

Residence: Prefab Estate; Plans, Realization, Housing 1945-1989

Exhibition at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague
Prague, Czech Republic, 24 January – 20 May 2018

In his book *The Magic of Thinking Big* (1959), David Schwartz argues that for successful implementation of ideas it is important “to see what can be, not just what already is”. It was precisely this attitude that could be distinguished behind the original idea of mass housing and the idealistic view of completely changed living conditions of the people and of a new society encouraged the immense amount of mass housing on Europe. It was again thinking big that motivated the initiators of the extensive research project *Prefabricated Housing Estates in the Czech Republic as Part of the Urban Environment: An Evaluation and Presentation of Their Housing and Living Potential*. The project was implemented by the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague in the years 2013–2017 and its participants included three dozen historians of architecture and arts, urbanists and architects, journalists, photographers, a culture theorist, a social geographer, an anthropologist and a demographer. The research resulted in three extensive books, a website with an archive, a map capturing selected residential complexes in the form of a digital atlas, and an exhibition that was held from January 24 till May 20, 2018 at the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague.

In the past decade, the heritage of European mass housing has become the subject of architectonic and historical research and a theme of a whole range of conferences, journal articles and book titles. It is a phenomenon that remarkably interconnects the European continent, even crossing the former Iron Curtain. It is the European dimension of the reflection on mass housing and the fact that it was conducted in the united European cultural space that enables identifying the common starting points of mass housing development, comparing its development trajectories in the former Western and Eastern Blocs, and revealing the universal spatial or operational models of housing estates as well as the differences in construction technology and the social context of the estates. All contemporary researchers agree that the ideas of the interwar European architectonic *avant-garde*

were the decisive impulse for postwar industrialized housing development. However, the researchers also wanted to identify the local impulses and specifics of this phenomenon.

This effort was pioneered by **docomomo** International, especially its committee on urbanism and landscape, which initiated the first *Trash or Treasure* conference addressing the theme of mass housing development as a potential monument. In 2008, a thematic issue of the *docomomo Journal* with the title *Mass Housing East and West* was published. In September 2011, the *Postwar Mass Housing International Conference* was held at the University of Edinburgh, followed by the monothematic issue of the magazine *Architektúra & Urbanizmus* 3–4/2012, which introduced multiple European research initiatives. Finally, two more thematic issues of the *docomomo Journal* – 2/2014 and 1/2016 presented the latest research on mass housing in a worldwide context.

However, there were even earlier publications with the ambition of mapping the development of postwar mass housing. The majority of them were in the form of guides

or atlases. The very first publication of this kind was probably *The Amsterdam Social Housing Atlas* (Architecture & Natura Press, 1992). Two years later, Stefan Muthesius and Miles Glendinning published a similar title including 400,000 realizations of postwar social housing development in the UK (*Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland*, Yale University Press, 1994). The history of the French grand estates was presented by Frédéric Dufaux, Annie Fourcaut and Rémi Skoutelsky's book *Faire l'histoire des grands ensembles. Bibliographie 1950–1980* (ENS Éditions, 2003). This approach was taken up in mapping mass housing developments in Slovakia's capital *Bratislava: Atlas of Mass Housing* (Slovart, 2011), which was the very first publication of this kind in Eastern Europe. However, the immediate predecessor of the recently concluded Czech project was Kimberly Zarecor's research, which resulted in the book *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

The big exhibition

Residence: Prefab Estate; Plans, Realization, Housing 1945–1989 was an extensive and thematically exhaustive exhibition. The main line provided a chronological record of the development of ideas concerning the construction of large residential structures. It started with the ideological prehistory in the form of the renowned analysis of the housing situation in the first Czechoslovak Republic by Jiří Kroha and ended with a critical reflection on prefab estates and an attempt at their humanization in the form of the architectonic exhibition *Urbanita* organized



01 The first room of the exhibition was devoted to the starting points of the prefabricated mass housing in Czechoslovakia. The very famous sociological analysis of the housing conditions by Jiří Kroha was included in the form of the original collages. © Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Photo: Ondřej Kocourek.



02 Each period of the history of Czech mass housing was illustrated not only by the original drawings, models and photographs but also by the elements of the interior design of the time. © Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Photo: Ondřej Kocourek.



