

**THE ORGANIZATION OF POWER  
THROUGH ARCHITECTURE AND THE  
CREATION OF ABSTRACT SPACES  
INFLUENCED BY IDEOLOGY.**

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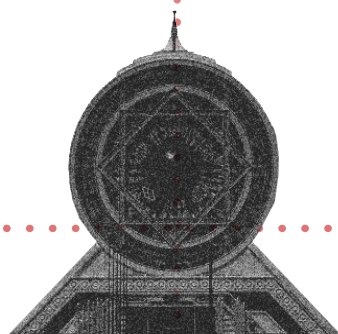
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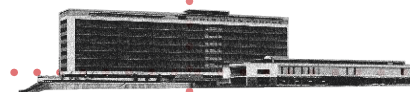
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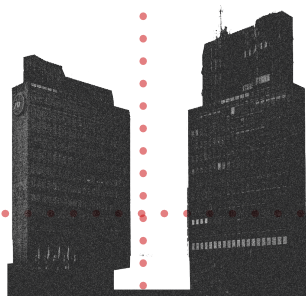
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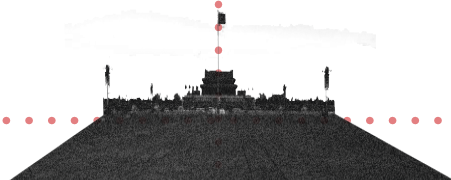
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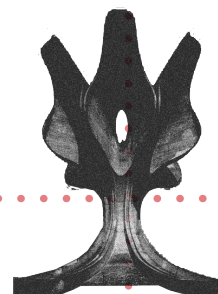
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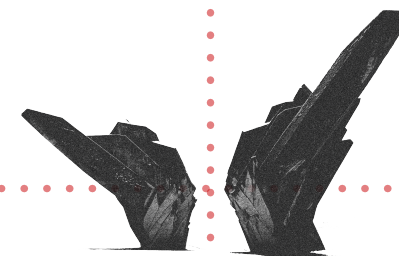
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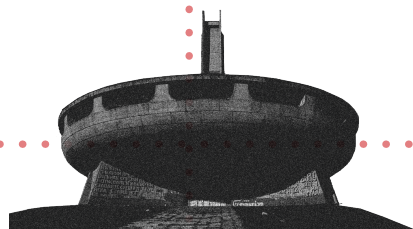
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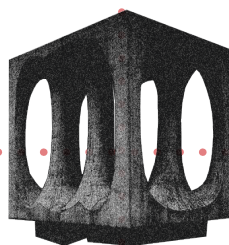
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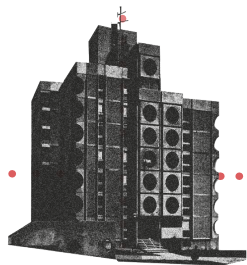


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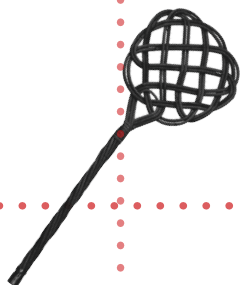


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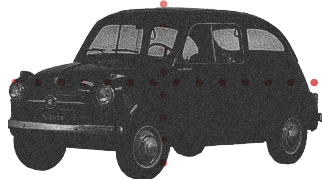




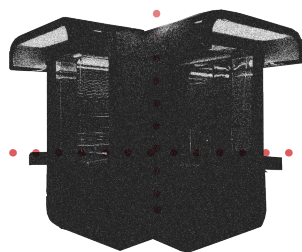
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## APPENDIX OF THINGS



## **PREFACE**



In this paper, I aim to analyze how power and collective identity are formed. I explore the role of architecture, design and other factors that influence the formation of the collective space.

Through analysis, I try to determine how spaces contribute to suppressing or forming one's identity. I tackle this research through the analysis of several architectural study cases, objects, symbolism, rituals, and more.

My main study field in this paper is ExYugoslavia.

Yugoslavia (first Kingdom) was already formed in 1918 and changed many shapes until it became a socialist federation from 1945 until its disintegration in 1992. Yugoslavia ended in horrific nationalist wars and genocide, killing at least 140 000 people, however the real number will never be known as hidden burials with victims are still being discovered nowadays. It ended horrifically and it left a fresh and deep wound in many. Due to that, a split between people has occurred. People that want to forget Yugoslavia and people that were left feeling detached by its disintegration and want to remember it onwards.

In my analysis, I will address Yugoslavia as a Socialist Federal Republic (SFRY), led by leader Josip Broz Tito. The six constituent republics that made up the SFRY were the SR Bosnia and Herzegovina, SR Croatia, SR Macedonia, SR Montenegro, SR Serbia, and SR Slovenia. Serbia contained two Socialist Autonomous Provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, which after 1974 were largely equal to the other members of the federation.


The majority, perceive the actual era of Yugoslavia as the time then Tito lived. A common quote is that "Tito is Yugoslavia" and when Tito died, Yugoslavia died with him.

Compared to other socialist and communist systems, people in Yugoslavia had more freedom, were able to travel abroad and lived in better conditions. Yugoslavia was peculiar in the sense that it consisted of countries with many ethnic and religious differences, connected by one system. The country was based on the principle of brotherhood and unity. Due to that, the perception of Yugoslavia amongst the people is very unique even decades after its disintegration.



**AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERSTAND**





*I am surrounded by vast emptiness. The cladded path stretches all around me and I see no end to it. There is such an uncanny feeling but I cannot put my finger on it. Perhaps it is my back being surrounded by nothingness, or the echo produced by every step I take. I can feel the weight of a gaze, my every move, being observed.*

*I must have lost track of time. As I try to observe my surroundings, I notice that the sun is setting and a building is revealed in front of me. Its shadows are getting longer and longer, casting over me, consuming me. It feels almost as if the floor trembles, trying to contain its magnitude. As I try to look upon it, I feel as if it has no end. As a giant, it is stretching through the skies, piercing through the clouds so high that only the rare ones can reach its top and perhaps collect the golden eggs that await there.*

When I think back of the place of my belonging, the first things I think of are the buildings. There is a lot of new architecture, mixing with the traditional, but one type of architecture, stays prevalent. The organized, green surroundings, the way the parks are organized, the pathways, and the underpasses. The old socialist buildings, the concrete giants and the "spomeniks" that are now just present as a reminder of a country that doesn't exist anymore. Waiting and yearning for their stories to be heard. And for some, they are the constant whispers of the collective identity they once were maintaining.

In Yugoslav time, the identity was more clear. No matter what stance one would take, viewing the Yugoslav times, everyone would agree that a sense of identity was maintained but a feel of power was always present. The expression of the ideology was carefully manufactured. With the use of architecture as a tool of expression, the scape was created.

The memory is a powerful tool as it keeps the utopia alive in an abstract surrounding. And you start to reimagine the architecture by what it was and what it could have been. Stretching it beyond and creating spaces of "What ifs"



Nowadays the rules of expression of power, oppression, collective identity are harder to read. It seems as if we live in an era with no clear definition. In the areas where 'democracy' is in place, the obvious expression of ideology is almost invisible. With the development of technology and the internet, manipulation and filters and quicker spread of news, propaganda, there seems to be no more need for the giants and the theatre. The tools of power are present more quietly. It is harder than ever to recognize the "Panopticon society".

I wonder, what is the consequence after living in a very (pre)organized society, with a clear set of rules and the aftermath of the disintegration. As through all the mediums the power is expressed and is building a clear identity. What happens with that identity further on? What are the elements that still maintain the phenomena of what started with Yugonostalgia but became something else in the process.


Now, with no strict regimes being in place and the world being run by capitalism, is ideology still expressed? Do architecture and space still play a role? Is there still a kind of alternative reality happening now and is it fueled by either escapism, mystery, memory?

In order to better explain the creation of this abstract realm, elements of power have to be understood. Afterwards, the elements that build the abstract realm – construct its stage, afterwards the realm is in motion.



## **IDENTIFYING THE LAYERS OF POWER AND IDEOLOGY**





*It is a sneaky thing you know, how it convinces you that you belong and how you should act. Drifting through non-spaces as a shadow but finding your way in, where suddenly you are overwhelmed with the feeling of belonging. However, it comes in small details which seems so innocent and harmless at first, but power is hidden and stacked in layers and once you start observing and dissecting it, it will be endless. Perhaps it is just in the way the window faces, guiding your view. The angle of walls leading you in, the entrance that just seems too big and the steps that just feel too long and the echo and the inclines and it goes so on and so on...*

The rituals, that are done every day and seem so normal by now. The imagery escorting you around the city, the sheer materiality of daily things... You stop and think, "How did I get here?". And then, you will try to look even further from what is here and what is there, you will wonder what is beyond and begin to imagine all the possibilities of what could be hidden behind all the layers."

It starts with the giant and all of its layers and once you observe it and really dissect it. And suddenly the auditor becomes a stack of bricks and the resistance in the act of the single brick being thrown. Suddenly the act of resistance becomes surrounding yourself in your interior with softness and carpets and gobelins and keepsakes and anything warm that separates from the collective.

In the following chapter, I will try to stratify the different layers through which power is expressed. I will explore as well the way totalitarian power or so to say overpowering is expressed and how the sustenance of power of ideology is shown.

There is a difference between creating the feeling of being overpowered and out of control and feeling the power of the ideology, inviting you to belong with it.



## The Presence

How do power and ideology announce their presence?

In order of establishing a convincing narrative, dealing with the matter of space is a way to announce presence.

In totalitarian regimes, architecture was one of the tools for expressing power and ideology. A big, massive concrete building, for example, hovering above people is expressing its presence and concurrently being a part of the message.

Dejan Sudjic in his book *The Edifice Complex*, states that architecture is a tool that can be used to carry out ideology and can even serve as a weapon. Architecture in the wrong hands can also be an instrument of oppression. An architect has the power to influence and manipulate the human living space. Through adjustment of numerous variables the experience of space can fluctuate from a healing and comforting space to one that can "drive a person to madness".

*As I wandered into the building I was greeted by a big marble hallway. The ceiling was as high as the one in churches and there was barely any direct natural light entering the room. As I gazed up I could see a sequence of small windows above me but I could not view outside. They let the light gently in, making it seem as if there is a whole different world above. I was encapsulated in the hallway, which created a rather disconnected feeling from the outside world. The materials around me were cold to touch. The further I walked the more it seems as if the surrounding kept repeating themselves and it felt almost as if I can get lost and the route has no end.*

Some of the variables in expressing power are definitely the use and manipulation of scale. It is a common way of creating a sense of nullity in a person facing the building that is supposed to be representing the power. Whether the power of a god, Gods, discipline, political leader or even money (most common nowadays) it is meant to render the person powerless and leap into wanting to achieve that power or sense of 'greatness' or belonging themselves as well.

This kind of expression of power was very common in totalitarian regimes, showing the mass of the ideology that is behind it. And often it is an expression of wealth. The ideology behind it is powerful and feels secure enough to accumulate enough wealth to create architecture of that scale.



