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Radina Vučetić
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TITO
in AFRICA
PICTURING SOLIDARITY

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THE MUSEUM OF YUGOSLAVIA THANKS
THE FOLLOWING FOR THEIR FINANCIAL
SUPPORT:



Република Србија
МИНИСТАРСТВО КУЛТУРЕ
И ИНФОРМИСАЊА

THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND
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Foreword

Neda Knežević MA

Director of the Museum of
Yugoslavia

The exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity* is the product of the collaboration between the Museum of Yugoslavia and a team of experts gathered around the international project *Socialism Goes Global*. Following their research of the Museum's photographic collections, the proposal to organise an exhibition as part of this project was put forward by Radina Vučetić, a professor at the Department of History at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, and Paul Betts, a professor at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. The exhibition aims to offer yet another interpretation of Museum's rich archive to both the local and international audiences.

Photographic materials from three of the Museum's collections (photo archive, albums, and Tito's own photographs) are a requisite source for researchers of the African continent in the second half of the 20th century since there are several thousand photographs in those collections that illustrate Tito's visits to African countries. Even though the majority of documented activities is related to the official events organised by the host country for a guest of honour, there are a number of exciting photographs that record special moments of leisure during those visits: touring the archaeological sites and historical locations and museums, spending time in na-



ture or hunting, meetings with workers in their workplaces or with ordinary citizens going about their daily activities, in the streets, in villages...

Photographs from Tito's journeys to Africa have not only brought together international institutions – the Museum of Yugoslavia, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and the Wende Museum in Los Angeles as well as the University of Belgrade, University of Oxford, and University of Exeter – but also other individuals gathered around this project. Radovan Cukić, Head of the Department for Research and Conservation of Museum's Collections and the person most responsible for the curation, digitalization, and promotion of Museum's photographic material, played a very important role in the project by pointing out the significance and influence that photography has had on the perception and understanding of historical events. The curators Mirjana Slavković and Ana Sladojević conceived the exhibition, highlighting today's absence of knowledge about anti-colonialism and the tradition of solidarity, a knowledge which like many values from our recent past has fallen into neglect and oblivion.

As part of the exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity* – in addition to the unparalleled photographic material – the public will also have an opportunity to see other artifacts from

the Museum's collections, such as gifts from the *Memorial Collections of Josip Broz Tito*. The finest expression of Tito's contacts with leaders of African countries is the great number of gifts exchanged during those visits, some of which – considering the frequency of his travels over a period of several decades – make up substantial museum collections (for example, objects made of ivory or silver, medals, etc.) in their own right. A considerable amount of those gifts forms part of the national heritage from which countries they originated (for example, three alabaster vases from the Pyramid of Djoser, or a Roman mosaic from Tunisia). According to when they were made, they are also amongst the oldest objects in the Museum's collections. In addition to their artistic and material value, these gifts have yet another dimension today. They are a testament to fascinating and unique events from the latter half of the 20th century, witnesses of a time in which a country – even then not very big – played a significant role in global affairs. As part of the Museum's collections, we will also feature publications from the *Library of Josip Broz Tito*, material from *Filmske novosti*, as well as items from the Museum of African Art and the private collections from the Lovrić and Lalević families. This way, thanks to the catalogue and a touring exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and the Wende Museum in Los Angeles, our national heritage will be presented to the world as part of a global cultural heritage and a tribute to the time of solidarity with Africa and the Third World.

Thanks goes to everyone who participated in putting together this exhibition and the publication *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity*, especially to Radina Vučetić who initiated idea for the

exhibition and quickly grasped the unique quality, and multiple meanings of these photographs from Tito's African travels, their historical significance, but also great artistic value that they carry. We also thank the curators Ana Sladojević, Mirjana Slavković, and Radovan Cukić, as well as Professor Paul Betts who brought to attention the importance and potential of the Museum's material. Special thanks go to the publication's reviewers: Ljubinka Trgovčević Mitrović, a retired professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade, Milena Dragičević Šešić, a professor at the University of Arts in Belgrade, and Milan Ristović, a professor in the Department of History at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. They confirmed our shared conviction that the exhibition is worth public attention and the support of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia.

We hope that the public will enjoy the exhibition and the catalogue which will take them on a journey through Africa and bring them closer to the people, the customs, the culture, landscapes, history, and a former sense of solidarity, a concept very much forgotten today. By pointing to the solidarity that our former country displayed towards peoples of Africa in their struggle against colonialism and their fight for freedom and independence, we wish to encourage both the general public and exhibition visitors to think about the place of solidarity in today's world and our relation toward the *Other*.

Foreword

James Mark
Principal Investigator,
Socialism Goes Global and
Professor of History,
University of Exeter

Our project, *Socialism Goes Global: Cold War Connections Between the Second and Third Worlds 1945-1991*, is very pleased to co-sponsor this exhibition *Picturing Solidarity: Tito in Africa*. The history of internationalism that this exhibition explores was quickly forgotten following the fall of socialist regimes in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, these stories are surfacing once again, fascinating a new generation interested in the region's contributions to the economic and cultural globalisation of the second half of the twentieth century, or searching for histories of alternatives to today's global order.

The project has traced many of those connections which brought Eastern Europe into close relationships with a world escaping Empires after the Second World War. From developmental aid to medical assistance, and through cultural exchange and military support, Eastern Europe in general, and Yugoslavia in particular, played key roles in crafting a new world which claimed to represent the victory over imperialism. But this was not all: post-war decolonisation internationalised socialist cultures at home too, bringing the sights and sounds of non-aligned and progressive countries from across the world into the home, streets, media, museums and workplaces of citizens across Eastern Europe.



The exhibition itself illustrates many of these themes as it explores Yugoslavia's outreach to the newly decolonised states of Africa from the 1950s. These images reveal a rich history of encounter, in which the Yugoslav leader drew on the power of photography, not only to craft a new image for his country on the world stage, but also to bolster his support back home. We also see how he was perceived by Africans. He was a new kind of European whose experience of fragile sovereignty and national struggle, and whose commitment to anti-fascism and a non-racialised world order, made him a subject of great fascination across the African continent.

The show opens in Belgrade's *Museum of Yugoslavia*, before versions of the exhibition travel to the *Pitt Rivers Museum* in Oxford and then on to *The Wende Museum* in Los Angeles. The *Socialism Goes Global* project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK), would like to thank the Museum of Yugoslavia director Neda Knežević and her staff for their generosity in cooperation, and Professors Radina Vučetić and Paul Betts, and Dr. Ana Sladojević, for bringing this photography exhibition to fruition.



A formal reception organized for President Tito on the Kumasi airport, Ghana 1961

Radina Vučetić

Tito's Africa: Representation of Power during Tito's African Journeys

Josip Broz Tito was one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The founding of this movement opened up new possibilities with regards to cooperation between Third World countries. Within the context of the formation of diplomatic relations with the developing world, Tito showed strong interest in the political and social affairs of African countries in particular. Had it not been for the 1948 break with the Soviet Union, perhaps such interest would not have existed and perhaps Yugoslavia would have remained an Eastern Bloc country like any other – ready to carry out Soviet policies towards Africa. Instead, after 1948 Yugoslavia started approaching both the West and the non-aligned countries. Cooperation with the Third World commenced in the 1950s when first contacts were established with countries in Asia and the Middle East.

Anticolonialism was one of the cornerstones of Yugoslav foreign policy at the time and Tito was offering economic and technical assistance to the countries fighting for the anticolonial cause.¹ However, Yugoslav objectives in Africa were not merely ideological. Cooperation with Third World countries enabled a small and independent country to fulfil its ambitions regarding a more significant political and economic influence. A propaganda brochure describing Tito's visits to Asia and Africa during 1958–59 is a testament to his awareness of the potential of these relations. This brochure states that documents signed as a result of these visits were signed not only by leaders of Yugoslavia and of Asian, African and Middle Eastern countries, but by their 600 million citizens too.² Thanks to this policy, Yugoslavia succeeded in gaining global political prestige and provided new markets for its goods, as well as securing new sources of raw materials. In the postwar period, diplomatic relations in Africa were first established with Ethiopia in 1952. By the end of the 1950s, Yugoslavia was in a position to launch both a political

¹ William E. Griffith, "Yugoslavia", in *Africa and the Communist World*, ed. Zbigniew Bzezinski (Stanford University Press – London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 117.

² Jože Smole and Rudi Štajduhar, *Pretnednik Tito u zemljama Afrike i Azije* (Beograd: Kultura, 1959), 35.



Presidents Tito and Kwame Nkrumah during the final Ghana-Yugoslav talks conducted aboard *Galeb*, Ghana 1961

and economic campaign in Africa thanks to a number of countries gaining their independence. Owing to its openly anticolonial stance and policy of peaceful coexistence in the UN, Yugoslavia was considered to be a friendly 'white' state.³ The Yugoslav government's support for liberation movements in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Indochina and Sub-Saharan Africa earned its reputation among nations that suffered the effects of colonialism.⁴ Yugoslav theories of its own path to socialism and the importance of 'progressive forces' outside the Communist Bloc influenced numerous Asian and African countries.⁵ In their pursuit of a new national identity, several African countries looked up to Yugoslavia (for example, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Ahmed Sékou Touré in Guinea developed models of government similar to

³ Griffith, "Yugoslavia", 119.

⁴ Dragan Bogetić, *Nova strategija spoljne politike Jugoslavije 1956–1961* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2006), 18.

⁵ Duncan Willson, *Tito's Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 124.



Greeting of presidents Tito and Sekou Toure at the welcoming ceremony in Conakry, Guinea 1961

Tito's – a combination of a one-party and one-man state, with their own path to socialism). Yugoslav authorities often emphasized good relations with African countries that followed the so-called 'Yugoslav model' of socialism. In Senegal, for example, Léopold Sédar Senghor remarked to Tito that his country sought to find a 'middle way' to democratic socialism, one between the capitalist and communist worlds.⁶

Although at first glance it may seem that the West had a negative attitude towards Yugoslavia's Third World policy, its policy in Africa was in fact welcomed because it represented an alternative to the Soviet and Chinese interpretation of communism. Yugoslavia also highlighted the importance of 'national peculiarities' which in effect turned it into an acceptable, friendly state and a potential partner for a wide array of African countries.⁷

⁶ Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ), KPR, 1-2(13(5-8), Politički pokreti u bivšoj Francuskoj Zapadnoj Africi (Republika Senegal)

⁷ Griffith, "Yugoslavia", 127-128.



Presidents Tito and Tubman at the ceremony of handing decorations in Monrovia, Liberia 1961

Therefore, it is no surprise that the USSR and Yugoslavia began their 'competition' for the Third World almost at the same time. Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin visited India, Burma, and Afghanistan in November and December 1955⁸ and Leonid Brezhnev had his big African tour in February 1961, at the same time as Tito.⁹ China soon joined this rivalry and turned to Africa. Zhou Enlai started touring Asian and African countries as China began to approach them in the wake of the Bandung Conference. Zhou Enlai visited ten African countries between 13th December 1963 and 5th February 1964¹⁰, in itself a major milestone in the development of good Chinese-African relations.¹¹ This was not just about who would offer African leaders a different revolutionary path toward the building of socialism, but also about a competition for new markets. No less important was that it was also a matter of socialist prestige.

A large number of Tito's African friendships provide evidence of his pragmatic policy towards Africa. Emperor Haile Selassie I, King Hassan II of Morocco, various left-leaning leaders, and even dictators such as Idi Amin Dada and Jean-Bédel Bokassa were among Tito's 'African friends.' As one of the NAM founders, Yugoslavia made successful contacts with several African countries, regardless of whether they gravitated towards West or East, or if they were pursuing their own, independent politics.

In wider Yugoslav-African relations – as well as Yugoslav-Third World relations in general – 1961 was crucial as the year of Tito's long journey to Africa, and the year of the First Non-Aligned Conference held in Belgrade that September. Thanks to the importance he gained in the Third World, as well as his role in the NAM, Tito positioned himself not only as a Yugoslav but as a world leader too. There is evidence of serious and concerted efforts put into the creation of such a self-image.

⁸ Digital Archive, Wilson Center, Information on Khrushchev and Bulganin's November-December 1955 Visit to India, Burma, and Afghanistan, from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the SED, January 11, 1965. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/119273.pdf?v=33d2462fbf232d187cccf15c543566c4> (Last accessed on 5th January 2017)

⁹ Festus Eribo, *In Search of Greatness. Russia's Communications with Africa and the World* (Westport, London: Ablex Publishing, 2001), 83.

¹⁰ United Arab Republic, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

¹¹ W. A. C. Adie, "Chou En-lai on Safari", *The China Quarterly*, No. 18, (Apr. – Jun., 1964), 174-194; "Premier Zhou Enlai's Three Tours of Asian and African countries, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/3602_665543/3604_665547/t18001.shtml (Last accessed on 26th December 2016)



President Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie in the ceremonial reception in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1955

From 1944 until 1980, Tito made 169 official visits to 92 countries and hosted 175 heads of state. His meetings with leaders around the world evolved into a central feature of Yugoslav diplomacy. With that kind of foreign policy, it comes as no surprise that Tito spent more than 1,000 days – in other words one-tenth of his long tenure – abroad. Tito's journeys were always an indicator of Yugoslav foreign policy, and – looking at his itineraries – there can be no doubt as to his ideological convictions. For example, from 1944 until the break with the Soviet Union, he avoided the West and travelled to the East (USSR in 1945 and 1946; Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1946; Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania in 1947).¹² Then, from 1948 to 1953, one of the greatest political globetrotters did not spend a single day outside Yugoslavia, instead devoting that time to consolidating his political power.

Tito's itinerary changed dramatically in 1953, when he made his first trip to the West, to Great Britain (16th to 23rd March), where he met with Anthony Eden, Winston Churchill, and Queen Elizabeth II. As Vladimir Petrović noticed, for Yugoslav diplomacy this meeting was an important school of good manners and for Tito an important political debut in the West.¹³

Since the time of his first trip to the West (Great Britain in 1953), followed by trips to Turkey and Greece (1954), and first trips to Asia and Africa (December 1954 to February 1955), Tito's commitment to international meetings, combined with his diplomatic talents, contributed significantly to Yugoslavia's image and to the creation of non-aligned politics.¹⁴ Tito was the most travelled of the non-aligned leaders. The list of visits to the Third World countries is impressive – in the first decade alone (1954–1964), Tito toured Asia (1954–1955 and 1958), Africa (1955, 1958–1959, and 1961), Latin America (1963), India and the Middle East (1964). He was the first communist leader to visit Sub-Saharan Africa and the first to visit Latin America.¹⁵

¹² Ljubodrag Dimić, *Jugoslavija i Hladni rat. Ogledi o spoljnoj politici Josipa Broza Tita (1944–1974)* (Beograd: Arhipelag, 2014), 71; Vladimir Petrović, "Josip Broz Tito's Summit Diplomacy in the International Relations of Socialist Yugoslavia 1944–1961", *Acta Histriae* 4 (2014), 578–579.

¹³ Petrović, "Josip Broz Tito's Summit Diplomacy", 582. See also: Vladimir Petrović, „Škola bontona. Ideološki uzroci protokolarnih i organizacionih problema u pripremi posete Josipa Broza Tita Velikoj Britaniji 1953. godine", *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 1–2 (2002), 179–195.

¹⁴ Wilson, *Tito's Yugoslavia*, 124.

¹⁵ Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 92–93.



From the parade of military, youth and pioneers held in honor of President Tito in Kindia Region, Guinea 1961

As some kind of socialist Columbus (as he was later described by his collaborators),¹⁶ Tito started 'discovering' the African world in 1954-1955 and until his last trip to Africa in 1979, when he was 87, he had visited 16 African countries. He travelled sixteen times to Egypt alone. On his first Third World journey in 1954-55, after his initial trip to India and Burma, he visited Ethiopia and met with Gamal Abdel Nasser in Suez. He made the second trip in 1958-59 by visiting Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, and Syria. His longest trip lasted 72 days when – as part of the 1961 North and West Africa tour – he visited Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt. Tito went on this journey – one of the most expensive and longest of all his 'peacetime travels' – with more than 1,500 crew members aboard his famous ship *Galeb* (*Seagull*), followed by two destroyers, one cargo ship, and several airplanes.¹⁷

¹⁶ Bogetić, *Nova strategija spoljne politike Jugoslavije*, 313.

¹⁷ Miladin Adamović, „*Galeb*“ mira i razdora. 72 dana oko Afrike (Beograd: Grafoštampa, 2001), 7.



The official welcome for President Tito at the Bamako airport, Mali 1961

In addition to this journey, during the 1960s Tito visited Egypt (1962, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968), Sudan (1962), Ethiopia (1968), and Algeria (1965 and 1969). His last great African tour was to East Africa in 1970, when he visited Tanzania, Zambia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Egypt, and Libya. Tito continued with travels to Africa until the end of his life. In the last few years the focus was on North Africa: Egypt (1971), Algeria (1973, 1977, and 1979), and Libya (1977 and 1979).

Tito's image in Africa was created largely during these trips. Most of his visits were described as 'visiting friends', and numerous sources (diplomatic material, press clippings, photographs, and films) testify to the warmth with which he was received. As early as his first great tour of Africa in 1958-59, "the welcome reception organized for President Tito and manifestations dedicated to socialist Yugoslavia surpassed all expectations."¹⁸ In Guinea, "old people, both men and women, cried with joy (...) because they real-

¹⁸ Smole and Štajduhar, *Prešednik Tito u zemljama Afrike i Azije*, 9.

ized that their visitors were friends who had no intention of plundering like Frenchmen and Englishmen did, but who instead wanted to help."¹⁹ Tito's adjutant at the 1961 journey to Morocco reveals that on the streets of Casablanca there were "over million people."²⁰ Even though the photos convey the impression of warm welcome (thousands of people in the streets, toasts, gift exchanges, shaking hands with African leaders, visits to factories and cultural institutions), the 'moving images' of newsreels and documentaries made by *Filmske novosti* best convey an atmosphere of hospitality, cordiality, the sheer scale of gatherings, and people's enthusiasm in a more striking way. It is astonishing to see thousands of people running after Tito's car, waving Yugoslav flags and Tito posters, or dancing for him.²¹ Photos from his trips, newspaper coverage, archival sources, and newsreels all testify to Tito's status of a 'white friend of Africa' and the great affinity, even ebullience, that he enjoyed among peoples of the countries that he visited.

For the exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity*, as well as in this text, the analysis of representation of Tito's power in Africa is based mostly on official presidential photographs and photo albums from the Museum of Yugoslavia collections which helps understand the iconographical and ideological aspects of Tito's image on that continent. Photos were taken by official photographers from the photo department within President's Cabinet, which was in charge of public relations. These photos show Tito's leadership style, but also his relationship with Africa. However, it is the inherited models of colonial imagery within the patterns of diplomatic protocol and interstate relations that attract special attention. Far from being unique to Yugoslav politics – in fact, they characterise the entire visual apparatus of international relations at a global level – it is nevertheless unusual and perhaps even unexpected to find them present in the conduct and appearance of such a fervent supporter of anticolonialism. It is important to stress that Tito's image had been carefully managed for decades. Through all the transformations this image underwent, one can discern not only changes in Yugoslav politics but also different ways in which Tito's cult of personality was being constructed.

¹⁹ AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-48, Izveštaj Predsednika republike o putu jugoslovenske delegacije u prijateljske zemlje zapadne i Severne Afrike podnet na sednici SIV 29. aprila 1961. u Beogradu (shorthand notes)

²⁰ Adamović, „Galeb“ mira i razdora, 156-157.

