#### Urbanization

Yugoslavia suffered devastating human losses and physical damage during World War II. The country's First Five-Year Plan (1947–1951) introduced reconstruction projects for warravaged cities and called for rapid urbanization—a transformation considered essential for the creation of a socialist society governed by the working class. In the three decades that followed, Yugoslavia underwent a process of thorough modernization. Industrial activity expanded multifold, and life expectancy, literacy, and the general standard of living all swiftly improved. Major cities such as Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and the other capitals of the country's six constituent republics grew exponentially, and several new towns were constructed.

In the first two decades after the war, city building followed modernist principles: a clear separation of zones for working, dwelling, leisure, and circulation, with free-standing high- rise buildings surrounded by greenery. The development of the federal capital, New Belgrade (begun in 1948), was one of the most ambitious building projects in postwar Europe, comparable to Brasília and Chandigarh, the new capitals of Brazil and the

#### Indian state of Punjab.

## **Technological Modernization**

The postwar modernization of the Yugoslav building industry brought about significant advancements in the technology of reinforced concrete, which came to be widely used both for its practical advantages, such as its strength and low cost, and for its potential to be molded into sculptural shapes. By the mid-1950s, Yugoslav architects and engineers were producing cutting-edge structural designs that were on par with innovative projects around the world: for example, the Belgrade fairgrounds, inaugurated in 1957, featured the world's largest concrete dome (unsurpassed until the Houston Astrodome was built in 1965). By the mid-1960s, architects were increasingly exploring the material's expressive qualities, capitalizing on the sculptural possibilities it allowed. From office and administration buildings to hotels, museums, and churches, exposed concrete was the material of choice, in line with brutalist architecture around the globe.

#### Architecture of the "Social Standard"

In Yugoslavia, services such as education, health care, and cultural programming were available for free to the entire population: this was known as the "social standard." The buildings designed to house these services offered ample opportunities for experimentation with architectural typologies. For example, starting in the 1950s, Yugoslav architects explored new ways of organizing educational facilities, from

kindergartens to universities; their goals were to encourage social interaction and creative learning and to shift away from the traditional emphasis on institutional control. The country's first purpose-built museums were also constructed during this period, similarly giving rise to innovative designs.

Social standard buildings played an especially important role outside large urban centers, where they often served as hubs of modernization for traditional rural communities. Transcending their narrow functional designations, they became the new social hearts of these communities. Almost thirty years after the collapse of Yugoslavia, these buildings are still key elements of the region's social service infrastructure.

### Reconstruction of Skopje

A devastating earthquake struck Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, on July 26, 1963, killing more than a thousand people and destroying around eighty percent of the built environment. A massive reconstruction effort was planned jointly by the Yugoslav government and the United Nations. Following international media coverage, many countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain pledged support, making

the rebuilding of Skopje a collaboration that bridged the Cold War's ideological divide. Doxiadis Associates, of Greece, and Adolf Ciborowski, of Poland, collaborated on developing the master plan; Japanese architect Kenzō Tange designed the city center. Though Tange's design was only partially realized, Skopje marked the first implementation of the ideas of the Japanese Metabolist movement abroad. Following Tange's lead, most of Skopje's new buildings were designed by a group of young local architects. The expressive use of rough concrete then prevalent internationally became a hallmark of the reconstruction, catalyzing the spread of the style—known as brutalism—throughout the country in subsequent years.

## Vjenceslav Richter

Zagreb-based architect, artist, and theorist Vienceslav Richter (1917–2002) was known primarily for the pavilions he built for various international fairs and exhibitions. He was a founder of EXAT 51 (Experimental Studio 51), the first artist group in postwar Yugoslavia to advocate for abstraction and for the synthesis of the arts—an interdisciplinary approach to the design of the built environment that would include architects and artists alike. With his EXAT colleagues, in the 1950s Richter produced some of the most memorable architectural representations of the new, socialist, self-managing Yugoslavia. His breakthrough achievement was the Yugoslav Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair (known as Expo 58), an airy, partially glazed structure with an open interior, symbolic of the openness of Yugoslavia's international relations. In the 1960s, his architectural explorations inspired his systemic sculptures and his techno-utopian project for "Synthurbanism," a vision of the future of socialist societies. These works evidence his participation in the Zagreb-based international art network known as New Tendencies, which pioneered an aesthetic designed for the information age.

