

MODELS OF STATE SPECTACLE IN YUGOSLAVIA: THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

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Abstract. *With the emergence of Yugoslavia, a new socialist state, political events and celebrations came to the fore in the repertoire of mass events. The spectacle was supported by the ideological cultural policy with the aim of creating a socialist identity of the city and the state. In that sense, as a predetermined act, the spectacle necessarily influenced the formation and appropriation of public space. Since spectacles were an important element of strengthening the new order of socioeconomic relations, the politics directly controlled their programmes, strategic aims, and tasks. Thus, the beginning of the sixties of the previous century, the approach to the spectacle reflected the strategic state determinations, but also changed depending on the internal circumstances and foreign policy.*

Analysing the spaces and symbols of state spectacle at the first Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the paper aims to explain the method of their incorporation into the social reality of Yugoslavia, their impact on the affirmation of space, i.e. both ephemeral and permanent changes of architectural and urban space. The paper will analyse the central spaces of the Conference, symbols, models of architectural mobilisation, and the ideologisation, and politicisation of events that influenced the affirmation of public spaces and buildings of Belgrade and its presentation to the world.

Key words: *spectacle, symbols, socialism, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), ideology*

1. INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, mass gatherings, celebrations, disciplined parades, and huge ceremonies on boulevards and in stadiums, were common forms of state spectacle in socialist Yugoslavia. May Day parades, youth relays, the October Revolution, or Victory in Europe Day were all causes for celebration. These types of state spectacles shaped the dynamics of life in Yugoslavia; their contents were defined by the goals and effects they

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wanted to achieve. New buildings and elements formed and changed space through a sculptural narrative and symbolic secondary decoration, which strengthened their ideological affiliation.

With the emergence of nation-states, the state ideology, liberated from religion, sought monumentalisation and glorification, namely a new image of national unity to strengthen the legitimacy of the state union. The past became politically important for the state because monopoly on it has been taken over from the Church. The socialist system of Yugoslavia worked intensively to preserve the revolutionary tradition: the coat of arms and the flag symbolised the unity of the nation and had a prominent place in the creation of national memory. A large number of established state commemorations (monuments, memorial sites, memorial dates) dissolved the monopoly of religious holidays or merged with them [1]. The ideology of communism defined relations in the Yugoslav society and was determined through a defined repertoire of political spectacles similar to those practiced in the socialist countries, the countries of the Warsaw Pact. However, the principle of representation in foreign policy reflected a slightly different approach. One of the important steps towards showing the process of state liberalisation, which was a consequence of the specific foreign policy orientation, was the state spectacle of the first summit of the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) on the streets of Belgrade and in the most important state buildings. According to Konstantinović, for complex socio-political aims, the means of architecture and urban space are understood as the means of the ideology-(space)-society communication system [2]. The paper aims to examine how the state spectacle of the first conference of the NAM, as a form of representation of cultural policy, affected the affirmation of space using a communication system that kept space and society as constants but changed the established ideological iconography.

The central venues of the first conference were facilities that were equally occupied inside and outside—the airport, the National Assembly, the plateau of the National Assembly, the streets of Belgrade, Park of Friendship, Hotel Metropol and Belgrade Fortress, as the most representative spaces. The specific spectacle map was formed by connecting these places (Fig. 1). The overall urban arrangement of the summit used a wide range of internationalism references, inspired by the symbolic political significance of the United Nations and the political scenography applied there [3]. These strategies, approaches, and achievements are analysed further in the paper, as well as their relations to other projects of the Yugoslav state of that time.

During the research of strategies and approaches to the spectacle of conferences, the content analysis method was used, which is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" [4]. The content analysis method was used to explore meanings in texts, images, symbols, or video and audio data. Since the first summit of the NAM was a globally covered media event, various data and photo archives are available. The complexity of understanding this model of state spectacle and its impact on the public space requires a multidisciplinary approach. Therefore, important definitions of phenomena that are not only related to architecture have been defined from available library materials.

Selected case studies illustrate the functions of Yugoslav state spectacle and national representation in national and international contexts, in order to understand different forms of communication with different audiences. In this regard, Yugoslavia's appearance at the Brussels EXPO in 1958 is paradigmatic for understanding the multi-layered socio-political tasks that the pavilion was supposed to fulfill at the country's first appearance on the international scene of this type. Also, the experience of preparing for that appearance and

its success directly preceded the organization of the first summit of the NAM in Belgrade. This event, which has been analyzed in detail, represents a specific form of spectacle compared to those already established in national contexts, and it was the first in a series of events of a new political movement. In this way, its organization, created and conquered spaces, as well as carefully planned events, and for the first time established the form of state spectacle for an international audience in national contexts. For this occasion, various models of appropriating existing symbols and creating new ones were used, with clearly defined goals that the entire event was supposed to fulfill.