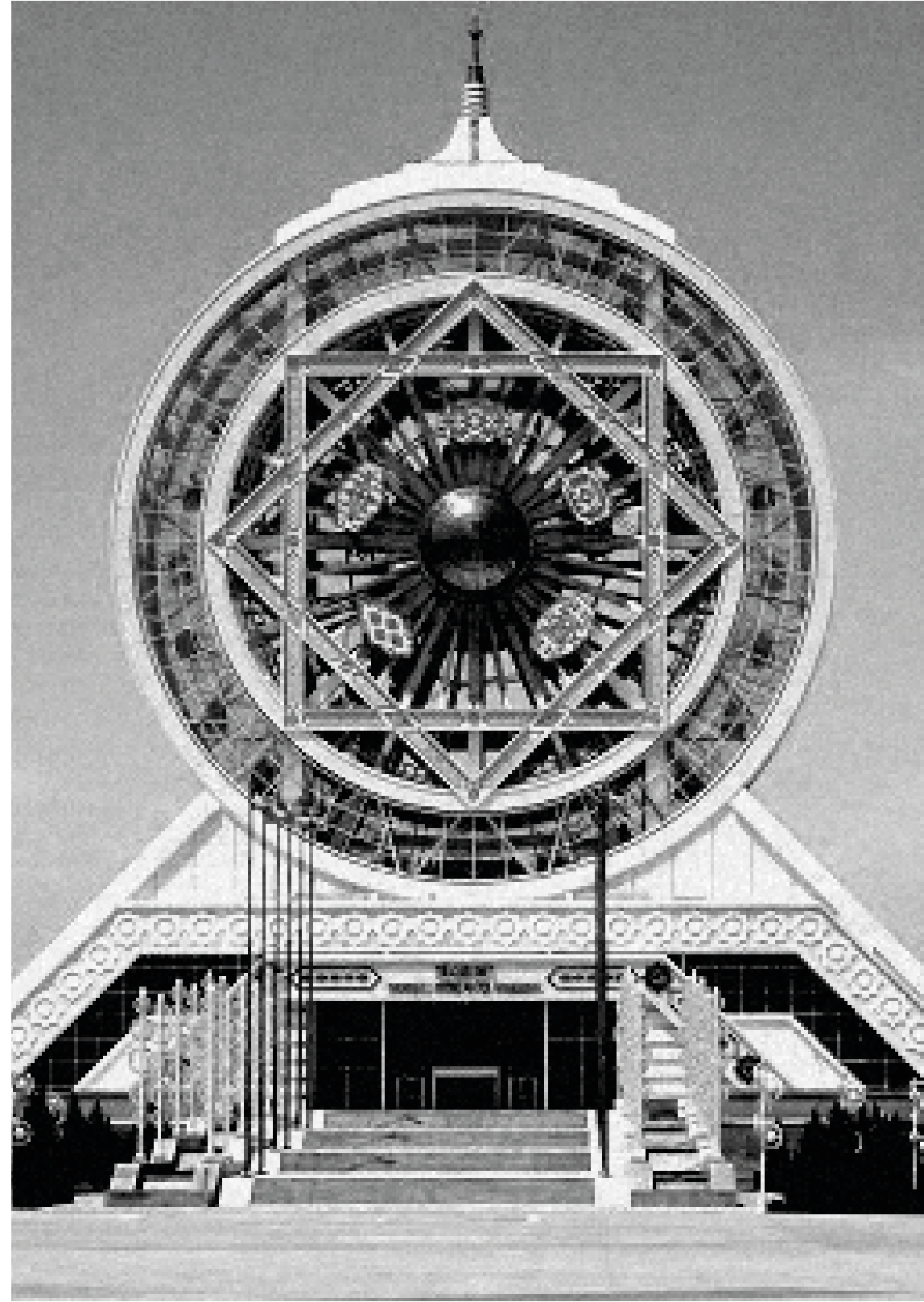
Sometimes there is even an appearance of what I like to call nonsense architecture. I consider it to be a sort of architecture that does not even have any aesthetic value anymore and has a questionable function. It is architecture that expresses solely: "I make it, because I can". Often this architecture is created in ridiculous scale, clad in precious materials – I think an interesting example of that in current time, would be the objects in Turkmenistan. In Turkmenistan, dozens of objects of an enormous scale, clad in marble and gold are exhibited around the city to showcase its greatness. Meanwhile, the people live in dire circumstances. And then again, the motivation behind it to make you believe in its success is misleading. It is trying to communicate the success of the regime.

Nowadays in other cases, for instance, such expression could be to showcase wealth. However in both cases that wealth is not a result of following the ideology, either totalitarian or capitalist but it hides the reality of the masses of people being exploited for the accumulation of such wealth. So in the end these might as well become the architecture, unintentionally slipping up and revealing the scale of oppression?

Another aspect I deem necessary to adress is the materiality. Whether it is again, the use of expensive materials or the use of materials that have certain tactility. Cold materials, ones creating echo, polished can where your reflection can be seen, can sustain a sense of being under surveillance. Some materials perhaps evoke a sense of belonging, perhaps a reflective material, repeats the image of one in the space, eventually making one feel like a part of the space and perhaps then the ideology.

Visually as well, color is important in communication. Red is considered the color of power and has been used throughout centuries. The red-cross in the middle ages, red color in baroque, totalitarian regimes using it as symbols, religious symbols, terrorist organizations. All the sides, the "good or the bad" are influenced by the red color which triggers emotions and passion in people.

If all of these elements, can be used to create the kind of architecture that expresses power or overpowerment, there are means where architecture increases a sense of the power of ideology amongst the mass. How is presence important in the establishment of a collective identity?





## Square of Revolution (Square of Republic)

Edvard Ravnikar was one of the greatest Slovenian (Ex-Yugoslavian) architects of the second half of the 20th century and as well the architect, who between 1960 and 1983 created the Square of Revolution (Now called The Square of Republic).

The project was a complex of administrative, business, and public cultural buildings which aimed to reposition the city center of Ljubljana and with that create a new center of political, cultural, and social life in Ljubljana.

The complex is most noticed by two tall skyscrapers which were as well meant to be seen as the southern gate of the city. They present themselves as two pillars – the left one held by the bank and the right one an economic pillar with the cultural centre called Cankarjev dom, merging into it. On a symbolic level, they present the pillars that uphold a country - economy and knowledge (culture).

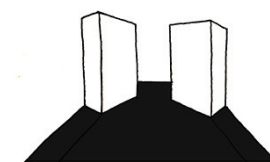
Cankarjev dom holds exhibition halls, concert halls, rooms for events, classrooms, a place for fairs and congresses, cafés, and the theatre. The towers look down on the big empty square – the square of revolution. which is a completely empty area that connects to the national assembly hall.

The square is a platform for the gathering of people and as well a place for demonstrations, events, and protests. It is in this case an unprogrammed space but with the great importance of maintaining social relations.

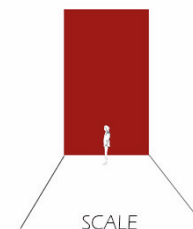
On the right side is a small park, filled with sculptures empowering the collective identity. On the left side, a shopping center and underground a whole area of restaurants, shops, pharmacies, and enclosed small gardens. As one visits the area, everything is available at the same place and a sense of self-sufficient society is established.







THE SQUARE



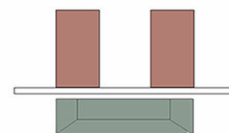
SCALE



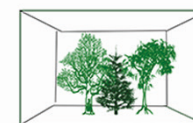
PATH ELEVATION



SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY



HIDDEN LAYERS



MICROCOSMOS



## The Void

The use of the void in architecture as means to exercise power. Wandering upon an area and being faced with vast emptiness. As emptiness in fact has something harrowing in it and feels beyond our comprehension.

Have you ever wandered in rural nature and suddenly felt this great sense of being overwhelmed, perhaps disoriented? Losing contact with the urban environment, one's sense for scale changes, one's perception of self, changes. As it is just you, faced with vast emptiness and the feeling of how complex and big the world really is? I believe in these moments I can feel the heaviness and vastness of the universe.

But that emptiness becoming man-made? Creating a completely empty space or emphasizing the emptiness by removal of volume exercises power in an immense way. As it can communicate that a man is able to create even emptiness, the one that the universe 'carries.'

Void and endless surfaces, create a sense of disorientation and as well the feeling of being dwarfed down, as an ant. Helpless unable to escape the higher force (of the one in power).

What about creating the void by the removal of an existing volume?

Destruction of buildings as means to exercise power or showcasing the ability to destruct a whole city, country, or the world with a single act of destruction. In our times nuclear weapons are the most dangerous and exercise power without even needing to be used. The sole making of them is already immediately considered an act of showcasing power. It becomes in the end, not about using the weapon but already just the notion of – I could if I can – becomes enough. The Soviet Union was not powerful for having the metro station in its times, but for having enough nuclear power to destroy every other station in the world (Hannah Arendt, Origins of Totalitarianism).



## Square as the Void

There have been many important squares designed in Yugoslavia. However, their function was not to suppress (although perhaps maintenance of the surveillance could have had a role), instead they had a role as social-forming spaces. They would express the power of the socialist society and thus contribute to the creation of a collective identity.

The spaces would hold a big role in place of events and gatherings. The square would be very important when there would be national events such as The Relay of Youth (Dan Mladosti), Day of Republic, Veteran day, Day of the Uprising, and the like.

On the contrary, there are cases of the anti-square. Where square achieves the ultimate voidity. Not only creating a void within the space but as well creating a personal void, nullifying the person.

