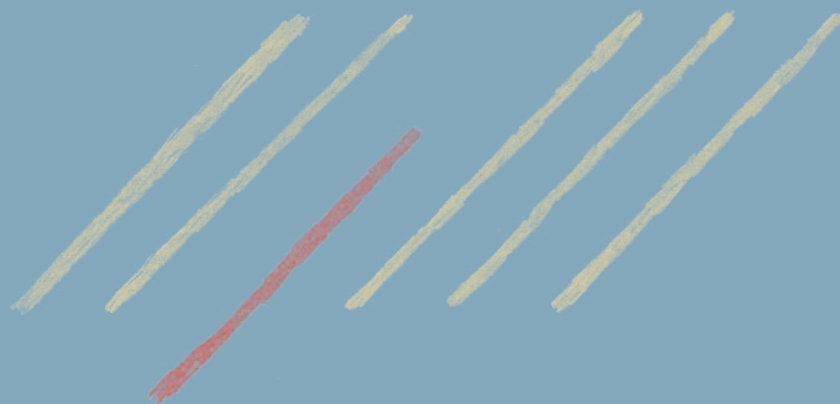


SOUTHERN CONSTELLATIONS

The Poetics of the Non-Aligned



Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, 2019

**Southern Constellations:
The Poetics of the
Non-Aligned**

Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova

7 March – 31 August 2019

Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, 2019

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Southern Constellations: *The Poetics of the Non-Aligned* looks at the role art and culture played in the Non-Aligned Movement and tries to interpret such ideas in the context of the present day. The question that arises is, why deal with this movement today, or better, why have the ideas and concepts of this movement seen such a resurgence, and with such prominence in art in the past few years? One of the possible answers is that in this time of increasing global inequalities, crises, and the widening chasm between the rich and the poor, artists are seeking new ways and means of expression with which to overcome such divisions and perhaps re-establish different, more just global relations.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), established in 1961 in Belgrade with our former common country Yugoslavia as one of its initiators, consisted largely of Third World African and Asian nations, which found in the movement a framework for a more equal dialogue with the developed countries of the northern hemisphere. While NAM was an almost exclusively political movement, it also recognized the importance of decolonization in the field of art and culture virtually from the beginning. Thus, there developed a widespread network of collaborations in culture between non-aligned countries, which is now presented for the first time at the *Southern Constellations* exhibition. This presentation includes not only the (mostly political) reasons for the collaborations, but also specific examples of exhibitions, collections, institutions, archives and works of art that formed part of the “southern” constellations. Contemporary artistic interpretations are included in the exhibition in dialogue with the older works.

What becomes apparent in the exhibition is not only the heterogeneity of the artistic productions, the variety of the cultural policies, and the extent of the cultural network within the movement, but also – perhaps most importantly – the

fact that debates on the significance of art that is not part of the Western art canon have been ongoing since the 1960s. Thus, Moderna galerija in Ljubljana started organizing the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in 1955 and explicitly included prints by artists from non-aligned countries. However, all such expressions, often vastly different from the established Western art canons, failed to bring about the framing of another, different art narrative.

Hopefully, our exhibition will open many questions and different views on not only what used to be, but also possible new ways of collaborating in the future, together with new networks and artistic expressions.

I would like to thank all of the participating institutions, artists, researchers, curators and writers of the texts in the catalogue for their contributions. We further owe a debt of gratitude to the galleries, individuals, and institutions that have kindly loaned us the works of art and the archival materials and/or given us permission to use them, making the realization of this exhibition possible. Our thanks also to the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, the Mondriaan Foundation, the Flemish Authority, the Danish Art Foundation and DIRAC Chile, all of which financially supported this project.

My special thanks to curator Bojana Piškur, who conceived and realized this extensive and complex project, to Tamara Soban for preparing the catalogue material, Teja Merhar for researching the copious archival materials, Adela Železnik for the public programs, Mateja Dimnik for public relations, Sanja Kuveljić Bandić for coordinating the project, and Ida Hiršenfelder and Marko Rusjan for helping with the coordination. Thanks also to the Moderna galerija technical crew, to Tomaž Kučer, to the Moderna galerija photographers, and to Sabina Povšič for coordinating the photography.

Zdenka Badovinac
Director, Moderna galerija



Interior of the Mulungushi Conference Center in Lusaka, built by Energoprojekt, photographed before the start of the 3rd Conference of the NAM, 8 August 1970

Photo courtesy of the Museum of Yugoslavia

Southern Constellations: Other Histories, Other Modernities

Bojana Piškur

Cultural and artistic production in Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1991 is usually interpreted and contextualized within the Eastern European art historical narrative. This narrative was largely constructed after 1989, and it was only then the international art world started to become interested in it. If we take, for example, the 1989 exhibition *Magiciens de la Terre* in Paris, which was one of the first exhibitions in the West to exhibit “global art” on an alleged “equal footing”, we see that the number of artists represented from Eastern Europe¹ was quite small. It was only some years later that Eastern European artists, curators and theoreticians started developing their own locally-rooted narratives and histories; or in other words, they started to reflect² on the specific context of art in Eastern Europe. This way they also changed the prevailing image of the typical Eastern European artist, who was no longer seen as an “incompletely developed Westerner”. But the difference between Western and Eastern European art was not a matter of different styles and canons. This difference (besides the different political and economic ideologies) was related primarily to the art system, to the conditions of art production and access to official (art) histories. However, the distance between East and West was actually smaller than the difference “between modernism, as a provincial (and exceptional) European conceit, and the art of every other place in the world, especially former colonies”.³

1 Marina Abramović, Erik Bulatov, Braco Dimitrijević, Ilya Kabakov, Karel Malich, Krzysztof Wodiczko.

2 See Boris Groys, “Back from the Future”, *Third Text*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (2003). Groys says that those who refuse to contextualize themselves will be implanted into context by someone else and will then run the risk of no longer recognizing themselves.

3 Katy Siegel, “Art, World, History”, in: *Postwar: Art Between the Pacific and the Atlantic, 1945–1965* (Munich: Haus der Kunst & Prestel, 2017), p. 49. (Catalogue).

As for socialist Yugoslavia, there existed another “story” (even though it became largely forgotten after the 1990s), one that was different from that of Eastern Europe – a network that was politically propagated on the basis of Yugoslavia’s foreign relations with the Third World. Yugoslavia was a specific case in socialist Europe. The political machinery realized already in the 1950s that balancing the two opposing Cold War blocs would be a better guarantor of security than would membership in one of the blocs. Subsequently, the policy of peaceful co-existence became a new international orientation, and Yugoslavia started to align itself predominately with Third World countries or the Global South. With Yugoslav membership in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the alliance’s first conference in 1961 staged in Belgrade, the concept of non-alignment came to constitute the main component of the country’s foreign policy.

Yugoslavia used its specific geopolitical position extensively in the economic sphere, as well as in culture. A special committee was established after World War II called the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, which arranged exhibitions outside Yugoslavia’s borders and was chaired by the surrealist writer and artist Marko Ristić. Cultural conventions and programs of cultural cooperation⁴ included not only Western and Eastern Europe, but also non-aligned countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These exchanges touched on all levels of cultural production. However, architecture, urban planning and industrial design had a special, somehow different status, and were considered state-sponsored vehicles of the new modernist tendencies that were compatible with the idea of creating a new socialist society.

These ideas were also in line with similar issues that the non-aligned countries frequently addressed, like the question of cultural imperialism, which consequently saw cultural equality come to form one of the important principles of the NAM. Seen and interpreted from today’s point of view this quest also envisioned new kinds of historicization, rewriting historical narratives or even writing history anew; in other words, real emphasis was put on questioning epistemic colonialism and cultural dependency. However, this was not really the case in socialist Yugoslavia; after World War II the main orientation in arts and culture largely followed the Western epistemic canon. So, the point of departure for us is this: how

4 See Teja Merhar’s study “International Collaborations in Culture between Yugoslavia and the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement” in this catalogue.

did those contacts with other modernities, those “cross-fertilizations”⁵ affect the cultural landscape in Yugoslavia, and what seeds remain from such encounters?

Dipesh Chakrabarty suggests Europe appears different when seen from (within) the experience of colonization.⁶ Perhaps these contacts between the formerly colonized and the new post-war Yugoslavia, unaffected by colonialism, had the potential to produce different histories (different modernisms, arts, narratives etc.) that could extend beyond the Eurocentric ones. But in order to do so they would have to “think with a difference”, a difference that would destabilize universalist idioms, historicize the context and pluralize the experiences of modernity.⁷ Was that really so?

Yugoslavia and the Third World

To better understand the relations between Yugoslavia and the Third World we have to go back in time almost 100 years. There was a growing fascination among Yugoslavia’s cultural circles with faraway places already in the late 1920s. However, few Yugoslavs travelled to exotic places, largely because Yugoslavia was not a colonial⁸ country and as such had no colonial experience. In this regard it shared an anti-colonial consciousness with African and Asian countries. It is interesting, however, to note that there were Yugoslavs studying in France that showed a particular interest in Africa; many of them belonged to the surrealist circles, including Rastko Petrović, an avant-garde writer, poet and diplomat who travelled to Western Africa in 1929. His book *Africa*⁹ is a record of that journey. The book was in some ways a typical product of the era, written from the perspective of a white European male, based on pre-conceived colonial knowledge and stereotypes about Africa. Petrović nevertheless attempted to answer the question what it meant to be a “European

5 Leopold Sedar Senghor, *Prose and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 53–55. In addition to “other modernities”, this includes also the Western one.

6 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe, Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 16.

7 Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, “On Alternative Modernities”, in: Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (ed.), *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 14.

8 “Colonial paradigm” is actually problematic, as Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, the Balkans etc. cannot really be treated as colonies. See for example Maria Todorova’s argument in her article “Balkanism and Post-Colonialism, or On the Beauty of the Airplane View”, *Zgodovinski časopis (Historical Review)* (Ljubljana) no. 61 (2007), pp. 141–155.

9 Rastko Petrović, *Afrika* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1955).

Other” in Africa; or to put it in a somewhat larger frame, what it meant at the time to be a European “from a margin of European modernity”.

Another important Paris encounter unfolded in 1934, when Petar Guberina, a PhD student of linguistics at the Sorbonne, met Aimé Césaire. Guberina invited Césaire to his native Šibenik that same year, and it was there that Césaire started writing his famous epic poem “Notebook of a Return to the Native Land”, which was one of the first expressions of the concept of negritude. Not surprisingly, the preface was written by Guberina. Another figure in that circle was Léopold Senghor, who later became President of Senegal and travelled to Yugoslavia on an official state visit in 1975. Senghor was known for his more revolutionary approach to culture than his fellow writers. In his speech at the First International Congress of Black Writers in Paris in 1956¹⁰ he pointed out: “Cultural liberation is the condition sine qua non of political liberation”. A few years later Guberina published a book *Following the Black African Culture*, in which many of Césaire’s and Senghor’s thoughts on culture resonated. In what sounded much like Senghor’s Paris speech he wrote: “Black cultural workers, although there were few, have manifested a multifaceted function of culture and used it as a powerful weapon against colonization. Cultural workers have become political workers and vice versa.”¹¹ At the time, the writings of many political theoreticians and philosophers from former colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Yugoslavia shared the common notion that culture was a form of resistance to domination. Sékou Touré (Guinea) presented a paper at the Second Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Rome in 1959 in which he offered: “It is not enough to write a revolutionary hymn to be part of the African revolution; one has to join with the people to make this revolution”.¹² This “combative culture” was also visibly in the foreground at the Pan-African Festival of Algiers in 1969 with the slogan: “African culture will be revolutionary or will not be!” There Frantz Fanon’s ideas were cited widely. Amílcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) wrote that people are only able to create and develop the liberation movement because they keep their culture alive, despite the continual and organized repression of their cultural life and because they continue to resist culturally, even when their political and military resistance is destroyed.¹³ A similar manifestation of revolutionary ideas put into practice was

10 Co-organized by Guberina.

11 “Tragom afričke crnačke culture”, *Polja* (Novi Sad) no. 55 (September 1961), p. 16.

12 Cited in Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), p. 145.

13 “Return to the Source: Selected Speeches by Amilcar Cabral” (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), p. 60.

Partisan art, a specific type of cultural production in Yugoslavia during World War II. Partisan art broke with prevailing art practices and began something different, something new. Not only did it involve “the masses” in the process of artistic creation; art was an essential part of the resistance movement and the social revolution.

Generally speaking, Yugoslavia fit well into the discourse of the Third World and the non-alignment scheme. Socialist anti-imperial revolutions had a lot in common with anti-colonial ones, which made the Yugoslav case of emancipation in the context of socialism particularly significant. It was no coincidence then that the Yugoslav delegation was invited to attend the first Asian socialist conference in Rangoon (Burma) in 1953.

The 1960s also saw the rebirth of a specific travel literature about “exotic places”, the most prominent example of which was the work of Oskar Davičo – not surprisingly another surrealist writer and politician who visited Western Africa on the occasion of the preparations for a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement. He wrote a book about the journey called *Black on White*, in which he analyzed African post-colonial societies of the time. Davičo, a very different observer than Petrović, did not want to be seen as a white man in Africa; what is more, he was even ashamed of his whiteness, saying that if he could change the color of his skin he would have done so without regret: “Yes, I am white, that is all the passers-by see. If only I could wear my country’s history digest on my lapel!”¹⁴

A number of books on colonialism were written in Yugoslavia, such as Vera Nikolova’s *Colonies Then and Now* in 1954. Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* was translated into Slovene as early as 1963, only two years after it was originally published in France. There are many such instances, too many to mention within the scope of this text. However, the most significant component in the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Third World was without a doubt Yugoslavia’s identification with and support of anti-colonial struggles globally, and its membership in the NAM, which also became an important part of the Yugoslav Constitution.¹⁵

Unlike the many colonial narratives, as Ana Sladojević¹⁶ pointed out, Yugoslavia had never asserted itself as a nation or culture that worked to “civilize” others (which basically consists in the notion that colonization brings civilization and culture to those who are still in the pre-modern stage). Instead, it cultivated

14 Oskar Davičo, *Črno na belem, Potopis po Zahodni Afriki* (Ljubljana: Prešernova družba, 1963), p. 6.

15 Yugoslav Constitution 1974.

16 Ana Sladojević, *Slike o Africi / Images of Africa* (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2015), p. XV.

and maintained the notion of itself as the culture/nation that aimed to help others establish a position in a role that had yet to be created and clearly defined (the “older brother” paradigm, which is also problematic from today’s perspective).

Non-Aligned Internationalism

Yugoslav membership in the NAM¹⁷ was initially distinctly political; it represented a quest for alternative political alliances, for “alternative mondialization”.¹⁸ On the other hand it also had and pursued a pragmatic agenda. The movement soon acquired an economic dimension and created new spheres of interest and exchange between Yugoslavia and the non-aligned countries. In the early stages, intense economic collaboration saw Yugoslav construction companies¹⁹ working on projects in Africa and the Middle East, companies that had sprung up as a consequence of Yugoslavia’s rapid urbanization following World War II. Some younger generation architecture scholars have looked into the development of this brand of modernity from a new perspective. Dubravka Sekulić has done research on the ways Yugoslavia and the decolonized countries in Africa became unexpected allies in the process of trying to articulate how one could be modern by one’s own rules, i.e. how to direct one’s own modernization process. Examples of such a process include the above-mentioned architecture and urban-planning projects in various non-aligned African and Arab countries, where the architects combined the particular Yugoslav modernism with “tropical” and international modernisms that observed and respected local contexts. Such ideas and practices were eagerly accepted in the newly-independent non-aligned countries. It is also worth mentioning that in 1975 Yugoslavia established a Solidarity Fund for the developing non-aligned countries, designed to provide them with significant financial aid.

But what did the Third World actually mean, what did it represent? According to First World Western interpretations, the Third World was a group of economically under- or undeveloped countries from the peripheries, many of them former colonies. On the other hand, the Third World was also understood as

17 For more on the NAM and Yugoslavia, see recent texts by Zoran Erić, Tvrtko Jakovina, Gal Kirn, Nataša Mišković, Maroje Mrduljaš, Bojana Piškur, Srećko Pulig, Dubravka Sekulić, Ana Sladojević, Ljubica Spaskovska, Dejan Sretenović, Vladimir Jerić & Jelena Vesić.

18 Srećko Pulig, <https://www.portalnovosti.com/kako-su-se-kalili-nesvrstani>, accessed on 25. 9. 2018.

19 See Dubravka Sekulić’s project at the exhibition *Southern Constellations: the Poetics of the Non-Aligned*.

a political project and carried a significant emancipatory message – it “enabled the powerless to hold a dialogue with the powerful”.²⁰ The reasons for the decline of the Third World, which go all the way to the 1970s, are well known, with the world’s superpowers playing a pivotal role, as did the IMF-driven globalization. Nor is it any coincidence that the demise of the Third World also coincided with the crisis in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, which resulted in war and the dissolution of the country in 1991.

Culture was accorded particular importance in the NAM, despite the fact that it never took center-stage at summits and conferences. NAM’s cultural politics strongly condemned cultural imperialism²¹ and encouraged cultural diversity and cultural hybridity. Western (European) cultural heritage was to be understood in terms of “juxtaposition”²²; this heritage would be interwoven with and into the living culture of the colonized, and would not simply be repeated under new (political) circumstances. For this reason a “cross-national appreciation for cultural heritages” and a local-to-local approach was extremely important. Here we could well paraphrase Achille Mbembe, in that it was important not only to generate one’s own cultural forms, institutions etc., but also to translate, fragment and disrupt realities and imaginaries originating elsewhere, and in the process place those forms in the service of one’s own making.²³

Subsequently in the West, “non-Western”²⁴ cultural expressions were almost always either interpreted as traditional, ethnographic and pre-modern or as something that had yet “to catch up with” the Western art canon. Césaire was quite direct in his writings on the consequences of colonialism on the cultural heritage of the colonized people. The colonial project was not only economic-military in nature, but also affected the colonized via apparatuses of knowledge, and in this way diminished the significance of their culture and cultural production. Vijay Prashad

20 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations. A People’s History of the Third World* (New York, London: The New Press, 2007), p. xviii.

21 Speech by President Tito at the 6th Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Havana, Cuba, in 1979, where he spoke of the “resolute struggle for decolonization in the field of culture.” At the 5th Conference in Colombo in 1976, Libya introduced a draft resolution where it introduced facts of how the country was deprived of its “human cultural heritage” as a result of colonialism.

22 See Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, p. 82.

23 See Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, ‘Introduction’, in: Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall (eds.), *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008).

24 “Non-Western” is a term constructed in the West; nowadays the euphemism “art of the world” is frequently used

has comprehensively analyzed the way the regimes in the new nations adopted the Enlightenment's scientific heritage without any discussions of its cultural implications.²⁵ This was problematic, he asserts, as the “machine was not neutral”. It could also be added that this was not only the case with the scientific heritage, but applied equally to the artistic heritage as well.

At the AICA (International Association of Art Critics) General Assembly of 1973 in Yugoslavia (Zagreb, Ljubljana, Belgrade, Dubrovnik), art critic Célestin Badibanga from Kinshasa very clearly asserted that AICA had to move beyond the Eurocentric tendencies in art. His demand for decolonization in art was to be understood in the light of a Zaïrean doctrine of the time called *L'authenticité*.²⁶ Many NAM countries, especially in Africa, used art as a political instrument, as we have seen above. UNESCO also produced a number of cultural policy studies written by experts from Third World countries around the idea of developing their own cultural models. *L'authenticité* was probably one of the most extreme of them. But the point behind all these discussions and cultural policies was to acknowledge cultural diversity without placing art and culture on a hierarchical scale of civilization²⁷ and instead open up a “conversation across differences”. So we can suggest that this was actually a case of specific internationalism, a cross-cultural experience of “provincialized modernisms”.²⁸ Despite the fact that NAM countries were highly culturally diverse, the newly established contacts and exchanges provided fertile ground for debates on the relationship between the globally dominant Western culture and other cultures.²⁹ To name but a few, in 1985 the Gallery for the Art of the Non-Aligned Countries in Titograd, Yugoslavia organized a symposium entitled “Art and Development”, where more than 40 representatives from 21 NAM countries took part. They discussed “strengthening cooperation, the dissemination of knowledge, mutual rapprochement and better acquaintance of art and culture

25 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, p. 90. Machine as one of the instruments of cultural transformation that was brought to a space whose own cultural history had not prepared them for this new device.

26 *L'authenticité* was a doctrine that aimed to erase all traces of Belgian colonialism in art and culture in Zaire.

27 Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Legacies of Bandung: Decolonization and the Politics of Culture”, in: *Postwar: Art Between the Pacific and the Atlantic, 1945–1965* (Munich: Haus der Kunst, Prestel, 2017). (Catalogue).

28 See Okwui Enwezor's notion in “Questionnaire: Enwezor”, *October* 139 (Fall 2009), p. 36.

29 For a more thorough analysis of this relationship, see Rasheed Araeen, “Our Bauhaus Others' Mudhouse”, *Third Text* Vol. 3, no. 6 (Spring 1989).

of the non-aligned and developing countries”.³⁰ Ten years later in Jakarta, on the occasion of the exhibition *Non-Aligned Nations Contemporary Art Exhibition*, the seminar “Unity in Diversity”³¹ was organized, where the presentations and debates were very different from those in Titograd, tackling concepts such as southern perspectives in art and the South as a place of change and solidarity. The question of the contemporary art of the NAM countries (an “alternative view on how to understand contemporary art”) was discussed, and the idea of a universalist modernism and linear development in art was rejected. The seminar pointed out some important directions. For example, it emphasized that local conditions and socio-cultural backgrounds had caused modernism to take on different forms in different places,³² as well as the idea that the contemporary art of the South was a sign of the liberation of Third World art. Among the participants at the seminar were Geeta Kapur, Mary Jane Jacob, David Elliott, Nada Beroš, T.K. Sabapathy, Jim Supangkat, Kuroda Raiji, Apinan Poshyananda and others.

Cultural Manifestations in the Non-Aligned World

From the late 1950s onward, exchanges of all sorts were happening in arts and education in Yugoslavia (students from non-aligned countries came to study in Yugoslavia; according to some records, as many as 40,000 students³³ at the university in Belgrade alone). Museums acquired various artifacts – the Museum of African Art opened in Belgrade in 1977 as a result of the prevailing ideological and political climate. Not only were ethnographic museums created and developed, but also museums of history, such as the former Museum of the Revolution of

30 Galerija umjetnosti nesvrstanih zemalja, “Osnovna dokumentacija”, Titograd, 17.12.1981, spiral bound.

31 The transcripts of some of the discussions of the seminar are accessible at: Geeta Kapur and Vivan Sundaram Archive at Asia Art Archive: <https://aaa.org.hk/en/collection/search/archive/another-life-the-digitised-personal-archive-of-geeta-kapur-and-vivan-sundaram-geeta-kapur-manuscripts-of-essays-and-lectures/object/the-recent-developments-of-southern-contemporary-art-avant-garde-art-practice-in-the-emerging-context>.

32 Jim Supangkat, “Contemporary Art of the South”, in: *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries: Unity in Diversity in International Art. Post-Event Catalogue*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, Project for the Development of Cultural Media, Directorate General for Culture, Department of Education and Culture, 1997/1998), p. 26.

33 Ana Sladojević, *Slike o Africi*, p. 18. This number most likely refers to the period of Yugoslav membership in the NAM, between 1961 and 1991.

the Yugoslav Nations,³⁴ which became the steward of a large number of artifacts – gifts President Tito received on his travels in the non-aligned countries or that were given to him by foreign politicians. In the visual arts, the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana had already become internationally recognized back in the 1950s as a manifestation that exhibited “basically everything, the whole world”, especially after the first conference of the non-aligned countries in 1961. More than 43 countries participated (10 from the NAM) at the 1963 biennial, and over 60 countries (25 from the NAM) took part in the 14th biennial in 1981.

The basis of all manifestations, exchanges, exhibitions and other events was the cultural conventions and programs³⁵ that Yugoslavia signed with other non-aligned countries. As Teja Merhar shows in her research, these exchanges were numerous, and even though comparatively little is known about them today, they were not insignificant. Yugoslav artists regularly exhibited at the biennial in Alexandria, at the São Paulo Biennial, at Triennale India in New Delhi, while artists from the NAM countries exhibited at the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana, in the Josip Broz Tito Gallery for the Art of the Non-Aligned Countries, at the international exhibitions (in 1966, 1975, 1979 and 1985) organized under the auspices of the United Nations at the Art Gallery in Slovenj Gradec,³⁶ as well as at many smaller venues and events around the country.

However, in spite of all these exchanges and events, only one art institution was established directly under the auspices of the NAM. The Josip Broz Tito Gallery for the Art of the Non-Aligned Countries was inaugurated in Titograd, Yugoslavia³⁷ in 1984, with the aim of collecting, preserving and presenting the arts and cultures of the non-aligned and developing countries. The document was adopted at the 8th summit in Harare, Zimbabwe a couple of years later, where the gallery was to become a common institution for all of the NAM countries. The activities of the gallery were many:

34 Today Museum of Yugoslavia.

35 Yugoslavia signed cultural conventions and/or programs with the following non-aligned members and observers: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Cambodia, North Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Syria, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Guyana, Jamaica, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Brazil, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Venezuela, Salvador, Egypt, Sudan, Guinea, Ghana, Tunisia, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria, Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Morocco, Libya, Angola, Mauretania, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire.

36 Today Koroška galerija likovnih umetnosti.

37 Today Podgorica, Montenegro. The collection has been part of the Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro since 1995.

alongside collecting works from the NAM countries they also organized exhibitions, symposia and residencies, and produced publications and documentary films. Works from the collection were also shown in Harare, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Delhi, Cairo and elsewhere.³⁸ Unfortunately, their aim to create a Triennial of Art from the NAM countries was never realized owing to the wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

According to the Yugoslav press³⁹ the collection was primarily considered a “heritage of other cultures”, and “one of a kind in the world”. Raif Dizdarević, the Yugoslav Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs stressed in the catalogue’s introduction⁴⁰ that artificial divisions into “major” and “minor” cultures, into “metropolitan” and “peripheral” cultures, as well as arbitrary hierarchies of values imposed by certain cultural models should be overcome. It appears there was something of a lack of understanding of such “provincialized modernisms” in Yugoslavia at the time, and an especial lack of firmer positions regarding other cultures in relation to (Western) modernism. Some prominent Yugoslav art historians⁴¹ saw the collection as comprised of works of “not affirmed artists from faraway exotic places”, as “works from authoritarian states that support official art”.

It is true that the gallery was a political project from the beginning, and the acquired works were not always the most representative works of a particular artist.⁴² But on the other hand, the collection’s potential to challenge the ways the Western art operates and produces hegemonic narratives/canons was not particularly well understood, either. Unlike Western colonial museums of the past, the gallery in Titograd acquired “art of the world” solely in the form of gifts and donations, while attempting to develop its own cultural networks and frameworks of knowledge and to combine this with experiences from other parts of the non-aligned world. It is only in the past decade that the collection has started to gain more visibility, especially in the context of post-Yugoslav and post-colonial studies.

38 For more information about the collection see *Umjetničke zbirke Centra savremene umjetnosti Crne Gore* (Podgorica: Centar savremene umetnosti Crne Gore, 2010), (an introduction in English).

39 See Galerija umjetnosti nesvrstanih zemalja, “Osnovna dokumentacija”, Titograd, 17. 12. 1981, spiral bound.

40 Raif Dizdarević, in: *The Josip Broz Tito Art Gallery of the Non-Aligned Countries* (Titograd: undated), p. 2. (Catalogue).

41 “Nesvrstano ludilo”, a newspaper clipping with a statement by Ješa Denegri, a photocopy in the “Osnovna dokumentacija”, Titograd, spiral bound, undated.

42 The collection includes 1025 works from over 50 non-aligned countries, including many prominent artists, such as Rafikun Nabi, Hussein M. Elgebali, Gazbia Sirry, Saleh Reda, Edsel Moscoso, Roberto Valcarel, Humberto Castro, Suresh Sharma.

Instead of Conclusion

Today, the Non-Aligned Movement is politically speaking considered more or less something of an anachronism. The fate of this unique constellation is probably one of the least understood phenomena of our times, but it is certain that its disappearance from the world's political stage is directly linked to the rise and triumph of neoliberalism, especially after 1989.

Despite the fact that the movement's aims were progressive from the beginning – it envisioned forms of politics that took as their starting point the life of peoples and societies that had been forcibly relegated to the margins of the global economic, political and cultural system – there were many states in the NAM that were in actual fact quite far from embodying and practicing the principles the movement represented. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania said at the Havana summit in 1979 that “NAM was a progressive movement, but it was not a movement of progressive states.”⁴³ Additionally, the concepts of nation states, identitarian politics, and exclusive national cultures that once carried emancipatory potential are also problematic from today's perspective. Most of the refugees coming to Europe in recent years are from the NAM countries, countries that are currently at war or involved in some kind of armed conflict. The reason for this is NAM's inability to prevent the new global powers from interfering in the territorial and economic integrity of the NAM countries. The question is, then: What has happened with the movement's original principles of peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit?

The exhibition *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned* that this catalogue accompanies proposes that the heritage of non-alignment should be given another chance. The works, 26 “cases” from around the world presented in the exhibition deal not only with the past (contextualizing/researching/interpreting various historical constellations such as organizations, events, exhibitions, cultural exchanges, cultural policies) but also look into and examine the present time: Could there be a non-aligned contemporaneity? And if so, what would it be like? Some cases even go – in the utopian spirit – beyond time, such as the project by the Solidarity Museum in Santiago, Chile. Their proposal adopts “the form of

43 Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, p. 113.

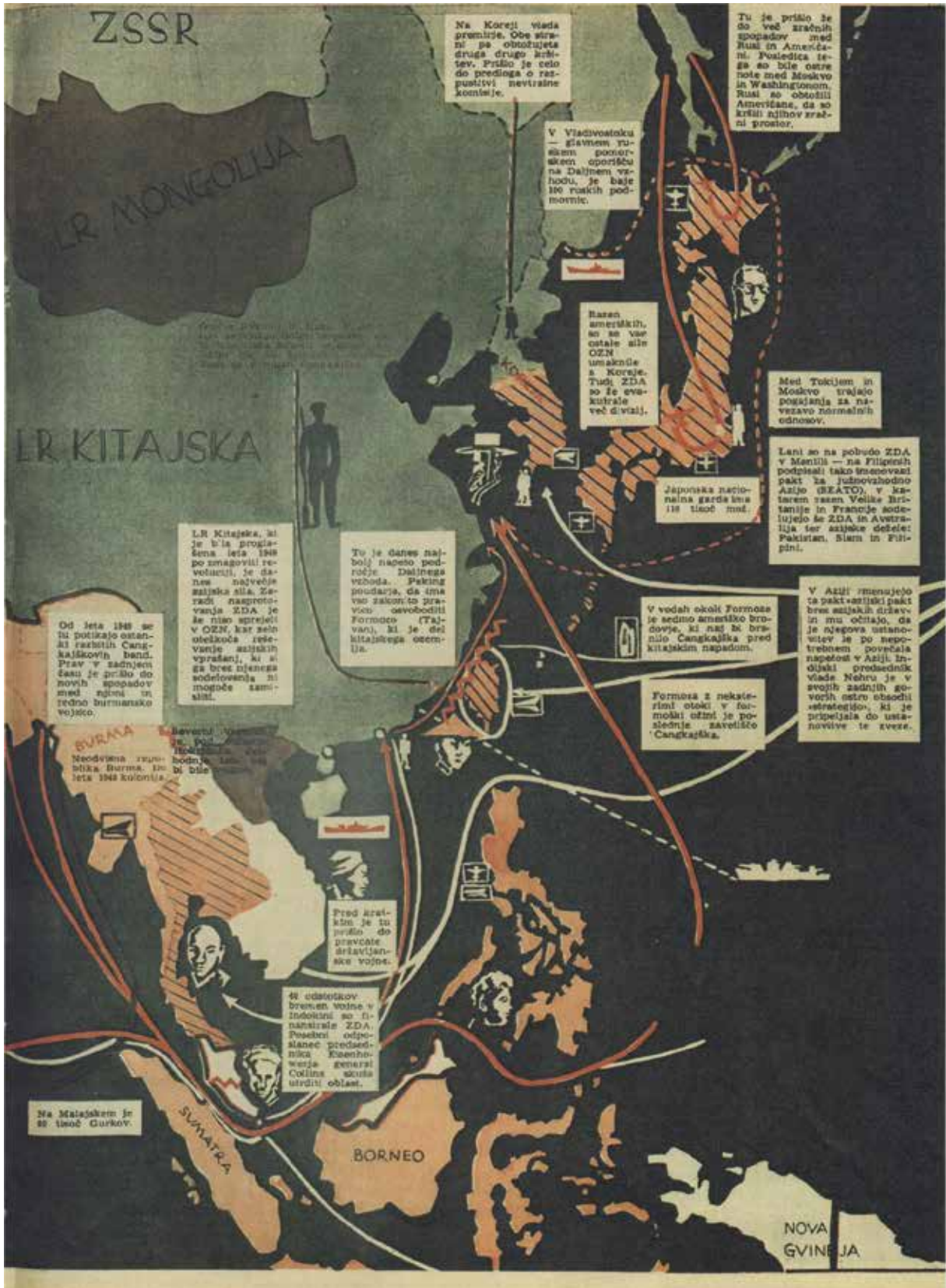
invocations of an unfinished past and the possibility of a future that did not take place in history”.⁴⁴

We can then draw a conclusion: The Non-Aligned Movement was a trans-national political project with an agenda to “provincialize”⁴⁵ universal history. As a result, art and culture in the NAM were largely about politics and history, or to put it differently, they were a way of staking a *claim* to history. It seems the movement was somehow aware of the fact that this was the only way it could enter the world’s (cultural) space on an equal footing. There obviously existed a heterogeneous artistic production, a variety of cultural politics and extensive cultural networks which enriched the cultural landscape of the NAM and enabled discussions about the meaning of art outside the Western canon. But in spite of all these substantial expressions there were no specific NAM- related modernisms, no common tissue that could create a new international narrative in art. NAM-inspired Internationalism nevertheless had a significant force, which probably represented one of the movement’s greatest potentials, one that is largely forgotten today.

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44 See the text “No Containment. MSSA, the Museum as Spore” by Daniela Berger, Federico Brega and María Victoria Martínez in this catalogue.

45 See Dipesh Chakrabarty’s argument about “provincializing Europe”, especially about writing history. For Chakrabarty, history has always been the history of modern Europe and North America, which is not a universal history, but a provincial history. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe, Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).



ZSSR

R. MONGOLIJA

LR KITAJSKA

Na Koreji vlada premirje. Obe strani se obtožujeta druga druga kršitev. Prišlo je celo do predloga o razpustitvi nevtrinske komisije.

Tu je prišlo še do več zračnih spopadov med Rusi in Američani. Posledica tega so bile ostre polemike med Moskvo in Washingtonom. Rusi so obtožili Američane, da so kršili njihov zračni prostor.

V Vladivostoku — glavnem ruskem pomorskem oporišču na Daljnem vzhodu, je baje 800 ruskih podmornic.

Razen ameriških, so se vse ostale sile OZN umaknile s Koreje. Tudi ZDA so se evakuirale več divizij.

Med Tokijem in Moskvo trajajo pogovori za navzajem normalnih odnosov.

Lani so na pobudo ZDA v Manili — na Filipinih podpisali tako imenovani pakt za južnovzhodno Azijo (SEATO), v katerem razen Velike Britanije in Francije sodelujejo še ZDA in Avstralija ter azijske države: Pakistan, Šri Lanka in Filipini.

Japonska nacionalna garda ima 115 tisoč moških.

Tu je danes najbolj napeto področje Daljnega vzhoda. Peking poudarja, da ima vse zakonite pravice osvoboditi Formozo (Tajvan), ki je del kitajskega ozemlja.