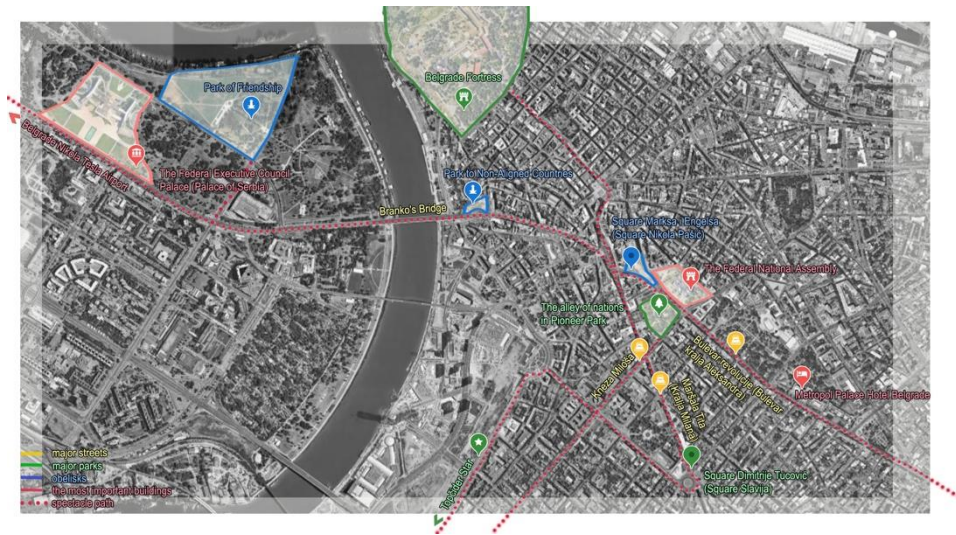


Fig. 1 Spectacle map of the first NAM conference
Source: Google Earth, edited by authors

2. SPECTACLE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF IDEOLOGY

In analysing spectacle theory, all authors strive to establish new frameworks for spectacle interpretation. The spectacle is an “extremely politicised phenomenon” [5] used by the government for its promotion and the establishment of social order. “On the aesthetic level—a spectacle is an event, on the ideological level—the spectacle manipulates the public through events [6].” This results in a whole series of events staged for the needs of the state, and their analysis can lead to the answer to how a spectacle is constructed within itself, how it is transformed into a social mirror, and how it circularly communicates in a spectacle-society-spectacle cycle [6]. In the 1960s, Guy Debor thoroughly wrote about this, pointing to the fact that the “spectacle is the main product of present-day society” [7]. His arguments refer to the fact that the spectacle erases the border between the true and the false without the possibility of perceiving the experienced truth, thus becoming a mirror of ideological systems [7]. On the other hand, according to Eric Hobsbawm ideological systems built their stronghold on “inventing tradition” [8] and therefore enabling the adaptation, construction and grafting of tradition to legitimise institutions, which allowed it to visually and scenically fit into the spectacle [6].

This model was especially followed by countries after the Second World War. Yugoslavia, which consisted of six republics of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, had the task of affirming the idea of a new state, as well as a new state cultural identity. The cultural identity of the state was developed through cultural policy and, under the jurisdiction of the state, it was not only a factor of national identity, but was of crucial importance for the image and prestige of the country in the eyes of the world [9]. The period after the Second World War was characterised by two phases of cultural development. The first phase was defined by the creation of the term cultural policy, after the founding of the Soviet Union. In the context of creating a new state, this meant state intervention and its attempt to create a new cultural model for the social stratum of the proletariat, which was socially and economically deprived and culturally marginalised until the founding of the proletarian state. This model is called "proletarian culture" [10]. The period of centralised government known as the "Agitprop period" lasted for a short time, until 1953. According to the theorist Dragičević Šešić, this period was marked by a negative cultural life, because the main bearers of development were inspired by revolutionary ideas and communist ideology. The sixties and the end of *agitprop* spread the concept of cultural democratisation throughout Europe, which was taken over from French development trends [10]. For Yugoslavia, the period from 1960 to 1974 was a period of opening up to the world, creating and building Belgrade's cosmopolitan culture, as a result of "internationalisation strategies" [10].

