

Arhitektura gradi društvo



Toward a Concrete Utopia—Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 15. srpnja 2018.–13. siječnja 2019.
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Kustos Odjela za arhitekturu i dizajn Muzeja moderne umjetnosti (MoMA) u New Yorku, švicarski povjesničar arhitekture Martino Stierli, kao prvi značajni projekt u svojem mandatu realizirao je izložbu *Toward a Concrete Utopia—Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980* otvorenu u srpnju 2018. Širokoj publici sadržaj izložbe, kako su odjeci u nadolazećim mjesecima pokazali, predstavlja otkriće, no među nešto upućenijom međunarodnom publikom zanimanje za arhitektonsku produkciju u republikama bivše federativne socijalističke države, uglavnom nepravedno izostavljene u historiografijama arhitekture 20. stoljeća, traje desetak godina. Prvo cjelovito istraživanje ostvareno je opsežnim projektom *Nedovršene modernizacije: Između utopije i pragmatizma* voditelja Vladimira Kulića i Maroja Mrduljaša te knjigom *Modernism In-between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* istih autora. *Nedovršene modernizacije* su prvi put okupile tridesetak istraživača te povezale društveni i kulturni kontekst s produkcijom prostora, spajajući manje ili više poznata pojedinačna ostvarenja u cjelovitu mrežu oprostovene društvene ambicije. Vladimir Kulić i Anna Kats supotpisuju kustosku koncepciju izložbe u MoMA-i, dok se Maroju Mrduljašu u funkciji članova Regionalnog savjetodavnog kustoskog odbora pridružuju: Tamara Bjažić Klarin, Matevž Čelik, Vladimir Deškov, Sanja Horvatinčić, Ana Ivanovska, Jovan Ivanovski, Jelica Jovanović, Martina Malešić, Bekim Ramku, Arber Sadiki, Dubravka Sekulić, Irena Šentevska, Luka Skansi, Łukasz Stanek, Marta Vukotić i Mejrema Zatrić. Okupljajući brojne institucije, zbirke i pojedince, ovi su autori postavili temelj jedinstvenog projekta koji dokazuje emancipacijski potencijal izgrađene i predmetne okoline te su ih kroz izvorne nacрте, objekte, filmove, makete, ali i suvremena djela koja s njima ulaze u dijalog, po prvi put predstavili široj međunarodnoj publici u jednoj od galerija njujorškog Muzeja moderne umjetnosti.

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Mia Roth Čerina

Arhitektonski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu /

Architecture Builds a Society



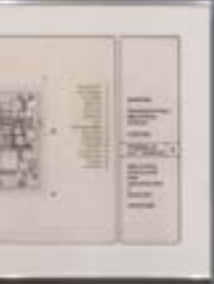
Toward a Concrete Utopia—Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980, Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019
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The first significant MoMA project of Martino Stierli, a Swiss historian of architecture, as curator at the Department of Architecture and Design of New York's Museum of Modern Art, has been the exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia—Architecture in Yugoslavia 1948–1980*, opened in July 2018. For a general audience, the exhibition's content has been a true discovery, as the reactions over the months have shown, but the more informed international audience has been showing interest in the architectural production of individual republics of the former federal socialist state, largely unjustly omitted in the historiography of 20th-century architecture, for a decade already. The first comprehensive research was the extensive project of *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* led by Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, which included a number of institutions and some thirty researchers from the area of former Yugoslavia, and the book *Modernism In-between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* by the same authors. The *Unfinished Modernisations* linked, for the first time, the social and cultural context to the production of space, connecting the more or less renowned individual achievements in a coherent network of spatialized social ambition. Vladimir Kulić and Anna Kats have co-signed the curatorial concept of the MoMA exhibition, while Maroje Mrduljaš has been joined on the Regional Curatorial Advisory Board by other prominent names, including Tamara Bjažić Klarin, Matevž Čelik, Vladimir Deškov, Sanja Horvatinčić, Ana Ivanovska, Jovan Ivanovski, Jelica Jovanović, Martina Malešič, Bekim Ramku, Arber Sadiki, Dubravka Sekulić, Irena Šentevska, Luka Skansi, Lukasz Stanek, Marta Vukotić, and Mejrema Zatrić. Bringing together various institutions, collections, and individuals, these authors have laid the foundations for a unique project that demonstrates the emancipatory potential of built and objective environment, presenting it for the first time to the general international public through original designs, objects, films, models, and contemporary works that involve in a dialogue, at one of MoMA's galleries in New York City.