LR Kitajska, ki je bila proglašena leta 1949 po zmagovalni revoluciji, je danes največja azijska sila. Zaradi nasprotovanja ZDA je še niso sprejeli v OZN, kar zelo otežkuje reševanje azijskih vprašanj, ki so brez njenega sodelovanja ni mogoče zaminati.

Od leta 1949 so tu potirajo ostanki razbitih Čangkajskih band. Prav v zadnjem času je prišlo do novih spopadov med njimi in redno burmansko vojsko.

V Aziji rmenajajo ta pakt azijski pakt brez evropskih držav in mu očita, da je njegova ustanovitve je po nepotrebnem povečala napetost v Aziji. Indijski predsednik vlade Nehru je v svojih zadnjih govorih ostro obsodil vstrahotilo, ki je pripeljala do ustanovitve te zveze.

V vodah okoli Formoze je sedmo ameriško brodnjavo, ki naj bi branilo Čangkajska pred kitajskim napadom.

Formosa z nekaterimi otoki v formozski ožini je poslednje zavešči Čangkajska.

BURMA Neodvisna republika Burma. Do leta 1948 kolonija.

Borneo

Pred kratkim je tu prišlo do pravega državljanske vojne.

41 odstotkov brezen vojne v Indokinzi so financirale ZDA. Posebni odgovorni predsednik Eisenhowerja general Collins skrbi za utrditi oblast.

Na Malajskem je 80 tisoč Gurkov.

SUMATRA

BORNEO

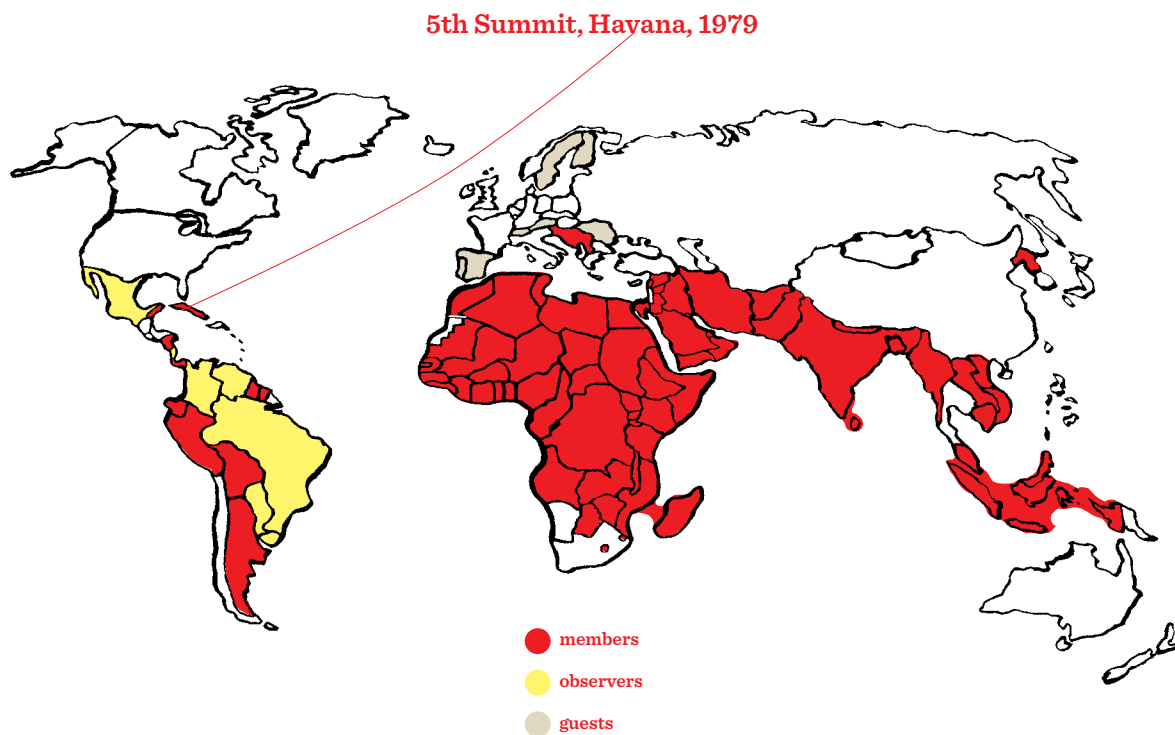
NOVA GVINIJA

“Azija – nov važen činitelj v mednarodni politiki”,
Tovariš (Ljubljana) (illustrated magazine) Vol. XI,
no. 17 (1955)



Map of Africa, Aleksandar Deroko in
Rastko Petrović's *Afrika*, Geca Kon,
Belgrade, 1930

Map of the countries participating in the Non-Aligned Summit in Havana in 1979.
Private archive





BLACK MAIL

NO. 3
FEB
1990

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE BLACK ARTISTS IN ASIA

EDITORIAL



Black Mail must be the only bi-annual publication in this part of the country. It first rolled out from press on September 1986 to announce the founding of Black Artists in Asia and the first Negro Visual Arts Convention in Manila. The second issue came out in 1988, also on September, to promote IAA's Philippine Exhibition Series-Australia launched in Sydney in 1989. It is now 1990 and we are just on our third issue. This time to devote space to the forthcoming VIVA Exhibition and Conference. We must admit the frequency (or infrequency) is unintentional. The poster format though is obviously deliberate.

Bacolod has no local publication devoted to the arts despite the strong presence of visual art, dance and theater groups which bring sizeable contribution to the cultural life of the city. The absence of such publication is not hard to understand. Printing a simple tabloid costs a fortune these days, notwithstanding the dearth of committed writers, art critics

and editors in the locality. *Lin-Ay Magazine* pioneered in this kind of endeavor in 1983-84. Though it struggled to hold on for a while due mainly to the perseverance of its unpaid staff and contributions, the mounting financial obligation eventually forced it to stop printing. The Art Association of Bacolod came up with a 10th Year Fello in 1985 quite simply to record a milestone in its history, but it could have set as well a precedent for publishing annual fellow. In 1986, the Concerned Artists of the Philippines in Negros put up its own multi-disciplinary journal. *Gives* was meant for distribution within CAP's national cultural network and to enhance international solidarity work. Unfortunately the first issue was never sustained as CAPN went into re-organizational stages. Last year the Art Association of Bacolod initiated some actions to come up with the AAB Quarterly, a welcome idea for an art community long denied of an intellectual exchange in print. Its first issue though is

BOOKS MAGAZINES AND VISUAL ARTS

will to be launched.

It is quite exhilarating to learn that the Centennial Celebration Committee of Negros Occidental is publishing five history books on arts and culture of the Province. What is interesting is that one volume will deal solely with visual arts. It is almost certain that a publication of this magnitude will offset any lack of scholarly information about the development of visual arts in all its forms in every period in the 100 years history of Negros Occidental. It may also compensate for the absence of any regular arts publication in Bacolod for the time being, its final form and content however are the only principal factors that can determine the book's ultimate significance and historical value.

Meanwhile, *Black Mail*, and perhaps *AAB Quarterly* (or a possible joint publication?), must strive to print the struggle of contemporary visual arts in Negros, either on a quarterly or a bi-annual basis, hopefully for the next 100 years.



Black Mail, No. 3 (Feb 1990) designed by Norberto Roldan
Courtesy VIVA ExCon Community Archives

Spirits of Resistance: Asia in the 1950s to the 1990s

Chương-Đài Võ

On April 18, 1955, leaders from 29 Asian and African countries converged in Bandung, Indonesia, for what would become a historic week.¹ It was the result of concerted efforts by the Colombo Powers – Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma – to establish alliances of their own choosing amidst the bipolar world of the Cold War. This was no small feat for a group of nations that had recently thrown off the yoke of colonization, and had set about the task of nation-building after decades of being tethered to political and financial systems that served the European and Japanese colonial powers rather than the local populations. A year later, in 1956, five leaders met and formally established the non-alignment movement on the Brijuni islands in Yugoslavia. The five were Josip Tito of Yugoslavia, Sukarno of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. They would officially proclaim this “third way” in diplomacy, economics, and cultural affiliations at the 1961 Belgrade Summit.

The road from Bandung to Belgrade was a long time in the making in what scholars would later call the Southern Hemisphere or the Global South.² In his opening speech at the Bandung Conference, Sukarno referenced some markers of this shared history. He recalled the 1927 Conference of the League Against Imperialism, a

1 The leaders came from Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), and Yemen.

2 See for example, Anthony Gardner and Charles Green, “Biennales of the South on the Edges of the Global,” *Third Text* 27, no. 4 (2013): pp. 442–455; and Nancy Adajania, “Globalism before Globalization: The Ambivalent Fate of Triennale India”, in *Western Artists and India: Creative Inspirations in Art and Design*, Shanay Jhaveri (ed.) (Bombay: The Shoestring Publisher, 2013), pp. 168–85.

gathering of 175 delegates from communist, socialist, and anti-colonialist organizations. Unlike its predecessor, Sukarno noted, the 1955 delegates had gathered in a place of their own choosing: “Our nations and countries are colonies no more. Now we are free, sovereign and independent. We are again masters in our own house. We do not need to go to other continents to confer.”³

Sukarno understood the symbolic power of art, architecture and urban planning, having studied civil engineering at Bandung Institute of Technology in the 1920s. As part of the preparations for the Bandung Conference, the Indonesian authorities requisitioned the best facilities and resources for the event. Sukarno even renamed the main venue, a former Dutch colonial social club, Gedung Merdeka (Freedom Building), and the road in front of it became Jalan Asia Afrika.⁴ Indeed, during his presidency (1945–1967), Sukarno supported a series of monumental constructions that collectively became known as “*merdeka* architecture” (the Bahasa word *medeka* means both independence and freedom from oppression).⁵ During the 1950s and 1960s, Indonesian artists benefitted from the country’s non-aligned position, with many going abroad for education and exchanges to the U.S.; the Soviet Union and Eastern European bloc countries; and non-aligned countries such as India and those in the Middle East. In her study of modern art in Indonesia during this time, Brigitta Isabella notes that the exchanges with the U.S. operated at the individual level, with the awarding of scholarships or invitations to exhibit. On the other hand, the exchanges with the Soviet Union were conducted at the official level, designed to build cooperation between political parties and artist associations – with most of the Indonesian artists coming from the leftist People’s Culture Organization (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*, also known as LEKRA).⁶

3 Sukarno, “Asia-Africa Speech from Bandung” (speech in Bandung, 18 April 1955), The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2001/9/5/88d3f71c-c9f9-415a-b397-b27b8581a4f5/publishable_en.pdf, accessed 9 January 2019.

4 Freedom Building officially became the Museum of the Asian-African Conference 24 April 1980. See <http://asianafricanmuseum.org>.

5 On the staging of the Bandung Conference, see Naoko Shimazu, “‘Diplomacy as Theatre’: Recasting the Bandung Conference of 1955 as Cultural History,” *ARI Working Paper*, no. 164 (October 2011): 12. <http://www.nus.ari.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm>, accessed 3 January 2019.

6 Brigitta Isabella, “The Politics of Friendship: Modern Art in Indonesia’s Cultural Diplomacy, 1950–65”, in *Ambitious Alignments: New Histories of Southeast Asian Art, 1945–1990*, Stephen H. Whiteman et al. (eds.) (Sydney: Power Publications and National Gallery Singapore, 2018): 83–106.

The anti-colonial and socialist leaning tenor of the Bandung Conference and the Belgrade Summit, however, did not stem from the political leadership, but had been formative in the making of the cultural and social histories of their countries. The artist collective *Gerakan Seni Rupa Baru* (GSRB, New Art Movement, 1974–1979) acknowledged this history in their own practices. As part of the 1987 exhibition *Department Store Fantasy World* that they organized, the collective traced the anti-colonial and nationalist spirit of Indonesia to the student organization *Boedi Oetomo*, which held its first congress in Batavia in 1908. GSRB cited the 1922 “Principles of the Taman Siswa Struggle”, which advocated education, self-determination, nationalism and independence.⁷ The work of these organizations as well as that of others informed the New Art Movement’s critique of the militaristic state and the rise of commodity culture in the 1970s.

In the case of India, another leading force of the non-alignment movement, Geeta Kapur traces the spirit of resistance to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi’s call for self-determination and non-violent civil disobedience against the British; to Rabindranath Tagore and the experimental art school he established at Shantiniketan; and to other artistic and intellectual figures like Mulk Raj Anand. The novelist had fought with the international brigades for the leftist forces in the Spanish Civil War, and later, as chairman of the National Academy of Art in New Delhi, he would oversee the First Triennale India in 1968.⁸ Kapur and her colleagues had vociferously objected to the triennale as an instrument of the state, but five decades later she would acknowledge the initiative as a predecessor of the Havana Biennale and “a very interesting proposition with the Third World”.⁹

7 “Diagram Pertumbuhan Dan Perjembangan Kebudayaan Kita: Silsilah Kebudayaan Indonesia Modern” [Diagram of the Growth and Development of Our Culture: A Genealogy of Modern Indoensian Culture] in *Proyek 1: Pasaraya Dunia Fantasi* [Project 1: Department Store Fantasy World] (Jakarta, June 1987), trans. Indonesian Visual Art Archive, 2015.

8 Geeta Kapur, “The 1955 Bandung Conference—Alternative Postwar Histories”, Guggenheim Museum’s Asian Art Council Meeting Roundtable 3, New York City, 26 September 2014, http://yishu-online.com/wp-content/uploads/mm-products/uploads/2015_v14_03_kapur_g_po48.pdf, accessed 24 December 2018, pp. 48–71.

9 Ibid, p. 56. On the views of the organizing committee and the artists who objected to the Triennale India 1968, see Gulammohammed Sheikh and Bhupen Khakhar (eds.), “Triennale Letters” in *Vrishchik*, Year 2, No. 1 and Year 2, No. 2. The issues are in the Gulammohammed Sheikh Archive at Asia Art Archive.

It was not uncommon for the biennales of this period to be initiated and hosted by the country's president, prime minister or minister of culture, as Anthony Gardner and Charles Green have pointed out in their study of biennales of the South.¹⁰ Although these international events were used as instruments of "soft power," one also can read in them the delicate negotiation of a "third way," even for countries that were nominally aligned with the U.S. or the Soviet Union. For the First International Exhibition of Fine Arts of Saigon in 1962, the organizing committee welcomed "Artists of Viet-Nam and Friendly Countries".¹¹ The art shown came from 21 countries – including the United States, China, and those of the non-alignment movement such as India, Morocco and Tunisia. It may have been and may still be surprising that the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), which was allied with the United States, included artists from communist China as well as countries that refused to align themselves with either the capitalist or communist blocs. But Ngo Dinh Diem, the president of South Vietnam, was not a pliant ally of the U.S., and he used art exhibitions as one of the tools to craft his vision of self-determination and nation-building.¹²

Propelled by the energy of their anti-colonial movements, artists and activists across Asia formed collectives that challenged the authoritarian rule of their own oligarchs. After three centuries of Spanish colonialism and five decades of U.S. imperialism, the Philippines had a powerful, land-owning class and a large impoverished peasant population. Issues of social justice, political oppression, and extreme inequalities touched artists across the spectrum – from abstract expressionists to neo-realists. Groups such as *Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista at Arkitekto* (United Progressive Artist and Architects) and *Kaisahan* (Union) formed in 1971 and 1976, respectively. These artist collectives were responding to the convergence of several key factors: the devastation of World War II and the continued presence of American military and economic influence; the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos (President of the Philippines 1965–1986, with martial law 1972–1981); and the exploitation of peasants in a mono-culture economy overseen by sugar plantation owners and the fluctuations of a global market. These developments gave rise to mass protests and the use of social realism in the Philippines in the 1970s to 1990s.

10 See Gardner and Green, "Biennales of the South on the Edges of the Global".

11 *First International Exhibition of Fine Arts of Saigon 1962*, pp. 2–6.

12 See Matthew Masur, "Exhibiting Signs of Resistance: South Vietnam's Struggle for Legitimacy, 1954–1960", *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 2 (April 2009): pp. 293–313.

For many artists, street protest and art production went hand in hand as they made posters, banners, comics and murals to advocate for democracy.

Another important artist collective that arose from the protest movements is Black Artists in Asia, which was founded in 1986. One of the BAA members, Norberto Roldan, initiated the founding of The Visayas Islands Visual Arts Exhibition and Conference (VIVA ExCon) Biennale in 1990. The biennale inherited the spirit of resistance of the earlier protest decades, but in the 1990s socially engaged art was not confined to social realism alone. From the beginning, VIVA ExCon had three goals: to showcase work that draws on local and indigenous forms, materials and histories; explore ways art can contribute to the socio-economic resources of largely rural communities; and promote the Visayas as an artistic community.

This nuanced understanding of socially engaged art distinguishes VIVA ExCon from other biennales – in its genesis, purpose and vision. In contrast to the state sponsored biennales of the mid-20th century, VIVA ExCon depends on the initiative and organizational capacity of the artists who can mobilize the resources of a given city to host the biennale. This energy and commitment work as correctives to the marginalization of the Visayas in the Philippines. The archipelago is one of the three main geo-political regions of the Philippines, alongside Luzon and Mindanao. The capital Manila and its metropolitan area, which are part of Luzon, overshadow the other two regions in cultural investment by the state and consequently, resources and international attention for the arts. VIVA ExCon grew out of the artists' determination to support the development of art that could and should, in its multiple forms, address questions of how art can serve as a medium for conversations about social relations, economic inequalities, the development of an agrarian economy, and other issues relevant to rural life. The educational component of the biennale – the conference – is as important as the exhibition component. Delegates are asked to prepare a report on their local art scene, and a host of panels open up debates on resources and ways artists can work with government at various levels to create and build arts and social infrastructure.¹³

In the post-World War II era, one country after another across Asia had overthrown its colonial overseers and realigned themselves toward self-determination

13 Brenda Fajardo (ed.), *VIVA Excon 1990- 1996: The Contemporary Visual Arts Movement in the Visayas* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998). See also Georgina Luisa Olivares Jocson, *The Impact of Black Artists in Asia on the Contemporary Art of Negros Occidental and the Visayas Region, and on a Wider Scale, the Contemporary Art Narrative of the Philippines*, MA Thesis (Singapore: LaSalle College of the Arts, 2012).

and horizontal, international alliances. The language of “friendly countries” and the formation of a “third way” were strategic moves designed to construct modern societies that in fact did nurture artistic, social and political exchanges that were more complicated than the binaries of abstract versus representational or West versus East. As we revisit this history, the “third way” framework can serve to shed light on the nuanced relationships between art and social movements. In the process, we may see the complex layering of influences that made for an intricate weaving of conceptualism and realism, rather than only the one or the other. And we may learn from the artists and intellectuals who struggled with and through questions of what art can do.

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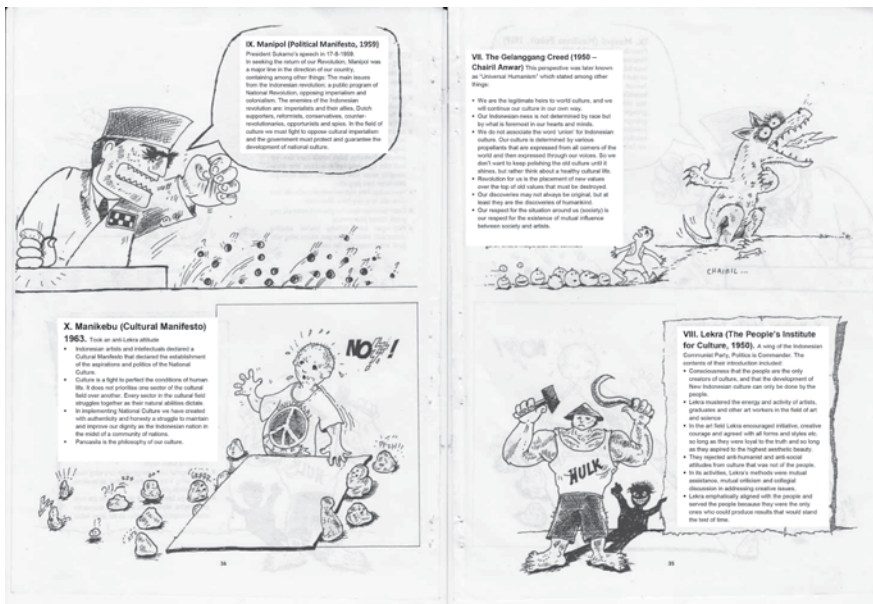
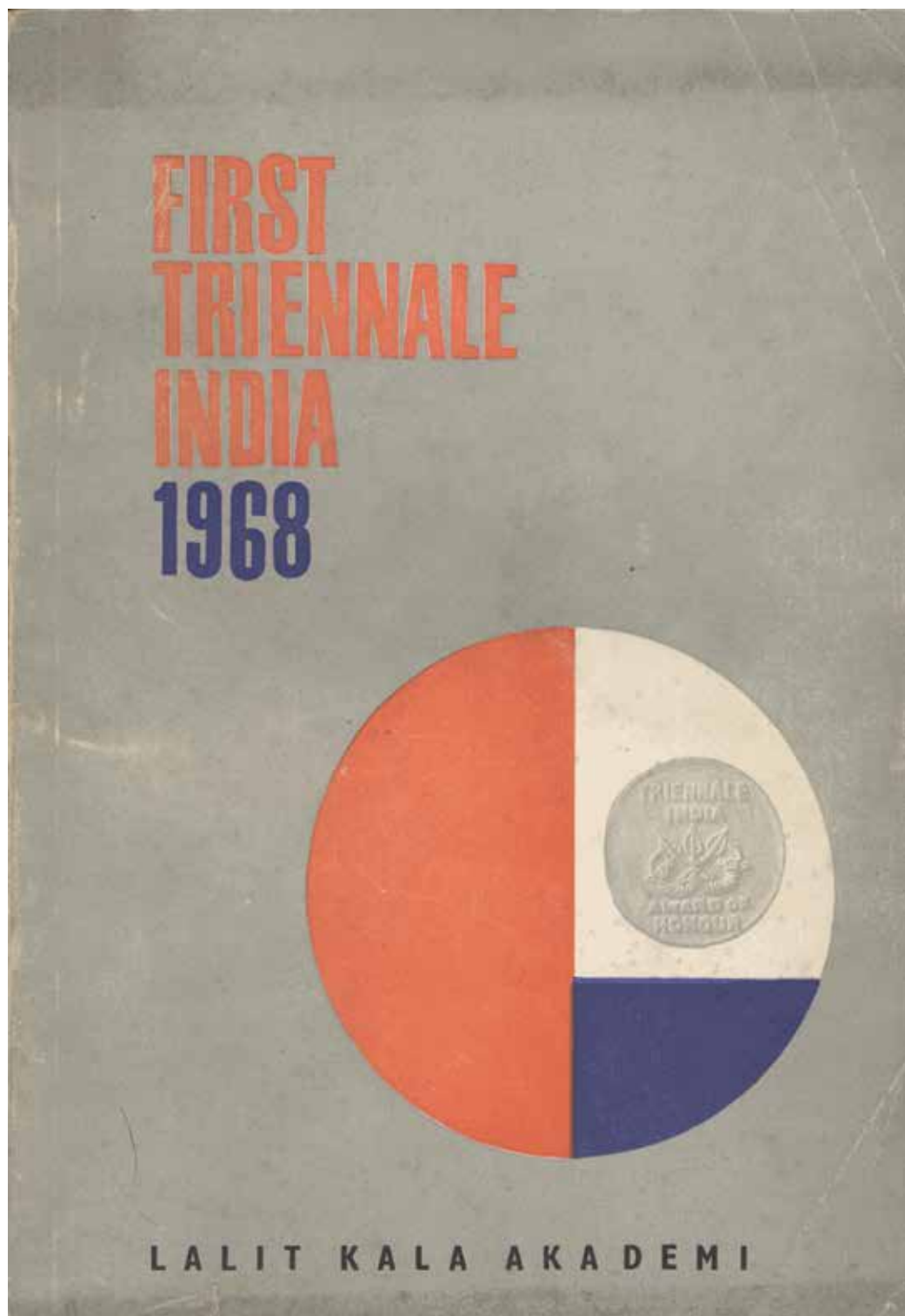


Image from “Diagram Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Kebudayaan Kita: Silsilah Kebudayaan Indonesia Modern” [Diagram of the Growth and Development of Our Culture: A Genealogy of Modern Indoensian Culture] in the exhibition catalogue for *Proyek 1: Pasaraya Dunia Fantasi* [Project 1: Department Store Fantasy World], 15–30 June 1987, translation by Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA), 2015

Courtesy IVAA and Asia Art Archive



Cover of Triennale India 1968 catalogue. In Geeta Kapur and Vivan Sundaram Archive at Asia Art Archive.

The Construction of Cultural Identity: The Survival Imperative¹

Samia Zennadi

It is quite impossible to bring up Algeria without reference to the decade 1990–2000. No matter where I was invited, either to talk about cultural politics or the decolonization of knowledge and history, food sovereignty, feminism or even Pan-Africanism, I always ended up getting questions on the issue of violence in my country. Civil war, war on the civil population, war against terrorism, war against Islamic terrorism. That historic period of ten years, black or red, with its sinister scope of individual as well as collective massacres, rapes, kidnappings, disappearances, bombings and ambushes, is often and most deservedly a subject of particular interest for my interlocutors.² However, since the dawning of the “Arab Spring”, more precisely since its lack of dawning in Algeria, that long night of traumatic events haunting our memories and collective imagination also seems to have served as an obstacle preventing us from joining the revolutionary aspirations unleashed in Tunisia by a single match, lit by a miserable street seller, Mohamed Bouazizi. Nevertheless, what is known and seems to be the rule for Algeria is its

1 The title is borrowed from M’hammed Boukhobza, savagely assassinated on 22 June 1993.

2 Individual assassinations targeted, in addition to the security agents, militia, and gendarmes, also university employees, journalists, trade union officials, medical doctors and more. They killed two consecutive directors of the Global Strategy Institute (ISG), M’hammed Boukhobza and Djilali Liabès, General Secretary of the General Algerian Workers Union (UGTA) Abdelhak Benhamouda, Rabah Asselah, Director of the National Academy of Fine Arts, Ali Mansouri, Director of the Faculty of Polytechnics, Architecture and Urbanism (EPAU), as well as the Rector of the University of Sciences and Technology of Algeria Salah Djebaili; from Professor Mahfoud Boussebsi to doctor Djillali Benkhenchir, from dramaturgist Abdelkader Alloula to poet Tahar Djaout, members of the National Consultation Council Abdelhafid Sanhadri, El Hadi Flici and MiloudBediar to Mohamed Fathallah, President of the Human Rights League; and more than 100 journalists and a considerable number of teachers, for instance the woman teacher killed in her own school in Birkhadem in front of her horrified pupils.

social explosion. The rule is that the Algerians explode, and they do so regularly,³ to the point where some people believe that “these explosions bind the Algerian to his local community through hate of the central authority and action against the local flunkies.”⁴

In a book dedicated to the events of October 1988⁵ that have contributed to the end of the single-party system – and as we recall, at the cost of bloodshed and still gaping wounds – M’hammed Boukhobza⁶ revealed some of the factors that had historically structured the relations between the state as the center of authority, and society, explaining the presence of an “availability to contest the state” at the core of Algerian society, when the very same state ceases to be the bearer of hope, social justice and solidarity.

In addition, the year 2011 began with violent uprisings in Algeria.⁷ As many as 20 of the 48 country’s provinces, comprising almost the entire Algerian territory, saw an extremely violent uprising against the high cost of living. The sudden brutal surge in the price of basic products was a consequence of the new measures of the Complementary Finance Act (LFC) 2009, aimed at controlling the grey market of the national economy.⁸

Within just a couple of hours Algeria was aflame, from Bab el-Oued, the red district of the capital city, to Tirigou, the poor quarter of Oran, the second largest city in the country, and including Bouira and Béjaïa, Chlef and Relizane in the north west, Tiaret in the High Plains, and Djelfa and Laghouat at the edge of the desert. Train connections were broken, highways blocked, shopping windows closed

3 Even though the riots had eased some in the 1960s and 1970s, they became more and more frequent in Algeria: in January 1980 in the East, in April 1980 in Kabylie, in February 1982 in Saida (Craba Amrous), Sidi Bel-Abbès, Mascara, Mostaghanem, Relizane and Tlemcen, in October 1986 in Constantinois and in Sétif, then also the intifada of October 1988, Black Spring in Kabylie in 2001, etc.)

4 CETRI. “L’émeute et l’intellectuel” (Algiers, 11 July 2008). <https://www.cetri.be/L-emeute-et-l-intellectuel-I>

5 On 5 October 1988, riots broke out in Algiers and everywhere across the country. Military tanks were sent out onto the streets in order to attack rebel youths out expressing their discontent. According to the official count, the security forces killed 169 people, while other sources put the count at some 500.

6 M’hamed Boukhobza, *October 88, évolution ou rupture* (Editions Bouchène, 1991).

7 The riots lasted from 3 to 8 January 2011.

8 Over 20% of the country’s youth are unemployed, and almost 50% of workers are active in the informal or gray sector. This sector, consisting of strong smuggling networks, does not offer any social protection to its agents, nor does it produce any tax income for the state.

and streets owned by crowds of youths armed with sabers and iron bars, instilling an acute sense of insecurity in the big cities across the country. “Algeria, why so much hatred?” wrote the journalist Cherif Ouazani in the magazine *Jeune Afrique* (Young Africa).

In the wake of the regime changes promising “Arab Springs”, and taking into account the numerous uprisings, protests and rebellions that have, for several decades, dictated Algerians’ everyday rhythms, the National Coordination for Change and Democracy (CNCD) was established on 21 January 2011.⁹

This body was formed from the Algerian Human Rights League, autonomous trade unions, student organizations and unemployed youth, attorneys, teachers, active or retired employees of district committees, collective citizens’ initiatives, missing persons associations, intellectual figures and political parties.

Having only just been created, the CNCD launched a call to all Algerians: to youth, students, women, unemployed, pensioners, workers, employees ... to take part en masse in “a peaceful march”, to effectuate “a regime change” and to “abolish the system”. It aspired to accomplish this through “Saturday Marches”, which would establish a new power relationship that would transform the structures of the Algerian regime.

This led to 12 February 2011, when 3,000 people gathered in a protest, in flagrant disregard of a ban on public gatherings or demonstrations in the Algerian capital.¹⁰ The scrupulously applied ban also remained in effect after the state of emergency was recalled,¹¹ even when the issue revolved around whether to allow the Algerian people to join the international solidarity protests against the war against Iraq or to support the Palestinian people. On each occasion, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reiterated its orders to “until further notice, suspend the organization of protests in the capital city in order to prevent and avoid all potential provocations or damage.”¹²

9 Initially, coordination had been equally composed of three political parties; however, the CNCD was divided on 11 February.

10 The decision adopted by the Government Council on 18 June 2001 to ban demonstrations in the Algerian capital went into effect after the demonstrations by the members of Arouch, a civil society organization established after the events of the “Black Spring of Kabylie” in 2001.

11 On Thursday, 24 February 2011, the state of emergency declared in Algeria in 1992 officially ended.

12 During the closing of the irregular session dedicated to the war on Iraq, the President of the National Popular Assembly declared: “The marches will be authorized in 47 provinces, with the exception of the capital, where only gatherings can take place.” Reported in *Liberté* on 26 March 2003.

Moreover, an impressive security measure was applied in view of the “Saturday Marches”: 30,000 police were recruited to patrol Algiers. It has to be noted that in terms of maintaining order, the police and gendarmerie services worked quite effectively to manage the riots of the past. The revolts marking the country’s everyday life meant that the police were faced with thousands of young people descending on the streets, burning tires, blocking streets, uprooting telephone poles and destroying surveillance cameras. The orders were not to use firearms, so in contrast to the other tragic moments in the country’s history, order was re-established and repression accomplished through a “certain professionalism”;¹³ without any help of the French skills in repression measures, as proposed by a female French government minister to Tunisian President Ben Ali the moment a sense of embarrassment began to touch the well-established regimes that have long enjoyed a very good image and a privileged place in the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM). This is an example of the French haste we witnessed in 2016 at the time of the demonstrations against the “El Khomri law” and most recently, against the mobilization of the Gilets Jaunes, the “Yellow Vests”.

The government responded to the concerns of the rebels from the beginning of January, namely employment, housing and social justice; all expressing social discontent, poor living conditions and the marginalization of certain social categories; by allocating 20 billion dollars a month to addressing youth employment.¹⁴ These measures provoked the rage of the Empire, thus the media delirium became ever-present.

I participated at a conference within the framework of Arabo-Asiatic dialogue in New Delhi in November 2011.¹⁵ I addressed the audience in reference to the “Arabo-Algerian Spring”, which had not yet arrived ... not yet. I started my address by reviewing the media coverage we were allowed – in retrospect. The coverage revealed a huge impatience and total incomprehension on the part of the interviewers. The opinion-makers do not understand why “Algerian civil society” was incapable of organizing through social networks, such as was the case with the Tunisians and Egyptians: But what is going on in Algeria? Don’t you have Internet? Don’t you know Facebook?

13 During the four days of riots, two persons died and some 400 were wounded, of which 300 were police.

14 These measures were adopted at the time of the Council of Ministers on 3 and 22 February 2011.

15 A conference organized by the World Forum of Alternatives (FMA), All India Peace and Solidarity Organization (AIPSO) and ActionAid India within the framework of Arabo-Asiatic dialogues.

It is necessary to admit that, despite the media onslaught, the slogans lifted directly from the “Arab Spring” did not seem to reverberate at all with the Algerians. Their commitment to the gatherings was very weak, and we were a long way from the mobilizations of Tunis or Cairo.

After some attempts at marches in Algiers, the movement rapidly ran out of gas. The CNCD never proved to be a legitimately reliable political interlocutor and the protest dynamic could not be sustained.

Therefore, the “experts” – those who have since 2009 adopted measures of “economic patriotism” as “operations to buy social peace”; those who defended the interests of foreign banks, multinational corporations, automobile concessionaries, insurance companies, importers, even the work of the Algerian Employers Association; those who opposed “national economy protection” measures – were the ones who were invited by the media on a daily basis (by Al-Jazeera, France24 & Co.) to explain why “the people demand the fall of the regime” or why they didn’t succeed in “profiting from the Arab Spring” in and for Algeria. These media-charged subjects were shown continuously by foreign broadcasters, whether as an indication of the imminent dawn of the “Arab Spring” in Algeria or simply as a lament for the passive people unable to seize the opportunity to change the regime.

The analysts concluded that the inability of the opposition to assemble and unite cannot simply be ascribed to its socio-political immaturity, but also to the traumas (October 1988, followed by the aforementioned dark decade) that ended up simply draining the people. These same people who openly qualified “Saturday Marches” as controlled operations, entirely convinced that the general order to mobilize provoked the elites.

In actual fact, these elites were camouflaged scouts, charged with ideologically disguising an ultraliberal offensive against the states born of national revolutions. Their attack could not have been executed without the support of the Islamists. These politically-religious groups, long installed and entrenched in the system, are opposed to any notion of national sovereignty. Their blueprint is limited to the economy of the bazaar and promotes the introduction of a strict, sweeping and uniform standard of thinking and culture.¹⁶

16 Ali Belhadj, member No. 2 of the former Islamic Front of Salvation (FIS) party, managed to avoid being lynched by the rebels in Bab El Oued in Algiers. According to witnesses, Ali Belhadj had disappeared among the protesters, but was quickly singled out and taken aside by the youth. He had only the intervention by the police forces to thank for saving his life.