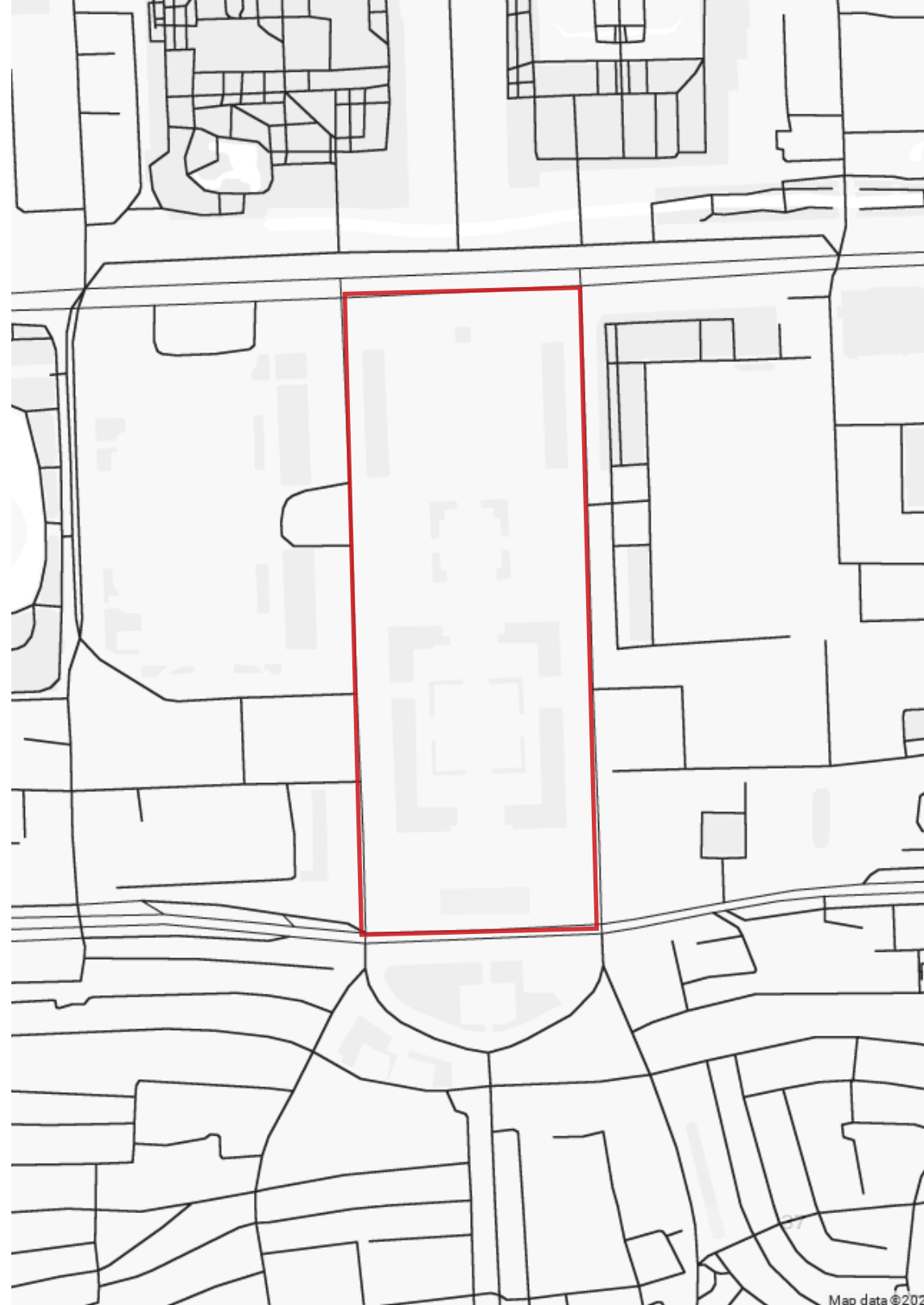
### Tiananmen Square, Beijing

In this example, I would like to point out Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Why do I mention a square on the opposite side of the world? Because even though there are many squares with such function around the world, Tiananmen Square is undeniably one of the most extreme examples. It is considered the ultimate example of the void and the anti-square.

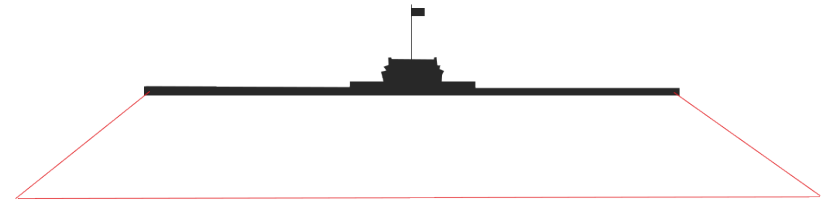
This square, measuring 765 x 282 meters is, therefore, the largest square in the world and it is as well, completely empty.

The square is most known for the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests that ended with a military crackdown, which is also known as the Tiananmen Square Massacre or June Fourth Massacre. It is estimated that a few hundred to several thousand people, mostly young students and workers who demanded greater political openness, were killed.

The square or the void is almost always very closely connected to the rituals and propaganda. When we talk about constructing the image of the nation, exercising power and ideology, propaganda has an inherent role.







The Tiananmen square is one of the most known examples of the void.

The 44-hectare public space is now considered "the opposite of a public space". The scale dwarfs the individual and forces people to feel subservient to the power of the state.

Due to its scale one feels completely powerless. The government has observation points and has removed all benches and anything that would make the square a spot to linger.

Due to its massive scale, one wandering the square gets disoriented and feels minute and insignificant.

The square in this case as well could work as a non-space, as it is a which through its characteristics, strips a person of their individuality.



## The Propaganda

Propaganda works in creating and establishing stories of a utopian or dystopian reality.

The aim of propaganda is either to propagate fear from the so-called enemy or to create promises of a utopian world – both of which will be achieved if ideology is followed.

Propaganda takes shape in all layers of daily lives.

It can work through depersonalization: use of uniforms is to remove class distinction and can work as a way to remove individuality, the united acts and repetition of songs, way of addressing one another can be pushed to an extreme, where one only identifies as a part of a group and a follower with the only motivation being the ideology. A German movie *Die Welle* (The Wave), shows just how easy it can be for one to be manipulated into following a certain ideology and pushing it too far.

Propaganda often works on the basis of invoking a traumatic experience or by evoking violence. In GDR, young children in schools cut and colored paper dolls with gas masks and AK-47s to get used to the violence. Nazis tried to invoke fear in German people, by portraying Jewish people as some kinds of demons that will spread disease. Soviet posters would for example contain images of horrific, greedy capitalists, trying to take all the money and land away from regular people.

When evoking trauma as a part of propaganda, even architecture can have the role. Often a building can have the purpose of being a constant reminder.

Propaganda posters would not only evoke negative emotions but stimulate happiness and hope. When Slovenia was gaining independence from Yugoslavia, posters picturing Slovenia, My Land would portray beautiful and utopian images of the independent republic. Theorists say that the **SLOVE**nia was the country ideal constructed through these posters, portraying the image that things will get much better, nature will be cleaner and people will be happier.

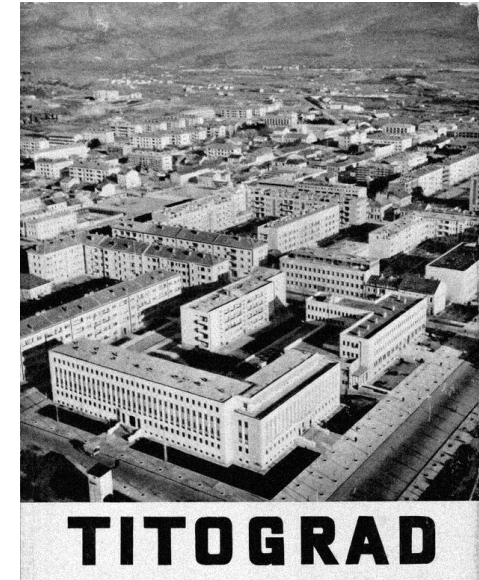
Evoking a sense of power, heroism and determination was as well one of the common tactics, as well as evoking sense of hope. A series of propaganda which would feed the masses with promises of a utopian land. Architecture would take on the role of fulfilling that dream and work as an extremely powerful tool.

An image of the building would become the new symbol of development and a promise of a better life. Throughout my research, I have discovered images of architectural models exhibited or carried by the people who feel unified by the creation of the architecture.

A cult of personality is created and the leader becomes the one that seems to hold the key which would unlock the solutions to all the world's problems. The leader becomes worshiped to the extremes.

An example is the Soviet propaganda posters, where Lenin almost seems to take over the role of a religious icon, copying the traditional religious iconographic settings in his idealized image. Instead of Mary holding Jesus, Lenin holds the happy and hopeful communist child.

Often the leader can also take the role which seems more complex. The leader can act as a Father or even the Mother of the society. The way the leader is portrayed manipulates the people into forming an even deeper connection with the people and in any case, a sense of losing that person would pose a sense of hopelessness.





## The Ritual

*" I put my blue pioneer hat (titovka) with the red star on, the white blouse, and the dark blue skirt that my mother carefully ironed for me in the morning. I tied the red bandana around my neck. With awe and excitement, we waited for the stafette to begin. There endless promenade, with athletes, artists, singers began. We joined in, cheering and singing the national songs. We waited with excitement for Tito to show up in his black car. We waited for this the whole year. We practiced our songs. there were flags, music, majorettes, gymnasts and organized movements".*

Ritual is defined as a sequence of activities involving gestures, words, actions, or objects, performed in a sequestered place and according to a set sequence.

A parade is one of the most powerful rituals. Every aspect is involved, inclusion in the mass, choreographed movements, following the songs, and blending with the mass through own contribution.

Rituals help establish and strengthen and maintain the power of an ideology and sense of collective identity. Architecture and objects are as well tools in its execution. A parade is 'playing' with the role of the body and the mass. Architecture is often a tool to curate the parades better.

Dan Mladosti (Day of Youth) was one of such holidays, celebrating president Josip Broz Tito's birthday with a relay moving through all Yugoslav cities. The relay became a symbolic network that would connect the parts of the country, through one unanimous celebration which would symbolically as well represent the president's body. The rituals would represent building a bond between the nation and its leader.

Through the rituals and passings of the youth batons, the mass forming into the outlines of Tito's body, it would symbolically transmute through the youth, immortalizing him beyond his body. The rituals would be so powerful that they would reside in the landscapes, leaving a geographical imprint and merging Tito, people and the landscape.

Through these rituals, the body and the country merge into one - a corpus of the nation.



Tito's appearance would interchange between being close by and creating contact with the people and between being far away, in the distant, seeming almost unattainable as a saint-like figure.

The rituals held together and supported Tito's cult of personality. As a totalitarian leader, he would often take on the role of the patriarchal leader, for youth especially representing a kind of a father role, leading the nation.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, these routines, habits, rituals and everyday practices, ways of addressing each other (tovariš, tovarišica- comrade), and the social consciousness would shift. In that case, Yugonostalgia would act as an intersection between "coercion and consent with power and ideology". It would expose the interlacing between ordinary life and the influence of the power of the ideology of the state.









## The Time

*"My feet feel heavier and heavier and the incline is leaving me out of breath. I start to see the shape clearing up at the top of the peak and it motivates me to move forward and reach it. I look around, there is nothing. Just nature, silence and my goal at the top."*

Time becomes a very important factor. It is often overlooked but architecture can often be very mindful of how it treats time.

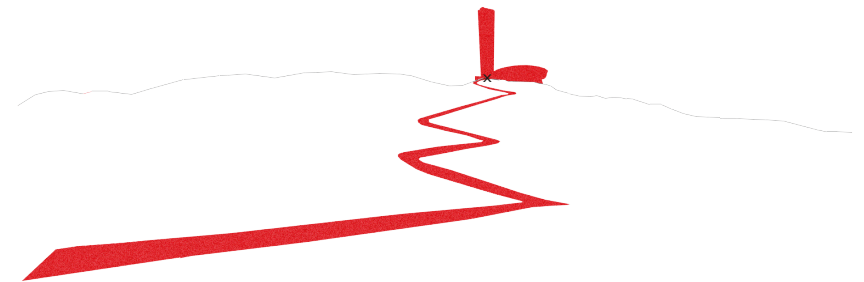
One example would be how one can experience time. By for instance manipulating the route of coming towards a place – for example, the road to the Budzludzha, a Bulgarian communist monument, takes a person on a long route throughout the mountains, which is full of elevations and creates a long walk. In that time, the person has time to experience a sense of contemplation and afterwards a sort of only goal is to reach that building – in that case, I wonder if there is something behind this.