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Two small informational text panels on the wall.



Pogled na postav izložbe *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 15. srpnja 2018.–13. siječnja 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Shimio: Martin Seck
/ Installation view of *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Martin Seck ↑





Pogled na postav izložbe *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 15. srpnja 2018.–13. siječnja 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Shimio: Martin Seck / Installation view of *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Martin Seck ↑





Pogled na postav izložbe *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 15. srpnja 2018.–13. siječnja 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Shimio: Martin Seck
/ Installation view of *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Martin Seck ↑

Izložba obuhvaća četiri desetljeća arhitektonske produkcije u Jugoslaviji, od 1948., odnosno odvajanja od Sovjetskog saveza, do 1980. godine u kojoj, nakon smrti Josipa Broza Tita, započinje desetljeće krize koje je pokazalo labilnost federalne države i završilo njezinim raspadom. Strukturirana je u četiri tematske cjeline, unutar kojih su posebno elaborirani pojedini značajni momenti—autori, pojedina djela i artefakti. Iako se ne može zaobići činjenica da su projekti predstavljeni na izložbi bili mogući zahvaljujući vrlo jasnoj namjeri da se društvo kultura posredstvom moderne izgrađene okoline (na zemljištu koje je sada u društvenom, a ne privatnom vlasništvu), isto je tako važno primijetiti pluralizam izraza, gdje razlike u pristupima u pojedinim republikama bivše države izrastaju iz baštinenih kulturnih pozadina. Izložba ukazuje i na specifičnosti, primjerice, poslijeratne arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini temeljene na lokalnom idiomu u interpretaciji Jurja Neidhardta, zagrebačke oslonjene na naslijeđe međuratne moderne, slovenske obilježene utjecajem (ili opozicijom) Jožeta Plečnika ili pak na novije utjecaje poput onoga koji je, projektirajući prostorni identitet nakon potresa u Skopju, natječajnim projektom trajno utisnuo Kenzo Tange. Upravo tim razlikama bavi se jedna od četiri cjeline izložbe naslovljena „Identiteti”. Ti profili međusobno se isprepliću, umrežavaju, jedni druge informiraju te, iako zadržavaju lokalnu specifičnost, tvore jedinstveni opus koji je potrebno sintezno promatrati.

Cjelina „Modernizacije” obrađuje obnovu nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata i iznimno brzu izgradnju, ukazujući na magnitudu pothvata u kojem se u manje od tri desetljeća formira infrastruktura nužna za oživotvorenje samoupravnog društva te mehanizme i eksperimente koji su je omogućili: društveno-politički, tehnološki i arhitektonski. Oni počivaju na visokom stupnju slobode dane arhitektima i urbanistima, odnosno potpunom povjerenju u stručnjake obrazovane na postulati- ma Međunarodnog kongresa moderne arhitekture (CIAM), koji su postali ključni akteri u izgradnji industrijski progresivne sredine pozicionirane *in-between*—između Istoka i Zapada. Na prvi pogled kontradiktorni spoj zadovoljenja minimalnih kolektivnih potreba i vrlo individualiziranoga prostornog otiska, ekstenzivno elaboriranog u cjelini nazvanoj „Svakodnevice”, predstavlja možda najprivlačniji segment prosječnomu američkom promatraču kojem je kolektivno stanovanje često sinonim za jednoobrazne četvrti socijalnog stanovanja društvene margine. U segmentu svakodnevice ogleđa se emancipatorska snaga posredovana izgradnjom—kroz stambene četvrti i okruženje dobrodošlice u grad naglo pristigloj radničkoj populaciji novouspostavljeni urbanistički standard osigurao je adekvatan broj vrtića, škola, tržnica i parkova, stanove krojene po suvremenom načinu života, o kojem se obrazuje na velesajamskim gostovanjima i izložbama *Porodica i domaćinstvo*. Ova socijalistička baština zajedno s izgrađenom infrastrukturom nadrasla je sustav u kojem je stasala te predstavlja najtrajniji doprinos današnjem društvu. Prema socijalističkoj urbanističkoj regulativi, štoviše, današnja spekulativna gradnja, koju oslabljeni mehanizmi planiranja ne obvezuju na prateći društveni standard, govori o civilizacijskom nazadovanju. Izložba donosi i karakteristične predmete te svakodnevice: telefon Iskre, namještaj Nike Kralja, kiosk K67. Posebnu cjelinu čine „Globalne mreže” posvećene povezivanju domaćih aktera modernizacijskih procesa s onima u inozemstvu, kroz suradnje „prema unutra”, kao što je to bio primjer Kenza Tangea, Alfreda Rotha i drugih u Skopju, ili pak „prema van”, putem brojnih projekata ostvarenih sudjelovanjem velikih tvrtki u gradotvornim i infrastrukturnim zahvatima u zemljama Trećeg svijeta.