03 Most fascinating was the part devoted to the prefabricated estates built in 1960s and 1970s, so call "beautiful estates" representing the qualitative peak in the development of mass housing in post-war Czechoslovakia. © Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, Photo: Ondřej Kocourek.

by the journal *Technický Magazín* [Technical Magazine] in the late 1980s. The individual chapters of the exhibition followed the periodization of the construction of housing estates, which was identified and described in the accompanying monograph by the project investigators. The periodization was accurately explained by the brief introductory characteristics accompanied by a time axis, which enabled situating each housing development within a broader social context. This axis constituted a backbone of the exhibition's dramaturgy and held the exposition together. The individual, more or less specific

folds of interpretation developed from this backbone in form of digressions. The main line of the exhibition was physically illustrated by the main exposition material, period photographs, architectonic models, archive documents in the form of architectonic designs and publications of that time. The digressions were filled with historical artefacts from the field of visual arts, housing culture and design.

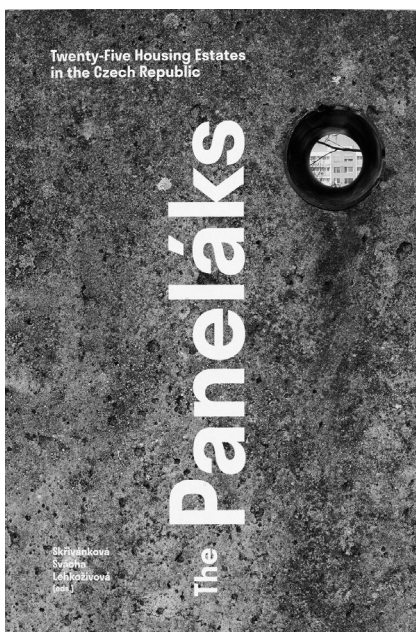
The authors of the exhibition managed to collect a great amount of material. The most remarkable items doubtlessly included the original models of the housing estates and period photographs. The added value of these two media lay in their ability to show both, how the town planning concepts changed and how the illustration tools and the architectonic craft evolved. However, the quantity of the physical and ideological digressions and layers of the exhibits tended to turn the exhibition into a hardly decipherable collection of curiosities. The great variety and multi-layered character of the exhibition is a logical result of the research, which immediately preceded the exhibition and resulted in three huge books as well. The authors' effort to show the phenomenon of prefab estates in all its complexity undoubtedly played a role, too. The exhibition could, therefore, be perceived as a dense hybrid architectonic-town planning-ethnographic reminder of a half-century of mass housing development in socialist Bohemia that enabled each visitor to select their own way of dating.

The three big publications

The exhibition was accompanied by two huge books titled *Paneláci* ("Paneláky" is the popular Czech name for the prefabricated housing structures). The first one, *Paneláci*

1. Padesát sídlišť v českých zemích [Prefabs 1. Twenty-Five Housing Estates in the Czech Republic] (Lucie Skřivánková, Rostislav Švácha, Eva Novotná, Karolina Jirkalová, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 2018) is an atlas in which on its 463 pages, 50 selected examples of prefabricated housing estates are presented by text analyses, original plans and photographs; in some cases, even by analyses of social conditions. The second book, *Paneláci 2. Historie sídlišť v českých zemích 1945-1989* [Prefabs 2. History of the Housing Estates in Czech Republic 1945-1989] (Lucie Skřivánková, Rostislav Švácha, Martina Koukalová, Eva Novotná, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 2017) is a regular architecture historiography of "only" 350 pages that introduces general history, periodization and characteristic features of the postwar mass housing in Czech part of the former Czechoslovakia. A selection of the first book was published also in English under the title *The Paneláks. Twenty-Five Housing Estates in the Czech Republic* (Lucie Skřivánková, Rostislav Švácha, Irena Lehkoživová, The Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, 2017). It focuses on the most characteristic and outstanding examples of prefab estates in Bohemia and could serve as a personal guide for anyone interested in this particular part of architectural heritage. The book series, together with the exhibition, should be understood as an unbiased and comprehensive scientific statement of work on this part of Czech architectural history and definitely as a perfect basis for the further aim of protecting some of the estates as monuments. In that sense I am quite sure that the authors of this great project will remain thinking big.