²¹ Archives of Filmske novosti (in further text AFN), Tito in Africa (1961), During the Visit to Africa (1970), The Visit of the President to Ethiopia (1955, 1959), President Tito in Algeria (1965), President Tito in Libya (1977, 1979)



President Tito and Yugoslav ambassador in London, Vladimir Velebit, leaving for talks with Churchill, Great Britain 1953



President Tito and his wife Jovanka, in the company of Richard Burton, observing the shooting of certain frames of the movie *Battle of Sutjeska*, Tjentište 1971

After the break with the Soviet Union and Tito's first trip to the West in 1953 when he visited Great Britain (and wore a top hat during talks with Churchill in Downing Street), a specific image of the marshal, gentleman and glamorous celebrity was being manufactured. Nikolina Kurtović, analysing Tito's photograph with Richard Burton at a film shoot of *Sutjeska* partisan movie, noticed that his image in a suit, summer hat, and sunglasses had been created in the manner of public appearances of Hollywood movie stars.²² However, during the Cold War Tito was not only a political icon of anti-Stalinism and a glamorous communist leader between East and West but also a political icon of the non-aligned world.

The representation of power, combined with a strong message of friendship, is manifest even in the first official photos of Tito taken with his future 'non-aligned friends.' For example, during Tito's meeting with Nasser and Jawaharlal Nehru at Brijuni Islands in 1956, while the three were

²² Nikolina Kurtović, "Communist stardom in the Cold War: Josip Broz Tito in Western and Yugoslav photography, 1943–1980" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010), 1, 14.

promenading on the streets, 120 journalists were on the island to capture “the flashy glamour of the moment.” Konstantin Kilibarda describes Tito’s, Nasser’s and Nehru’s meeting at Brijuni that year as the emergence of a postcolonial vision of ‘non-alignment.’ He adds that “enacting an early imagined community of postcolonial sovereigns, Nehru, Nasser, and Tito – always smartly dressed! – became embodiments of ‘alternate paths’ into the high modernist simulacra of decolonization during the 1950s and 1960s.” Analysing Tito’s appearance in postcolonial times and in a non-aligned world, Kilibarda concludes that it was a “post-revolutionary-dandyism as a strategy adopted by Tito in ‘worlding’ non-alignment and navigating the contradictions of post-colonial modernity in the 1950s and 1960s.”²³

The overwhelming impression after looking at thousands of Tito’s photos from Africa is that these are the images of a ‘white man’ in a ‘black country’, a man who comes as a friend and as a modernizer. However, whiteness and blackness were only ever mentioned in order to underline their similarity and equality, particularly in achieving common (socialist) goals. ‘Exoticizing’ Africa in official photographs was almost inevitable, as the ‘stage’ was already set by centuries of previous representations. It is difficult to pin down the person or persons responsible for this visual style, as everything that was happening during these visits was in strict compliance with diplomatic protocol. While Yugoslav protocol was thoroughly examined in the Archives of Yugoslavia and the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a question remains as to protocol rules on the part of African hosts. There is no evidence that anything was done without their agreement. In fact, protocol stipulates that host country should set the meeting framework and determine the level of formality. Perhaps the answer to the question of exoticism and ‘otherness’ lies in the fact that the majority of diplomatic protocols in newly formed African countries relied on previously established models which, naturally, were colonial. Memoirs of Tito’s adjutant Milan Žeželj furnish an example. Žeželj noticed that the meeting of Tito and Nkrumah on 28th February 1961 in Ghana was a mirror image of English diplomatic protocol: “First impressions remind one incredibly of images from 1953 London. Everything is done the English way. Diplomatic protocol and customs – are English as well. Only Nkrumah’s belated arrival did not fit with English style.”²⁴

²³ Konstantin Kilibarda, “Non-Aligned Geographies in the Balkans: Space, Race and Image in the Construction of new ‘European’ Foreign Policies”, in *Security Beyond Discipline: Emerging Dialogues on Global Politics*, ed. Abhinava Kumar i Derek Maisonville (Toronto: York University, 2009), 27-29.

²⁴ Adamović, „Galeb“ mira i razdora, 95.



Presidents Tito and Sekou Toure on the way to the residence in Conakry, Guinea 1961

However, there is some evidence that Tito was intentionally creating an image of a 'socialist star' and powerful leader. Cars on the streets of African towns and cities are one of the examples to prove this claim. As one of the technological wonders of the 20th century, the automobile has always had an iconic status and was used to express modernity, social standing, and even glamour. An entire network of cultural meanings is connected with the car, not least with the car as symbol of power.²⁵ In that sense, Tito's glamorous image was accentuated by glamorous cars.

According to the sources from the Archives of Yugoslavia, the memoirs of general Milan Žeželj, as well as the photos from the archive of the Museum of Yugoslavia, Tito insisted on using luxurious cars on his African tours. If the hosts did not have any, as it was the case in Ghana and Mali, he insisted on using his Rolls Royce convertible, new Cadillac, or armoured Packard, which were shipped from Yugoslavia to Africa on a special cargo ship *Lovćen*. In place of an explanation as to why these cars were used in Ghana, on the way back from Kumasi to Accra, it was stated that this was partly due to 'security reasons', and partly because of the 'Marshal's own

²⁵ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford – New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002), 118-119.



Presidents Tito and Olympio passing through Lomé by car, Togo 1961.

reasons', something that can be understood as Tito's wish to make an impression.²⁶

As well as the image of a leader in big and luxurious (mostly American) cars, another commonly encountered image of Tito in Africa was that of a modernizer. Numerous Yugoslav companies – *Ingra*, *Energoprojekt*, *Energoinvest*, *Crvena zastava*, *Trudbenik*, *Generaleksport*, *Krušik*, *IMT*, *FAP Famos*, *Rudnap*, *Mašinunion*, *Jugoeksport*, *Pomgrad*, *Agrovojevodina*, and so on – took part in building and modernizing Africa. Consequently, there are a number of photos showing Tito visiting factories or hospitals that had been built by the Yugoslavs, either completely or in part. Yugoslavia took this rare opportunity to prove itself as a country that had already achieved good results in the building of industry and had become more developed than most of her non-aligned allies. In this regard, Yugoslavia's emancipatory and modernising role was most obvious in Ethiopia – a country that until 1961 did not have a university and where almost 95% of the population was illiterate.²⁷ When

²⁶ KPR, I-2/13, K-48, a note, Accra, 1 March 1961, Organization of the visit of the Comrade President to Guinea and Mali, Adamović, "*Galeb*" mira i razdora, 35.

²⁷ Dragan Bogetić and Ljubodrag Dimić, *Beogradska konferencija nesvrstanih zemalja 1–6. septembra 1961. Prilog istoriji Trećeg sveta* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2013), 48.



President Tito visiting the University of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1955

Selassie visited Yugoslavia for the first time in 1954 there were almost no Yugoslavs in Ethiopia. However, in the next few years, Yugoslav experts drew up a first Five-Year Development Plan for Ethiopia; they built a hydropower plant at the Awash River, and the port of Assab; and Yugoslav doctors and experts worked on improving Ethiopian medicine, agriculture and industry.²⁸ The picture of Tito as a modernizer is reinforced by Selassie's words that "the only real help Ethiopia received was from Tito" and that "only Yugoslavia helped develop Ethiopia without any interest and hidden agenda."²⁹

At first sight, many photos from Tito's trips to Africa seem to contain traces of colonial representations. The emphasis is on exoticizing the Other – one who carries a large parasol for him, performs traditional dances, or takes him on a hunting safari. Stereotypical representations, which have been around for centuries of exploitation of the African continent and were then further elaborated in the colonial era, laid a foundation for binary categories of 'we/us versus they/them'. The repertoire of stereotypical images of both

²⁸ AJ, KPR, I-2/11-6, Program boravka u Etiopiji, Razgovori Tito-Selasije, 11. februar 1959.

²⁹ Ibid.



President Tito laying foundation for the new hydroelectric power plant in Kpime, Togo 1961

Africa and Africans is very diverse, but one of the most widely known images – especially when it comes to eastern parts of Africa – is that of the members of the ethnic group of Maasai. Since the colonial era, the romanticised image of the ‘noble savage’, as one of the manifestations of exoticization, had put into focus Maasai warriors holding spears and Maasai women dressed in characteristic red fabrics, wearing beaded jewellery.³⁰ Perpetuated even today for tourism purposes, this image is found in the Museum of Yugoslavia photographs from the time of Tito’s visits to Africa.

In spite of that, not everything is so self-evident and the question should be asked of how much we ‘read into’ the meaning of these photos ourselves. A number of scenes that look ‘colonial’ to a layman’s eye reflect a context not obvious at first glance. Without understanding this cultural context, an analysis of photos from Ghana, in which Tito stands in a shade of an impressive parasol held by a dedicated parasol carrier, may lead to the conclusion that this is a typical colonial scene. However, an insight

³⁰ Noel B. Salazar, “Imaged or Imagined? Representation and ‘Tourismification’ of Peoples and Places”, *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, Vol. 49, Cahier 192/193 (2009), 51.



President Tito hunting in Keekorok, Kenya 1970

into the culture of power representations of Ghanaian rulers casts a different light on these photos. Nkrumah was one of the African leaders who used elements of traditional culture in his political appearance in order to affirm and strengthen his authority as head of state. In his case, this traditional culture came from the royal court of Ashanti.³¹ The royal parasol was among the artefacts that represented royal insignias and which were later transformed into symbols of royal spectacle. In the context of welcoming foreign statesmen, the parasol represented a gesture of respect for an important guest.³² This is proof that most photos – not only from African countries but from any country or culture that nurtures its peculiarities – cannot be adequately analysed if one does not take into account differences in practices of communication and meaning behind a particular message. Just as Tito was aware of the impact that images from his diplomatic

³¹ Ashanti people are a nation and ethnic group in Ghana, with the capital in Kumasi, who still, with their king Asantehene, play an important role in Ghanaian society.

³² F. Sheales, "Asante Gold Regalia in the British Museum Collection", http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_research_catalogues/ag/asante_gold_regalia/i_history-significance-usage/iv.aspx (Last accessed on 28th December 2016)



President Tito resting in Keekorok, Kenya 1970

quests had at home and internationally, so too did his African hosts use the opportunity to affirm their international status to their own people. Similar multi-layered meanings may be noticed in the practice of gift giving.

Tito's desire to be seen as a modernizer in Africa may be analysed through his policy of selecting gifts for African leaders. Official gifts are always in the service of diplomacy and each one always carries a specific message. In most cases, state gifts reflect the desired national identity of the gift-giver. An insight into the gifts exchanged between Tito and African leaders leaves the impression that the message of one (Yugoslav) side is modernisation, while the message of the other (African) side is traditionalism (based on a tendency to reaffirm or reconstitute national identity by renewing traditional values embodied in contemporary art forms).

During Tito's great African tour of 1961, African leaders were each given a *Fiat 1100*, a car made by the *Crvena zastava* (*Red Flag*) factory based in Kragujevac. A car as a gift to African leaders did not only show modernity and Yugoslav industrial success story but – because it was made in a Yugoslav factory (with a distinctly communist name of 'Red Flag') and in



President Tito and his entourage visiting the Experimental Agricultural School in Kumasi, Ghana 1961

cooperation with an Italian, capitalist, automobile manufacturer (*Fiat*) – it also pointed to Yugoslavia's own path to communism in partnership with capitalist countries. Gifts to towns that Tito visited in Africa – ambulances, X-ray machines, film projectors, cameras, and so on – also bespoke modernity and solidarity.³³

Other gifts for African leaders included 16mm cameras, radios, record players, TV cabinets, and colour TVs. During Tito's African tour of 1970, leaders whom he visited were presented with luxurious hunting weapons.³⁴ This list of gifts provides an opportune basis for comparison with other East European gifts to African leaders; to be specific, a list of gifts that Antonin Novotny presented to Algerian president Ahmed Ben Bella in 1964, carries exactly the same modernizing message. Ben Bella received a hunting gun in a leather holster with accessories, as well as a 16mm camera, while the

³³ AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-48, Šifrovani telegram, str. pov. br. 14, „Galeb“, 18. februar 1961; AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-49, Predlog poklona druga Predsednika prilikom posete Gani; AJ, KPR, I-2/13-2, K-50, Predlog poklona druga Predsednika prilikom posete Togou od 4-7. marta; AJ, KPR, I-2/13-8, Zapisnik o darovima koji su primljeni od predsednika Keite u Maliju za druga Predsednika i jugoslovensku delegaciju, 26.3.1961.

³⁴ AJ, KPR, F-69, I-2/44-8, Pokloni Predsednika i drugarice Broz izdati povodom zvanične posete Republici Libiji od 25. do 27. februara 1970.



Presidents Tito and Gaddafi exchanging gifts in Tripoli, Libya 1970



President Tito giving presents to King Hassan II in Rabat, Morocco 1961

state gift was a mobile medical bus including an X-ray machine to fight tuberculosis.³⁵

Conversely, an assortment of gifts that Tito received from African leaders was based on different messages. These gifts are now a part of the Museum of Yugoslavia's collection. Their description as 'objects from Africa' points to a heterogeneity and impossibility of classifying them within one category alone.³⁶ These objects include a tortoise shell from Angola, a warrior's cape made of a lion's mane from Ethiopia, a ceremonial sword from Ghana, an art tapestry from Senegal, an elephant's tusk from Sudan, ornamented ostrich eggs from Mali, etc.³⁷ They are in no way more unusual or more 'bizarre' than many other items held at the Museum which contains an impressive range of same or similar objects from around the world.

A brochure published in 1961 entitled "The Symbolic Significance of Ghana's State gifts to His Excellency Josip Broz Tito, President of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and Madame Jovanka Broz on the occasion of their visit to Ghana" reveals the importance of interpreting the gifts within the context of gifting and the messages that they carry.³⁸ This brochure reflects a wider tradition in which these gifts were made as a contemporary re-interpretation of that tradition. In the period after decolonization, art was used in many African countries to define an idea of nationhood. At first sight, African gifts may seem traditionalist. However, a deeper analysis reveals that they were carefully selected to point out a continuity of not only particular traditions (gifts from the past, archaeological treasures, tradition-based artefacts) but also of Pan-Africanism and common African cultural identity. A good illustration are gifts given to Tito by Nkrumah during Tito's visit to Ghana in 1961: a stool covered in golden leaves, traditional textiles, and royal sandals.³⁹

³⁵ National Archive of Czech Republic, Fond 02/1, NAD 1261/0/4, sv. 63, aj. 66, bod 17, *Predsednictvo ÚV KSČ* (Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, 1962-1966), "Proposal for gifts to be presented on the occasion of the official visit by the president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Ben Bella, in ČSSR", 4 May 1964

³⁶ Ana Sladojević, "'African objects' within a Collection: Case Study of the Museum of Yugoslav History", *Srpska nauka danas/Serbian Science Today*, vol. 1, No. 1 (2016), 2.

³⁷ AJ, KPR, I-2/13-8, Zapisnik o darovima koji su primljeni od predsednika Keite u Maliju za druga Predsednika i jugoslovensku delegaciju, 26.3.1961; AJ, KPR, F-67, I-2/44-4, List of Presents.

³⁸ AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-49, A Brochure on The Symbolic Significance of Ghana's State presents to His Excellency Josip Broz Tito President of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and Madame Jovanka Broz on the occasion of their visit to Ghana 1961.

³⁹ Sladojević, "'African objects' within a Collection", 4.



President Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie at the site of historical battle of Adwa, Ethiopia 1955



President Tito receiving gifts in the central office of TANU Party in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1970

Besides those gifts that symbolized a national or a pan-African identity, there were those that reflected a stereotypical view of African countries. In Liberia, Tito was given a chimpanzee and a hippopotamus by President William Tubman.⁴⁰ A solution to the obvious problem of how to transport the hippopotamus to Yugoslavia—weighing more than a ton—was found in an accessory to this ‘live’ gift: for the occasion, an improvised swimming pool was built on the cargo ship *Lovćen*.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Tubman was an African leader for whom Tito did not show much sympathy because of the way he ruled his country. For example, during his visit to Tubman’s rubber tree plantation, Tito was unpleasantly surprised when in Tubman’s private zoo he saw a bronze sculpture featuring “our ‘comrade’ Tubman sitting on the back of a black slave who was on all fours,” which led Tito to conclude that “for us, that sculpture was something incomprehensible, but it did show a real state of affairs in Liberia.”⁴² Apart from this exception, during

⁴⁰ AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-48, Pokloni Drugu Predsedniku i drugarici Jovanki

⁴¹ Adamović, „Galeb“ mira i razdora, 123.

⁴² AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-48, Izveštaj Predsednika Republike o putu jugoslovenske delegacije u prijateljske zemlje Zapadne i Severne Afrike, podnet na sednici SIV-a 29. aprila 1961. godine (shorthand notes)



Headwear with lion's mane, Ethiopia 1955



Game mankala (oware), Ghana 1961



President Tito and Nikita Khrushchev in the ceremony of “Hunters Initiation”, Belje (Yugoslavia) 1956

the whole period of development and fostering of relations between Yugoslavia and numerous African countries the priorities of Yugoslav self-representation were to convey an image of modernity, including the choice of gifts, while the African focus in gift selection typically affirmed the wealth and continuity of their own African cultures.

While gifts reflected the modernizing role to which Yugoslavia aspired, safaris – as one of the most stereotypical images of Africa – sent an entirely different message. The popularity of safaris and their relationship with politics began with Theodore Roosevelt’s expedition to East Africa in 1909. Even though it was given a lot of publicity, Roosevelt’s expedition was not the first of its kind. Several years earlier, Churchill had enjoyed an almost equally celebrated hunting safari. Royal safaris of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) and the Duke of Gloucester were also famous and had



Presidents Tito and Khrushchev hunting at the hunting ground Zavidovo, near Moscow, USSR 1970



President Tito hunting ostrich on the way to Mile, Ethiopia 1955



President Tito with his wife Jovanka hunting in Keekorok, Kenya 1970

contributed to the image of the safari as a form of entertainment for the upper classes.⁴³

Hunting had played a significant role in the colonial history, but also in foreign relations during the Cold War. It is a widely known fact that communist *nomenklatura* enjoyed this type of pastime.⁴⁴ As a passionate hunter, Tito used hunting in various situations and with various people, including ambassadors and statesmen. He used it not only for political purposes but also as a tool of self-promotion. Because of the *nomenklatura's* shared passion for hunting, it is no surprise that Tito had serious political talks with Khrushchev, Brezhnev, János Kádár, Nicolae Ceauescu and Erich Honecker during such gatherings. As Tito's passion for hunting was very well known, he received hunting rifles from various world politicians such as Churchill, Aldo Moro, Nehru, Brezhnev, and King Hassan II of Morocco.⁴⁵

⁴³ Edward I. Steinhardt, *Black Poachers, White Hunters. A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford-Nairobi-Athens, Ohio: James Currey Publishers, 2006), 114-115, 125.

⁴⁴ More in: György Péteri, "Nomenklatura with Smoking Guns: Hunting in Communist Hungary's Party State Elite", in *Pleasures in Socialism. Leisure and Luxury in Eastern Bloc*, David Crowley i Susan.E. Reid (eds.) (Northwestern University Press, 2010), 311-343.

⁴⁵ Danilo Todorović, *Tito – lov – politika. Tito u lovu, lov u politici* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2011), 85; AJ, KPR, I-2/13, K-48, Pokloni Drugu Predsedniku i drugarici Jovanki.



President Tito with his wife Jovanka in the camp in the lake Ndutu, Tanzania 1970

Going on a safari was, therefore, an unavoidable part of Tito's visits to Africa. Photos from his African hunting tours abounded in imperial stereotypes of the white hunter. These representations remained unchanged since the 1890s when hunters were being photographed with their trophies.⁴⁶ It was a way of displaying power (class power and the power of masculinity), so it was not unusual for a safari to be used not only for leisure but also for political purposes. In a nutshell, hunting played an important part in Tito's diplomacy (photos of him with Yugoslav politicians, diplomats, and foreign leaders are as famous as those with the Soviets – one photo with Khrushchev in Yugoslavia, entitled 'hunters' baptism', shows Tito's superior position in relation to Khrushchev), and in regard to Africa it was deeply linked to the colonial past and the colonial experience.

