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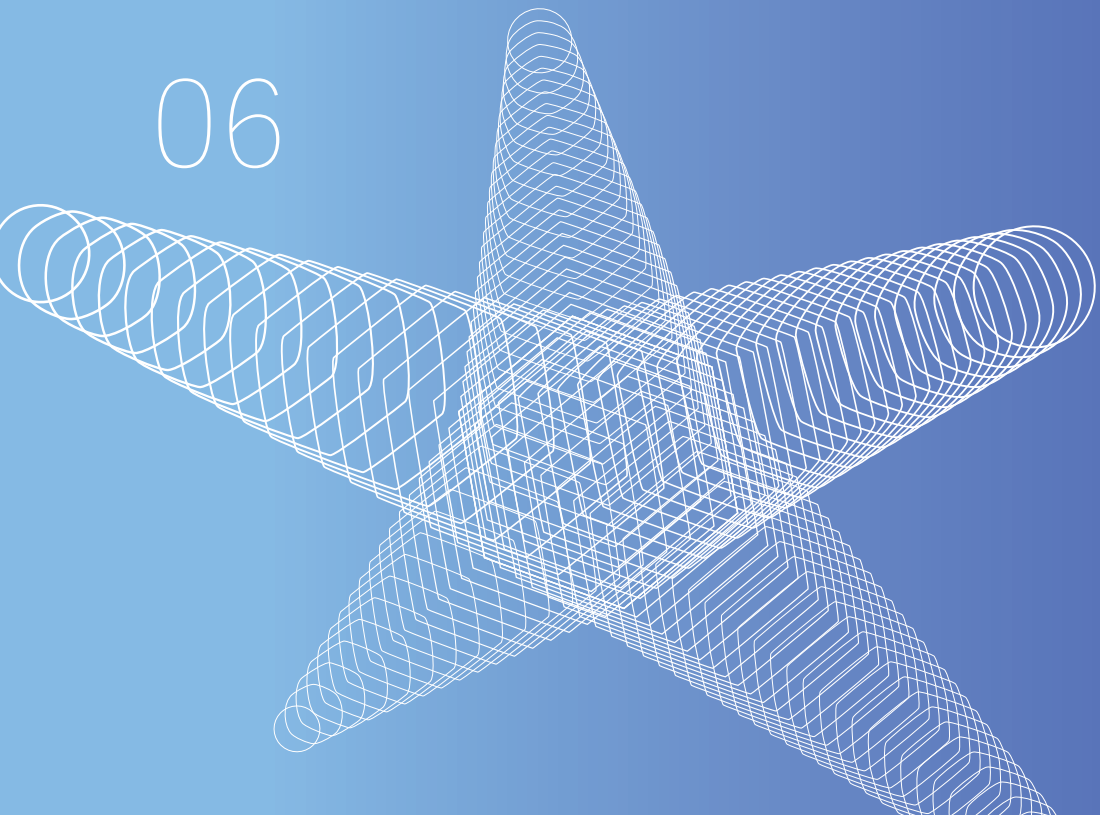

Mitja Velikonja

IMAGES OF FRIENDSHIP*

Analysis of artworks, ethnological and applied arts gifts from non-aligned countries to the President of SFRY, Josip Broz

Part I and II

Part 1:
Analysis of artworks as gifts from non-aligned countries to the President of SFRY, Josip Broz

We must give back more than we have received.
Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 136

The act of gifting is one of the fundamental conventions on both an individual and a social level: from the most personal sphere to international politics, where giving presents is part of diplomatic protocol. The gift establishes a social relationship between its giver and its receiver, underlines their symbolic and actual position, which is based on mutual respect and honour, and promotes committing to cooperation. In my part of the research titled *Models and Practices of Global Cultural Exchange and Non-Aligned Movement: Research in the Spatio-Temporal Cultural Dynamics*, I deal with the visual language of artworks presented to the Yugoslav President Josip Broz by the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, which are stored in the repositories of the Museum of

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Yugoslavia in Belgrade.[1] Tito's diplomatic activity was, as the Belgrade curator Aleksandra Momčilović Jovanović notes, "so prolific that a monography could be written to describe relations between Yugoslavia and each specific country".[2] In order to strengthen the role of his country as one of the founding members of the Movement, Tito "spent an enormous amount of time making contacts with statesmen who—in the protocol exchange of gifts at the highest state level—gave him objects of different purposes, times, and places of origin that carry rich layers of meaning".[3]

Initiatives to explore this relatively narrow and less known aspect of this cultural history have come from several quarters: first, due to the growing interest in cultural and artistic exchanges between Yugoslavia and the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, which, in recent years, has become prominent in the fields of art and science;[4] second, because of my previous research on Yugonostalgia, "Titostalgia" and nostalgia for socialism in general;[5] and third, because of my frequent and fruitful collaboration with the staff of the Belgrade-based museum, which has been ongoing for more than fifteen years.

The Movement, which was based on the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" (mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence), promoted and strengthened, first and foremost, the political and economic ties between the majority of the recently decolonised countries as well as their search for a *third way*[6] in the

1 Occasionally, some of these exhibits are lent and included in various exhibition arrangements; for example, in September 2021 they were part of the exhibition *Prometheans of the New Century*, which focused on cooperation with India.

2 Momčilović Jovanović, Darovi Titu, p. 67.

3 Panić, Yugoslavia and India, p. 116.

4 To mention just a few examples of more recent exhibitions on this subject: *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned* (Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana, 2019), *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned – It is not Enough to Write a Revolutionary Poem* ("Drugo more" gallery, Rijeka, 2021), which is a similar exhibition by the same curator but with an extended title, and the already mentioned exhibition *Prometheans of the New Century*, which was arranged to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement (Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, 2021, curated by Ana Panić and Jovana Nedeljković). The historical and political studies on which I relied in particular were conducted by Jakovina (*Treća strana Hladnog rata*, Dinkel (*The Non-Aligned Movement*) and Stubbs (*Socialist Yugoslavia and the Antinomies of the Non-Aligned Movement and The Emancipatory Afterlives of Non-Aligned Internationalism*).

5 *Titostalgia – A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz. Lost in Transition: Nostalgia for Socialism in Post-Socialist Countries. Rock'n'Retro – New Yugoslavism in Contemporary Popular Music in Slovenia. The Past with a Future: The Emancipatory Potential of Yugonostalgia.*

6 Ideological discourse is marked in italics throughout the text.

Edsel Moscoso (Philippines), *Talipapa* (Market Scene), 1979
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, collection "4 May", inv. no. 470

tense Cold War constellation of powers between the West and the East, between the American and the Soviet blocs. Although cultural, artistic and scientific cooperation between non-aligned countries was overshadowed by political and economic cooperation,[7] it was vibrant and diversified, with Yugoslavia playing a significant role.[8] This fact is also demonstrated in a unique way by the artworks presented as gifts to the Yugoslav president.

Before the start of empirical work, I asked myself the following basic and open-ended question with a focus on cultural aspects: What are these gifts conveying, what ideological messages are encoded in their content, how do they operate – to use Stuart Hall's phrase – "in discursive chains, in clusters, in sematic fields, in discursive formations",[9] what are their "maps of meaning"? How do they represent the gift-giving countries? Do these works share any common characteristics despite the extraordinary diversity of creative techniques, formats, genres, motifs, provenance, authorship, time of creation and mode of gift presentation? Instead of approaching this extremely interesting topic from a classical perspective of art history, I adopt the cultural studies perspective, being more interested in the social and ideological connotations carried by the artworks' motifs than in their aesthetic dimensions:

What do they reveal about the gift givers and the politics and culture of the Non-Aligned Movement in general? In short: I am interested in this type of cultural or artistic "texts" in their broader historical and political "context".

The collected artworks were analysed using the method of visual social semiology, which deals with "the ways in which the meanings of signs are made socially",[10] as well as on the basis of Hall's theory of representation, defined as production of meaning through language,[11] and Mauss's concept of the gift as a material and spiritual bond that fosters friendship and cooperation between the giver and the recipient.[12] I connected these theoretical and methodological starting points building upon my own reflections

7 See, for example, Piškur, *Southern Constellations*, p. 15. The similarity with today's forms and dimensions of cooperation within the European Union, where political and economic issues once again take precedence over all others, is more than significant.

8 In this context, I will not approach the dimensions, potentials and limitations of Yugoslavia's cultural and artistic activities, conventions and programmes in relation to these countries; they are covered in articles by Merhar, International Collaboration in Culture between Yugoslavia and the Countries of the Non-Aligned Movement and Cartography of SFR Yugoslavia's International Collaborations in Culture with Developing Countries, with an accompanying map on p. 98.

9 Hall, *Kulturne študije 1983*, p. 169.

10 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 135.