3. STATE SPECTACLE IN SFRY – NATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Spectacles used by the regimes in socialist countries have left a specific mark on the space, but also on the culture of these societies. Their form was shaped by ideological reality, which replaced reality with representative depictions and scenes. So, we can confirm with certainty that rallies, festivals, and political events are a very important segment of nurturing ideology and cultural systems. They also draw a unique map of events that are a reflection and creation of society. We can follow this type of mapping on the example of state spectacles in Yugoslavia. In the repertoire of events that supported the ideological system, the leader of that system, Tito, had a special role. His ideological celebrations kept the nation gathered around the relays and the most striking symbols of socialism. Such an approach to spectacles was built and supplemented over the years and it was constantly enlarged and carefully designed, creating the mainstream of Yugoslav cultural policy and spectacle.

Progressive changes began to occur when the state leadership deviated from the USSR's political scene. The introduction of new content into the cultural life of Yugoslavia was reflected not only in the celebrations, but also in the organisation of the first international events such as BITEF (The Belgrade International Theatre Festival), FEST (International Film Festival), and others. The Institute for Cultural Development Research had also started its work. Đukić states that "the model of self-government, transferred to the field of cultural policy, continued to develop through self-governing interest-based communities of culture" [10]. For Yugoslavia, this meant the creation of a unique Yugoslav parastate model of cultural development self-management, which was unique. The main characteristics of this model were the concept of democratisation, but also the emphasis on amateur creativity. Thus, in addition to the recognisable symbol of the enlarged five-pointed star and other symbols of Yugoslav values (glorification of the People's Liberation War and the unity of the

Yugoslav state), at the core of the manifestations were complete amateurs. The organisation of great spectacles was preceded by *performances*, which have never been completely lost as a kind of ceremony and celebration. They were organised for the opening of new hospitals, factories, and schools. The performances were based on amateurism and recitals, with the obligatory performance of choir songs and folk dancing [11]. On the other hand, the state spectacle of Yugoslavia had mass features, and the most massive form of manifestation is the rally (slet), (Fig. 2) [12].



Fig. 2 Massive form of manifestation in Yugoslavia, at the JNA Stadium, (mass parade, slet, in Serbian)
(Source: <https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/en/publication/yudom/13-slet-2/>)

The dissemination of the mentioned forms of state spectacle in Yugoslavia, with the expressed means of ideology, became the dominant form of events in the public spaces of Yugoslavia. Spatial ceremonial performances can be represented through spatial levels, according to Djilas, through Schultz's taxonomy: at the geographical level, landscape level, urban level, house level, level of the body, and finally, the hands [13]. In that process of mapping and inscribing power into the city structure, there were always some constants present: streets, main city squares, government seats (palaces, residences, townhouses, parliaments) [14]. They remained unchanged even during the most drastic regime changes.

The most famous and most spectacular form of state spectacle was the Youth Day rally. The celebration of President Tito's (Josip Broz Tito) birthday was held in the period from 1957 to 1987. In 1956, during the celebrant's address at the JNA Stadium (stadium of The Yugoslav People's Army), Tito renounced his birthday and proposed that 25 May be marked as *Youth Day* [6]. This is how the general principle of youth was created, with his character as the central motif. The holiday was expressed through a "paternalistic hierarchy" [6], where the role of not only the celebrant, but also the father was played by Tito. The whole spectacle was organised through visible political means: ideology and the state were placed at the center of the spectacle's organisation. However, this aspect changed as more and more participants took part

in the celebrations over time. This marked the breakthrough of pop culture, giving the celebration a cultural quality, in addition to its ideological character.

As a gift from millions of citizens, the president received the baton. The baton was not an ordinary gift, it was a verified social product that was above all a token of gratitude and public good. It was equally valuable to all its bearers, guardians, and those who handed it over and welcomed it, applauded and became a part of a great mosaic created for the preservation of the cult of youth. The five-pointed star, whose meaning was well integrated in the heritage of the rally and other events, also found its place and position in space. The indispensable red five-pointed star and related ideological props in the semantic system have remained essential symbols of communism up to this day.

An element that had great subversive power, but acted in space as an established symbol of patriotism in a *mise en scène*, was the audience. Regarding their experience of the celebrations, the people expressed that they all felt and breathed as one, compelled by the power of unity [6]. The moment when the crowd adhered to the same ideal, celebrating it, was the moment of "brotherhood and unity", all that they advocated for, with the same goal and the same desire, demonstrating at that moment an idealised and glorified representation of reality.