The element of time is as well a common element of the pilgrimage, where one stops by specific points, and the architecture can take the role of the marking stop.

Totalitarian regimes mostly use the model of slowing down time. Manipulating the roads and the ways paths are created, creating elevations and descends. Perhaps met in-between with vistas of focal points to strengthen the narrative. But that is just on the level of path making. In general, the principle is that the experience of time is slowed down. Perhaps also the time is moved to another era. The Nazis, for example, used Historicism in architecture – recreating buildings that look like the ones from the Roman Empire to try to emphasize their identity, utilism and show try to show their discipline or military goals (perhaps also due to lack of originality).

There is on the other hand – now – the notion of trying to speed up the time. In the capitalist society we are made to believe that time is money and everything is created in the way to communicate that time is running fast, we are losing it and should react fast. A common manipulation of time mostly occurs in commercial spaces.





The Buldzhik monument used to be the secret headquarters of the Bulgarian communist party.

Its position high up in the mountains takes the person through a long road, where effort is put to reach it. As one escalates towards it, the monument is constantly in the field of view - the end-goal.

To be more precise, the monument is situated at the top of the 1441m high peak.

## The Power of Memory

Lately, I have been thinking: Are we stuck in time?

Many people keep bringing up the memories of Yugoslavia and how great it has been and how united everyone was. My older relatives explain to me their childhood memories and they, without being aware, also go in a detailed description of the surroundings, the architecture. I remember walking with my grandparents around the city as a child and they would point out places in the city, each attached with a great story of the past. They start talking about Yugoslavia in good times and their mind wanders. Now just the buildings remain and they keep the stories alive and I try to imagine how life has been.

It seems that nowadays the general public rejects a lot of new ideas. "Even the building quality is not the same anymore, the materials are not good anymore, who even uses this, in the past everything made sense etc...." Opposite from the Western Europe, the architecture here seems to remain nostalgic. Of course, there could be great advanced things done, but there is often not much interest in it as ideals in our mentality often do not lie in the future. 'It sometimes feels as if we are still with one foot in the past.'

I realized. There are two kinds of people nowadays. The ones nostalgic about the past, always wishing Yugoslavia would be reunited again and everything would be 'beautiful again' and the ones that absolutely hate Yugoslavia and the things that happened at its end. But what both have in common is that they keep focused on the past. The harsh and absolutely devastating reality is that the war happened. The genocide happened. And the utopian dream of some cannot be recreated just as the dystopian events cannot be erased. However, the utopian memory keeps alive by people when they walk past Yugoslavian architecture, meet with the objects that represented that time, hear Ex-Yu music...

Then I realized that this is another layer of power of architecture. It is the power that is given by memory. And it is where again the abstract layer of architecture appears. It is the category of power given by nostalgia, reimagining architecture, what it was and what it could have been.

Marko Vidojković wrote a book called E, baš vam hvala (Thank you Very Much) and it is a fictional roman about an alternative reality, where Yugoslavia never fell apart and the wars never occurred.



Vidojković clearly describes the incredibly advanced cities with magnetic trains, advanced flying cars made by Zastava and Gorenje tablets, phones etc. all produced by Yugoslavia. Nature is taken care of and people are living their happiest life. It is a world of 'what ifs' where Yugoslavia became one of the most developed countries in the world.

Suddenly a disruption occurs. Mysterious portals of people who have been dead for years or doppelgangers of random people, start to enter the world through strange portals. Suddenly it becomes clear that the portals lead to another dimension. A dimension, where war happened and has left massive disruption and misery behind. It's a grey bleak world. Suddenly utopia meets dystopia and they can no longer deny each other's existence. A confrontation follows.

This story made me think of the power of memory and how an alternative sense of reality can form influenced by the memory..

Michael Herzfeld [in *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation State*] points out that discourses of change and decline, especially moral decline, are characteristic of all societies and uses the term "structural nostalgia" for the collective imagination of the perfection of past times. Every new generation reproduces the same narrative of the past time as more heartfelt and humane, more stable and happier. According to him, nostalgia is a complaint of the inability to return to this past, to a "better" world with stable social and moral values.

Many post-socialist theorists, consider the socialist past an integral part of the post-socialist present. As constant reminiscence influences and enhances expectations for the future. Many post-socialist theorists emphasize that the socialist past is an integral part of the post-socialist present, because constant reminiscence of the past figures in the great expectations of the future. As Michael Herzfeld states, "a static image of unbroken and irretrievable past often plays an important role in acting in the present." Economic shock therapy, unstable social and political climate and a generally paradoxical and confusing social environment have definitely affected the recreation of the image of the past.

When Yugoslavia disintegrated, more than 20 million people suddenly found themselves detached from a place where they grew up

and lived - their homeland.

As the country disappeared, their collective memories, cultural practices, everyday rituals remained and many began to feel displaced.

Through years, as a kind of coping mechanism, Yugonostalgia developed. It is important, however, to note that not all of the countries experience Yugonostalgia the same. For some it is a romantic nostalgia from a 'safe distance', for others a paradoxical situation of inability to realize a common multiethnic space, a reaction to the dissatisfaction with the everyday life, for some an aesthetic norm.

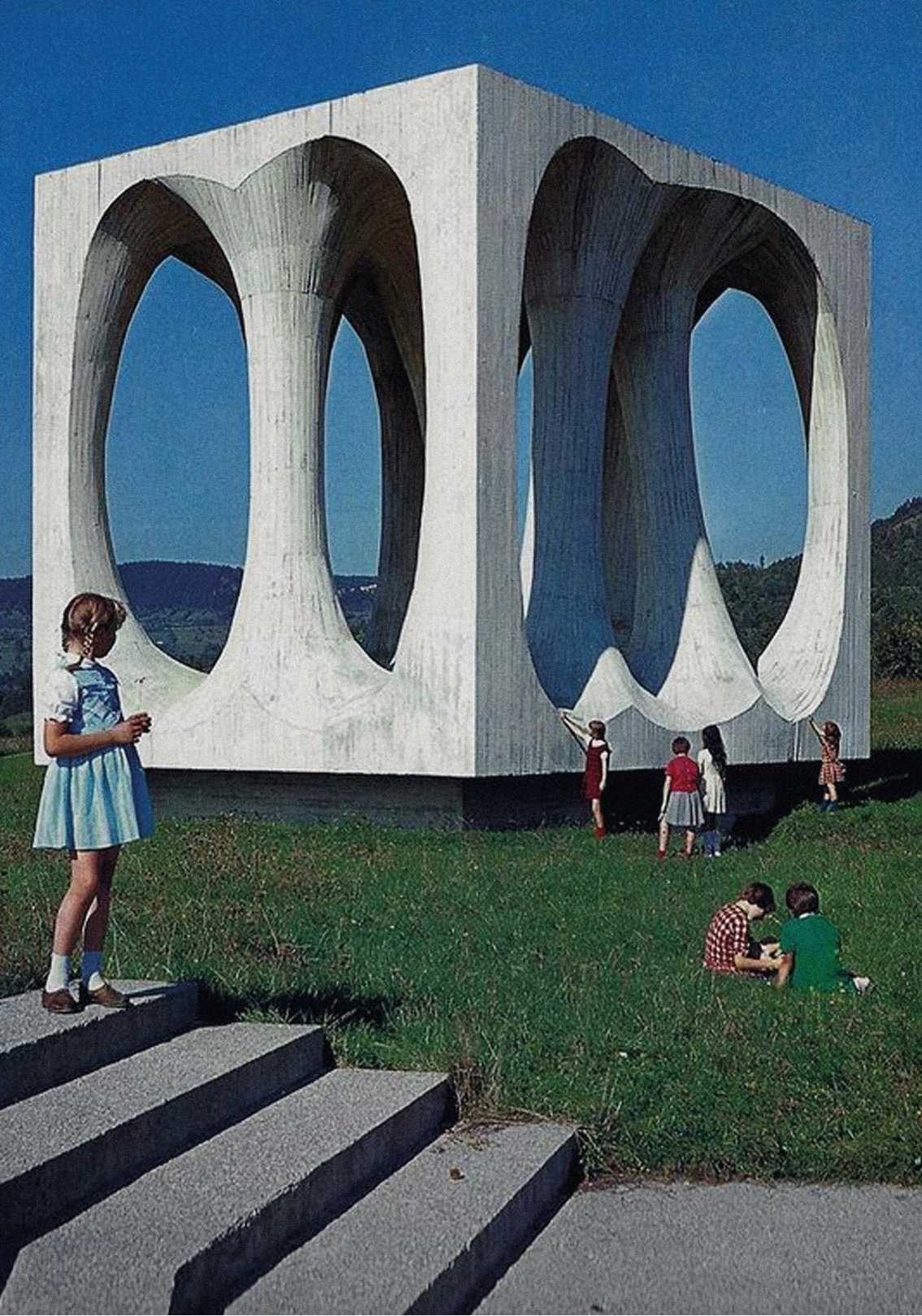
This nostalgia has many faces and has developed in divergent reactions, even such acute examples as from recreating Yugoslavia in a hyper-reality to converting in into a consumerist entity.

Particularly within the smaller nations, the sudden national space shrunk and a sense of detachment deepened. Regardless of the fact that people have decided to leave Yugoslavia, now the nostalgia seems to have grown. Many people in smaller nations feel as if they again want to belong to something bigger. Be a part of something bigger. Through Yugonostalgia, many seek to find mediums in which they could reconnect to the place. This is mainly not a quest to reconnect to the ideology but instead to the collective identity that has been lost in the process.

"Definition of Yugo-nostalgia as loss and yearning for what is unattainable ignores the complexity of how the past actively engages with the present and future."

I believe that the analysis of Yugonostalgia is not to be disregarded as just a trend of people who cannot let go of the past but should be objectively examined. It can help analyze the current situation better. Yugonostalgia could hint to what people are missing or dissatisfied with in the situation nowadays and that could help to propose solutions for problems we are facing today. It could reveal societal and political problematics. Looking back and analyzing this occurrence, especially in architecture could provide solutions for certain spatial and habitation problematics nowadays.





"Yugo-nostalgia is the projection of a utopian past into the future of post-socialist societies that have emerged from Yugoslavia. What is called Yugo-nostalgia is a broader transference of utopia—the ideal social arrangement, well-being, and prosperity, order, and safety—into the everyday realities and uncertainties of the present living conditions. The romanticization and idealization of the past overlooks that a desire to return to the Yugoslav socialist past grows with unstable or risky conditions in post-socialist societies; the latter struggle with global economic and cultural flows while positioned between the socialist legacy and a sudden confrontation with the neo-liberal capitalist economy." (Luthar, Breda, and Maruša Pušnik, eds. *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010.)