Tito started his 'safari diplomacy' on his first trip to the Third World when he went on safaris in India and Burma. Even during his first journey to Africa when he visited Ethiopia in 1955, the safari was a part of the diplomatic protocol. Tito was so pleased with this method of diplomacy that in his toast to Selassie in Addis Ababa he said that during the few days in

⁴⁶ Curtis A. Keim, *Mistaking Africa. Curiosities and Inventions of the African Mind* (Boulder: Westview Press 2009), 138.

the South of Ethiopia he experienced “the most beautiful moments in my whole life as a hunter.” The great significance of hunting was also stressed in Selassie’s toast to his guest when he stated that Ethiopians were very happy that Tito felt at home and that he enjoyed “hunting in our woods because our courageous people favor hunting as well.”⁴⁷ Tito went on his second safari in Ethiopia in 1959. As part of an information pack concerning the organization of hunting that Tito received from the Yugoslav embassy in Addis Ababa, it was stated that “Ethiopians are masters of organized camps,” and that “the Duke of Gloucester, the uncle of the Queen, was extremely pleased with this camp.”⁴⁸ Even in such a way, Tito’s position on the safari was to a certain extent associated with the royal one.

Ever since colonial times, photographing the hunt was a special element of a safari. Having the hunter pose over the carcass with his boot on the dead animal had become a common image of the triumph and an unavoidable part of the safari.⁴⁹ Iconographic images of white trophy hunters (safari clothing almost the same as that of British colonizers at the beginning of 20th century, cameras, and trophies) remained as patterns of colonial experiences even during postcolonial times. Looking at the protocol and the photos from Tito’s safaris, it appears that his anticolonial rhetoric often, although not intentionally, had a colonial tone amid colonial scenery. In these photos, socialist comrade Tito looks like an aristocrat from the colonial era while in the middle of the jungle – dressed up in safari clothing and surrounded by locals – he sipped his tea reclining in an armchair upholstered in brocade. An insight into Tito’s safari photos shows— just as during colonial times – the prevailing image of the white hunter, while African companions remained, in the words of Edward I. Steinhart, “an appreciative audience of a staged drama which reproduced the class relations of colonialism.”⁵⁰

However, the story of safaris is not purely one-dimensional. It is not only colonial imagery that may be read from these photos but the creation of a new ‘safari diplomacy’. The safari played an important role in postcolonial times as some African governments (mostly in Tanzania) used it to promote national parks, game reserves, and other protected localities, while officials invested significant resources in developing this part of the country’s economy. In such a way, Julius Nyerere and Tanzanian diplomats presented their

⁴⁷ Smole and Štajduhar, *Pretsednik Tito u zemljama Afrike i Azije*, 101.

⁴⁸ AJ, KPR, I-2/11-6, Informacija u pogledu lova u Etiopiji, 8.1.1959.

⁴⁹ Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 138-139.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.



President Tito with his wife Jovanka resting in the hunting ground at the lake Ndutu, Tanzania 1970

country's wildlife as a national treasure in which people around the world had an interest. 'Wildlife diplomacy' was used in international relations and Tanzania's commitment to the preservation of animal world was promoted by enabling foreign leaders to experience it directly. Moreover, this kind of diplomacy helped a certain number of African states (Tanzania, Kenya, and Zambia) to boost their national economies.⁵¹ So, once more, a deeper analysis of African matters in postcolonial times shows that images of Africa and Tito in Africa have different meanings and readings and that looking at them in search for 'colonial approach' often leads to misleading conclusions.

If we were to summarize the consequences of Tito's trips to Africa, as well as the different interpretations of representation of his power, we would understand that they contributed not only to the creation of the image of a powerful socialist and non-aligned leader but also to the success story of Yugoslav foreign policy and a special role Yugoslavia played in the Cold War. From the moment Tito first stepped onto African soil up until his death, the most striking image of the Yugoslav president was that of a friend of Africa. A partisan rebel, a fierce advocate of anticolonialism, a first communist leader to abandon the Eastern Bloc in pursuit of an independent way to socialism, the leader of the NAM, Josip Broz Tito continued to help his African friends and partners in their fight for a place in the world without colonialism. Selassie remarked that, as a friend, Tito selflessly offered his help 'without any hidden agenda'.

⁵¹ Julie M. Weiskopf, "Socialism on Safari: Wildlife and Nation-building in Post-colonial Tanzania, 1961-1977", *Journal of African History*, 56(2015), 429-430.

Tito's convictions were doubtlessly honest, but an agenda existed nevertheless. Thanks to his Third World policy, Tito gained a reputation of a leader respected not only among the non-aligned states but across the whole polarized world too. In a fierce competition for influence in Africa between former colonizers on one side, and the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba on the other, Tito showed the possibility of a 'third way.' It is, therefore, no surprise that even today in a number of African countries, mostly older generations of people remember Tito and the solidarity he and Yugoslavia had selflessly offered to Africa.

Although anticolonialism was a cornerstone of Yugoslav politics, colonialism endured in the visual record of meetings in Tito's African experiences. It was possible to see it in different situations from both African and Yugoslav perspectives: in mass gatherings organized in Tito's honour, in the protocol, on safaris, and during various cultural events. Neither was Tito some kind of new socialist colonizer nor did he behave in a Western colonial way. This was all part of a long tradition in representations of Africa, where images of this continent revealed more about the West's influence than about African cultures themselves. This situation goes beyond stereotyping on either side – whether Yugoslav or its hosts' images of landscapes, safaris and tribal dances – which all contain elements of a stereotypical view of Africa – were (and still can be seen as) a part of a much wider system of the cultural production of differences. Some representations of Tito in Africa confirm the thesis of Frantz Fanon (*Black Skin, White Masks*) and Albert Memmi (*The Colonizer and the Colonized*) that in the postcolonial period even a self-representation of Africans or their political elites was burdened by previous conventions and that the process of decolonization did not cease with the end of colonial forms of government.

When Tito's entire experience of Africa is taken into account, we may conclude that first and foremost he was a friend of Africa, a role model, a modernizer, and a leader who had an influence not only on African statesmen but also on ordinary people in their quest for independence. Photos from the archive of the Museum of Yugoslavia, newsreels from *Filmske novosti*, press coverage, gifts that Tito received, archival material, and protocol all serve as testaments. Conducting a full comparison with similar materials in one of the African countries would no doubt provide numerous other insights. But in this case, the material on and from the Yugoslav side chronicles Yugoslavia and Tito's relations to African countries, and in particular how he wanted to represent himself through these relations



Jovanka Broz visiting an elementary school in Khartoum, Sudan 1959

Paul Betts

A Red Wind of Change: African Media Coverage of Tito's Tours to Decolonizing Africa

The relationship between Yugoslavia and Africa is one of the forgotten dimensions of Cold War politics in general and Yugoslav history in particular. This reflects a broader distortion of Cold War history, which tends to read post-war international history in terms of separate blocs and exclusive networks along classic Cold War geopolitical divisions. It is well known that Yugoslavia occupied a special place in the Cold War's political cartography, but its relationship with the Third World is less familiar. What scholarship exists on the topic is almost exclusively shaped by Tito's relationship with Nasser as joint leaders of the famed Non-Aligned Movement. However, Tito's relations with Africa were much richer and more developed than long assumed. In part this was because Tito put a great deal of stock in international summitry, devoting more energy than any other non-aligned leader to globetrotting personal diplomacy. From the early 1950s through the 1970s Tito was a frequent visitor to Africa, and many African leaders – from heads of state to leading figures in various anti-imperial liberation movements, such as the African National Congress (ANC) and South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) – travelled to Belgrade over the decades on Tito's invitation. Military assistance, humanitarian aid, trade relations, cultural missions, training programmes and student exchanges were all facets of this extensive transcontinental traffic between Yugoslavia and Africa.

There has been a long tradition of Western fascination with Tito, punctuated by his improbable partisan victory against the Wehrmacht in the Second World War, his defiance of Stalin and Stalinism and his ability to maintain his country's independence in the face of difficult Cold War pressures. Tito has been the subject of many biographies, and even illustrated biographies, as his life has been often told through a series of pictures.¹ His heroic figure

¹ Fitzroy Maclean, *Josip Broz Tito: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980) and Thomas Schreiber, *La Yougoslavie de Tito* (Paris: Presse de la Cité, 1977). Maclean was a lifelong friend of Tito's. He first served in British Embassy in Moscow during Stalin's Great Purge and then met Tito in 1943 at Tito's headquarters in Bosnia, and remained in contact with him for decades. Jasper Ridley, *Tito* (London: Constable, 1994), 214-232.

* I would like to thank Sacha Hepburn for her research assistance.

attracted media coverage across the West from the mid-1940s through the late 1950s, as Tito's image adorned the covers of a number of Western magazines, including the American weeklies *Time*, *Life* and *Newsweek*, the British *Picture Post* as well as the French *Paris Match*.² Tito's career and standing as an international socialist hero served as inspiration to other countries around the world.

Yugoslav interest in Africa was a question of timing, and Tito distinguished himself from the policies and power politics of the larger powers keen to turn to Africa in the wake of decolonization. International interest in Africa was surprisingly undeveloped through the 1950s. American engagement with Africa effectively began with the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s, and it was only with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's famous "Wind of Change" in 1960 when British attitudes toward its weakening empire began to take on new form.³ Likewise, there was remarkably little Soviet interest in Africa until the early 1960s.⁴ By the middle of the decade, though, Africa had become a crowded field of competition not just between East and West, but also between the USSR and China as a kind of "shadow Cold War" that shaped the fate of the Third World more generally.⁵ Yugoslavia played its part here, but operated with different motivations in mind as one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement.⁶

Conversely, African interest in Tito and Yugoslavia developed slowly, but intensified as a result of these visits and exchanges. This essay will concentrate on Tito's major tours to Africa in 1961 and 1970, with a view to-

² Nikolina Kurtovic, "Communist Stardom in the Cold War: Josif Broz Tito in Western and Yugoslav Photography", 1943-1980, PhD Thesis, Department of Art, University of Toronto, 2010.

³ For analysis, Saul Dubow, "Macmillan, Verwoerd and the 1960 'Wind of Change' Speech," *Historical Journal* 54:4 (2011), 1087-1124.

⁴ Sergey Mazow, *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956-1964* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010) and Radoslav A. Yordanov, *The Soviet Union and the Horn of Africa: Between Ideology and Pragmatism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016). For an earlier version, see Christopher Stevens, *The Soviet Union and Black Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1976).

⁵ Pieter Lessing, *Africa's Red Harvest* (London: Michael Joseph, 1962); Emmanuel John Levi, *The Dragon's Embrace: The Chinese Communists and Africa* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1966); Jeremy Friedman, *Shadow Cold War: The Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2015).

⁶ William Griffith, "Yugoslavia" in *Africa and the Communist World*, ed. Zbigniew Brzezinski (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1964), 116-141 and Michael M. Milenkovitch, "Yugoslavia and the Third World," in *Eastern Europe and the Third World: East vs. South*, ed. Michael Radu (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), 273-300. More generally, Peter Willetts, *The Non-Aligned Movement* (New York, 1978).

ward how the African press reported his visits in various countries in those years. The visits took place at a time when the major Cold War players – the US, USSR and China – were making strong bids to win influence in newly decolonized Africa. Tito was received differently by Africans, however, in that he was consistently welcomed as a sympathetic leader of the Non-Aligned Movement whose own career as a partisan fighter, anti-Soviet rebel and global anti-imperial champion served as a guiding light for many African leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. How and to what extent this image of him was broadcast across the continent is the first part of this essay; the second half will focus on how the African press represented Tito's policy of peace, independence and non-alignment in word and image.

At first glance, Tito's meetings with African heads of state do not look very special or surprising, since reaching out to these new countries was a standard form of international diplomacy at the time. And whilst direct encounters between heads of states may have become more frequent over the course of the modern era, they in themselves were nothing new to the 20th century. Such high-level meetings have occurred since the beginning of governmental development to discuss matters of mutual concern, and acquired more regularity and gravity with the dawning of modern state formation as a means of negotiating relations with foreign powers, with attendant pomp and circumstance both to impress and awe foreign guests. Even if state visits have a long tradition, the high point of such pageantry was arguably the Age of Imperialism in the late 19th century, in which the Great Powers engaged in the cultural politics of power and pageantry, what is sometimes called "ornamentalism."⁷ That said, the twentieth century played a unique role in this history, not least because of the growing practice of easy air travel; in fact, one of the characteristics of 20th century political life was the advent of supersonic "summit diplomacy" between the Great Powers, which became even more of a feature of high-level Cold War politics.⁸ The perceived necessity of face-to-face diplomatic meetings was hardly confined to the superpowers, however, as small nations too engaged in this form of politics that combined media and diplomacy. Early on Tito understood the importance of these visits, and used them to communicate not only good relations between Yugoslavia and new African nations, but

⁷ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin, 2002). See too Johannes Paulmann, *Pomp und Politik: Monarchenbegegnungen in Europa zwischen Ancien Régime und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000).

⁸ David Reynolds, *Summits: Six Meetings that Changed the 20th Century* (London: Allen Lane, 2007).

also to help build a sense of shared solidarity between countries that otherwise had little historical relation with one another. Media coverage was thus essential to their success, and how the press covered his visits played a crucial role in the development of his carefully crafted cultural diplomacy, both at home and abroad.

Tito's peripatetic diplomacy registered a range of firsts. His trip to Egypt and India in 1954-1955 was the first by a non-Asian head of state to the newly independent countries. Tito's 1961 trip was among the first visits by a communist head of state to travel to Sub-Saharan Africa, and in 1963 he was the first state leader from the communist world to tour Latin America, with stopovers in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Mexico. The shuttle diplomacy of the "suave, cool, impeccably dressed chief of state" was noted by commentators in the West, sometimes with some derision. A 1963 *New York Times* article on Tito's whirlwind trips to Hungary and Latin American countries referred to "the almost pathological compulsion of the Belgrade Government to stay in, or at least on the fringes of, the limelight of world attention. For a country the size of Wyoming that has at best a half-developed economy this may seem preposterous but it is apparently the conviction of leading Yugoslavs that the limelight is the safest spot in a world of dark and conflicting ideologies."⁹ Even so, his main interaction was with other non-aligned leaders, and he was a frequent visitor in Egypt, India and Indonesia. And the leaders from these countries also visited Yugoslavia. Gamal Abdel Nasser visited Belgrade five times, Jawaharlal Nehru three, and Ahmed Sukarno six from 1955 to 1970. In these cases, the close political links between India, Egypt and Yugoslavia were forged during the Korean War, as the countries served together as non-permanent members of the Security Council in 1950-1951. Regular consultations on Korean questions intensified and deepened their relations, as they began to forge common interests and positions.¹⁰

Yugoslavia was very keen to exploit international media and institutions to advance its cause and protect its sovereignty, and this was duly noted by African observers. Nowhere was this more the case than with the UN. Having been cut adrift by the Soviet Union on the international scene, Yugoslavia turned to the UN as a forum to champion the role of small

⁹ David Binder, "Tito Gains Prestige: Thaw Between East and West Has Enhanced Image of Yugoslavia's Independent Communist Leader," *New York Times*, 25 August 1963, E4.

¹⁰ Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 33.

states, and sought to mobilize them in order to help use the UN as a check on the Great Powers. For this reason the UN served as a “Yugoslav bridge to the Third World.”¹¹ Yugoslavia also pushed rights issues in Africa at the UN early on. As early as 1947 it argued in favor of India’s resolution to protect the besieged Indian minority in South Africa. And in the aftermath of the 1948 break with the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav delegation sponsored a UN proposal on the “Declaration of Rights and Duties of States” designed to defend its national security by ensuring the sovereign equality of states and the right to self-determination. While there was obvious political motivation behind it, the initiative nonetheless garnered support among the smaller nations at the UN, especially those from decolonizing Africa and Asia. Yugoslavia also demonstrated its independence in relation to various international rights issues at the UN. In the early 1950s it sided with Iran and Iraq amid their oil disputes with Great Britain, and also supported Algerian independence against the French. And in an effort to underline its non-alignment credentials, communist abuses of rights were criticized too. In 1950 the Yugoslav UN delegation declared that it would not oppose “an international investigation into the systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania.”¹² In 1952 the Yugoslav representative at the UN voiced his discontent that Afro-Arab countries supported Czechoslovakia rather than Yugoslavia for a seat on the UN’s Economic and Social Council, complaining about these delegates’ “unprincipled dalliance with the Soviet Union and the expression of readiness to grant unnecessary concessions to the Soviet bloc.”¹³ During the period 1950-1954 the Yugoslavs were active participants in the UN Trusteeship Council, and helped shape United Nations economic development projects like Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), which helped build strong ties to new African nations.

In this context Tito turned to the Third World, and particularly to Africa. In 1955 he visited India, Ethiopia and Egypt, declaring at the end of the tour that these uncommitted countries were Yugoslavia’s “true allies and greatest friends.”¹⁴ Nikita Khrushchev’s well publicized visit to Belgrade in

¹¹ Rubinstein, 37.

¹² *United Nations, General Assembly, Ad Hoc Political Committee, Official Records, Fifth Session (1951)*, 34, cited in Rubinstein, 125-126.

¹³ Cited in Rubinstein, 50.

¹⁴ Maclean, 101. See too Richard West, *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994), especially 266-288.

May 1955 – where he apologized to the Marshal for Stalin’s expulsion of Yugoslavia seven years before – did much to raise his status in the eyes of the developing world. However, Yugoslavia was already reaching out to Third World countries before the Cominform crisis. In 1947 Yugoslav representatives met with Burmese leftists in India as part of a youth delegation from the World Federation of Democratic Youth.¹⁵ And at the first Asian Socialist Conference in January 1953, the Yugoslavs were the only East Europeans to be invited, underscoring Yugoslavia’s trustworthiness in the estimation of the Third World.

Yugoslavia looked to build credibility in other ways too. Secret shipments of arms were sent to Burma, Egypt and later to Algeria’s National Liberation Front (FLN – Front de Libération Nationale). Yugoslavia’s military aid was quite unique at the time, as no major power was engaged to this extent to help win further support in the Third World. This was no secret affair, however, as photographs from the exhibition openly document the place of weaponry in Tito’s visits to various African countries, as noted in the visual presence of defense technology in gift exchange and military parades. Such displays were a far cry from the infamous Czechoslovak military assistance to Egypt in the mid-1950s, which had no visual representation at the time. There were also clear economic motivations for turning to Africa. Yugoslavia was having difficulty competing favorably on the world market against other countries, especially in hard currency areas. Its new industries needed new markets for their products, and this was part of the motivation for turning to Africa, especially Ethiopia. Through Tito’s actions, diplomacy and engagement, the African press extolled his sincerity, energy and consistency, as he established strong relations with leading exponents of Asian and African nationalisms. But this went far beyond propaganda from both sides. During his 1961 African tour, for example, Tito was the first foreign leader to be invited to speak before the Ghanaian Parliament since independence in 1957. It was also noted that after the 1966 overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, the Ghanaian military government immediately expelled the Chinese and Soviet specialists as foreign agents, but took no action against their Yugoslav counterparts.¹⁶ Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s Yugoslavs were accepted within the inner councils of the non-aligned, as they gained the deep trust of a number of Third World leaders. Through his diplomacy Tito turned from being a parti-

¹⁵ Rubinstein, 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79-90.



The Ethiopian Herald

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MORNING NEWSPAPER
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President Tito, Madame Accorded Warm Welcome Emperor, Guest Hold Talks Today

ADDIS ABABA, Monday (ENA) — President Josip Broz Tito arrived here this afternoon from Lusaka, Zambia for a three-day visit and talks with His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I.

The President, who was accompanied by his wife, Madame Jovanka Broz and prominent Yugoslav officials, was welcomed by the Emperor, His Imperial Highness Crown Prince Merid Amatch Asfo Wossen, His Highness Ras Inruu Haile Selassie, H.E. Tsahafe Tadesse Akilu, Haile Wold, the Prime Minister, cabinet ministers, senior officers of the armed forces and other government officials.

President Tito, who concluded a week's visit to Zambia earlier in the day, flew here directly from Lusaka. His plane was escorted by a squadron of jets of the Ethiopian Air Force as from 100 kilometers from the capital.

A 21-gun salute was fired in honour of the Yugoslav Head of State as he and Madame Jovanka Broz alighted from the presidential plane. They were greeted by His Imperial Majesty who introduced



His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and H.E. President Josip Broz Tito greeting each other warmly on the latter's arrival at Bole International Airport for a state visit to Ethiopia.