Henrieta Moravčíková



04 Lucie Skřivánková, Rostislav Švácha, Irena Lehkoživová (ed.), *The Paneláks. Twenty-Five Housing Estates in the Czech Republic*, Prague, The Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague, 2017. Book cover.

Architect Friedrich Weinwurm: New Path

Exhibition at the Slovak National Gallery

Bratislava, Slovakia, 25 January – 20 May 2018

The 20th century created space for extensive development in Slovakia in both cultural and social aspects, a phenomenon visible even today in its built material legacy. Connected to the growth in Slovakia in the 20th century are many personalities as practitioners of those professions that have made a significant imprint on the identity of the nation. Today, for instance, the names of the architects Dušan Samuel Jurkovič or Emil Belluš are known to the wider public as “the” Slovak architects who founded Slovakia’s autonomous architectural tradition. As such, they are regarded as founding fathers, as personalities standing on the same level as the nation’s key individuals. Their importance has, for several decades, been confirmed by a lasting interest from architectural historians and theorists, resulting in an extensive publication legacy. Since 2010, a series of extensive book-length monographs have successively appeared to present the general public with these oeuvres: starting with Dušan S. Jurkovič, and one year later presenting the work of Emil Belluš. And yet, when in 2014 the next publication appeared in this exclusive series, dedicated to the architect Friedrich Weinwurm, it represented instead the repayment of a long-overdue debt to the historic and architectural significance of this individual, long consigned to the margins of Slovak architectural history. It was thanks to author Henrieta Moravčíková that this pioneering work was undertaken.

The Slovak National Gallery (SNG) in Bratislava, as the nation’s most important art-historical institution, eventually turned its attention to Weinwurm, this unique representative of the architecture of the “New Objectivity” [*Neue Sachlichkeit*] and interwar functionalism, with a definite time-lag. Its recently ended exhibition of Friedrich Weinwurm’s work bore the title *Nová Cesta* [new path]. And this wording is significant, considering how much any evaluation of this recent exhibition program needs to take into consideration the long path that our knowledge of this major architect’s oeuvre had to traverse before finding its way into the confines of the SNG.

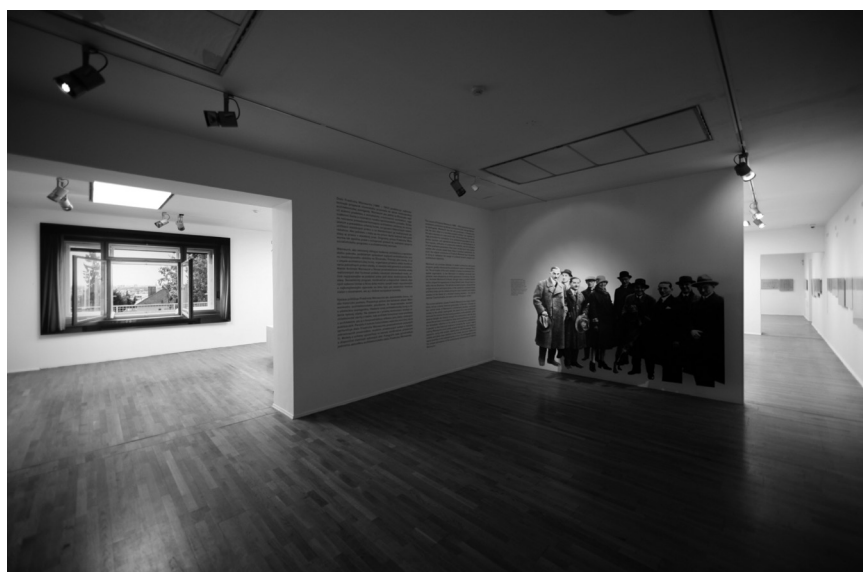
In his architecture, Weinwurm did not have the status of a creator and representative of the architectural lineage regarded as the basis of modern Slovak architectural traditions. Unlike his previously mentioned colleagues Emil Belluš and Dušan Samuel Jurkovič, Weinwurm – a German-speaking Jew who perished in the Holocaust – never in the post-war years became the subject of popular myth. Conversely, it was Weinwurm himself who bears the greatest responsibility for breaking the path for a new architecture in Slovakia. For the development of Slovak modernist architecture, he has the importance of such a figure as Adolf Loos or Hannes Meyer on a worldwide scale. For this reason, the current exhibition takes as its goal primarily the long-needed exposure of the forgotten, the presentation of an exceptional yet still insufficiently appreciated architect represented by dozens of realized structures created in his shared atelier with Ignác Vécsei.