Sve su tematsko-problemske cjeline ilustrirane kombinacijom originalnih nacрта, novoprodučenih ilustracija i maketa, izvornih predmeta i modela. Među njima mjesto nalaze i djela umjetnika koji ulaze u dijalog s izloženim projektima, poput radova Jasmine Cibic i Davida Maljkovića, videoradova Mile Turajlić i fotografija Valentina Jecka. Potonje se među njima izdvajaju pokušajem da realistično dokumentiraju aktualno stanje prikazanih primjera, no u tom pokušaju ipak donekle izobličuju stvarnost. Svojim distopijskim tonom mjestimice, doduše, implicitno otvaraju aktualna pitanja odnosa prema spomeničkoj baštini socijalističke

The exhibition covers four decades of architectural production in Yugoslavia: from 1948, the year of separation from the Soviet Union, until 1980, when a decade of crisis began following the death of Josip Broz Tito, showing the state's instability and ending in its dissolution. The curatorial concept includes four thematic units, in which specific crucial aspects have been elaborated—authors, artworks, and artefacts. Although it is rather evident that the presented projects could only be realized owing to the very clear intention of cultivating the society by means of modern built environment (on land that no longer belonged to the individual, but to the society as a whole), one should also pay attention to the pluralism of expression, where different approaches in individual republics of the former state have grown on the inherited cultural backgrounds. The exhibition also indicates the specificities of, for example, the post-war architecture in Bosnia, based on the local idiom as interpreted by Juraj Neidhardt, or that of Zagreb, growing on the legacy of interwar modernism, or the Slovenian one, marked by the influence (or opposition) of Jože Plečnik, or the more recent influences, such as that of Kenzo Tange's project, winner of the public tender after the Skopje earthquake, who left his permanent imprint in public space by designing its identity. It is these differences that one of the four sections of the exhibition addresses under the title "Identities." These profiles interact, create networks, inform each other, and, although retaining their local specificities, form a unique opus that needs to be approached synthetically.

The section on "Modernization," which focuses on the reconstruction and extremely rapid rebuilding after World War II, shows the magnitude of the venture in which, in less than three decades, the infrastructure necessary for bringing the self-management society to life was created, and illustrates the mechanisms and experiments that made it possible: socio-political, technological, and architectural. These relied on a high degree of freedom given to architects and urban planners, and on having full confidence in experts trained on the postulates of the International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), who had become the key subjects in building up an industrially progressive setting that situated itself "in-between"—between East and West. The apparently contradictory blend of meeting a minimum of collective needs and a very individualized spatial imprint, extensively elaborated in the section titled "Everyday Life," is perhaps the most attractive segment for the average American observer, to whom collective housing is often synonymous with uniform neighbourhoods of social tenements on the social margins. This segment reflects the emancipatory power mediated by architecture—by creating residential districts and a welcoming environment for the working population that stormed the cities, the newly established urban standard ensured an adequate number of kindergartens, schools, green markets, and parks, apartments tailored to fit the contemporary way of life, about which the population was informed at trade-fair exhibitions and exhibitions entitled *Family and Household*. This socialist legacy, along with the built infrastructure, surpassed the system that had created it is still the most enduring contribution to our present-day society. In fact, compared to the socialist urban regulations, today's makeshift constructions, no longer compelled by the weakened mechanisms of planning to ensure a corresponding social standard, may seem like a step backwards. The exhibition also features objects typical of that everyday life: Iskra's telephone, furniture by Niko Kralj, the K67 kiosk. A special section is dedicated to "Global Networks," contacts between the local protagonists of these modernization processes and their peers abroad, through "inward" co-operations as in the case of Kenzo Tange, Alfred Roth, and others in Skopje, or "outward" ones: through numerous projects resulting from the involvement of large companies in urbanizing and infrastructural enterprises in Third World countries.

