. 16). And once again, the opportunity for young architects to study abroad introduced fundamental changes to the local profession. Instead of funding specific buildings, the US sponsored a program that allowed seven young Macedonian architects to pursue graduate studies in leading American universities, all of whom became involved in the reconstruction upon returning home. Among them, Georgi Konstantinovski (b. 1930) deserves to be singled out for both the number of buildings and quality of his work. Konstantinovski studied with Paul Rudolph at Yale University and then interned in the New York office of I. M. Pei. The Macedonian architect's buildings for Skopje clearly reference the aesthetic predilection for exposed concrete

Fig. 14 Leaders of the Non-Aligned Nations. 1960. Original caption: "New York, Sept. 30—Neutralist Leaders Meet—Leaders of five key neutralist nations met in New York last night at headquarters of Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations. From left are Indian Prime Minister Nehru, President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of United Arab Republic, President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Tito of Yugoslavia, host at the meeting." Associated Press

Fig. 15 "United Nations Technical Assistance Mission in Yugoslavia: Earthquake Reconstruction Programme Skopje, 1965–1968." United Nations Archives and Records. S-0175-2221-05

Fig. 16 Pestalozzi Elementary School, Skopje, Macedonia. 1965–69. Alfred Roth (1903–1998). Perspective drawing. Diazotype copy with colored pencil, 11 13/16 × 32 1/16 in. (30 × 83 cm). gta Archives, Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture, Zurich

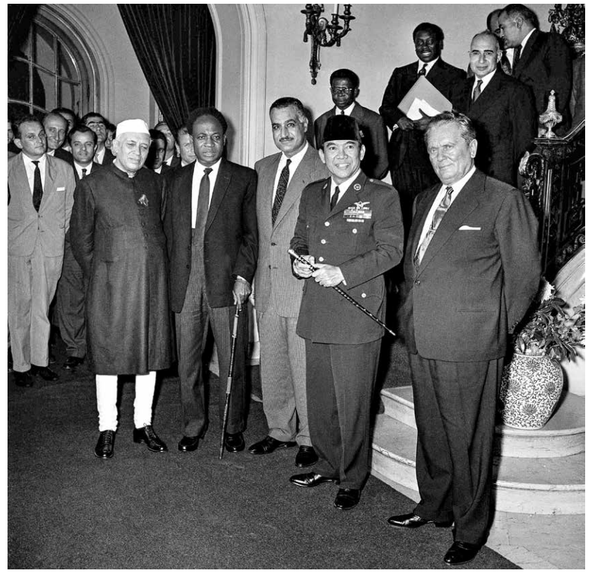

Fig. 14

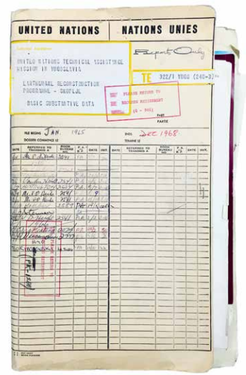

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

of his American brutalist masters while at the same time adapting to the local construction technologies and particular spatial programs of a socialist society. This is most evident in Konstantinovski's celebrated Goce Delčev Student Dormitory (1969–77) as well as his building for the City Archive of Skopje, both of which feature the corrugated concrete facades first introduced into the vocabulary of modern architecture in Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building. (Konstantinovski received his degree at Yale only shortly after the building's completion in 1963.) (See Deskov et al., pp. 160–63.) The reconstruction of Skopje thus amounted to a unique synthesis of Japanese Metabolism with Western (mainly US) brutalism, which became a blueprint for subsequent architecture in all of Yugoslavia, as evidenced for example in the work of Belgrade-based Mihajlo Mitrović (b. 1922) or the Croatian Boris Krstulović (1932–2014) (see Skansi, pp. 64–71).