11 Hall, Delo reprezentacije, p. 36.

12 Mauss, *Esej o daru in drugi spisi*.

on the representational function of the gift in diplomatic protocol. Due to the comprehensive nature of the topic, my analysis is divided into two independent parts, which only together form an integrated whole. In Part I of the present chapter I provide a brief description of the collection (of mostly paintings), develop the theoretical and methodological approaches and classify the collected artworks according to what they represent. Then I use the method of social semiology to analyse and interpret these artworks as gifts, i.e. no longer only in terms of their content. In Part II I apply the same theoretical and methodological approach to a much larger number of ethnological and applied arts gifts that Tito received from the representatives of the non-aligned countries. At the end I make comparisons between these two groups of gifts, pointing out notable similarities and significant differences.

Brief description of the collection

The collection of paintings, sculptures, drawings, etc. which is subject of this analysis has been made accessible to me through the kind cooperation of the curator of the Museum of Yugoslavia, Ana Panić, to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks. We met in January and July 2021; before, during and after that we also kept in touch via e-mail. At the beginning, she presented me with a clear and thoroughly prepared list of artworks in the collection, which she had compiled herself, and then led me through the museum's two carefully arranged repositories where these works are stored. In the first part of this chapter I refer to this list, the complete title of which is "Nesvrstani – likovna" (Non-Aligned – fine art). Related collections of gifts that Tito received from non-aligned countries are arranged in a similar way: the ethnographic collection "Nesvrstani – etnografska" (Non-Aligned – ethnographic; consisting of 278 items), the collection of applied arts objects "Nesvrstani – primenjena (Non-Aligned – applied; 296 items) and the collection of decorative objects "Nesvrstani – volonteri" (Non-Aligned – volunteers; 579 items in total). Some of these gifts are featured on the Museum of Yugoslavia website (https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/lista-eksponata/), while Tito's photo library (http://foto.mij.rs/site/galleries) contains approximately 170,000 photographs.

My topic of interest was first limited to the fine art collection, for which I provide some basic information below. The list contains 43 artworks, of which four are missing (for unknown reasons). It provides the main information: author, title of the work, year of creation, artistic technique, dimensions, manner of acquisition and eventual remarks (and, of course, signature, inventory number and location in the collection). Unfortunately, not all data is available

for some of the works. They originate from various members of the Non-Aligned Movement (and China as an observer): mostly from Asia, 23 in total (nine from India, three from Bangladesh, two each from Indonesia and Vietnam, in addition to the works from the Philippines, North Korea, Iraq, Pakistan and China), followed by Africa (Egypt, Algeria, Congo, Tunisia, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia and Ghana) and the Americas (two each from Panama and Cuba, followed by Chile, Bolivia and Guyana). The provenance of two of the works is unclear; moreover, due to the subject matter, the collection also includes the works *Founders of the Non-Aligned* by the Montenegrin-born, Croatian-based sculptor Stevan Luketić (1925–2002) and *Emperor Haile Selassie I* by Antun Augustinčić (1900–1979).[13] Most of the paintings date back to the second decade of the Non-Aligned Movement (1971–1980; fifteen in total), followed by the first decade (1961–1970; nine in total). The date of creation is uncertain for ten paintings, while four were produced before 1961 and one after 1980. The President of Yugoslavia (and his office) received these gifts in various ways: during visits to the member countries (from hosts, i.e. political leaders, senior politicians or representatives of the visited cities, regions and institutions); during visits from political leaders of these countries to Yugoslavia; from member countries' embassies in Belgrade and, in some cases, directly from artists (often as a token of gratitude from those who had received their artistic training in Yugoslavia).[14]

The authorship of these works is also worth noting: fourteen of them are unsigned, i.e. the author is completely unknown; others are not well-known and consequently I found (almost) no useful information about them in scientific and specialist literature; others studied at Yugoslav art academies or even worked in Yugoslavia.[15] A few, however, were very well-known and respected in their time and milieu, and were closely linked to the political regimes in their countries. Below are some examples. The award-winning and decorated Alfredo Sinclair (1914–2014) was a pioneer of abstract painting in Panama as well as founder of the Academy of Fine Arts, a lec-

13 It is interesting to note that following the invitation of the Ethiopian Emperor, he erected three very impressive monuments in Ethiopia: to the victims of Italian fascism (1955, as Tito's gift to the Ethiopian nation), to the Ethiopian partisans and to Ras Makonnen, the Emperor's father. The sculpture in the collection was probably created during Augustinčić's stay in Ethiopia, at the time when the first of the three monuments was being erected.

14 The exact register of individuals who presented gifts (politicians, diplomats and artists) is included in the list mentioned in the introductory part of the paper.

15 Especially artists from India (Vidya Bhushan, Animesh Nandi, Ghulam Jellani and Gangadhar Balkrishna Vad), but also from elsewhere; Carlos Fernandez, for example, came from Bolivia.

Alfredo Sinclair (Panama), *Grand Event*, 1975
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-332

turer and curator.[16] The French-educated Faeq Hassan (1914–1992) earned the nickname "The Father of Contemporary Iraqi Art", being the founder of several progressive art groups, who in his works brought together Iraqi heritage and traditional art, on the one hand, and experimental and abstract contemporary art on the other. The Indian Padmashree Singannachar Narasimha Swamy (1911–1983) was close friends with the most important political figures of the (post-)colonial era (Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Lord Louis Mountbatten, etc.), who he portrayed in his works. Moreover, he also managed several art institutions and won multiple state awards. Augusto Fausto Rodrigues Trigo (1938) from Guinea-Bissau began his career as a painter of motifs from his own environment, and later, from the seventies onwards, established himself as a world-renowned comic book illustrator.

The life and work of Huang Zhou (1925–1997) was turbulent and full of vicissitudes: he started his career as a war painter and held a series of prominent positions in the artistic field, winning several awards for his work and exhibiting widely; during the Cultural Revolution he was demoted, becoming a manual labourer. Following his rehabilitation, he was almost incapable of painting due to the sustained physical strain, but he still produced some paintings, which the state presented to important guests.[17] Bangladeshi artist Mohammad Syful Islam (1946) studied in Moscow and was particularly drawn to Renaissance and Socialist Realist art: he became a world-renowned portraitist, portraying local and international artists and politicians.[18] The Pakistani Sheikh Ahmad was a representative of Social Realist painting and the founder of the Karachi Institute of Applied Arts.[19] After graduating in painting in India, Animesh Nandi (1940–2020) continued his studies in Yugoslavia, where he earned his master's degree and worked as an independent artist for more than a decade.[20] The previously mentioned Yugoslav sculptors were also among the most well-known and prominent artists of their time.

16 See, among others, Angel, *A Century of Painting in Panama*, pp. 12–13.

17 His artworks were presented to the Japanese Emperor, the American President and President Tito, for whom, in 1978, he painted an eagle symbolising the strength and ambitions of the old hero. For more information about his work, see Zhangshen, *Chinese Masters of the 20th Century Volume 3*.

18 From the poet Rabindranath Tagore and the musician and poet Kazi Nazrul Islam, to Queen Elizabeth II, the Japanese imperial couple and the Malay royal couple, Kurt Waldheim, Ronald Reagan, Indira Gandhi and, of course, Tito.

19 For more information on the emergence of contemporary art movements in Pakistan, see Arshad, *Artists who created art movements in Pakistan*.

20 In spring 2021, the organisers of the "Sarajevo Winter" festival curated a special exhibition in his honour. Retrieved 8 January 2022 from https://www.glartent.com/BA/Sarajevo/166682320559632/Sarajevo-Winter-Festival-Sarajevska-zima.

In the field of the visual arts, cultural exchange between Yugoslavia and other members of the Non-Aligned Movement was extremely vibrant, reciprocal and well documented, and has recently been the subject of numerous exhibitions.[21] Artworks from the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement produced during this period are not only kept in the Museum of Yugoslavia but, among others, also in the Belgrade Museum of African Art (in existence since 1977), the Podgorica Centre for Contemporary Art of Montenegro (established in 1984 as the "Josip Broz Tito" Art Gallery of the Non-Aligned Countries in then Titograd), and the Koroška Gallery of Fine Arts in Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia (founded in 1957 as the Art Pavilion). Elsewhere, these artworks are rare or non-existent: it could be expected that the artifacts dating back to the height of the Movement would be included in the table of selected works from museums in Yugoslavia, yet it does not contain a single one.[22]

Theoretical background and methodological approach

The source for my research was data acquired through careful observation of all these works (from both sides, front and back, where some useful information about the painting, notes about the reception, comments from protocol office staff, etc. were often included on a label; I photographed all these artworks for my archive). Further information was gathered through conversations and correspondence with the curator of these works, Ms Panić (and other curators in charge of related collections), as well as on the basis of primary sources (archival sources, various original documents, the web) and secondary sources (previous research on cultural exchanges between the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement, articles, catalogues, records of cultural exchanges during the examined period, texts on local art scenes, etc.).