## The Abstract Realm

In the *Origins of Totalitarianism* by Hannah Arendt an interesting point is made. Totalitarian regimes were often created when the world and its population felt like they were in a sense of chaos. Totalitarianism took use of that by creating a strict order. There were set of rules followed and through propaganda the system sustained itself. However, as in the real world nothing is ever perfectly in order a sort of fiction is needed in order to sustain that order. Therefore the totalitarian regimes constantly operate with a sense of notion that there is something fictive and abstract present. Arendt also describes that totalitarian regimes function as 'secret societies in the open.' There are fiction and mystery present.

As I mentioned before and this is where my core interest lies is the creation of an abstract space and abstract reality is formed when there is a vast amount of power present.

The more powerful something is, the less is known about it. Therefore it is no surprise that many speculations and even conspiracies form. Perhaps about secret airports and tunnels (which were actually discovered after Yugoslavia ended), secret railways, hidden residences mansions.

Therefore things do not have to even be seen in order to maintain a sense of power. A good example of that is made by Theo Deutinger in his *Handbook of Tyranny* where he analyses the unseen and almost unnoticeable ways in which power and tyranny are manifested in the modern world.

I believe that in the case of Yugoslavia, this abstract realm has formed. The abstract realm verges from creating an abstract space filled with speculation, what is hiding behind the surface at the time of Yugoslavia's existence, another speculative layer is what could have been and that layer stretches into the now. The creation of the abstract realm is a consequence of memory, nostalgia, presence of power, displaced collective identity.

The abstract realm exists as a reaction to the promised utopias, reaction to the traumatic past and so much more.

This abstract space focuses on the reproduction of the present rather the reproduction of the past. The abstract realm is an important reaction to objects and events and represents a kind of mirror to the past.



Michel Foucault describes the heterotopia as a place which is 'other.' It is not an utopia or dystopia but an inbetween place. He uses the analogy of the mirror to describe the concept.

"In contrast to the utopias, these places which are absolutely other with respect to all the arrangements that they reflect and of which they speak might be described as heterotopias. Between these two, I would then set that sort of mixed experience which partakes of the qualities of both types of location, the mirror. It is, after all, a utopia, in that it is a place without a place. In it, I see myself where I am not, in an unreal space that opens up potentially beyond its surface; there I am down there where I am not, a sort of shadow that makes my appearance visible to myself, allowing me to look at myself where I do not exist: utopia of the mirror. At the same time, we are dealing with a heterotopia. The mirror really exists and has a kind of comeback effect on the place that I occupy: starting from it, in fact, I find myself absent from the place where I am, in that I see myself in there." ("Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" by Michel Foucault. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Edited by Neil Leach. NYC: Routledge. 1997. pp.330-336)

Due to different motivations, people want to reach the abstract realm, react to power, regime and nostalgia. On account of that, many are trying to recreate the space, the heterotopia. Many are trying to recreate Yugoslavia online, through establishing a hyper-reality. There are websites dedicated to reviving the symbolic plane of Yugoslavia, reestablishing the Yugoslav cultural space. There even exists a website that tries to revive Tito, by creating an online persona, which one can communicate it. Through different means, even music, movies, people are trying to reach that abstract Yugoslav realm. There is even abuse of that longing by using Yugonostalgia and turning it into a consumerist product. Not only is that a complete misunderstanding of the topic, it also strips it down to plain and useless objects which may communicate a feeling but hold no symbolic value. The symbols used are as well stripped of their meaning and transformed into consumerist objects.


Looking at that, in the following chapters I analyze the elements that construct the Yugoslav realm. I try to observe, what are the components which contribute to keeping the abstract realm alive.





**CONSTRUCTING THE STAGE OF THE  
YUGOSLAVIAN REALM**





The project of socialist Yugoslavia was a utopian project, it was the idea to come up with a better version of society and architecture played a key role in that. The empowerment of public space was very important, providing communal space for social interaction, many of the housing complexes were built as park-like landscapes in which very dense apartment blocks were put but trying to leave as much of the ground space open. They weren't just individual boxes, one room after another but the idea was to give a certain amplitude, a certain generosity of the space. Architecture in our contemporary period is seen more and more as a luxury commodity, in the service of few, it doesn't really play any significant role in our common vision in what our society should be. The architecture of Yugoslavia is an example of what it could be. How architecture really can contribute to a better life for everyone. – MOMA towards a concrete utopia

The aftermath of a country, suddenly ceasing to exist, after there has been a specific way of living and a specific ideology existing for so long, creates an abstract realm.

An abstract realm, a sort of heterotopia of a country that never even existed, but is a realm manipulated by ideology, memories, utopia and as well the contrasting perception of space compared to know.

It seems as if objects and architecture have become sort of portals to this other realm.

After stratifying the layers of power and identity, I have come to a conclusion that the expression of power and ideology, works as a theatre.

If the abstract realm is the play, what are the elements that construct it? Who is the director? What is the stage? What are the props?



## The Stage

After the 2nd world war, architecture played a fundamental role in the formation of a new world. Yugoslav youth joined the communist associations and together, they reconstructed and rebuild a new Yugoslavia. An architectural model was carried to the site, as a motivation for the new place to come.

Unprogrammed space played a great role in constructing the spaces of Yugoslavia.

Civic space played a major role in architecture and would function as a machine – a space that is in the sense of economic performance useless but poses as a mechanism in formation of social structures and development of identity. Unprogrammed spaces would present a big bond between the architecture, its users and the outside. Nowadays the spaces which flourish no capital are often seen as unnecessary. However, this space represented a space of social encounters, building relationship between buildings and spatial configuration as well as tying in with the surroundings.

With the creation of these spaces, a certain social imagination was formed with them. An ideological space was formed.

However, one of the main influencers for the creation of this ideal space was the sudden formation of inaccessibility.

Branislav Dimitrijevic's anecdote of the Genex Tower (West Gate of Belgrade) shows a beginning phase of this inaccessibility:

*-When the Genex Tower building was finished my father walked by it with his friend. As you know it is also called the West Gate of Belgrade, therefore it as well holds a symbolic value as it is the first building you will see upon entering Belgrade. It was still based on the utopian idea of having one tower with offices and the other with apartments. At the top, you will have a panoramic restaurant. When observing it, my father asked his friend: "What is this object at the top of the building, what is going on there?". His friend replied: "Ah, over there is communism."-*

The 'normal' residents of Belgrade could observe the communisms only from afar. If the country started to rebuild itself on the ideas of socialism and communism, a shift happened. The same happened with the Hotel Yugoslavia, where only the privileged (in a classless society) would be able to enjoy it.







Suddenly the space, accessible to all started to form boundaries. The notion of creation of inaccessible spaces formed questioning about what is going on in the "Communism".

A dream of common space and architecture began to disintegrate and the spaces already existing, became spaces of speculation and story-telling.





## Hotel Jugoslavija

Swiss director Nicolas Wagnières in his documentary explores Hotel Yugoslavia as a medium to tell the story of the rise and fall of Yugoslavia. The once vivid rooms, full of songs and laughter, place for tourists, to unaccessible place for the elite, to decaying concrete walls filled with bulletholes.

Hotel Yugoslavia was a phenomenal hotel in Belgrade. The building created an utopian world of what Yugoslavia perhaps never even was for the people and what it dared to dream to perhaps sometime become.

In the movie, Nicolas questions:

"Did this country only exist artificially? Did it exist only because it wasn't part of Soviet block? Did it exist only thorough the authoritarianism and opportunism of its president and his skill at adapting to circumstances? Did it exist only because the world was divided in two? Was there really nothing worth inheriting from Yugoslavia?"

"As Yugoslavia hasn't been attacked by the outer enemies, after the death of Tito, it imploded on its own. The dream of socialism and communism died. "

"Words of brotherhood , unity, collectivity, self-management, non-alignment became only words."





Would you consider the architecture of Yugoslavia and its impact on you (psychological) different than the architecture now? Was there any difference in what the environment communicated?

-Today's architecture is nothing but mere tool to earn easy money. Build fast. Build cheap. Build ugly. Take the money and forget it. Now we live in architectural hell. And such is the psychological impact - it gives us the feeling that everything is ugly, low quality and built just to fill the pockets of a few chosen ones. Yugoslavian architecture was made to last. And to make us all proud, regardless of national or cultural background.-

- I don't even know what is architecture now.-

- Now when I'm thinking about this question, I would say yes. I feel connected to that architecture and I like buildings from that period, even though it was before my birth. I think I'm more connected to that type of architecture because of the stories I heard from my grandparents and my dad.-

- There's a difference between our architecture and modernist. Modernist can look aesthetic or cool, but when it's the only thing you see, it feels soulless and dull. We cannot stop change, but it feels nice to see the previous architecture. Of course, it feels disturbing if we see remnants of places where people were murdered in.-

- During Yugoslavia, people either lived in smaller apartments or shared larger apartments. This is the practice in general in communist regimes. Residential architecture may have seemed special and fantastic at the time, but today it has absolutely no effect in the world of architecture except perhaps for research purposes. Yugoslav architecture is insignificant, impersonal and ugly and does not represent any nostalgia for me or my parents who were born, educated and lived in the Yugoslav Federation.-

- Yugoslav built neighborhoods were designed in a way that was much more careful about providing citizens with greenery, schools, hospitals and sports facilities. Architecture today is basically destroying the cities in the region with cheap facades.-

-It was more innovative.-

- I came of age in New Belgrade. The sense of overwhelming power of huge building blocks within development estates is gone. New architecture doesn't convey this, it comes across as cheap, but not in the old socialist way (affordable to everyone) but following the capitalist principle of profit (investment must be lower than gain).-

-Seems like government took care about everyone. There were no homeless people, never and nowhere. My town is typical mediterranean town with its particular "outside" life, so it was great. But, big cities like Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo also were well organized, regarding care of quality life. Nowadays, it is much different. Capitalism, money, corruption, .... doesn't care about social aspect. They just build cheap and good looking modern buildings. Since we still live of tourism- the town lost its soul and everything is about the money. It might seem from the outside like perfect place for living, but inside it is pretty rotten.-

-Residential housing was more socialist but very useful. The design did not stand out and the materials were basic but affordable for all. It was the socialist building way. But the projects for the public, state buildings, protocol buildings, schools and hospitals were really standing out and very special in the design.-

- I loved all those new bridges over Ljubljana because they make Ljubljana more beautiful and interesting. Also, they are not meant only for the rich, which is something that cannot be said for many other buildings now. It seems to me that the contemporary architecture in a certain degree mirrors the relations inside our society - wealth, poverty, power, weakness, courage, imagination, etc. - it's all there-

- Of course it is different. Yugoslavian architecture was planned and balanced with all people needs. Today it is only money maker-

- Yes, in Bosnia buildings are no longer planned and everything is chaos. Yugoslavian architecture gives me a sense that it was planning for a future that never happened, and it fills me with grief-



## The Props

In the construction of the Yugoslav realm, objects hold an inherent role.