Studying and working in the West continued to be a defining feature in the education of many Yugoslav architects. Montenegrin Svetlana Kana Radević's (1937–2000) project for the Podgorica Hotel (1964–67) betrays a debt to the Structuralist thinking of her former mentor Louis Kahn and achieves a haptic quality on the facade through the application of local pebbles (see Portfolio, XXXV). It is interesting to note that Kana Radević had also worked for Kisho Kurokawa for some time after graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, underscoring the far-reaching global connections of Yugoslav architecture culture. Mimoza Nestorova-Tomić (b. 1929), another prominent female figure in Yugoslav architecture and the designer of the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje (1970), had traveled extensively throughout Western Europe in the early 1960s before receiving a stipend to study at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964 (see Issaias and Kats, pp. 96–103).[38] Marta (1920–2009) and France Ivanšek (1922–2007), the architects of the Murgle neighborhood of individual family houses in Ljubljana (1965–80), lived in Sweden for five years from 1954 to 1959, where they worked in various architectural offices.[39] The Murgle settlement is clearly informed by the Scandinavian "New Empiricism" of the 1950s and proposed a "humanized" version of modernism through detailing and the use of "warm" materials with haptic qualities (fig. 17). The model of the Scandinavian welfare states proved particularly attractive from a Yugoslav point of view and the country's quest for a third way between Western capitalism and Eastern communism.

If Skopje served as an open-air classroom for a younger generation of Yugoslav architects, the UN's involvement equally set an example for further international collaboration. Following the Skopje competition, the UN, again in tandem with local authorities, was directly involved in the elaboration of regional development plans for the Adriatic coast, laying the groundwork for the creation of an extensive tourism infrastructure along the coast and rapidly accelerating the country's transition from a formerly agrarian to a developed service economy catering to international audiences (see Mrduljaš, pp. 78–83). Among the most successful resulting projects was the Haludovo Hotel (1969–72) on the Croatian island of Krk (see Portfolio XXI and XXII). Designed by Boris Magaš (1920–2013), the hotel was partly financed by Bob Guccione, then editor and publisher of *Penthouse* magazine, who successfully marketed the resort to American and Western European audiences. Haludovo was remarkable in pairing Magaš's interest in modular systems with the desire to create a playful, exuberant, and immersive vacation environment for the (sophisticated) mass market.[40]

EXPORT ARCHITECTURE

Yugoslav architecture culture was not just the "recipient" of ideas generated abroad. As previously mentioned, through its leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the ensuing economic contacts to many countries in Africa and the Middle East, in particular, also became a major agent in disseminating modern architecture to newly independent states in the wake of postcolonialism. Given Yugoslavia's relatively advanced standards in construction and engineering, the architecture and building sectors counted among the country's most successful exports, providing a steady stream of revenue and foreign currency back to the domestic economy.

Though the NAM and the various economic, political, social, and cultural networks and exchanges it generated may be seen as an early instance of contemporary globalization, there were other consequential processes afoot. The NAM's foundation should equally be considered within, and as a direct consequence of, the decolonization of Africa, which reached its peak in 1960, the year in which seventeen nations declared their independence. This situation not only created the need for new alliances but also an enormous opportunity for economic investment. Yugoslavia would appear to be something of an exotic outlier in this group of newly independent nations. However, as Tito declared in a visit to Guinea in 1961 (one of many journeys that the Yugoslav leader undertook in this period with the aim to bond politically and facilitate economic investment), his country could be seen as "an example of how a country, enslaved and underdeveloped in the past, is able to rise to such a level Yugoslavia has attained nowadays."[41] In comparing Yugoslavia's independence after World War I to the postcolonial situation, Tito suggested that the newly independent nations could learn historically from his country's experience and further advocated contemporary socialist Yugoslavia as a model for these countries to emulate.

Fig. 17 Murgle estate, Ljubljana, Slovenia. 1965–80. Marta (née Ravnikar) Ivanšek (1920–2009) and France Ivanšek (1922–2007). View from the garden. France and Marta Ivanšek Foundation

Fig. 18 Milica Šterić (1914–1998) at work. c. 1977. Energoprojekt Archive

Fig. 19 Ministry Complex, Kano, Nigeria. 1978. Milica Šterić (1914–1998) and Zoran Bojović (1936–2018) for Energoprojekt (est. 1951). Detail view. c. 1978. Personal archive of Zoran Bojović

Fig. 20 Experimental Housing Block, Luanda, Angola. 1978. Lead architect: Ivan Petrović (1932–2000), for the IMS Institute of Belgrade. Elevation. 1:100. Diazotype, 7 × 11 ⅛ in. (18 × 29.5 cm). Personal archive of Ivan Petrović