From 1964 onward, just two years after the country became independent, what was initially part of a contentious traditional religious position by a small association called Al-Qiyyam, was transformed first into an unmasking of the current authority and finally, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, into direct opposition to the politics of President Boumediene. The ever more venomous sermons by Sheikh Sahnoun no longer hid the movement's hatred of the agrarian revolution. It is true that the progressive orientation of the politics of 1960–70 finally awoke the natural animosity of conservative circles and tapped into the sources of Wahhabism and Islam politicized by the Muslim Brotherhood and generously nurtured by Saudi Arabia. In 1974, a few months after the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Algiers, the following statement by Boumediene at a conference of Islamic States in Lahore sparked a scandal and provoked the anger of the more reactionary regimes: "We don't want to go to Paradise with an empty stomach." It was not until 1979,¹⁷ after the Red Army had entered Kabul, that the questioning of the socialist option found the most virulent arguments. This would be confirmed from the early 1980s onward, with the (Open Door) policy of *infitah*.¹⁸ What was equivalent to a traditional religious protest became, within a few years, the Armed Islamic Movement (MIA).¹⁹ In 1982, the first acts of terrorism appeared. Two years later, on 9 June 1984, the National Assembly adopted the Family Code, in line with Sharia Law, which dictates the rules that determine family relationships. The state bowed to the pressures of the Islamists and the conservatives. The fate of Algerian women was sealed, "their rights are included exclusively in the Koran and the Sunna". Less than a decade later, cut off under an international embargo, Algeria would be faced with and eventually emerge victorious over Islamic terrorism.

Algerian society has painfully experimented with the nature and form of political and religious issues. It has evolved and above all suffered incredible violence, to the degree that it would come close to destroying it as a nation-state.²⁰

17 1979 was important for political and religious currents. The dawning of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the signing of the Camp David Accords incited tensions that allowed the Islamo-political discourse to promote itself and become mobilized.

18 Review of the national development strategy began to assume its course during Chadli Bendjedid's era.

19 The Armed Islamic Movement (MIA), founded in 1982 by Mustapha Bouyali, represents a template for the groups AIS and GIA.

20 "Le terrorisme islamiste enAlgérie, une expérience cruciale à méditer", by Réda Malek. Colloquium on Terrorism in Algiers (26–28 October 2002).

Even if Algeria can pride itself on having achieved great things in practice and built an important base of social and economic development, we cannot adopt an abstract view of the cultural dimension of a society that finds itself, even when pushed into the background, in the arena of acute political struggles.

Furthermore, in view of the deteriorating economic situation and the larger geopolitical context, as well as the withering of social cohesion, citizens everywhere across the country have become targets in a storm of political manoeuvring. Helpless, we are bound to remain party to further aggravated violence and death, and to the destruction in various parts of the country. The latest confrontations to date, which took place in Ghardaïa, called for the mobilization of 10,000 police.²¹ Videos of extreme violence, murders, lynchings and widespread destruction were posted online. We saw men who, united in their efforts to attack a cemetery, destroyed graves, scattered the bones of the deceased, hurled stones and destroyed a mausoleum hundreds of years old – the mausoleum at Ammi Moussa, inscribed on the UNESCO world heritage list. Other conflicts unfolded in other regions of the country, in Kabylie, in Touggourt, and even in Bordj Badji Mokhtar, in the extreme south of the country, where an armed struggle in 2013, a direct consequence of the war in Mali, involved the Tuareg people of the Idnanes tribe and the Arabs of the Barabiches tribe!

Of course, the political parties quickly did their best to inform the Algerians about the threats hanging over our country. However, setting aside the declarations of good intentions expressed as “We are all brethren” and “We have to stop the *fitna* [violence]”, we have found no political position that would be well inclined to support the arsenal of “thinking on one’s own”. A lot of people made their views known on the urgent need for change –but what possible change might that be? Alternations without alternatives, without sovereignty, a change consistent with yet another round of sending the “international community” the image of a good pupil that has managed to implement and integrate the lessons of democracy and the objectives of the new millennium?

This new reality, painful and complicated, is marked by semantic drifting and false simplifications in the treatment of information and the management of the crisis, which only aggravate the bitter realization of the bowing of a national

21 The province or *wilaya* of Ghardaïa has seen conflicts that have set two communities apart – the Chaambas and the Mozabites, in 1985, 1991, 2004, 2008, 2009 and 2013. The last ones took place in 2014, while the first goes back to 1984.

identity forged in the fire of November 1954 to the benefit of regional, religious or ethnic-religious identities.

Algeria's future seems to revolve around choices that would enable it to define what we share with others and to pinpoint the specific traits of the historic and cultural patrimony of the civilizational era to which we belong. M'hammed Boukhobza wrote: "They are also based on the stages of the past that have formed the long history of society, in the position that we have to define in the sense of education and religious culture. And finally, they are based on sustainable national cultural production that might gradually occupy the hegemonic place currently occupied by foreign cultures, whether Western or not. National identity is constructed through hard labor, methodically laid down on the foundation of a perfectly designed blueprint of society. It is then maintained and enriched. Its construction and enrichment take time and funding. It is far from being the product of a simple political aspiration or of a collection of texts or the existence of a complex bureaucracy."

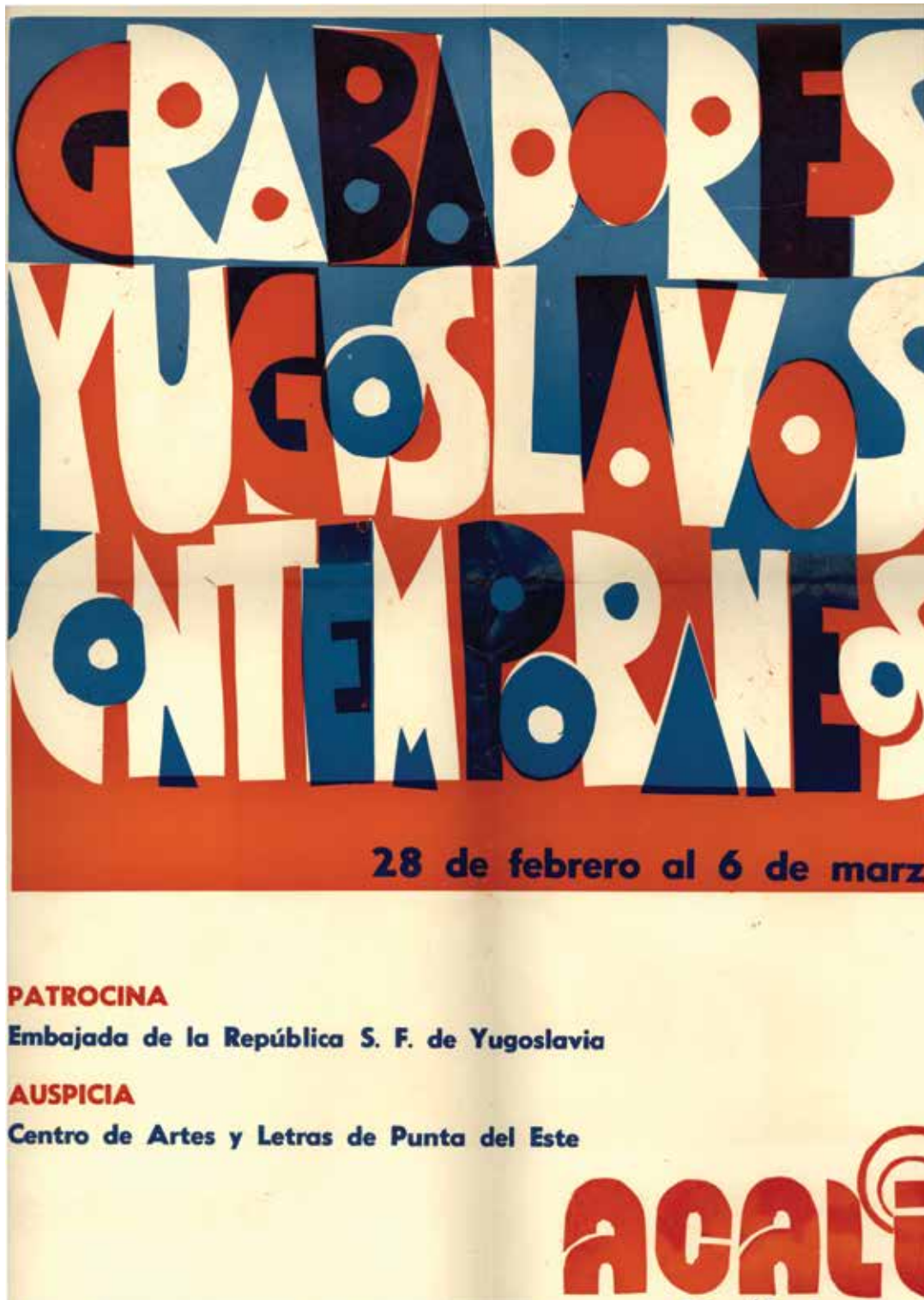
Unfortunately, I think I have not specifically emphasized that the public authorities were pointing an accusing finger at various social and economic deformities that have, bit by bit, began to tear the country's social fabric. I do not think I have read a single statement that would call into question, once again, the economic reins of cannibalistic entrepreneurial castes. I do not think that the public authorities have yet recognized and acknowledged that the IMF and World Bank directives from the 1980s (and still in effect) are responsible for the withdrawal of the state from entire sectors, for the decline in solitary development projects, and that they contribute to the draining of the nation. I do not think that the authorities have strongly or decisively reacted to the *takfiri* slogans that justify the murders of *ibadites*. Unfortunately, they appease themselves by simply sending a "firefighting squad" to put out the fire, without aggressively addressing the core and the elements that trigger these explosions. The failure of the solutions applied clearly indicates that they do not correspond whatsoever to the real nature of the problem, nor to the extreme risks associated with such. And what is even worse, the arrests and the conditions under which the militant separatists are held, and which have been widely reported by the press, only serve to confirm the poor handling of the crisis and to prepare the stage for foreign interference.

Algeria will certainly be subjected to other crucial, transformational periods, as a state as well as a society. However, the speed with which the crisis is overcome, and at the same time the political, economic, cultural and identity questions would, to a large extent, depend on the sensibility of its elites. To this day, there

still remain a lot of new, unexplored paths to consider before we can take charge of the many various aspects of our recent as well as ancient history and assess all the many potentials of our society. The works by Mahmood Mamdani on race and ethnicity in the African context are particularly relevant. “The peoples of long sorrow”, to quote Mustapha Lacheraf, were divided into two large categories for the purposes of taking a census in the colonial era: races and tribes. Which clearly illustrates the technology of colonial domination. If we wish to step out of and beyond such fragmentation, we will have to separate the discourse on political rights from the discourse on (our) historic and cultural origins. The challenge consists of creating a single political community and a single form of citizenship that takes into consideration cultural and historic identities and groups. This will represent an important step in the decolonization of history and knowledge.

Translated from the French by Jedrt Lapuh Maležič

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Poster for the *Grabados yugoslavos contemporáneos* exhibition in Uruguay in 1976

International Collaborations in Culture between Yugoslavia and the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement

Teja Merhar

“While a special and specific sphere of international relations, international collaborations in the field of education and culture are their integral part and a component of a country’s politics. In the modern world, this collaboration has developed to an inconceivable degree, including virtually all nations and acquiring new dimensions, new importance, and a new role – it has become an instrument of better communication between nations, an instrument of their mutual acquaintance and rapprochement, and as a result, an extremely important factor in improving relations between nations. In accordance with Yugoslavia’s politics of openness to all the countries of the world, our country has actively joined the world trends in culture; as a result, our relations in this realm are characterized as vastly ramified, displaying a wealth and diversity of forms and a great range encompassing all the aspects of such activities.”¹

This introductory paragraph of the annual program of the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries from 1968 clearly outlines the role culture and education played in Yugoslavia’s² international collaborations, which remain largely unresearched, at least in the field of cultural exchange. This text presents the findings of research that was necessarily less systematic than one would have wished, due especially to the copious amount of

1 The MG Archives (the Moderna galerija Archives, Ljubljana): Program rada za 1969. godinu, Savezna komisija za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom, december 1968. [Typescript.]

2 Officially the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia until 7 April 1963, renamed after that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

archival material and the dryness of the data, lacking largely in any substantial content. With the additional factor of time constraints, the research was limited to the 1960s and 1970s, and in terms of Yugoslavia's international collaborations, to those with member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement.³ Our focus was primarily on exhibitions and other visual-art-related events, thus excluding Yugoslavia's international collaborations in the fields of film, music, literature, dance, folklore, etc.

Yugoslavia's international cultural policies developed primarily in the framework of important biennials and international art events in which Yugoslav artists participated regularly and received awards, among them the Venice Biennale,⁴ the Kassel documenta, the Alexandria Biennale, the São Paulo Art Biennial, and the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana.

Yugoslavia established a working system of international cultural collaboration as early as the 1950s, as is evident from an article from 1959 referring to the period between 1953 and 1959: "In the meantime, our art has been presented in 62 international exhibitions in numerous countries and towns throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. Also, five international exhibitions of our applied arts were staged in the period."⁵

Yugoslavia's basic instruments regulating international bilateral collaborations in culture were **conventions on culture** and **programs of cultural collaboration**, both prepared by the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Belgrade. Conventions on culture provided the legal grounds to further develop collaboration in culture and education for all parties involved, while the programs of cultural collaboration were working documents outlining the actions two countries would undertake during a certain period of time (usually one or two years).⁶

3 For the latest study about the movement, see: Tvrtko Jakovina, *Treća strana hladnog rata* ([Zaprešić]: Fraktura, 2011).

4 For an in-depth chronological study of Yugoslavia's participation in the Venice Biennale and a list of principal literature, see: Ana Bogdanović, "The Yugoslavia Pavilion: Two Modern Projects and an Ongoing History", in: *United Dead Nations. Ivan Grubanov, Dragan Jelenković* (ed.), (Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2015), pp. 84–101.

5 Radivoje Jovanović, "Naša likovna umetnost u očima sveta", *Narodna armija* (Belgrade) 27 November 1959. The exhibitions were organized by the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Yugoslav Artists' Association. The article also states that the organizers did not keep the records of the exhibitions.

6 AJ (the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade) – 319 – 49 – 65: Analiza kulturnih odnosa Jugoslavije

By 1968, Yugoslavia had ratified conventions on culture with 64 countries and signed two-year cultural programs with 21 countries, among them eight socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union),⁷ eight Western European countries (Belgium, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom), and five African or Asian countries (India, Congo-Brazzaville, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic).⁸

The Act on Federal Administrative Bodies, Federal Councils and Federal Organizations abolished, in May 1967, the Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture as the federal administrative body that regulated affairs related to education, culture and the arts.⁹ The Secretariat had also had competence in matters concerning international collaborations in education and culture, and was thus senior to the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Belgrade. After May 1967, the Commission became an independent federal organization and changed its name to Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; it acted in the interests of the Federation and operated in the field of international education and culture.¹⁰ Due to the politics of decentralization of the Yugoslav federation, central management of foreign collaborations had been incrementally abandoned since 1961, with the main operative tasks in education and culture passing into the hands of republican bodies.¹¹

After the founding of the Republican Commissions for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, individual republics no longer received special funds for international collaborations, but had to incorporate the financing of such in their respective systems of financing cultural programs.¹² Henceforth, the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries coordinated the activities of the republican bodies and organizations in the field of collaboration with foreign

sa inostranstvom i naredni zadaci, Beograd: oktober, 1968. [Typescript.] Yugoslavia collaborated with Third World countries also without conventions on culture and programs.

7 Ibid. Only these seven countries are listed.

8 Ibid. The countries are listed in the same order as in the original document.

9 http://www.arhivju.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna_navigacija/koriscenje_gradje/pretrazite_baze_podataka/opsti_podaci_o_fondovima_u_bazi_inventar/detalji_fonda/_params/item_id/677181.html, accessed on 29 September 2018.

10 AJ – 319 – 48 – 64: Informacija o medjunarodnoj saradnji, Beograd, maj 1968.

11 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Decentralizacija kulturne saradnje sa inostranstvom, oktober 1967.

12 Ibid.

countries in education and culture; proposed initiatives and actions to promote collaboration with foreign countries in education and culture; carried out activities related to organizing and assisting pan-Yugoslav cultural events abroad; ratified general programs of collaboration in education and culture with individual countries; and ratified programs of collaboration in culture and other agreements concerning Yugoslavia's international collaborations for which the Commission had competence.¹³

After this change in financing, the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries encountered a serious problem: it could no longer draft new cultural programs that could subsequently be negotiated with foreign partners, since it received no proposals from republican commissions that formed the basis of the programs. The reason for this was twofold – a lack of funds and a lack of interest in collaboration.¹⁴ As early as 1967, the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries reported that institutions and organizations working in the field of education and culture were not interested in collaboration with developing countries.¹⁵ As a result, the Federal Assembly and the Federal Executive Council developed a new scheme of financing collaborations in culture with developing countries, according to which only collaborations with developing countries were financed from the federal budget.¹⁶

The Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries had a special professional body called the Fine Arts Board, which assisted the commission in devising and implementing foreign policies in the field of fine arts and museum materials by submitting professional assessments and proposals. The board consisted of representatives of republican commissions for cultural relations with foreign countries and experts from various associations and societies. In 1969, for example, the board members were representatives of the republican commissions for cultural relations with foreign countries, the Yugoslav Fine Artists' Association, the Yugoslav Applied Artists' Association, the Yugoslav Art Critics' Association, and the respective republican artists' associations.¹⁷

13 See note I.

14 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Informacija o pripremanju jugoslovenskih nacrtu programa kulture saradnje, 1968.

15 See note II.

16 See note IO.

17 The MG Archives: correspondence of Savezna komisija za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom, dated: 13 February 1969. Vabilo na I. sejo Odbora za likovne umetnosti. See folder: Material za sejo.

The first “Analysis of Yugoslavia’s International Cultural Relations” was prepared in 1968 by the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; it provided a clear overview of the international relations of the SFR Yugoslavia up until that time and suggested guidelines for further work. This was a crucial document that served as the basis for preparing international agreements in the years to come. One of the things reported in the analysis was that, until the 1960s, international collaborations in culture and exchanges of exhibitions had been regulated exclusively through national bodies and international agreements, and that direct contacts and collaborations between museums, galleries, and other institutions began developing only after 1960.¹⁸ Our archives, however, give evidence that Moderna galerija in Ljubljana organized, as well as financed, exhibitions of Slovene artists abroad and exhibitions of foreign artists in Ljubljana already in the 1950s, without the assistance or knowledge of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and also financed them itself.¹⁹ In reality, all the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries asked was that organizers of exhibitions abroad keep it informed of those exhibitions that were organized through embassies or through the involvement of foreign partners; in all other respects, the republics were free to arrange exchanges of exhibitions on their own.²⁰

Yugoslavia’s embassies played an important role in international relations, as did UNESCO. In the late 1960s, despite an increase in the budget for collaborations with developing countries, international collaborations in culture started lagging behind political relations efforts.²¹ The key factors obstructing such collaborations were the high degrees of underdevelopment, illiteracy and political instability in the young new countries grappling with the aftermaths of colonialism.²²

18 See note 6.

19 The MG Archives: Odnosi Komisije za stike z inozemstvom v Beogradu do Moderne galerije v Ljubljani, dated: 21 April 1955, signed: K. Dobida. The letter says that Moderna galerija has so far received no funds from the Commission for Cultural Relations.

20 The MG Archives: Zapisnik seje Galerijskega sveta za Narodno in Moderno galerijo v Ljubljani, dated: 1 June 1955. Head of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Belgrade, Ivo Frol’s explanation.

21 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Izveštaj savezne komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom za 1967. godinu, Beograd, maj 1968. [Typescript.]

22 “Nepismenost”, in: *Opća enciklopedija Jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda*, Vol. 5 (Zagreb, 1979), pp. 719–720. According to UNESCO statistics for 1974, approximately 630 million people were illiterate worldwide, of which 410 million in Asia (not including China), 140 million in Africa (not including Madagascar, Libya and Mauritius), 33 million in South America, and 20 million in Europe. While the absolute number of illiterate people was highest in Asia, the illiteracy rate

Otkriće jugo-plakata

Izložba »100 plakata iz Jugoslavije« na putu po svijetu pobuđuje veliko zanimanje i postiže brojna priznanja



Niz plakata Ivana Picelja, jednoga od osnivača grupe »Eksot 51« i pokretača Novih tendencija i stalnog suradnika Galerije suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu

Kad bismo ukrstilo, htjeli odrediti i objasniti uspjeh suvremenog plakata, što istodobno znači i afirmaciju grafičkoga dizajna, onda prije svega treba upozoriti na nova tehnička sredstva i mogućnosti kojima se odrazilo onaj osobiti senzibilitet, po kojemu je suvremeni grafički dizajn dosegao vidljive umjetničke rezultate. Jer kad kažemo uspjeh plakata, onda pomislimo na njegov umjetnički umješt, na i šire, na stvarnost suvremene vizualne kulture i one njezine predstavnike za koje bez ikakve ograde danas kažemo da su umjetnici. U tom se smislu dolaski ili izlaski plakata pojam što ima svoju težinu u cjelokupnom svijetu. Mnogi autori u tim zemljama srednje zapadaju namjenu (formu) i likovnim (vizualnim) rješenjem u novi estetski vrijednost, koju je moguće vrednovati i po vizualnom i po ideji: takav plakat sadrži točno određenu obavijestnu nakamu u nedodirljivoj čistini i ikoničnom realizacijom.

Nakon lankse izložbe »100 plakata iz Jugoslavije«, u rujnu, u zagrebačkoj Galeriji suvremene umjetnosti, otvorena je mogućnost da se kritički ukazuje na pojavu još jedne sredine u kojoj se njeguje vrstan plakat, kadar da izdrži najstrože vred-

nozne kriterije. Predstavljaju su Mihajlo Arsovski, Zlatko Bourek, Jože Brunen, Boris Bušani, Josip Bukal, Maida Dobravec, Juraš Dobrović, Iakra Design, Marijan Jevšovar, Oskar Kogoj, Gregor Kodak, Tomislav Krdinčić, Dalibor Martini, Slobodan Matić, Branko Milut, Nenad Novaković, Aleksandar Palvančić, Zoran Pavlović, Danica Petrović, Ivan Pirelli, Savo Simonović, Judita Skalar, Peter Skalar, Aleksandar Srnc, Janes Suban, Matej Vipotnik, Milan Valbe i Gordi Zuvaila.

Ta je jugoslavenska izložba iz Zagreba, potom krenula na put po svijetu. Zanimanje je veliko. Trenutno je u Tuzli, gdje se produkuje, jer je izrađena želja da se postava prenese i u Blazetu. Iz Blazeta izložba ide u Maroko i Alžir. Zahitiev se došlo i iz Švedske.

Nagrada u oštroj konkurenciji

Marijan Susovski komesar izložbe »100 YU«, kako se uobičajilo govoriti o toj najtoj izložbi, kaže da je prijem svugdje izvanredan. Alžirci, na primjer, osobito zanimaju naše serigrafije – redovito se zanata izredba Brane Horvati iz Zagreba – dok se oboje primjećuje da već i drugi primaju specifično-

sti umtar tu »oslavenskoga plakata. Više je puta dana priznanje Borisu Bušanju za plakat iz masne »kroznoj naučno misli, kojih na izložbi ima šest. Masca i naše sadrži 17 plakata. Spomenimo ovom prilikom još jedno vrijedno priznanje. Premda je »Zlatna medalja« općine Varesse formalno pripala Galeriji suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu, budući da je riječ o jednoj izložbi plakata kojom se u Varesse htjelo počastiti nastojanja muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova na propagandi svojih vrijedaba, nagrada odoše primarnije i našim umjetnicima, koji su te naručene plakate ostvarili. Galerija suvremene umjetnosti bila je zastupljena s pet plakata Mihajla Arsovskog i Ivana Picelja, a s njima su se najvrijednija izložba »100 plakata iz Jugoslavije«, »Mogućnosti za 72«, »Zemlja«, »Prvi slijem naučne fantastike« i »Formaliste, održane u 1972. godini u znamenitoj galeriji.

Ta nagrada za najbolju grupu plakata, u oštroj međunarodnoj konkurenciji, nije slučajnost – ima nas su ostale i francuske i poljske ustanove – nego rezultat povoljne klime u kojoj se u nas razvila umjetnost svjetskog uspjeha.

JOSIP SKUNCA

AFRICA

Yugoslavia's international collaborations with African countries were based largely on education; according to some sources, as many as 40,000 African students studied at the University of Belgrade over the years.²³ One of the first contacts between Yugoslavia and African nations was the travelling *Exhibition of Yugoslav Graphic Art* staged in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1958.²⁴ By 1961, Yugoslavia had adopted two conventions on culture with nations on the African continent, with the United Arab Republic (1958) and with Sudan (1959). In the early 1960s, it ratified further conventions on culture with Ghana and Guinea (both in 1961), Tunisia and Cameroon (both in 1962), Ethiopia, Mali, Dahomey, and Senegal (all in 1963), and Nigeria, Congo-Brazzaville, and Algeria (all in 1964).²⁵ These conventions followed close on the heels of political events, especially Tito's visits to several African countries that year and his politics of non-alignment.²⁶ According to the views of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign

Article in the newspaper *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 17 November 1973

was highest in Africa, with rates as high as 75 to 100% in some countries. In 1971 in Yugoslavia, the rate of illiteracy was lowest in Slovenia (1.2% or 18,000 people 10 y/o or older) and highest in Bosnia-Herzegovina (23.2% or 672,000 people 10 y/o or older); the overall rate of illiteracy in Yugoslavia was 15.1%.

- 23 Ana Sladojević, *Slike o Africi / Images of Afrika* (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 2015), p. 18.
- 24 "Naša grafika v Južni Afriki", *Slovenski poročevalec* (Ljubljana) 29 June 1958, no. 151. – Exhibition catalogue. Exhibiting artists: Kosta Angeli Radovani, Janez Bernik, Stojan Čelić, Riko Debenjak, Zdenko Gradiš, Božidar Jakac, Boško Karanović, Miha Maleš, Ljubodrag Marinković, Edo Murtić, Milivoje Nikolajević, Ankica Oprešnik, Slobodan Pejović, Ordan Petlevski, Vladimir Pintarić, Marjan Pogačnik, Zlatko Prica, Boža Prodanović, Josip Restek, Zlato Slevac, Menče Spirovska, Vilim Svečnjak, Vojislav Todorić, Marijan Tršar, Karel Zelenko. 92 prints.
- 25 See note 6.
- 26 Between 28 February and 22 April 1961, traveling on the "Galeb" yacht, President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz - Tito and a Yugoslav delegation visited eight countries along the eastern and western coasts of Africa: Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic.

Countries, Yugoslavia had good relations with African nations as early as 1965, and had ratified numerous collaborations in culture with them.²⁷

A report entitled “SFR Yugoslavia’s Collaborations in Culture with Foreign Countries (Assessments and Proposals by Our Diplomatic Missions and Consular Posts)”²⁸ gives detailed data on collaborations with African nations in 1968, and has served as our point of departure in research. (Henceforth, it is referred to as the 1968 report in this text.)

Ethiopia

The 1968 report mentions a Yugoslav exhibition of frescoes traveling to Addis Ababa in 1967. The show featured copies of the frescos from the Our Lady of Ljeviš Church.²⁹ Another source tells us that the Secretary of the Ethiopian Ministry of Information opened an exhibition of Yugoslav photography in Addis Ababa in 1977; the more than 100 exhibits represented the period of the Yugoslav National Liberation Struggle, the “building of socialism”, and Yugoslavia’s international activities; the exhibition further included seven Yugoslav feature films.³⁰ The earliest data is for 1965, when the two countries ratified a program of cultural collaboration.³¹

Ghana

The 1968 report stated that Ghana showed little interest in collaborating with Yugoslavia in the field of culture. This notwithstanding, the two countries ratified, in 1960, an agreement that facilitated the exchange of educational, scientific and cultural visual and audio materials;³² a year later, a convention on culture;³³ and in 1970, a cultural collaboration program.³⁴ A document issued by the Yugoslav Embassy in Ghana in 1970 stated that cultural collaboration between the two countries had been only symbolic over the previous four years, due to the political situation.

27 AJ – 318 – 225 – 321: Izveštaj za 1965. godinu i neka pitanja dalje orijentacije u radu Komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom.

28 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Elaborat “Kulturna saradnja SFR Jugoslavije sa inostranstvom (ocene i predlozi naših diplomatsko-konzularnih predstavništava)”, maj 1968. Classified.

29 See note 17.

30 “Jugoslovska razstava v Etiopiji”, *Delo* (Ljubljana) 8 August 1977, no. 181.

31 See note 27.

32 AJ – 318 – 217 – 309: Sporazum Izvršnom veču, correspondence, dated: 26 July 1960.

33 See note 6.

34 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program o kulturni saradnji između SFRJ i Siera Leone i SFRJ i Republike Gane, 1970.

Both countries had financial difficulties, so most of the activities focused on education; nonetheless, the guest appearance of the Cultural and Arts Society Tanec³⁵ in Ghana in 1968 is mentioned.

Guinea

The 1968 report noted that the emphasis was on collaboration in the field of cinema and on scholarships; the countries ratified a convention on culture in 1961.³⁶

Kenya

The 1968 report described Kenya as a very poor country, and suggested that Yugoslav folk dance groups should travel there. In 1970, a convention on culture was in the final stages of being drawn up, and included an exhibition entitled *Yugoslavia Yesterday and Today* and a festival of Yugoslav film.³⁷ The same year, the Watatu Gallery in Nairobi hosted an exhibition of graphic prints by Slovene artists as a result of the Yugoslav Embassy's cultural activities. The Director of the City Art Gallery Ljubljana Božana Plevnik attended the opening of the exhibition. Jože Horvat-Jaki, Andrej Jemec, Metka Krašovec, Adriana Maraž and Kiar Meško exhibited 30 prints.³⁸ In 1974, Yugoslavia wanted to draw up the first cultural collaboration program with Kenya, but was unable to do so because the relevant republican and regional bodies did not submit the necessary proposals that would serve as the basis for the program.³⁹

Congo-Brazzaville

As early as 1968, a two-year cultural collaboration program between Yugoslavia and Congo-Brazzaville was in place.⁴⁰ The 1968 report tells us that Yugoslav films were screened and a show of "photographs from our country" was staged there in 1967–68 as per this program.

35 AJ – 319 – 50 – 66: Izveštaj o kulturno-prosvetnoj saradnji sa Ganom, correspondence, dated: 28 May 1970.

36 See note 6.

37 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Zaključevanje i podpisovanje Konvencije sa Rep. Kenijom, correspondence, 1970.

38 Peter Breščak, "Slovinci v galeriji Watatu", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 10 December 1970, no. 334.

39 AJ – 320 – 46 – 69: correspondence of Zvezni zavod za mednarodno znanstveno prosvetno-kulturno in tehnično sodelovanje, dated: 4 November 1974.

40 See note 6. – AJ – 318 – 243 – 345: Kulturne saradnje izmedju SFRJ i Konga / Brazavil za 1966 i 1967. godinu.

Libya

With Libya being a poor country, the 1968 report again suggested that Yugoslav folk dance groups be sent there. The plan for the cultural collaboration program for 1976–78 included two Yugoslav exhibitions in Libya, namely *National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslav Visual Arts* and *Exhibition of Yugoslav Architecture and Design*, as well as an invitation to Libyan artists to come to Yugoslavia and participate, among others, in the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana.⁴¹ Despite the invitation, Libyan artists did not take part in the biennial.⁴²

Mali

A convention on culture was ratified by the two countries in 1963.⁴³ According to the 1968 report, until 1968, all collaboration with Mali consisted in an exchange of scholarships. Interestingly, in 1969, the government of Mali wanted to ratify a proposed program of collaboration in culture and education that included such events as a “Sunday of Yugoslav film,” a small-scale exhibition, and an exchange of cultural workers.⁴⁴ A later plan for the program of collaboration in culture and education and technical collaboration for 1976–78 included an exhibition of Yugoslav ceramics in Mali and an exhibition of Malian ceramics in Yugoslavia.⁴⁵

Morocco

The 1968 report rates cultural collaboration with Morocco as completely undeveloped due to the French programs organized under the auspices of the Goethe Institute and the French “Les Amis des Arts” program. Despite this poor review, Yugoslavia and Morocco ratified a program of collaboration in culture and education for 1971–72 the very next year, in 1969. The program included two Yugoslav exhibitions to be staged in Morocco: one comprising “100 graphic prints” and the other being

41 AJ – 320 – 49 – 73: Libija - načrt programa kulturne saradnje 1976–1978.

42 Breda Škrjanec, *Zgodovina ljubljanskih grafičnih bienalov* (Ljubljana: Mednarodni grafični likovni center, 1993).

43 See note 6.

44 The MG Archives: correspondence of Savezna komisija za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom, dated: 25 February 1969. XVII. zasedanje.

45 AJ – 320 – 62 – 89: Načrt programa kulturne, prosvetne i naučnotehničke saradnje SFRJ i Malija za 1978 i 1979.

an exhibition of Yugoslav posters.⁴⁶ Realization of the former likely took the form of the *National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslav Visual Arts* exhibition, staged in 1975 in the Mohammed V. Theater in Rabat and featuring 45 paintings and 35 prints from the collection of the Gallery of the Yugoslav People's Army Center in Belgrade.⁴⁷ The latter exhibition was the *100 Posters from Yugoslavia*, or shorter, *100 YU*, inaugurated in September 1972 in the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb. The exhibition commissioner was Marijan Susovski. The participating artists included Mihajlo Arsovski, Zlatko Bourek, Jože Brumen, Boris Bućan, Majda Dobravec, Juraj Dobrović, Iskra Design, Marijan Jevšovar, Oskar Kogoj, Gregor Košak, Tomaž Kržišnik, Dalibor Martinis, Slobodan Mašić, Branko Miljuš, Ivan Picelj, Aleksandar Srnec, Janez Suhadolc, and Matjaž Vipotnik, among others. The exhibition first traveled to Bizerte, Tunisia, and was then scheduled to travel to Morocco and Algeria.⁴⁸ The plan for the cultural collaboration program with Morocco for 1976–78 stated that the exhibition had been a great success.⁴⁹

Nigeria

Due to the civil war in Nigeria, the collaboration between the two countries was limited to scholarships. The 1968 report tells of the exhibition the Yugoslav Embassy in Lagos tried to realize based on reciprocity, but without success.

Somalia

The exchange with Somalia was also limited to students.⁵⁰

Sudan

The 1968 report explicitly mentions an exhibition of “photographs of contemporary Yugoslav architecture”, apparently staged in Khartoum. The first cultural program between the countries was ratified in 1960, and laid special emphasis on

46 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program prosvetno-kulturne saradnje između Jugoslavije i Kraljevine Maroka za 1971 do 1972, dated: 5 June 1969. – See also: “Jugoslavenski filmovi i grafičari u Maroku”, *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 26 March 1971. The article also speaks about a week of Yugoslav culture in Rabat scheduled for 1971, including film screenings (*Battle of Neretva*, 1969, *The Demolition Squad*, 1968, *Bloody Tale*, 1969, *Three Hours for Love*, 1968, *Funeral Feast*, 1969, *I Have Two Mothers and Two Fathers*, 1968) and a traveling exhibition of prints in Casablanca, Fez, Meknes, Marrakesh and El Jadida.

47 “Velik uspeh naše razstave v Maroku”, *Delo* (Ljubljana) 12 December 1974, no. 288.

48 Josip Škunca, “Otkriće jugo-plakata”, *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 17 November 1973.

49 AJ – 320 – 49 – 73: Načrt programa kulturne saradnje z Marokom (za godine 1976, 1977 i 1978).

50 See note 28.

building a House of Culture in Khartoum.⁵¹ The “Analysis of Yugoslavia’s Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries” (1968) stressed that both countries were carrying out the two-year cultural collaboration program.⁵² Many exhibitions and other cultural events were organized in Sudan, but unfortunately very little documentation survives.⁵³

Tunisia

The 1968 report states that the only exchange until that time had been that of students and films, and that there was great interest in the exchange of exhibitions. Despite this, there is evidence that the *Yugoslav Exhibition of Contemporary Painting* was staged in 1963 in the municipal exhibition hall in Tunis.⁵⁴ The first cultural program with Tunisia was ratified in 1966.⁵⁵ A later cultural program from 1970 also included plans for an exhibition of Kosta Angeli Radovani.⁵⁶ Collaboration between the two countries in the field of exhibitions later intensified; to mention an example, the *Gravures contemporaines yougoslaves* was staged in the Galerie Municipale des Arts in Tunis between 23 February and 1 March 1971. It featured the works of 60 Yugoslav artists, among them Mersad Berber, Janez Boljka, Bogdan Borčić, Riko Debenjak, Zdenka Golob, Božidar Jakac, Andrej Jemec, Miha Maleš, and Tinca Stegovec and others. The text in the catalogue was written by Aleksa Čelebonović. In 1976, *Exposition de la peinture contemporaine de Yougoslavie. Peinture contemporaine de Bosnie-Hérzégovine* was staged in the Yahiva Gallery in Tunis, and subsequently traveled to Bizerte and Rabat in Morocco.⁵⁷

51 AJ – 318 – 243 – 345: Program kulturne saradnje izmedju Jugoslavije in Republike Sudana za 1961 godinu. See folder: Realizacija programa za leto 1961.