For 7th Africa Cup

Ethiopia May Not Enter Semi-Final

Chances of Ethiopia, Sudan and Ivory Coast going into the finals or semi-finals of the Seventh Africa Cup appear to be complicated.

The Ethiopian national team has still a faint hope of reaching the semi-finals. It is only a dream however. There is a possibility for it to grab the opportunity through a superior goal average.

This will only happen provided Sudan is beaten by Cameroon by two more goals and Ethiopia defeats Ivory Coast by at least five more goals. If Cameroon tops Sudan 1-0, then Ethiopia has to score six goals on Ivory Coast. These are most unlikely results. The possibility, however, is still there. Sudan and Ivory Coast stand better chances in this very complex situation since both of them have one victory each.

In the event of Sudanese triumph over Cameroon, and Ivory Coast over Ethiopia, then another complicated situation

Chou Declines Offer for Presidency

HONG KONG, Monday, (AP). — A Hong Kong newspaper, "The Star", reported Sunday that Communist China Premier Chou En-Lai last week declined an offer from party Chairman Mao Tse-Tung to become President of Mainland China.

In a story attributed to its "Own China Sources", the English-language tabloid said Mao suggested the change because "he wanted Chou to care for his health". The report could not be confirmed in Hong Kong but there have been unofficial reports recently that the 50-year-old Premier was ill.

The daily said Chou decided against accepting the presidency because he "feared" Mao would replace him with a man who would "do Mao's bidding and faithfully obey Madame Mao".

"For many years Premier Chou has been a stern believer in keeping the ambitious and meddlesome Madame Mao in her place," said the daily.

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and H.E. President Josip Broz Tito greeting each other warmly on the latter's arrival at Bole International Airport for a state visit to Ethiopia.



His Imperial Majesty, H.E. President Josip Broz Tito and Madame Jovanka Broz receiving the salute of the guard of honour.



His Imperial Highness Crown Prince Merid Amatch Asfo Wossen greeting H.E. President Josip Broz Tito at Bole International Airport.

Arms Embargo To Pretoria Urged

A Yugoslav — Zambian joint communique issued in Lusaka, Sunday at the end of President Tito's State visit expressed concern over the further deterioration in the world, which is primarily "the result of the use of force and pressures in solving international disputes and problems and of interference in the internal affairs of independent countries."

President Tito and Kaunda expressed serious concern also over the greater tension in the Southern Africa. They urged the suppliers of arms to South Africa to refrain from this activity, which jeopardizes peace and security.

The Presidents of Yugoslavia and Zambia stood with deep anxiety that a malicious propaganda campaign was being pursued by South Africa in the Western World in order to gain support for its bazaar policy and urged the world to turn its attention to the explosive situation in South Africa.

For their part, Yugoslavia and Zambia will continue lending full support to the African and other peoples in their struggle for independence, states the communique, and adds that the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations should endeavour to achieve

positive and practical results in deterring escalation and the racist policy pursued by Portugal, the Republic of South Africa and the illegal Ian Smith Government in Rhodesia. They vigorously demand that the United Nations and international community undertake concrete and urgent measures to bring about the liberation of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa and Guinea Bissau.

The communique also underlines that President Tito and Kaunda expressed their dedication to the policy of non-Alignment. They stressed that in the present-day situation in the world, the unaligned countries can play an important role in seeking a solution for the United Nations should endeavour to achieve

To Examine Studies

African Technical Unit Meets Here

The first meeting of African technical experts representing 26 member countries of the Economic Commission for Africa opened yesterday afternoon at Africa Hall.

The purpose of the six-day meeting which is scheduled to end on Saturday is to examine studies prepared by the secretariat of the ECA on various social and economic problems of the continent and to make appropriate reports to the ECA annual conference of ministers. The meeting is also expected to assist the ECA secretariat in the formulation of its work programmes and priorities and in taking measures to assure active contact between the ECA secretariat and member governments of the commission at the working level of competent authorities, an ECA spokesman told *The Ethiopian Herald*.

The meeting was officially opened by Mr. Robert Gardiner, the Executive Secretary of the ECA, whose nine-page detailed report on the activities planned and undertaken by the ECA and other United Nations specialized organizations, were circulated to the delegates.

Following the opening remarks by the ECA Executive Secretary, a message sent by the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. U. Thant was read out to the meeting by Mr. Richard Pansu, chief of the *The Ethiopian Herald*.

Rogers Will Not Speak on US Africa Policy Here

The United States Information Service (USIS) in Addis Ababa yesterday denied an Associated Press (AP) statement that US Secretary of State William P. Rogers will explain his government's Africa policy in a speech at Africa Hall Feb. 12.

The statement was contained in an AP dispatch which was run on last Sunday's issue of *The Ethiopian Herald*, page 8, col. 5. The statement said, Rogers "will explain his government's Africa policy in a speech on Feb. 12 in Addis Ababa."

In a release yesterday, the USIS said the Republican Government of President Richard M. Nixon will formulate its Africa policies on the findings of Mr. Rogers' fact finding tour.

The USIS release, quoting President Nixon said, "the United States will be developing policy towards Africa on the basis of the findings of US Secretary of State William P. Rogers during his 10-nation tour of the continent." Mr. Rogers' fact finding tour.

The USIS release, quoting President Nixon said, "the United States will be developing policy towards Africa on the basis of the findings of US Secretary of State William P. Rogers during his 10-nation tour of the continent." Mr. Rogers' fact finding tour.

Figure 1, *The Ethiopian Herald*, February 10, 1970.

san communist revolutionary to a respected and reliable statesman on the world stage, and the African press helped craft this positive image.

Tito's African tours were major international events at the time. His visits always made the headlines wherever he went, and the lavish coverage of his state visits splashed across the front pages of many African newspapers helped strengthen relations by means of repeated visual enactments of growing Yugoslav-African solidarity. Coverage not only included the heroism and warm generosity of the Marshal himself, but also that of his wife, Jovanka, who often accompanied him. As noted in the newspaper coverage in *The Ethiopia Herald* of Yugoslavia's First Couple's visit to Ethiopia in February 1970, the physical greetings, handshake and embrace were foregrounded as illustrative of close contact and close relations, a visual pattern that was commonly used to showcase these encounters in the African media (Figure 1).

A key feature of his visits was the coverage accorded to Jovanka as the Marshal's loyal companion. This was already present in the couple's first visit to Egypt in 1955. During that visit the Egyptian press made much of Jovanka as the "First Lady of Yugoslavia" who was making her first appearance with her husband abroad after their recent marriage, as noted in the *Egyptian Gazette* article on her in December 1955 (Figure 2). She was lauded as a "smiling, statuesque brunette" replete with "wifely modesty."¹⁷ In almost all of the African papers, Jovanka was held up as a role model for African women,¹⁸ to the extent that she embodied political engagement, women's betterment, loyal service and modest demeanor. One article in the *Tanzanian Standard Sunday Magazine* provided a full feature of her with the title "From Freedom Fighter to President's Wife." (Figure 3). The implication was that her revolutionary mission had been fulfilled, and that she had become literally domesticated. Certainly the gendered division of activities characterizing the Broz tours was glaring, both in the Yugoslav and African photography: whereas the Marshal was featured signing trade treaties, inspecting military regimens and testing new technology, his wife was depicted opening schools, visiting hospitals, meeting local women and handling children. What is more, their well-dressed and fashionable appearance (often with sunglasses) lent an air of panache to non-aligned politics. Here

¹⁷ "Yugoslavia's First Lady is in Cairo," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 29 December 1955, 2.

¹⁸ "Madame Jovanka Broz Tito," Women's Page Section, *The Ethiopian Herald*, 28 January 1968, 5. and "Jovanka Broz: Fighter at the Front," *The Ethiopian Herald*, 12 February 1970, 2.

For women

From freedom fighter to president's wife

It is difficult to realise that Jovanka Broz was once a freedom fighter and that, as an 18-year-old, she helped Yugoslavia's only Women's Detachment to rout an enemy tank unit. Which only goes to prove that appearances are deceptive.

Today the wife of Yugoslavia's President Tito is a still beautiful, smiling woman, so modest that she rarely gives interviews and so placid that her favourite occupations are reading, walking and watching films, but her wartime experiences have made her a dedicated lover of peace, and she has vowed that so long as she lives peace will be her

By
RODNEY BEGG

aim, and that she will strive for it against all war and killing. Jovanka Broz was born in Lika, a beautiful region in the north-west of Yugoslavia; her maiden name was Jovanka Broz-Bodisarijevic. While still a little girl her father sailed for America to seek fortune leaving his wife and three children in the village of Pecani.

His letters, with their deep yearning for the family to be reunited, had a profound influence upon the little girl who became quickly converted to the concept of a socialist society in which all could live and work happily together.

It was therefore, perhaps inevitable that when German and Italian Nazi and Fascist forces invaded Yugoslavia in 1941, she should have joined a women's Partisan detachment at the outset of the People's Liberation struggle. So far as she recalls it was the only women's detachment in the Yugoslav Partisan movement.

Part of 1942 was spent quietly training in a Lika village but the uneasy quiet did not last long; and the detachment experienced its baptism of fire in Kordun, near Jovanka's birthplace, when a detachment of the girls clashed with the Italian "Alexandria" regiment, a combination of tanks and cavalry.

Later Jovanka Broz was told a Yugoslav News Agency reporter that she felt as though everything around her was burning, but the girls fought so well that the enemy retreated. But in turn the girls had to withdraw. Jovanka, then only 18, was the last Partisan rear guard when the freedom fighters left the town of Gospic. Her elder brother was killed there — on a bridge at Osik. He was only 21.

How could a gentle and sensitive girl fight so remorselessly with guns and bombs? When she is asked this question, President Tito's wife smiles rather sadly: "If he has to, a human being can do anything," she says. "There were difficult days. Naturally there was fear, too. Every new battle, a new fear, but the human desire to survive has always emerged anew."

Promotion came quickly; soon she was a lieutenant and Commissar of the hospital at Zadar. She was there when German parachutists landed in a bid to capture the partisan leader, Tito. Hers was the task of evacuating the last wounded and sick freedom fighter and rejoin-

ing the partisan units.

Later she was to meet Tito himself. His personality so impressed her that she was never to forget the first meeting. When not evacuating wounded, Jovanka Broz was in the firing line and when towards the end of the war, fighting units were moved to Serbia, she fought for the liberation of Valjevo and Belgrade in the summer and autumn of 1944.

Not until the war ended did she find her two younger sisters — Nada and Zora. They were the only surviving members of her family. Her home had been burnt down; her parents and her brother were dead.

Immediately after the war ended, Jovanka was to remain in the army first at Nis, a town in the south of Serbia and later at Belgrade on the general staff, being demobilised to the reserve as a Major. In 1945 she was sent to Tito's residence at Dedinci, to look after his home — and more than 18 years ago they were married.

When, recently she was asked what her usual working day was like, as the wife of the President, her answer was typical. "Usual working day? It seems to me that is something that doesn't exist! Every day is different."

Her first job in the morning is to catch up with world affairs by perusing the newspapers. Afterwards she reads her numerous correspondence. If foreign diplomats visit the president accompanied by their wives, she receives the ladies. Because she believes in a welcoming atmosphere guests are always received with flowers; they are everywhere in her home in St. Ulicka 15.

President Tito and his wife usually lunch between 1 p.m. and 1.30, seldom with at least one guest. The President, who rises earlier than his wife, rests after lunch leaving her to read any letters she was unable to tackle earlier on, to radio music which she carefully selects.

President Tito himself usually makes the morning coffee — "and this coffee, I must say, is really excellent", she says — and he is an expert at certain national speciality dishes, particularly "strudel", a kind of salty cake with cheese from Hrvatsko Zagorje, the region of his birthplace.

He explains that as an underground fighter for so long he often had to prepare his own food and it is to that he ascribes his skill as a cook.

Incidentally, how does she address her husband? Simply by his Partisan name — Tito.

An ardent supporter of women's rights and feminine equality, Madam Tito feels that



Madame Broz examines some of the remains of the village museum which she visited with Mrs. Roman.

the modern Yugoslav girl should not regard her present emancipation as a gift. To win the current freedom and equality many women sacrificed their lives, and women still had to fight for many things.

The President's wife is very fond of reading and says she is never without a good book. She recently read Lawrence Durrell's "The Alexandria Quartet" which she found "odd at the beginning," but liked later. She was also very fond of the Russian Classics and had recently re-read "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina." She had also read all of Hemingway's works because she liked his simple writing.

President Tito and his wife are also very fond of films and spend every free evening watching their small projector. But her greatest joy is walking and making new contacts with nature and its beauties.

"I like walking along by the sea to listen to its whisper," she says. "I am very fond of travelling too. When in Slovenia, for instance, I don't like to stay at home. I have climbed as high as Mt. Triglav (the highest mountain in Yugoslavia) because I simply enjoy long walks."

Jovanka Broz accompanies her husband on almost all his tours of the country and abroad. She prefers travelling by train or car so that she can watch the scenery but on long trips, of course, must go by air.

But much as she likes travelling she enjoys going home, and always manages to find time to walk through Belgrade to look at new buildings, new parks, even a new shop window.

In short the President's wife is an intensely feminine personality, but a woman who has grown to that her courage is indomitable and her spirit unquenchable.

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Figure 3, Tanzanian Standard Sunday Magazine, February 1, 1970.

and elsewhere she and her husband were often portrayed as the glamorous first couple of the Non-Aligned Movement. This was somewhat akin to the media representation of the First World's telegenic couple, President John F. and Jackie Kennedy, but in this case they arrived with a revolutionary past as new emissaries of 'East-South' solidarity.

The most striking visual image of Tito on his African tours is the ubiquitous handshake with African heads of state. These choreographed meetings were published all over the African press, and marked the first moment of encounter between Tito and his African counterparts as a gesture of solidarity and good will. The meetings may look somewhat stiff and contrived to us today, more a replay of the familiar visual trappings of high-profile diplomatic meetings anywhere. But they were significant events all the same. The mass media reproduction of these encounters was also a way of making the international Non-Aligned Movement more real, conveying the fraternity of far-flung countries based on shared interests and outlooks. That Tito was frequently photographed amid crowds of cheering local citizens was used to communicate popular support for his visits. Tito was welcomed with great fanfare in each country, and his personal relationship with African leaders grew with each visit. The photographs were the visual representations not just of transcontinental contact, but also of mutual recognition. Press photographs betray these developing relationships over time. Nowhere was this more evident than with Nasser, as Tito visited Egypt sixteen times between 1955 and 1975. His frequent exchanges with Nasser as co-leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement were marked by a visibly close and trusting relationship, manifest in the relaxed intimacy and body language of the two leaders. His evolving relationship with Nasser can be seen in the difference between the press coverage of his first official visit in 1955 and the images taken from his 1970 tour there. Figure 4 captures the early formality and stiffness attending the state visit, whereas Figure 5 from 1970 reflects their growing friendship and familiarity.

African newspaper coverage of Tito's visits highlighted his political views and military career. Over and over again he was hailed as a champion of small state independence and non-alignment on the world stage. His biography was used to underline his heroism and trustworthiness for the newly decolonized countries. The message of trust was underscored by the attention given to the signing of trade treaties, or Tito's widely covered approval of Egypt's arms deal with Czechoslovakia. Efforts were also made to stress the commonalities between Yugoslavia and its African partners

The Egyptian Gazette

76th. Year No 24642 34 Thursday, December 29, 1955

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EGYPT-YUGOSLAV TIES ARE REAFFIRMED



CORDON OF THE NILE

MARSHAL TITO is seen receiving from Premier Nasser the Grand General of the Nile, the highest Egyptian decoration, which the Premier bestowed on him yesterday.

Nasser and Tito emphasise importance of peace policy

THE "sympathy, understanding and warm friendship" existing between Egypt and Yugoslavia were emphasised by Premier Gamal Abdul Nasser in his address at the banquet given at Abdin Palace last night in honour of Marshal Tito.

The Yugoslav President said in reply that the Yugoslav nation had followed with great sympathy Egypt's struggle for full independence and efforts to improve social conditions.

Both leaders stressed, too, the importance of the common policy aiming at the consolidation of peace, followed by their respective countries in the international field.

'190 Valentine tanks shipped to Egypt'

ACCORDING to the "Daily Telegraph" special correspondent at Antwerp, enough British Army material has been shipped to Egypt through Antwerp since September to equip several Egyptian armoured regiments.

The correspondent learns that the total 1100 Valentine tanks, 240000 carriers, 40 armoured cars and about 100 Army jeeps.

ARMISTICE ACCORD VIOLATED

BOTH Israel and Egypt are still violating the Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement by maintaining forces in areas not permitted under the agreement.

General E. M. Haring, Chief of Staff, reported, said in a communication issued here yesterday.

Gen. Haring said Egypt had not yet formalized the Israeli-Egyptian armistice agreement. He said that the Egyptian Government had not yet agreed to the armistice agreement. He said that the Egyptian Government had not yet agreed to the armistice agreement.

Eisenhower arrives in Florida for holiday

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has arrived in Key West, Fla., today to spend a fortnightly holiday. His departure followed the President's visit to Key West in his last official trip.

The President's visit to Key West is his last official trip. He will be in Key West for a fortnight.

'GREAT SOLDIER'

"Your Excellency," "is in our great pleasure for you to write on my own behalf and for the Egyptian people his illustrious Marshal J. G. Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic.

"To us this is an inestimable honor, and we are proud to have the honor of your visit to our country.

TALKS BEGIN TODAY AT KUBBA PALACE

OFFICIAL discussions between Egyptian and Israeli representatives began today at 10 a.m. today at the Kubba Palace in Jerusalem.

The talks are being held in the presence of the Egyptian and Israeli delegations.

COOPERATION

"In my sincere desire to strengthen the cooperation between the Egyptian and Israeli peoples, I am sure that the talks will be successful.

"We are sure that the talks will be successful and will lead to a better understanding between the two peoples.

NEWS IN BRIEF

London, January 15 (AP)—The British Government today announced that it had agreed to a plan for the withdrawal of British troops from the Middle East.

The plan provides for the withdrawal of British troops from the Middle East by the end of 1956.

SOVIET PARLIAMENT APPROVES BUDGET

PARLIAMENT today approved the Kremlin budget for 1956, which Moscow Radio said promises a cut in defence spending.

The Council of Nationalities approved the budget in the afternoon. It was unanimously approved by the Council of the Union and the Council of the Republic.

Search for soldier in Cyprus

SEARCHES for a missing British soldier who was reported to have been captured in the northern mountains of Cyprus.

The soldier, who was reported to have been captured in the northern mountains of Cyprus, is being searched for by the British authorities.

GALES LASH COASTS OF BRITAIN

GALES lashed the British coast with gales today, with wind-driven rain and heavy snow in some areas.

The gales were reported to have caused damage to property and crops in some areas.

Colombia

Whats of an 800-mile-long line of volcanic ash fell on the coast of Colombia today, causing damage to property and crops.

The ash fall was reported to have caused damage to property and crops in some areas.

Colombia

Japan's economy is expected to be hit by a 20 per cent increase in the price of oil, which is expected to be in effect from January 1, 1956.

The increase in the price of oil is expected to be a result of the OPEC oil embargo.

SAAR COALITION

The leaders of the two main Saar parties in the Saar today agreed to form a coalition government from the present day.

The coalition government is expected to be formed in the near future.



Comet III breaks Atlantic record

THE Comet III, Britain's newest prototype jet airliner, today smashed all existing records for the Atlantic crossing.

The Comet flew 4211 miles non-stop from Montreal to London in six hours 17 minutes.

ALGERIAN SCHOOLS DESTROYED

WAR and terrorism have torn farms and schools from the Algerian north.

The destruction of schools is a result of the ongoing conflict in the region.

U.S. TOBACCO EXPORTS UP

Chief U.S. officials say that U.S. tobacco exports to the rest of the world are expected to be up 10 per cent in 1956.

The increase in exports is expected to be a result of the growing demand for tobacco in other countries.

THE WEATHER

FORECAST: Cold weather over Lower Egypt and Cairo. Moderate weather over the rest of the country.