Interpreting this exhibition (and the life of Weinwurm himself) through this sub-title has indeed set us off on new paths. It has helped us to realize that architecture is not only a game of forms, the language of the physical

arrangement of the space around us: it has shifted us away from the path of reading buildings as an *a priori* aesthetic discipline and shown us the content that lies behind the form of its representation. Such a path “beyond form” is shown in the part of the exhibition devoted to Weinwurm’s political struggle for a new architecture intended for all levels of society. The realized projects of a socially committed architecture in Bratislava’s modernist proto-estates of *Unitas* and *Nová Doba* confirm that the architect’s work at the start of the 1930s significantly determined the direction of urban planning for many decades to follow. This architecture is functionalism in its most essential presentation – form follows housing.

Of course, form also follows function: this slogan of Modernism is evident even in the actual realization of this exhibition at the SNG. The exhibition was the work of a sizeable authorial team under the supervision of Henrieta Moravčíková. Her husband Peter Moravčík was in charge of the exhibit’s architectural design and met this requirement of his senior colleagues perfectly. The minimal entrance, in the form of wooden platforms, met simultaneously the functions of a display case for publications and pedestals for architectural models. Though a highly traditional exhibition form, it did not appear banal, but indeed elevated the very content of the displays, acting on several levels or through several instruments for reaching its primary (educational) aims.

For understanding individual architectural works by Weinwurm and Vécsei, the exhibition used wall-projections of axonometric plans. These, in turn, communicated with the cardboard models of selected buildings



01 At the entrance of the exhibition Friedrich Weinwurm and members of his architecture studio welcomed the visitors on the only historical photograph of the whole exposition taken in the year 1926. Photo: Peter Moravčík.

02 The exhibition introduced the work of the architect Friedrich Weinwurm with reduced means and minimalistic aesthetics: original drawings, contemporary photographs taken by the well-known photographer Olja Triaška Stefanović, axonometric schemes of the main exhibited works and models created by the students of the Faculty of Architecture in Bratislava. © Slovak National Gallery. Photo: Peter Gall.



04 The large-scale photographs enabled the visitors to experience the unique atmosphere of the architecture of New Objectivity after nearly 100 years of its existence. However, the message of the photographs was somehow ambiguous expressing in the same time nostalgia and post-apocalyptic atmosphere of ruined modernism. © Slovak National Gallery. Photo: Peter Gall.



03 The three main parts of the exhibition "A building art to match its age", "The objectivity that we followed in the present day" and "A roof for everyone" were accompanied by soundtracks presenting the three architecture manifestos of Friedrich Weinwurm. Most appealing was the last one titled "Where does the new path lead?" from 1931 connected with the projects of social housing. © Slovak National Gallery. Photo: Peter Gall.

prepared over several semesters with the assistance of architecture students from the Bratislava Technical University. Original blueprints displayed on the walls did not, themselves, serve as explications of the architecture but more as artefacts recalling Weinwurm himself within the exhibition space. And it was not only his drawings but also his words that filled the exhibition rooms. For the exhibition, the first Slovak translations were prepared of Weinwurm's German texts published between 1924 and 1931 in the journals *Moderne Welt*, *Sborník Modernej Tvorby* and *Nová Bratislava*. The photographer Olja Triaška Stefanović, whose engagement dates back to the start of the previously mentioned monograph publication from 2014, contributed photographs of buildings by Weinwurm and Vécsei,

captivating in the melancholic enchantment only fitting for long-forgotten cultural heritage. Her photographs, in both small and monumental format, document the current state of Weinwurm's built oeuvre. A sense of the actual scale of the depicted scenes brings the viewer directly into the image – i.e. the fragment of Weinwurm's architecture, captured through the technically exacting photographic narrative using the single-axis perspective matching the spirit of the Düsseldorf School.