All these thematic units are illustrated by a combination of original designs, newly produced illustrations and models, and items and models from the time of Yugoslavia. Among them, there are artworks that communicate with the exhibits,

external traffic connections and
internal circulation

- external traffic -
buses, cars
- taxi cab
- pedestrians
- parking





Berislav Šerbetić i Vojin Bakić, Spomenik ustanku naroda Banije i Korduna, 1979.–81. Petrova Gora. Pogled izvana. Snimio: Valentin Jeck po nalogu njujorškog Museum of Modern Art, 2016. / Berislav Šerbetić and Vojin Bakić. Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija, 1979–81. Petrova Gora, Croatia. Exterior view. Photo: Valentin Jeck, commissioned by The Museum of Modern Art, 2016
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Jugoslavije, no s druge strane ne daju naslutiti životnost prostora koju mnoga od snimljenih mjesta i dalje generiraju. U pratećoj publikaciji ove su fotografije predstavljene u svojevrsnom prologu, izdvojene kao uvodni portfolio, te njihova intonacija ostaje izvan iznimnih problemskih tekstova.

Knjiga se od izložbe znatno razlikuje; ne predstavlja njezin katalog, već nužan komplement za potpuno iščitavanje svih aspekata okolnosti unutar kojih valja promatrati izloženu materiju. Nakon uvodnika kustosa Stierlija i Kulića te opsežne i konkretne Mrduljaševe elaboracije o različitim fasetama u kojima se ogleda materijalizacija samoupravnog socijalizma, pozvani autori među kojima su i pojedini članovi savjetodavnog kustoskog odbora te djelatnici MoMA-e angažirani na izložbi, u dva poglavlja—„Focal Points” i „Case Studies”—raspisuju pojedine segmente modernizacijskih procesa—planiranje i obnovu gradova, turističku infrastrukturu, moderno stanovanje, spomeničku plastiku, tehnologije građenja te konačno raspad države promatran kroz posljednju destrukciju arhitekture. Iako je karakter procesa koji su doveli do izgradnje identiteta društva posredstvom proizvodnje prostora teško odvojiti od pojedinačnih djela, zasebno ilustrirani primjeri ipak i sami demonstriraju vitalnost arhitekture koja je nadživjela sustav i zavređuje da je se neopterećenu valorizira i čuva, poput stadiona Borisa Magaša na Poljudu, mostarskog spomen-groblja Bogdana Bogdanovića, Bijele džamije Zlatka Ugljena, knjižnice u Prištini Andrije Mutnjakovića, Splita 3 i drugih.

Brojni osvrti na izložbu objavljeni u relevantnim tiskanim i internetskim časopisima razlažu različite moguće presjeke kroz koje ju možemo promatrati—oduševljeno prepoznaju nedvojbene arhitektonske kvalitete, kritiziraju tendencioznu intonaciju, čitaju prostorne posljedice ambiciozne izgradnje društva koja balansira između Istoka i Zapada, ali i mračnije pozadine koje su izbile na površinu u nadolazećim desetljećima. Za trajanja izložbe organiziran je i niz pratećih događaja, predavanja i projekcija. U jednom od njih Rem Koolhaas, govoreći o svojoj dugogodišnjoj manje poznatoj naklonosti arhitekturi Jugoslavije te utjecaju koji je imala na njegovu praksu, pripovijeda kako je u Lagosu 1990-ih otkrio međunarodni velesajam, projekt beogradskog Energoprojekta, kao i organizaciju rada u kojoj je svaki segment realizacije kontroliran i oblikovan, čime je započelo njegovo sustavno zanimanje za temu. Neovisno o pojedinačnim zamjerkama, značaj ove izložbe za konačno, i davno zakašnjelo, pozicioniranje vrijednog arhitektonskog korpusa nastalog u jednom vrlo kratkom razdoblju unutar internacionalne historiografije arhitekture 20. stoljeća izniman je i ne treba ga promatrati kao konačan. Od tako opsežnog projekta možda se (pogrešno) očekivalo da obuhvati produkciju u totalitetu, bez nijansiranja relevantnosti, no nadajmo se da će poslužiti kao argument daljnjim pojedinačnim tematskim istraživanjima koja izlaze iz okvira sredine i predstavljaju se međunarodnoj publici čiji je interes nedvojbena. Objektivno sagledavanje produkcije korisno je i za njezinu okolinu koja još uvijek ponekad teško razlučuje arhitektonsku kvalitetu od svjetonazora unutar kojeg nastaje. Istodobno, u ponekim segmentima—primjerice fotografijama—leži i opasnost vječnog stereotipa o državi koja nikad nije bila iza Željezne zavjese, a ipak je površni promatrač sagledava u tom kontekstu. No kako bi kulturna javnost reagirala da sada otkrije brazilski modernizam? Ne treba se zaobići posebnost polučenog interesa međunarodne publike koji nije isključivo temeljen na neotkrivenoj arhitektonskoj kvaliteti, već jedinstvenoj i instruktivnoj, u svojim najboljim namjerama utopijskoj, manje ili više uspješnoj, kolektivnoj namjeri izgradnje boljeg društva posredstvom arhitekture.