TEMPERATURE	MAX. MIN.
Alexandria	62 41
Cairo	61 40
Suez	60 39
Asiut	59 38
Matruh	58 37
Shubra	57 36
Ismaia	56 35
Helwan	55 34
El Bahariya	54 33

Figure 4, The Egyptian Gazette, December 29, 1955.

The Egyptian Gazette
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الجمهورية المصرية
The Egyptian Gazette
91st Year No. 28902
Thursday, February 26, 1970



MASSER-TIO: U.S., ISRAEL THREATEN

Russia favours Big Four pressure

LETTERS exchanged by Moscow, U.S., Israel and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin disclosed tonight that Russia has twice turned down direct American efforts to negotiate agreement limiting arms supplies for the Middle East and Israel.

PEACE OF WORLD COMMUNIQUE urges Israeli pull-out, Palestine freedom

CONTINUED Israeli aggression is undermining not only Middle East peace, but the peace of the world. Israel is only able to sustain her aggressive attitude by... The communiqué reaffirms the two Frontiers adherence to the policy of non-alignment, and that the Frontiers will continue to work for the realization of the principles of non-alignment, and that the Frontiers will continue to work for the realization of the principles of non-alignment...



FRANCOISE GEORGES POMPIDOU, French President, today told the U.S. Congress...

Pompidou: Israel must renounce armed conquest

Washington, Feb. 25. FRENCH President Georges Pompidou told the U.S. Congress today that Israel's violence against the Arabs would be disastrous not only to the Arab world but to the entire Middle East...

Dr. ABDUL MECUUD: Guerrillas not responsible for Swissair disaster

THE UAR insists on the necessity of implementing the Security Council's resolution of Nov. 22, 1947 and cannot possibly envisage a coexistence without its being linked with the implementation of that resolution...

ISRAEL BEGGING AGAIN

Jews throughout the world have donated \$ 753 million of \$ 282 million to Israel since the 1957 war and have been asked to donate an equal sum over the next three years...

WORK RESUMED ON ARAP PLANES IN UK

London, Feb. 25. (UPI) — Work on the repair of Arab aircraft damaged in the Suez Canal crisis resumed today at a factory in London...

'No PFLP statement authorised'

Beirut, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The Lebanese Army or Ministry said today that no investigation by its officials had shown that the PFLP was responsible for the seizure of a Panair de France airplane...

U.S. SIDE

Washington, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The State Department today said it was not authorized to comment on reports that the U.S. was considering a new approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict...

U.S. SIDE

Washington, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The State Department today said it was not authorized to comment on reports that the U.S. was considering a new approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict...

UAR PLANES RAID NORTH SECTOR

EGYPTIAN fighter-bombers raided Israeli territory in the North Sinai today, killing 12 Israeli soldiers and destroying military installations...

FRENCH GROUP SECURITY PACT FOR MED URGED

Paris, Feb. 25. (UPI) — Fifty prominent French politicians today called for a security pact for the Mediterranean region to counter the threat of Soviet expansion...

THE WEATHER

Table with weather forecasts for various regions including Cairo, Alexandria, and the Mediterranean coast.

1st EVER SPLEEN-SWAP FOR LEUKAEMIA

Leuven, Belgium. (UPI) — The spleen of a leukemia patient was swapped for the first time in a medical experiment...

No decision on Phantoms yet

Washington, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The Defense Department today said it had not yet decided whether to purchase Phantom fighter jets from the British...

Caos stronghold in North Viet hands after pull-out

Vientiane, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The former puppet government of Laos today announced it had pulled out of North Vietnam, leaving the area in the hands of the Viet Cong...

U.S. SIDE

Washington, Feb. 25. (UPI) — The State Department today said it was not authorized to comment on reports that the U.S. was considering a new approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict...

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Figure 5, The Egyptian Gazette, February 26, 1970.

as “hard-working nations who have suffered much harm in the past from corrupt regimes,” and since then “have embarked on gigantic programmes for the welfare of the people.”¹⁹ Honors and gifts were also bestowed on the Yugoslav president at every stop as shows of solidarity and mutual respect. Often these were ceremonies of mutual gift-giving. Kenya’s President Jomo Kenyatta honored Tito with the Order of the Golden Heart (First Class), while Tito feted Kenyatta with the Order of the Great Star of Yugoslavia.²⁰ Tito’s bestowal of Nasser with the Order of the Great Star, Yugoslavia’s highest honor for a non-national, was the crowning event of his first visit to Egypt and Africa in 1955 in the spirit of budding Yugoslav-African relations.²¹ In Zambia Tito was given the Order of the Grand Companion of Freedom, and on this occasion the Yugoslav president expressed his gratitude by saying that his country too had passed through a number of difficulties and thus “was in a position to understand very well the feelings of the African people.”²² At stake in the images of gift exchange was the display of mutual honor and respect, but they also – and this was particularly important to the newly independent African countries – conveyed an aesthetic of equality between nations.

As part of his visit, Tito was typically taken around the host country’s scenic sites. This ranged from new technological wonders to hunting safaris, as noted in the exhibition photographs. At first glance this can be interpreted as attempts by these newly decolonized countries to proudly display their cultural richness so as to highlight a sense of arrival and modernity. There is certainly a good amount of truth in this, as seen by Tito’s trips to the Aswan Dam in Egypt, modern factories and military reviews across the continent. However, these visits were also occasions when African countries showcased their traditional cultures. As part of his 1955 trip to Egypt, for example, Tito was treated to a special parade in which police cadets put on costumes to re-enact “Ramses II in his Pharaonic chariot reviewing his army,” concluding with shouts of “Victory be to Egypt!”²³ In his December 1955 visit to Ethiopia, where he was met by “cheering multitudes,” Tito was presented with a shield and spear by an Ethiopian warrior

¹⁹ “Welcome to Marshal Tito,” *Egyptian Gazette*, 29 December 1955, 4.

²⁰ “Mzee, Tito Call on Big Powers to Bolster Peace,” *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 13 February 1970, 1.

²¹ “Tito Pays High Tribute to the Egyptian Forces,” *Egyptian Mail*, 31 December 1955, 1.

²² “Tito Gets a Major Decoration,” *Times of Zambia*, 9 February, 1970, 1.

²³ “Tito back from Aswan, Visits Police Academy,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 4 February 1956, 1.

TITO SEES THE YOUTH



Italian trader refused bail

A N Italian merchant resident in Kumasi accused of defrauding two strangers from Sierra Leone of £1,300 was yesterday refused bail by a Kumasi Court.

Earlier, Police inspector J. W. Nkomo (prosecuting) had opposed bail.

The inspector stated that since the police had not as yet succeeded in recovering a cent of the money involved, if the Italian merchant was granted bail he might interfere with police investigation.

The merchant, Rod-a-Jawad was therefore remanded until next Thursday. His plea was not taken.

Charged

Jawad is jointly charged with Martin Adia Poku who failed to appear before the court yesterday following his admission to the Kumasi Central Hospital.

The prosecution had earlier stated that on February 19 this year, Jawad received £1,300 in Ghana currency from the two strangers in exchange for West African currency.

But Jawad, the police alleged, gave them two parcels containing only pieces of paper purported to contain the "changed" money.



A GIFT FROM FARMERS

A BOVE—President Tito of Yugoslavia inspecting a guard of honour formed by the Ghana Young Pioneers when he visited the headquarters of the Convention People's Party in Accra yesterday.

Behind him is President Nkrumah.



Left — Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah, presenting miniature carved wooden talking drums to President Tito.

The presentation was on behalf of the United Ghana Farmers' Council at the FARMERS HALL, in Accra.

Among other places the Yugoslav President visited was the offices of the National Co-operative Council.

VITACUP FOR VITALITY!

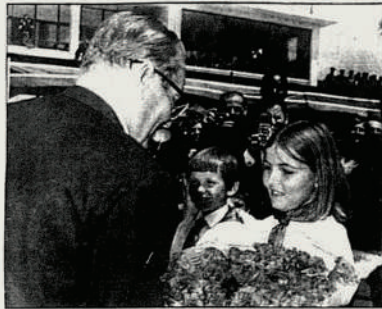
VITACUP FOR VALUE!



A cup taken at night brings you sound sleep—and so much nourishment that you're brimful of energy all the next day!

It costs so little to take Vitacup regularly. There are more cups in every tin!

Figure 6, Daily Graphic, March 3, 1961.



PRESIDENT TITO receives a bouquet of flowers after his arrival at the Embakasi Airport. Right, Kamba women dance a welcome as the motorcade passes carrying President Tito and Mrs. Kenyatta in the first car, and Mme. Broz and Mama Ngina in the following car.

Pomp, splendour as visit starts

By NATION Reporter

THOUSANDS of Kenyans yesterday joined President Kenyatta and Mama Ngina Kenyatta in giving President Tito of Yugoslavia and his wife, Mrs. Jovanka Broz, a colourful and memorable welcome to Kenya.

Hundreds of Kenyans packed the airport viewing bases as President Tito's aircraft touched down at Embakasi at 10:55 a.m.

On one side of the air-stand stood colourful tribal dancers waiting to greet the guests, while in the middle of it all, men of the 5th Battalion Kenya Rifles — in magnificent red — and the Armed Forces Band added to the colourful spectacle.

Red carpet

While the President, Mrs. Kenyatta, the Vice-President, Mr. Danie arap Moi, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, made their way up the red carpet to the aircraft, Cabinet Ministers, the diplomatic corps, Assist-

ant Ministers and other dignitaries lined up for presentation.

First into the aircraft was the Yugoslav Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Ivo Pelicov, Minutes later President Tito and Madame Broz appeared.

The two Presidents greeted each other with a warm handshake and there were smiles all round. President Kenyatta said: "Welcome, welcome." His guest replied: "I am so happy to be here with you."

President Kenyatta, in his familiar grey-checked suit, cut a smart figure. President Tito wore a dark suit. The two First Ladies wore almost identical outfits.

Mrs. Kenyatta wore a silver-gold suit with matching accessories, and so did Madame Broz. The outfits blended well with the dazzle of the sun.

The two Presidents stood at attention as the national anthems of the two countries were played. President Tito inspected a guard of honour

mounted by men of the 5th Battalion Kenya Rifles.

They were greeted by the Mayor of Nairobi, Councilor Isaac Lagozor, Cabinet Ministers; the diplomatic corps and the Assistant Ministers. Loud cheers rolled across the tarmac from the spectators at the viewing bases.

All smiles

President Tito then entered a ceremonial Land-Rover accompanied by his host. The two wives entered another Land-Rover. They were driven close to a long line of traditional dancers. President Tito was all smiles as he waved in greeting to the 200 dancers.

Before they retired to the Presidential lounge for refreshments President Tito met about 20 Yugoslavs living in Kenya.

The motorcade to State House — for a State luncheon — was cheered by hundreds of Kenyans. It was a happy occasion, marked by friendship and the warmth of a hospitable nation.



PRESIDENT TITO (above) presents the Order of the Great Star of Yugoslavia to President Kenyatta. The two leaders (below) embrace after President Kenyatta had presented Marshal Tito with the Order of the Golden Heart.



PRESIDENT TITO inspects a guard of honour mounted by men of the 5th Battalion Kenya Rifles.

First ever big clearance sale Don't miss this golden chance: HURRY! HURRY!

GENUINE MEN'S WEAR

REDUCED FROM TO

New Shikbo B2800	Permanent Press Trousers	45.00	24.50	Nylon Delux Shirts	26.00	21.50	Ladies' Terrywool Cardigans	56.00	40.00
Silkhish Finish Shirts 99.00	Tetrex Trousers	56.00	31.50	Beyer Shirts	26.00	16.50	Ladies' Acrylic Cardigans	37.50	25.00
Pride of Paris Shirts 66.00	Polyester Trousers	36.00	22.50	Elo Bush Shirts	23.00	19.50	Ladies' Hand Bags	26.00	16.75
Eloco H.N. Shirts 99.00	Men's Heavy Jeans	26.00	14.50	Men's Gowns	26.00	21.50	Ladies' Stretch Panties	3 for 10.00	
Trevira From Germany 46.00	Winter Jacket's	26.00	37.50	Midco Safari Vest-Briefs	3 for 10.00		Children's Suits, Shirts and Shorts, Bed covers, Bed sheets, and Towels		
Kurobo Tension Shirts 99.00	Terrywool Pullovers	66.00	32.50	Men's Nylon Socks	3 for 8.50				
Shikbo Mermaid Shirts 46.00	Italian Jackets	49.50	19.50	Men's Bri-Nylon Socks	3 for 13.00				

LOW LOW PRICES at SUMARIA SHAH STORE Next to Mini-price Bata River Road, Nairobi, Box 11516.

Figure 7, Daily Nation, February 13, 1970.

in white national robes, then was taken to the ancient church at Axum as an occasion to build friendly bilateral relations.²⁴ As noted in Figure 6, Tito, after inspecting Ghanaian youth in a formal review, was presented with a “miniature wooden talking drum” by Nkrumah during Tito’s trip to Ghana in 1961.²⁵ At the beginning of his visit to Kenya in 1970 Tito was received by “colourful tribal dancers waiting to greet the guests,” accompanied by an Armed Forces band.²⁶ Later during the same trip, photographs of Tito’s safari adventures of hunting big game in the Kenyan savannah were splashed across Kenyan newspapers.²⁷ In his trip to Tanzania in 1970, Tito was shown wildgame along with the film “Serengeti Shall Not Die” as part of his national tour.²⁸ But, I would argue, images were not simply about the exoticism associated with the jarring pictures of Tito trying on African headdresses or sitting in lounge chairs with Jovanka in the Kenyan savannah, as some of the exhibition’s photographs clearly suggest. What they also depict is a marked sense of informality between two cultures, showing the Marshal and his wife quite relaxed and at ease in these unfamiliar landscapes and at organized cultural events. That both the Yugoslav and African photographs focused on Tito taking his own photos during his visit underscores his curiosity and unpretentious character. And in these visits, there was always a strong mixture of tradition and modernity presented by the host African countries.

Many of the key themes of Tito’s were dramatically on display in his three-day trip to Kenya in 1970. As noted in Figure 7, the Kenyan *Daily Nation* covered Tito’s embrace with President Kenyatta, pinning on Yugoslavia’s Order of the Great Star on Kenyatta’s lapel, the presentation of flowers by children, the inspection of a national guard of honor by the Yugoslav president, and the arrangement of traditional dancers to perform for Tito before the visitor’s passing motorcade. Figure 8 depicted additional elements from a typical visit, including the formal signing of Visitors’ Books, a safari experience (with Tito characteristically shown taking pictures of wild game), traditional village dancing and the obligatory trip to see fellow Yugoslav countrymen working on various African development projects. The press photographs in Figure 9

²⁴ “Pres. Tito, Accompanied by His Imperial Majesty, is Extended Warm Welcome on Arrival in Asmara,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 24 December 1955, 1.

²⁵ “Tito See the Youth,” *Daily Graphic* (Ghana), 3 March 1961, 5.

²⁶ “Pomp, Splendour as Visit Starts,” *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 13 February 1970, 2.

²⁷ “Hunter Tito Bags a Rhino,” *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 16 February 1970, 4.

²⁸ “Tito Sees Game at Ngorongoro,” *The Standard* (Tanzania), 31 February 1970, 5.

Some taking law into own hands

DEFECTIVE BUS 'A DEATH TRAP'

From NATION Reporter: KAMPALA, Monday

THE Uganda Government is in the "final process" of amending the Traffic and Road Safety Act, the Acting Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Communications and Housing, Mr. J. M. Zikusoka, announced here today.

Opening a two-week course for bus operators, Mr. Zikusoka emphasized the need for safety in any system of road transport.

He urged bus operators to train their staff and keep their buses in safe condition "because a poorly maintained bus is a potential death trap for innocent passengers and a drunken driver is a danger to everyone."

Mr. Zikusoka appealed to bus operators to apply the knowledge they would gain from the course so that they may give the travelling public "value for their money."

THE Deputy Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza, Mr. Jairo Akibaya, yesterday gave a stern warning to people living in areas surrounding Kisumu to refrain from hoodliganism and urged them to co-operate fully with the authorities in solving all their problems.

Mr. Akibaya, who was addressing a large baraza at Bagumo Chief's Camp, Kiowa Location, Kisumu District, said the attention of the Administration had been drawn to reports lawlessness in the Nyanza and Pandipier areas of Kisumu where "some thugs" had attempted to stone policemen.

He also referred to another incident in which a man, alleged to have been a thief, was beaten to death in Man'yalla area by some people who had taken the law into their own hands.

The Deputy PC said the Administration was anxious to see that thieves and wrongdoers were stamped out and those whose behaviour posed a threat to security were disciplined.

He pointed out, however, that this must not be done by beating such people to death. He warned the people to co-operate with the police in rooting such hoodligans so that they could be dealt with by law.

Mr. Akibaya, who was accompanied by the MP for Wainam, Mr. G. N. Onyulo, a former MP for the area. Mr.

By NATION Correspondent

Oselu Nyalik, and the DC for Kisumu, Mr. J. Kipsanal, told the people of Kiowa that the Administration had set up various GIFT assessment committees in the area according to Government's directive and that it had been agreed that those people with an income of under £4 a year would be exempted from paying GIFT.

He said assessment forms were being distributed by chiefs in the area and advised those with complaints over assessment to appeal to higher authorities within the specified time.

Mr. Akibaya also called on the people of Kiowa to respond to the smallpox vaccination campaigns currently going on in the area. He noted that some people in the Siaya District had not responded to the campaign when it was launched there recently.

He advised the people to grow more groundnuts, noting that it was likely that the price of one bag of groundnuts would rise to £6 6s within a short time.





What's special?

NATIONAL

PROUDLY PRESENT AFRICA'S BEST BATTERY SPECIAL

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* THE NEW
LONG LIFE
HIGH POWER



THEY LAST LONGER, MUCH LONGER

FOR THE TECHNICALLY MINDED

Much thicker inner zinc container
(PURPOSE: Longer life)

Polyethylene top seal replaces old type top seal
(PURPOSE: Genuine leak proof)

New construction allows space for more compound
(PURPOSE: Longer life)

Pure refined electrolytic manganese dioxide is used
(PURPOSE: Longer life)

Figure 8, Daily Nation, February 17, 1970.



BEFORE entering the Lake Nakuru National Park to view the flamingoes, President Tito signed the Visitors' Book. Mr. Moi and Madame Broz look on while the Yugoslav leader pens his signature. Above, the Presidential party, camera in action, capture the beauty of the exotic birds from the lake shore. Right, during his visit to Nakuru town, Marshal Tito visited the Town Hall. He is seen, right, signing the Visitors' Book as the acting Mayor, Councillor Samuel Okubo, and the Town Clerk, Mr. J. M. Mumanyi, look on.

ito shoots lion and colour film

of the hundreds of feet shot by home movieists. President Tito of Yugoslavia and his wife, Madame Broz, bride of peace will shoot a colour film of the President yesterday at Lake Nakuru National Park.

President Tito and his wife, accompanied by the acting Mayor, Councillor Samuel Okubo, and the Town Clerk, Mr. J. M. Mumanyi, who was also

President Tito and Madame Broz were so pleased with the spectacle that they got out of their official Land-Rover and moved to within 100 yards of the feeding birds.

After rising early, the couple were airborne from the Keekorok Game Lodge and by 9:20 a.m. were at Nakuru's tiny airfield where a rousing welcome awaited them from school children and a score of Yugoslavs living or working in Kenya.

About 30 minutes before they arrive, the Vice-President and Mr. Simon Nyachae, Rift Valley PC, were at the airstrip. They had also come from Keekorok.

Mr. Juxon Shako, the Minister for Wildlife and Tourism, was also on hand.

At the dinner, President Tito had expressed his joy at

shooting a lion, a trophy which he said he was very pleased to have captured.

He also thanked the people of Kenya and particularly those in the Mara area, who had come out to give him a warm welcome.

Driving through Nakuru town to the Lake the Presidential motorcade was greeted by thunderous cheers from schoolchildren and the town's population, which lined its route.