52 See note 6.

53 We know about the exhibitions of Yugoslav prints (source: *Delo* (Ljubljana) 17 February 1965) and of linocuts by Belgrade architect Bratislav Stojanović (vir: *Borba* (Belgrade) 26 March 1965) both in Khartoum, and in 1966, of Yugoslav tapestries and small-scale sculpture (source: AJ – 318 – 225 – 321: Izveštaj o radu komisije u 1966 godinu).

54 *Delo* (Ljubljana) 8 December 1963. See also note 17.

55 AJ – 318 – 243 – 345: Program kulturne saradnje izmedju SFRJ i Republike Tunis za 1966 i 1967, ratified in Belgrade on 11 March 1966.

56 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program saradnje u oblasti prosvete i kulture između SFRJ i Republike Tunisa, ratified in Belgrade on 24 April 1970.

57 Exhibition catalogue. See also: “Naše slikarstvo v Tuniziji”, *Delo* (Ljubljana) 28 April 1976, no. 99.

Uganda

The 1968 report described the collaboration between Uganda and Yugoslavia as limited to scholarships. The countries ratified a convention on culture in 1970⁵⁸; a year before that, the University of Makerere proposed staging an “exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav prints” in its gallery.⁵⁹

Algeria

The 1968 report stated that none of the proposed projects had been realized in the last two years. The countries had signed a convention on culture in 1964.⁶⁰ In 1974, two exhibitions were staged in Algeria, the *Exhibition of Posters* and the *Exhibition of the Museum of Revolution*.⁶¹ The former was related to the above-mentioned *100 Posters from Yugoslavia* show that was inaugurated in September 1972 in the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb.

The United Arab Republic

The 1968 report mentioned a decline in the previously flourishing collaboration over the previous two years due to the political crisis. The two countries signed the first convention on culture in 1958,⁶² but Yugoslav artists had been featured in the Alexandria Biennial since its founding in 1955. In May 1960, an exhibition of Yugoslav modern art opened in Cairo, scheduled to travel to Iraq.⁶³ Press clippings reveal this was the first exhibition of Yugoslav modern art in Cairo, and featured 18 Yugoslav artists and numerous paintings, sculptures, prints, and tapestries.⁶⁴ A document issued by the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries includes an interesting note: due to the negative reviews, the show returned to Yugoslavia after it closed in May 1960, without traveling to Iraq as originally planned.⁶⁵

58 AJ - 319 - 57 - 73: Konvencija o kulturni saradnji Ugande i SFRJ, 1970.

59 See note 17.

60 See note 6.

61 AJ - 320 - 49 - 73: Stanje i problemi naučno-tehničke i kulturno prosvetne saradnje SFRJ i Alžira, dated: 4 December 1974.

62 See note 6.

63 AJ - 318 - 225 - 321: Dokument izložbe komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom v 1960.

64 “Razstava jugoslovanske moderne umetnosti v Kairu”, *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 5 May 1960.
– “U Kairu otvorena izložba moderne jugoslovenske umetnosti”, *Borba* (Belgrade) 6 May 1960.

65 See note 63. An exhibition of graphic art was scheduled for the same year but was canceled due to racist and fascist rallies in UAR.

During the 2nd Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Cairo (5–10 October 1964), the Fine Arts Gallery in Cairo hosted the *Contemporary Yugoslav Painting* exhibition, which ran between 29 September and 11 October 1964.⁶⁶ It featured 69 works by Branko Filipović, Krsto Hegedušić, Bogoljub Ivković, Milan Konjović, Ferdinand Kulmer, Stane Kregar, Milo Milunović, Predrag Milosavljević, Zoran Petrović, Ivan Rabuzin, France Slana, Miljenko Stančić, Fran Šimunović and Marko Šuštaršič.⁶⁷ While the reviews do not mention any special links with the conference, they describe the show as one of the major cultural events of the year in Cairo.⁶⁸ In February 1987, the Akhenaton Gallery in Cairo hosted the *Modern Yugoslav Drawing and Small-Size Plastic Works of Art* exhibition. The catalogue did not cite the exhibiting artists, but had inserted a short typescript⁶⁹ explaining that this was a travelling exhibition that had been staged in Sala Dalles in Bucharest, Romania, in September 1985, in the Famagusta Gate Gallery in Nicosia, Cyprus, in November 1985, and in the gallery of the Archeology Museum in Valetta, Malta, in August 1986. This valuable insert points to the greatest difficulty we encountered when hunting for exhibition documentation: precise data on exhibition venues and organizers was extremely hard to come by, which automatically cast doubt on the exhibiting artists; most of the exhibitions were of the sales type, which then affected the larger display if purchases were made.

In 1980, Moderna galerija Ljubljana organized the *Contemporary Yugoslav Prints* show there, a traveling exhibition that toured the African continent, visiting Madagascar (Antananarivo, March 1980), Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, June 1980), Zambia (Lusaka, September 1980), Angola (Luanda, November 1980), Zaire (Kinshasa, January 1981), Guinea (Conakry, 18–23 May 1981), Mali (Bamako, 18–28 June 1981), Senegal (Dakar, 20–30 October 1981), and Zimbabwe (Salisbury, 23 February – 20 March 1982). The exhibiting artists were Janez Bernik, Janez Boljka, Bogdan Borčić, Jože Ciuha, Emir Dragulj, Jože Horvat-Jaki, Andrej Jemec, Metka Krašovec, Vladimir Makuc, Branko Miljuš, and Tinca Stegovec, among others. When the prints returned from Africa, there were a lot of complaints about their condition; many were badly damaged

66 "Razstava jugoslovanskega slikarstva v Kairu", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 30 September 1964, no. 267.

67 *Delo* (Ljubljana) 4 October 1964, no. 271.

68 "Jugoslovanska razstava v Kairu", *Večer* (Maribor) 30 September 1964, no. 229.

69 Exhibition catalogue. – The exhibition was organized as part of the cultural program and featured 150 works by 90 artists (source: "Sodobna jugoslovanska risba na razstavi v Kairu", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 6 February 1987, no. 30).

and some completely ruined.⁷⁰ Such notes about damaged or ruined prints can often be found in the MG Archives; this must be attributed to lack of experience in handling artworks and, above all, to the African climate.

The 1968 report focused on African countries chosen by Yugoslav diplomatic missions and consular posts, but Yugoslavia also collaborated with other members of the Non-Aligned Movement, such as Angola,⁷¹ Dahomey, Cameroon, Liberia, Senegal, Tanganyika,⁷² Togo, and Zambia,⁷³ as well as countries that were not members of the movement. The archival documents studied suggest that the closest contacts were with Sudan, Tunisia, with the movement's most conspicuous member on the African continent the United Arab Republic.

The Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia's anticolonial and non-aligned political stance, and its efforts for peace and solidarity with all nations of the world were the main reasons for Yugoslavia's successful collaborations with African countries. Perhaps the best example of this is the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection in Belgrade, founded in 1977 and promoted as the only European anticolonial museum.⁷⁴ The museum immediately became a symbol of friendship between African nations and Yugoslavia, and continues to play this role to this day.⁷⁵

70 The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: 1980. – The MG Archives: Questionnaires 1980.

71 Exhibitions: *National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslav Visual Arts*, National Museum Angola in 1977 (source: *Večer* (Maribor) 13 July 1977, no. 160); *Modern Yugoslav Graphic Art* organized by Moderna galerija Ljubljana, Luanda in 1980 (source: *Borba* (Belgrade), 27. November 1980). In 1977, the two countries signed a program of cultural collaboration (source: AJ – 320 – 49 – 73: Načrt programa kulturne saradnje, 1977).

72 AJ – 318 – 243 – 345: Konvencija o saradnji na polju prosvete, nauke i kulture između FNRJ i Tanganjike, 1961.

73 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Kulturna saradnja med Zambijo i SFRJ, leta 1970. – The same year, in 1970, Lusaka, Zambia hosted the 5th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.

74 *NYIMPA kor ndzidzi. One Man, No Chop*, Ana Sladojević, Emilia Epštajn (ed.) (Belgrade: The Museum of African Art, The Veda and dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection, 2017). p. [24].

75 Marija Lična, "Programme Development at the MAA. Tracing an Idea", in: *NYIMPA kor ndzidzi*, p. 53.

LATIN AMERICA

The Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries noted in its annual report for 1965 that collaborations with Latin American countries had been minimal due to the political situation.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Yugoslavia had by that time already signed conventions on culture with Chile (1958), Mexico (1960), Cuba (1960), Bolivia (1961), Brazil (1962), Costa Rica (1964) and Uruguay (1965), without, however, signing any cultural collaboration programs.⁷⁷

The reasons for this remain unverifiable, except for Brazil; surviving minutes of a meeting with the Brazilian ambassador reveal that his office could not guarantee compliance with the stipulation that the country's signees should secure the funds for the program upfront. Quite likely this may also have been the reason in the case of other Latin American countries.⁷⁸

Bogdan Šalej, reporting from Rio de Janeiro for the Slovene *Delo* newspaper, pointed out the infrequency of Yugoslav cultural events in Latin America,⁷⁹ although Yugoslav artists were regularly featured in the central Latin American art event, the São Paulo Art Biennial.⁸⁰

76 See note 27.

77 See note 21. The cultural program between Yugoslavia and Mexico for 1968–1969 is also mentioned.

78 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Zabeleška o poseti ambasadorja Brazila g. Donatella Grieca predsedniku Savezne komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom dr. Dušanu Vejnoviću, minutes, dated: 10 November 1969.

79 Bogdan Šalej, "Zamera na obeh straneh. Pismo iz Ria de Janeira", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 15 July 1970.

80 The first Yugoslav artist to receive an award at the São Paulo Art Biennial was Petar Lubarda in 1953 at the 2nd Biennial.



Más de veinte grabadores yugoslavos nos entregan un testimonio vivo.

Grabados de Yugoslavia

Más de cincuenta obras de una veintena de grabadores yugoslavos —de estilos muy diferenciados— nos entregan en esta muestra un vivo testimonio de la actividad plástica de ese país. La exposición —una de las más importantes que actualmente se exhiben en Lima— reúne obras de reciente factura y presenta el múltiple y colorido cuadro del grabado yugoslavo contemporáneo. Nos permite, por otra parte, observar la feliz aplicación de variadas técnicas modernas al grabado. Ello, más una selección rigurosa de los cuadros logran para la muestra un óptimo nivel de calidad y nos revela la existencia de un sólido proceso de producción plástica que, entre otros factores, es incentivado en Yugoslavia por las Bienales Internacionales de Ljubljana que viene efectuándose desde hace 20 años.

Aunque la exposición es pródiga en estilos y tendencias hay una notoria inclinación hacia la neo figuración que ha posibilitado el trazo de formas bastante audaces, sin embargo los elementos del op y del poparte son perceptibles pero ya no en un sentido estrictamente epigonal sino incorporado y disuelto en un diseño que congrega diversas técnicas y, al ofrecer una obra coherente, va más allá de ellos. Acerca de eso Zoran Krzsinik, director de la Galería Moderna nos dice: "En los años setenta . . . el grabado se hizo un arte "completo" capaz de abrazar realmente todo: desde las soluciones antes reservadas

para la acuarela o pintura al pastel y al óleo, hasta la tercera dimensión destinada a la escultura, sirviéndose valientemente incluso de medios fotográficos y de la impresión".

La muestra —como se dijo— es de una calidad muy pareja, sin embargo y a nuestro juicio en ella se destacan las obras del pintor y grabador Vladimir Velickovic ("Tres fases de un salto"), Vjenceslav Richter, ("Spock", "Spom", "Espos"), Joze Spacal (Pájaros I, II, III), Gorazd Sefran ("Flotante en el aire I, II, III), Dzevad Hozo ("Del ciclo El retorno VI, X).



Una muestra que permite apreciar la feliz aplicación de variadas técnicas modernas.

Article in the newspaper *Diario La Crónica* (Lima) 9 September 1977, "Variedades" supplement

Despite downbeat reports we could hardly say there wasn't any collaboration in culture: the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries organized many **travelling exhibitions of Yugoslav prints**,⁸¹ and the available data also indicates that at least **two Yugoslav exhibitions related to the São Paulo Biennial** toured the non-aligned countries of Latin America. One was an exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav prints and tapestries, *Arte Iugoslava Contemporânea*, first staged in Museu Nacional de Belas Artes in Rio de Janeiro in September 1963 to coincide with President Tito's visit to Brazil.⁸² The exhibition commissioner was Zoran Kržišnik, the Director of Moderna galerija Ljubljana, which co-organized the show. In October that year the show was displayed as part of the 7th São Paulo Art Biennial on the suggestion of the Biennial administration.⁸³ In August 1964, the exhibition traveled to Mexico (Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno, Mexico City), and a year later to Venezuela (Museo de Bellas Artes, Caracas) under a different title *Grabados Y Tapices Yugoslavos*.⁸⁴ The show featured 100 prints by 37 artists and 9 tapestries by 9 artists: Dragutin Avramovski, Mersad Berber, Janez Bernik, Janez Boljka, Bogdan Borčić, Zlatko Bourek, Stojan Ćelić, Riko Debenjak, Marijan Detoni, Oton Gliha, Željko Hegedušić, Božidar Jakac, Jože Horvat-Jaki, Milorad Janković, Andrej Jemec, Boško Karanović, Dore Klemenčič, Radovan Kragulj, Jovan Kratochvil, Vladimir Makuc, Miha Maleš, France Mihelič, Branko Miljuš, Anka Oprešnik, Mihailo Petrov, Marjan Pogačnik, Oton Postružnik, Marij Pregelj, Zlatko Prica, Nikola Reiser, Josip Restek, France Slana, Ive Šubic, Miroslav Šutej, Lazar Vujaklija, Karel Zelenko and others. A Slovene newspaper article described it thus: "The aim of the exhibition is to acquaint the art lovers of South America with

81 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Savezna komisija za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom. Predlog programa rada za 1968. godinu, december 1967. – As early as 1959, an exhibition of Yugoslav painting was staged in Mexico (source: AJ – 318 – 225 – 321: Dokument izložbe Komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom, 1959).

82 "Dve jugoslovenske izložbe u Sao Paolu", *Politika* (Belgrade) 11 October 1963. – "Jugoslovenska likovna umetnost v Južni Ameriki", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 11 September 1963. – The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: São Paulo bienale, 1963/64.

83 The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: São Paulo bienale, 1963/64, correspondence of 9 February 1964. Due to a lack of space, the exhibition was not staged in its entirety, but only 48 prints and 7 tapestries. – See also: correspondence of 7. December 1963.

84 "Tapices y Grabados De Yugoslavos Con Collages de Daniel González", *El Nacional* (Caracas) 30 May 1965. Each edition of the exhibition had its own, individually designed catalogue.

our artistic production; for this reason, it includes artworks of many orientations, trying to convey a true cross-section of contemporary Yugoslav fine art.”⁸⁵

The other biennial-related show was the Yugoslav presentation at the 15th São Paulo Art Biennial in 1979; this subsequently traveled to the National Museum of Art in La Paz, Bolivia, in June 1980. Newspaper clippings reveal that nine artists showed their work, although only Riko Debenjak, Janez Bernik, Jagoda Bujić, and Vjenceslav Richter are mentioned.⁸⁶ The co-organizer of Yugoslavia’s participation in the Biennial was the City Art Gallery Zagreb, which selected, among others, also conceptualist works presented on slides (the artists featured were Marina Abramović, Marko Pogačnik and the Šempas Family, Goran Trbuljak, and Bálint Szombathy).⁸⁷ The data discovered so far does not reveal which artists were featured in the Bolivian exhibition; the only thing certain is that there were ambitions to show the exhibition also in other Brazilian cities and in Columbia.

Other non-aligned countries also hosted traveling shows, which are, however, hard to reconstruct. The Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries reveals in its reports that there were two Yugoslav shows in Argentina in 1966, an exhibition of Yugoslav tapestries and small-scale sculpture, and an exhibition of Yugoslav prints (150 works) that traveled to Argentina, Chile, Panama⁸⁸ and Costa Rica that year, and in 1967, to Mexico.⁸⁹ The plan was for the show to also travel to Brazil; this was not realized because the works had to return to Yugoslavia, for reasons unknown. This is all that is known about that exhibition at present.⁹⁰ It is known that the Yugoslav Fine Artists’ Association had organized before that the first exhibition of Yugoslav prints in Argentina, *Grabados Contemporáneos Yugoslavos*, which was even more extensive in terms of works shown. Featuring 224 prints by 48 artists,⁹¹ it closed in February 1966 and also traveled to the city of Mar del Plata.

85 “Jugoslovenska grafika in tapiserija v Južni Ameriki”, *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 6 August 1963, no. 212. – See also the exhibiton catalogue.

86 “Dela jugoslovenskih slikara v Boliviji”, *Borba* (Belgrade), 3 July 1980.

87 A.L., “Naš konceptualizam”, *Večernji list* (Zagreb) 4 July 1979.

88 *Večer* (Maribor) 14 January 1967.

89 AJ – 318 – 225 – 321. Izveštaj o radu Komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom u 1966. godinu.

90 See note 21.

91 *Delo* (Ljubljana), 13 February 1966, no. 41. – See also the exhibiton catalogue, which mentions that the exhibition was to travel to Palacio Municipal in Necochea. – Another source – *Jugoslovenska grafika 1950–1980. Jugoslovenska umetnost XX veka*, Vol. 8 (Beograd: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1985), p. 277 – talks about this exhibition under the title *Exposicion del Grabado Jugoslavo Contemporaneo* and tells us that it traveled to Argentina from Cuba (June 1965) via Honduras

Two years later, in October 1968, the Yugoslav Triennial prepared a **traveling exhibition to Latin America** for the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Entitled *Arte Contemporáneo Yugoslavo*, the exhibition was first staged in the National Museum in Montevideo, Uruguay, and featured 91 works by 47 artists. In 1968, the show traveled to Santiago and Antofagasta in Chile.⁹² In 1969, it went to Peru, and was further scheduled to travel to Bolivia, Venezuela and Mexico.⁹³

Another **traveling exhibition** needs to be mentioned: *Grabado Yugoslavo Contemporáneo* organized in 1977 by Moderna galerija in Ljubljana. It opened on 31 August 1977 in Galería del Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima, Peru. It featured prints by Zvest Apollonio, Mersad Berber, Janez Bernik, Bogdan Borčič, Jože Ciuha, Živko Đak, Juraj Dobrović, Emir Dragulj, Petar Hadži Boškov, Dževad Hozo, Andrej Jemec, Boris Jesih, Kiar Meško, Julije Knifer, Metka Krašovec, Fatmir Krypa, Ante Kuduz, Vladimir Makuc, Adriana Maraž, Branko Miljuš, Edo Murtić, Ankica Oprešnik, Ivan Picelj, Marjan Pogačnik, Vjenceslav Richter, Jože Spacal, Gorazd Šefran, Miroslav Šutej, Halil Tikveša, Vladimir Veličković, Karel Zelenko, and Milenko Žarković. The show traveled from Peru to Bolivia (September 1977); Cali (October 1977) and Bogota (November 1977), Columbia; Montevideo (January 1978) and Punta del Este (February 1978), Uruguay; again to Montevideo, Uruguay (March 1978); and to Caracas, Venezuela (August 1978).⁹⁴ The introductory text in the exhibition leaflet was written by Zoran Kržišnik, who stressed the importance of Yugoslav printmaking in global terms, and its particular variety and temperament.

(October 1965), Costa Rica (September 1966) and Mexico (August 1967); the artists featured were Zvest Apollonio, Dragutin Avramovski, Antun Babić, Janez Boljka, Bogdan Borčič, Jakov Budeša, Riko Debenjak, Marijan Detoni, Emir Dragulj, Ivo Grbić, Željko Hegedušić, Jože Horvat-Jaki, Ervin Hotko, Božidar Jakac, Andrej Jemec, Miha Maleš, Edo Murtić, Ankica Oprešnik, Marjan Pogačnik, Marij Pregelj, Kosta Angeli Radovani, Tinca Stegovec, Marko Šuštaršič, Marijan Tršar, Karel Zelenko and other.

92 See note 28. Seven months after the compilation of the 1968 report, which stressed the mutual interest in collaboration between Yugoslavia and Chile but noted the lack of realized events, an exhibition of Yugoslav art was staged in Chile.

93 J.Z., "Latinska Amerika spoznava našo umetnost", *Delo* (Ljubljana) 19 March 1969. – *Jugoslovenska grafika 1950–1980. Jugoslovenska umetnost XX veka*, Vol. 8 (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1985), p. 286.

94 The MG Archives: Questionnaires, 1977, 1978. 99 works were exhibited. According to some sources, the exhibition also traveled to Brazil, to Porto Alegre (1978), Rio de Janeiro (May 1978) and São Paulo (July 1978).

Of all the non-aligned countries, **Yugoslavia had most cultural exchanges with Cuba**. The two countries signed a convention on culture already in 1960.⁹⁵ As early as May 1962, Moderna galerija in Ljubljana, on the instructions of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, prepared a travelling exhibition **Contemporary Yugoslav Graphic Art**. It featured the works of Janez Bernik, Stojan Čelić, Riko Debenjak, Marijan Detoni, Božidar Jakac, Boško Karanović, Albert Kinert, Radovan D. Kragulj, Vladimir Makuc, France Mihelič, Branko Miljuš, Edo Murtić, Milivoj Nikolajević, Ankica Oprešnik, Ordan Petlevski, Ivan Picelj, Marjan Pogačnik, Marij Pregelj, Zlatko Prica, Lazar Vujaklija, and Karel Zelenko. That same year, before going to Cuba, the exhibition had traveled to Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.⁹⁶

The Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Belgrade organized the exhibition to coincide with President Tito's visit to Latin America. Initially, the Commission wanted to show a selection of works from the 4th International Exhibition of Graphic Art in Ljubljana, plus the works of France Mihelič and Zlatko Prica, but the archival sources reveal that the exhibited prints were not the same.⁹⁷

The 1968 report stated that there had been no events organized in collaboration with Cuba over the previous three years.⁹⁸ Only 1974 saw the exhibition **La Lucha de Liberación Nacional en las Obras de los Pintores Yugoslavos** staged in Havana as part of the scientific, educational, and cultural collaboration program between Cuba and Yugoslavia; it is not known when this program was signed. Staged on behalf of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries by the Gallery of the Yugoslav People's Army Center, the exhibition comprising works from the YPA Center's collection opened in July 1974, and featured Đorđe Andrejević-Kun, Mersad Berber, Slavoljub Čvorović, Božidar Jakac, France Mihe

95 See note 6.

96 *Jugoslovenska grafika 1950–1980. Jugoslovenska umetnost XX veka*, Vol. 8 (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1985), p. 272. – “Jerusalem in Havana: Naša grafika v Izraelu in na Kubi”, *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 7 April 1962, no. 94.

97 The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: Sodobna jugoslovanska grafika na Kubi, 1962/63, correspondence of 13 February 1962. According to some data, the exhibition had traveled to Rio de Janeiro before going to Cuba.

98 See note 28.

lič, and Karel Zelenko among others.⁹⁹ After 1974, the two countries ratified cultural programs regularly.¹⁰⁰

Newspaper clippings and the bilateral cultural program from 1979 mention the exhibition *Yugoslav Moment in Art* that was to be staged in Havana by Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.¹⁰¹ That year, Havana hosted the 6th Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. The available data does not confirm the realization of the exhibition.

As already mentioned, Yugoslavia had the most prolific cultural exchange with Brazil, but as Brazil was not a member state of the Non-Aligned Movement, this is not included herein. There were numerous Yugoslav presentations also in other countries that were not members of NAM, especially Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Uruguay.

ASIA

In 1968, Yugoslavia had conventions on culture signed with China (1957), Iraq (1959), Indonesia (1959), India (1960), Afghanistan (1960), Cambodia (1961), Lebanon (1961), Mongolia (1962), Pakistan (1963), Iran (1963), Kuwait (1964) and Japan (1968), but only one two-year cultural collaboration program with India.¹⁰² In 1967, the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries rated cultural collaborations with Asian countries as unsatisfactory, lagging as they did behind political relations, but, according to the report, they had been improving over the years.¹⁰³ The following year Yugoslavia signed cultural programs with Pakistan, India, Mongolia and Japan.¹⁰⁴

99 "Jugoslovenska izložba na Kubi", *Borba* (Belgrade) 9 June 1974, no. 156. – The artists are listed in: *Jugoslovenska grafika 1950–1980. Jugoslovenska umetnost XX veka*, Vol. 8 (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1985), p. 303.

100 AJ – 320 – 53 – 79: Program prosvetne, kulturne i naučne saradnje sa Rep. Kubo za 1975 i 1976, ratified in Havani 1975. – AJ – 320 – 64 – 91: Program prosvetne, naučne i kulturne saradnje sa Kubom za period 1977–1979.

101 "Naša kultura širom kontinenata", *Vjesnik* (Belgrade) 7 January 1979. – AJ – 320 – 64 – 91: Program prosvetne, naučne i kulturne saradnje sa Kubom za period 1977–1979.

102 See note 6.

103 See note 21. Cultural programs with Iran, Pakistan and India were being prepared.

104 AJ – 319 – 48 – 64: Spisak međunarodnih ugovora koje je ratifikovalo Savezno izvršno veće, 1968. 2nd document, dated: 18 March 1969: Program prosvetne i kulturne saradnje između SFRJ i Islamske republike Pakistan za 1968 i 1969, Islamabad, 1968; Program prosvetne i kulturne saradnje između SFRJ i republike Indije za 1968 i 1969, New Delhi, 1968; Program kulturne saradnje

Lebanon

Lebanon signed a convention on culture with Yugoslavia in 1961.¹⁰⁵ The 1968 report described the collaboration as based on exchanges of large-scale exhibitions, giving as examples the *Yugoslav Art: Painting, Printmaking, and Sculpture* (October 1965) and an exhibition of Lebanese painting (1966).¹⁰⁶ The other available data does not provide much information on such exchange of exhibitions. We know that an exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav painters and sculptors was staged in February 1962 in the grand hall of the UNESCO Palace in Beirut, featuring Ivan Meštrović, Risto Stijović, Petar Lubarda, Nadežda Petrović, Milo Milunović, Sava Šumanović, Milan Konjović, Lazar Vujaklija, Zoran Petrović, and others.¹⁰⁷ In October 1967, the same venue hosted the *L'Art Yugoslave contemporain* exhibition, which then traveled to Damascus (October 1967) and Baghdad (November 1967).¹⁰⁸

Jordan

Until 1968, cultural collaborations with Jordan were limited to the realm of film.¹⁰⁹ This changed after the signing of a convention on culture in 1969;¹¹⁰ thus in June 1973, the *60 Contemporary Yugoslav Graphic Prints* exhibition, organized by Moderna galerija in Ljubljana, traveled to Amman (it had previously been to Ankara (December 1972) and Istanbul (January 1973); Nicosia (March 1973); and Damascus (May 1973)).¹¹¹

između SFRJ i Mongolske narodne republike za 1968 i 1969, Beograd, 1968. 4th document, dated: 6 December 1968: Sporazum o kulturnoj suradnji med SFR Jugoslavije i Japana, Tokio, 1968.

105 See note 6.

106 See note 28.

107 "U Bejrutu otvorena izložba suvremene jugoslavenske umjetnosti", *Vjesnik (Zagreb)* 12 February 1962.

108 *Jugoslovenska grafika 1950–1980. Jugoslovenska umetnost XX veka*, Vol. 8 (Belgrade: Muzej savremene umetnosti, 1985), p. 283.

109 See note 28.

110 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Sporazum između SFRJ i Jordana o prosvetnoj, naučnoj i kulturni saradnji, dated: 3 February 1969. – See also: AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje - kulturna saradnja sa Vlado Hašemitske Kraljevine Jordana, dated: 14 October 1977. – The MG Archives: Program prosvetno-kulturnega sodelovanja med SFRJ in Jordanijo za obdobje 1979–1981, dated: 15 August 1979.

111 *Delo (Ljubljana)* 14 December 1972, no. 339. – *Delo (Ljubljana)* 17 January 1973, no. 14. – *Delo (Ljubljana)* 8 March 1973, no. 65. – "Moderna jugoslavenska grafika u Damasku", *Borba* (Belgrade) 6 April 1973, no. 94. – "Jugoslavenska grafika u Amanu", *Borba* (Belgrade) 12 June 1973, no. 159. – See note 108, p. 299. Exhibiting artists: Mersad Berber, Andrej Jemec, Vladimir Makuc, Marjan

Syria

Cultural collaborations with Syria were also only in the realm of film in the late 1960s.¹¹² In addition to the above-mentioned traveling exhibition, currently available data reveals that an exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav art was staged in Damascus in November 1968,¹¹³ that the two countries signed a convention on culture in 1970¹¹⁴ and slightly later, on a cultural program.¹¹⁵

Iraq

Yugoslavia had very good relations with Iraq, and signed many cultural program agreements.¹¹⁶ Thus a traveling exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav art was staged in Baghdad in June 1962, organized by the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and intended to travel in the Middle East. The show featured 17 Yugoslav artists: Oton Gliha, Drago Tršar, Petar Lubarda, France Slana, France Mihelič and others.¹¹⁷ In 1976, the *National Liberation Struggle in Yugoslav Visual Arts* exhibition of works from the collection of the Gallery of the Yugoslav People's Army Center in Belgrade was staged in the Museum of Modern Art in Baghdad; 40 oils, drawings and prints by France Mihelič, Marijan Detoni, Krsto Hegedušić, Miljenko Stančić, Spase Kunovski, Miloš Gvozdenović, Radenko Mišević, Đorđe Andrejević-Kun, Pivo Karamatijević, Halil Tikveša, Emir Dragulj, Slavoljub Čvorović and other artists were on view.¹¹⁸

Pogačnik, Gorazd Šefran, Miroslav Šutej and others.

112 See note 28.

113 The MG Archives: Izveštaj o radu odbora za likovne umetnosti SKKV u 1968. i pregled akcija koje su organizovane u 1968. godini, dated: 24 April 1969.

114 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Sporazum o kulturni saradnji sa Sirijom, 1970.

115 AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje Sirije (za 1977 i 1978).

116 See note 6. A convention on culture with Iraq was signed in 1959. – AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program saradnje u oblasti obrazovanja i kulture med SFRJ i Republike Iraka za 1971 i 1972. – AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje SFRJ i Republike Irak, za 1977 i 1978.

117 "Razstava sodobne likovne umetnosti", *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 13 September 1961, no. 213. – "Izložba jugoslavenskog slikarstva u Bagdadu", *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 6 June 1962. – This exhibition may have traveled to Iraq from Lebanon in 1962.

118 "Izložba 'NOB u djelima likovnih umjetnika' u Bagdadu", *Borba* (Belgrade) 5 September 1976, no. 245.

Iran

Yugoslavia signed the first cultural program with Iran in 1968,¹¹⁹ but even before that Moderna galerija in Ljubljana organized for the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries the *Contemporary Yugoslav Painting* exhibition, staged in the SABA Gallery in Tehran in May 1965. The artists featured there were Gojmir

Anton Kos, Stane Kregar, France Pavlovec, Nikolaj Omersa, Božidar Jakac, France Mihelič, Miha Maleš, Marjan Pogačnik, Maksim Sedej and others.¹²⁰

Kuwait

In 1973, an exhibition of Yugoslav artists was staged there, organized by the Yugoslav Embassy and the Beograd Printing Collective.¹²¹ The two countries signed a convention on culture in 1964,¹²² and a cultural program for the years 1970 and 1971.¹²³

Afghanistan

The *Contemporary Yugoslav Graphics* exhibition was organized in Kabul in October 1967, featuring Dragutin Avramovski, Mersad Berber, Janez Bernik, Bogdan Borčić, Riko Debenjak, Božidar Džmerković, Željko Hegedušić, Dževat Hozo, Božidar Jakac, Jože Horvat-Jaki, Andrej Jemec, Boško Karanović, Marko Krsmanović, Vladimir Makuc, Adriana Maraž-Bernik, Branko Miljuš, Miodrag Nagorni, Virgilije Nevjestić, Milivoj Nikolajević, Ankica Oprešnik, Marjan Pogačnik, Miroslav Šutej, Lazar Vujaklija, Karel Zelenko, Mihailo Petrov, and other artists. The introductory text in the exhibition catalogue was written by Zoran Kržišnik, who stressed the importance of Yugoslav printmaking in global terms, its particular variety and temperament, as well as the importance of the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana.¹²⁴ The exhibition had traveled to Kabul from India, where it

119 See note 44. – AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje Vlade carevine Irana za 1977 i 1978.

120 The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: 1965. – *Delo* (Ljubljana) 10 June 1965.

121 “Izložba jugoslavenskih umjetnika u Kuvajtu”, *Borba* (Belgrade) 1 March 1973.

122 See note 6.

123 AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program za prosvetno i kulturno saradnju između SFRJ i Kuvajta za 1970–1971, ratified 11 May 1970. – See also: AJ – 320 – 46 – 69: Program kulturne i prosvetne saradnje sa Kuvajtom za 1976, 1977, 1978 godine, ratified 15 December 1976.

124 Exhibition catalogue. – See also: *Delo* (Ljubljana) 12 October 1967, no. 227.

had been on view in New Delhi (March 1967), Calcutta, Madras (now Chennai) and Mumbai.¹²⁵ There is also data on a cultural program with Afghanistan for the period 1969–70, where the two countries committed to organize one exhibition each.¹²⁶

Pakistan

Pakistan and Yugoslavia signed their first two-year cultural program in 1968.¹²⁷ We have data on two exhibitions in Rawalpindi: and exhibition of contemporary Yugoslav prints in June 1967 featuring 100 works,¹²⁸ and the *Yugoslav Contemporary Graphic Art Exhibition* staged in May 1974, which had been shown before that in India (New Delhi and Mumbai in November 1973) as part of the cultural program.¹²⁹

India

The first convention on culture with India was signed in 1960.¹³⁰ Following that, the two countries signed cultural programs on a regular basis.¹³¹ Current research confirms that collaborations in culture were extensive and very good, a result of the good political relations between the two countries. The traveling *Contemporary Yugoslav Painting* exhibition, which went to Mumbai (March 1962), Ahmedabad, New Delhi (April 1962) and Lucknow (October 1962),¹³² received very positive reviews in the press. The exhibition commissioner, a curator at the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb Boris Kelemen, described the show as the first major success of

125 See note 108, p. 281.

126 The MG Archives: 18. sednica Savezne komisije za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom, 28. 3. 1969 v Skopju. See folder: Material za sejo.

127 AJ – 319 – 48 – 64: Spisak međunarodnih ugovora koje je ratifikovalo Savezno izvršno veće, 1968. 2nd document, dated: 18 March 1969.

128 “Izložba naše grafike u Pakistanu”, *Politika* (Belgrade) 2 June 1967. – *Delo* (Ljubljana) 6 June 1967. – The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini. Razstava v Indiji 1967, correspondence of 29 May 1968. – This may have been the *Contemporary Yugoslav Graphics* exhibition, which traveled to Afganistan from India in October 1967.