The collected artworks were examined both in terms of their content (what they represent) and function—as received gifts. To understand this latter component, I initially drew on the classical theory of the gift by the French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss. He points at the reciprocity of the gift as its intrinsic characteristic: the gift "commits" the recipient to give something back to the giver. In a profit-oriented economy founded on private

21 See catalogues of recent exhibitions (and the exhibitions themselves) by Tamara Soban and Ana Panić.

22 Srejović and Jeremić, *Muzeji Jugoslavije*. The table, on the other hand, contains examples of prehistoric, antique and medieval art produced on the territory of Yugoslavia, as well as artworks by contemporary artists, both domestic and foreign (such as Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Paul Gauguin, Alfred Sisley, Edgar Degas, etc.).

property, objects are disposed of through sale to a new owner. In a gift economy (which he understands as a triple obligation: the obligation to give, to receive and to reciprocate the gift), in the system of "total services" as he defines them, it is the exact opposite. The given object not only pleases the receiver, but also remains linked to its giver: instead of being disposed of, it guarantees a "return gift" to the giver. In such an exchange, objects "are never completely detached from those carrying out the exchange. The mutual ties and alliance that they establish are comparatively indissoluble".[23] The anthropologist Maurice Godelier, who adopted and extended Mauss's conception of the gift, defines it as a voluntary, individual or collective act, which may or may not be prompted by the person or persons receiving it.[24] At the same time, he adds that the act of giving seems to create a twofold relationship between giver and receiver: a relationship of solidarity (horizontal relationship) and of superiority (hierarchical relationship).

In this study, I am not only trying to answer the question of what "force impels one to reciprocate the thing received",[25] focusing on the dynamic symmetry of gift-giving that creates opposing tendencies of mutual solidarity and domination, but I go a step further. I primarily observe the ways in which givers represent themselves by their gifts, what image of themselves they offer or literally "give" to another person. "[T]o make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself;[26] while Godelier notes that "what is present in the object, along with the owner, is the entire imaginary of society, of [their] society."[27] A gift is neither a mere "gesture of goodwill" nor only "a mere object", but always and above all a (representative) part of the giver that is accepted by the receiver. The gifted object possesses two powers: the power to create a mutual bond between the giver and the receiver, and the power to represent. I therefore also understand the gift as one of the fundamental human and social means of self-representation: we use gifts to present ourselves to others in the best light, with something that is most ours, the most outstanding and typical. This applies to personal, intimate gifts but also to protocol gifts presented by political communities. In short: the gift "communicates culture",[28] creating and recreating ideological representations of ourselves in relation to others.

23 Mauss, *Esej o daru in drugi spisi*, p. 63.
24 Godelier, *Uganka daru*, p. 22.
25 Mauss, *Esej o daru in drugi spisi*, p. 12.
26 Ibid., p. 26.
27 Godelier, *Uganka daru*, p. 120.
28 Momčilović Jovanović, *Darovi Titu*, p. 76.

The choice of gift is another complex issue, which similarly concerns different levels, from the personal to the protocol sphere. However, what is undoubtedly true is that it must be a "precious object", which, according to Godelier, is characterised by the these three elements: it has no practical application or is not meant to be used in everyday life, is abstract and meets the prerequisite of being beautiful.[29] The "abstract" character mean that these objects "'embody' social relations and thought systems and then [...] re-present them [...] to the social actors in a form which is material, abstract and symbolic",[30] while "beautiful" is "defined by the cultural and symbolic universe of the societies that use and make these objects".[31] Works of art can therefore be more than suitable protocol gifts: they embody—to use the expression of both mentioned sociologists—"spiritual mechanisms", having a moral, symbolic, intangible and prestigious value.

The specificities relating to protocol gifts presented at the highest, i.e. state, level are addressed in a series of studies in the field of international relations and are part of a broader field dealing with the functioning of "soft power". The Ljubljana-based political scientist Jana Arbeiter notes that "diplomatic protocol in this sense also represents a source of symbolic power and prestige in international relations and diplomacy, since actors—despite their multitude—put strong emphasis on diplomatic protocol, by which other actors in the international community recognise their desired protocol and ceremonial position".[32] This requires a set of related skills and knowledge—from rules on diplomatic behaviour and etiquette to broader cultural insights, from ways of communicating and adopting appropriate rhetoric to knowledge of political and historical background. "Diplomacy is very sensitive to any display of power and status symbols", states the Uzbek political scientist and diplomat Alisher Faizulayev, and goes on to say: "[e]xpressions of status and power – such as greetings phrase and gifts – have traditionally been symbolic".[33] Furthermore, mutual exchange of gifts in line with the protocol "constitutes a universal model by which cultural differences are neutralised through communication".[34] The gift—although not always a necessary element

29 Godelier, *Uganka daru*, pp. 195–198.
30 Ibid., p. 196.
31 Ibid., p. 198.
32 Arbeiter, Symbolic importance of diplomatic protocol, p. 161.
33 Faizullaev, Diplomacy and Symbolism, p. 109. The same is also observed by Arbeiter and Brglez in *Prednostni vrstni red*, p. 18: "[d]iplomacy has to be analysed through the prism of symbolism and symbolic power, which is one of the main forms of soft power and the foundation of diplomacy in general".
34 Momčilović Jovanović, Darovi Titu, p. 68.

of the protocol—honours the receiver in a particular way, strengthens the bond between the receiver and the giver, suggests an exchange and establishes a symbolic positioning of both parties (according to the previously mentioned ambivalence of solidarity and hierarchy). At the same time, it exhibits the best of what the giver possesses and what they are proud of, creating their best possible representation.[35] In diplomacy, the gift—even if given by a political leader/politician to another political leader/politician merely as a "personal gift"—always and unavoidably represents a wider community (a country, a region, etc.) and is collective and political in all cases.

In the following paragraphs I pass from the theory of the gift to the theory of its ideological significance. In explaining the ideological significance, I rely on the theory of visual representation, which "examine[s] in detail how certain institutions mobilise specific forms of visuality to see, and to order, the world".[36] According to Hall, in fact, "[w]e always need systems through which we represent what the real is to ourselves and to others".[37] He understands representation as "the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning".[38] As such, representation provides grounds for the conditions regarding the social existence of individuals and groups: it creates ways in which the group can be formed inwardly and presented outwardly. Gifts to various guests are one of the most effective and frequent ways in which ideology as a system of representation of a given group materialises, becomes tangible and concrete.[39]

Content of the painting as representation

The understanding of the gift as self-representation—i.e. the gift not being only an object of exchange or an indicator of (asymmetrical) social relations—is still a relatively unexplored topic, especially in the field of diplomacy.[40] The constructivist approach to representation explains that "things don't *mean*: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs".[41] From the

35 See the study by anthropologist Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov for a particularly interesting insight into the Soviet and international "gift economy" in the context of the celebration of Stalin's 70th birthday, which was commemorated in 1949 by the "exhibition of birthday gifts to Stalin".

36 Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, p. 10.

37 Hall, *Kulturne študije 1983*, p. 169.

38 Hall, Delo reprezentacije, p. 82. In other words: "The relation between 'things', concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language." (ibid., p. 39)

39 Cf. Hall, *Kulturne študije 1983*, p. 168.

40 This is also pointed out by Ssorin-Chaikov among others (*On Heterochrony*, p. 358).

41 Hall, Delo reprezentacije, p. 46.

semiological point of view, a painting (or sculpture, relief, etc.) is in itself a representation of content, and similarly, the act of giving a painting qualified as a gift is a representation of the relationship between the giver and the receiver. The present study, therefore, addresses two representations: the content of the painting and the painting as gift. The content of painting is first observed using Hall's method (concept– language–code) and then analysed as a protocol gift (since it is no longer only a painting but becomes a gift and should be considered as such). Therefore, in the first step, I explain how the painting creates meanings and in the second step, how the act of presenting the painting as a gift creates meanings: in order to understand the "language of the gift", we need first to understand the "language of the painting" itself.

The following questions are therefore examined: What is the self-representation of a state in the presented artworks, what are its "kernels of imaginary material"—to quote Godelier—which were "necessary to its formation and reproduction"?[42] How did these "developing countries" represent themselves through gifts to Yugoslavia, which was nevertheless perceived as a "more developed developing country"; in other words: how did the "Global South" appear to a country that was somewhere at the tail end of the "Global North" based on its gifts? What do we find in these paintings?

I grouped the collected artworks according to their systems of representation (indicating for each the artist, the provenance, the serial number included in the previously mentioned list and the main motif or image).[43] The first system is the system of "concepts" or "conceptual maps" or "mental representations". I listed six of them. The second system of representation is language, in this case "visual language" or the visual image of concepts, which refers to how artists imagine these six concepts/mental representations and how they draw/paint/model them. These two systems are connected by a cultural code, which translates between the concepts and the language and consolidates the relationships between them. In the following, I list the artworks in order of identified groups:

1. First system of representation: nature, landscape, animals.

- M. Rodriguez (Cuba, entry no 5) – second system of representation: image of flowers and fruit (and small human figures).
- Unknown author (Bangladesh, entry no 11) – second system of representation: image of a tiger in a thicket.