After the Lake visit the couple also paid a courtesy call on the Acting Mayor, Councillor Samuel Okubo, at the new Town Hall where President Tito was introduced to Councillors and other officers of the Council.

The President and his wife were due to return last night at the Ark.



EVERYWHERE President Tito and Madame Broz have gone they have been entertained by singing and dancing. Left, young girls dance for the Yugoslav Head of State at Keekorok. Above, President Tito with a group of his countrymen currently in Kenya working on development projects.



touch on similar themes, such as Jovanka being given a welcome brooch as well as the inspections of local crops (coffee, in this case) and bulls reared at the Veterinary Research Laboratory at Kabete. Notable too in the array of photographs is the role of science and assistance. This is certainly the case with Tito peering through the microscope; Yugoslavia had devoted a great deal of resources to establish student exchanges, where African students were sent to Yugoslavia to study science, technology and medicine in order to help their home countries, and here science served as a bridge of contact between Yugoslavia and these African countries around the theme of development and modernization. However, the press photograph of Jovanka cradling the Maasai child under the watchful eyes of his relatives shifts the interpretative direction. Here the image is at once maternal and almost imperial in its more traditional 19th century representational style of European-African encounter. This was presumably not the intention, yet the photos of Tito (with sunglasses) regally sitting at the desk signing Visitors' Books, inspecting Kenyan scientific equipment and local livestock, while his wife receives gifts and holds native children muddy the message of anti-imperial equality and solidarity, at least visually.²⁹ Still, we should be careful to dismiss this representational style as simply the hangover of European colonialism in a new post-imperial key, not least because such paternal/maternal imagery of white Europeans helping Third World children was rife across a range of international organizations, such as UNESCO, UNICEF and the WHO.³⁰ Several photos from the exhibition betray a similar visual style. In this sense, the photographs disclose the difficulty of creating a post-imperial visual style in documenting the European-African interface, even if the meetings and speeches were designed to overcome precisely this unwanted legacy. That the African press photography was not very different from Yugoslavia's professional photographers of the same events shows that this is hardly an "imperial gaze," but rather a shared visual register from both sides. After all, the accompanying books prepared by the host African states as commemorative gifts to Tito after his visit chronicle the Tito tours in strikingly similar modes.

And for these visits, the host African governments often accentuated the proud display of traditional culture for their guests. A telling example is

²⁹ "Special Handshake from a VIP" and "Tito Shoots Lion and Colour Film," *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 17 February 1970, 1, 13.

³⁰ Davide Rodogno and Thomas David, "All the World Loves a Picture: The World Health Organization's Visual Politics, 1948-1973," in Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno, eds, *Humanitarian Photography: A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 223-248.



PRESIDENT Tito and Madame Broz yesterday visited Keekorok as part of their current State Visit to Kenya. Here, Madame Broz carries a small Masai child as his relatives look on smiling. Above, President Tito, complete with camera, admires the colour and beauty of the traditional Masai dress. Earlier in the day, the Yugoslav Head of State had visited the Veterinary Research Laboratories at Kabete. He is seen (right) looking at a specimen through a microscope.



President Tito on State visit

FROM PAGE 1

Lodge for a three-day hunting safari.

President Tito was accompanied also by his wife, Mariama Broz, and Kenya's Minister for Tourism and Wildlife, Mr. J. L. M. Shuko.

A traditional Masai welcome awaited President Tito and Madame Broz when they arrived at Keekorok, in the Masai Game Reserve.

The Presidential party also included Mr. A. P. Achieng, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, and the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Simon Kyachae.

Hunting trip

At the airfield, President Tito and his wife watched traditional dances, posed for photographs with them, joined the Press photographers in taking pictures, and mingled with Masai, Moran and women.

In the afternoon, the President and his wife, accompanied by Mr. Shuko and Mr. Achieng and the Chief Game Warden, Mr. M. J. Mutinda, viewed wildlife in the Mara Game Reserve.

Today the President will go on a hunting safari arranged by the Minister for Tourism, assisted by the Divisional Game Warden (South), Mr. Zafaro, and the Divisional Game Warden (Central), Mr. J. Barrah.

— Reuter and AP



"Very impressive," said President Tito of the magnificent bulls at Kenya's Artificial Insemination Centre. This Sahiwal was among the many fine animals which were on parade for his visit. Below, the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Bruce McKenzie gives the visiting President a comprehensive lecture on coffee at a Kabete farm as a Kikuyu woman carries her baby.

KENYA ORCHID GIFT

MRS. J. Stewart pins an orchid on Mrs. Broz Tito's dress during her tour of a floral display at All Saints' Cathedral, Nairobi, yesterday. The Kenya Orchid Society, the Kenya Horticultural Society and the Nairobi City Parks Department are commencing Mrs. Tito's visit to Kenya.

The display of Dorn's arrangements, orchids, cacti and exotic totem plants were staged in honour of the Yugoslav President's wife.

Also present was Councillor Miss Margaret Kenyatta, Deputy Mayor of Nairobi.

The display was staged by Kenya Floral Arrangement, The Kenya Orchid Society, the Kenya Horticultural Society and the Nairobi City Parks Department to commemorate Mrs. Tito's visit to Kenya.

She was accompanied by the wife of the Yugoslav Ambassador to Kenya, Mrs. Olga Pelkon.

Also present was the president of the Kenya Orchid Society, Col. R. D. C. Wilcock.



Figure 9, Daily Nation, February 17, 1970.

his 1968 visit to Addis Ababa, when Tito was treated to a “variety of cultural folkloric songs and dances.”³¹ At the time there was much discussion in the local papers about the cultural achievements of visiting Mexican choreographer Ana Mérida, who worked to blend traditional Ethiopian dance with modern elements. Her main show opened during Tito’s visit, as she was working with local dancers to stage an Ethiopian contribution to World Folklore Festival in Mexico City that year. Journalists saw the connection between this dance event’s hybrid of tradition and modernity with Emperor Haile Selassie’s speech at the opening of the Haile Selassie I University in 1961. On that occasion Selassie remarked that “A fundamental objective of the university must be the safeguarding and the developing of the culture of the people which it serves.” The journalist then used the opportunity to make a larger point about the country, saying that modern Ethiopia “has had to withstand many assaults on its traditions from raucous music, tawdry fashions and trashy films dumped here by Western producers.” Such folklore events may “well rescue the younger generation from the frenetic clutches of rock and roll and the mindless appeal of imported films. One may hope that in time such [dance] performances may drive the cowboys and sex queens and super spies from the screen and bring Ethiopian dances and drama everlastingly to the centre of the stage.”³² Tito’s visit was thus seen as a key moment to front this fruitful blend of tradition and modernity, to the point that his visit was reportedly accompanied by a fashion craze among local Ethiopians. Not only were many children in Ethiopia supposedly named after Tito following his 1955 visit, but now a new embroidery pattern (tilet) of the national costume (decorative edging of women’s skirts) had been named in his honor. The advent of the “Tito Tilet” had become, according to one Ethiopian journalist, the “latest rage on the Addis fashion scene.”³³

What might at first seem a strange cultural reception makes more sense once we recall that Ethiopia was the first African country with which Yugoslavia developed relations. Initial contacts between the two countries were made at the Paris Peace Conference in 1946. What is more, Yugoslavia and Ethiopia were brought together because they shared the common experience of having both been targeted by Italian fascist aggression, and

³¹ “President Tito, His Imperial Majesty Urge in [sic] Near East Peace,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 4 February 1968, 1.

³² “New Lustre for Old Art,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 6 February 1968, 2.

³³ “‘Tito Tilet’ Is Popular Here,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 7 February 1968, 1.

both claimed a stake in the reparations – Yugoslavia supported Ethiopia's claim to Eritrea, whereas Ethiopia backed Yugoslavia's claim to Trieste. In 1951 Dr. Joža Vilfan, another important Yugoslav official, headed Yugoslavia's first goodwill mission to Ethiopia, and diplomatic relations were established the following year. In July 1954 Emperor Selassie visited Belgrade as a result of the Vilfan mission, where the emperor arrived to great fanfare, not least because he was the first African leader to visit Yugoslavia. Tito reciprocated by visiting Ethiopia in December 1955. From 1954-1961 Tito and Selassie met six times to discuss the Suez Crisis of 1956 and the Congo Crisis of 1960-1961. Economic relations were also expanded, as several Ethiopian-Yugoslav enterprises were established, and hundreds of Yugoslav technical experts were sent to Ethiopia.³⁴

However, his 1961 visit to Ethiopia was a special event. Tito's arrival in Selassie's Ethiopia was reportedly greeted by "thousands of people" along the streets who broke out in "spontaneous ovation." Selassie duly thanked Tito for Yugoslavia's financial and technical assistance, especially in the form of technical experts for the construction of the Port of Assab, as well as helping to create the Yugo-Ethiopian Company Limited joint venture company, which traded in coffee, rawhides and skins. On the occasion, Tito highlighted the bonds between their peoples, saying that their countries "are linked together by deep friendship based on common aspirations which came to expression more than once in the past, and particularly in the struggle against the forces of aggression on the eve and during the World War II," after which they are now "bound together also by their heroic struggle for freedom and independence and by their striving for peace and a better future."³⁵ Other articles extolled that this relationship "springs from a fount of intimacy, understanding and comprehension," and that "although rather far apart in space, the peoples of both countries are close to one another," having "experienced what it means to struggle for a nation's independence."³⁶ The historical link became even stronger over time, as Tito was portrayed as a source of inspiration to Ethiopians. During his 1968 visit to Ethiopia, for example, journalists again made much of the fact that both countries were attacked by "fascist aggressors" in the Second World

³⁴ Rubinstein, 35, 43-44.

³⁵ "Marshal Tito, Madam On Second Ethiopian Visit Warmly Welcomed By Government, People," *Ethiopian Herald*, 4 February 1959, 1. and "Yugo-Ethiopian Friendship Has Historic Foundation," *The Ethiopian Herald* 3 February 1959, 1.

³⁶ "President Tito's 2nd Visit," *The Ethiopian Herald*, 2 February 1959, 2.

War, and that “when Yugoslavia later met the same fate, the Ethiopian people identified themselves with the Yugoslav struggle and were always with them in spirit.”³⁷ Accentuating Tito’s independent role in the communist world also helped convey the country’s trustworthiness as a partner for Ethiopia. One journalist stressed that Tito’s visit brought fear to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Albania, and was even attacked in the Chinese press. According to this journalist, the reason why Tito “got under the skin of Eastern European and Chinese communists is that Yugoslavia refused to become a member of ‘the communist camp,’” underscoring that his trip to Ethiopia was a meeting of “independently-minded” countries. The article even concluded that Tito “was obviously more welcome [in Africa] than East Germany’s Herr Otto Grotewohl in his present tour,”³⁸ suggesting that there was a kind of competition among socialist countries for African favor. Ethiopian press coverage also noted that Tito and Selassie spoke about the troubled admission of African-American students into segregated American high schools, showing how Tito used the issue of race to build strong relations with African countries.³⁹

Nevertheless, Egypt held pride of place in Tito’s African policy. These relations developed early – an Egyptian military mission first visited Yugoslavia in 1953, touring the Balkan republic’s army units and factories. Afterwards the two countries negotiated the sale of small arms,⁴⁰ making Yugoslavia the first state to send Nasser military aid. Their growing personal friendship was a key factor in Cold War international relations, and was unique among non-aligned leaders. Over the period 1955-1968 Tito and Nasser met more than 20 times. Tito’s first trip to Egypt in February 1955 received wide coverage in the Egyptian press, and in many ways set the tone for his future visits across the continent.⁴¹ Tito’s status as a “great soldier and statesman” was routinely highlighted in the 1955 press coverage, and his 1959 trip to Egypt continued along the same lines.⁴² Even more so than in 1955, Tito was greeted by “thunderous cheers from the mammoth

³⁷ “Distinguished Guest,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 27 January 1968, 2.

³⁸ “Tito’s Afro-Asian Visit Spikes Fears [sic] Soviet Union,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 16 February 1959, 2.

³⁹ “State Visit of Pres. Tito Highlites [sic] Local Coverage,” *The Ethiopian Herald*, 9 February 1959, 2.

⁴⁰ Rubinstein, 52.

⁴¹ “Tito, Nasser Review World Problems,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 6 February 1955, 1. and “Yugoslavia Will Support Egypt’s Position,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 7 February 1955.

⁴² “Egypt-Yugoslav Ties Are Reaffirmed,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 29 December 1955, 1.

crowds" awaiting him at Latakia, to the point that the road was reportedly lined with well-wishers stretching over forty kilometers, many of whom were carrying United Arab Republic(UAR) and Yugoslav banners.⁴³ In his 1961 visit to Egypt, the accent was placed on his World War II credentials and partisan heroics as a bridge to Egypt's own revolution.⁴⁴ By the late 1950s Egypt became Yugoslavia's most important trading partner in Africa by a long way, as well as a conduit for the exchange of expertise and technological transfer. In 1966 alone, Yugoslavia sent over 500 technical experts to Egypt, including doctors, agronomists, and engineers. Yugoslavia's land reclamation project led by Zagreb's *Ingra* enterprise, which worked to reclaim over 20,000 acres of Egyptian desert by 1970, constructed over 180 miles of interconnected roads and irrigation systems across Egypt.

Algeria was also an important international partner for Yugoslavia. At the UN Yugoslav delegates were among the first openly and consistently to support the FLN cause. Like Nasser, Tito supported the FLN in its liberation struggle with weapons and military assistance; yet Tito went one step further in dispatching humanitarian assistance in the form of food and medicine as well. Moreover, FLN soldiers were flown to Yugoslav hospitals; Yugoslav doctors helped train Algerian medics; clothing and food were gathered for Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco; Algerian folk and drama group toured Yugoslavia; and Algerian students were funded to study in Yugoslavia. This was no secret operation, and even found its way into popular culture. The 1959 account by Yugoslav journalist, Zdravko Pečar, *Alžir*, helped popularize the struggle in Yugoslavia.⁴⁵ For their part, Algerian fighters and their political leaders never forgot this debt of gratitude. The FLN repeatedly argued that the Yugoslavs were their closest non-Arab allies, certainly more so than India. In his 1964 visit to Belgrade, FLN leader Ahmed Ben Bella remarked that it "was not by accident that our first visit to Europe is paid to Yugoslavia. We have come to Yugoslavia because of a great similarity in our struggles. We have come because you have selected the road which we regard as correct – the road to socialism... We see a picture of ourselves in you, in your courage."⁴⁶

⁴³ "Enthusiastic Welcome for Nasser, Tito at Latakia," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 1 March 1959, 1-2.

⁴⁴ "World War II heroes are Marshal Tito's aides: Statesmen of Action," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 18 April 1961, 1.

⁴⁵ Zdravko Pečar, *Alžir* (Belgrade: Kultura, 1959). as cited in Rubinstein, 87.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Rubinstein, 88.

During Tito's trip to Algeria in 1965, the Algerian press was acutely aware of Yugoslavia's military and humanitarian assistance to the FLN during the Algerian War. Articles noted that "hundreds" of wounded Algerian soldiers were flown to and looked after in hospitals in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Once again the similarities between the countries were highlighted, both in the past and in the present. President Ben Bella greeted Tito as a "prestigieux et inlassable militant de la paix et de solidarité (prestigious and tireless champion of peace and solidarity)." In this case, partisan victory, the creation of a socialist regime and Yugoslav-style 'self-management' ('autogestion') for the workers was identified by Ben Bella as the very foundation of socialist solidarity.⁴⁷

Yugoslavia's actions in the Algerian War were crucial for reshaping Third World politics. Relevant here was the fallout from China's efforts to scuttle these budding Second-Third World relations by playing the race card for its own purposes. Mao Zedong repeated insistently to African leaders that the Soviets and Yugoslavs were white Europeans that could not be trusted, which caused a ripple of agitation across the Non-Aligned Movement. In 1961 Mao supposedly told a Kenyan reporter that "[t]hese Europeans are all the same... we non-whites must hold together."⁴⁸ In a 1964 meeting with Ben Bella in Belgrade, Tito reportedly railed against China's insinuations that "all blacks are good and all whites are bad." Ben Bella agreed, in part because of the support the FLN had received from Yugoslavia, concluding that "ideas about continents and skin color need to be overcome because progressive forces exist all around the world."⁴⁹ China's effort to turn Third World politics into a race war failed miserably, and non-alignment was built on Southeastern European-African-Indian relations, particularly among Tito, Nasser and Nehru. The upshot was that from the early 1960s the Non-Aligned Movement supplanted Afro-Asianism as the main organizational concept of the Third World, and helped remake the Third World as a political project with open membership rather than as the expression of non-Western, non-white identity.

⁴⁷ "Prestigieux militant de la Paix et de la Solidarité: Tito en Algérie," *Revolution et Travail: Organe Central de l'Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens*, 15 April 1965, 1-3. This sentiment was duplicated in his 1969 visit to the country as noted in "Algérie Yougoslavie: Objectifs fondamentaux identiques," *Revolution et Travail: Organe Central de l'Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens*, 12 November 1969, 1-2.

⁴⁸ WAC Adie, "China, Russia and the Third World," *The China Quarterly* 11 (1962), 200-213.

⁴⁹ Jeffrey James Byrne, "Beyond Continents, Colours and the Cold War: Yugoslavia, Algeria and the Struggle for Non-Alignment," *The International History Review* 37:5 (2015), 912-932, here 924.

In the African press, Tito's outsize stature as leader of the Non-Aligned Movement was central, especially concerning his key contribution in helping forge 'East-South' relations. In so doing the Non-Aligned Movement had shifted the geography of Third World politics, as the center of gravity had moved from Asia to Africa and Latin America. Other ports of call were equally decorous and high profile, and he used the tours to comment on world politics. During his trip to Mali in 1961, for example, Tito exploited the occasion to denounce the aggression in the Congo by the "colonialists and their allies," and linked this crisis to the Algerian War, and finished with the announcement of bilateral trade relations.⁵⁰ Similarly worded anti-imperial pronouncements took place in the Sudan during his visit there,⁵¹ as well as during his visit to Liberia.⁵² In these moments he insisted that non-alignment was a more expansive programme than that of Bandung Conference. In his 1964 visit to Cairo, he made clear that Non-Aligned Movement was not linked to race: "It has become apparent that this policy [of non-alignment] is neither inhibited by geographical limits nor tainted with racial prejudices, nor hampered by differences in social systems, but that it is rather, by drawing strength from the progressive changes that have occurred, acquiring a growing measure of support."⁵³ In his 1968 Ethiopia visit Tito called for the need for peaceful co-existence,⁵⁴ and also highlighted close Yugoslav-African economic links. In his 1970 visit to Ethiopia, for instance, he reported that there were around one thousand Yugoslav experts in Africa— mostly doctors, agronomists and technicians — and that 1300 students from Africa were studying in Yugoslavia in 1969.⁵⁵

On his trips, Tito often made statements about the evils of South African apartheid.⁵⁶ This was especially the case in Zambia. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was an emerging African leader in the mid-1960s, and was very active in the Non-Aligned Movement. Apartheid was his key international issue, and in one 1964 speech at the Non-Aligned Movement Con-

⁵⁰ "La Visite du Président Tito en République du Mali," *L'Essor* (Mali), 28 March 1961, 1-2.

⁵¹ "Sudan and Yugoslavia Agree on Expedient Liquidation of Imperialism," *The Sudan Daily*, 19 February 1962, 1-2.

⁵² "Welcome to Liberia Marshal Josip Tito," *The Listener* (Liberia), 12/13 March 1961, 1-2.

⁵³ "Tito's Speech," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 7 October 1964, 3.

⁵⁴ "President Tito Says Co-Existence Only Alternative to World Disaster," *The Ethiopian Herald*, 30 February 1968, 1.

⁵⁵ "Yugoslavia and Africa," *The Ethiopian Herald*, 7 February 1970, 3.