129 “Naša grafika u Pakistanu”, *Borba* (Belgrade) 9 May 1974, no. 125. – “Jugoslovska razstava v Pakistanu”, *Delo* (Ljubljana) 13 May 1974, no. 110. – See note 108, p. 301.

130 See note 6.

131 AJ – 319 – 48 – 64: Spisak međunarodnih ugovora koje je ratifikovalo Savezno izvršno veće, 1968: Program prosvetne i kulturne saradnje između SFRJ i Republike Indije za 1968 i 1969, New Delhi, 1968. – AJ – 319 – 57 – 73: Program prosvetne i kulturne saradnje između SFRJ i Indije za 1970 – 1971, 1970. – AJ – 320 – 61 – 88, Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje između SFRJ i Republike Indije za 1975–1976, 1975.

132 “Izložba jugoslavenskog slikarstva u Bombaju”, *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 16 March 1962. – *Delo* (Ljubljana) 15 April 1962, no. 104. – *Delo* (Ljubljana) 28 October 1962, no. 297.

Yugoslav fine art in India.¹³³ The 1968 report tells us that the two countries signed another cultural program for the 1968–69 period and rates the only recently finished program as very good, with special mention made of the participation of Yugoslav artists in the first Indian art triennial in New Delhi and the (above mentioned) traveling exhibition *Contemporary Yugoslav Graphics*, which had been shown in Kabul in 1967.¹³⁴ The participation of Yugoslav artists in the 1st Triennale India in 1968 was part of the cultural program. The featured works were prewar and postwar, and the artists Rihard Jakopič, Marij Pregelj, and Slavko Tihec among others.¹³⁵ In 1978, the *7th International Exhibition of Contemporary Art* was staged in New Delhi, involving the participation of artists from the United States, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, China, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Bulgaria, India, and Yugoslavia.¹³⁶ Coinciding with the exhibition, the 1st International Conference of Contemporary Art was organized in New Delhi in November 1977. One of the speakers at the event was Irina Subotić, a senior curator of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade. Subjects discussed at the conference included the social role of art, art education, the difficulties of the centers and the regions, and the project being prepared at the time by the Yugoslav section of AICA, the International Association of Art Critics, under the auspices of UNESCO, which involved the study and presentation of art in the non-aligned countries.¹³⁷

133 P. L., "Uspjeh izložbe našeg slikarstva u Indiji", *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 16 May 1962. – The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: 1962. Exhibiting artists: Stojan Aralica, Janez Bernik, Marko Čelebonović, Stojan Čelić, Oton Gliha, Nedeljko Gvozdenović, Krsto Hegedušić, Bogoljub Ivković, Albert Kinert, Milan Konjović, Gojmir Anton Kos, Stane Kregar, Lazar Ličenoski, Petar Lubarda, Milo Milunović, Predrag Milosavljević, Edo Murtić, Zoran Petrović, Mića Popović, Zlatko Prica, France Slana, Mladen Srbinović, Marino Tartaglia, Josip Vaništa, Miloš Vušković.

134 See note 28.

135 Ibid. – "Naši likovnici na bienalu v New Delhiju", *Dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 23 September 1967, no. 259.

136 "Likovni umetnici u Nju Delhiju", *Politika* (Belgrade) 20 February 1978. Among the exhibiting artists also Boris Jesih and Slavko Tihec.

137 The MG Archives: Dostava gradiva za XXXI. sejo Komisije za likovno umetnost MKO-ja, ki bo 3. 2. 1978, correspondence, dated: 24 January 1978. See folder: Material za sejo: Izveštaj Irine Subotić, komesara jugoslovenske izložbe na medunarodni izložbi savremene umjetnosti koja će se otvoriti 15. decembra 1977. godine u Nju Delhiju, dated: 7 December 1977.

Sri Lanka¹³⁸

The 1968 report rates the international collaboration with Sri Lanka as poor, mentioning only a small-scale exhibition of Yugoslav amateur art in Colombo.¹³⁹ Despite this, we know that the *Exhibition of Contemporary Prints in Yugoslavia* was staged in November 1965 in Colombo, after it had been to Tokyo in June the same year.¹⁴⁰ Later, in 1976, two more exhibitions were staged in Colombo: a photographic exhibition entitled *The Culture and Achievements of the Non-Aligned Countries*, showing historical monuments from the rich treasury of the non-aligned countries in twenty photographs (Yugoslavia showed large photographs of the Pula Arena and the Mileševo, Gračanica and Počitelj monasteries¹⁴¹), and the *Contemporary Yugoslav Prints* exhibition, which was organized there to coincide with the 5th Conference of the Non-Aligned in Colombo (16–19 August 1976).¹⁴² However, according to the data in the catalogue, the latter exhibition only opened in the Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawarta venue on 29 September 1976. The artists featured in the show consisted of Janez Bernik, Dragan Bikov, Emir Dragulj, Dževad Hozo, Andrej Jemec, Boris Jesih, Metka Krašovec, Adriana Maraž, France Mihelič, Branko Miljuš, Edo Murtić, Marjan Pogačnik, Miroslav Šutej, and Halil Tikveša.¹⁴³ The exhibition then traveled to India in 1976 (Calcutta, New Delhi, Mumbai), Bangladesh (Dhaka) and Iran (Tehran) in 1977, and Syria (Damascus) in 1978.¹⁴⁴

North Korea

The cultural program signed by Yugoslavia and North Korea in 1974 tells us that the first North Korean event organized in Yugoslavia was a production of the musical and choreographic ensemble of DPL Korea Mansude.¹⁴⁵ The two countries signed cultural programs,¹⁴⁶ so we can assume there was cultural exchange between them,

138 Ceylon until 1972.

139 See note 28.

140 See note 108, p. 277. Exhibiting artists: Janez Bernik, Riko Debenjak, Andrej Jemec and others.

141 "Umetniška fotografija v Colombu", *Večer* (Maribor) 13 August 1976, no. 188.

142 The MG Archives: Razstave MG v tujini: 1976–1978, correspondence, dated: 16 August 1976.

143 Exhibition catalogue. – See note 108, p. 309. Here the exhibition is dated as running from 8 to 22 October 1976.

144 See note 108, p. 309.

145 AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Program kulturne, prosvetne, naučne i tehničke saradnje Vlade Socialistične Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i Severne Koreje, ratified 3 November 1974.

146 Ibid. – AJ – 320 – 61 – 88: Programi kulturne saradnje SFRJ i Severne Koreje za 1976 i 1977, 1976.

although actual data on that is elusive. We can only mention an exhibition of Yugoslav socially engaged posters, which was first shown in Peking in August 1977, and then traveled to North Korea. It was organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade and the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. The authors represented consisted of acclaimed designers of Yugoslav posters, including Matjaž Vipotnik and Tomaž Kržišnik. The exhibition featured 92 posters on subjects such as protection of the environment, care for the elderly, Red Cross actions, care for children and similar.¹⁴⁷

In addition, Yugoslavia's prolific collaboration in culture with **China** and **Japan** needs to be mentioned, even if without going into detail, since the two countries were never members of the Non-Aligned Movement. As early as 1960, Moderna galerija Ljubljana organized the *Graphic Art of Yugoslavia* exhibition in Tokyo, which received a lot of positive reviews in the press and traveled to Osaka and Kyoto.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, Yugoslav artists regularly took part in the International Biennial Exhibition of Prints in Tokyo,¹⁴⁹ the central art event in Asia, and going back to 1957.¹⁵⁰

Yugoslavia's international collaborations in culture with developing countries, as they were often referred to in official documents, were very lively in the period under scrutiny, as were the activities of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Belgrade, which drew up programs for cultural collaboration and encouraged and supported institutions that showed an interest in collaborating with museums, exhibition venues and experts worldwide. While this research was limited to international exchanges of exhibitions, we nonetheless failed to find evidence of Yugoslavia having any long-term international cultural policies involving the non-aligned or any other countries. Yugoslavia based its foreign politics on non-alignment and on being an open country. According to Zoran Kržišnik, erstwhile Director of Moderna galerija Ljubljana, culture played a great part in this: "I showed these people that we could serve as a source of potential liberalization that was not brutal in the sense of socially tense situations; it showed that fine

147 "Izložba jugoslavenskog plakata u Kini i Koreji", *Vjesnik* (Zagreb) 13 August 1977. – "Jugoslavanski plakat na Kitajskem in v Koreji", *Dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 19 August 1977, no. 224.

148 See note 63. – "Uspehi tudi na Japonskem", *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 1 August 1960, no. 178.

149 AJ – 319 – 49 – 65: Savezna komisija za kulturne veze sa inostranstvom. Predlog programa rada za 1968. godinu, december 1967.

150 "Debenjak in Mihelič v Tokiu", *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (Ljubljana) 15 May 1957, no. 112.

art can serve as an instrument of a gentle liberal opening up. That's how it was. You know, as we made our mark in the art world, the world began to write very good things about us, describing us as an open society."¹⁵¹

In terms of further research, the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade still holds vast amounts of unresearched material awaiting exploration, even though a very important segment of the holdings, the archival fund "Fond (*sic*) of Solidarity with Non-Aligned and Developing Countries (1975–1991)", has, deplorably, been lost forever.¹⁵²

Teja Merhar is a curator in the Archives Department at Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.

151 Beti Žerovc, "Zoran Kržišnik. Pogovor z Zoranom Kržišnikom", in: *Kurator in sodobna umetnost. Pogovori* (Ljubljana: Maska, 2008), p. 46.

152 On the night between 2 and 3 April 1999, during a NATO bombing of Belgrade, five Archival Funds of the Archives of Yugoslavia, stored in the Federal Interior Ministry Buildings in Belgrade, were destroyed; four of them completely and one partly. Among the Archival Funds that were completely destroyed was also (AJ – 454): Fond (*sic*) of Solidarity with Non-Aligned and Developing Countries (1975–1991).

M.
ŠUTEJ
'75



india

Art Galleries
Calcuta
New Delhi
Bombay
1976/1977

colombo

ART GALLERY
Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawarta
Colombo
29. IX.—13. X. 1976

**contemporary
yugoslav
prints**

Cover of the catalogue of the traveling
Contemporary Yugoslav Prints exhibition, 1976

The World between the Founding of the NAM (1961) and the Breakup of Yugoslavia (1991)

Anej Korsika

1961: The United States break off all diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba; this is later followed by an economic embargo (relations are only reestablished in 2015). A referendum on self-determination for Algeria is held in France, with 75% of voters voting in favor. Prime Minister **Patrice Lumumba** is killed in Congo; he becomes an icon of the Pan-African Movement. The **Adolf Eichmann** trial begins in Jerusalem. **Yuri Gagarin** orbits the Earth, becoming the first man in space. The construction of the Berlin Wall begins. The United States become officially involved in the war in Vietnam. The Portuguese Colonial War, called the War of Liberation in the colonies, starts and continues until 1974.

1962: **Milovan Djilas** publishes *Conversations with Stalin* and is thrown into prison by Yugoslav authorities. **Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn** publishes *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* about life in the gulags during the Stalin era.

1963: The Institute of Mental Health opens in Belgrade; it is the first institution of its kind in Eastern Europe. An earthquake in Skopje, Macedonia, claims 1070 lives. **Martin Luther King** delivers his legendary public speech “I Have a Dream” to 250,000 people in Washington. President **John F. Kennedy** is assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson assumes the presidency.

1964: At his trial, **Nelson Mandela** delivers his speech “I Am Prepared to Die,” marking a key moment in the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa. **Jawaharlal Nehru**, the first president of independent India and a key figure in the formation of NAM, dies. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is founded. In the Soviet Union, **Nikita Khrushchev** is removed from power and replaced by **Leonid Brezhnev**, who remains in power until his death in 1982.

1966: **Indira Gandhi** becomes the Prime Minister of India. In Ghana, President **Kwame Nkrumah**, one of the founders of NAM, is deposed while on a foreign visit. In China, the Cultural Revolution begins. France formally leaves NATO. Spain declares amnesty for the crimes of the Spanish Civil War era, but only for the Falangist side.

1967: In Indonesia, **Sukarno**, another founder of NAM, is deposed; he is succeeded by **Suharto**. In Cambodia, the first stage of the civil war between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Red Khmer begins. In Greece, a military junta assumes power after a coup d'état; the dictatorship lasts until 1974. The east Nigerian province of Biafra declares independence, but is not internationally recognized. The Six-Day War between Israel and Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Jordan takes place. In Bolivia, **Che Guevara** is captured and killed.

1968: **Daniel Cohn-Bendit**, "Dany the Red", occupies the Nanterre University administration building with seven other students, triggering a chain of events that brings France to the brink of revolution in May, when over a million people protest in the streets of Paris. In the United States, **Martin Luther King** is assassinated. Rudi Dutschke, the leader of the leftist German student movement survives an assassination attempt.

In Belgrade, and to a lesser extent in the other republican capitals of Sarajevo, Zagreb and Ljubljana, students unite in the largest mass protests since the end of World War II. They protest against economic reforms that have led to high unemployment and forced many laborers to seek work abroad. Eventually, Tito manages to contain the wave of protests by famously declaring in a televised speech that most of the student demands are justified. Nonetheless, in the years to follow, both student leaders and their sympathizers among university professors receive jail sentences or lose their jobs.

The Soviet Union and troops from several Warsaw Pact countries invade Czechoslovakia with over 750,000 troops, suppressing the process of political liberalization known as the Prague Spring.

1970: Biafra capitulates, ending the Nigerian Civil War, which sees some 100,000 military casualties, while between 500,000 and 2 million Biafran civilians die of starvation. Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader found the Red Army Faction (RAF), which exists until 1998. Another founder of NAM, **Gamal Abdel Naser**, dies. In Chile, **Salvador Allende** is elected President. At the 3rd conference of NAM in Lusaka,

Zambia, the member nations add as aims of the movement the peaceful resolution of disputes and non-inclusion in the big power military alliances and pacts (NATO, the Warsaw Pact). Another added aim is opposition to the stationing of military bases in foreign countries.

1971: Women in Switzerland gain the right to vote in federal elections, but still cannot vote on local issues in all of the cantons. Yugoslavia allows foreign businesses to henceforth export their profits from the country. The United States terminates convertibility of the US dollar to gold, effectively bringing the Bretton Woods system, which marked the global postwar economy, to an end.

1972: Yugoslavia is the scene of the last great outbreak of measles in Europe; 175 people contract the disease, 35 die.

1973: The Polisario Front is founded, struggling for the independence of Western Sahara from Morocco to this day. The American Psychiatric Association removes homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses and disorders. Aided by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Chilean military ousts President **Salvador Allende** in a coup d'état, which is followed by General **Augusto** Pinochet's brutal military dictatorship. The 4th conference of NAM is held in Algeria.

1974: The five-month long oil crisis, resulting from the embargo imposed by OPEC on oil exports to countries supporting Israel in its conflict with the Arab countries, ends. The West German Chancellor **Willy Brandt** resigns after one of his closest associates is revealed to be an agent of the East German secret police. In the United States, President **Richard Nixon** resigns after the Watergate Scandal. The United Nations grants the PLO observer status.

1975: General **Francisco Franco** dies, ending the military dictatorship in Spain, which had lasted since 1939. The Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) is founded. The news agencies of all the member nations are included, with the Yugoslav agency Tanjug holding a prominent role: it is a founder and the main initiator of this collaboration, and also takes upon itself the education of journalists from other countries. After Tito's death, the NANAP experiences a decline. In 2005, it is reorganized as the (still operating) Non-Aligned News Network (<http://www.namnewsnetwork.org/>), supported mainly by the Malaysian Press Agency.

1976: In Cambodia, the Red Khmer launch a forced evacuation of the capital and a general genocide that claims the lives of roughly one-quarter of the country's entire population. In Stockholm, the Red Army Faction occupies the West German Embassy, demanding the release of their imprisoned members, and hence giving rise to the so-called Stockholm syndrome. North Vietnamese troops occupy Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, ending the Vietnam War.

1979: The 6th conference of NAM in Havana. In his speech, the Cuban President **Fidel Castro** enumerates the purpose of the organization as to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics."

Supporters of Ayatollah **Khomeini** assume power in Iran; not long after that, the hostage crisis at the United States Embassy in Tehran begins. The Iranians demand the extradition of Shah **Reza Pahlavi** from the Americans, so that he can be brought to trial in Iran. The hostage crisis lasts 444 days. **Margaret Thatcher** becomes first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan and becomes involved in a military conflict that will last almost until its dissolution. The Soviet invasion is a great blow to NAM's unity, as part of the member nations supports the invasion, while others, especially the Muslim countries, denounce it.

1980: Yugoslav President **Josip Broz Tito** dies. The largest funeral in history is attended by delegations of 128 states of the 154 nations members of the United Nations. In a shipyard in Gdansk, **Lech Walesa**, later president of independent Poland, organizes the first of many strikes. The war between Iran and Iraq starts. **Ronald Reagan** becomes the 40th President of the United States.

1984: The Winter Olympic Games are held in Sarajevo. After 368 years, the Vatican absolves Galileo of crimes against the church.

1985: **Mikhail Gorbachev** becomes the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and thus the eighth and last leader of the Soviet Union.

1986: At the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev announces **glasnost** and **perestroika**. An accident at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl, Ukraine ends up killing more than 4,000 people, and more than 350,000 are evacuated.

1988: McDonalds opens its first restaurant in Belgrade; it is the first McDonalds restaurant in any country led by a socialist/communist regime. The Soviet-Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq wars end after eight years; the latter has claimed around one million lives. Osama bin Laden founds Al-Qaeda.

1989: The entire Eastern bloc is riddled with protests and strikes as dissatisfaction with communist governments approaches boiling point. In November, the Berlin Wall, one of the greatest symbols of the Cold War, falls. Unlike the developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, attempts at dissent in China are brutally quelled. Belgrade hosts the 9th conference of the NAM.

1990: East and West Germany unite to form the Federal Republic of Germany. In Yugoslavia, the League of Communists no longer commands a political monopoly, and multiparty elections are held in several republics; the dissolution of Yugoslavia begins. **Nelson Mandela** is released from prison.

1991: The Soviet Union breaks up into 15 independent countries. The declaration of the independence of Slovenia and Croatia starts the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia. In 1992, the SFR Yugoslavia officially ceases to be a member of NAM.

Anej Korsika is a freelance writer and a co-founder of the Initiative for Democratic Socialism in Slovenia.







SOUVENIR DE SYRIE



Dan Acostioaei

Seas under Deserts, 2016–2017

video installation; HD, color, sound, 9'53"

video still

© Dan Acostioaei

DAN ACOSTIOAEI

Employing a multi-layered narrative that superposes personal memories and geopolitical analysis, the photographic and video installation *Mări sub pustiuri* (*Seas under Deserts*) proposes an articulation of an affective knowledge in relation to the socialist legacy. The personal and political ties intertwine against a dense cultural and ideological background that combines multiple temporalities. The starting point for the work consists of documents, images and material traces left by my father during his dispatch as a construction engineer in Syria from 1975 to 1978 and in Iraq from 1981 to 1983. At the same time this artwork explores the socialist trade with countries from the Middle East during the time of Ceaușescu's regime analyzed as an alternative to current East-West relations. The images both implicitly evoke and stand in contrast to the migration of labor to the West after 1989 and the recent wave of Syrian refugees seeking asylum in Europe.

The viewer is invited to reconstruct a possible political and personal narrative from the fragments at hand, comprised largely of personal histories, communicational exchanges, maps, tourist snapshots and impersonal photographic materials like postcards and similar.

The film that accompanies the installation begins with an excerpt from Dumitru Radu Popescu's short story "Mări sub pustiuri" (*Seas under Deserts*):

"He would try in vain to explain to her that the Sahara was a region that had been just temporarily deserted by humans, that no wasteland is real, that water exists everywhere on earth, like life, and that nobody can make it run dry. The Sahara had been devastated at some point, for some unknown reason, and had remained desolate. But the water was there, and he had even read somewhere that there were huge seas under the deserts. It's just that man needs to move them, to get this treasure up to the surface..."



S. Priyanto

Biscuit Mountain, 1975

color lithograph, 78 x 40 cm, L 86 x 61 cm

Courtesy of Koroška galerija likovnih umetnosti, Slovenj Gradec

ART PAVILION SLOVENJ GRADEC

Andreja Hribernik, Katarina Hergold Germ

International Exhibitions at the Art Pavilion Slovenj Gradec – Collaborations with Third World Countries

In the spirit of the time and the grand ideas of pursuing "the noblest ideals of the United Nations – peace, freedom, solidarity, aid, respecting human rights and everything that leads humankind to progress ..."¹

The Art Pavilion Slovenj Gradec, the precursor of the current regional museum of modern and contemporary art KGLU (Koroška galerija likovnih umetnosti), was established in 1957 in Slovenj Gradec, then a town of some 4,000 inhabitants. At the time, galleries and museums were also being founded in relatively small communities, in the spirit of the idea of the independent status of culture and the desire to decentralize it and give all segments of the population more equal access to art and culture.

The program at the Art Pavilion Slovenj Gradec was shaped by the international exhibitions organized under the auspices of the United Nations starting in the 1960s. With painter Karel Pečko at its head and in collaboration with the UN Youth Club² active at the lo-

1 KGLU Archives, a letter to the Republican Committee for International Collaborations, 17 March 1982

2 A number of UN Youth Clubs were active in Yugoslavia at the time, including one

cal Secondary School of Economics, the Pavilion organized the first all-Yugoslav exhibition *Peace, Humanity, and Friendship between Nations* in 1965. The exhibition concept was based on an open call to artists, reflecting the desire to open the field of art and make it accessible to everyone. As the open call in Yugoslavia proved successful, the Pavilion management decided to issue an international open call the very next year. It was published in the media and sent to embassies and other official national representative offices, to curators and art critics, and in the case of some preeminent figures, to the artists themselves (notably to Pablo Picasso, Henry Moore, Oscar Kokoschka).³ One of the protagonists who forged numerous international connections was journalist Bogdan Pogačnik, who was even authorized by the Pavilion to conclude agreements on its behalf. According to the records, approximately 240 works⁴ from all over the world were submitted for exhibition in 1966. The unanticipated success of the open call laid bare the dire problem of space, or rather, the shortage thereof. Despite the local authorities' reservations regarding the project, the fall saw the construction of a large annex to the gallery begin, and the international exhibition *Peace, Humanity, and Friendship between Nations* opened on 10 December 1966. The additional 1,400 square meters had been built in less than three months with partial co-funding from many companies, together with some input from volunteer work brigades. A raffle was organized to finance the furnishings and help pay off the loan.

The international exhibition met with great acclaim. It subsumed a wide range of artistic practices under the umbrella concept of socially-engaged figuration. The eclecticism of the works exhibited was particularly pronounced in terms of both content and quality. Looking through the contextual lens of the Non-Aligned Movement,

in Slovenj Gradec. UN Youth Clubs were involved in activities promoting the values defined by the United Nations Charter, but also organized cultural and educational events related to UN anniversaries, the distribution of UN-related materials and more.

3 KGLU Archives.

4 The exact number is difficult to determine, since a number of artists applied after the official due date and were not included in the exhibition catalogue.

we can see that four artists from Cuba, two from Syria, and three from non-aligned African countries participated in the 1966 show.

The next exhibition of a similar scale was *Peace 75 – 30 Years of the UNO*, staged in 1975. In addition to the traditional art forms, this exhibition also introduced a section dedicated to institutional critique, specifically with artists involved in conceptualist practices, such as Zoran Popović, Goran Trbuljak, Raša Todosijević, and Daniel Buren.⁵ Unlike the 1966 show, the 1975 exhibition was far more consistent in terms of the art shown. Certain segments were curated by guest curators: thus Jorge Glusberg⁶ selected the artists from Latin America, while Ješa Denegri chose the Yugoslav artists working in critical practices. As for artists from non-aligned countries, the documents reveal that the collaboration with such countries was highly encouraged on the political level. In the summer of 1975, gallery representatives traveled to Belgrade on two occasions to visit various embassies and try to establish political contacts to get artists interested in participating.⁷ There was a particular increase in the number of artists represented from Indonesia,⁸ which can be attributed to the intensified international relations of the time.

The 1979 exhibition, entitled *For a Better World*, introduced numerous new ideas emerging in the field of art, and also included important presentations of new concepts in town planning, architecture and design.⁹ As for the participation of artists from non-aligned countries, only one artist from Cuba was featured in the show. Unlike the earlier two exhibitions that built on the diversity of artists presented, the 1979 show was conceived with the expanded field of art foremost in mind.

5 KGLU Archives.

6 At the time, Gulsberg was also involved in selecting artists for the International Biennial of Graphics Arts in Ljubljana.

7 The minutes of a visit to the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs reveal that Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of SFRY Marko Vrunc made it a point to suggest that all non-aligned countries be invited to participate.

8 Seven Indonesian artists participated in the exhibition, which was attended also by the Indonesian Ambassador; this resulted in the donation of the artworks by Indonesian artists for the collection.

9 Catalogue 1979, text Dragoš Kalajić.

The final exhibition staged under the auspices of the UN came in 1985. The exhibition was full of numerous contradictions and represented a revisiting of traditionalism, due in part to the general prevailing atmosphere in culture and the economic crisis, and included a relatively large number of African artists and featured small-scale sculptures in wood, most of which were of a more ethnological character.

Thus the collaborations with the non-aligned countries can be seen as politically motivated and encouraged, and executed for the most part with the help of foreign embassies. This fact was often reflected in the selection of artists that were most prominent in, and unproblematic for, the various regimes. The only exception was the 1975 exhibition, where guest curators were responsible for a part of the selection process. The experts curating the shows at the time were undeniably largely limited to the Western art historical canon in terms of their views and positions on art, despite Yugoslavia's specific political affiliations. This also explains the noticeable ambition to attract the participation of eminent Western artists, while the artists from non-aligned and Eastern European countries served as the conspicuous alibi for openness, variety and plurality. Nonetheless, the international exhibitions in Slovenj Gradec exemplify the specific situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia: while their political underpinnings are unmistakable, closer scrutiny reveals a whole spectrum of mechanisms regulating cultural and political life and cultural policies, as well as the conflicts between the emancipatory potentials of art and the utilitarian practices and agendas of the governing bodies.

Assistance in researching archival material: Manja Gerold

Katarina Hergold Germ, curator and documentalist at the KGLU, works with the KGLU Archives.

Andreja Hribernik is the Director of and curator at the KGLU, Slovenj Gradec.

Installation view of the *Peace, Humanity, and Friendship between Nations* exhibition at the Art Pavilion Slovenj Gradec in 1966
Photo courtesy of Koroška galerija likovnih umetnosti, Slovenj Gradec





Sven Augustijnen

Spectres, 2011

video, color, 16:9, French spoken, BE, 104'

Video still, © Spectres by Sven Augustijnen

Concept and Image Sven Augustijnen

Production assistant: Fairuz

Editing: Mathieu Haessler and Sven Augustijnen

Sound recording: Benoît Bruwier and Jeff Levillain

Sound mixing: Benoît Bruwier

Music: *St Johns Passion*, J. S. Bach (performed by La Petite Bande)

Produced by: Auguste Orts, co-produced by Projections, Cobra Films and Jan Mot

With the support of: the Flanders Audiovisual Fund, CERA Partners in Art, Mu.ZEE, Kunstenfestivaldesarts, Koninklijke Vlaamse Schouwburg, WIELS Contemporary Art Centre, Vlaams-Nederlands Huis deBuren, de Appel arts centre, Marres Centre for Contemporary Culture, Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie, Kunsthalle Bern, Kunst Halle Sankt Gallen, Kunstencentrum BUDA, FLACC Workplace for Visual Artists, Fonds Régional d'Art Contemporain – Région Bourgogne, Le Fresnoy studio national des arts contemporains

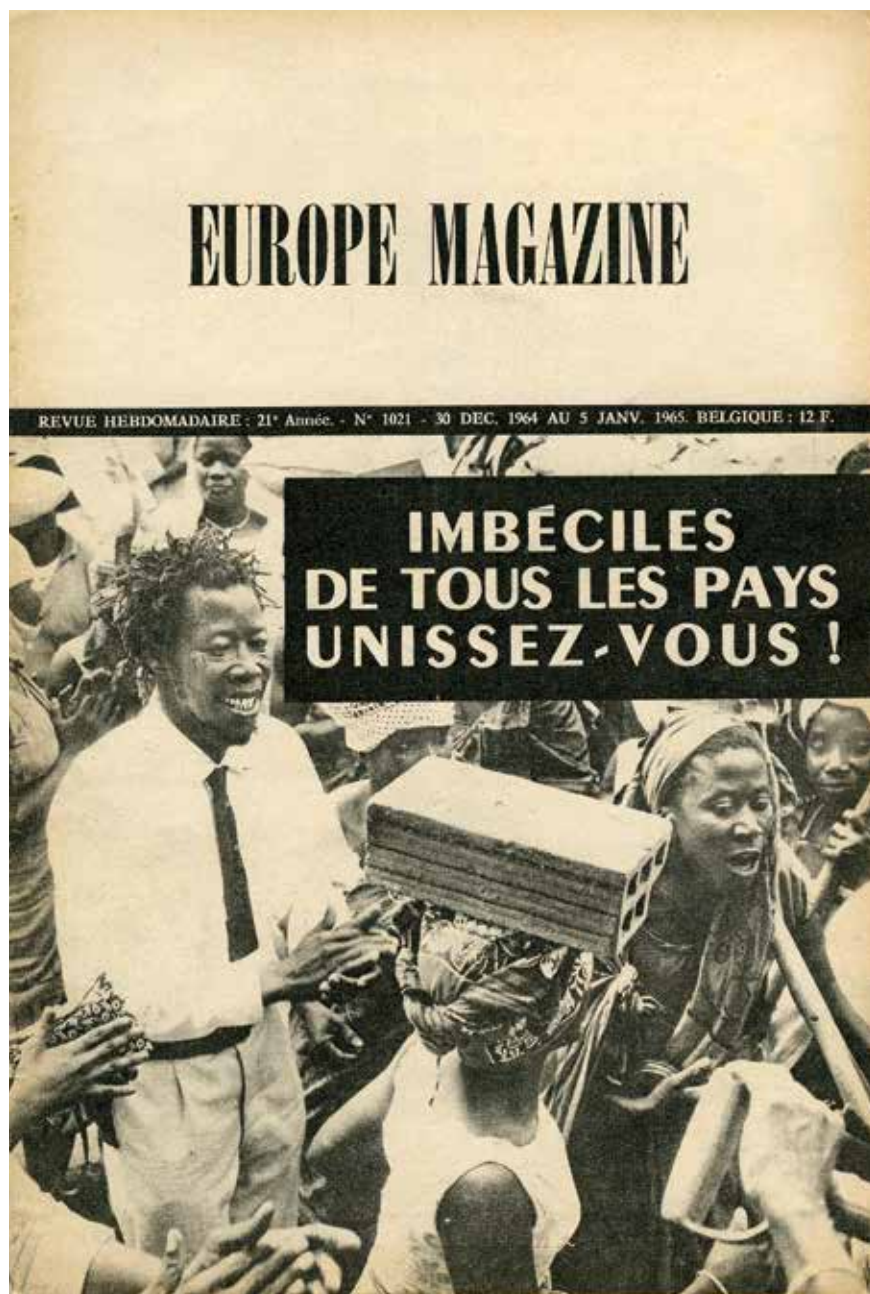
SVEN AUGUSTIJNEN

Fifty years after his assassination, Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the newly independent Congo, is back to haunt Belgium. Through commemorations and encounters, the top-ranking Belgian civil servant who was in Elisabethville on that tragic day of 17 January 1961 attempts to exorcise the ghosts of the past. To the sound of *St John Passion* by J.S. Bach, *Spectres* immerses us into one of the darkest days of the decolonisation of the Belgian Congo. An examination of the biopolitical body, this feature-length film by Sven Augustijnen exposes the fine line separating legitimisation and historiography and the traumatic issue of responsibility and debt.

Spectres won the Public Libraries Prize and GNCR Prize and received a special mention from the jury of the International Competition at FID Marseille (FR). It won the Prize of the Flemish Community at Festival Filmer à Tout Prix (BE).

As part of Sven Augustijnen's solo exhibition the book *Spectres* was published by ASA Publishers.

Imbéciles de tous les pays unissez-vous! is an installation based on a large collection of Europe Magazine, which aims to trace the fate of the Belgian rifle FN FAL during the Cold War (it was used in the fight against communism as 'the right arm of the free world'). The installation has multiple functions: revisiting the era of decolonization and neocolonialism, and by taking the postwar period as a mirror of our condition, analyzing how the militarization of our society goes hand in hand with the racist discourse of the right and the undermining of democracy and policy making.



Sven Augustijnen

Imbéciles de tous les pays unissez-vous!, 2018
magazines in glass case

Assistance: Frédéric Uytendaele

With the support of CCStrombeek

Courtesy: the artist and Jan Mot, Brussels



Babi Badalov

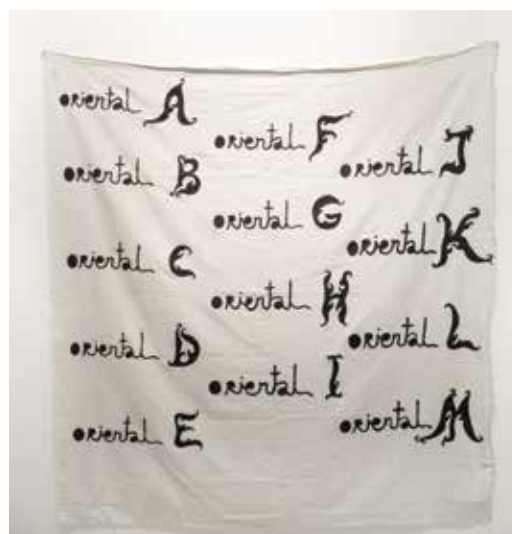
I am Euromental, 2015

Ink on cotton

Collection M HKA, Antwerp / Collection Flemish
Community

Babi Badalov
Oriental A, B, C, 2015
Ink on cotton

Collection M HKA, Antwerp / Collection Flemish
Community



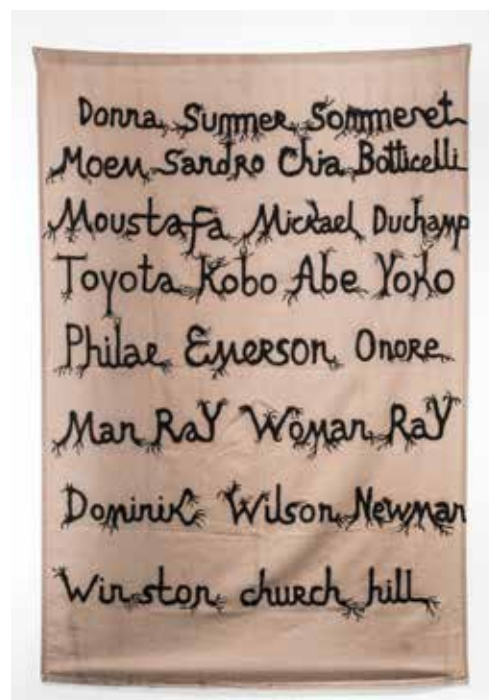
BABI BADALOV

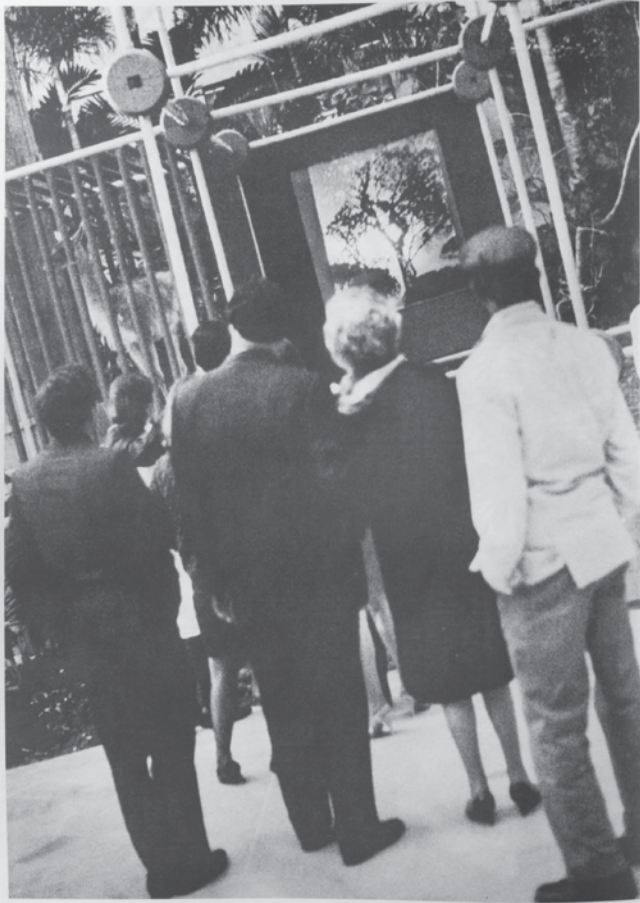
Babi Badalov has spent his life migrating between Russia, the United States, Europe, Asia Minor, and the Middle East. He is now based in France after being granted refugee status. Badalov enacts a kind of linguistic play, mixing various languages – he speaks Talysh, Farsi, Azeri, Russian, Turkish, English, and French, thanks to his many years of living clandestinely in numerous countries – as well as signs, etymologies and puns. The work reflects not only the artist's years of mourning, imperilment and displacement, but also a utopian wish for a future hybrid idiom that is common to all. It also conveys the complexities of his personal journey, a metaphor for the cultural and historical conflicts of the globalized, contemporary world.