In addition to the May Day and Youth Day celebrations, the most celebrated were the Military Parades in front of the National Assembly building in the period from 1950 to 1980. They made maximum use of the aforementioned symbols, and certainly, the most important scenography was the display of arms, showcasing the military power of the country. Through these events, the National Assembly and the square in front of the building were transformed from their initial function as the highest political body of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into a facility that verifies the rule of socialism, located in the most important urban core of the city.

4. REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE IN THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK

The absence of ideological symbols was characteristic of Yugoslav foreign policy, which became visible through the character of Yugoslav participation in global events. Thus, we can see the difference between described national rituals and international performances, in terms of the symbolism of the spectacle. This is evident in the first national appearance at the World Exhibition (EXPO), where the international, global style in architecture was used. The exhibition was the first indicator of the direction in which Yugoslavia was headed, becoming a more open and progressive state.

The EXPO 58 in Brussels was a world fair, held after an almost 20-year break, which aimed to show the progress and cooperation between countries, and their achievements, after the destruction brought by World War II. Although there was great optimism, the whole picture of the great event remained in the shadow of political turmoil and the ongoing Cold War.

The pavilion of Yugoslavia, designed by architect Vjenceslav Richter, was one of the best and most notable architectural projects [15]. Packed with modernist art, the pavilion was praised for its elegance and simplicity. Distinguished by the elegant form of the exhibition structure, it aspired to be an artwork—a modernist *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in which, as Kulić states, "every exhibit yielded to a dominating Mondrianesque aesthetic of three-dimensional grids, a 'symphony in black and white' [16]."

Comparing the Yugoslav pavilion with the German pavilion in Barcelona in 1923, by architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the former was described as a palace made of glass

and steel that provides peace and a unique experience. However, another significant parallel between these two houses was their aesthetic, which carried significant political views that differed from the state's political messages at that time [16]. Thus, Mies's modernism was an indicator of a democratic, modern, Weimar Republic, different from the German Empire, which advocated war, while Richter's pavilion was a manifesto of liberal self-governing socialism in Yugoslavia, which deviated from the Iron Curtain. In that sense, the Yugoslav pavilion also represented the severance of ties with socialist realism. The openness of the ground floor, without an emphasised door, was interpreted as an analogy for the openness of Yugoslavia, which turned to the recently established foreign policy ties.

Although the 1960s saw new trends in socio-cultural policy like the democratisation of culture, celebrations retained the same central symbols and aspirations. The construction of new state orders and the political positioning of the country in the direction of bloc divisions allowed Yugoslavia to present itself in a more liberal light.

The new political path of Yugoslavia can be followed in three dominant directions, on which basis the state's foreign policy was formed: narrowing the alliance with the West, normalising relations with the Soviet Union, and growing closer to the newly liberated Afro-Asian states [17].

The first year of the seventh decade of the last century brought a new political phenomenon to the world—the conceptualisation of the most massive political movement. Invitations to participate in a conference of non-engaged countries (in the bloc sense) were sent on May 17, 1961. According to the established criteria, which were created in July 1961 during the meeting of Tito, Nehru, and Nasser in Cairo, non-bloc countries were those that pursued independent policies. They supported the national liberation movements, did not belong to any multilateral or bilateral military alliances with any of the great powers, and did not have foreign military bases on their territory [18] [19]. With the growth of Yugoslav diplomatic activity, Belgrade became a stage of high-world diplomacy [20]. The state and political leadership of the Yugoslav state valued this world gathering as a victory of the Yugoslav concept. The decisions made in Belgrade have unequivocally shown that the idea that brought together the presidents and governments of non-aligned countries was an alternative concept to the blocs in the atmosphere that had been created. In addition, the conference of non-aligned states was an example of the first global event in the national context, which stood out from the national, ideological, ritual tradition, and constituted its iconography within an international framework.