42 Godelier, *Uganka daru*, p. 45.

43 See Hall, Delo reprezentacije, pp. 37–42, 49.

Unknown author (Vietnam), *Red River*, 1957
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-135

- Unknown author (Chile, entry no 14) – second system of representation: image of a girl leading a horse.
- Unknown author (Vietnam, entry no 16) – second system of representation: image of a river with floating boats.
- H. Zhov (China, entry no 18) – second system of representation: image of an eagle perched on a branch.
- R.D. Saleh (Indonesia, entry no 22) – second system of representation: image of a wooded wilderness and a river.
- R. Savory (Guyana, entry no 24) – second system of representation: image of leafy trees in the wind.

Cultural code: strong attachment to nature, idealisation of its beauty and the fact of being untouched by development, pollution and modernisation: on the one hand, it is wild, dangerous, powerful, but on the other, it is also already tamed, domesticated—in the traditional way and in symbiosis with the natives.

2. First system of representation: individual natives.

- A. Nandi (India, entry no 2) – second system of representation: stylised images of three natives.
- J. T. Sursock (Egypt, entry no 3) – second system of representation: image of a sitting girl.
- J.B. Jeanine (Panama, entry no 4) – second system of representation: image of a banana picker.
- Unknown author (India, entry no 8) – second system of representation: image of a mother and child in a field.
- Unknown author (India, entry no 13) – second system of representation: image of three female dancers.
- Unknown author, probably Fidgie Ngombe (Congo, entry no 14) – second system of representation: image of two peasant women carrying jugs.
- Unknown author (Tunisia, entry no 14) – second system of representation: image of a sitting princess.
- G. B. Vad (India, entry no 25) – second system of representation: an image of a mother breastfeeding a black and a light-skinned newborn.
- K. Yahto (unidentified East Asian country, entry no 38) – second system of representation: image of a female dancer (and a male observer).
- S. Ahmad (Pakistan, entry no 39) – second system of representation: image of a local female.
- G. Jellani (Pakistan, entry no 44) – second system of representation: image of Maya (the queen of the Shakya tribe), Buddha's mother.

Juan Bautista Jeanine (Panama), *Banana Picker*, 1974
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-469

Yahto, K. (East Asia), *Dancer*, 1962
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-534

Cultural code: pronounced patriarchalism with classical female roles (workers, mothers, seductresses), and, to a lesser extent, representation of women in superior positions, the positions of (religious, political) power; a strong component of traditionalism (clothes, appearance, activities) as if modernisation—even that of colonial times—had not yet begun; social conservatism in the sense of the absence of any liberation, vertical mobility and cultural pluralism.

3. First system of representation: society, community, culture.

- E. Moscoso (Philippines, entry no 6) – second system of representation: image of people in the marketplace.
- K. A. Hossain (Bangladesh, entry no 10) – second system of representation: image of a boating village.
- Unknown author (India, entry no 21) – second system of representation: image of a celebration, a crowd of people gathering at the foot of a magnificent shrine.
- Unknown author (Indonesia, entry no 10) – second system of representation: image of a group of people building a junk (a local type of sailboat).
- Vidya Bhushan (India, entry no 21) – second system of representation: image of a bodhisattva (enlightened being) in a group of people.
- E. Michaelsen (Cuba, entry no 27) – second system of representation: image of a horse race through the village attended by an enthusiastic crowd.
- F. Hassan (Iraq, entry no 34) – second system of representation: image of a group of Bedouins with horses in the desert.
- Unknown author (Ethiopia, entry no 40) – second system of representation: image of a mansion on the riverbank.
- Unknown author (Ghana, entry no 41) – second system of representation: image of a group of people at the royal court associated with the Ashanti people.

Cultural code: depictions featuring traditional social structure, division of labour, religious affiliation and ancient culture: an arcadian idealisation with no sign of modernisation; the emphasis is on the strength of the rural community (chores and activities performed by the community as a whole, common celebrations—all hallmarks of a Durkheimian society of "mechanical solidarity").

4. First system of representation: political and military struggle.

- Unknown author (Algeria, entry no 9) – second system of representation: image of ancient warriors around a hearth in the wilderness.

Unknown author (Ghana) – *A scene from the tradition of the Ashanti people*, 1970.
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1112 P

Augusto Fausto Rodrigues Trigo (Guinea-Bissau), *Battle*, 1976
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-331

- Unknown author (Vietnam, entry no 17) – second system of representation: image of a battle (from the Vietnam War) in the river reeds.
- A. Sinclair (Panama, entry no 19) – second system of representation: image of student demonstrations at the Panama Canal border.
- A. F. R. Trigo (Guinea-Bissau, entry no 33) – second system of representation: image of a battle from the war of independence.

Cultural code: very graphic and dramatic depictions of the recent anti-colonial and anti-imperialist revolts (almost in the sense of socialist realism); traditionalism is less present, but the emphasis remains on the power of community, represented in this case by armed or politically engaged peoples.

5. First system of representation: Josip Broz Tito as guest.

- Unknown author (North Korea, entry no 7) – second system of representation: portrait of Presidents Tito and Kim Il Sung shaking hands.
- S. Islam (Bangladesh, entry no 28) – second system of representation: portrait of President Tito.
- Hassaine (unknown provenance, entry no 29) – second system of representation: portrait of President Tito.
- C. Fernandez (Bolivia, entry no 37) – second system of representation: portrait of President Tito.

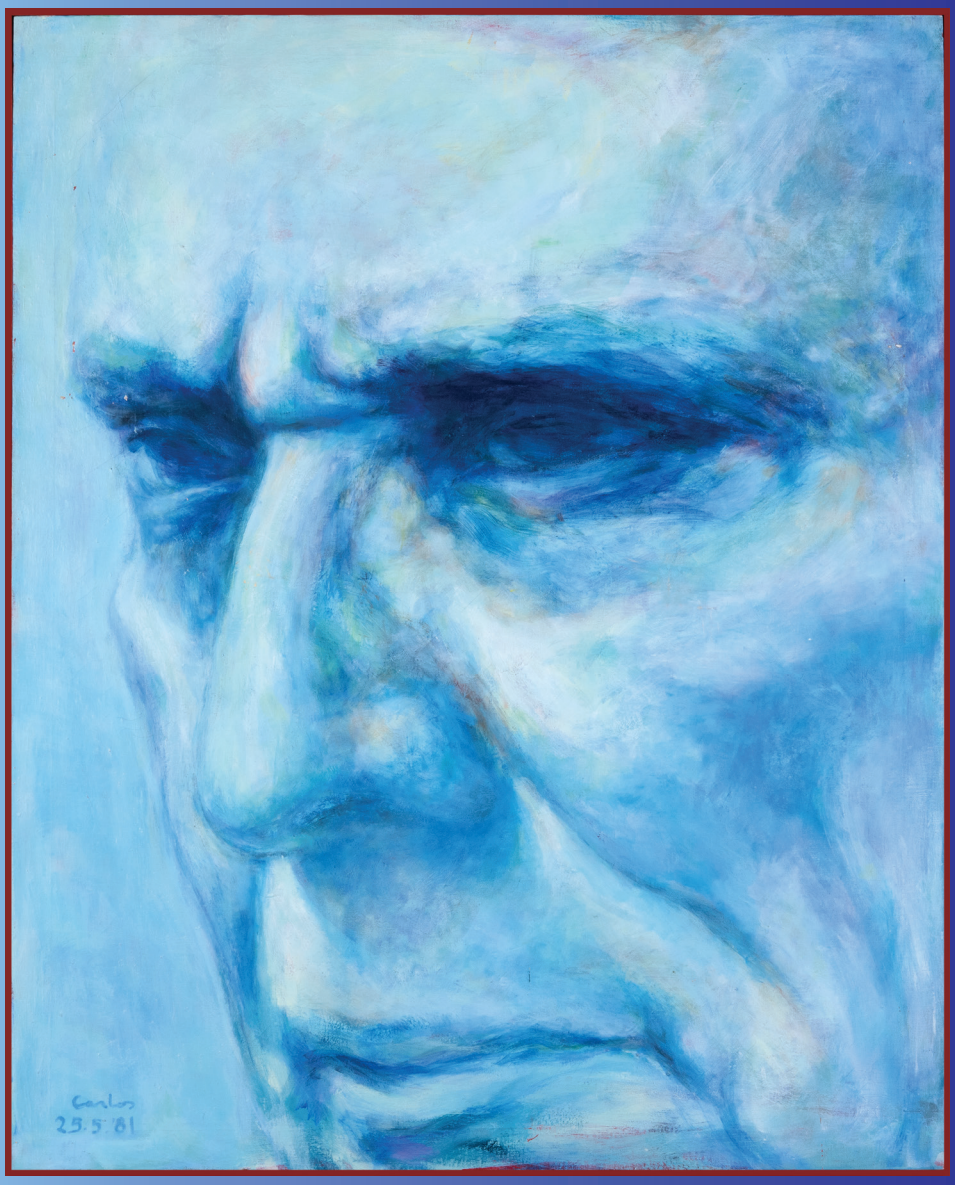
Cultural code: contemporary and very realistic depictions of a distinguished guest, President Tito (portrayed as a seasoned statesman and not as a young Partisan leader, which is characteristic of Titostalgia).[44]