After the stage is constructed, the props place the narrative in motion.

The props in this case become mediums to help establish a connection with the other realm. They bring forward a physical connection and emphasize the first-person experience and interaction.

There are objects which immediately trigger an association with the time and have specific memories attached to them. Although the memories of the objects may differ, they are often connected with the same red line and constitute a similar set experience. They are the objects which were forming a bridge between the collective, common and personal space.



## The Carpet Hanger

*'One of my earlier memories consists of a warm Sunday, outside of our blocks. I remember being excited to go outside and have fun with my friends. Before that however, I always had to help my mother carry the carpet outside. There we would place it over the metal structure, the carpet hanger and my mother would violently start to beat the carpet with a carpet beater. Carpet beater was a racket-like tool made out of wood, metal plastic or rattan, strangely shaped and filled with holes. While repeating the action, all of the dust and dirt that has accumulated in the textile over time would fly out of it. With every hit, the carpet would become cleaner and cleaner and ready to be carried back to the house. Several other neighbours, brought their carpets outside as well and our mothers would all clean the carpets while chatting together and making plans for the afternoon hang-outs in front of our building blocks.'*

The carpet beater is not an object focused only on the area of Ex-Yugoslavia. The use of carpet beaters was quite common in Europe, before the invention of the vacuum cleaners. After that, around the 50s, the carpet beaters would slowly disappear. I, however still remember them being used in my youth.

Nowadays, the carpet hangers are mostly gone from the urban environments.

Even though the carpet beater was not only typical for Yugoslavia, I think it has an important symbolical value in that space and a relation to the architecture. The carpet beating meant leaving the apartment and doing house chores outside of it. That meant that the border between the living space and public space was more blurred. The living space extended further and the public space was perceived more as a common space than nowadays.

The carpet hanger would become a recognizable element in every neighbourhood and would as well allow intuitive use. Many times children would use it as a playground or youth would use it as an exercise tool.





## Kiosk K67

*You don't even notice it anymore, as even though its vivid colour it blends and becomes one with the city. You stop by it in the morning to get your morning paper, further on you come towards the same structure and buy a lottery ticket. Before your work, you decide to stop by another and get some fresh bread and a coffee from it. In the afternoon on a hot Summer day you drive to the city centre, pay the parking by the structure and as you walk further, you decide to have some ice cream and get it from another structure. On the walk home you see another one and get some juicy apples. As you keep walking, you see another and you admire the pretty flowers they sell and decide to take some home.*

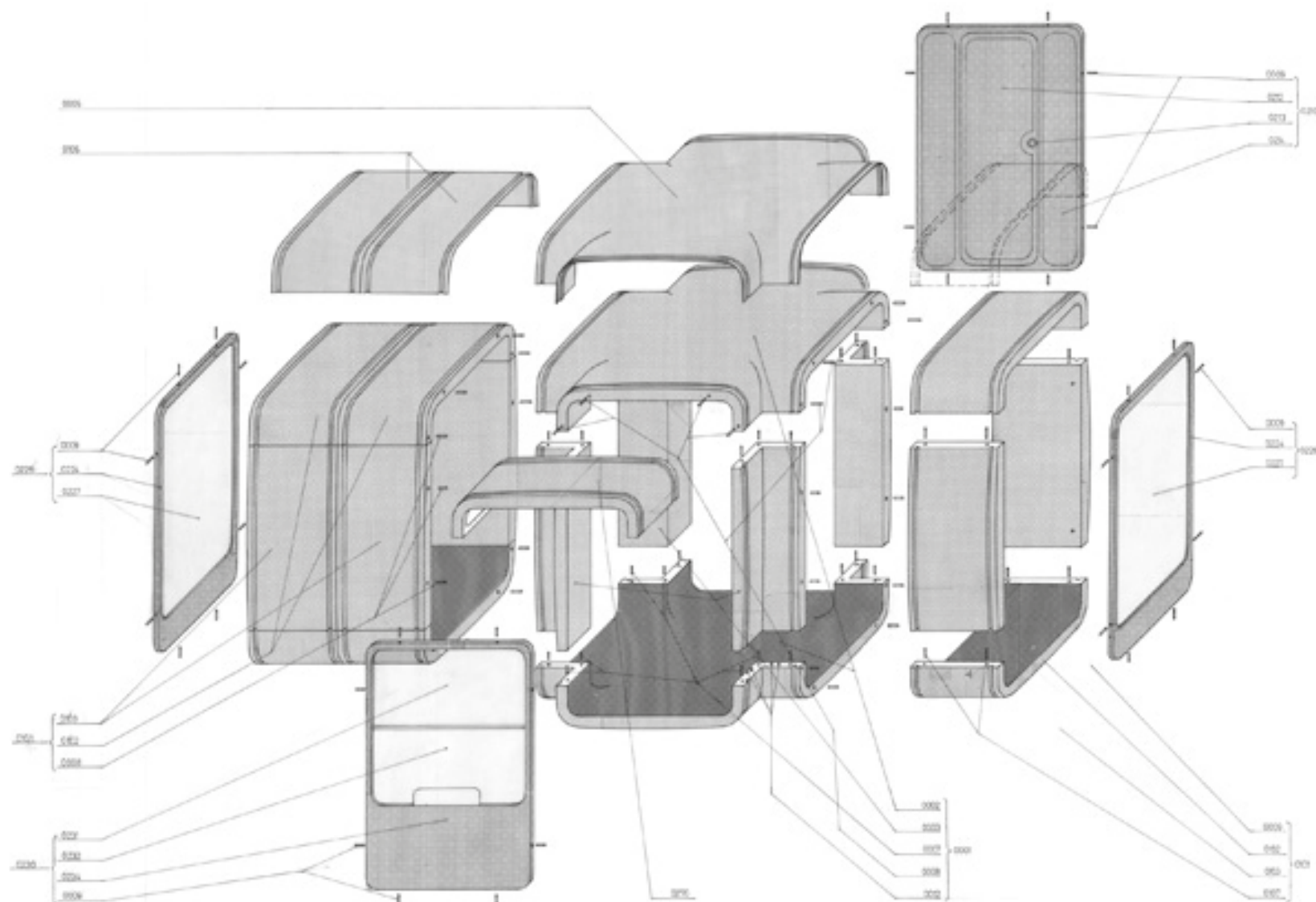
That vivid red, yellow, green, blue (or any other colour you could imagine) structure is called Kiosk K67. Kiosk K67 is a shape-shifting system of modular fiberglass structures designed in 1966 by Saša J. Mächtig a Slovenian architect. The Kiosks became such a success that they started to appear all around the world. They became a product, small-scale architecture and part of the urban environment at the same time. These modular structures were so versatile they would take on any function imaginable.

These Kiosk structures represent a part of the urban Yugoslav environment. In their standardized shape, just like the many building blocks, they would in their uniformity provide space for improvisation and personalization. As the kiosks are slowly disappearing from our environment, one can still find them at the utmost rare places. Even in the middle of the village, where one can stop and buy burek (a savoury pastry) for the way.

By visiting the kiosk, one can for a short moment position themselves back into the time and memory of the socialist Yugoslavia.













## Fičo

If kiosk represented an immobile space, that would allow improvisation and individualisation, a car took this process to another level. It would allow the person to have own space, independent of public transport and transition through the landscapes and being completely in charge of own journey.

In his book *E, baš vam hvala* (Thank you very much) Marko Vidojković describes people in the futurist Yugoslavia driving around in advanced, beautifully designed electric cars called Zastava 1001.

Zastava 750 or also known as Fičko, Fiča, Fičo, Fikjo was a supermini, produced by Serbian carmaker Zavod Crvena Zastava. It was a first mass produced, slightly longer version of the car produced with the license of Fiat - Fiat 600.

Fičko was the car that gave the wheels to Yugoslavia and left its mark in its collective memory. The Fičko car is seen as an image or a medium through which people drift back to their memories, other's memories and helps to construct the past of Yugoslavian time or an abstracted image of it. As the person in suddenly experiencing the Yugoslav landscape differently, through different motion, speed and new experiences come it, the perception of space as well shifts.

The car becomes not only a transportation vehicle but a micro environment, much like the kiosk where memories are formed.

The memories of Fičko are always very vivid, often of packing and fitting bags to prepare to travel to the sea, mountains, maintaining the car, fixing it as it breaks down on the road, thorough description of the smell and materiality of the car, the creaking of rolling down the windows, the long conversations and singing.

The car becomes not only a vehicle through the landscape but a vehicle to another timescape.





## Yugo

Following Zastava 750 and its version, Zastava Koral, known as Yugo, comes to place.

Yugo is often mistaken as to be named by Yugoslavia but interestingly it was named by Jugo (south) wind. It was presented to the public in 1978 and the last one was produced in 2008. Out of 800 000 produced, 145 000 were sold in US, and it is now one of the best known cars in history.

Yugo has a distinct smell, which people jokingly claim to be the smell of Yugoslavia. Cheap fabric, leaking gasoline, cheap plastic that all blend into one (Antonija Buntak). You of course get that smell in any other old car but Yugo brings you back to Yugoslavia.

Just like the DMC DeLorean in the movie Back to The Future, becomes a car that transports you to another time, Fico and Yugo become vehicles to the past and at the same time abstracted realm of Yugoslavia. They trigger memories that are influenced by real experience, painting a place that perhaps never really existed.

While driving in the car, the songs were playing...

**30,000 other people like the look of them too.**



Car Illustrated 114 GLS 1425V

**The Yugo Superminis. From £3414\***

You'll find the Yugo a very accommodating hatchback. With plenty of room for four plus their luggage (or pizza). With a nippy, responsive engine, which performs just as well on the open road, as it does on the city streets.

You'll enjoy the light rack and pinion steering and positive front wheel drive. And your passengers will

appreciate the smooth all-round independent suspension and dependable dual circuit brakes.

But perhaps the feature you'll find the most agreeable, just like the 30,000 other people who already own a Yugo, is the price.

So why not call into any of the dealers listed opposite and see how little it costs to take one away.