5. THE SPECTACLE OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED – EPHEMERAL SYMBOLS OF URBAN SPACES

After the city locations had been carefully chosen, the spaces were carefully prepared: the streets were renovated and the lighting was replaced, but also building landmarks — ritual symbols — were defined. The city was specially lit during those days, and traffic and communal services were improved. Forty new streets were built, water supply lines and sewerage, as well as street lighting, were reconstructed. It is also noted that the first illuminated advertisements appeared on Terazije and other squares. In the first days of September 1961, during the summit, Kalemegdan was illuminated at night so that guests could fully enjoy the silhouettes of the Belgrade Fortress. A triangle was set up at the Topčider Star, a symbol of the basic ideas of the conference — peace, independence, and equal international cooperation (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Topčider Star

(Source: <http://www.mg-lj.si/en/exhibitions/2439/southern-constellations-the-poetics-of-the-non-aligned/>)

The alley of nations occupied a special place. The alley of nations was arranged in Pioneer Park, across from the former Federal National Assembly, i.e. the House of the National Assembly today, where the conference was held. Data and information about the participating countries were written on the panels along the alley. The pavement was turned into a pergola-vaulted promenade, an exhibition space that showed the geography, economies, and cultures of non-aligned countries (Fig. 4). At the entrance to Zemun, important guests were greeted by flags on poles, and welcome boards with a message in several languages — the unofficial motto of the conference, "All the people of the world want peace" — and flowers lined the path from Surčin to the Federal Assembly [21].



Fig. 4 The alley of nations, September 1961.

(Source: Medija centar *Odbrana* <http://www.odbrana.mod.gov.rs>)

All major roads such as Maršala Tita (today's Kralja Milana), Bulevar revolucije (today's Bulevar kralja Aleksandra), Square Dimitrije Tucović (Square Slavija), and Kneza Miloša Street, which was specially decorated with the coats of arms and flags of the non-aligned states, arranged in alphabetical order (in line with the order in which flags are displayed in the United Nations) were illuminated by colorful spotlights (Fig 5). The fifteen-meter-tall obelisk stood at the Mostar interchange entrance, with the emblem of the conference of the non-aligned countries [21].



Fig. 5 Square Dimitrije Tucović (left) and National Assembly plateau (right)
(Source: <https://nesvrstani.rs/heritage.html>)

The conceptual design of the 1961 arrangement generated three obelisks – pillars that were supposed to be ephemeral in nature and served as part of the spatial arrangement to welcome delegations. The first obelisk was placed on the Square Marksa i Engelsa (today's Square Nikola Pašić) (Fig. 6), the second near Branko's Bridge, and the third in the Park of Friendship, as the main compositional motif of the park. The first was placed at an equal distance from the House of Trade Unions and the Federal National Assembly building, the second in a green area next to Branko's Bridge (today the green area is called the Park of non-aligned countries), on the route where delegations passed from the assembly halls to ceremonies in the Federal Executive Council Palace.



Fig. 6 The obelisk on the Square Marksa i Engelsa
(Source: Medija centar *Odbrana*, <http://www.odbrana.mod.gov.rs>)

The third obelisk was planned in the Park of Friendship but was not built according to the original plan. The second attempt of the architect Milan Pališaški to give the park its central symbol did not succeed either. After subsequent political events, the eighties and nineties, the disintegration of the country, and later, in 1999, the bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), new interventions took place in the Park of Friendship. The Eternal Flame memorial obelisk was built on June 12, 2000 [21]. This obelisk symbolises the resistance to the 78-day-long NATO bombing.

The first two obelisks were envisioned as ephemeral structures in space.

The obelisk at the entrance to the old part of Belgrade was the most impressive element of the event, set as a significant spatial marker of the capital city. A huge sculpture, stepped in shape, which carried three convex pedestals with the bronze coats of arms of participating countries, was placed in the centre of the square towards the Assembly. The composition represented an enlarged version of Tito's baton, which was designed every year in celebration of his birthday. That was the only symbol in the organisation that could be connected with the celebrations that the state organised to glorify the party and the leader. It sent a message that people should never stop moving. Also, its shape and symbolic significance could be connected with the Olympic torch from 1936, which was carried through different countries to promote the supranational spirit. The Olympic torch was probably one of the sources of inspiration for Tito's baton. Regardless of the mixed or multi-layered analogy in this regard, the composition set up on the Square Marksa i Engelsa fitted into the general message of mutual understanding and respect that the movement wanted to promote [3].

After the end of the conference, the obelisk on the Square Marksa i Engelsa was immediately removed, while the obelisk near Branko's Bridge was transformed from an ephemeral structure into a permanent spatial element. Although it was intended only for



Fig. 7 The obelisk near Branko's Bridge nowadays

(Source: <https://beogradskonasledje.rs/aktuelnosti/obnova-obeliska-nesvrstanih-zemalja>)

the first conference of the NAM, this 25-meter-tall obelisk, which stands on a concrete pedestal, with an inscription cast in bronze and with the date of erection, and later with the date of its restoration in August 1989, for the occasion of the ninth conference. Today, it has architectural, urban, and historical value and it is an urban landmark of the city. It is located within the spatial cultural-historical unit Kosančićev venac, which was declared a cultural heritage monument in 1971 (Fig. 7). From 11–12 October in 2021, Belgrade hosted the Assembly on the occasion of marking the 60th anniversary of the first conference of the NAM, so this obelisk was renovated by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Belgrade [22].