The text was kindly provided by the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art.

Babi Badalov
Donna Summer, 2015
Ink on cotton

Collection M HKA, Antwerp /
Collection Flemish Community





16



17

María Berríos and Jakob Jakobsen

The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought.

Publication (with the script) that was a part of the installation for the audience to take home with them.

MARÍA BERRÍOS and JAKOB JAKOBSEN

“The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought”

What is a revolutionary exhibition? Or what can a revolutionary exhibition be? A propaganda machine against the inadmissible present? An investigation into the experimental language of revolution? Does it address change, force change, or is it change itself? In light of the recent uproar against the current crisis of global capitalism, the resurgence of “revolution” as a concrete horizon gives these questions a different toll. A revolutionary exhibition puts the continuous rubble of unfinished revolts to use by opening new paths. It is a struggle with the present, but a present haunted by historical echoes.

The specific resonance we are exploring is the exhibition *Del Tercer Mundo*, which took place in Pabellón Cuba in Havana in January 1968. It was one of the main public events of the Cultural Congress of Havana, a large-scale gathering that attempted to articulate a language

for international struggle against imperialism and towards the decolonization and liberation of the global south. The Congress aimed to work across disciplines and national borders, and brought together hundreds of artists, writers, gym teachers, poets, scientists, anti-psychiatrists, feminists, black power militants, dentists, economists, philosophers, students and activists from most of the world in an attempt to connect their struggles and revolutionary forces.

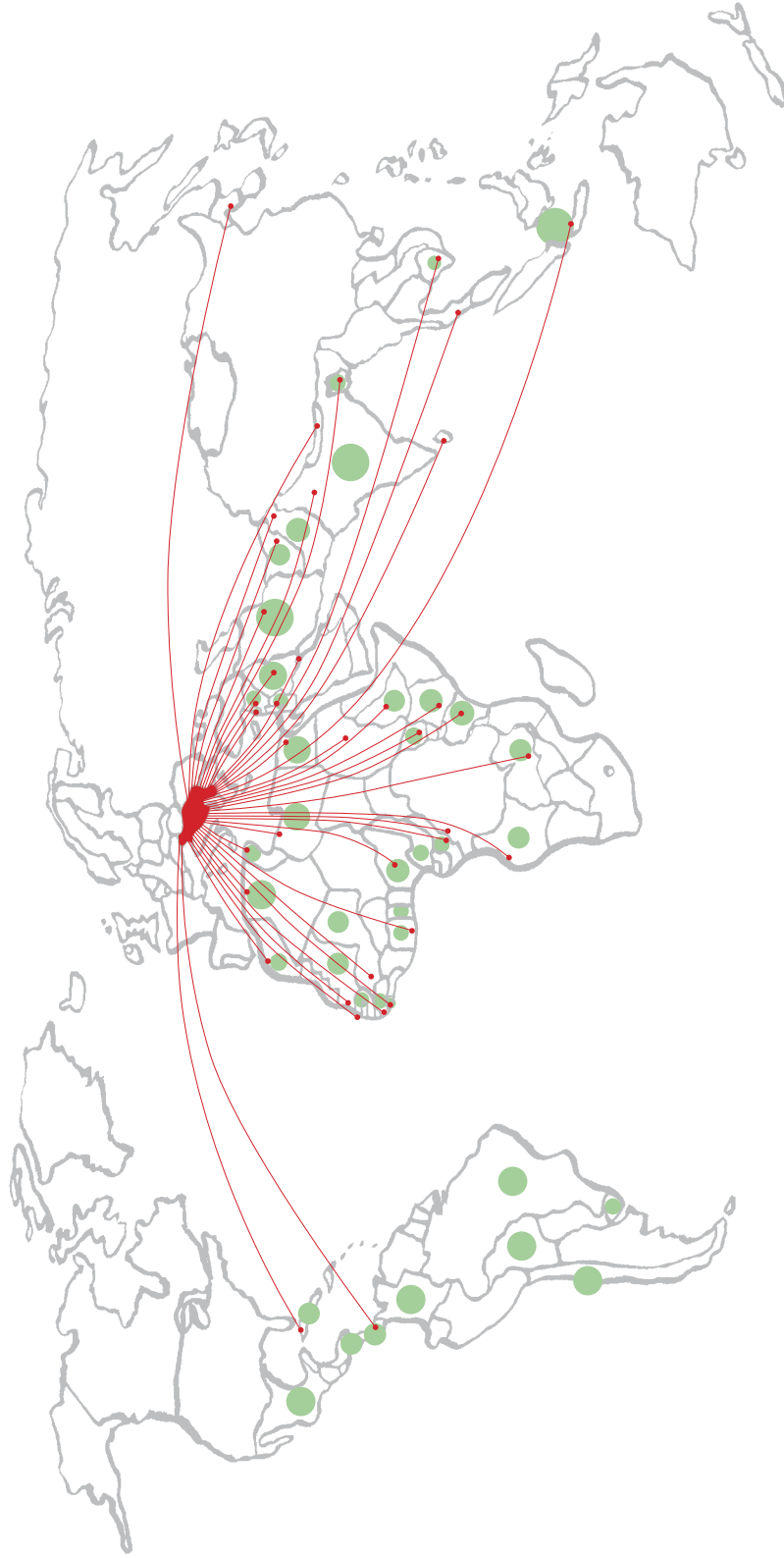
As a pedagogical exhibition, *Del Tercer Mundo* intended to map and reflect on the contemporary immiseration of the world as well as offer a dynamic portrayal of popular rebellion and resistance. It was a multimedia total installation applying innovatory audio-visual technologies creating an integrated and sensual narrative, including neon animations, comic strips, mechanical animated billboards, satirical film mash-ups, protest dioramas, sound effects and three live animals (a llama and two lions). The point was not to bring the museum to the people, but to use and transmute the language of the street into exhibition form.

A revolutionary exhibition requires a multi-layered language that challenges language itself. It must be open to destructive collisions with the present, confronting the on-going immiseration of the already dispossessed. We as militant researchers have learned there is a difficult transit from reflecting on to becoming a revolutionary exhibition: it is not enough to gather knowledges around a new subject, but it is necessary to *construct a new object that cannot belong to anyone*.

María Berríos and Jakob Jakobsen
The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought, 2014
installation view at the 31st São Paulo Biennial
Photo: Jakob Jakobsen



Map of Yugoslavia's international collaborations in culture with developing countries



Map designed by Djordje Balmazović

Green dots: intergovernmental bilateral conventions on culture
Red lines: intergovernmental bilateral programs of cultural collaboration

Cartography of SFR Yugoslavia's International Collaborations in Culture with Developing Countries

Teja Merhar

The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia began establishing broader international relations and collaborations in culture as early as the 1950s; by the 1960s (when the country changed its name to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) they had become quite extensive, judging by the surviving documents. Yugoslavia's basic instruments regulating international bilateral collaborations in culture consisted in **conventions on culture** and **programs of cultural collaboration**, both drawn up by the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Belgrade.

In May 1967, the Commission became an independent federal organization and changed its name to the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Henceforth, it coordinated the activities of the republican bodies and organizations related to collaboration with foreign countries in education and culture; proposed initiatives and actions to promote such collaborations; carried out activities related to organizing and assisting pan-Yugoslav cultural events abroad; and ratified general programs of collaboration in education and culture with individual countries and other agreements.¹

Conventions on culture provided the legal grounds for further development of collaboration in culture and education for all parties involved, while the **programs of cultural collaboration** were

1 See: Teja Merhar, "International Collaborations in Culture between Yugoslavia and the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement" in this publication.

working documents outlining the actions the two countries would undertake during a certain period of time (usually one or two years).² Naturally, conventions on culture and programs of cultural collaboration were not a prerequisite for Yugoslavia's collaborative work with foreign countries.

This cartography looks at the collaborations in **the 1960s and 1970s**, and is largely based on the conventions on culture and cultural collaboration programs Yugoslavia ratified with the non-aligned countries.

By October 1968, Yugoslavia had **ratified conventions on culture** with 64 countries: Norway (1955), the Soviet Union (1956), Poland (1956), Romania (1956), Bulgaria (1956), Czechoslovakia (1957), Belgium (1957), China (1957), Chile (1958), the United Arab Republic (1958), Iraq (1959), Greece (1959), Indonesia (1959), Sudan (1959), Mexico (1960), Cuba (1960), India (1960), Afghanistan (1960), Italy (1960), Guinea (1961), Ghana (1961), Cambodia (1961), Bolivia (1961), Lebanon (1961), Mongolia (1962), Tunisia (1962), Cameroon (1962), Brazil (1962), Ethiopia (1963), Mali (1963), Pakistan (1963), Dahomey (1963), Hungary (1963), Senegal (1963), Iran (1963), Kuwait (1964), Nigeria (1964), Congo-Brazzaville (1964), Algeria (1964), France (1964), the German Democratic Republic (1964), Costa Rica (1964), Uruguay (1965), the United Kingdom (1966), the Netherlands (1966) and Japan (1968). It had signed two-year cultural programs with 21 countries, among them eight socialist countries (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union),³ eight Western European countries (Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey and the United Kingdom), and five African and Asian countries (Congo-Brazzaville, India, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic).⁴

Cultural collaboration programs usually formed part of larger cultural-educational programs and were fine-tuned in terms

2 The Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade: 319 – 49 – 65: Analiza kulturnih odnosa Jugoslavije sa inostranstvom i naredni zadaci, Beograd: oktober, 1968. [Typescript.]

3 Ibid. Only seven countries are listed.

4 Ibid.

of content to suit the interests of the signatory countries. To illustrate using a specific example, let us look at the Program of Collaboration in Education and Culture with Iraq in 1979–1981.⁵ It specified, in detail, **collaboration in higher education and science** (collaboration between universities: exchange of information, publications, researchers and faculty, postgraduate and doctoral scholarships); **collaboration in education** (collaborations between educational institutions and schools providing occupational qualifications: exchange of educators, participation in international conferences, exchange of textbooks, reports, educational films and high school and vocational education curriculums); and **collaboration in culture and the arts** (exchange of information, publications, photographs, slides and films from diverse fields of culture and the arts; exchange of touring musical ensemble performances; an invitation to Iraqi artists to participate in Yugoslav festivals; collaboration between music organizations; and collaboration on exhibitions. As part of this, Yugoslavia planned to organize three exhibitions in Iraq – *Architectural Heritage and Bosnian-Herzegovinian Prints, Central Balkan Neolith* and *Serbian Drawing*; collaboration between museums, institutions for the conservation-restoration of monuments and similar institutions; a bilateral pledge to invite artists to international art events organized by the two countries; an invitation to Iraqi artists to participate in the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana; collaboration between archives; collaboration in film; collaboration in literature; etc.).

Yugoslavia's international cultural policies were commonly framed specifically through large-scale biennials and other international events in which Yugoslav artists regularly took part and often won awards: the São Paulo Art Biennial (since 1951), the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana (since 1955), the Alexandria Biennial (since 1955), the International Biennial Exhibition of Prints in Tokyo (since 1957), as well as two important events not included in

5 The Moderna galerija Archives, Ljubljana: Program saradnje u oblasti nauke, prosvete i kulture izmedju vlade Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije i Vlade Republike Irak za 1979, 1980. i 1981. godinu, Beograd, 1979.

this cartography – the Venice Biennale of Art (since 1895) and the Kassel documenta (since 1955). Additionally, certain traveling exhibitions, especially those of Yugoslav art, and certain monographic, documentary, archaeological and other shows were very important. This cartography does not take into account exhibitions from developing countries hosted by Yugoslav exhibition venues or collaborations in other fields of culture, such as theater, film, music, literature, dance etc.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Yugoslavia's international collaborations in culture with developing countries were at an enviably high level, such as our international collaborations today, despite the general sense of instantaneous connection with world events and the relative ease of relations between countries, are regrettably far from achieving.

Teja Merhar is a curator in the Archives Department at Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.

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Ammonia—To dream of ammonia
 denotes that you will receive a declaration of love from your sweet heart. This is a very good sign. To love as it indicates a love followed by the union of great happiness which no man can change. 120

Ankle—To dream that you have a swollen ankle denotes grief. To dream that your ankle has grown smaller denotes bad luck on the following day and that you should not conduct any business for at least three days. To see others with swollen ankles is a sign of riches. 923

Ants—To dream of ants denotes money in abundance. To dream that they bite you denotes good business relationship on the following day. 230

Ape—To see one in your sleep denotes that you are being robbed out of your labor. 500

Apple—To see an apple in your sleep denotes joy and happiness. To

children; three boys and two beautiful girls. These children will be the pride of your old age and will be the source of your support throughout the remaining years of your life. 320

Balsam—To dream of seeing this plant grow denotes that you will suffer loss by rain. 639

Banana—To dream that you see a bunch of yellow bananas is a sure sign that you are going to be very successful in games of chance. If the bananas are green, it indicates losses. 017

Bandy—To dream you see a bandy man denotes that someone is trying to take away your husband. To see a woman it indicates someone is trying to make love to his wife. 100

Bear—To dream of seeing one denotes the death of a friend. To give one away denotes losses by theft. 823

Bath—To bathe your skin signifies that you are deeply in love. 618

Beans—To dream of beans denotes lawsuits in which you will lose. To eat them signifies deceit and slander. To buy them is a sign of courage and determination of your plans. 781

Bear—To dream of a bear is a very pleasant dream to farmers, it denotes a good crop. To others it denotes hardships. 890

Bed Bugs—To see them denotes that your friends are unfaithful. To kill them denotes grief. 501

Beef—To dream that you see plenty of beef denotes death, generally a friend or relative. 522

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644

Biscuits—To dream of brown biscuits denotes gain. White ones, losses, generally loss of position. 852

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Godfried Donkor
 European Coat of Arms series (blue 1), 2018/19
 embroidery on Financial Times paper, 55.5 cm x 73 cm

GODFRIED DONKOR

Born in Ghana and brought up in the UK, my work straddles continents and cultures. Mixing styles, imagery and media, I explore creolization as a creative force that emerges from the reciprocity of language, culture and social interaction.

A key part of this process is an investigation of the iconography of mass media. Including drawing, painting, printing, collage and video, my practice is informed by research and knowledge-based investigation of a wide range of visual source material.

The images I source are often historical, both fictitious and archival, which I present alongside my own library of images from across Africa, the UK, the USA and the Caribbean. A regular motif in my work is the stock market figures from the *Financial Times*, reflecting on the commercialization of people throughout history.

My most recent project is *Financial Times Coat of Arms / European Coat of Arms*, which follows on from previous work made using motifs and designs from European coats of arms that incorporate African imagery (Negro and Moorish heads). In my latest works in this series

I have collaborated with Embroiders in Ghana to embroider my drawings directly onto the *Financial Times* newspaper. This current body of works explores the historical movements of people across Europe from Africa and examines and presents the visual aesthetics of these coats of arms in a contemporary context.

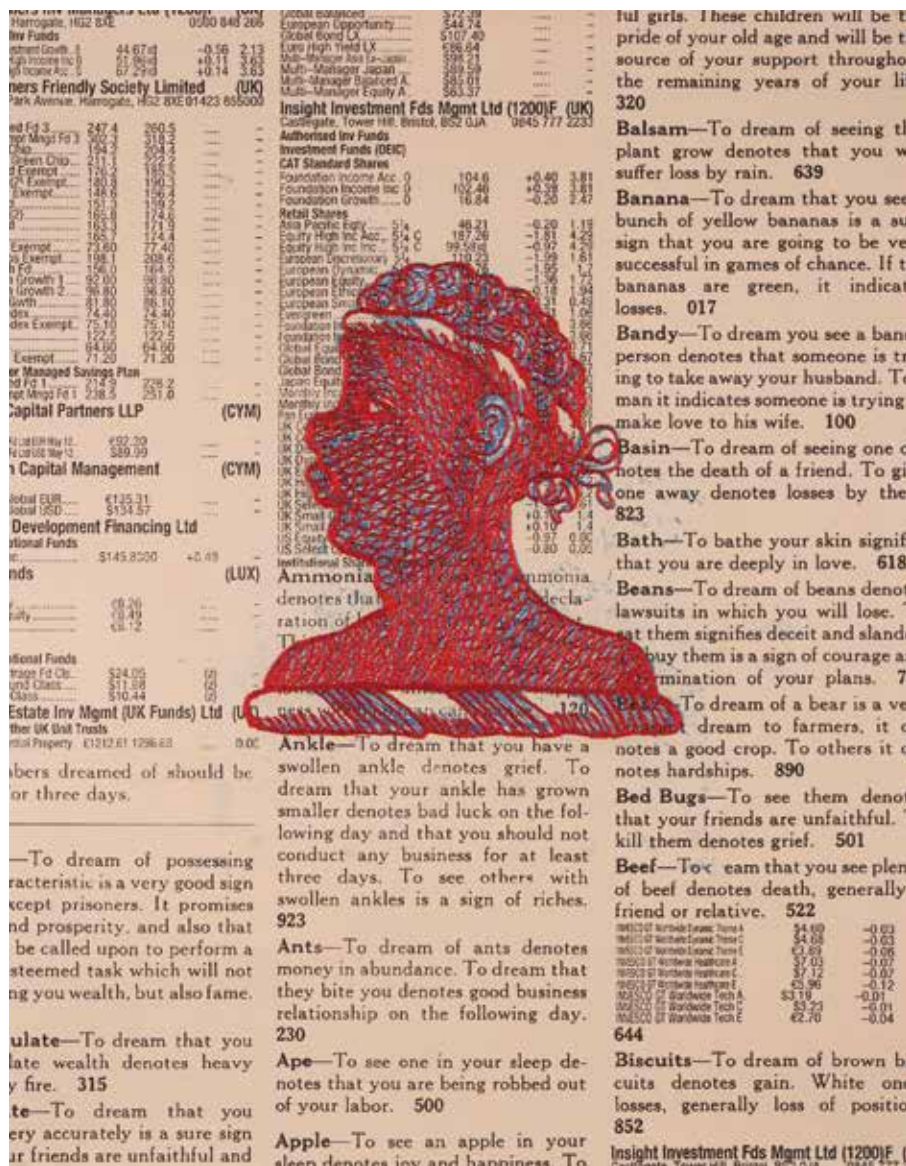


Godfried Donkor
European Coat of Arms series, X, 2019
embroidery on *Financial Times* paper,
35 cm x 58 cm

Godfried Donkor

European Coat of Arms series (red 1), 2018/19

embroidery on Financial Times paper, 55 cm x 71 cm



The European Coat of Arms series was formalized in 2018 at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, where the artist was the Rockefeller Foundation visual arts fellow.



Sekarputi Sidhiwati
The Optimist #1
series of ceramic works
Courtesy of the artist

From Bandung to Belgrade¹

Riksa Afiaty with Iramamama, Sekarputi Sidhiwati and

Syaiful Ardianto

The presentation takes as its starting points the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the Belgrade Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries in 1961. The participating artists work with popular culture such as music, with found text, images and archives, referring to more than just the conference itself; their aim is to show how art and culture, with their creative potential, expressed certain desires in our society.

Going beyond the pragmatics of Western politics and unresolved Third World cultural struggles, and after being exposed to and overwhelmed by the vast array of material archives and ideologies of the Non-Alignment Movement, this project serves as a jukebox of discordant sounds that are rarely heard from other parts of the world, a machine that plays a self-selected recording that contains an autonomous form called research – a comically broad term that includes reading, categorizing, and mapping purely for pleasure.

Working with a wide range of historical subjects, Iramamama share their findings on melody and sound to harness the potential of music during the 1950s and 1960s. What kind of beat emerged and shaped the music of that era?

Focusing on specific characteristics of form and content historically attributed to books, Sekarputi Sidhiwati stacks her ceramic works with assigned meanings, including the political, which vary according to the point of view and circumstances involved. The

1 The title comes from a text written by Roeslan Abdulgani for a discussion on the inauguration day of the Asian, African and Developing Countries Study Center in Bandung on April 27, 1983.

simultaneous fragility and solidity of the ceramic material metaphorically allude to the rigidity of history, while the quirky images and titles the artist plays with reveal an ironic side as well.

Syaiful Ardianto considers the precariousness of the future and the construction of the past, trying to visualize history by collecting and deconstructing clippings from old newspapers, magazines, their typography and similar, thus offering up speculation as a method of archiving.

This presentation looks at the way Indonesian artists deal with history, enriching our understanding of the past and highlighting the importance of the Bandung conference for our present. Also, the Non-Aligned Movement seems disconnected from today's perspective, yet we can see in its significance the possibility of a more complex global system devised on the movement's economic, geopolitical and cultural premises.

Riksa Afiaty is a non-affiliated institution curator.

IRAMAMAMA are mama sisters, music selectors, baby huggers and vinyl spinners.

Syaiful Ardianto is a visual artist.

Sekarputi Sidhiwati is a ceramic artist and a mother of two.



Sekarputi Sidhiwati
The Optimist #1
series of ceramic works
Courtesy of the artist



Rafikun Nabi

Poet, 1980

print, 96.5 x 110 cm

Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro

THE GALLERY OF ART OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES “JOSIP BROZ TITO”

The Gallery of Art of the Non-Aligned Countries “Josip Broz Tito”, inaugurated on 1 September 1984, can, without exaggeration, be described as the most important art institution in the long cultural history of the city of Podgorica. Titograd (as Podgorica was called in socialist Yugoslavia) provided the most beautiful complex in the city for the Gallery – the central park along the Morača River, with its many cultural and historical features, including buildings dating from 1891. The Gallery's collections are housed in the central building, the Petrović Palace, a former residence of the Petrović dynasty. Today, this attractive space serves as the headquarters of the Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro.

By collecting, preserving and presenting representative artworks of different value and significance from 57 countries, the Gallery brought together artists and art from all over the world, thus showcasing the differences and particularities of the environments, people and nations of the many regions represented.

The diverse body of material that makes up the Gallery's holdings is divided into four collections according to territorial status: the Latin American, Asian, African and European collections. They reflect the traditional, historical and cultural values of their places of origin, as well as the contemporary tendencies in this field together with the efforts to achieve universality in artistic expression. The works date from vastly different periods, with the oldest exhibit dating back to the seventh century BC and originating from Cyprus. In addition to the artworks, a considerable number of works of applied art and ethnographic items also remain preserved. Such variety in material makes these holdings all the more interesting, providing us with insight into diverse cultural and historical environments and the different degrees to which traditional values were or are upheld.

The Latin American Art Collection, part of the holdings and assembled according to territorial status, consists of 171 exhibits from ten Latin American countries. It includes works executed in various media (paintings, drawings, graphic prints and sculptures) that illustrate the life and customs of their countries of origin.

The Asian Art Collection, assembled according to territorial status, is made up of 140 exhibits from 14 countries from the Asian continent. The art objects in the collection consist of paintings, sculptures, musical instruments and works of applied art.

The African Art Collection, a segment of the holdings assembled according to territorial status, is comprised of 206 exhibits from 21 countries. They include representative examples of traditional wooden sculptures and contemporary Makonde art, as well as numerous sculptures, shields and masks that are largely ritual in character. The collection further includes a significant number of paintings and prints as well as everyday artefacts.

The European Art Collection, a very important and valuable part of the holdings of the Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro, includes 534 museum objects from 12 countries. The collection grew over time with gifts, donations and purchases of works by the most eminent Montenegrin artists, which now form the backbone of the collection. Further, this serves as the basis for examining the artistic phenomena and movements that marked the Montenegrin art scene in the second half of the 20th century, as well as the new tendencies characteristic of the current art trends.

This encounter of different cultures produces a unique aesthetic experience, one that is both highly valuable and which conveys an extraordinary message: here borders end and a universal art language begins, which through color and form paints a rich canvas of spiritual milieu, tradition and modernity.

Marina Čelebić, Museum Consultant

Marina Čelebić, Museum Consultant, is the Head of the Art Department of the Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro.



Waterfall
tapestry on silk, 135.5 x 90 cm
Contemporary Art Center of
Montenegro



Agnes Clara Ovando
Sans De Franck
Bundle of Coca Leaves, 1983
oil on canvas, 60.5 x 73 cm
Contemporary Art Center of Montenegro



Duro Seder
The Widow, 1991
oil on canvas, 184 x 133 cm
Courtesy of the artist

Gorgona in Jakarta – on the Cutting Edge of the Edge?

Nada Beroš

The word *edge*, a buzzword in the 1990s, had pride of place in discussions about the visual arts and postmodern theories in the West. *Edges* were being discovered left right and center, and promptly turned into *centers* in which new and different art was sought and found, art that was far from the ossified universal, international language of contemporary art.¹

At the same time, as a reaction to the pandemic – not to mention the arrogance – of Western exhibitions of contemporary art, international exhibitions of contemporary art started popping up in the remotest corners of the earth (Havana, New Delhi, Seoul, Brisbane, Fukuoka, and Johannesburg to mention but a few). They questioned the way local art was reflected in the juxtapositions of center–periphery and West–East, and how it was constituted within the dichotomy of North (the “developed” countries) and South (the “developing” countries).

In mid-1995, an invitation arrived in Zagreb, extended to Croatian artists to participate in the international exhibition *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries* in Jakarta, Indonesia. Indonesia was celebrating 50 years of independence in 1995, and wanted to put itself on the important map of global contemporary art as a way of demonstrating its successful modernization. It saw a grand international exhibition involving the participation of artists from 42 “developing” countries with approximately 400 works as an opportunity to show its declared *freedom of expression*. The organizers of the

1 David Elliott, “When Edges Become Centres or How to Keep Cool in a Hot Climate”, lecture at the *Unity in Diversity* seminar, Jakarta, 1995.

exhibition, which was sponsored by the government, did not bother to try and define some common denominator that might serve as an umbrella standard for the contemporary art of the non-aligned countries, settling instead for the political criterion of membership in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

I saw presenting *non-state art* at such a highly state exhibition in a faraway country in Asia as a small-scale but very important subversion in the leaden atmosphere of 1990s Croatia, where the country's official politics, institutions, the media and also artists wholeheartedly endeavored to prove that "we belonged in (Western) Europe". The official bodies that received the invitation were kept busy with the ongoing war in Croatia as well as all of the transition-cum-privatization business, and thus showed very little interest in presenting contemporary Croatian art in Jakarta; nor did they meddle in the selection process, as they were wont to do when it came to selecting representatives of Croatia at such prestigious events as the Venice Biennale. My selection of five former members of Gorgona (1959–1966) – Josip Vaništa, Đuro Seder, Ivan Kožarić, Julije Knifer and Marijan Jevšovar, none of whom was in the front lines of the then pronouncedly *Croatian* international artistic presentations – thus slipped past under the radar.

Another proof of the low profile (from the Croatian perspective) of the exhibition consisted in the fact that of all the successor states of former Yugoslavia, only Croatia took part in the exhibition, and that it was also the northernmost European country in this context of "Southern constellations".

At the same time, there was (and still is) a certain reservation vis-à-vis the Non-Aligned Movement in Croatia, just as in the other countries that came out of the breakup of Yugoslavia; it was seen as a direct legacy of Titoism, and as such rejected by most of the newly founded states.²

2 No documentation of the event can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia or of the Croatian Fine Artists' Association (HDLU) in Zagreb, which was the organizer of the Croatian artists' participation in the exhibition in Jakarta.

It is widely known today that the informal art group Gorgona was on the edge of social and artistic life in the early 1960s when it was most active, or more precisely, when it most *existed* as a form of Behavior Art. Accepting a marginal position, the edge, also meant a conscious deviation from imposed authority in general. Nor were Gorgona members connected with mainstream Croatian culture in the post-Gorgona period when they went on to pursue their individual artistic careers – and it was works from this period that were featured in the exhibition in Jakarta.

In 1961, the division of Europe into the East and the West was tangibly legitimized with the erection of the Berlin Wall. Today, it is evident through numerous texts and publications that Gorgona, emerging on a geopolitical and historical-cultural *limes*, unquestionably linked the two poles, both in its artworks and activities and by collaborating with the most avant-garde artists of its time (Piero Manzoni, Lucio Fontana, Robert Rauschenberg, Dieter Roth, Victor Vasarely, Harold Pinter, Yves Klein, Marcel Duchamp and others). For this reason, Gorgona is justly described as a late modernist, neo-avant-garde and also proto-conceptual art group.

In a way, Gorgona was also non-aligned, keeping its distance from the dominant institutional and social blocs. It equally shied away from (petit) bourgeois culture, ossified academicism, and heroic modernism. There were no sharp contrasts in the *gray zone* of non-belonging, or as Vaništa put it, of *withdrawal*. This made it possible to bring together tradition and the avant-garde, the radical and the subtle, subversion and *carving*, asceticism and conformism, nihilism and melancholy, esotericism and paradox, existentialism and Zen, quietude and noise, absurdity and joy, all without calling into question either the artistic integrity or the freedom of the highly individualistic group members.

The members of Gorgona were not apolitical – they were anti-political, and what truly united them was their untrammelled thought, the freedom to turn their backs on a world that kept alluding to constant progress and optimism. "Restraint in thought, passivity, even indifference were all above the bare ironic denial of the world we lived in... Sometimes, Gorgona did nothing, but just lived,"

wrote Vaništa. The spiritual brotherhood of Gorgona (interestingly, not a single woman was part of this brotherhood!) actually lasted their entire lifetimes, as the surviving members Ivan Kožarić, Đuro Seder and Matko Meštrović testify.

What of all this could be *recognized* and *espoused* by the exhibition organizers and curators, by the domestic and international audiences in Jakarta? This question is devoid of the superior *Northern* view and deserves to be posed in all cases where the context is hard to reconstruct, such as large-scale international group exhibitions. The impossibility of contextualization was exacerbated by the fact that the catalogue (announced to accompany the exhibition) with texts about the artists and movements was not available during the exhibition, coming out in fact several years later and never reaching the Croatian participants in the show.³

It was no easy task to find the Croatian artists' works in the jungle of some 400 works arranged in five themed sections and exhibited at several locations in Jakarta, especially as they were inadequately put into certain defined theme groups and juxtapositions. Thus Kožarić's installation *Reversed Head* (1995), a readymade from his studio comprising also a chopping block with an ax and scattered wood chips as part of the process, was included in the "Tradition/ Convention" section, and labeled as a "sculpture". Jevšovar and Knifer fared better in the "Signs and Symbols" section, although Knifer's large diptych, an *anti-painting* of his characteristic meander sign in acrylic on canvas, was described as a print. Vaništa's collage *Gorgona 1995*, consisting of seven copies of his important early drawings, texts and photographs from the Gorgona period, questioned the notions of original and copy; the catalogue described it as a "painting". The best presentation was that of Đuro Seder, whose later work most departed from the premises of Gorgona work: his highly gestural and expressive painting *Widow* (1991) fit in perfectly in

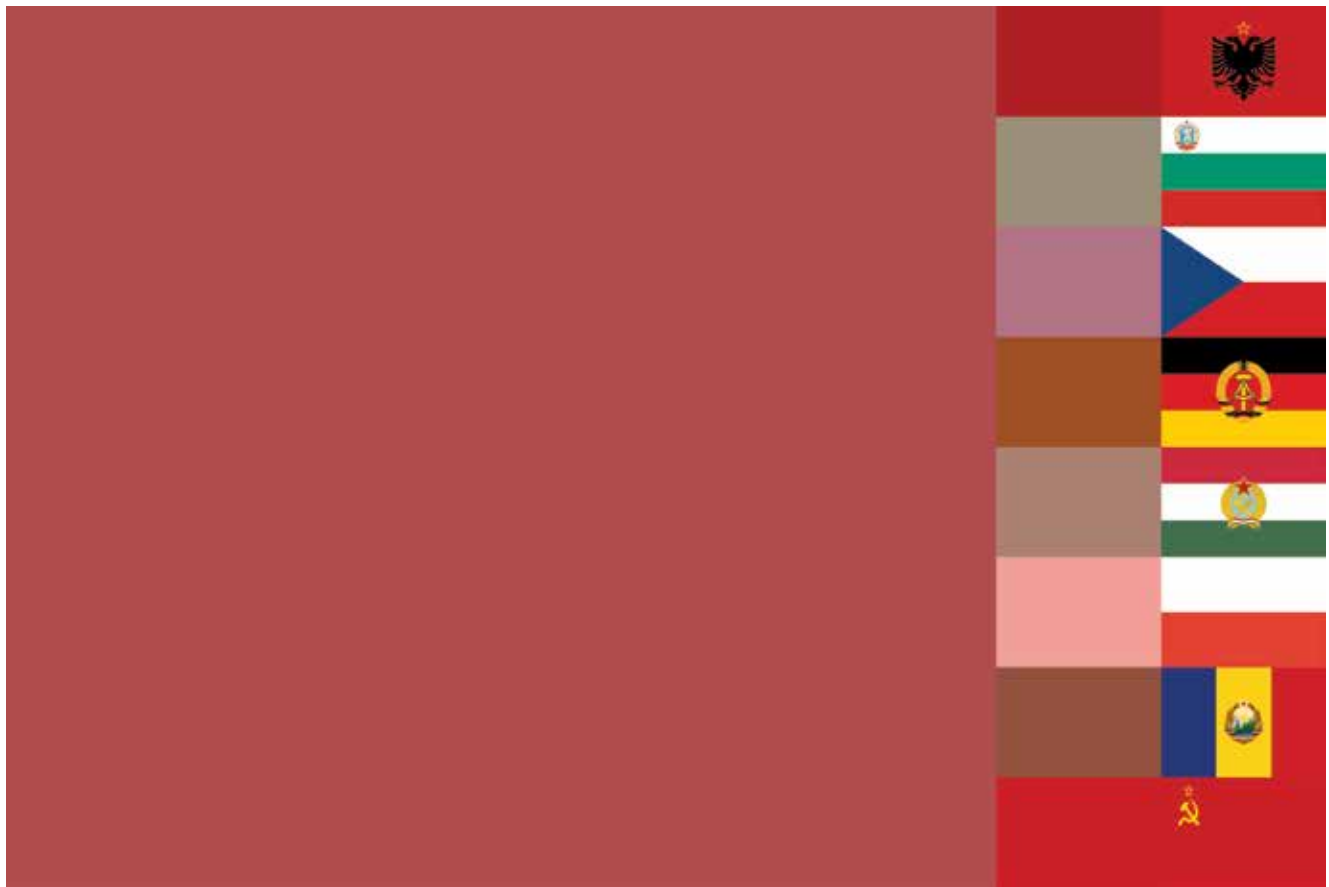
3 The commissioned text about Gorgona was never published during the exhibition or in the post-event catalogue *Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1998*. It appeared slightly adapted in Croatian in a Zagreb magazine: Nada Beroš, "Gorgona i poslije", *Čovjek i prostor*, no. 6/8, 1996. pp. 42–45.

what may have been the strongest exhibition section entitled "Confrontations, Questions, Quests".