6. First system of representation: host or leader of the host country.

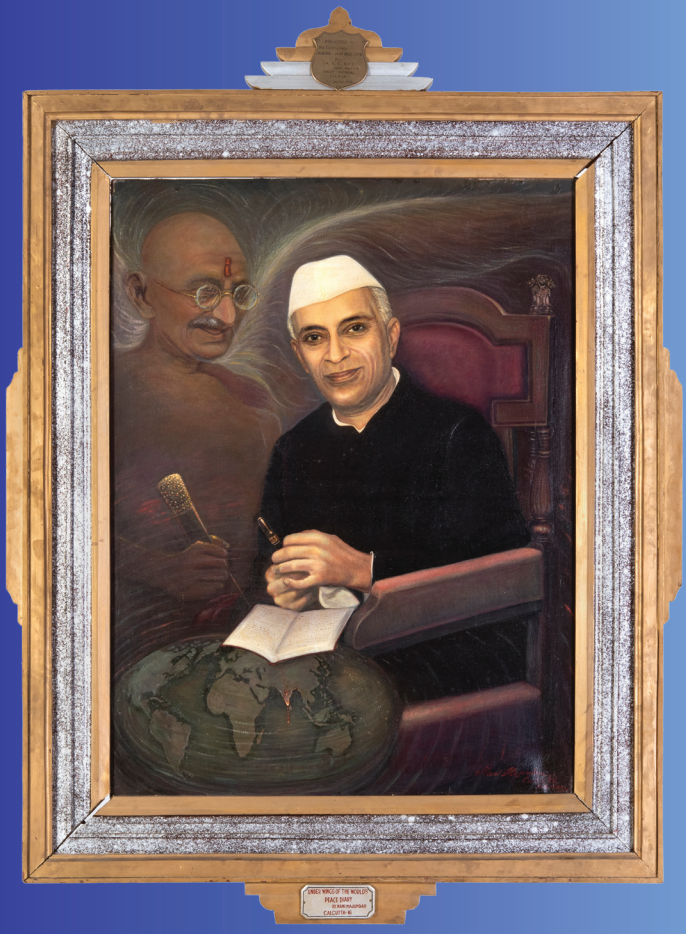
- P. S. N. Swamy (India, entry no 32) – second system of representation: portrait of Gandhi.
- M. Majumdar (India, entry no 35) – second system of representation: portrait of Gandhi and Nehru (with the globe).
- S. Luketić (Yugoslavia, entry no 42) – second system of reprsentation: portrait of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement (Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukarno and Tito).
- A. Augustinčić (Yugoslavia, entry no 43) – second system of representation: portrait of the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie.

Cultural code: patriarchal ideology of the "founders", "founding fathers" and important personalities of the Non-Aligned Movement

44 Velikonja, *Titostalgia*, pp. 115–116.



Carlos Fernandez (Bolivia), *Portrait of Josip Broz Tito*, 1981.
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, collection "4 May", inv. no. 244



Mani Majumdar (India), *Portrait of Nehru and Gandhi*, 1954
Courtesy of Museum of Yugoslavia, inv. no. 1-2-655

in general; anti-colonial counter-hegemony—highlighting the global importance of these figures and thus the prominence of the alternative idea of non-alignment and its practice in the world.

To summarise the analysis of the representation of reality in these artworks and to correlate their cultural codes (based on two systems of representation, concepts and language): the first characteristic is the marked presence of traditionalism. In the analysed paintings, people live in rural communities and engage in traditional activities; what exists is only a pre-capitalist economy, with no signs of modernisation. The second characteristic is strong patriarchalism: in these artworks, women are portrayed in typical and traditional roles. A better position can only be innate and not acquired or gained through emancipation. The third trait is the corporate organisation of society: everyone is assigned their own (hierarchical) position and performs the tasks expected of them in the existing archaic social structure. The fourth distinctive aspect is, as expected, the (self-)mythologising of the fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement, who establish their legitimacy either alone or through relations with each other, or by referring to "significant others" from the history of their countries. And fifth, the military and political struggles against the colonial powers nevertheless suggest the beginning of progress, which, however, is not (yet) perceivable in the images of modernisation and post-war construction—what these images dramatically convey is more a "no" to the present than a "yes" to the future.

Part 2:
Analysis of ethnological and applied arts gifts from non-aligned countries to the President of SFRY, Josip Broz

> [A] gift presented in the right spirit, at the right moment, by the right person, may act with tenfold power upon him who receives it.
>
> French diplomat François de Callières, *The Practice of Diplomacy* (1919, p. 25), first published in 1716.

The mutual exchange of gifts during diplomatic meetings and visits has become a legitimate topic of study only in recent years; consequently, there is still a paucity of relevant theoretical, historical and comparative literature. This prompted me to undertake research on the gifts received by the president of socialist Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito from non-aligned countries. In general, diplomatic gifts "represent a sophisticated form of political communication,

which was able to consolidate or strengthen political alliances, to emphasize loyalty or at least to show mutual respect, but also to pursue concrete representation and power strategies",[45] and "have always been an essential pillar of the political order, an effective political means of communication for sealing contracts, renewing coalitions etc".[46] Part II of the research concentrates on the comparison of the contemporary artworks received by the Yugoslavian President, which are analysed in detail in the previous part, with other ethnological and applied arts gifts presented by the leaders or delegations of non-aligned countries.

This part of the research opens by posing two questions that are theoretically related to the analytical apparatus from Part I. The first question is semiological: What do these gifts intrinsically convey; what is their aesthetic and ideological language; how do they represent the non-aligned countries? The second question is comparative: What are the similarities and differences between the motifs of these gifts and the artworks discussed in the previous part; do these gifts reinforce or undermine the representations and, consequently, cultural codes present in the paintings and reliefs that the Yugoslav President received as gifts from the *Third World*[47] during his thirty-five- or thirty-six-year rule?

During this period, he met 350 heads of state and government and other high-ranking officials, some more than once, visited 73 countries and made 169 state visits; most of these activities concerned non-aligned countries as non-alignment was one of the foundations of Yugoslav foreign policy. Non-alignment "became a global performative strategy for Yugoslav policy-makers to 'world' the country – for the consumption of both internal and external publics – as a sovereign space located outside the Cold War's hostile 'European theatre'".[48] Part of the protocol of these meetings was the exchange of gifts; Tito was known for giving and receiving personal gifts, in addition to official presents.[49] All of this was recorded in approximately 4,300 files kept in relation to this matter since 1953. The Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade holds around two hundred thousand objects, divided into twenty-four collections, consisting mostly of various gifts that Tito received

45 Hatschek, The Blessing and Curse of (Military) Diplomatic Gifts, p. 20.
46 Ibid., p. 24.
47 See the critique of the reductionist notion of the Third World, which attempts to violently homogenise the diversity of the non-Western world, in Young, *White Mythologies*, pp. 114, 159, 167 and 168.
48 Kilibarda, Non-Aligned Geographies in the Balkans, p. 27.
49 The first gift that Tito received from a monarch was an ancient Corinthian bronze helmet (from the late 7th/early 6th century BC), which was given to him in 1954 by King Paul I of Greece (1901–1964).

from the federal states and from abroad: from the most mundane, mass-produced objects to items that are unique and valuable from an aesthetic and archaeological point of view (as well as in monetary terms). This second part of the research focuses exclusively on the ethnological and applied arts gifts presented to Tito by non-aligned countries, either during his visits or during the visits by political leaders or delegations to Yugoslavia. A total of 1,153 objects meeting these criteria are included in three collections. These items come from virtually all non-aligned countries and are of the most diverse shapes, colours, materials and sizes, feature different production techniques and bear a wide range of meanings. In relation to the provenience of the objects, the countries that stand out are those that had the most genuine relations with Tito.[50]

In recent years, the most precious gifts have been included in various well-attended exhibitions that have drawn media attention, and have been featured in catalogues published on these occasions. In 2008, the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade held the exhibition "World of Silver", displaying more than 200 different gifts made of this precious metal that Tito received during his visits around the world. Five years later, it was followed by "Imperial Gifts", which was displayed in the same venue and presented approximately 70 exhibits that the Yugoslav President received between 1954 and 1979 from monarchs, both from the non-aligned world and Europe (a year later, the exhibition was moved to the City Museum in Sombor). In 2015, the exhibition "Gifts to Josip Broz Tito" was opened in Villa Kumrovec, which is part of the Old Village (Staro selo) Museum in Kumrovec. The exhibition presented a total of about one hundred items previously held at Villa Zagorje, originating from various parts of the world, including the non-aligned world, which Tito received in the 1960s and 1970s. What is also worth mentioning is the publication on Serbian-Egyptian cultural and political exchanges, which includes valuable information on mutual gifts and was published at the beginning of the last decade by the Belgrade Museum of African Art. The vast majority of these gifts are either stored in repositories, exhibited in collections or on permanent display at the previously mentioned museums in Dedinje and Brijuni.