6. RE-DESIGNATION: FEDERAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The main hall of the Federal National Assembly, where the plenary sessions were held, was rearranged and adapted for the conference. The United Nations Headquarters in New York served as a model for transforming the interior of the National Assembly Hall to fully suit the meeting. During the six days of the conference, numerous cultural and artistic ceremonies and sporting events were held.

At the hall of the Federal Council in the Federal National Assembly, Tito opened a gathering of the highest representatives of the non-bloc countries, which was termed the *conscience of humanity* by the world public [21]. The main conference hall, which was regularly used for meetings of the socialist federation, was transformed for the needs of the summit. The new design of the hall replaced the original decoration of the architect Nikola Krasnov from 1936, in the style of Russian Academism. The interior was organised in a semicircle around a wooden table, while on the front podium, on the table's axis, there was a lectern. The observers of the gathering sat behind the speaker. Stenographers sat in the centre of the hall, while representatives of the observing countries sat on the side [23]. The work of the conference was translated simultaneously into four official languages: English, French, Spanish, and Arabic. Modernly designed rows of seats were placed around the table for participants and gravitated toward the centre. In front of each participant was a name board.



Fig. 8 The United Nations Security Council mural, by Per Krohg, 1952.
(Source: <https://www.norway.no/en/missions/UN/norway>)

A similar spatial organisation was already presented at a meeting of the United Nations Security Council. Not only were the design of the table and all the details similar, but also the number of leaders sitting at the table. The Security Council Chamber was designed by Norwegian architect Arnstein (Arnstein Rynning Arneberg), and most of the furniture was donated by the Norwegian government. The design of the hall reflected the world in a state of peace. A dominant position in the UN hall was occupied by the painting of the Scandinavian artist Per Lasson Krohg, which was set as a stage screen, especially for that space. The famous image of the Phoenix rising from the world in ashes represents humankind's efforts to rise from the difficult and dark past of wars and slavery to a better life, to a future illuminated by science and art (Fig. 8) [24].

Similar principles are noticeable in the Great Hall of the Federal National Assembly. A huge painting by the famous Yugoslav painter Petar Lubarda occupied the central stage behind the podium and served as a focal point during the speaker's address. At the same time, the painting obscured a wooden wall with a red star, a symbol of communist Yugoslavia. Before the star, in 1936, the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was displayed on the wall [3]. Lubarda's visual narrative *Industrialisation* alludes to a world of progress and endless modernisation, and thus conveys a political message that was highly applied in Third World countries. The status that Lubarda, as one of the most prominent state artists, had along with his entire artistic opus, was an example of an artistic image, but also of the general image that Yugoslavia wanted to send to the world. Instead of easy-to-understand, realistic images, as advocated by communist leaders in the Soviet bloc, abstract art was encouraged in all intellectual centres in the country. Those artists whose work was recognised by Western European and American art critics exceptionally promoted the country abroad, creating a new image of the Yugoslav cultural space [3] (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9 The main hall of the Federal National Assembly
(Source: Medija centar *Odbrana*, <http://www.odbrana.mod.gov.rs>)

7. SPATIAL MANIFESTO: PALACE AND PARK

Throughout history, monumental architecture has expressed the values of dominant ideologies and groups and served as an instrument of state propaganda, which was also the case with the Federal Executive Council Palace (*Savezno izvršno veće*, abbr. SIV) [25].

The construction of this building was a complex political, architectural, urban, and artistic endeavor, allowing for a valuable analysis of relations between ideology and architecture and the expression of these relations through a monumental architectural form. Its formation, from competition to construction, reflects the social and political order of the country [26]. The history of the construction of the Federal Executive Council Palace shows the complexity of political, historical, cultural, and artistic relations in Yugoslavia in the period from 1948 to 1961. Potočnjak's (Architects: Vladimir Potočnjak, Anton Ulrih, Zlatko Nojman, Dragica Perak) design from 1947 won the great post-war Yugoslav competition, and construction began according to this project, but was soon suspended due to the complex foreign policy situation and economic crisis. The architect Mihailo Janković was then entrusted to change the project and further work on its completion. The changes in the architectural concept were a reflection of the establishment of the modernist understanding of architecture in 1950. Janković approached the interpretation of this building bearing in mind its importance as the building of a state institution and the context of the newly created political and ideological situation, and marks the beginning of the creative architectural endeavours of the 1960s. Instead of massiveness and staticity, which was characteristic of the previous project, the architect gave priority to the transparency and lightness of the building, as the main features of the international style, thus creating an architectural counterpart to the changes that took place in politics in the meantime, which were significant and large (Fig. 10) [27].