⁵⁶ "Kenyatta-Tito Joint Communique: Talks to be Held on Joint Projects," *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 21 February 1970, 1-2.

ference in Cairo, he stated that South Africa would “reap the whirlwind of disaster” if it continued to defy “reason and the fundamental principles of civilization and human rights.” For him and many others, the only solution was effective diplomacy through the UN. Tito understood this shift of sentiment, and thus pitched his message to Zambian concerns. Little wonder that Tito was praised in Zambia as the “representative of Socialism with a human face.”⁵⁷ Tito was taken to the Kafue Gorge Dam, where hundreds of Yugoslav workers were working to help build the structure. President Kaunda used the occasion to say that the dam was indication of what non-aligned countries could do together, in which “people of different races can work together.”⁵⁸ Tanzanian articles made similar points during his visit there in 1970, and Tito again used the opportunity to draw attention to South African apartheid as the “greatest shame of mankind.”⁵⁹ The theme dominated the Third Non-Aligned Movement Conference in Lusaka, Zambia, where Tito was on hand to lend support to Kaunda’s leadership on the issue.⁶⁰ Photos of Tito shaking hands or embracing African heads of state were thus not only the visual expression of fraternity and mutual respect, but also of European-African inter-racial understanding and cooperation.

During his 1970 trip that kicked off at Aswan Dam in Egypt, Tito waded in on the Middle East crisis, particularly his view of Israel’s occupation of Palestine. He intoned that “the time is right to bring to an end the Israeli policy of aggression to which the Arabs in the Middle East are subjected” and that Yugoslavia “strongly condemns and opposes the barbaric acts of aggression committed by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Arabs in the occupied land.”⁶¹ What is more, Tito drew attention to what he called the Israeli violation of “Palestinian rights,” and voiced frustration with the failure of the UN to make Israel comply with key UN resolutions, citing the example of League of Nations: “The League of Nations committed an impermissible mistake when it abandoned Ethiopia to the mercy of the Fascist aggressors. The world was to pay a high price for this later” and thus “we should not... yield to those who are infringing the principles of the

⁵⁷ “World Working Against Africa – Tito,” *Times of Zambia*, 3 February 1970, 1.

⁵⁸ “Real Pals – For Good! Tito Says Friendship Links Will Grow,” *Times of Zambia*, 7 February 1970, 1.

⁵⁹ “Mwalimu Hails a Great Man: Yugoslavia ‘Truly Independent,’” *The Standard* (Tanzania), 27 January 1970, 1.

⁶⁰ Marvine Howe, “Unaligned Find Common Cause in Africa,” *New York Times*, 13 September 1970, E2.

⁶¹ “Nasser and Tito Speeches,” *The Egyptian Gazette*, 24 February 1970, 2.

charter of the United Nations, as this would jeopardise the very existence of the world organization and lead mankind to a new catastrophe."⁶² The Egyptian press in particular gave a great deal of coverage to Nasser-Tito joint statements urging Israeli withdrawal and the affirmation of Palestinian freedom.⁶³ Tito's close relationship with Egypt continued even after Nasser died, and Tito visited the country to commemorate Nasser's passing and to affirm the continued relevance of non-alignment principles in general and the call for Israeli withdrawal in particular.⁶⁴

All told, these were highly successful instances of Tito's cultural diplomacy, and few Cold War heads of state exploited their personal contacts around the world to such good effect. What he did above all was establish lasting trust with his partners in the Global South, which was no easy thing given the high stakes of Cold War geopolitical rivalry at this time. In fact, those countries with which Yugoslavia enjoyed relations from the mid-1950s onward routinely praised Tito for his neutral stance and lack of expansionist considerations. One Kenyan article in 1970 stated that Tito – whose country "has experienced pressure from one of the power blocs" – was trustworthy precisely because he never wavered from his belief that "sovereignty is sacrosanct," and that small countries mattered. The article went on to state something even grander: "No European country perhaps has been so disinterested in its close dealings with the Third World" and that "there has never been the suspicion of strings of ulterior motives in any of the assistance that Yugoslavia has been able to offer Africa."⁶⁵ In the early 1960s many observers were skeptical about Tito's turn southward in the wake of decolonization, to the point that some critics felt that his efforts to build closer relations with African partners were a needless distraction from larger Yugoslav concerns in the world.⁶⁶ The same went for his dealings with other European countries, including his 'fraternal' counterparts in Eastern Europe. Even so, his influence was considerable in Europe as well. Not for nothing was Tito credited with playing a key role in helping broker the Helsinki Accords in 1975, as his philosophy of the equality of states is sometimes interpreted as a kind of

⁶² "Tito-Numeiry Communique," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 24 February 1970, 2.

⁶³ "Nasser-Tito: US, Israel Threaten Peace of World," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 26 February 1970, 1.

⁶⁴ "Tito for Just Early Peace: Sadat Demands Full Withdrawal and Palestinian Rights," *The Egyptian Gazette*, 15 February 1971, 1.

⁶⁵ "Tito's Good Example," *Daily Nation* (Nairobi), 11 February 1970, 1.

⁶⁶ See the critical comments by Ilija Jukić, *Tito Between East and West* (London: Demos Publishing Company, 1961), 55-67.



President Tito visiting the Parliament, in Nairobi, Kenya 1970

“breakthrough of his ideas.”⁶⁷ Still, Africa was always embraced by Tito as the most fertile field of non-alignment policies, a zone of development where Yugoslavia needed to secure its unique place in the Cold War’s geography of power. His speeches at the Belgrade Conference in September 1961, wherein the non-aligned countries were asked “to mobilize its vast moral forces and energy toward the consolidation of world peace and the extension of general international cooperation on an equal footing,” set out this alternative view of anti-Cold War politics.⁶⁸ The photographic archive of Tito’s diplomatic trips to Africa documented his foreign policy in the Third World, as well as helping give expression to the mission and reality of non-alignment in Yugoslavia, Africa and across the world. Tito’s African policy may be a less known side of his international politics, but it is one that may count as one of his lasting achievements. Strong relations with the Global South were arguably Tito’s greatest foreign policy legacy concerning Yugoslavia’s international place in the world, but it is one that did not survive his death in 1980.

⁶⁷ Maclean, 109.

⁶⁸ *Belgrade Conference: The Speeches of President Josip Broz Tito* (Belgrade: Publicističko-Izdavački Zavod ‘Jugoslavia’, 1961), 50.



From the official talks of delegations of Mali and Yugoslavia in Bamako, Mali 1961

Radovan Cukić

The Image of Africa in the Photographic Collections of the Museum of Yugoslavia

As part of the project *Socialism Goes Global*, the exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity* focuses on the relations of Tito's Yugoslavia with African countries. Although the initial idea of displaying only photographs was in time supplemented by three-dimensional objects, movie and newspaper clips, photographs that bring these relations to life are still at the core of this exhibition. The exhibition is based on an abundant collection of photographs taken in Africa, part of the Museum of Yugoslavia's legacy. The content of this travelling exhibition – curated for audiences in Oxford and Los Angeles – will be exclusively photographic.

The creation of this rich visual material is almost entirely associated with Josip Broz Tito, lifelong president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This material serves as evidence of the wide-ranging relations of Tito's Yugoslavia with several African countries. As such, it is undoubtedly significant for a better understanding of Cold War diplomacy. However, considering that it covers such a decisive period in the history of Africa when – for the most part – the continent was being decolonized and was beginning its own independent life, this visual material is also important for gaining a better understanding of the African countries in question, including their difficult history, living tradition and culture, self-representations, as well as how others perceived them. In this essay we will therefore review the collections from which the photographs for this exhibition were selected, as well as examine their original meaning and subsequent interpretations.

Images of Africa – as they are represented at this exhibition – have been gleaned from several of the Museum's photographic collections. Today most of the images, which are a result of work of photographers employed at the Press Office of President's Cabinet, are kept in the Josip Broz Tito photo-archive. This part of the collection will be given most attention. Another part has been selected from photo albums given as gifts to Tito. On display are also the framed portraits of African statesmen as well as a few photographs taken by Tito himself and retrieved from his personal photographic collection.

A photo department within the President's Cabinet was formed in the middle of 1947 with the objective of documenting all of Tito's activities. At the time no one could have foreseen the amount of material that it would produce over the decades. Tito's long career, as well as the dynamics of his presidential and especially diplomatic activities, meant that until 1980 – over a period of 33 years – many hundreds of thousands of black and white negatives (organized in 15,210 sleeves grouped according to events) as well as many tens of thousands of colour negatives and slides were taken and archived. These images are the result of the work of four photographers employed at the Cabinet: Dragutin Grbić, Aleksandar Stojanović, Miloš Rašeta and Mirko Lovrić. A separate part of the archive comprises 132,000 photographs in 18 x 24 cm format, stored in 708 boxes similar to books. They were presented to Tito in their entirety, thus representing a personal photo album of a sort. Tito's photographic archive is certainly the best visual source for the study of his presidency. Numerous trips to as many as 78 countries and countless diplomatic activities are especially well documented. As early as the beginning of the 1950s, the first diplomatic contacts of Socialist Yugoslavia were established with Ethiopia and Egypt, and were soon followed by mutual state visits. Over the next quarter of a century, Tito bestowed Africa with special importance in his global diplomacy, unusual for a country the size of Yugoslavia. Most of the material is related to countries with which Tito had more intensive relations – Ethiopia and Egypt, and later Algeria and Libya. Tito's great tour of Africa – which preceded the Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade in 1961 and included Ghana, Guinea, Togo, Liberia, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt – is covered in 17 boxes of 2,879 photographs from the presidential collection, while the tour of East African countries in 1970 (Tanzania, Zambia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda) is covered in 9 boxes of 1,626 photographs. Together with negatives and slides for each of the tours, this amounts to a small archive in its own right.

What is the image of Africa suggested by this collection? Taking into account its official character, in other words the official nature of diplomatic relations represented in this instance by photographs, the image is in the first place marked by protocol. Most of the recorded activities are official activities organized for a distinguished guest, including formal welcomes and farewells, state delegation talks, official receptions, gift exchanges and medal awarding, commemorative ceremonies or attending parades, both military and civil. Complementary to these activities were organized visits to historical sites and museums as a promotion of the history and tradition of the host country. Visits to plantations, factories, power plants and building sites



A scene of village life (Photo by J. B. Tito), Egypt 1962



Members of the Yugoslav detachment in the UN force in Sinai maintaining camp, Egypt 1958

were choreographed mostly as part of completed or planned projects of mutual economic cooperation, while the domain of activities of the First Lady consisted mostly of visits to schools, hospitals and maternity wards. Special place is also given to seemingly unofficial pastimes, such as safari hunting.

Official visits are filled with a strictly formalized programme of activities through which – at a symbolic level – communication between two countries was to take place, while the countries themselves were personified by selected actors. In the preparation of formal welcomes and farewells, commemorations and receptions, every step was carefully planned and agreed on, sometimes even months in advance in correspondence concerning protocols of the two countries, which can be seen in the written archival material. In this sense the entire event takes on the form of ritual.

Improvisation is not allowed, everything is determined and prescribed – from clothes to ways of walking and greeting to the sequence and content of speeches. This political theatre was accessible to a wider audience only through newspaper photographs which at the same time had the strongest media reach. Contemporary daily newspapers published photographs that documented these highly ritualized political events. Overshadowing everything else were portraits of the head of state accompanied by the leaders of host country. Newspaper photographs contained all the elements of state representation and expressions of political power, referencing at the same time the layers of tradition and history of the host countries.

Capturing the moments that do not always have obvious connections to the formal routine of diplomatic and state visits is a special characteristic of the collections in the Josip Broz Tito photo-archive that originated during his travels, especially to African countries. Some of the photos taken in Africa are excellent examples of travel photography. Whereas photos of places of natural beauty, cities and towns that Tito visited, both at home and abroad, may be found in the archive along with official activities, it is the ordinary people, bystanders and participants in the receptions and parades that caught the eye of photojournalists. Amongst such photographs stands out a portrait of a young female stenotypist taken during formal talks in Mali. On this occasion, the photographer had even allowed himself to depart from a set of rules specifying how one strictly official occasion should be photographed, and included this photo in the report on the quintessence of summit diplomacy. Photographs that capture a country's natural beauty and the everyday life of its citizens seem to elude the archive's classificatory scheme by which the approach of future researchers is shaped. They do not conform to the archive's basic theme because they are not informed by protocol. In this departure from the usual repertoire of official images chronicling the encounter with the new and the unknown, one can discern the photographer's personal touch. These images, unrelated to the purpose of existence of the photo department that produced them, makes them all more unique and memorable. Nonetheless, their media impact was negligible. They are not to be found in newspaper columns as positive images accompanying the activities of the head of state during the official visit; instead, they are used as illustrations in books and brochures that depict these visits and African countries themselves¹, and as such may be seen as an appendix to the presidential set of photographs.

¹ For example, see Obren Milićević, *With Friends in Africa. On President Tito's Visit to Africa, Feb. to April, 1961* (Beograd: Jugoslavija, 1961).



President Tito with his wife Jovanka visiting Emperor Haile Selassie and Empress Menen, Ethiopia 1955

What is the initial value of images of Africa in this collection? We must first consider the specific circumstances under which the collection emerged. Photo department that produced the images was part of the Press Office of President's Cabinet (known as the Cabinet of Marshal of Yugoslavia until 1953). Its foremost objective was propagandistic, focused on the contemporary moment and the projection of a positive image of the country's president. Its work consisted of the following: portraiture and photojournalism in relation to the life and work of the President of the Republic; periodical production – for the President himself – of a collection of photographs showing his life and work; photographs taken during the receptions of various delegations and guests; the production of various commemorative photos of the President for domestic outlets, foreign newspapers and news agencies; the provision of photographic services for various offices of the President's Cabinet; and managing the

archive of black and white, colour and sound sources, along with slides.²

Evidence that this work should be conducted in a more serious manner can be found in an important memorandum that Photo Department director Mirko Lovrić³ sent to the general secretary of President's Cabinet Bogdan Crnobrnja in 1963. In it Lovrić listed a range of technical criticisms regarding the prevailing practice of shooting which, according to him, amounted to nothing more than the photographic recording of events, without any aspiration to capturing the main moments or taking into account ambience and timing. He ascribed this to the low general education of photojournalists and insisted that shooting should be understood as the creation of a serious and comprehensive testament of contemporary history, in which every single event of some importance should be presented as a well-rounded story highlighting the most important moments. Some of the remarks referred to working practices in a photo printing lab, others to the failings of negative storage. According to an interview conducted with Lovrić in 2013 at the Museum of Yugoslavia, despite being written in a rather sharp tone, the memorandum was fruitful in that it resulted in the considerable advancement of the photo department's practices, as well as better technical equipment.⁴

However, it should be noted that Lovrić was an artist trapped in the role of a photojournalist and that certain failures he noticed in the functioning of the photo department were immanent to the work of photojournalists who – forced to satisfy a daily demand for photos and for documenting events of national importance – took their series of photographs in a fast succession of exposures, with poor control over composition, weather and location conditions, leading to an uncertain outcome in regard to quality.⁵

Considering that the department was part of the Press Office, one can assume that – after all – its main responsibility was the creation of a desirable image of the president in public. Milanka Todić states that studying, analysing or presenting photography as an extension of political power from the era of Communism entails dealing only with the official images because in this peri-

² Arhives of Yugoslavia (AJ), 837, KPR (President's Cabinet), VI-6.

³ Mirko Lovrić (1935-2013) graduated with a degree in Fine Art Photography at the School of Applied Arts in Zagreb, followed by a degree in History of Art at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. He worked as the director of photo department of the President's Cabinet between 1963 and 1971. Later on he made a career for himself as one of the most distinguished fine art photographers in Serbia.

⁴ Interview with Mirko Lovrić, the Museum of Yugoslav History, 2013. Interview conducted by Olga Manojlović-Pintar and filmed by Fabian Bechtle.

⁵ Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, Gerald J. Munoff, Margery S. Long, *Upravljanje zbirkom fotografija* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2004), 22.



Jovanka Broz with women from Ghana at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra, Ghana 1961

od they were the only ones that appeared in public.⁶ Nevertheless, as we have already seen, not all the photos produced in this department were intended for publication. At one level, this meant the careful selection of the most successful photographs to be presented in the press with the purpose of sending a strong and heavy propagandistic message in which there was no room for “improper” scenes. At another level, the department also produced photographs whose media dissemination was considerably lower. Such photos were either not intended for publication or only intended for selective publication. Their function can only be understood in the context of a select collection of photographs, a personal/family album of a sort that repeated the usual practice of bourgeois families in America and Europe since the second half of the 19th century – extending a piece of family memories to visitors.⁷ Entrapped in that

⁶ Milanka Todić, *Fotografija i propaganda 1945-1958*, (Banja Luka: JU Književna zadruga - Pančevo: Helicon, 2005), 8.

⁷ Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, Gerald J. Munoff, Margery S. Long, *Upravljanje zbirkama fotografija*, 15.



A scene on the road from Conakry to Mamou, Guinea 1961

album genre for decades, these images provide researchers with an insight into that which was probably only intended for an inner circle.

In addition, one must also take into account the limitations of photography as a way of objectively representing reality. The camera may see what the eye cannot, but it is the human eye that chooses what will be recorded, not only through framing but also through subsequent editing and selection. Political photography – more than any other – represents a picture of power relations between actors of political life, and not a picture of reality itself.⁸ Objectivity can also be called into question when contemplating the photo archive as a whole. To be specific, the archive's integrity and impressive number of images may lead us to think that the eye of the camera captured all the events in which the main character participated, even those of his private life, which of course is far from the truth. The angle of observation that places Tito at the center of all events is supplemented by original documentation that offers

⁸ Milanka Šaponja "Do istine na novinskim stupcima", in: Miodrag Đorđević, *Fotografija kod Srba 1839-1989* (Beograd: Galerija SANU, 1991), 127.



A parade of youth and pioneers held in Mamou in honor of President Tito, Guinea 1961

only the most basic account of those events, again from a personal perspective. However, photography is a medium that needs many clarifications for its potential to be fully employed and keep possible misunderstanding and misuse to a minimum. This is especially valid in this case, where the representations in question often require additional commentary in order to avoid misinterpretation, even an unintentional one. Taking all these caveats into account, the value of this collection for the image of Africa itself is still of great importance. It offers an illustration of developing relations between African countries during a key phase of their nation-building and a completely new player on the global political scene. Even though they are passed through a specific filter, images forged from such a perspective are a revealing historical source.

Some of the exhibited photographs were chosen from photo albums and framed portraits given as gifts to Tito.⁹ This collection comprises near-

⁹ Albums were also given to Tito's spouse Jovanka Broz, whereas inscriptions sometimes mention them both. After Tito's death, a small number of albums were separated from the collection. They were given and dedicated to Jovanka Broz and handed over to her.

ly 2,300 albums, thanks to the existence of a figure who for so long was at the country's helm and played a role in international politics which far exceeded the importance of the country it led. And it is, again, thanks to this figure who was at the center of a developed cult of personality with established rituals surrounding him that the collection contains nearly 150 framed portraits, mostly of world statesmen.

A number of albums were given to Tito within Yugoslavia by various science, education and health institutions, worker collectives, work brigades, government representatives and the Yugoslav National Army, as well as sundry other associations and federations. The largest number of such gifts arrived during Tito's birthday celebrations (they were either delivered by delegations or sent by post), but also during the celebration of important national holidays. Some were handed directly to Tito during his visits. A small number of albums were sent by individuals, professional or amateur photographers. The importance of this long parade of gift givers and their offerings carry a different documentary value, including the diversity of design and multilayered messages of the accompanying texts. Some of the albums were part of a serial production and are differentiated only by their content. In the case of hand-made versions, the album cover and pages often bear the imprint of the person who composed the album and gave it as a gift. The entire collection of photo albums may be viewed, studied and contextualized in many ways. The primary context – the one that led to the collection's musealization – is that the albums were given to one person. Otherwise, such a collection would never have been assembled and gathered in one place. The secondary context relates to the gift givers themselves as they produced and sent the albums. For them, this context was probably more important than the first, since the photographic image was used to communicate a testimony about oneself.