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

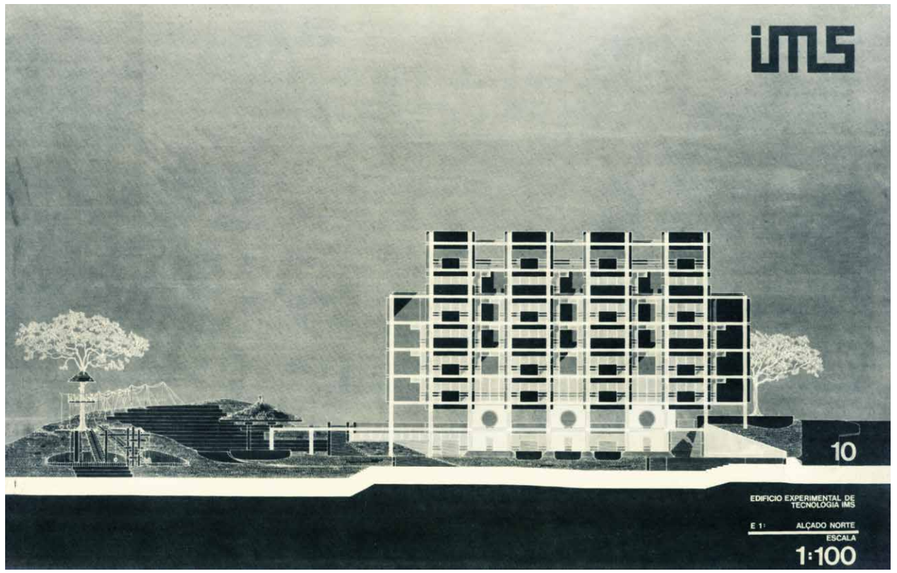

Fig. 20

In this context, is his hardly coincidental that the first summit of NAM leaders was held in Belgrade in 1961. New Belgrade, then the largest active construction site in Europe, was effectively used as an advertisement for the local construction sector.[42] The message was received, and in subsequent years several Yugoslav companies were hired to execute ambitious infrastructure projects, including dams, railways, and roads across Africa, with the Belgrade-based firm of Energoprojekt being the most prominent example.[43] Nor was the scope of action limited to infrastructure. Under the leadership of Milica Šterić (1914–1998), Energoprojekt's Department for Architecture and Urbanism (founded in 1971) successfully established itself in the design of large-scale projects (figs. 18 and 19). (Šterić, like so many of her colleagues, had studied abroad for some time, having spent six months on a stipend from the Dutch government in the office of Van den Broek and Bakema in 1957).[44] Energoprojekt's projects for Nigeria are particularly noteworthy. The master plan for seven cities in the state of Kano exported lessons from the UNESCO-sponsored Development Plan of the South Adriatic (where the Greek architect Constantinos A. Doxiadis had served as an adviser) to Western Africa, adapting the methodology to the local conditions through a careful analysis of traditional building techniques in vernacular mud architecture.[45] The Kano master plan in turn served as a blueprint for the ambitious Lagos Trade Fair complex, whose layout was directly influenced by traditional settlement typologies in Kano (fig. 1; see also Stanek, pp. 84–89). Similar to the contemporary globalized building industry, cheap labor was imported from South Asian NAM member states such as Pakistan and Bangladesh.[46]

Meanwhile, Yugoslav architectural exports were by no means limited to Western Africa. After the success of the Lagos Trade Fair, Energoprojekt was hired for the Al Khulafa street development project in Baghdad in anticipation of the NAM summit in the Iraqi capital in 1982. (The summit never materialized due to the outbreak of the first Iran-Iraq War.) In the same city, Edvard Ravnikar's design for the Babylon Hotel was realized after the Iraqi government bought the scheme, which had originally been developed in the early 1970s for the Adriatic coast.[47] Prefabricated building systems proved another export success: In 1957, the engineer Branko Žeželj introduced a prestressed skeletal system of precast columns and slabs, which he continued to develop at the Serbian Institute for the Testing of Materials (IMS Institute) (fig. 20). The IMS Žeželj system was not only widely used across Yugoslavia but also applied in more than 150,000 apartment units in places such as Italy, Hungary, Cuba, Angola, and the Philippines,[48] further underscoring the exceptional presence of Yugoslavian architectural innovation and production on a world stage.