For many years, the SNG has worked on bringing the field of architecture into its collections. Indeed, Slovakia lacks any independent cultural-historical institution that would focus exclusively on architecture and built heritage. After literature, folk culture, visual arts and design, architecture remains

the last unoccupied area of art demanding a targeted shaping of collections and systematic institutional scholarly reflection. From this standpoint, the exhibition program of the SNG creates a valuable space for reflecting on this long-underrated and overlooked area of Slovakia's artistic legacy. In one sense, it is a valuable task, yet on the other, bearing in mind the primary focus of the SNG, it will always remain merely a marginal genre. Hence it is no surprise that the realized exhibition *Friedrich Weinwurm: New Path* is the very first independent monographic exhibition for a Slovak architect held in the spaces of the SNG since Slovakia gained its independence in 1993 (!). The catalog for the exhibition directly reveals the formation of its own new paths to the presentation and exhibition of architecture: the exhibition as planned by Henrieta Moravčíková and her team has found its new path, and the public have found it to their liking, as confirmed by the attendance figures. Yet for the professional community in Slovakia, the path is not only new but long if we are to reach a broad public appreciation for the heritage of Slovakia's modern architecture.

The exhibition in the premises of the SNG in Bratislava was open from 25.01.2018 to 20.05.2018.

Martin Zaiček

Exhibition conception: Henrieta Moravčíková
 Exhibition curators: Henrieta Moravčíková, Denis Haberland
 Photography: Olja Triaška Stefanović
 Architectural design: Peter Moravčík
 Axonometric diagrams: Laura Pastoreková
 Graphic design: Ľubica Segečová

Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980

Exhibition at MoMA

New York, US, 10 July 2018 – 13 January 2019

Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980 opened on July 10 at MoMA to the sound of old Yugoslavian songs, revolutionary and popular, spreading surreally from the museum's courtyard. For the next six months MoMA's third floor galleries will be inhabited by over 400 items, exhibited neatly, salon-style, on walls and pedestals, and organized in four major themes that traverse the period of architectural production covered in the exhibition: Modernization, Global Networks, Everyday Life, and Identities. Though this survey exhibition, curated by the Philip Johnson Chief Curator of Architecture and Design, Martino Stierli, and the visiting curator Vladimir Kulić, Associate Professor at the Florida Atlantic University, with curatorial assistant Anna Kats, offers different and perhaps contradictory things to different audiences, in the history of MoMA's institutional stewardship and codification of Modernism, it delivers a form of revision, and a significant geo-political expansion of the narratives the institution has undersigned so far. The exhibition's artifacts range from precious archival sketches, historical photographs, photographic reproductions of drawings, original models, and exquisite model reproductions (the labor of architecture students at The Cooper Union and the Florida Atlantic University), to commissioned video presentations by Mila Turajlić and photographs by Valentin Jeck. All of these represent and invoke the making of some of the most important architectural and design objects, almost evenly spread, over the territory of the former Yugoslavia. In its selection of work, the exhibition, perhaps self-consciously so, re-enacts in curatorial terms the balancing of national representation constitutive of Yugoslavia's political and social project, which was in some measure indeed materialized by its architecture.

Yugoslavia's specific federalist form emerged from WWII with six, mostly rural republics, major damage to its key urban centers, vast human casualties, war-exacerbated ethnic conflicts, and a war-time revolution. This was followed by a definitive break with the Soviet Union in 1948 which

was decisive both for the country and for its modern architecture. Yugoslavia's architects did not have to contend with socialist realism for very long, nor with the anxieties of interpretation that in most other Eastern European countries followed Khrushchev's official 1954 pronouncements against the socialist realist dictum. The break with Stalin prompted the party leadership to look for its own political path — which led to its experiment in self-management, and later to combinations of a state and market economy. It also prefigured Yugoslavia's eventual leadership in the Non-Aligned movement (with its alternative global market for architecture). Modernism in this context, as the curators and the researchers they assembled suggest, was the architectural language that supported the country's federalist, non-aligned, and self-managed socialism.