50 These countries are: India, Egypt, Ethiopia and Cambodia, followed by Indonesia, Burma/Myanmar, Algeria, Chile, Mongolia, Mali, Zambia, Nigeria, Iran, Cuba, Pakistan and North Korea.

The semiological language of gifts

The protocol gifts discussed in these pages are artistic products or cultural artefacts[51] in which individual initiatives and social structures of artists, gift-givers and receivers are linked in ever-specific ways. As such, "a gift is always considered one of the indispensable attributes of international politeness and expresses, on the one hand, the national specifics of its country, and on the other hand it is a response to the personified features of someone to whom it is intended to be given".[52] For this reason, I started the analysis by trying to answer the question: How do non-aligned countries represent themselves through ethnological and applied arts gifts and what is their aesthetic and ideological language? Using Barthes'[53] and Hall's[54] semiological methods, the gifts were classified into four groups (descriptive level or denotation). At the end of each group, I identified their distinctive cultural code (the "language of the gift", its ideological connotation, the "cultural grammar"[55] of the group presenting the gift) as "abstract notions always conceal a sensible figure".[56]

The first and most numerous group encompasses gifts linked to contemporary cottage industry and objects from the recent past (early 20th century, 19th century). It is difficult to provide a summarised overview due to the diversity and multitude of objects composing the three analysed collections of the Museum of Yugoslavia; for this reason, I divided the gifts into thirteen major subgroups: There is a vast array of (1) decorative crockery and cutlery, vases, decorative plates, trays, tea and coffee services. These objects are followed by (2) decorative fabrics, carpets, tablecloths, cushions, napkins, etc., and (3) clothing items, such as hats, embroidered scarves, overcoats, turbans, carnival costumes and folk costumes, as well as exquisitely made bags and suitcases. The collections also include a considerable number of (4) different dolls and figurines, mostly dressed in folk costumes, as well as sculptures and masks made by locals. There are also some examples of (5) local musical instruments, but a much better represented group consists of (6) various antique weapons and warrior equipment (sabres, swords,

51 Wolff in *The Social Production of Art* (p. 139) writes that a cultural artefact is "the complex product of economic, social and ideological factors, mediated through the formal structures of the text (literary or other), and owing its existence to the particular practice of the located individual".

52 Vinogradova and Porodina, Weapons as Ambassadorial Gifts in the Collection of the Central Armed Forces Museum of the Russian Federation, p. 181.

53 Barthes, *Elementi semiologije*.

54 Hall, Delo reprezentacije.

55 The term was coined and effectively used by Giordano in his analyses of intercultural contacts, *Ogledi o interkulturnoj komunikaciji*, see in particular pp. 25–39.

56 Derrida, *Bela mitologija*, p. 7.

daggers and shields) and decorative weapons. Other groups of gifts that stand out are (7) objects related to smoking, such as cigarette cases, tobacco or cigar boxes and ashtrays, in addition to (8) precious chess sets and (9) various pieces of filigree jewellery and ornate walking sticks. These are followed by (10) stationery sets, small tables, mirrors and decorated table lamps, and (11) decorated boxes in various sizes and shapes.

A relatively large category is composed of (12) numismatic gifts, either in the form of old or commemorative gold and silver coins or collections of contemporary banknotes and coins of the local currency. The last major group includes (13) other symbolic markers of statehood, i.e. collections of postage stamps of the time, coats of arms and flags of the host countries.

The most valuable presents were protocol gifts received from crowned heads: Prince Sihanouk presented Tito with a metal and wooden model of the emperor's carriage, two decorated wooden vases, a richly embellished silver tea service with floral motifs and stylised images of the Hindu demigod Garuda, and ornamental silver tableware. The Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975) was particularly generous when it comes to gifts to Tito (and his wife Jovanka Broz): his favourite presents were precious items from the imperial goldsmith's and jewellery workshop at his court in Addis Ababa, all engraved with his monogram (gold and silver jewellery – bracelets, necklaces, decorative hair comb, silver boxes, cigarette cases, gold coins, gold tray with a goblet, etc.). Items that stand out in particular include a writing set, which is actually a model of the imperial throne decorated with all the dynastic symbols dating back to Biblical times (imperial crown, angels, Star of David, etc.).[57] A magnificent example of an Arab dagger was received from the Yemeni King Ahmad bin Yahya (1891–1962), while a silver gilded jewellery box was a gift from the Afghan King (Shah) Mohammed Zahir (1914–2007). The last ruler to give Tito a precious gift was Saad Al-Salim Al-Sabah (1930–2008), the Sheikh of Kuwait, who in 1979 presented the Yugoslav President with a silver model of a sailing ship symbolising this Gulf state, accompanied with a luxurious silver tea and coffee service bearing the state coat of arms.

The cultural code of this group of gifts to Tito can be defined as strength and beauty of the native and unspoiled heritage of the gift-giving countries and described as the pinnacle of the local artisans' craftsmanship.

57 Among all the leaders of non-aligned countries, Tito met most frequently with Haile Selassie I, Norodom Sihanuk (1922–2012) and the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970).

The second group of gifts from the leaders of non-aligned countries comprises objects from the distant past or their replicas. In 1960, the abovementioned King of Afghanistan presented Tito with a 16-centimetre Buddha head (4th century BC) from the Kabul National Museum.[58] Similarly, the Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanuk gave him a fragment of a pilaster kept in the National Museum of Cambodia, decorated with a relief of an apsara, a celestial dancer, which was originally embedded in the walls of the Angkor Thom sanctuary, the former capital of the Khmer Empire.[59] The Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba (1903–2000) presented him with a medallion of a nymph on a centaur dating from the 2nd century BC. From Egypt Tito received three alabaster vessels found during the excavations of the Step Pyramid of Djoser in the necropolis of Saqqara, and, in addition, a bronze statue of the god Osiris (from 6th century AD), which was presented to him by President Anwar el-Sadat (1918–1981).[60] A golden copy of the harp belonging to the Sumerian queen/high priestess Shubad (or Puabi, circa 2450 BC), engraved with scenes from the mythical Epic of Gilgamesh, was given to him by Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr (1914–1982), a senior Iraqi politician, holding the positions of Prime Minister, President of the State and Secretary General of the Ba'ath Party.

The distinctive cultural code linked to these archaeological gifts is the recollection of a glorious pre-colonial past, i.e. invoking the ancient foundations of modern states.

The gifts in the third group combine domestic and foreign elements, local traditions and the Western chic that only monarchs could afford. On the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Persian Empire in 1971, the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), presented Tito with a replica of the clay document known as the Cyrus cylinder (the first document on human rights, religious tolerance, freedom of choice and the abolition of Jewish slavery), published by the Persian ruler Cyrus II (the Great) in 539 BC. In addition, Tito was also given a precious porcelain vase and a commemorative porcelain plate with the Shah's coat of arms surrounded by gold overlay and enamel, whose author was Harold Holdway, the famous British ceramics designer for the Spode brand. King Hussein bin Talal of Jordan (1935–1999) presented Tito with a silver and partly gilded 12 cm sculpture of a warrior on a

58 Paradoxically, by giving these objects to Tito, he actually saved them from being destroyed by the Taliban, who, in the decades to come, systematically targeted all of the country's non-Muslim heritage sites.

59 The original inventory numbers from the museums have been preserved in both cases.

60 For insightful details and anecdotes about the gifts Tito received from Egypt, see Epštajn, *Egipat u sećanju Srbije/Egypt Remembered by Serbi*a.

camel, installed on an onyx base and made by the Asprey company, London, while King Hassan II of Morocco gave him a unique gold cigarette case bearing the Moroccan coat-of-arms and studded with brilliant-cut diamonds and sapphires, which was produced by the Paris-based company Marchak.