Fig. 10 The Federal Executive Council Palace

(Source: <https://stillinbelgrade.com/soc-realism-in-belgrade-architecture/>)

The ceremonial opening of the SIV Palace was organised on the occasion of the first conference of the Non-Aligned. At that time, all gathered statesmen signed two unanimously adopted documents, the Appeal for Peace and the Declaration of the Heads of States and Government of the Non-Aligned.

For the reception during the conference, the building was specially prepared, both inside and outside. A trapezoidal fountain was placed in front of the central part of the

building, which faces the Belgrade – Zemun route. The most impressive was the imposing porch with black marble pillars at the main entrance of the central part of the representative state building, illuminated by neon lights [21].

However, the question arises as to why the organiser of the summit decided to rearrange the National Assembly Hall, instead of organising the main event in the newly constructed SIV building, which was designed according to the principles that redefined the space of the House of Assembly, with iconography largely defined by Lubarda's work. The reasons for that can be found in the location of the palace and the fragmentary realisation of its context, and the fact that its symbolic opening became an event in itself—one in a series of remarkable events that took place during the Summit. In addition, the ceremonial character of the Assembly was confirmed by its permanence and undoubted symbolic potential, which has been historically confirmed.

As a permanent testimony to the constitution of the new movement, the Park of Friendship was formed in the area between the SIV building, the tower of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (CK SKJ), and the Museum of Contemporary Art, which in their symbolic plane, form a singular urban entity of New Belgrade [28].

That proposal was supported by the Council for Culture and Urbanism of the People's Committee of the City of Belgrade. The first conceptual design of the park was made by the engineer of the Urban Institute of Belgrade, Vladeta Đorđević. The park is positioned in a triangular area of 14 hectares. The most important feature of the park is the Alley of Peace, formed by an avenue of plane trees (*Platanus*) (Fig 11). It is 180 meters long, and all participants in the first conference took part in planting the same plant—the plane tree. The plane tree signifies longevity, which emphasises the idea of establishing lasting peace in the world. In front of each planted tree, there is a plaque with information on the name of the statesman and the country they came from, the year of planting, and the Latin name of the tree "*Platanus acerofilia*". The plane tree seedlings were placed at a distance of eight meters in order to merge at a certain stage in their growth, thus forming a single green row that also carried the symbolism of the connection of all people through a common idea [21].



Fig. 11 The Park of Friendship nowadays

(Source: <https://belgradespots.com/listings/park-prijateljstva-belgrade-park-of-friendship/>)

At the beginning of the Alley of Peace, the first tree—an oak, was planted by the organisation *Mladi Gorani* (Fig. 12). The alley was set to occupy the central place of the park, on slightly elevated ground, while it was surrounded by various fountains. The centre of the park was intended for a large obelisk, on which the names of the participating countries were written. The Alley comprises a paved path, architecturally decorated with panels, flower beds, and sculptures. The paths were set up to form separate plots in the park, where each country could exhibit its ethnological features, symbols, sculptures, decorative details, and plant species. The plots were arranged so their distance simulated the geographical distance from Yugoslavia and each was about 50 to 100 square meters. The participating countries could arrange them according to their projects, which would also be their contribution to the arrangement of the park. The first plane tree was planted by the head of the delegation of Saudi Arabia, Prince Ibrahim Suwaiyel (Ibrahim bin Abdullah Al Suwaiyel). Suwaiyel was solemnly welcomed by government representatives, as well as young men and women who wore national costumes. His plane tree, which was planted on September 3, 1961, is considered the cornerstone of Friendship Park. In the following days of the conference, all statesmen planted trees, took photos, and left permanent symbols of friendship behind [29].



Fig. 12 The first tree planted by the organisation *Mladi Gorani*
(Source: Medija centar *Odbrana*, <http://www.odbrana.mod.gov.rs>)

8. CONCLUSION

The practice of mass political and social events in Yugoslavia, which was realised in public space, indicates two dominant models of state spectacle. The first model represents the mainstream spectacle in the SFRY and relies on the usage of ideological symbols, and glorification of the state and the party, and is closely related to the established political system. Thus, all the mentioned manifestations show the usage of space with a distinct ideological iconography.