Toward a Concrete Utopia's survey of a 32 year period of architectural and urban thought of Yugoslavian architects avoids comprehensiveness and chronology, for a set of architectural objects and examples of more sustained urban efforts and practices, which refract the four categories announced in the opening text, into a number of (only slightly) smaller themes: Urbanization, Technological Modernization, The Architecture of the "Social Standard", Tourist Infrastructures, Design, Housing, Exporting Architecture, Regional Idioms, and Monuments. There are three large urban developments that get special recognition in terms of the gallery square-footage: local and international efforts towards the reconstruction of Skopje in the wake of its devastating 1963 earthquake, development of Split 3 Housing, and the postwar reconstruction of the coastal city of Zadar. The show is also punctuated by four immersive spaces dedicated to architects Vjenceslav Richter, Edvard Ravnikar, Juraj Neidhart and Bogdan Bogdanović. While the work of a number of other architects is presented as well, these figures serve to drill deeper into their own production, and through their biographies and bodies of work, into the historical moments and institutional and discursive networks they inhabited. As Kulić suggests, their function is in part also to transmit the message about the

possibility and value of individual creativity in the context of Yugoslavia's postwar architecture.

For the once Yugoslav architects (and in some measure for their colleagues across the equally former WWII) *Toward a Concrete Utopia* is a triumph. It is an important validation of these architects' efforts, of architecture once produced for the collective good — "generous" architecture, as Rem Koolhaas has often characterized examples of socialist architecture, because it was explicitly not aimed at the bottom line, and often quite literally dimensioned for a collective subject¹. This architectural heritage has been under great pressure in the region for a while already. Even as the show opened at MoMA, some of the buildings presented in its galleries lay in disrepair, ironically mired in property issues and for others, like the never finished Dom Revolucije in Nikšić, Montenegro, developers just had or are having their final word, "transitioning" them into the flow of global capital. The imperative of the price per square meter is literally paving over the architecture once dedicated to public good and aimed at contributing to the quality of collective life, and thus transforming the figure of the architect in this context into a tool for private profit². Disrepair, and disrespect for the architecture produced under socialism, is common across the Second World³. But perhaps this MoMA show can serve to turn the tide or, at the very least, turn the fates of some of this architectural heritage in the region.

One of this exhibition's greatest accomplishments thus registers in the realm of preservation. Though it exposed a pervasive lack of archival care across the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the whole effort resulted in salvaging and organizing material by a group of dedicated researchers⁴. Since many of the major architectural enterprises that built Yugoslavia have been privatized, have gone bankrupt, or otherwise crumbled, what would have been important archival material suffered similar fates. *Toward a Concrete Utopia* prompted the research team to locate and digitize at least some of the items constituting Yugoslavia's socialist architecture heritage. There were also important individual acts of preservation that made parts of the exhibition possible. To highlight just a couple of these, in a conversation following the opening at MoMA held at the Center for Architecture in New York, Juraj Neidhart's daughter, Tatjana, described the dramatic events during the long (1992–1996) and devastating siege of Sarajevo by the army of Republika Srpska, and her rescuing of her father's papers related to the book he co-authored with Dušan Grabrijan



01 At the entry of the exhibition one encounters a three-channel video installation by Mila Turajlić, *Mi gradimo zemlju – zemlja gradi nas* [We built the country – the country builds us] –, and produced out of newsreel footage of the construction of New Belgrade. Installation view of *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Martin Seck.



02 Reconstruction of Skopje is dedicated a vast space in which Yugoslavian architects and their work come together with the urban plans produced by, and the images of, Kenzō Tange's team. This space includes another of Mila Turajlić's commissioned videos, large photographs by Valentin Jeck. Installation view of *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019. © 2018 The Museum of Modern Art. Photo: Martin Seck.