## Exporting Architecture

Yugoslavia was a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement—an organization, established in 1961, of states that rejected allegiance with either of the Cold War superpowers and instead advocated self-determination for developing countries. This alliance provided Yugoslavia with an expansive network of economic and political ties, mainly to newly independent countries throughout Africa and the Middle East. The comparatively

developed Yugoslav building industry seized the opportunity to participate in infrastructure and architecture projects in these regions. Energoprojekt, a Belgrade-based firm, was notable for its large-scale projects for dams, roads, and power plants as well as building complexes such as the International Trade Fair in Lagos, Nigeria, completed in 1977. The layout of this ambitious project was influenced by traditional settlements in Nigeria's Kano state, where individual houses cluster in a circular arrangement around a central structure. Energoprojekt's architectural division was founded and directed by one of the first prominent female architects in Yugoslavia, Milica Šterić.

#### **Tourism Infrastructure**

From the 1960s onward, the construction of tourist facilities along the Adriatic coast accelerated rapidly, eventually making tourism one of Yugoslavia's primary sources of income. The facilities catered to both international and domestic tourists, the latter of whom benefited from the socialist state's provision of leisure time for all. International planning teams and local institutions collaborated under the guidance of the United

Nations; their goal was to implement tourism infrastructure sensibly and with consideration for the environment, including both the natural landscape and existing traditional cities. Hotel design provided an opportunity for architects to explore a wide variety of building types, and they produced some of the finest examples of modernist architecture in the socialist period. Unlike today's gated resort complexes, Yugoslav hotels of this period were accessible to the local population and integrated into the life of the community. They served as multipurpose social condensers, providing space for interaction between locals and visitors of varied ethnic identities and class backgrounds.

# Design

In addition to large-scale urban schemes, modernization in Yugoslavia also transformed the domestic sphere. Beginning in the mid-1950s, housing exhibitions in cities such as Ljubljana and Zagreb popularized the affordable modern furniture and appliances that were fast becoming available to the masses. Another important platform for modern design was the Ljubljanabased international Biennial of Industrial Design, first held in

1964. Some of the designs on display became instant classics, successfully marketed in both Eastern and Western Europe. Niko Kralj established the first in-house design department at a Yugoslav industrial manufacturer, and his furniture designs for Stol Kamnik became widely known for their innovation, flexibility, and affordability, most prominently the Rex folding chair. The company Iskra launched a number of designs for consumer electronics; with their bright plastic housings, they brought an air of 1960s pop culture to Yugoslavia. Design innovation was also applied to life outside the home: in 1967, Saša Mächtig launched the K67 kiosk, an adaptable modular system of street furniture that became ubiquitous in the region and beyond.

## Housing

Yugoslavia's rapid urbanization after World War II triggered a perennial housing shortage, presenting both a political challenge—the right to housing was enshrined in the constitution and a daunting task for architects. While prefabricated housing blocks were widespread in welfare states across Europe, they weren't consistently standardized in Yugoslavia, resulting in a variety of models. Research groups such as the Housing Center

at Belgrade's Institute for the Testing of Materials designed various floor plans with flexible, adaptable spaces—many with generous balconies or terraces. The dense apartment blocks in New Belgrade made creative use of limited square footage, featuring multiuse spaces and sweeping views through the apartments and outside; "Belgrade apartment" became shorthand for a living space that was both innovative and flexible. Such designs were circulated through competitions, exhibitions, periodicals, and apartment catalogues and were adopted and refined throughout the country.

# Split 3

Built in the 1970s, Split 3 was one of the last large-scale urban planning schemes in Yugoslavia and one of its most ambitious and successful. An expansion of the Croatian city of Split, it combined megastructure housing blocks with careful attention to pedestrian streets, which were conceived as a forum for urban life and a mixture of spaces for living, work, and leisure. This approach differed from earlier large-scale urban developments such as New Belgrade and New Zagreb, with their wide-open spaces and characteristic separation of living, working, leisure, and transport. Split 3 provided housing for approximately fifty thousand new residents. The massive undertaking was praised internationally for its communal and public space and its integration into the existing terrain, which allowed for views of the adjacent Adriatic Sea from most of the housing units and established an organic continuity with the ancient port city's preexisting Roman grid.

## **Regional Idioms**

The political organization of socialist Yugoslavia—a federation of six republics and two autonomous provinces—was intended to nourish the cultural self-expression of the country's constituent ethnicities and minorities. As a result, the universalizing push for socialist modernization was counterbalanced by various regional schools, each with their own preoccupations and idioms. These efforts were most consistent in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in the work of the influential architect Juraj Neidhardt, who considered the region's traditional Ottoman architecture as the ideal basis for a specifically Bosnian modernism. Working from that premise, his protégé Zlatko Ugljen developed modernist interpretations of Bosnia and Herzegovina's richly varied vernacular architecture. In Slovenia, Edvard Ravnikar built on the traditions of Central European modernism, which emphasized the legibility of buildings' construction methods and structural systems, and passed them on to the generations of architects he taught at the University of Ljubljana.