*Is there a specific daily object, a piece of furniture or anything else that you associate with Yugoslavia?*

*-A color - socialist orange! The modular kiosk was made in that color and we have a sandwich press that color that still works perfectly.-*

*-A public phone box-*

*-Car (Yugo), everyone had the same kind of furniture of kitchen (Marles) - that kind of kitchen still have my parents, Iskra telephone, Rogov pony, motorbike Tomos, orange hair dryer, Elan skis.-*

*-Old furniture where we kept the alcohol-*

*-I have preserved the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The forerunner of Yugoslavia. I am a political scientist by profession and it is nice to have a piece of the painful history of my own country and people.-*

*-Red modular kiosk, telephone "Iskra", Borosana women's shoes-*

*-Dzezva (coffee pot), red star, cigarettes, old sofas, Yugo car, laced curtains-*

*-Coffee cigarettes, sweat suits, cars, fico, socialism, alcohol, patriarhat, smoking in bars and fighting, sports shoes...-*

*-Cushions, taburey (ottoman stools), carpets and hanging the carpets outside-*

*-Our old Yugo car...-*

*-Laced table cloths.-*

*Well, you can find pieces of furniture that were typically in all houses and flats in '70 and '80. Everybody had same furniture and interior completely, so the difference between rich and poor ones were not so highlighted.-*

*-Laminated parquet and fish bone pattern beech flooring, interior door with metal frames, Cocta, 20x20 size white ceramics, terazzo staircases, Gorenje appliances, oak veneer furniture...-*

*-I would say there are typical chairs, sofas, even kitchens and kitchen decorations (laced tablecloth)-*

*-Coffee pot, clay pot, cokanj (rakia glass)-*

*-Yes, the NLB bank building in Ljubljana by the Square of Republic.-*

*-The huge socialist monuments in the mountains of Yugoslavia dedicated to ww2 and the camps for children in mountain homes there.-*

*-Sava Centar, Zgrada SIV-a, New Belgrade blocks ,WWII monuments-*

*-These big couches and armchairs with flower patterns as well as big cupboards filled with crystal vases. -*

*-Brutalist blockss of flats and for furniture "regal" the center spot of all living rooms (it had the tv, books figures, radio...-*

*-Many beautiful monuments.-*

*-My favorite is SIV building in Belgrade, today called "Palace Serbia" and in my hometown Prijepolje, I like "Dom kulture" and EPS building. My favorite monument is the one in Kadinja a. A lot of things Stil remembers of that period.-*



## The Orchestra

Yugoslav music is the music that has survived past Yugoslavia. The songs do not seem to age or go out of style and are still listened to by all generations. The topics of Yugoslav music differ from the topic of modern music, they are often more melancholic or celebratory.

The Yugoslav music nowadays seems to be a trigger for remembrance of the Yugoslav time. For many, the music represents a time of unity and collectivity. There is Yugoslav music that directly used to associate to the political and national themes but there is also music that just through its essence, for example Dalmatian music.

Now the music and the culture is living beyond its political motivations and beyond Yugoslavia, however remaining a trigger for remembrance and a tool to help deal with the past. Many bands that have become successful in the former Yugoslavia, now continue to use their music to try and promote the overcoming of religious and ethnic differences in the area.

### *"Živela Jugoslavija" - Lepa Brena*

*Kad pogledam naše more  
naše reke, naše gore  
svu lepotu gde sam rođena  
i sve što bi reci znala  
u srcu sam zapisala  
živela Jugoslavija*

*Zemljo mira, zemljo Tita  
zemljo hrabra, ponosita  
širom sveta o tebi se zna  
volimo te naša mati  
nećemo te nikom dati  
živela Jugoslavija*

*Tu je rođen marsal Tito  
naše ime ponosito  
k'o heroja ceo svet ga zna  
blago zemlji što ga ima  
pamtiće se vekovima  
živela Jugoslavija*

### *"Long Live Yugoslavia"*

*When I look at our sea  
Our rivers, our mountains  
All the beauty where I was born  
And everything I would know to say  
I wrote in my heart  
long live Yugoslavia*

*The land of peace, the land of Tito  
A country brave and proud  
The wide world knows about you  
We love you our mother  
We will not give you up to anyone  
Long live Yugoslavia*

*Marshal Tito was born here  
Our proud name  
The hero the whole world knows  
Treasured is the land that has him  
He will be remembered for centuries  
Long live Yugoslavia*



Lepa Brena born as Fahreta Živojinović, 20.10.1960 is a Yugoslav (Bosnian) pop-folk singer, actress and a businesswoman. She is one of the most popular and best-selling female artist from the former Yugoslavia.

Lepa Brena meaning Pretty Brena, in her songs, explores fantasies of the modern woman. A woman liberated in the society, who enjoys sex and openly voices her desires, indicating a degree of female emancipation in folk-pop culture, and wider society as a whole (Delić 2020)

She is known as an influential singer in the spread of the idea of Yugoslavian dream. Through her songs, she starts a discourse and promotes the core ideology of Yugoslav socialism; the ideology of brotherhood and unity. She is considered the ultimate folk-star of Yugoslavia who took on the entire Yugoslav mediascape.

*"Although sexuality was the primary vehicle for crafting her image, Brena also used her popularity and attractiveness to bolster the political cause. She symbolically merged her image with the established socialist myths and imagery, centered on brotherhood and unity and president Tito. This union provided the much needed cohesive imagery endorsed both by mainstream politicians and audiences, especially during the growing ideological crises triggered by Tito's death in 1980. The sentiment was best illustrated in the duet performance of the 1985 song, "Živela Jugoslavija" (Long Live Yugoslavia) with the leading neofolk singer Miroslav Ilić." [Delić, 2020]*

"The 1989 song "Jugoslovenka" became another pop hymn to Yugoslavism. The song carried a reassuring and hopeful message about the country, celebrating the diversity and the unity of its peoples, reinforced by the presence of her male co-singers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The song's optimistic vision of Yugoslav nationhood was graphically mapped through Brena's physical body."

#### *"Jugoslovenka" - Lepa Brena*

*Odakle si lijepa djevojko  
Ko ti rodi oko plavetno  
Ko ti dade kosu zlacanu  
Ko te stvori tako vatrenu*

*Oci su mi more Jadransko Kose su  
mi klasje Panonsko  
Sestra mi je duša Slovenska  
Ja sam Jugoslovenka*

*Odakle si lijepa djevojko  
Gdje si rasla cvijeće proljetno  
Gdje te grije sunce slobodno  
Kada pleses tako zanosno*

*Odakle si lijepa neznanko  
Gdje si krala sunca bjelilo  
Gdje si pila vino medeno  
Kada ljubis tako sladano*

#### *"A Yugoslav Woman"*

*Where are you from, beautiful girl  
Who gave you the blue eyes  
Who gave you the golden hair  
Who created you so fiery*

*My eyes are the Adriatic Sea  
My hair is the Pannonian ears of grain  
My sister is the Slavic soul  
I am a Yugoslav woman*

*Where are you from, beautiful girl  
Where did you grow up, spring flower  
Where did the free sun warm you  
When you dance so seductively*

*Where are you from, beautiful stranger  
Where did you steal the Sun's blanch  
Where did you drink the honey wine  
When you kiss so sweetly*



*Ljubi se istok i zapad - Plavi Orkestar    The East and West love Each Other*

*Još pamtim onaj dan kad si otišla  
U ljeto osamdesete, kiša je padala  
Sedam godina sam te čekao  
Svaki mi je telefon nadu budio*

*I still remember the day you left  
in summer of 80s, rain was falling  
I waited for you 7 years  
Every phonecall got my hopes up*

*REF.  
Neka ljubi se istok i zapad  
Neka ljubi se sjever i jug  
Skinij prašinu sa starog kofera  
I krenimo na put, hajde budi mi drug*

*REF.  
Let East and West love each other  
Let North and South love each other  
dust off an old suitcase  
and let's go on a trip, c'mon, be my friend*

*Sve je uzalud, rušio se most  
Drugovi su žalili moju strpljivost  
O, Bože predugo je mrak daj mi svjetlost  
I neka počne na tvoj znak doba nježnosti*

*Everything is in vain, the bridge has fallen  
friends felt sorry for my patience  
Oh God, it's been dark for so long,  
give me light  
and let it begin on your sign, the period of tenderness*

*REF.  
Neka ljubi se istok i zapad  
Neka ljubi se sjever i jug  
Skinij prašinu sa starog kofera  
I krenimo na put, hajde budi mi drug*

*REF  
Let East and West love each other  
Let North and South love each other  
dust off an old suitcase  
and let's go on a trip, c'mon, be my friend*

*„Regarding subcultures, Yugoslavia was a wonderful place in the 1980s.” (Rüdiger Rossig)*

Differently from the other socialist systems, the musicians in Yugoslavia had a greater creative freedom and were able to perform abroad. Musicians from abroad were as well welcome to perform in Yugoslavia. There was ability for many subcultures to form, including many punk and rock bands. Yu-Rock is still a very popular music genre, even amongst the youth nowadays.

Plavi Orkestar is one of the most renowned bands in the area and is still one of the most popular ones. Through playing their music all over the land, they try to promote again unity, compassion and understanding each other, using the music as a tool of healing.





## The Actors

Outside of the busy city streets and far away from the urban scape, another story is taking shape.

In the quietness of nature, amongst the mountains, hidden in the hills, guarding the caves and resting on the rocks of the cliffs, the concrete giants sleep. With their presence they wait and yearn to be seen and share their stories.

After the 2nd World war, Tito had ambitious plans to create a classless country ruled by principles of socialism, a population free of ethnic tension, all bound together by feelings of 'brotherhood and unity'. The Spomenik project was a part of that plan. Spomenik is a word for monument in Serbo-Croatian/Slovenian language. The Spomenik project began with creating monuments after the 2nd World war to commemorate the fallen, tell the stories of suffering, violence, sacrifice but as well the bravery, persistence, revolution. Further on the Spomeniks developed and became tools to communicate the Yugoslavian ideology. They would become bodies, representing the ideas of utopian society and constant battle against the oppression of fascism. They became, not only the reminders of the past but vessels to articulate Yugoslavia's vision of tomorrow.

The objects took shape beyond their extent and their mass, they became inclusive of the surroundings as well and many had a formation of an amphitheatre around them and took on the function of an outdoor classroom, serving as tools to communicate the history, mythology and ideology of the Socialist Yugoslavia to the youth who would travel across the country as a part of "Tito's Young Pioneers" political youth initiative.







The Spomenik project became so immense, it grew beyond its means and more than 40 000 Spomeniks were created across the country. The Spomenikdatabase is a project, trying to map and document all of the spomeniks in form of sculpture, land art and even architecture. The Spomeniks were as well often commissioned by locals and not the state and they would become objects of expression for artists and architects. Many architects would go to the mountains and build an utopia, another world of concrete giants. The Spomeniks began taking ethereal forms and would transform the landscape in to a different world of the ideological realm.