On the other hand, the conceptualisation of events, led by foreign policy of the country, affirmed public spaces as progressive, without ideological symbols, with the usage of the new, international expression that the country looked up to and embraced.

For the needs of the state spectacle, the state apparatus of Yugoslavia used spaces for different purposes, new or existing locations that had the potential to transform and adapt to the needs of a specific event. The rich typology of ritual spaces was developed on different qualities of space: its quantitative spatial potential—when stadiums were used for rallies; its symbolic significance—when palaces or city halls were used; the character of the street—for street parades and rows of observers. However, the spatial projection of the spectacle did not end there. It often left a lasting mark in space after its action. That strategy was a frequent case in the state spectacle of Yugoslavia, where urban or even infrastructural issues were resolved through permanent interventions, so through these symbolic acts—squares, parks, or even entire cities were built. In this way, the state spectacle, which is based on ideological determinants, gained significance on several levels: it worked on forming and strengthening the government, creating and nurturing cultural identity, but also constructing permanent urban spaces (Partisan Square in Užice, or the entire city of Velenje). The principle of staging the spectacle was also applied in the organisation of an international event—the conference of non-aligned countries, whose permanent testimony is reflected in the creation of a park. However, the single eternal legacy of this event had no monumental characteristics. It can even be said that it is modest considering the global character of the event, and its concept is primarily symbolic—an alley that forms a single, central element, and fragments – microcosms of member states that together form a park.

The functions that the spectacle of the NAM's first conference was supposed to fulfill differed from the general principles of the state spectacle in Yugoslavia. The general functions that the spectacle was supposed to fulfill were representativeness—presentation of Yugoslavia's position to the world; political affirmation—marking the formation of a non-aligned bloc in response to the world situation; educational mission—introducing the citizens of Belgrade and guests to the countries participating in the conference. The affirmation of Yugoslav culture and space, the transformation of art, driving force, progressive ideas and modernisation, the openness of architecture, and the influence of its ephemeral and eternal character were emphasised as a special function of the event.

In consideration of the construction of spectacle at the conference of the NAM, as a reflection of the direction of the foreign policy of that time, a specific approach is evident, although it is was event that took place on national ground, but also on the international stage. The conceptual step forward was based on the decision to represent the state, its prosperity, and its belonging to international trends, while the ideological milieu remained in the background. As important as this approach was for Belgrade and Yugoslavia, it was as important for the NAM, pointing to its relevance and determination to resist all pressures coming from the blocs. Along the way, the organisation of the first conference of the NAM confirms the uniqueness of the Yugoslav project, from its performance at the Brussels International Exhibition, to the first global event at home, testifying to the liberalisation of architecture, culture, and art.

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MODELI DRŽAVNOG SPEKTAKLA U JUGOSLAVIJI: PRVA KONFERENCIJA POKRETA NESVRSTANIH

Sa nastankom Jugoslavije, nove socijalističke države, na repertoaru masovnih događaja, u prvi plan se ističu politički događaji i proslave. Spektakl podržava ideologizovana kulturna politika u funkciji stvaranja socijalističkog identiteta grada i države. U tom smislu, kao unapred određeni čin, spektakl nužno utiče na formiranje javnog prostora u Jugoslaviji. Spektakl je segment društvenog razvoja, pa je uvek u korelaciji sa društvenim i ekonomskim odnosima kao i sa politikom, opštom politikom, koja direktno kontroliše njegove programe, strateške ciljeve i zadatke. Tako, početkom šezdesetih godina prošlog veka, pristup spektaklu je bio vrlo ozbiljan, menjao se u zavisnosti od unutrašnjih prilika ali i od spoljašnje političke situacije.

Analizirajući prostore i simbole državnog spektakla Prve konferencije nesvrstanih, cilj rada je da objasni način njihovog inkorporiranja u društvenu realnost Jugoslavije, uticaj na afirmaciju prostora, odnosno efemerne promene i trajne promene prostora, bez ideološke opterećenosti. U radu će biti izvršena analiza centralnih prostora, simbola, mobilizacija arhitekture, ideologizacije i politizacije svačanosti koje su uticale na afirmaciju javnog prostora i njegovog predstavljanja svetu.

Ključne reči: *spektakl, simboli, socijalizam, Pokret nesvrstanih, ideologija*