#### Reconstruction of Zadar

In 1953 a competition was held for a redesign of the ancient center of the Croatian coastal city of Zadar, which had been almost completely razed by aerial bombardment during World War II. The winning plan, by the architect and planner Bruno Milić, limited vehicular traffic to the perimeter of the peninsula on which the city is situated and retained its traditional narrow pedestrian streets paved with stone. The plan also introduced meandering modern buildings with numerous small piazzas between them, combining the logic of the city's traditional orthogonal grid, established by the Romans, with modern urban forms. Numerous new buildings were designed by Croatia's leading architects, including Alfred Albini, Mladen Kauzlarić, Neven Segvić, and Ivan Vitić. These structures were decidedly modernist in their technological sophistication, appearance, and spatial organization, yet most employed regional details, such as tiled roofs, wooden window shutters, and columned porches at ground level, maintaining a sense of historical continuity.

#### Edvard Ravnikar

Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993) taught architecture for thirty-six years at the University of Ljubljana, where he influenced generations of Slovenian architects. He was himself the student of another seminal architect, Jože Plečnik (1872–1957), whose work is also on view in this exhibition. In his practice, Ravnikar reconciled Plečnik's idiosyncratic transformations of classical architecture with the abstract and sculptural thinking of the Swiss-French modernist architect Le Corbusier, in whose Paris office he had worked for a few months in 1939. Building on these formative experiences, Ravnikar produced a unique synthesis of the various strains of modern architecture, assimilating a wide variety of contemporary trends. Whether in his regional plans for Montenegro's Adriatic coast, his celebrated Memorial Complex Kampor on the island of Rab, or his signature project, Revolution Square in Ljubljana, Ravnikar reveled in the complexity of design. His projects regularly employed imaginative spatial configurations, daring structural systems that exploited the potential of reinforced concrete, and a great variety of claddings, materials, and textures, including ornamental brickwork and light stone slabs.

### Juraj Neidhardt

Zagreb-born architect Juraj Neidhardt (1901–1971) began his career in the 1920s, working for leading European modernists Peter Behrens in Berlin and Le Corbusier in Paris. Upon his return to Yugoslavia, he settled in Sarajevo at the urging of his friend, the Slovenian architect Dušan Grabrijan (1899–1952). The two shared an interest in the vernacular architecture of the Balkans and the legacy of the Ottoman period. Together they published the monumental volume Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity in 1957. The book argued that Bosnia's traditional architecture, with its whitewashed walls, abstract cubic volumes, built-in furniture, large windows, flexible spaces, and lush greenery, was in essence already modern. Neidhardt's own architecture practice was considerably more diverse, but in this theoretical writing and through his role as a teacher he provided the basis for a specifically Bosnian regional modernism. It would reach its pinnacle in the work of his student Zlatko Uglien (born 1929), whose work is also on view in this exhibition.

#### Monuments

During World War II, the multiethnic, Communist-led Yugoslav Partisan movement fought both the Axis powers and the various local nationalist factions, an effort that laid the foundation for pan-Yugoslav unity after the war. The desire to harness the enormous ideological significance of this struggle, combined with the need to grieve a million wartime casualties, resulted in the proliferation of memorial sites across Yugoslavia, both in

major cities and in remote landscapes.

By the late 1950s, these monuments were becoming an unusually fruitful ground for experimentation, and architects and artists often collaborated on projects that blurred the lines between disciplines. Memorials were carefully integrated into the landscape, which was considered an important element of the overall design. There was a great deal of diversity in stylistic vocabulary—from geometric abstraction to organic, even vaguely representational forms—and in the way visitors were guided through the sites.

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, many antifascist memorials

were vandalized or destroyed. Of those that remain, many are neglected, though some, often sustained through grassroots efforts, remain active sites of commemoration.

## Bogdan Bogdanović

Bogdan Bogdanović (1922–2010), an architect, writer, professor, public intellectual, and one-time mayor of Belgrade, is best known for the World War II memorials he built throughout Yugoslavia. Erected between the late 1950s and the early 1980s, and varying in shape, size, and concept, his cemeteries, mausoleums, memorial parks, cenotaphs, and other monuments took a radically new approach to commemorative art. Rejecting both the realism of traditional memorial art and the abstraction embraced by many European architects in the postwar period, Bogdanović drew on his Surrealist background and his wide-ranging knowledge of architectural history and anthropology to create monuments characterized by exuberant organic forms, ambiguous historical references, and an abundance of ornament. In addition, most of his memorials blend into the landscape. In some cases, they incorporate extensive earthworks, becoming landscapes in themselves, thus anticipating strategies employed in the land art movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Bogdanović's designs were among the most idiosyncratic of the period, defying the rationalism of postwar reconstruction efforts by

#### shifting attention from architecture's function to its meaning.