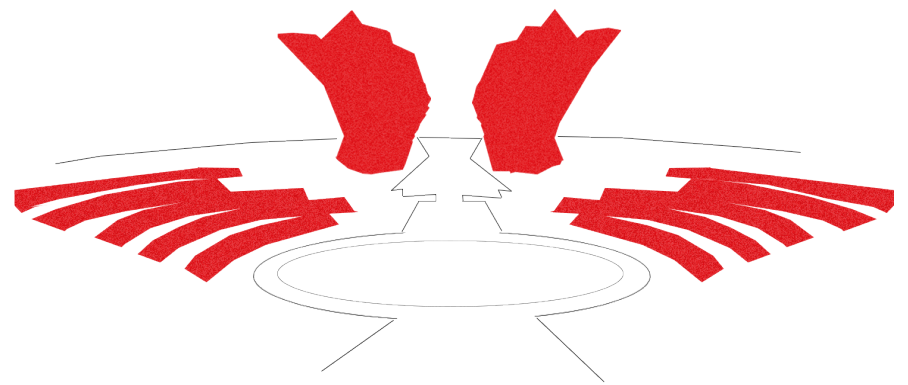
After the beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, shifts in ideology, discovery of hidden partisan burial grounds, rise of nationalism, formation of new countries, the attitude towards the Spomeniks in some places changed. The Spomeniks for some would become a painful reminder, bring anger or shame. Due to that, many spomeniks were destroyed or badly damaged. In some areas of Ex-Yugoslavia, these Spomeniks are still being destroyed, whilst in other areas, new Spomeniks are being created. The relationship towards the spomeniks is reflecting the perception of Yugoslavia and as well the process of dealing with trauma. For many, the monuments are the elements of nostalgia and the constant wonder of how would the world look like if Yugoslavia never fell apart.





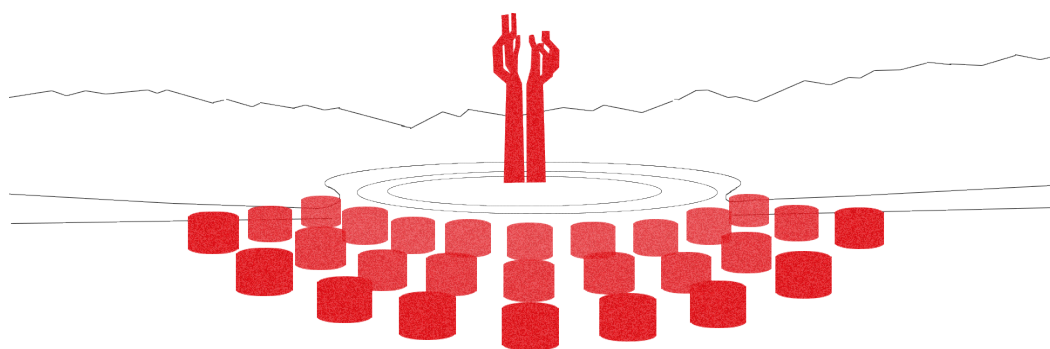






The Battle of Sutjeska Memorial Monument Complex in the Valley of Heroes - in 1971 Miodrag Živković & Ranko Radović, introduced their 19m high and 25m wide memorial out of poured concrete and rebar. This is one of the several memorial structures which spread through the valley. The monuments consists of two wing-like fractal walls, that stretch towards the sky at a sharp angle, almost as if trying to defy gravity. They are positioned at the edge of the cliff, as if trying to extend into the infinite space. The path as well plays an important role, guiding the viewer towards the monument and creating another layer through its shape. Before the monument is an amphitheatre. Its positioning between the landscape creates an ideal acoustic environment, with the viewers being faced with the monument taking the role as an actor in the play, passing on the message while surrounded by the infinite nature.





Memorial to the Fallen of the Lješanska Nahija Region, Montenegro was made by Svetlana Kana Radevic in 1980. Positioned in the centre is a 12m tall composition of thin concrete pillars that together form a tower. Around the tower, a large array of small concrete cylinders form an amphitheatre. The entire area has been wired with electricity and lightning to allow the use of the amphitheatre at all times. There are three circular alcoves with smaller memorial elements each dedicated specifically to victims of the First Balkan War, WWI and WWII. During the Yugoslav era, the complex was regularly maintained and serviced by children from Barutana's local school.





## The Director

If constructing the Spomeniks meant an opportunity for architects and artists to be completely free in creation, how was the process at other assignments and how is it nowadays?

In Yugoslavia, architects claim that they have enjoyed freedom. Marko Mušić in his interview with ARS claims that the architect was the authority. Interestingly, the architect did not have to belong to the communist or socialist party. Architectural competitions were completely anonymous and the projects were mostly state-forming.

Now as director became the capital and the aim of architecture, opposed to the state-formation, the role of the architect has as well shifted.

Money and power often come above architectural theory and the countries of Ex-Yugoslavia sometimes suffer the consequences in the field of architecture.

Due to corruption and bad business, buildings are often being demolished or land is being bought in order to create a project, land is dug out and then the process stops as the investor backs out, there are problems in papers etc. There are countless so called construction pits amongst the Balkan countries, which end up mutilating the urban environment. In fights of claiming the land in the city back, numerous organizations try to reclaim the abandoned spaces by creating communal gardens, events or other ways of improvisations to bring back function to the abandoned and decomposing plots.

Nowadays the projects often win competitions and have amazing potential, during the process there are cuts in budget made and essential elements of the design are lost. In Yugoslavia, there was financial struggle and the country did not have a big capital to spend and would often compensate by the use of cheaper material but there was more inclination to sticking to the original design plan. Nowadays, aesthetics are more likely to be cut and there is more focus on the quality of the living space.

The aesthetics of the Yugoslav architecture were considered of more important value so they would contribute better to the overall image of the city and the image of Yugoslavia. They were considered integral to constructing the utopia.



## The Backstage

After the war, when the rebuilding of the country started, the architecture was more focused on creating nation-forming architecture, with strong aesthetics and complex programs to rebuild a nation. Due to the rapid development and sudden growth in population in the mid-50s the need for residential buildings was rising.

The invention of prefabricated buildings had a big influence. At first, the buildings were mostly more rectangular and repetitive, with smaller living spaces, much like the plattenbau in the Eastern bloc. However, the residents were often not very satisfied with the living conditions.

Eventually, the housing really started to develop. As architects went abroad, they brought back with them the new modernist principles, inspired by Swedish building, Le Corbusier and the contemporaries at CIAM and the Athens charter. Between 60s and mid-80s, the housing really began to boom and there was more attention put to the overall city planning. Housing typologies were influenced by socialist principles, much like in many places around the world but in Yugoslavia they tried to take it to another level.

The Yugoslav housing developed a very unique aesthetics. It was as well very efficient because a principle of self-management was introduced to the neighborhoods. Due to short working days, people had more time in the afternoon and many residents were contributing to the building process. That established a deeper connection with the neighborhood. Usually the people would come to the new buildings from very mixed environment and through self-management they connected more as a community and formed a bond.

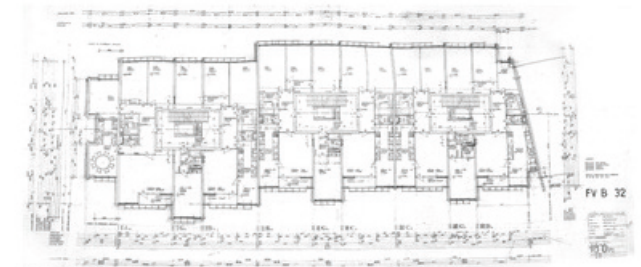
The neighborhoods were always planned to create as self-sufficient area as possible. Next to the typical modernist verticality with green areas, the parks would often be very carefully designed and the buildings would often be planned around a body of water. There was thorough planning in walking paths, playgrounds.

The buildings would most often revolve around a school or a kindergarten as a center. The neighborhoods were planned to include shops, restaurants and sporting areas. The area around was perceived as the public space and people would spend a lot of time outside, socializing.

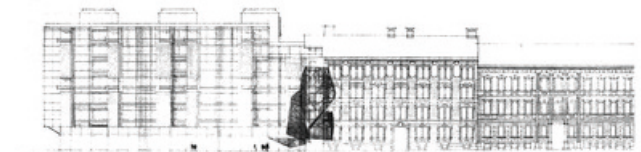


Interestingly, the neighborhoods were often planned to become one with the surrounding. The placement in the surroundings played an important role. The neighborhoods would often also pay tribute to the past – for example Ferant gardens by Edvard Ravnikar were designed to mimic the shape of the roman remains found underneath the plot or the neighborhoods would mimic the Mediterranean or alpine surroundings as to identify more with the geography of the place, instead of being perceived as 'alien architecture'.

The neighbourhoods presented a unique environment where the Yugoslav nation existed 'behind the stage.' Relationships and memories were forming, creating a backbone for the collective identity.



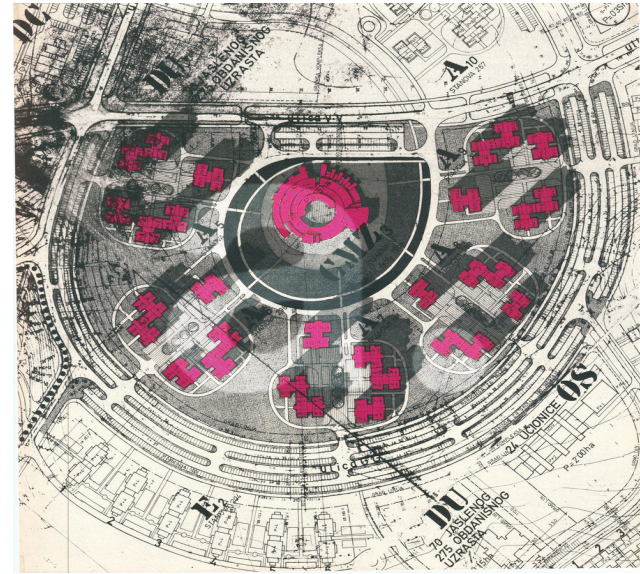
33 Primer stanovanj, drugo nadstropje bloka B - 1967



34 Južna fasada bloka B - 1964









**A JOURNEY THROUGH THE ZONES OF THE  
REALM**



*I am surrounded by open space. The cladded path stretches all around me and it seems endless. There is a strange feeling but I cannot put my finger on it. As I observe the endless greenery around me, I notice, there is silence-with every step I take. I can feel my weight, lifting as I blend into the space revolving me.*

*I must have lost the track of time. As I try to observe my surrounding, I notice that the sun is setting and the building is revealed in front of me. Its shadows are getting longer and longer. The sunlight brushes my cheeks as the shadows are casting over me as if they are trying to invite me in.*

*I enter and I begin my journey.*

*With every step I take I am welcomed by recognizable shapes and surfaces. I am accompanied by a distant sound, which cannot be distinguished but it feels familliar. I feel as if I can do, whatever I would like to and I can set my mind at ease.*

*As if progress my journey, I meet my inner child, standing there with open arms. As I observe the child better it seems to become my future self, kissing my forehead, and sending me on the way.*

*As I progress the scenery seems to change. As I look ahead, my destination seems to get further and further away, the more I walk towards it. The harder I try to push through, the more the surroundings start to distort and it seems that nothing is as it tried to be.*

*Hopeless, I turn around to return where I came from and with dread I see that nothing is what I imagined it to be .*



## NOTES AND SOURCES



*first person narration in this font -*

the traveller of the realm

*first person narration in this font -*

real statements from the people I have interviewed

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