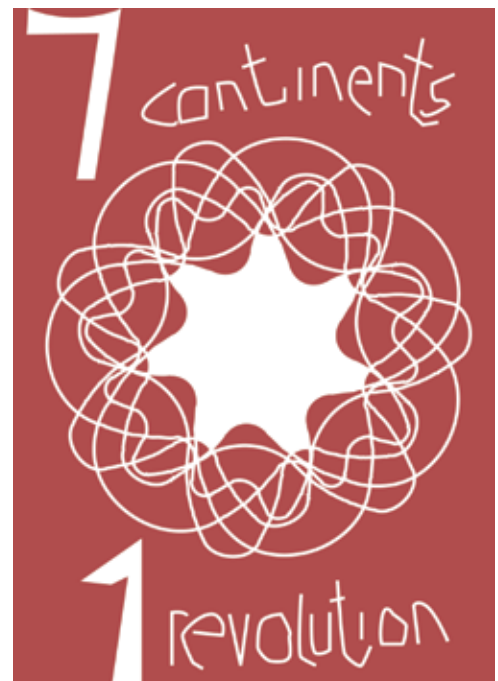
Apart from the misunderstandings, inexactness and contradictions in the exhibition organization, the "Unity in Diversity" seminar organized in conjunction with the exhibition and the informal get-togethers in Jakarta yielded many an interesting comment on and review of the Croatian artists presented there. To mention just one: an Iranian participant in the seminar imaginatively interpreted Vaništa's "enigmatic" work (put in the "Space-Land -Mankind" section) through a Wittgensteinian prism.

Who is whose Other, in what ways is the category of a *homogeneous international language of art* disintegrating, what are *regionalisms*, how are the diametrically opposed traditional-modern and local-global fading or being diluted in the post-Cold War climate? It is not always easy to reconstruct the facts of the exhibition in Jakarta 20 years later, in a time wittily referred to as Cold Peace, and much less the questions that remained hanging in the air. Regardless of the numerous exhibitions and theoretical writings produced in the meantime, many questions still remain without satisfactory answers for the many participants on different, and oftentimes opposing, sides. Just as in politics, art questions in the context of Cold Peace proliferate, while the answers to said questions are becoming more and more ambiguous and disturbing.

Nada Beroš is an art historian and critic, curator, editor, and lecturer.



Ferenc Gróf
Naive Set Theorem (of Flags, of Colors, of Continents), 2018
 part of a series; digital print on textile (flag), variable dimensions



Ferenc Gróf
Naive Set Theorem (of Flags, of Colors, of Continents), 2018
 part of a series; silkscreen poster, variable dimensions

FERENC GRÓF

The project is based on a series of flags which depict a colorimetric timeline of the second half of the 20th century. The three main geopolitical blocks of this period, the non-aligned countries, the NATO and the Warsaw Pact, are represented by the average color of their national flags. The series of flags follow the crucial dates of their formation, starting from 1955, which was the date of the Bandung conference and the formation of the Warsaw Pact. The monochromatic series follows the events of the century through the dissolution of the socialist block, to the enlargement of the NATO and the institutionalization of the NAM. In the background of this colored timeline of merging national symbols, a reactualized '68 poster is presented on a wall. Produced at the Atelier Populaire of the Fine Art Academy of Paris during May 1968, the original poster read "3 continents, 1 revolution" with a three set Venn diagram as the central motif. This simple poster printed with red ink on white paper was transformed to a seven set Venn diagram and reading "7 continents / 1 revolution" and using the mixed, smashed up colors of the flag installation, the average colors of historical moments. No flags, no countries, but revolution.



Fighters from MPLA, Angola, 1968
© Augusta Conchiglia

OLIVIER HADOUCHI

Towards an Aesthetics of Southern Uprisings

Reporters from former Yugoslavia like Zdravko Pečar and Stevan Labudović documented the Algerian War of Independence; their country was part of the Non-Aligned Movement, promoting anti-colonialism and the right to national independence, and they had links with many nations (and sometimes liberation movements) in the South (Asia, Africa and Latin America). In addition to being reporters, they had first-hand experience of the partisan struggle, as did the British historian Basil Davidson, who supported the struggles of Angola and Guinea Bissau for independence and had been stationed among the Partisans in Yugoslavia in World War II.

The Tricontinental Movement, drawing inspiration from the ideas of Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961), Amílcar Cabral, Ho Chi Minh and Ernesto Che Guevara (with his famous *Message to the Tricontinental* "create two, three... many Vietnams" published in 1967), was (or is now considered) a revolutionary constellation in the South in the period of decolonization in Asia and Africa, and of anti-imperialist struggles in Latin America. While it is generally seen as more

radical than the Non-Aligned Movement, both movements used images of partisans (*guerrilleros*, guerrilla fighters in their element and in a natural environment) and shared other elements (people in arms) in their representations of the struggles in the South. The Tricontinental Movement is now seen by artists and filmmakers as a revolution in both politics and aesthetics.

The First Tricontinental Conference was held in Havana in January 1966, where a new organization called OSPAAAL (the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America) was set up to build relations of solidarity between the countries and revolutionary movements of the three Third World continents flying the flag of internationalism. In the words of Mehdi Ben Barka, chairman of the Tricontinental preparatory commission, it sought to bring together "the two biggest contemporary movements from the World Revolution: the Socialist and the National Liberation movements."

After the First Conference, the *Tricontinental* magazine was published on a regular basis in different languages under the artistic direction of Alfredo G. Rostgaard. Each issue contained a folded poster (sometimes very colorful and powerful, an aesthetic still very influential today) and several graphic interventions; the posters were used as an agitprop tool and a symbolic weapon. Some OSPAAAL films were produced as well, such as Santiago Álvarez's or José Massip's Cuban and internationalist documentaries, establishing a kind of Tricontinental aesthetic, while Che Guevara's call for southern and internationalist struggle influenced various filmmakers all over the world (from Jean-Luc Godard to Fernando Solanas) as an open invitation to radical politics and formal invention.

The text is an abstract from Olivier Hadouchi's lecture delivered to accompany the screenings of films as part of the *Southern Constellations* exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova.



Aya Haidar

In Zaatari Camp they marry 13 year old girls and divorce them 2 months later.

part of the *Soleless* series, 2018

embroidery on shoe soles, various sizes

AYA HAIDAR

Soleless series, 2018, embroidery on shoe soles, various sizes

This current body of work from the *Soleless* series has been produced in response to a three-month artist residency program working directly on the integration of newly-arrived Syrian refugee communities into the UK.

From this experience, first-hand accounts and personal exchanges of the perilous passages ventured, stories of separation, loss and every day realities, are intimately embroidered on the underside of worn shoes.



Kiass series, 2018, embroidery on plastic bags, various sizes

Aya Haidar
Wedding Photo, Phone Charger,
 part of the *Kiass* series, 2018
 embroidery on plastic bags,
 various sizes

Aya Haidar
Nappy, Nido, Glasses,
 part of the *Kiass* series, 2018
 embroidery on plastic bags,
 various sizes

This current body of work grew from the curiosity of what people take when forced to leave their home. During a three-month residency program working to integrate Syrian refugee communities into the UK, first-hand accounts were shared and this precise question explored. With the vast majority of refugees fleeing with nothing but the clothes on their back and a plastic bag containing “essentials”, this question-notion constitutes the central theme of the work. Plastic bags are commonly used, over the otherwise more practical suitcase, for fear of drawing attention to their escape, which would be intercepted and terminated by government forces.

From sanitary pads, cigarettes, a needle and thread to falafel makers, a *Rakweh* (coffee pot) to heart medication, these salvaged items range from the sentimental to the practical, from the essentials to the desired, each carefully embroidered onto their respective owner’s plastic bag.

What I Left Behind, 2018, mixed media (cotton thread embroidered on patched fabric)

This patched quilt frames six panels, each carefully embroidered with the narratives shared by refugees about the things they most regret leaving behind in their native Syria. A generational and geographical cross section looking back at the homeland they left behind, together with those dearest to them and the valued objects they simply could not salvage and take with them. A young Layal innocently describing how she left her toys under her bed to keep them safe until she returns; Naim, who recently graduated with a degree in biochemistry, only to leave his certificate behind; Rafic the family dog who couldn't go; leaving elderly parents because they refused to leave their homeland; Huda's family photo albums spanning generations; and Mohannad's lost ID papers, which make him feel as if he has lost his identity, with nowhere to go and no way to prove where he has come from.

These personal revelations are carefully hand-embroidered onto collected items of clothing, where the fabric itself bears the weight of the journey as much as the story itself. The patched fabrics used to create the borders around each panel have been locally sourced in the UK, where this group of refugees has now been relocated.



Aya Haidar
What I Left Behind, 2018
mixed media (cotton thread
embroidered on patched fabric)



Ibro Hasanović
Spectre, 2012
HD video, 7' 30"
Video still courtesy of the artist

IBRO HASANOVIĆ

Spectre is a meditation on decay and death, on the ways memory haunts and affects the present. The film was shot on the Yugoslav Navy Yacht *Galeb*, which Josip Broz Tito used for parties, foreign visits and diplomacy. Once a glamorous symbol of Yugoslav history, the yacht now sits abandoned in a shipyard.

In her text "Impossible Encounters", Branka Benčić writes about the video:

"Ships are places of interesting histories, both known and unknown, visible and invisible, and of mysterious auras. The 'ghosts' of *Galeb*, as specters of the system, occupy the vacant social and ideological place as their referential field, while glimpses are shown of the true destiny of the ship, which is to become a commodified tourist attraction.

Optically unconscious, the camera moves through 'interior landscapes', the deserted, empty remains of a glorious history, progress, journeys, representations of modernism, enclosed spaces, spaces of fiction; evoking the tradition and

concept of the cabinet of miracles as remnants of the 'theatre of memory', exploring and reflecting different positions and manners of structuring the meaning of space, which displace and transform the common understanding, evoking different feelings, insecurities, disorientations, transience. It is as if the film slides through the representation of genres, the cinematography of the 20th century, representing the joining of culture and cinematographic structure. The psychological and symbolic qualities of its architecture, just like the interrelations of the constructed ambience, material, real and artificial space, become places for creating meaning."

Excerpted (in edited form) from: Branka Benčić, "Impossible Encounters", translated by Igor Stefanovski, http://ibrohasanovic.com/texts/Branka-Bencic_Impossible-Encounters.html. Accessed on 17 December 2018.

Ibro Hasanović

Spectre, 2012

HD video, 7' 30"

Video stills courtesy of the artist

Director: Ibro Hasanović

Image: Srdan Kovačević

Editing: Pauline Piris-Nury

Producer: Ibro Hasanović

Production coordinator: Nemanja Cvijanović

Production assistant: Romano Perić

Produced in collaboration with The SIZ Gallery and the Kamov Residency Programme, Rijeka

Supported by: The City of Rijeka - Department of Culture, Primorsko-goranska County,
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia





Ibro Hasanović in collaboration with Ahmad Adelian, Ahmad Yaman Fetyani, Abdelkadeer Itatahine, Yordanos Haile, Amin Hasan, Romat Hasan, Ahmed Shihab Hammood, Oussama Lahmaza, Masoomah Manafi, Zeinab Manafi

Circle, 2018

HD video, 4' 12"

Courtesy of Ibro Hasanović

Produced as part of the artist-in-residence program in the framework of the New Mappings of Europe project
Supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union

IBRO HASANOVIĆ in collaboration with
AHMAD ADELIAN, AHMAD YAMAN
FETYANI, ABDELKADEER ITATAHINE,
YORDANOS HAILE, AMIN HASAN, ROMAT
HASAN, AHMED SHIHAB HAMMOOD,
OUSSAMA LAHMAZA, MASOOMAH
MANAFI, ZEINAB MANAFI

Circular Storytelling

1–5 October 2018, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova,
Ljubljana

The idea of the workshop was to make a collective map of the routes, stories and memories that brought migrants to Ljubljana. But how could such a thing be possible if every person had a different story? They should probably have presented their ideas of a new life in Europe – but how could this be done if some of them believed there would no longer be any borders some time in the near future? There was also a desire for us to collaborate in some ideal way, to understand each other's ideas – but how could we do this without any previous experience of working together?

The participants of the Circular Storytelling workshop¹ were refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Algeria, and there were young women from Iran and Eritrea. Their statuses and backgrounds were very different, as were their stories. Most of them spoke English, some of them also Slovene – some had lived in Ljubljana longer than

1 The workshop was carried out as part of the artistic residence (29 September - 5 October 2018) in the framework of the New Mappings of Europe project.

others. The artist, who shared his experiences of being a refugee as a child, had the difficult task of embracing all those subjectivities and different temporalities. He had to find a method to facilitate the storytelling process. During the workshops the participants wrote down their stories and molded clay sculptures. Some of them initiated creating a glossary of Slovene-Arabic homophones with, of course, vastly different meanings, while others explored the sites of Ljubljana via video together with the artist. The process concluded with a short video entitled *Circle*, which shows a collective way of physically maintaining the narrative by passing a paper disc while talking and not letting it fall.

Maps are ideological representations of territories, and drawing maps is one of the main instruments leading powers have returned to throughout history to appropriate those territories. Collective mapping, on the other hand, stems from a deep-rooted tradition of participatory work, which aims at fostering and promoting collaborative and transformational practices.² In this sense, mapping is a narrative strategy and the result of a collaborative process. If we consider *Circle* a tool to provide a "snapshot" of the moment in which it was taken, then this video can also be called a map.

Ottó Tolnai, a poet belonging to the ethnic Hungarian minority in the former Yugoslavia, recently said that literature and art need to find new metaphors for the reality we live in, and for the new relationships we need to establish. In addition to serving as the record of the encounter, *Circle* may also be a metaphor for the perpetual process of negotiation and the commitment to keep this dialogue going.

Adela Železnik

Adela Železnik is a curator at Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.

2 Cf. Julia Risler, *Manual of collective mapping: critical cartographic resources for territorial processes of collaborative creation*, 2016.



Siniša Ilić
Without a Proposition for a Concrete Solution, 2016
installation view at Kadist Art Fondation, Paris
Photo by Aurelien Mole

SINIŠA ILIĆ

Without a Proposition for a Concrete Solution is structured as a spatial installation and a video that considers the concepts of friendship and solidarity in three chapters. I propose the context of the Non-Aligned Movement and the complex political landscapes of the second half of the 20th century as the historical prism through which to observe these topics. The starting point of the work is a hand-painted postcard from a private archive, dating back to the 1970s and written in broken Serbo-Croatian. The postcard was addressed to my father as a gesture of friendship by an Egyptian friend/colleague. Through the first chapter, this postcard and its written message bring us back to the time of non-aligned politics and the relations that the movement promoted and created. The concept of the world as the image of a political map, often used in the politics of representation in the Non-Aligned Movement, is established and deconstructed before the viewer throughout the entire work. The second chapter consists of conversation notes with a friend. The conversation is not heard but is present in the form of textual *tableaux* that enter the film's structure, and in its contents we can find toponyms such as Amsterdam and Sweden, topics like class and immigration, as well as the organization of life under capitalism. This conversation, located in an

apartment somewhere in Western Europe, reconstructs the potentials of freedom in the past, at the same time considering a society balanced on the thin line between community (the common) and situations of control and micro-violence. The last chapter of the video is a metaphorical and alienated image of the mechanical mass production of images, representing conflicts and pressures as social matrices in whose cracks we might find the space for encounter. The spatial installation shapes the way we observe the video and other elements in the space. This unbalanced ambience of questionable functionality simulates a fictionalized historical cabinet and museum at the same time. It is a space in which the ideas and narratives of the work are unstable, where they open up for interpretation, looking for delicate connections and relations that open spaces up for shared time, knowledge and emotions.

Siniša Ilić

Without a Proposition for a Concrete Solution, 2016

video and space installation

video 25'

Film stills courtesy of the artist

Camera: Jelena Maksimović and Lara Kostić

Editing and sound: Jelena Maksimović

Lithographs by Siniša Ilić

Print making: Dragan Coha

The postcard used in the video is from a private archive.

The text is part of a conversation with Maša Kostić.





Naeem Mohaiemen

Two Meetings and a Funeral, 2017

installation view at Landesmuseum, Kassel, documenta 14

Photo courtesy of the artist

NAEEM MOHAIEMEN

"The Third World was not a place, but a project." (Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, 2007). This was to be a utopian alliance where the Global South would reconfigure planetary leadership, ending Euro-American dominance. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) attempted to navigate a "third way," but parallel participation in the Petrodollar-driven "Islamic bloc" by some member countries shredded fragile coalitions. *Two Meetings and a Funeral* explores a "pivot" moment between the 1973 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) meeting in Algeria and the 1974 Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) meeting in Pakistan. The unraveling of old alliances began from a barely discernible pivot between these two groups, one that would take on world significance after the OPEC oil crisis, the Iranian revolution, and the invasion of Afghanistan.

Traveling through the residues of transnational architecture (Niemeyer, Moretti, Le Corbusier) in New York, Algiers, and Dhaka, the film considers the erosion of the idea of the Third World

as a potential space for decolonization, and an always imperfect understanding of Socialism. Conversations between Vijay Prashad, Samia Zennadi, Atef Berredjem, Amirul Islam, and Zonayed Saki look at the contradictions of decolonization movements that never remembered to liberate their own leadership.

Two Meetings and a Funeral, 2017

88', three channels

Courtesy of the artist and Experimenter (India)

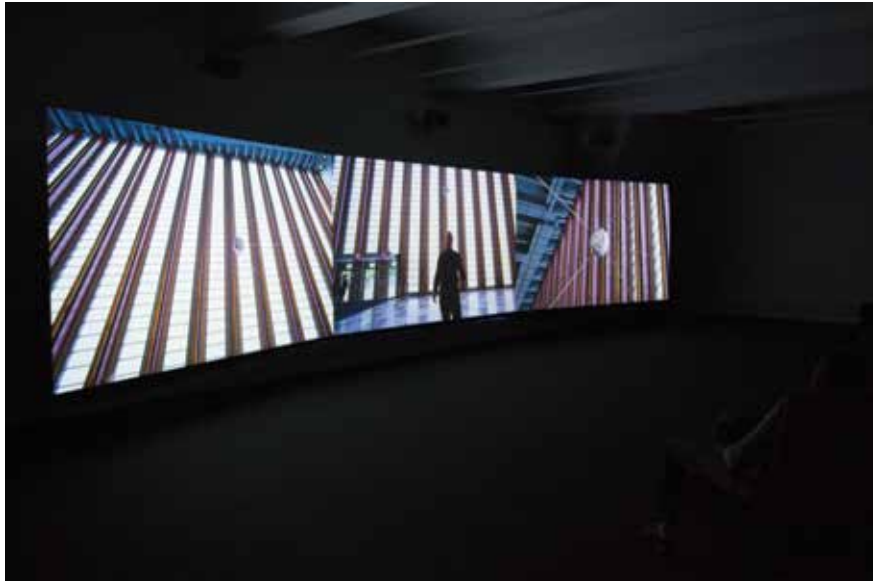
Two Meetings and a Funeral premiered at the 2017 edition of documenta 14 (Kassel), and has since been exhibited in *Solidarity Must be Defended* (Mahmoud Darwish Museum, Ramallah), *Propositions for Pan-Peripheral Network* (Metal Workers' Union, Budapest), *Na ledima palih divova* (Labin Industrial Biennial, Croatia), etc.

Commissioned by: documenta 14 (Germany)

Co-commissioned by: Sharjah Art Foundation (UAE) and Ford Foundation/Just Films (USA)

Supported by: Bengal Foundation (Bangladesh); Tensta Konstshall (Sweden); Arts Council (UK)

Additional support by: Tate Films (UK)



Naeem Mohaiemen

Two Meetings and a Funeral, 2017

installation view at Landesmuseum, Kassel, documenta 14

Photo courtesy of the artist



The permanent display of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection, 1977

Photographed by Branko Kosić

Photo courtesy of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar Collection, Belgrade (MAA)

THE MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART – THE VEDA AND DR. ZDRAVKO PEČAR COLLECTION

Ana Sladojević, Emilia Epštajn

Museum Values Reconsidered¹

Even though the establishment of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar Collection (MAA) may seem as the logical outcome of the times in which the Non-Aligned Movement figured as the basis for the conceptualization of the world among Yugoslavs, in reality the MAA's coming into life was the result of specific, primarily two circumstances: the personal efforts of its founders invested in creating a collection of African arts and the specific moment in 1977 when the Assembly of the City of Belgrade gave form to the project by building an actual architectural space to house the collection. Belgrade received the gift of a museum affording it legitimacy in more ways than one – on the level of status, politics and ideology. Nevertheless, the MAA represented an idiosyncrasy on the cultural map of Serbia and former Yugoslavia – something that becomes even more apparent from the present vantage point of reconsidering

1 *Museum Values Reconsidered – The Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection* on view at the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana (2019) draws to an extent from research and materials selected for the purposes of the exhibition *Nyimpa kor Ndzidzi – One Man, No Chop. (Re)conceptualization of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection* (23 May 2017 – 28 February 2018, MAA). It has however been re-tailored (expanded, and in certain segments redacted) as an active response to circumstantial requirements of museum space, geo-political location and the *Southern Constellations: the Poetics of the Non-Aligned* project's framework in general.

this institution. Also, this leads to a seemingly more relevant question to be posed in the present moment: What makes this Museum relevant today? Through the analysis of museum politics and discourses we are able to observe that, even though the predominant discourse of the time of establishment was anticolonial, the methodologies and procedures were almost completely adopted from similar institutions in the West. It comes as no surprise if we bear in mind that, unlike numerous collections of African art worldwide, the cultural tendencies that produced the MAA in Belgrade were not rooted in prior practices, and therefore had no significant continuity upon which to be based. Neither were they the result of a broader theoretical framework in the general field of the study of (African) art locally. Their common denominator was a certain disparity with regard to the place and time of their origination (Yugoslavia), both geographically and culturally. Despite Western methodologies and procedures, the ideas of the times: anticolonialism, equality among peoples and solidarity with liberation-movements' struggle – nominally present in the public discourse of the times – are today interiorized, i.e. inscribed into this institution through processes of memory and remembrance. Therefore, the rhetoric that aimed to portray the MAA as anticolonial, determines it today as a place of remembrance of a certain historical period: the 1960s and 1970s, and the ideology of non-alignment, affording it importance which we are able to recognize only through the process of reconsidering this institution's different layers of meaning.

Emilia Epštajn, is a curator at the Museum of African Art in Belgrade.

Ana Sladojević is an art theorist and freelance curator.



Frantz Fanon, Omar Oussedik and Dr. Zdravko Pečar in Frantz Fannon's apartment in Tunis upon meeting Holden Roberto in 1959/1960
 Photo courtesy of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar Collection, Belgrade (MAA)



Front entrance of the Museum of African Art - the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection, 1977
 Photographed by Branko Kosić
 Photo courtesy of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and dr Zdravko Pečar Collection, Belgrade (MAA)



Abstract figure placed in the Belgrade neighborhood of Dedinje, representing the three principles of non-alignment: peace, equality and international co-operation, September 1961
Photo courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade

THE MUSEUM OF YUGOSLAVIA

Jovana Nedeljković

Formulating New International Relationships – the 1961 Belgrade Conference

The moment the First Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement was being held, the Cold War had come to a head. The events unfolding during the year anticipated the intensification of the Moscow–Washington hostilities. The nuclear arms race ascended into the space race, as in 1961 the USSR sent the first man out into the Earth's orbit, while Kennedy announced the launch of the Apollo program that would send a man to the moon by the end of the decade. The crisis in Congo culminated in the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. The American-aided invasion of Cuba resulted in failure, as did the summit in Vienna where Kennedy and Khrushchev tried to reach an agreement that would enable them to resolve certain hot, key issues between the two superpowers. Finally, only a few weeks before the Belgrade Conference, the wall started to go up in Berlin, one that would soon grow to symbolize the Cold War.

It was in this atmosphere that Josip Broz Tito opened the conference with the following words: "The responsibility for the future of humankind cannot be in the hands of a minority of states, no matter how big or powerful they are." The sheer diversity of delegations, headed by monarchs, archbishops, leaders from the Muslim and the Arab world, socialist countries, as well as those opposed to communism demonstrated that there was a chance for peaceful co-existence between states with different systems, ideologies, religions and nationalities. The conference in Belgrade asserted, amongst other things,

the right of all nations to self-determination, unity and independence; further, it championed independence and the right to freely pursue economic, political, social and cultural development. More than a mere demonstrative gesture designed to show that there was an alternative to the bipolar division of the world, the Belgrade Conference also represented a pragmatic decision on the part of those states on the margins to take an active part in global politics and challenge the hegemony of the superpowers.

The photographs of the Conference, including official sessions, encounters, receptions, and the general atmosphere in the city are part of the presidential photo archive of Yugoslavia's long-time president Josip Broz Tito, which is preserved in the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. This vast archive includes more than 135,000 photographs covering both the public and private life of Tito, from 1948 until his death in 1980. Considering the role of socialist Yugoslavia in the Non-Aligned Movement, as both one of the founders and one of the most active members, the resulting global exposure the country enjoyed, and the fact that foreign policy held such great interest for Tito personally, the material represents more than a mere "statesman's archive" – it provides considerable insight into numerous significant events and phenomena of the Cold War era. When navigating through this abundance of material one comes to realize that more than one-third of it is related to the many various encounters of the Yugoslav president and the so-called Third World, which makes it a rich resource in any larger consideration of the movement and the principles and policies NAM worked to develop. And the pivotal turning point that produced the ideas challenging the antagonism of the Cold War was the 1961 Belgrade Conference.

Jovana Nedeljković, historian and curator at the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade

museo de la solidaridad
mario pedrosa
los conquistadores 2387
santiago Chile.

R

INHIBODRESS ARCHIVE
mike parr
itinerant address:
mike parr C/-
klaus groh
D-2900 oldenburg
ofenerstrasse 39/EDR
West Germany

dear mario,

i have received a letter from harald szeemann suggesting that i collaborate with you in your project to start a museum of solidarity. i would be very pleased to do this.

along with another artist; peter kennedy, i run an archive project called INHIBODRESS. Normally, we are based in sydney/australia, however, for 1973, we are wandering the world, meeting artists, performing works and collecting material. Early in 1974, we plan to return to sydney and reconstitute INHIBODRESS as a public archive as an information/action centre for radical political/social art action.

rather than subscribe to the museum of solidarity with an object, we would prefer a continuous collaboration. I suggest that as soon as INHIBODRESS is reconstituted, we could begin sending 'images' of our activity on a regular basis. We would also ask your organisation to offer criticism of our activity, so that a dialogue could be initiated.

please write C/- of klaus groh concerning this plan of action . . . i would very much like to know what you think as i am meeting very many artists this year and it should be possible to send you material of a limited nature very shortly.

for the moment i send you 'a statement of fact' -
'I WILL BE TALKING TO ARTISTS ABOUT POLITICS DURING 1973.' -
this statement of fact can be displayed prominently by our museum of solidarity.

i hope to hear from you at your convenience, best wishes for a very good project,

my very kindest regards,

Mike Parr
mike parr/INHIBODRESS (5/3/1973)
presently Badgastein/Austria.

Mike Parr

Mike Parr's letter to Mário Pedrosa, 1973

typescript

Archives of the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende, Inv. No. 50225

MUSEUM OF SOLIDARITY SALVADOR ALLENDE

Daniela Berger, Federico Brega, María Victoria Martínez

No Containment. MSSA, the Museum as Spore

No Containment. MSSA, the Museum as Spore is an exercise in interpretation of the historical phenomenon of the Museo de la Solidaridad (Museum of Solidarity, MS, 1971–1973) in Santiago de Chile. MS was born as an art museum “for the people of Chile”; a collection created with donations of artists from around the world that supported Salvador Allende’s socialist project of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity).

No Containment ironically summons the Truman Doctrine motto, which defined the United States’ foreign policy of containment and confrontation of communist and pro-Soviet ideologies in the context of the Cold War, thus presenting the Museo de la Solidaridad as an “anti-containment” agent: a museum without its own specific building, based on internationalist political ideas. A museum which, made of affective and solidary networks, is open to any kind of visual expression, as the founding principle of its collection is elective affinity instead of any given aesthetic premise.

It is within the realm of *the open, the porous and the non-local* that the analogy between museum and spore allows us to read the dissemination and reactivation of the MS. Rebuilt abroad after the 1973 Chilean coup d’état under the name of Museo Internacional de la Resistencia Salvador Allende (MIRSA, 1975–1990), the museum was rearticulated upon its return to Chile in the 1990s as the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende (MSSA 1991–present).

Under this sign, the museum emerges as will, as manifestation of a utopia and multiple wishes. Regardless of its name, its location or the exact number of its parts, just as the spore, it is capable of staying inert and traveling lightly, resurging every time a fertile environment for solidarity exists.

Within the historical archives of the MS, we look at a triad of documents from 1973, through which we notice three modes of operation: the museum as discourse, the museum as an always-unfinished project, and finally, the museum as pure performativity.

First, a letter from Australian artist Mike Parr, in which he states the realization of a performative artwork that becomes such when uttered – a phrase whose meaning is fulfilled by being enunciated, and not just on paper.

Following, a memorandum from the British Council gives an account about cultural collaboration, briefly describing an artwork project by British artist Graham Stephens, who wanted to install floating structures in the Atacama Desert in the north of Chile. Its execution is presumed to have been interrupted by the coup, therefore staying in a perpetual state of project.

Finally, a handwritten draft by Mário Pedrosa, Brazilian art critic and first director of MS, which is at once a history of the museum, a founding political manifesto and a museological profile. In other words, it is a document with juxtaposed temporalities: it is a chronicle of origin, a protocol, and a diatribe about the meaning of MSSA. In it, an historical-affective appraisal of the museum and its nature is proposed, pointing out both technical and conceptual indications for the reorganization of the museum in exile. MSSA is here proposed as a way of thinking rather than a specific building, a specific collection or a specific set of institutional norms.

Notions of *hope* and *rupture* remain at the base of the three revisited cases, which have in common personal and institutional desires that were left interrupted by the violence of the coup d'état. Brought out from the archive and reconfigured through visibility, the cases adopt the form of invocations of an unfinished past and the possibility of a future that did not take place in history.

We emphasize the basis of the museum project Museo de la Solidaridad as an effort of multiplicity between its components, these being the artworks, the archives or the persons. Its prevalence until today has been possible because it has adopted various configurations, changing its parts, detouring its projects, relocalizing its objects – always destitute of material unity though consistent in its ideological and sentimental core. The museum's resilience overflows linear time; from a long state of latency, it has the ability to come out today in new and unsuspected forms, in a speculative present and an unforeseen future.

Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende, 2018

Daniela Berger Prado, curator and exhibition program coordinator at the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende

Federico Brega Baytelman, archivist at the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende Maria

Victoria Martínez Fadic, exhibition producer at the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende

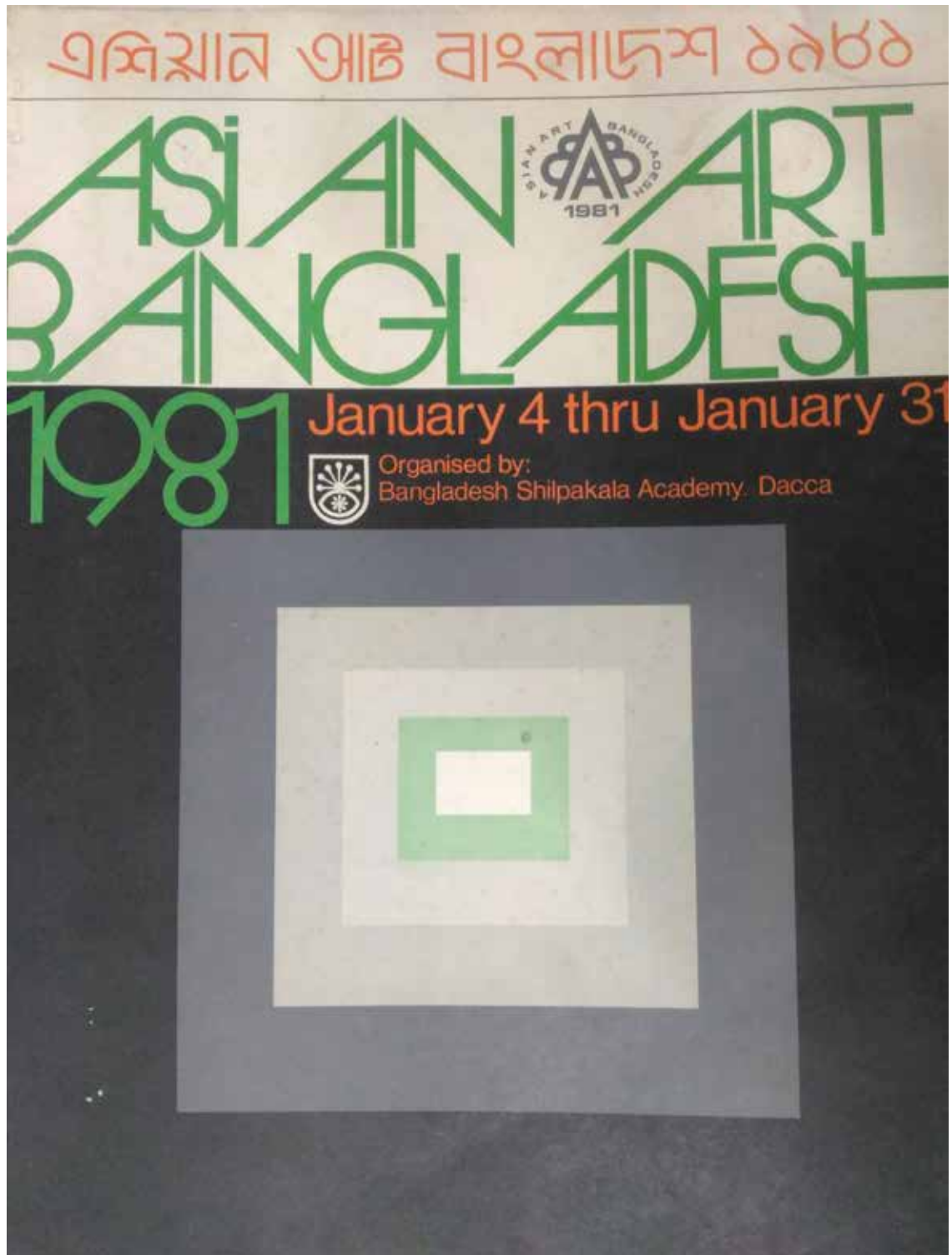


Mário Pedrosa

History of the Museum of Solidarity, c. 1975

manuscript

Archives of the Museo de la Solidaridad Salvador Allende, Inv. No. 50005



Cover of the catalogue of the 1st Asian Art Biennale, organized in Bangladesh in 1981
Courtesy of the Samdani Art Foundation

Realigning the Asian Art Biennale

Abhijan Toto with Ho Rui An, Chimurenga, and From Bandung to Berlin

Following the catastrophic Liberation War in 1971, when the young new nation of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) gained independence from Pakistan, there was an urgent need to create new institutions that would support and shape its cultural landscape. A generation of Bangladeshi intellectuals had been decimated by the bloody conflict, which hinged on asserting its linguistic identity over a religious one. The decades following independence saw ongoing political turmoil, with democratic civilian governments alternating with periods of military rule, exacerbated by the United States' support of Pakistan during the Liberation War, and by almost predatory lending by the World Bank. In 1974, the same year that the United States denied financial support to then-President Mujibur, the Bangladesh Shilpakala Academy was formed by an Act of Parliament, taking over the activities of the East Pakistan Arts Council.