The cultural code of these gifts could be defined as glocal—to use a term by Roland Robertson. In this case, global homogeneity and local heterogeneities are not mutually exclusive, but are, in fact, "complementary and interpenetrative".[61]

The fourth group of gifts from non-aligned countries includes various animal trophies, such as decorated or raw elephant tusks, taxidermied animals, ostrich eggs, antelope and buffalo antlers, rhinoceros horns, big cat and zebra pelts, and even fossils. Particularly impressive are the huge, two-metre-long elephant tusks received from Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997), President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The second sub-group consists of precious stones: from the President of the Central African Republic Tito received three boxes of diamonds varying in size from large to small. The gifts also include samples of precious ores, minerals and corals. From inanimate to animate nature: the Guinean Prime Minister Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922–1984), the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and Emperor Haile Selassie provided exotic animals (antelopes, wild cattle, zebras, etc.) for Tito's zoo in Brijuni. The famous Asian elephant Sony, which lived till 2010, was, for example, given to the Yugoslav President in 1970 by another Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi (1917–1984). And to close this section, the most unusual gift: Tito was given a four-hectare estate and a villa in Marrakech by the Moroccan King Hassan II.[62]

These gifts are characterised by a particularly naturalistic cultural code: the richness of (unspoiled) nature being perceived as the most important asset that these countries have to offer to such a distinguished guest.

Comparison

This part of the research explores whether the cultural codes related to these ethnographic and applied arts gifts are comparable to the codes of the contemporary artworks (mostly paintings) received by Tito from non-aligned countries and discussed in detail in Part I of the chapter. Let us briefly summarise the codes pertaining to the analysed artworks: a strong connection with (un)tamed

61 Robertson, Glocalization, p. 40.
62 Panić and Cvijović, *World of Silver/Svet od srebra*, p. 149.

nature; social conservatism with a patriarchal attitude towards women; traditionalism and Arcadian idealisation; depictions of anti-colonial resistance or struggle; realistic depictions of President Tito; and, finally, the glorification of the founding fathers or modern political leaders of non-aligned countries. The question that poses itself is: What are the similarities and differences between these cultural codes?

I will first address the similarities. In paintings and reliefs presented as gifts as well as in other gifts from non-aligned countries, nature plays an important role: motifs are taken from the natural environment, whether wild and untouched or cultivated and at the service of man. A similar observation can also be made about the materials of these gifts, being the most valuable examples of the local natural riches, such as precious stones and precious metals, ebony and other noble woods. Another similarity is obsessive traditionalism: typical of gifts from both groups is that they neither exhibit the present, nor traces of the recently ended colonial period, let alone any prospects for the future; what can be observed is only an intact ancient, pre-colonial culture, linked to old beliefs and its (religious) symbols. Ethnological motifs and their basis—the "ideology of home"[63]—are evident in nativist motifs (natives wearing national costumes, performing rural activities, following ancient beliefs and remaining immobile when it comes to class and gender hierarchies), in aesthetic choices (ancient ornamentation and modalities of artistic representation) and in ancient symbols, which are either engraved or drawn. Some gifts (the Buddha's head from Afghanistan, Cyrus cylinder from Iran, etc.) are the result of the appropriation of the cultural, ethnic and religious past of the earlier societies inhabiting the territories of the present countries; on the other hand, this also reflects the cosmopolitan openness and cultural inclusiveness of the former colonies experiencing the process of modernisation. Motifs that are absent are just as meaningful as those that are present: the third similarity between the gifted paintings and other gifts is their non-political nature. There are hardly any signs of modern post-colonial statehood, in either the first or second group of items (with the exception of, for example, money, stamps and national coats of arms or flags, which in some rare cases appear in combination with the Yugoslav flag). The last similarity is the almost complete absence of the signs of progress, modernisation and secularisation, despite the fact that all of these countries were referred to as developing countries, a newly

63 The term is used by both Robertson, Glocalization, p. 35, and Said, *Oblasti povedati resnico*, p. 108.

coined term at that time. Likewise, there is only a scare number of items commemorating anti-colonial rebellions, struggles and revolutions. These objects appear as if they were presented as gifts a few centuries ago, not in the dynamic world of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, a period marked by the information revolution, unprecedented urbanisation, the explosion of communication technologies, the world becoming a global village, the space race, new social movements, popular culture and the mass media.

However, there are also some significant differences between the cultural codes of the presented artworks and other gifts. The paintings tend to largely follow aesthetic currents which are contemporary to the period of their creation; their appearance is essentially hybrid, combining local art with the contemporary artistic production from other parts of the world (such as various forms of modernism, but also postmodernism and naïve art; there are also instances of a documentary approach or, in the case of artworks from socialist countries, socialist realism). On the other hand, the design of ethnological or applied arts gifts is almost entirely folkloristic, as if they had not been created in the middle of the 20th century. While paintings often portray political leaders and the guest, President Tito, such items are particularly scarce in the category of ethnological and applied arts gifts. The most notable exceptions are the depictions of the Egyptian President Nasser and the North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh (full name Nguyễn Sinh Cung, 1890–1969). Especially in the case of gifts from precious metals, gift-givers very often chose to engrave a dedication to Tito, the occasion and year when the President received the gift and, of course, their own name. Furthermore, even a superficial observer can notice the pronounced exclusivity and high value of some of the gifts made of gold, precious stones and other rare materials, especially as they came from poor countries. On the one hand, this undoubtedly reflects the fact that in the non-aligned world "Josip 'Tito' Broz enjoyed enormous popularity to the degree of a personality cult".[64] On the other hand, consumer excess is often a way of compensating for a disadvantaged social position: classic sociologist Thorstein Veblen described this phenomenon long ago with the term *conspicuous consumption*.[65]

The analysis of the artworks, ethnological and applied arts gifts that Tito received from non-aligned countries during his trav-

64 Panić and Cvijović, *World of Silver/Svet od srebra*, p. 149. Kilibarda argues that Tito is a good example of "post-Revolutionary Dandyism" (Non-Aligned Geographies in the Balkans, pp. 29–31).

65 Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class – An Economic Study of Institutions*, pp. 68–101, but also elsewhere.

els abroad or from foreign leaders and delegations at home opens up possibilities for a series of other comparisons and provides starting points for further studies. Namely, social life, in fact, entails a complex cycle of exchanges, and diplomatic protocol, or, more generally, "soft power" in international relations, is no exception to this. In the gift economy, the presented gift, in which "obligation and liberty intermingle",[66] "obliges a person to reciprocate the present".[67] Godelier describes the logic behind the gift with the words: "Give more than your rivals, return more than your rivals: this is the recipe, and it relentlessly drives the system to its limits."[68] The gifts of Non-Aligned countries which are mentioned here were certainly followed (or were preceded) by other "reciprocated" gifts, gifts presented in return by the Yugoslav or Tito's Protocol. What kind of artworks were presented as gifts to other political leaders of non-aligned countries; who are their authors; where, when, on what occasion and how were they presented; what is their fate today; where are they exhibited or stored? I hope that we will be able to continue the project in order to also thoroughly examine this set of questions.

Then, it would be interesting to explore the similarities and differences with the gifts received from the Western world,[69] European socialist countries which were members of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as well as from other socialist countries. Moreover, it would be possible to explore how gifts varied over time and what gifts were "fashionable" in different decades of Tito's receptions abroad and at home. Another topic that could be addressed concerns the structure of the gift-givers (presidents, monarchs, prime ministers, ministers, military leaders, religious dignitaries, representatives of parties and organisations) and the political ideologies and systems they represented. Numerous state decorations awarded to Tito by various non-aligned countries,[70] ceremonial documents conferring him the title of "Honorary Citizen" of their capitals, honorary doctorates, etc., would also

66 Godelier, *Uganka daru*, p. 135.

67 Mauss, *Esej o daru in drugi spisi*, p. 18, see also p. 38 and pp. 83–86.

68 Ibid., p. 179.

69 Kastratović Ristić and Cvijović note that the gifts received from European monarchs were significantly more modest than the objects presented to Tito by Asian and African monarchs: the latter were much more authentic, had historical value and embodied typical national characteristics (*Royal Gifts/Carski darovi*, p. 15).

70 In total, he received 47 state decorations, from some countries even more than one. In the descending order: from Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma/Myanmar, Central African Republic, Chile, Ethiopia, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Cambodia, Cameroon, Kenya, Colombia, Congo, North Korea, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Panama, Senegal, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Venezuela and Zambia.

deserve research attention. And last but not least: the act of presenting gifts is a specific performative act, a social ceremony—in this case a protocol event—involving a well-defined dramaturgy, mise en scène, speeches, direct act of handing over/receiving the gift, music, protagonists' entourage (delegations, guard of honour, national costumes, etc.), followed by official communiqués and media reports about the visit from both countries; all of this could also be a legitimate subject for future analyses.