The aforementioned relationships with Western architectural discourse are only one facet of the agency of Yugoslav architecture in an international network of exchange, one that has so far been largely overlooked and whose significance for a more nuanced understanding of the cultural dynamics in the Cold War has only recently started to surface. A more sustained investigation than is possible in this short essay would have to address the flows of information, knowledge, and ideas between non-aligned Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc. A comparative analysis between Yugoslav internationalism in architecture and that of other Eastern European countries would also appear to be an illuminating undertaking. However, the specific global networks briefly highlighted here clearly point to the exceptionalism of Yugoslav architecture culture. The density and diversity of these networks of exchange was only possible under the unique geopolitical conditions Yugoslavia found itself in during the Cold War. Indeed, history tells us that this model was not sustainable beyond the limits of a bifurcated world order. But in its time, it contributed to a proliferation of architectural ideas whose contribution to the world history of modern architecture we are only now beginning to understand.

I am indebted to Vladimir Kulić, whose scholarship has greatly contributed to this essay, as have countless conversations over the years in preparation of the exhibition that this catalogue accompanies. My thanks go also to the various members of our Curatorial Advisory Board, whose contributions have greatly enhanced my understanding of specific aspects of Yugoslav architecture culture. Several curatorial and research assistants at The Museum of Modern Art have helped gather information that went into the present essay. I am particularly indebted to Anna Kats, Theodossis Issaias, Matthew Worsnick, and Joana Valsassina Heitor for their assistance.

1 See Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans,* rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

2 Vladimir Kulić, "Land of the In-Between: Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945–65" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin 2009), 195–96.

3 For a detailed discussion of Le Corbusier's impact on the Ljubljana school of architecture, see Bogo Zupančič, "Plečnik's Students in Le Corbusier's Studio," in *Unfinished Modernisations Between Utopia and Pragmatism: Architecture and Urban Planning in the Former Yugoslavia and the Successor States,* ed. Maroje Mrduljaš and Vladimir Kulić (Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association, 2012), 391–94; for the impact on Croatian architecture, see Tamara Bjažić Klarin, "Ernest Weissmann and Jurai Neidhardt," in Mdruljaš and Kulić, *Unfinished Modernisations*, 395–98.

4 Dijana Alić, "Historical Materialism: The Fabric of Communist Yugoslavia's Architectural Aspirations," in *Materiality and Architecture*, ed. Sandra Karina Löschke (London: Routledge, 2016), 100–1.

5 Jelica Karlić Kapetanović, *Juraj Neidhardt. Život i djelo* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1990), 99.

6 Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, eds., *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010).

7 A selection of the most important of Ravnikar's writings has been translated and published in Aleš Vodopivec and Rok Žnidaršič, eds., *Edvard Ravnikar: Architect and Teacher* (Vienna: Springer, 2010).

8 On Kampor, see William J. R. Curtis, "Abstraction and Representation: The Memorial Complex at Kampor, on the Island of Rab (1952–53) by Edvard Ravnikar," in Vodopivec and Žnidaršič, *Edvard Ravnikar*, 33–50; on the relationship of Ravnikar and Plečnik, see also Aleš Vodopivec, "Ljubljana: Jože Plečnik und Edvard Ravnikar," in *Die Architektur, die Tradition und der Ort: Regionalismen in der europäischen Stadt*, ed. Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2000), 329–59.

9 Vodopivec, "Ljubljana," 346 and passim.

10 Kulić, "Land of the In-Between," 199.

11 Kulić, ibid., 197.

12 On this and the relationship of Croatian archtitects to CIAM in general, see Tamara Bjažić Klarin, "CIAM Networking—International Congress of Modern Architecture and Croatian Architecture in the 1950," *Život Umjenosti: Magazine for Contemporary Visual Arts* 99, no. 2 (2016): 40–57.

13 On the "wedge strategy," see Lorraine M. Lees, *Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia, and the Cold War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). For a detailed discussion of the impact on Cold War politics on Yugoslav architecture culture in the 1950s, see Kulić, "Land of the In-Between," 213 ff.

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