Architecture of Bosnia and the Way to Modernity (1957)⁵. In Belgrade, the main protagonist in the Exporting Architecture narrative, Energoprojekt, whose architecture section was led by Milica Šterić, had an unusually well-organized archive held in a prefab house near its famous office building in New Belgrade. The archive was first damaged when the nearby Chinese Embassy was bombed by NATO in 1999. More recently, in preparation for the show members of MoMA's exhibition team rushed to rescue archival material from its possible destruction in a "hostile takeover" of the company by the new private majority shares holder. Though not readily available for the general MoMA visitor consumption, but circulating as legends among the curatorial team, these stories of preservation are an important register of the historical events, complexities and contradictions otherwise not palpable in the exhibition⁶. Concretely in these two above cases: a devastating ethnic conflict, the NATO solution to it, and the advances of the wildest kind of neo-liberal capitalism. Though I absolutely recommend the exhibition's catalog as required reading for the exhibition visitors (and especially reviewers), deeper and more complicated histories than even the ones the catalog manages are necessary to deliver on the earnest curatorial promise of the wall text—for this material to become actually useful for our own (dark) times⁷. Despite the fact that the material in the exhibition was submitted to MoMA's institutional habits of seeing in terms of styles, objects and authors, which of course transforms it in important ways, it is thanks to MoMA and its curatorial and research teams, that *Toward a Concrete Utopia* is an important record now that may slow down the quiet entropic disappearance of the historical traces of an era. It has prepared the ground for more research on why and how we might learn

from the examples it includes. I prefer to see it, therefore, as an invitation to research the architecture of the socialist era which, though it was many things in Yugoslavia, was also optimistic about the prospects of a diverse, multi-ethnic, equitable, self-managed and self-conscious collective.

Ana Milijački

Notes

- 1 Most recently Rem Koolhaas made such pronouncements on socialist modern architecture generally in a public interview conducted by the Russian American journalist, Vladimir Pozner at the Garage in Moscow as part of *the Moscow Urban Forum 2018*. See <https://strelkamag.com/en/article/rem-koolhaas-vladimir-pozner>.
- 2 Because I find these ideals most clearly embedded in the architecture that supported civic and everyday life, I found the show's section on the Social Standard most exciting. It includes projects such as the Kosovo University and Public Library in Priština (designed by Andrija Mutnjaković), as well as the recently (and beautifully) renovated Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade (designed by Ivanka Raspopović and Ivan Antić).
- 3 In my own research of Czech architecture, I found the destruction of the department store Ještěd in Liberec particularly sad, though not the sole, example of this. In the show at MoMA, the disrepair of some of the famous tourist structures like the Haludovo hotel (designed by Boris Magaš), or the memorial on Petrova Gora (designed by Vojin Bakić, Berislav Šerbetić, and Zoran Bakić) quite literally represents the general attitude towards this architectural heritage. The contemporary politicians operating in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia have nothing to gain from identifying themselves with the old ideals of "brotherhood and unity", or the once

regulated development of the Adriatic coast; and the memorials of the anti-fascist struggle that most of them had to visit regularly as part of their early education, might have the capacity to dangerously expose the contradictions now deeply embedded in their own, often fascist, politics.

- 4 The names of the members of this collective are impossible to find on the exhibition walls, but they are thankfully included (on page 179) in the catalog. I will relist here the curatorial advisory board, because without their research and understanding of the importance of preserving and organizing the material, we would all be poorer: Tamara Bjažić Klarin, Matevž Čelik, Vladimir Deskov, Ana Ivanovska Deskov, Sanja Horvatinčić, Jovan Ivanovski, Jelica Jovanović, Matrina Malešić, Maroje Mrduljaš, Bekim Ramku, Arber Sadiki, Dubravka Sekulić, Irena Šentevska, Luka Skansi, Lukasz Stanek, Marta Vukotić Lazar, and Mejrema Zatrić.
- 5 Juraj Neidhart's room is dedicated to this research on Bosnian architecture's premodernism.
- 6 The first small event to mark the opening of *Towards Concrete Utopia* in Belgrade, included Vlada Kulić, and two members of the curatorial advisory board: Jelica Jovanović and Dubravka Sekulić, and took place at the mobbed REX cultural center on July 26, 2018.
- 7 I use here Hannah Arendt's term "dark times", which she, in turn, borrowed from Bertolt Brecht for her collection of essays *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970), precisely because she believed that the men and women she wrote about in that collection responded to the "dark times" in a way that produced hopeful forms of "illumination". It is a term that thus contains, through its layered historical references, both a description befitting our own historical moment and possible antidotes to it.