Syed Jahangir (b. 1932) took over the directorship of the Shilpakala Academy in 1977. Himself a painter, he pushed the Academy to expand its role to include the visual arts, and organized many significant exhibitions of Bangladeshi art abroad, with the first one taking place in Dresden in 1978. Although a member-state of the Non-Aligned Movement since 1973, Bangladesh's cultural policy, particularly in the context of the activities of the Shilpakala Academy, sought to maintain relations with both Eastern and Western power blocs. From the start, the Asian Art Biennale, founded in 1981 at the initiative of Jahangir, worked to negotiate with these questions. The central positioning of "Asia" in the remit of the Biennale (which has since grown to include artists from beyond the continent) has

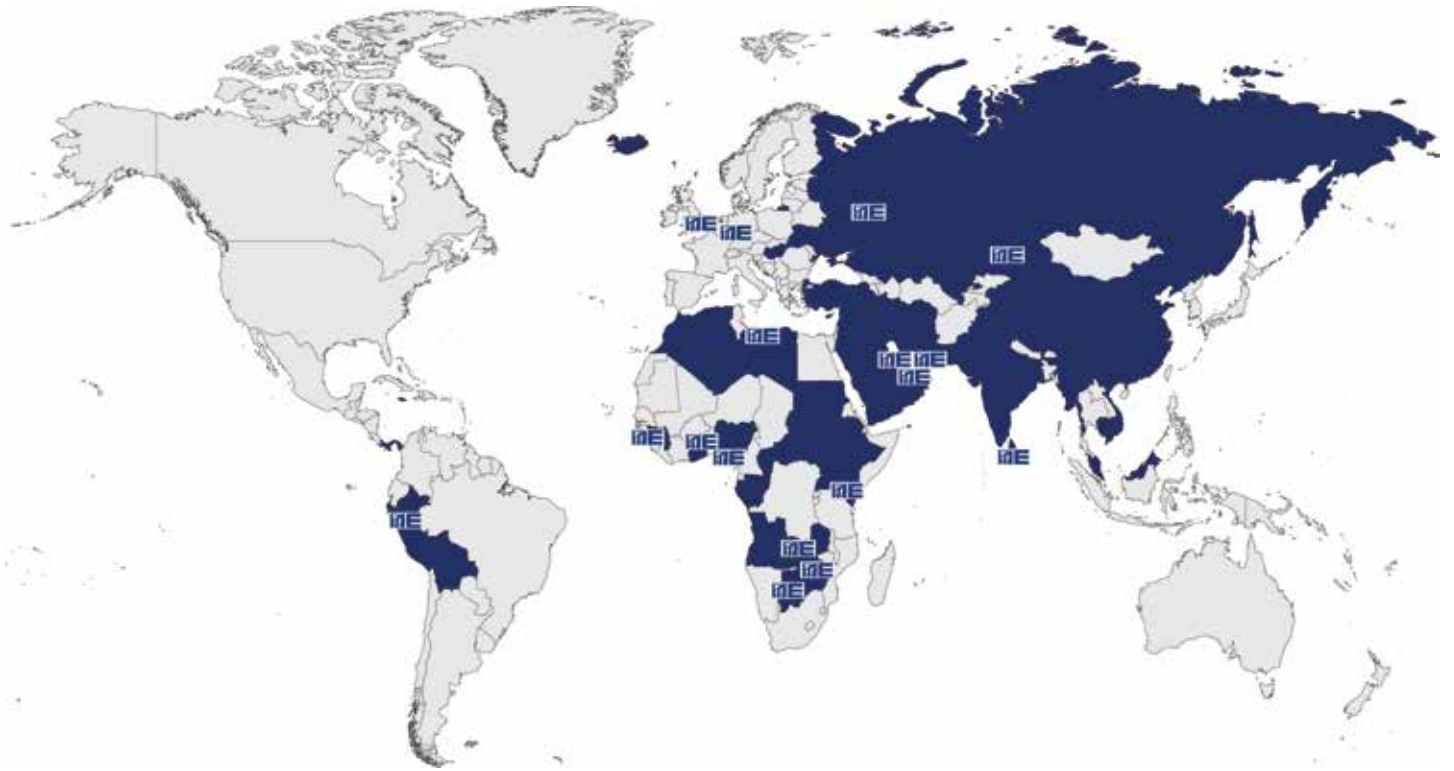
two entangled genealogies: the ideas of Bengali poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, and Jahangir's own involvement with the Asian Art Show (which later became the Asian Art Triennale at the Fukuoka Asian Art Museum). Proposing a de-colonial aesthetic education, Tagore wrote early in the 20th century of the need to advocate for an "Eastern" sensibility, in opposition to the "Western" colonial model, and this became the founding principle for Viswa Bharati University in Santiniketan. Tagore was heavily influenced by the Japanese curator and writer Kazuo Okakura, and thus a modernity "oriented Eastwards", with Japan occupying a central place, was an integral part of the Bengali intellectual imagination.

Syed Jahangir came to be involved with the Contemporary Asian Artists Exhibition-Festival: Asian Art Show in Fukuoka in 1980, when he was invited to consult on the selection of Bangladeshi artists to be included. It was here that he came to conceive of the Asian Art Biennale, and, most significantly, came into contact with artist-curators such as Mochtar Apin of Indonesia, Raymundo Albano of the Philippines and Redza Piyadasa of Malaysia. It is through the establishment of these networks of solidarity that the first editions of the Asian Art Biennale emerged, outside the usual diplomatic channels.

The Asian Art Biennale thus exists both within and outside a history of non-aligned exhibition making, navigating and negotiating contingencies to invent an alternative model of internationalism for itself.

This text is based on the research of the curatorial team of the Dhaka Art Summit, which was presented as part of the exhibition *The Asian Art Biennale in Context* at the 2018 edition of DAS.

Abhijan Toto, an independent curator and writer, interested in ecosophy, interdisciplinary research, labor and finance, runs the nomadic platform The Forest Curriculum with Pujita Guha



Dubravka Sekulić

Energoprojekt – the countries in which it had projects and offices between 1951 and 1989

Image courtesy of the artist

DUBRAVKA SEKULIĆ

The Sun Never Sets on Energoprojekt (Until it Does)

Energoprojekt was a construction company from Belgrade that worked extensively in the non-aligned countries in the time of Yugoslavia, designing and building infrastructure (hydropower plants, irrigation systems, and electricity networks) and buildings (mostly conference halls, office buildings, hotels, etc.). In the 1980s, the company's promotional materials started using the slogan "The Sun Never Sets on Energoprojekt" to show that they worked on projects all over the world. Energoprojekt did come quite close to having projects on every continent, working in over 50 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, and the use of this phrase, borrowed from the description of the colonial British Empire at its peak, reveals just how much the construction company had grown from its founding in 1951, the same year that Libya declared independence from Italy, becoming one of the first countries to decolonize and turn to Yugoslavia (and Energoprojekt) as its ally in the project of modernizing the

country. Through archival, mostly promotional materials produced by Energoprojekt, *The Sun Never Sets on Energoprojekt (Until It Does)* reassembles the history of the company's engagement with the non-aligned countries and the gradual transition from a project of international (socialist) solidarity to a project of constructing a (capitalist) corporate identity.



International Trade Fair in Lagos, Nigeria, entrance, 1977
Photo courtesy of Zoran and Ljiljana Bojović



Semsar Siahaan

Tanjung Priok, 1992

oil on canvas, 155 x 291 cm

Courtesy: H.E. Mme Sri Astari Rasjid

SEMSAR SIAHAAN

For about thirty years and a little more, Semsar Siahaan produced drawings and paintings, staged performances and initiated provocations. In doing so he created stark, compelling and at times complicated representations conveying human beings as existentially combative and conflicting, deplete and broken, bestial and imperiled by overpowering circumstances or situations devised and enforced by other human beings.

Semsar speaks and writes forcefully, demanding that artists affiliate their lives and commitment publicly with people who are dispossessed and oppressed, and insisting that their art represent the plight of such people, although not conforming to a doctrine or ideology. He envisaged art as signifying humanity's liberation and in this vein as touching all humankind. Even as the content of art is particular it may also appeal to a kind of transcendent or universal humanism.

(...) All that I have described are claimed, propagated and demonstrated, lived, at a time when public life in Indonesia was vigilantly watched-over, prescribed, by a political-military regime (*The New Order* with Soeharto at the helm) that installed itself violently, and prized order and stability, uniformly and unquestioningly, as necessary attributes for advancing national economic development, in the 1970s and 1980s. Transgressors were dealt with severely, unflinchingly. Many were incarcerated; numerous lives were broken and terminated, and there were those who disappeared without a trace. The fail of this regime was also accompanied by bloodshed and violence. Semsar was brutally beaten by the state security forces and permanently maimed. Even then he did not withdraw from the world; he never ceased producing art.

T. K. Sabapathy

From the catalogue: "*Semsar Siahaan. Art, liberation*". *An Exhibition of works from 1977-2004*. Gajah Gallery, Singapore, 2017. An excerpt from the Introduction.



6th International Exhibition of Graphic Arts, Moderna galerija Ljubljana, 1965
Flags of the participating countries in front of the museum
Photo: Moderna galerija Photo Archive

Third World:¹ Prints from the Non-Aligned Countries at the International Biennial Exhibitions of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana between 1961 and 1991

Bojana Piškur, Teja Merhar

In 1954, the Director of Moderna galerija Ljubljana Zoran Kržišnik put forward plans for organizing international exhibitions of graphic prints in Ljubljana. He formed a committee for the first international exhibition,² which drew up the guidelines for the biennial exhibitions to follow.³ The purpose of founding a biennial was to pave the way for establishing contacts worldwide, introduce abstraction into Yugoslav art, and prove that "art can be an instrument of liberalization." The idea was to invite artists from all of the countries with which Yugoslavia had cultural or political relations. The Ljubljana biennial of graphic arts was to be a practical example of Yugoslavia's cultural diplomacy and the cultural policies of the Non-Aligned Movement,

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- 1 Here, the Third World includes countries with a colonial past, countries that were members of the Non-Aligned Movement, or countries described as economically underdeveloped countries of the periphery by the West, "countries-in-waiting". According to Dipesh Chakrabarty, "[h]istoricism – and even the modern, European idea of history – one might say, came to non-European peoples in the 19th Century as somebody's way of saying 'not yet' to somebody else." Dipesh Chakrabarty: *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 8.
 - 2 In 1957, when the second exhibition was organized, the committee was called the Secretariat for the Organization of International Exhibitions of Graphic Arts.
 - 3 The event initially changed names, and was first officially called the Biennial of Graphic Arts in 1973.

which Yugoslavia followed parallel to balancing its position between the Western and Eastern power blocs.

The Ljubljana Biennial's approach to acquiring works for the exhibitions was twofold: on the one hand the Biennial jury made their own selections to get the best representatives of e.g. the School of Paris, while on the other some countries were offered direct invitations to present whatever they wanted, without any interference in their selections. As a result, the biennial exhibited "basically everything, the whole world," especially after the first conference of non-aligned countries in 1961. The selection process involved competent juries, which largely consisted of curators and critics from the West, such as Pierre Restany, Harald Szeemann, Riva Castellmann, William Lieberman, but also Ryszard Stanisławski from Lodz and Jorge Romero Brest (in 1963) and Jorge Glusberg (in 1985) from Buenos Aires.

The connections between Ljubljana and foreign centers of art and printmaking (São Paulo, Lugano, Zurich, Tokyo) as well as representatives of the School of Paris were lively ones. The Biennial had oriented itself toward the West from the outset, with the Western art canon predominating in all of the exhibitions (abstraction, art informel, abstract expressionism, op art, pop art, new abstraction, new figuration, expressive figurative art, minimalism). Artists from the Third World countries were included in the exhibitions more as a consequence of Yugoslavia's foreign policies than any in-depth studies of other forms of expression and approaches in printmaking and art in general.

An "expansion" of the proportion of artists from African, Asian, and Latin American countries occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Prints from such countries arrived in Ljubljana via their embassies and cultural attachés. Over time, a network of artists and selectors evolved, allowing for direct contacts (e.g. Jorge Glusberg became the selector for Argentina). The records of the Yugoslav Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries⁴ reveal

4 Renamed the Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in the 1970s.

that numerous conventions on culture and cultural collaboration programs were ratified by Yugoslavia and non-aligned countries. Among other things, the programs⁵ detailed in which art events artists from certain countries would participate.

The Ljubljana Biennial laureates tended to be artists from Western countries (Victor Vasarely, Joan Miró, Robert Rauschenberg, Hans Hartung), while artists from the Third World countries were often “only” awarded purchase awards (Augusto Rendon Sierra, Columbia, 1967; Nimsamer Chalood, Thailand, 1963; Enrique Zanartu, Chile, 1961; Monirul Islam, Bangladesh, 1977; Uzo Egonu, Nigeria, 1979, and others).

The concept of the exhibition layout in Moderna galerija was simple: the prints were grouped by country or some other common denominator (e.g. the School of Paris) or as presentations of individual artists (Anotni Tàpies, Eduardo Chillida, Ron Kitaj, Sol Lewitt, Robert Rauschenberg). Interestingly, Third World prints were virtually always hung in the basement, in less prestigious exhibition rooms; the only exception to this was Brazil, which enjoyed a special status at the Biennial.⁶ The reason for such a layout is not hard to guess: as mentioned above, the biennial was oriented toward the West and followed the Western art canons. The production in the Third World countries did not conform to these canons, and was consequently often given lower status and regarded as naïve or ethnographic. To a large extent, this was a sign of the times; back then it seemed logical and unproblematic that a certain cultural space (namely, the Western one) should feel entitled to judge all other cultures by its own measure, according to the Western rules and standards of artistic production and work, and

5 The Moderna galerija Archives: “Izvršni program prosvetne i kulturne saradnje između SFR Jugoslavije i Arapske republike Egipat za 1977., 1978. i 1979. godinu, Beograd, maj 1977.g.”: The cultural exchange program between Yugoslavia and Egypt for 1977–1979 stipulated that the Yugoslav partners would invite artists from Egypt to the International Biennial of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana, while the Egyptian partners would invite Yugoslav artists to the Alexandria Biennial.

6 Likely due to frequent contacts and Yugoslavia’s (or Moderna galerija’s) participation in the São Paulo Biennial.

view all other cultures as primitive, pre-modern, traditional, and underdeveloped.⁷

While Yugoslav political manifestos of the time espoused the grand ideas of anti-colonialism, decolonialism, and the struggle against cultural imperialism, the practice tended to be different. It took quite some time before Third World art (or non-Western art) was discussed in terms of cultural and intellectual decolonization, cosmopolitanism, internationalism, parallel (local) histories, and other kinds of modernity in the sphere of art and culture. But although enamored of Western ideals and following its pragmatic political agenda, the Ljubljana Biennial of Graphic Arts was nonetheless globally one of the first non-bloc art events at the time of the Cold War divisions, putting forward a model for a peaceful coexistence of the first, second and third worlds – if only in art and culture.

Bojana Piškur is a curator at Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.

Teja Merhar is a curator in the Archives Department at Moderna galerija in Ljubljana.

7 See: Enrique Dussel: “Transmodernity and Interculturality: An Interpretation from the Perspective of Philosophy of Liberation”, *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, 2012, at: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6591j76r>, p. 39. Accessed on 10 December 2018.



12th International Biennial of Graphic Arts, Moderna galerija Ljubljana, 1977
View of the installation of prints from the non-aligned countries in one of the basement rooms
Photo: Moderna galerija Photo Archive



Stevan Labudović, President Tito's cameraman, on a mission filming the FLN during the Algerian war
Photo courtesy of the artist

MILA TURAJLIĆ

Liberation Newsreels vol. 1 - Dnevnih napada nema!

When Yugoslavia became the first European country to openly support the FLN at the height of the Algerian struggle for independence, one of the more curious requests from the Algerian leadership was for films about the Yugoslav Partisan struggle during WWII from which they could study guerrilla tactics. This work traces how film went from being the subject to the medium of collaboration, seeking to expand the understanding of cinematic narratives of the decolonialization wave that swept the world in the 1960s. By decoding the construction of the filmic narratives of political movements, the *Liberation Newsreels vol. 1* de-emphasizes the indexical value of such visual archives, while seeking in its place to expand the understanding of the network of empathy that they testify to.

Seeking to expand the existing research in the newsreel genre, this project focuses on the filmed material and personal field notes of Stevan Labudović, the cameraman of the Yugoslav Newsreels who was sent by President Tito to film with the FLN, thus himself becoming an embodiment of the fraternity between Yugoslavia and the liberation forces. But while his work represents an unexamined expression of political engagement, the confessional insight into his methods reveals him as an agent of a new kind of diplomacy. The emphasizing of the construction of the images sheds light on the political networks from which it sprung, raising vexing questions of testimony and propaganda. Emerging from this work is a fresh perspective on the evolving relationship between film and politics, and of the power of images as the raw material of memory, one that is continually re-activated in the present.



Katarina Zdjelar

My Lifetime (Malaika), 2012

video

installation views at Salzburger Kunstverein

Photo: Andrew Phelps

KATARINA ZDJELAR

My Lifetime (Malaika) (2012) features Ghana's National Symphony Orchestra recorded in the National Theater in Accra. The musicians play "Malaika", originally a cheerful and empowering postcolonial composition that was famously performed by musical celebrities like Miriam Makeba, Harry Belafonte, Boney M. and many others. The orchestra was funded in the late 1950s when Ghana, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, had become independent from the United Kingdom. Nkrumah's government introduced new cultural structures in order to establish and enforce national consciousness and accomplish the shift from colonial rule to independence. In his text "Sounding the Social", David Markus writes about this work: "Throughout the work, Zdjelar's camera remains concentrated on the scored sound boards and corroded brass instruments of a clearly underfinanced ensemble as well as on the languid gestures of the players, which bespeak a general fatigue precipitated by their ordinary lives as day laborers. This atmosphere of weariness is reflected in the music itself, which ambles along, not quite on tempo, not quite in key. Introduced into Ghana by the British, European orchestral music sits uneasily within the country's rich musical traditions."¹

1 David Markus, "Sounding the Social", *Art in America*, September 2013, pp. 111, 113. Available at: <https://www.artinamericamagazine.com/news-features/magazines/sounding-the-social/>, accessed on 17 February 2019.

Artists' Biographies

Dan Acostioaei lives and works in Iași, Romania. He is a visual artist and teaches at the George Enescu University of Arts. He is a founding member of the Vector Association. His works focus on the identity models of the Romanian society in transition, as well as on the ideological borders between the economy and the conditions of artistic production in Eastern Europe. His projects have been shown at exhibitions such as *One Sixth of the Earth – Ecologies of Image*, MUSAC, Leon, Spain (2012), *Transitland: Videoart in Central and Eastern Europe 1989–2009*, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid, Spain (2010), *Illuminations*, Level 2 Gallery, Tate Modern, London, United Kingdom (2007), *In Times of Hope and Unrest*, MNAC, Bucharest, Romania (2015), and *Art Encounters*, Timișoara și Arad, 2017.

Sven Augustijnen (1970) lives and works in Brussels. His films, publications and installations on political, historical and social themes constantly challenge the genre of the documentary, reflecting a wider interest in historiography and a predilection for the nature of storytelling: "Historiography is by no means a natural phenomenon. The way we use stories, images and fiction to construct reality and history fascinates me." He has had solo shows at Wiels, Center for Contemporary Art, Brussels; de Appel arts center, Amsterdam; Malmö Konsthall; Vox, Centre pour l'Image contemporaine, Montréal; CCS Bard, Annandale-on-Hudson. Recent group shows include *The Unfinished Conversation*, The Power Plant, Toronto, *Gestures and archives of the present, genealogies of the future*, Biennale Taipei, and *Living Together*, Kunsthall Vienna. Sven Augustijnen is represented by Jan Mot, Brussels and is a founding member of Auguste Orts, Brussels.

Babi Badalov (1959, Lerik, Azerbaijan) lives and works in Paris. Babi Badalov's practice consists in a constant exploration of the limits of language. He is particularly interested in the way language is able to isolate individuals from those people that don't share the same language. In the process, the artist deals with current geo-political topics that echo his own personal experiences. After having lived in Russia, Badalov tried to settle in Cardiff (UK), but his asylum application was refused. After being sent back to Azerbaijan, he finally got the right to stay and live in France in 2011. An avid traveler and poet, Babi Badalov often introduces his own texts

into his work: by combining these with manipulated politically-charged pictures, he creates installations, objects, paintings and happenings that he calls "visual poetry". Badalov's artworks are included in numerous international collections, including those of the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg (Russia), MuHKA Museum of Contemporary Art Antwerp, Azerbaijan State Museum of Art in Baku (Azerbaijan), Kunstmuseum of Emden (Germany), Martigny Art Museum (Switzerland), Oetcker Collection in Bielefeld (Germany), Arina Kowner Collection in Zurich (Switzerland) and Zimmerli Art Museum (New Jersey, USA).

Source: <http://galeriepoggi.com/en/artistes/oeuvres/12269/babi-badalov>

María Berríos is a sociologist, writer and independent curator. Her work explores issues traversing art, culture, and politics with a special interest in collective experiments of "Third World" alliances and their exhibition formats in the 1960s and 1970s. Currently she continues her long-term ongoing research into rumor and disappearance as a form. She is one of the four collaborating curators preparing the upcoming Berlin Biennale (2020).

Godfried Donkor has exhibited widely across Europe, Africa and the USA since 1995. Significant exhibitions include biennial exhibitions in Ireland (2016), Salamanca (2003), Venice (2001), Havana (2000) and Dakar (1998), as well as *Pin Up* at Tate Modern and *Around the World in 80 Days* at the ICA in London. More recently at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam (2014), Studio Museum in Harlem, New York (2014), Deichtorhallen, Hamburg, (2015), MAXXI, Rome (2018), the Dakar Biennale, Dakar (2018), and La Villette, Paris (2017). In 2010, Donkor was approached by Puma to design a new football kit for the Ghana National Football team as part of Africa Cup of Nations. His work is held in a number of international collections, including the Smithsonian Museum of African Art, National Collection of Senegal, Unilever and Stedelijk Museum Collection, as well as private collections internationally. He was a Rockefeller foundation visual arts fellow in 2018. The artist is currently a visiting tutor at the London College of Fashion (UAL) and visiting artist at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana.

Ferenc Gróf (1972, Pécs, Hungary) is a graduate of the Hungarian University of the Arts, Budapest. Since 2012 he has taught at the École Nationale Supérieure d'Art (ENSA) in Bourges, France. His work considers ideological footprints at the intersection of graphic design and spatial experiences. He is a founding member of the Parisian co-operative Société Réaliste (founded in 2004) whose work considers questions of contemporary political representations, ideological design, and text-based interventions. Société Réaliste's recent solo exhibitions include: *amal-gam*, acb Gallery, Budapest, 2014; *Universal Anthem*, tranzit.ro, Cluj, 2013; *A Rough Guide to*

Hell, PI, New York, 2013; *Thelema of Nations*, Galerie Jérôme Poggi, Paris, 2013; and *Empire, State, Building*, MNAC, Bucharest, 2012, Ludwig Museum, Budapest, 2012, and *Jeu de Paume*, Paris, 2011. Société Réaliste's work has also been included in numerous group exhibitions and biennials in Shanghai, 2012; Lyon, 2009; and Istanbul, 2009. Since 2015 Société Réaliste is on hiatus, Ferenc Gróf continues his work as an individual artist. His most recent solo exhibitions were *Without Index* (Kiscelli Museum, Budapest, 2016), *X with a dot below* (acb Gallery / OFF Biennale, Budapest, 2017) and *or firing of a red star alert* (acb Gallery, 2018). Gróf lives and works in Paris.

Olivier Hadouchi was born, lives and works in Paris. He holds a PhD in cinema studies and is a film curator and researcher (associated with IRCAV - Paris 3). Hadouchi published a booklet about solidarity with the Algerian war of independence (edited by Zoran Eric & MoCab) and an essay about Kinji Fukasaku. He wrote several texts for collective books, including the catalogue of *Chris Marker's. L'homme-monde* (edited and curated by Christine Van Assche, Raymond Bellour and Jean-Michel Frodon), and publications such as *Third Text*, *CinémAction*, *Mondes du Cinéma*, *La furia Umana*, *SWAG*. Hadouchi has curated film programs about "Tricontinental", "68 (re)Extended", "Sparkles & Tropical Insurrections" for The Mosaic Rooms (London), Amiens International Film Festival, Museo Reina Sofia (Madrid), Bétonsalon, le BAL (Paris), ZdB (Lisbon), Bandits-Mages (Bourges), and had lectures at Slovenska Kinoteka (Ljubljana), Hangar (Lisbon), Mama (Algiers), MoCab (Belgrade), Tranzit (Prague), Viña del Mar (Chile), Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers, INHA (Paris).

Aya Haidar (1985) graduated with a BA in Fine Art from the Slade School of Art, completing an exchange program at SAIC (Chicago). She later graduated (with Merit) with an MSc in NGOs and Development from LSE. Aya's work has been exhibited internationally with solo and group shows, namely Art Berlin Contemporary (Germany), Athr Gallery (Jeddah), New Art Exchange (Nottingham), Jeddah 21,39 (KSA), Mosaic Rooms (London), Casa Arabe (Madrid), FIAC (Paris), Art Dubai (UAE), Abu Dhabi Art (UAE), Art Istanbul (Turkey). Aya was selected for Hans Ulrich Obrist and Hoor Al Qasemi's *Do It Arab* project (2016), INIVA's *A Place for Conversation* (2014), V&A's *Record, Resist, Reframe* (2012), Tate's *Illuminating Cultures* program (2010) and INIVA's *Emotional Learning Cards* (2010). She has featured in numerous publications, namely, *De Fil En Aiguille* (2018), *Tribe Magazine* (2017, 2016), *Art of the Middle East, Modern and Contemporary Art from the Middle East and Iran* by Saeb Eigner (2015), *Harper's Bazaar Art Arabia* (2017, 2013), *The National* (2013), *Contemporary Practices* (2011) and *ELLE Magazine* (2009). Having recently completed a 4-month residency with Deveron Arts in 2018, she is now in residency at Cubitt Arts (London) culminating in a solo show in October 2019. Haidar currently lives and works in London.

Ibro Hasanović (1981, Bosnian/French) currently lives and works in Brussels, Belgium. His works have been featured in exhibitions at Carré d'Art - Musée d'art contemporain de Nîmes, France; Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje, Macedonia; Guangdong Museum of Art, China; Casino Luxembourg – Forum d'art contemporain, Luxembourg; Pera Museum, Istanbul; Austrian Cultural Forum, New York; Münchner Stadtmuseum, Munich; Garage Museum of Contemporary Art, Moscow; Museum of Fine Arts, Split, Croatia; Kunsthalle Wien, Vienna; 55th October Salon Belgrade; National Gallery of Kosovo, Priština; Museum of Contemporary Art, Zagreb; Künstlerhaus - Halle für Kunst & Medien, Graz, Austria; 2nd Project Biennial D-o ARK Underground and Villa Romana, Florence, among others. ibrohasanovic.com

Siniša Ilić (1977, Belgrade) is a visual artist working also in the field of performance art. His work includes drawing, painting, installation, video and artist's books. Ilić's practice addresses social phenomena and mechanisms, exploring forms of labor, tension, social violence and states of uncertainty. Ilić collaborates with other artists and authors on a range of collaborative projects. He is a co-founder of the TkH (Walking Theory 2000–2017) art and theory platform from Belgrade. He showed his works at: *On the Shoulders of Fallen Giants*, 2nd Industrial Biennial, Rijeka; *My Sweet Little Lamb*, Gallery Nova, Zagreb; Apoteka Gallery, Vodnjan, Belgrade Cultural Centre; October Salon, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade; Georges Pompidou Center, Kadist Art Foundation, Paris; Tate Modern, galleries Calvert 22 and Forham, London; Ural Biennial, Yekaterinburg; Lofoten Festival, Norway; Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana; Open Space, Vienna; DEPO, Istanbul; Arsenal Gallery, Bialystok; Tennis Palace Museum, Helsinki. <http://sinisailic.blogspot.com>

Jakob Jakobsen is an artist, writer and organizer. He lives and works in the Hospital Prison University Archive (hospitalprisonuniversity.net).

Naeem Mohaiemen combines films, installations, and essays to research Third World Internationalism and World Socialism. Despite underscoring a left tendency toward misrecognition, a hope for a future international left, as the only alternative to silos of race and religion, is a hope in the work. Autobiography and family history as a canvas for thinking through how borders make new people, and passports (precious, missing, limbo) militate against class privilege, is a throughline in his work. His grandfather's faith in the English language as succor from "Hindu domination" in British India, a great uncle's tragic error of seeing the German military as the only weapon against British colonialism, and the complex family alliances generated by the 1971 war that split Pakistan and created Bangladesh, repeatedly come up in his projects. Naeem writes essays as companions to his films, appearing in *The Sun Never Sets: South Asian*

Migrants in an Age of U.S. Power (NYU), *Supercommunity: Diabolical Togetherness Beyond Contemporary Art* (Verso UK), *Protichinta* (Prothom Alo), *Assuming Boycott (OR)*, etc. He is a member of the ICA Independent Film Council (UK), as well as activist alliances, including South Asia Solidarity Initiative in New York.

Dubravka Sekulić is an architect researching transformation of the contemporary built environment. She is an assistant professor at the IZK – Institute for Contemporary Art, Graz Technical University. She is the author of *Glottz Nicht so Romantisch! On Extralegal Space in Belgrade* (jan van eyck academie, 2012) and *Constructing Non-alignment: the Case of Energoprojekt* (Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade, 2016). She is an amateur librarian who maintains the space-race and feminist collections at the public library.

Semsar Siahaan appears meteor-like in the Indonesian artistic firmament, illuminating it with a searing presence. He is hailed as singular. The forthrightness of his views and principles, his unflinching commitment to social issues and to actively engage with them publicly, the impact of his art, the magnetism of his persona have been acclaimed as exceptional. In keeping with the duration of such a phenomenon (i.e. the appearance of a meteor) though, Semsar's life was short; he died when he was fifty-three (1952–2005).

Semsar Siahaan moved to Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1965, following his father's appointment as a Military Attaché. His first art lessons were in Belgrade, where he enrolled in the France Prešeren Elementary School from 1965–1968.¹

Mila Turajlić (1979, born in Yugoslavia, lives in Paris and works in Belgrade) produces film and video works that draw on a combination of documentary archive, fiction films and found footage to fabricate a new reflexive language confronting memory and ruins with the disappearing narratives of history. Her award-winning feature documentary films *Cinema Komunista* – a montage combining fiction and documentary to examine the use of cinema in the construction of the political narrative of socialist Yugoslavia – and *The Other Side of Everything* – a family chronicle that plays out on the political frontlines of her divided childhood home – have played at numerous festivals, and been screened in cinemas in Europe and the USA as well as on HBO Europe. Her most recent project was a series of video installations commissioned by MoMA for their landmark exhibition on Yugoslav modernist architecture. She is currently working on a documentary film about Stevan Labudović and Yugoslavia's cinematic role in the non-aligned world. www.dissimila.rs

1 Our profoundest gratitude to Diani Siahaan, Semsar's sister, for sharing her family history with Bojana Piškur.

Katarina Zdjelar (Belgrade) is an artist whose artistic practice encompasses video and sound works, publications and the creation of platforms for speculation and exchange. Zdjelar represented Serbia at the 53rd Venice Biennale and has participated in numerous solo and group exhibitions internationally at such venues as Stedelijk Museum Bureau Amsterdam; Metropolitan Museum of Photography, Tokyo; Frieze Foundation, London; Casino Luxembourg; The Chelsea Art Museum, New York; De Appel, Amsterdam; Hartware Medien Kunstverein, Dortmund; Museum of Contemporary Art MACBA, Barcelona; MCOB Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade; Museum Sztuki Łódź, and Powerhouse, Toronto. Most recently she was awarded the Dolf Henkes Prize 2017 and won the kinderprijs for the Dutch Prix de Rome Award 2017. Zdjelar has taught internationally and is a core tutor at Piet Zwart Institute (MA Fine Art), WdKA Rotterdam and MAR (Master Artistic Research) at the KABK, Den Hague. She is also a board member of Witte de With Center for Contemporary Art in Rotterdam. www.katarinazdjelar.net

The information in the biographies has been provided by the artists.

Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned
Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana
7 March – 31 August 2019

MG+MSUM

Published by
Moderna galerija, Windischerjeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
tel. +386 1 2416 800, fax +386 1 2514 120, info@mg-lj.si www.mg-lj.si

Represented by
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Material for the catalogue collated and edited by
Tamara Soban

Texts
Riksa Afiaty, Syaiful Ardianto, Zdenka Badovinac, Daniela Berger, Nada Beroš, Federico Brega, Marina Čelebić, Emilia Epštajn, Katarina Hergold Germ, Andreja Hribernik, Iramamama, Anej Korsika, Maria Victoria Martinez, Teja Merhar, Jovana Nedeljković, Bojana Piškur, T. K. Sabapathy, Sekarputi Sidhiwati, Ana Sladojević, Abhijan Toto, Chương-Đài Võ, Samia Zennadi, Adela Železnik and artists

Translations
Tamara Soban (unless specified otherwise)

Copyediting
Jeff Bickert

Graphic design
KURS

Printed by
Alta Nova, Belgrade

Print run
500

© 2019 Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

+MSUM

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Photographic documentation

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Thanks to

Marija Aleksić, Amro Mohammed Ali, Djordje Balmazović, Aleksander Bassin, Stane Bernik, Danica Bogojević, Kaja Bohorič, Vjera Borozan, Andreja Bruss, Ruxmini Choudhury, Augusta Conchiglia, Rowan Dekens, Lieze Eneman, Alia Fattouh, Vit Havránek, Zayed bin Sultan bin Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Mariam Bint Mohamed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Claudia Zaldivar Hurtado, Rina Igarashi, Tvrtko Jakovina, Marko Jenko, Ljiljana Karadžić, Neda Knežević, Budimir Lončar, Edvilė Lukšytė, Ivan Nedoh, Ady Nugeraha, Roel Van Nunen, Simona Ognjanović, Ikesh Olopolo, Igor Prassel, Endah Ayu Putriati, Farid Rakun, Sri Astari Rasjid, T.K. Sabapathy, Jasdeep Sandhu, Đuro Seder, Aaron Seeto, Diani Siahaan, Breda Škrjanec, Nenad Šoškić, Jan De Vree, Helen Welford, Hendro Wijanto, Katarina Živanović

and

Arhiv Jugoslavije, Athr Gallery, Centar savremene umjetnosti Crne Gore, Cultuurcentrum Strombeek, Experimenter, Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, Gajah Gallery, Gallery 1957, Jan Mot, Kino Gledališče Bežigrad, Koroška galerija likovnih umetnosti, Mednarodni grafični likovni center, M HKA Museum van Hedendaagse Kunst Antwerpen, Museo de la solidaridad Salvador Allende, Muzej afričke umetnosti, Muzej Jugoslavije, NTU Centre for Contemporary Art Singapore, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Samdani Art Foundation, Slovenska kinoteka, SNG Opera in balet

The exhibition is part of the larger project New Mappings of Europe, co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union and including the collaboration of the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art, in addition to Moderna galerija. www.newmappingsofeurope.si

This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the European Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

The exhibition was supported by



REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA
MINISTRY OF CULTURE



Co-funded by the
Creative Europe Programme
of the European Union



Flanders
State of the Art



CHILE LO
HACEMOS
TODOS

DANISH ARTS FOUNDATION

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

7(100)*19*(083.824)

SOUTHERN constellations: the poetics of
the non-aligned, Museum of Contemporary Art
Metelkova, 7 March - 31 August 2019 / [material for
the catalogue collated and edited by Tamara Soban ;
texts Riksa Afiaty ... [et al.] ; translations Tamara Soban
(unless specified otherwise)]. - Ljubljana : Moderna
galerija, 2019

ISBN 978-961-206-138-8

1. Soban, Tamara
298873088



ISBN 978-961-206-138-8



9

789612 061388

18 €