Promatrani posve izvan sustava u kojima su nastali, projekti prikazani na izložbi pokazuju nedvojbenu transformacijsku i formativnu moć koju arhitektura ima na pojedinca i društvo—a na društvu ostaje odgovornost za čije će dobro tu moć iskoristiti.

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such as those by Jasmina Cibic and David Maljković, videos by Mila Turajlić, or photographs by Valentin Jeck. The latter are specific as an attempt to realistically document the actual state of the shown examples, yet by doing that, they distort the reality to some extent. Occasionally, with their dystopian tone they implicitly address the topical issue of the way in which the monumental heritage of socialist Yugoslavia is treated today, but fail to evoke the actual, living character of space that many of them continue to generate. In the accompanying publication, these photographs are presented in a sort of prologue, singled out as an introductory “Portfolio,” and thus their intonation remains isolated from the extraordinary problem-oriented texts.

The book differs significantly from the exhibition: rather than a catalogue, it functions as a complement necessary to fully understand all aspects of the context in which the exhibits should be read. Following the editorial by curators Stierli and Kulić, and the extensive and concrete elaborations of Mrduljaš on the various facets reflecting the materialization of self-management socialism, the invited authors, among them individual members of the curatorial advisory board and MoMA’s researchers working on the exhibition, address various segments of the modernization processes in two chapters—“Focal Points” and “Case Studies”—including the planning and reconstruction of cities, tourist infrastructure, modern housing, monumental sculpture, construction technologies, and finally the dissolution of the state observed through the prism of the subsequent devastation of architecture. Although it is difficult to isolate the nature of the processes that led to building the society’s identity through the production of space from individual works, separately illustrated examples nevertheless demonstrate the vitality of architecture that has survived the system, deserving to be valued and preserved unburdened by history: Boris Magaš’s stadium in Poljud, Bogdan Bogdanović’s memorial cemetery in Mostar, Zlatko Ugljen’s White Mosque, Andrija Mutnjaković’s library building in Priština, Split 3, and others.

Numerous reviews of the exhibition, published in relevant printed and online magazines, suggest various aspects through which it can be viewed—by enthusiastically recognizing undeniable architectural qualities, criticizing the tendentious intonation, or understanding the spatial consequences of the ambitious construction of a society that balanced between the East and the West, as well as the darker backgrounds that surfaced in the following decades. A series of accompanying events, lectures and projections, has been organized for the duration of the exhibition. In one of them, Rem Koolhaas, speaking about his long-standing and not so known affection for the architecture of former Yugoslavia and the influence it exerted on his own work, revealed that in the 1990s, in Lagos, he discovered an international fair, a project of Energoprojekt from Belgrade, as well as the form of work organization in which each segment of production was controlled and shaped: the starting point of his systematic interest in the topic. Regardless of the individual objections, the importance of this exhibition for the long-awaited and considerably delayed positioning of this outstanding architectural corpus, produced within a very short period, within the international historiography of 20th-century architecture is crucial, and should not be regarded as final. Perhaps it was (wrongly) expected from such an extensive project to address the production in its totality, without indicating the relevant nuances, but we hope that it will serve as an argument for further individual thematic research that will surpass the local framework and introduce itself to the international public, whose interest is undeniable. An objective survey of the production is also useful for its surrounding, which is sometimes still slow in differentiating between architectural quality and the worldview within which it is created. At the same time, in some segments, for example photographs, there is a risk of perpetuating the eternal stereotype about a country that was never behind the Iron Curtain, although a superficial observer may perceive it in this context. But how would the cultured public react if it were now to discover Brazilian modernism? One should not neglect the importance of

raising the interest of international audiences that is not based solely on the previously undiscovered architectural quality, but also on the unique and instructive, in its best intentions utopian, and more or less successful, collective intention of building a better society with the help of architecture.

Observed entirely outside the system in which they were created, the projects presented at the exhibition demonstrate the undoubtedly transformational and formative power that architecture exerts on the individual and the society as a whole—and it remains the society's responsibility to whose benefit this power will be utilized.

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