Conclusion: Ideology of postcolonial colonialism

The Non-Aligned are a very heterogeneous community of countries in terms of geographical location, size, population, history, religious and cultural traditions, economic power and influence, process of decolonisation, and their current ideology and political system.[71] One of the few common features of these countries is their post-colonial position, which, at the beginning of the Movement in the 1960s, was still fresh and only recently acquired through struggles, but is today well consolidated. Their first decades of independence were marked by the process of modernisation in different fields, *a Great Leap Forward*, social experimentation and political, cultural, economic and general social emancipation from the subordination to the colonial metropolises, which had been their reality for the last few centuries, or at least decades. One could expect that such deeply transformative social dynamics would influence postcolonial artistic creativity and design to critically synthesise pre-colonial traditions and the inevitable imposed colonial innovations, creating fresh, progressive and future-oriented cultural currents.

However, the contemporary artworks, ethnological and applied arts objects presented to Tito as gifts hardly reflect this. The gap between the imperative of social modernisation and the folkloristic essence of the gifts could hardly be wider. In the majority of these gifts, cultural autochthonism and nostalgic turning to the past as conservative responses to new social dynamics are manifested in two ways: by re- and neo-traditionalisation. First, by a raw return to old motifs, ornaments, materials, colours, appearance and other means of visual expression, and by re-traditionalisation and persistent returning *to the roots*, to the pre-colonial times of Durkheimian "mechanical solidarity" as if nothing has happened or changed between then and now. Primordialism understands future perspectives as mere reproductions and at best as actualisations of distant beginnings. And second, by fabricating tradition ("fakelore"), by a

71 For a critical reflection on the global centre and periphery after the capitalist paradigm became predominant, see Amin, *Evrocentrizem*, pp. 153–156.

false authenticity that makes newly invented practices autochthonous, indigenises them, makes them old. I call this phenomenon "neo-traditionalism";[72] it does not modernise something traditional, but rather traditionalises the modern. On the one hand, the nativist return to the (supposedly) *good old days* is understandable, as it brings a radical break with the traumatic colonial, racist and Eurocentric past, riddled with multiple and long-lasting injustices, and re-affirms the local and hardly liberated culture. On the other hand, traditionalism in its re- or neo- version ignores the indelible mark that was inevitably left by the colonial period and offers cultural autarky instead of a dynamic amalgamation of cultures and a fixation on the past rather than a future-oriented view.

At this point, I can draw meaningful parallels with similar regressive processes in the former socialist societies of Eastern Europe: re-patriarchalisation, religious integralism, world-view and moral conservatism, neo-racism, *turbo-folk* culture, the rustication of aesthetics, etc. Boris Buden describes these phenomena with terms "regressive re-essentialisation" and "repressive infantilisation".[73] I understand neo-traditionalism in this part of the world as a cultural logic pertaining to the post-socialist transition, as a concrete political consequence arising from the predominance of the ideologies and concrete practices associated with the inseparable pair – neoliberalism and ethno-nationalism. The new tradition created and essentialised by ethno-nationalism is a reflexive reaction to the effects of neoliberalism, which, in fact, destroys tradition. In other words, neo-traditionalism builds an image of traditional society that neoliberalism simultaneously obliterates. The new tradition is in no sense a renaissance of heritage, a return to the *old times*, but exactly the contrary—a post-traditional phenomenon, a new pragmatic reality. Folkloristic fetishism conceals the neoliberal destruction of the community and serves as a its substitute, as a compensation for it.

Back to the visual self-representations of the Non-Aligned as manifested in their gifts to President Tito: the development of art in these countries is characterised by two factors. First, the very concept of art "arrived in the non-European worlds with Western

72 Velikonja, The New Folklore: Neo-Traditionalism as the Cultural Logic of the Post-Socialist Transition.

73 Buden, *Cona prehoda*, pp. 138 and 36. For a concrete example of such neo-traditional cultural production, see the analysis in Stanković, *Simbolni imaginarij sodobne slovenske narodnozabavne glasbe*. But to stay in the field of protocol gifts: completely in the spirit of the "regressive re-essentialisation" and significant in this sense are three of the gifts that the British monarchs received from Slovenia in the 1990s and 2000s. Queen Elizabeth II was presented with a Lipizzaner, while Prince Charles received a large beehive featuring ten painted beehive panels and a *Slovenian* hayrack.

colonisation".[74] And second, the overall diversity of non-aligned countries certainly contributed to the fact that "there were heterogeneous artistic productions, different cultural policies and extensive cultural networks that enriched the cultural landscape of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement and allowed for debates on the meaning of art outside the Western canon", but at the same time "there were no specific NAM-related modernisms, no common tissue that could create a new international narrative in art".[75] However, what draws attention is that almost none of the gifted objects, with the exception of a few paintings, exhibit progressive, non-Eurocentric intellectual and cultural currents, such as *négritude* (Africa), *tropicália* (Brazil) or *créolité* and *antillanité* (Caribbean). All of these—and many others parallel currents[76]—provide a trenchant critique of colonialism and the Eurocentric historical paradigm, affirming new and original hybrid cultural forms, social emancipation and alternative modernisation. In contrast, these gifts express another cultural triumph of colonialism: the fact that the neo-colonial ideological capture of Europe's "silent Other"[77] is clearly more powerful than its post-colonial emancipation.

In short: the gift, a material object, always expresses something immaterial: the identity, the ideological self-image of the giver. It is a way of the giver's self-representation: a performative display showing the best of what they are, what they own and what they can produce. In simple words: show me what you give, and I will tell you who you are. Protocol gifts are not only "a token of a contract between two states"[78] but also "represent the country of the gift giver",[79] co-creating its official symbolic image. The majority of such gifts presented to Tito by non-aligned countries are traditional in terms of aesthetics, socially and culturally conservative, and associated with nature. They do not critically question the existing and coherent conservative, pastoral and naturalistic notions about these countries, but rather cement and internalise them. The paradoxical conclusion of my study is that the analysed artistic, ethological and applied arts gifts persistently express exactly the

74 Šuvaković, Nacionalni realizam i medijska snaga tehno-kapitalizma, p. 4.
75 Piškur, *Southern Constellations*, p. 21.
76 Cf. the discussion on the aesthetics of "nonaligned modernism" in Yugoslav art or on "socialist postcolonial aesthetics" in Videkanić, *Nonaligned Modernism*. She, however, argues that "[n]onaligned modernism borrowed from Western ideas of modernism in the manner of Glissant's forced poetics – it used them because it was forced to do so by the infrastructure of the international art world; however, it created its own, more political aesthetic forms" (p. 9).
77 Said, ibid., p. 98.
78 Godlewski, Diplomatic Gifts from the Era of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Collection of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw, pp. 145–146.
79 Kastratović Ristić and Cvijović, *Royal Gifts/Carski darovi*, p. 22.

same essentialist, totalising and exotic image of these countries' societies that colonial masters created decades or centuries earlier to justify their ideological domination and political power over them: as backward, pre-modern, ossified, inert, particularistic, dependent on nature. As Young notes, the nativist cultural strategy of non-aligned countries "simply reproduces a Western fantasy about its own society now projected out onto the lost society of the other and named 'the Third World'".[80] The current self-representations of recently decolonised societies—and, in the colonial period, their representations by Westerners—have become their reality according to the logic of self-fulfilling prophecy. In other words, they do not escape from the formerly forced, now voluntary entrapment in the essentialist universalism of "white mythology".[81] Perhaps two obvious facts related to gifts to Tito contributed to this: (1) Yugoslavia was the most industrially developed of the non-aligned countries and had won the liberation war, making it more than an obvious *success story*, an inspiration for these countries; and (2) it was practically the only European, i.e. white, country in this community.[82]

The ideological hegemony of colonialism continued after decolonisation; its source, however, were no longer the Western colonial centres, but the liberated countries themselves, which continued to symbolically represent themselves in the same way as their masters did before decolonisation and who, in fact, still see them as inferior. The cultural self-traditionalisation of the Non-Aligned goes hand in hand with ideological self-inferiorisation and political self-peripheralisation[83]—as if they did not want to symbolically break free from the grip of the colonial past. The protocol gifts analysed in these pages, which symbolically represent the giving countries and their attitude towards the presented object, more than obviously show that in this field the colonial ideology of the old European masters has been preserved and modified into a neo-colonial form, which seems to be consciously recreated by the new elites in the decolonised countries. To paraphrase Wittgenstein: the limits of their post-colonial world are still the limits of their internalised colonial folklorism.

80 Or: "the figure of the lost origin, the 'other' that the colonizer has repressed, has itself been constructed in terms of the colonizer's own self-image"; ibid., p. 168.

81 Derrida, *Bela mitologija*, pp. 13–14. See also the interesting discussion on the "white racial unconscious" in American popular culture (the "potent fantasies of the black body [in] the white Imaginary") in Lott, *Black Mirror*, p. 120.

82 Except for Malta, which was a member from 1973 until it joined the EU in 2004.

83 Orientalism thus continues in self-Orientalisation, just as Balkanism often continues in self-Balkanisation, especially in popular culture.

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