Approximately one fourth of the total number of albums comes from foreign gift givers and bears witness to diplomatic relations at the highest level, mostly in connection to Tito's state visits. These albums were usually a gift prescribed by the state protocol of a host country, and were rarely given by individual government ministries. There are 41 photo albums offered by gift givers from the African continent (including twelve from Egypt). Since gift givers are the highest representatives of host countries, the albums' content was usually strictly marked by protocol. Albums were sometimes accompanied by the book of protocol of the state visit. A few photo albums taken in Africa were given by Yugoslav citizens, such as employees of Yugoslav companies who worked in African countries, or members of the Yugoslav National Army



A scene from the streets of Tunisia, Tunisia 1961

unit stationed in the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. These albums showcased relations between Yugoslavia and some of the African countries in a special way – from the perspective of the gift-giver himself. Part of this collection consists of the framed portraits of statesmen, mostly autographed – approximately 150 in total. They are the best testaments to the achievements of Tito’s diplomacy. Equally, they demonstrate a (quasi)personal level at which a diplomacy personified through meetings of highest state representatives was carried out. Amongst these 150 portraits are the portraits of 18 African statesmen and two First Ladies (the wife of Emperor Haile Selassie and the wife of Kenya’s president Jomo Kenyatta). The image of Africa in this collection of bequeathed albums and portraits was strictly official. It shows an already finalized selection of photographs which were given to a guest as a memento of their visit. The importance of individually framed photographs increases when the collection is viewed as a whole because in this context they speak more powerfully of the recipient’s person and country.

Lastly, some of the photos from Africa were chosen from another unique collection of the Museum of Yugoslavia – a set of photos taken by Tito him-



President Tito sightseeing cocoa plantations in Tafo, Ghana 1961.

self. Tito engaged with photography for more than 40 years, taking photos and working in a photo printing lab. However, the Museum of Yugoslavia has only preserved images taken during the last twenty years of his life: around 680 Leica films in 6 x 6cm format, as well as roughly 200 Polaroid photos.¹⁰ Even during his travels, the camera was one of Tito's favourite tools and pastimes. He used to take photos when he was less engaged in ceremonial duties. Such opportunities were not lacking during his African trips, as these trips were often very long. The photos document his travel companions, people welcoming him, cultural and historical sites, places of natural beauty and folk dances. The largest number of shots were taken during the Nile river cruise in Egypt. These photos were taken for the personal enjoyment of the photographer and were not published in the press. They have no claim to art, but what one can find in them is his personal and firsthand experience of Africa.

¹⁰ More in: Momo Cvijović and Želimir Košćević, *Katalog izložbe Tito-foto (Tito foto-amater)*, (Rovinj: Multimedijalni centar, 2015).



President Tito aboard *Galeb* while sailing towards Ethiopia, the Red Sea 1955

Ana Sladojević

Beyond the Photographic Frame: Interpretation of Photographs from the Museum of Yugoslavia's Collection in a Contemporary Context¹

Dear comrade Tito!

As I usually do, today I have been reading in the newspaper about a journey you are set to embark on. I am a student of Technical School in Karlovac. I like foreign countries very much, but sadly I have no opportunities to visit and see them for myself. There are currently six comrades from Sudan attending our school. Their skin is black, but this makes them no different to us. They are our fellow students and we like them. It took me a while to find the courage to write to you. Will this letter ever come to your hands? I wish to visit countries that my school friends are so familiar with. My presence at your trip would hardly be noticed. /.../ A teenager from Karlovac sends you her regards, with a burning desire to accompany you on this journey. Jasna!²

When perceived as a whole, the collection of photographs used for this exhibition has a distinctive set of meanings derived from its function of being an official record of protocol within the President's Cabinet (1947-1980). One of the first impressions when presented with the photographic collection of the Museum of Yugoslavia (MY) is its unmistakable formal unity, despite there being several photographers – namely, Dragutin Grbić, Aleksandar Stojanović, Miloš Rašeta and Mirko Lovrić – working within the strict observance of protocol rules and procedures. This points to the dominant role these photographs had at the time as a testament of public but also – seemingly at least – private moments of presidential life, primarily including meetings with statesmen during their visits to Yugoslavia, as well as Tito's international travels.

These photos went hand in hand with dominant ideologies. They conveyed a particular image of Yugoslavia's place in the world and perpetuated

¹ This essay was written while preparing the exhibition "Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity", during 2016.

² AJ (Archives of Yugoslavia), KPR (President's Cabinet), I-2/13-1, 1209, Received on 13th February 1961, Organizational Unit 02, No. 6/50.



A photojournalist on assignment, during the visit of President Tito to Luxor. (Photo by J. B. Tito), Egypt 1962

a self-image of a sort. The opening quotation from one of the many letters inspired by Tito's travels to African countries reflects a presence of an undoubtedly active – though naive – relationship of citizens to images of Yugoslavia's engagement in international politics. However, as a consequence of radical social changes, not only did the institutional standing of this collection change more than once – each change influenced the ways these photographs were used: as tools of politics or propaganda, a subject of protocol exchange, a document, a newspaper illustration, an archive, photographic material, a museum collection, a subject of artistic and theoretical examination³, and so forth – but also its significance changed in different contexts.⁴

³ More on the topic: Okwui Enwezor, *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art* (New York: ICP / Göttingen: Steidl, 2008); Allan Sekula, "Reading an Archive, Photography between Labour and Capital", in: *The Photography Reader*, Liz Wells, ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 443-452.

⁴ Political developments left their mark on the MY through different milestones in its history: from the foundation of a first museum in MY's current location – Museum *May 25th* (opened in 1962 as a museum for gifts received by Tito), followed by Memorial Centre *Josip Broz Tito* (opened to public in 1982, two years after Tito's death), to the Museum of Yugoslav History (MYH) which was founded in 1996 and renamed to the Museum of Yugoslavia in 2016. – the Museum of Yugoslavia.



The people gathered to welcome President Tito in Barakat, Sudan 1959



A welcome organized for President of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah, Pula (Yugoslavia) 1961



Photographer of *Filmske novosti*, Stevan Labudović, taking pictures of the market in Khartoum, Sudan 1962

The greatest rupture in meaning happened, understandably, towards the end of socialist Yugoslavia. Throughout the whole period of almost 45 years after World War II, the visual culture of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY)/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was deeply marked by specific symbols and images which were often used in photographs and film footage to broadcast messages of propaganda. Even though there were noticeable shifts and modifications in the way the visual language of the public sphere was construed during those years⁵, there was still a certain continuity of meanings and values which linked up to the broader visual culture of the postwar period. However, a break from the previous social order and its values, which happened during the 1990s and continued in the first half of 2000s, had a striking effect on the development of the visual imagery of socialist Yugoslavia. Photographs, replicating the fate of a wider museum collection to which they belonged, were in this period in Serbia neglected and forgotten in public discourse as part of a

⁵ More on the topic at: Milanka Todić, *Fotografija i propaganda/Photography and Propaganda 1945–1958*, (Banja Luka: JU Književna zadruga / Pančevo: Helicon, 2005).



President Tito with members of Yugoslav colony in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1955



President Tito with members of Yugoslav colony, Cairo, Egypt 1956

systematic obliteration of all traces of former ways of everyday life.

A renewed interest in the content of MY collections in the mid-2000s was sparked by the re-acknowledgement and re-evaluation of this period of recent history. Photographs from the President's Cabinet regained visibility, and since then their popularity has been on the rise. Skilfully taken, and notable for both their visual and documentary effect, they have topped the permission request list for use of MY archival material in the last few years, according to Radovan Cukić, Head of the Department for Research and Conservation of Museum's Collections. It is clear, however, that photography as construed reality is never neutral, and even less so when it belongs to a collection that, due to the turbulent volatility of the cultural and political climate, went through changes as profound as those the MY has experienced. With their reappearance in a context considerably different from the one in which they arose, photographs unwittingly become exponents of a certain "temporal exoticism" reinforced by their long absence from the public eye.

A significant element of this exoticization of photographs – to say nothing of the Museum's collections, the Museum itself, as well as one part of Yugoslav history -- is the repetitive moment of 'discovery': conditioned not only by pressures imposed on researchers to continually have to 'find' and 'discover' new themes, but also by processes of recuperation of ideas that are inevitably distorted by temporal and semantic distance. To draw attention to it is important because even this selection, put together to represent or illustrate a point, may be very suggestive: from the variety of photos one can construe different – often diametrically opposed – narratives, not only of Tito but of Yugoslavia's foreign policies and the entire political and cultural climate too. This is certainly made possible by the erasure of specific cultural and historical realities, but also of everyday life references, as well as multiple changes of context. Some photographic contexts, once implicitly understood, are no longer perceived as easily as they were only a few decades ago. But, far more significant than forgetting the names and roles of actors in these photos is the discontinuation of their active relationship with citizens at a moment when they ceased to reflect a favourable self-image. This was, of course, further helped by the erasure of the 'self' for which these photos were intended.

|| - You generalize, Papà [character Mambu's nickname]! You said it yourself that not all whites are the same. And I come from a country that bled in long battles against all forms of suffering.

He stood his ground.

- No! You whites are racists – every single one of you – because you preach accidental generalization and give trivial phenomena the status of law.⁶

Historical periods covered by photos from the Cabinet's collections has been marked by circumstances of international politics in the aftermath of World War II -- a time of new beginnings for many countries around the world. Ideas of a more egalitarian society gained visibility: a society without colonialism and without favouring one cultural model over all others. Voices of intellectuals such as Frantz Fanon⁷, Patrice Lumumba, and others, were well received not only in colonized countries but elsewhere around the world too. Such a reception history at the global level in one relatively short, historically decisive and exciting period of hope and new ideas during the 1960s led the way in imagining alternative social realities and models of government. With regard to culture, African countries put the focus on (re)defining their national identities and establishing a system of emancipatory cultural ideas, accompanied by the promotion of what were considered authentic cultural and artistic identities.⁸

Atypical amongst countries for which the experience of colonialism was either very recent or still present, Yugoslavia had other means – discursive, ideological, political and economic – of connecting with them. Yugoslavia's role in helping anticolonial liberation movements was recognized long before the official establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade in September of 1961. Even if certain reference points and similarities between Yugoslavia and African countries – championed by contemporary politicians and media (e.g. comparison of Yugoslav peoples under "Habsburgs

⁶ Oskar Davičo, *Crno na belo* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1969), 33.

⁷ More on the topic at: Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Foreword by Homi K. Bhabha: "Remembering Fanon; Self, Psyche and the Colonial Condition", (London: Pluto Press, 1986 / first published at Editions de Seuil, 1952).

⁸ With the end of state colonialism, emancipatory ideologies such as Négritude and Pan-Africanism were assigned an important role through cultural redefinition and regeneration projects which were understood to be an integral element of national but also (pan) African identities. See too Messay Kebede, *Africa's Quest for a Philosophy of Decolonization*, (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2004); Olúfémi Táíwò, "Post-Independence African Political Philosophy", in: *A Companion to African Philosophy*, Kwasi Wiredu, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 243-259.



Presidents Tito and Sekou Toure laying wreath at the Memorial for the Victims of Colonialism in Conakry, Guinea 1961

and Ottomans” with African peoples under colonial regimes) – nowadays may not seem convincing enough, we can agree with a statement⁹ that, in fact, *anticolonialism was the point of intersection* among countries gathered around the NAM, despite their disparate social systems and diversity of cultures.

Notwithstanding their presence in everyday discourse in socialist Yugoslavia, anticolonialism and antiracism were still regarded as a reaction to global events, primarily to anticolonial struggle.¹⁰ Yugoslavia’s identification with former or current colonies broadly speaking with the countries of the so-called Third World was in line with ideas of equality of all people and with

⁹ Leo Mates, *Nesvrstanost – teorija i savremena praksa* (Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, 1971) / *Nonalignment: Theory and Current Policy* (Dobbs Ferry: Institute of International Politics and Economic / Oceana Publications, 1972); Walter D. Mignolo, “Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing, On (De)Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience”, *Transversal*, Vol. 08 (2009), <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0112/mignolo/en> (Last accessed on 27th November 2016).

¹⁰ Participation in the Algerian War of Independence of Yugoslavs such as Zdravko Pečar, Veda Zagorac, Stevan Labudović, and others, by means of newspaper articles, photographs, camera footage and revolutionary publications, conveyed a very personal enthusiasm for anticolonial ideas and struggle.



Laying a Wreath at the Memorial for the Victims of Colonialism in Conakry, Guinea 1961

deep anti-imperial convictions. This did not mean that details of colonial reality and racism, in spite of being discussed and reported on, could ever be fully understood by those who did not experience them. In his book of travel essays, notably entitled *Black on White*, Oskar Davičo presents to contemporary Yugoslav readers a questions arising from an encounter with the multi-layered, rich and complex realities not of Africa in general, but rather a specific country, a specific city or a town, a specific person. By giving voice to individuals, Davičo juxtaposes his generally naive idealism with deeply lived experiences of people under colonial rule whom he met in Africa, thus displaying openness to different viewpoints.

Since their objectives are different, this subtle distinction is often lacking from the photos in the MY collections. Through shared experience of freedom fighting, these photographs seek to evoke not the difference but the sameness of experiences. They have many similarities to other statesmanly photos, mostly in 'scenographising' incidental participants and landscapes which thus become 'accessories' to the main event in these photos – a meeting of statesmen at the highest level. Compared to initial rep-



A scene on the road from Conakry to Mamou, Guinea 1961

representations and interpretations of these photos, the present-day change of discourse offers a very different view of their formal characteristics. It is imperative to ask oneself the following question: why is the visual aspect of these photos so easily perceived as laden by colonial imagery, when viewed outside the anticolonial and antifascist contexts, and without the background of Yugoslav relations with African countries?

The exhibition entitled “Black Body, White Masks” (paraphrasing the title of Fanon’s influential book) was organized in 2004 within the space of a permanent display of the Museum of African Art – the collection of Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar. It provided the basis for one of the first re-evaluations of MY’s photographic archive after 2000, offered by curator Dejan Sretenović, who found that the style of these photos repeated some of the widespread stereotypes -- a hunter, a collector, *a white man* in Africa.¹¹ This insight by Sre-

¹¹ But he also points out that: “Political symbol of Africa – as imagined by Tito – is not a figure of a distanced and detached *Other* but a figure of a partner and “younger brother” on his path to socialism, no longer dressed in leopard skins but in worker overalls.” Dejan Sretenović, *Crno telo, bele maske* (Belgrade: Museum of African Art: Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection, 2004), 26.



Rally at the square Esplanade Africa in Algiers organized in honor of President Tito, Algeria 1965

tenović is one of a handful provided in papers published in the last ten years or so – including a suggestively entitled article “Tito as a Tourist” by Marija Krstić¹² – that either directly or indirectly deal with Tito’s travels, including his visits to African countries. These articles were written after temporal, political and semantic distance had been established in relation to Tito’s role. During his life, but also for years after his death, Tito enjoyed a great reputation with many Yugoslav citizens. However, during the period of demystification of his political persona – at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s – photos and movies (often from his travels) were used to point to his supposedly extravagant lifestyle in contrast to the principles of socialism that he proclaimed.

Commenting on a long cooperation with Tito, whom he continued to respect – if not admire – even after their political breakup, Milovan Djilas characterized Tito’s political and private behaviour and style in no uncertain terms. Here is what he wrote: “...excellence, whether real or staged, is not without banality and vulgarity. Tito’s luxury and trendiness are too intense,

¹² Marija Krstić, „Tito kao turista”, *Etnoantropološki problemi*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2010), 141-164.



Rally in Oran, Algeria 1965



Visit of Jovanka Broz to the Rehabilitation Centre in Douera, Algeria 1965

of a nouveau riche kind; his royal way of dressing and aristocratic demeanour are old-fashioned and offensive. But he only ever took notice of it when he felt his role and prestige were weakened by it... When, at the end of 1949, American magazine *Life* published photos of him – with villas, horses, salons, dogs and son Žarko – Kardelj and the circle of people around him who, including me, were in New York at a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, all noticed that Tito was pictured in the likeness of Latin American dictators.”¹³ This excerpt from Djilas’s book only confirms the fact that Tito’s personal style had great influence on how he was portrayed in international circles; however, one must not forget that in the case of presidential photographs it was the diplomatic protocol that determined the details of international visits, including the level of formality of one’s dress.

The question remains whether photos from the Cabinet’s archive adequately reflect the reality of the period and whether they are representative of the exhibition’s subject. One should not overlook an element of irony that arises from a disconnection between formal characteristics and the values

¹³ Milovan Đilas, *Druženje s Titom* (Belgrade: Svedočanstva, 1990), 38-39.



President Tito with his wife Jovanka on a ship in front of the temple in Abu Simbel, Egypt 1962

proclaimed through public discourse at the time when the photos were taken – values of solidarity, anticolonialism, antiracism, socialism, and anti-imperialism. Shifts in context – especially the forgetting and obliteration of the initial context in which the photos were taken – contributed to the disappearance of implicit meanings that these photos carried as part of day-to-day life in Yugoslavia. Therefore, it would be highly problematic if a formal, statesmanly, political system of images was to be used as an illustration of the entire social and cultural climate which enabled – over a few short decades – to create a context for different perceptions not only of oneself but of one's place in the world.¹⁴

||| *In the very principle of its constitution, in its language, and in its finalities, narratives of Africa are always a pretext for a comment about something else, some other place, some other people.*¹⁵

¹⁴ More on the topic at: Jože Smole i Rudi Štajduhar, *Prešednik Tito u zemljama Azije i Afrike*, (Beograd: Kultura, 1959).

¹⁵ Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 3.



President Nasser cruising with President Tito on the Red Sea.
(Photo by J. B. Tito), Egypt 1962

Cultural movements and ideologies of identity such as Pan-Africanism and Négritude, as well as other national cultural ideologies, had a visible influence on politics and on meetings with foreign statesmen, as noted in welcome ceremonies and in the official schedules of their visits to a number of African countries following decolonization. Forms of public communication that conveyed complex messages or served as a mark of power – such as traditional fabrics, flywhisks, headgear and other paraphernalia – were a useful source for certain elements of political spectacle. The quest for national and pan-African forms of expression must be understood in the context of a formerly dominant colonial system which belittled and even forbade – in often cruel processes of acculturation – certain vernacular forms of public expression, including various artistic styles and languages. Kwame Nkrumah was amongst the first African leaders to intentionally use symbols derived from tradition. In his case, those were the ways of dressing and manifestations of power



The parade of social organizations in Accra, held in honor of President Tito, Ghana 1961

from the royal court of Ashanti.¹⁶ (Renewal of the “African personality”, as Nkrumah sums up this process in his writings on cultural recuperation, was an attempt to take a more active approach to centuries of adverse representations that left deep scars on the social fabric. Early on, he realized that both the main exponents of state power – such as a coat of arms, a flag, a national anthem – and the often neglected bearers of state messages – such as postal stamps – may have far-reaching importance for national unification. Despite the fact that ideological perspectives in regard to it differed, the practice of enrichment of visual political language with ‘African’ elements was to become recognized by other offi-

¹⁶ “Many of the premiers of independent African states, including Nkrumah, Sylvanus Epiphonio Olympio, and Sékou Touré who were not of royal stock, had to associate with and “transform themselves into ‘kings’ to legitimize themselves in the rivalry between the elitist nationalists and the traditional rulers in the struggle for independence in West Africa . . . [by imitating and associating] their leadership with legitimate monarchs.” Harcourt Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State, Kwame Nkrumah’s Symbolic Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 40.



Presidents Kenyatta and Tito during the farewell at the airport in Nairobi, Kenya 1970

cial and statesmen too.¹⁷ Amongst them were Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, and Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal. Critics of this practice thought of it as a well-timed, crude and opportunistic use of tradition for political purposes, and as yet another way of the 'ethnographization' of African countries and cultures.

Although the 'ethnographic' elements of representation are especially striking in gifts that Tito received on his trips to Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan and other countries, it should be noted that state gifts always strived to represent the obvious or recognizable: they are often a more luxurious form of a souvenir, with rare exceptions when it comes to archaeological treasures or works of famous artists. However, even when gifts are not luxurious or exceptional, the way they are given and received lends them a specific contextual meaning.

¹⁷ Fuller, 191.



Anti-fascist monument Yekatit 12, created by A. Augustinčić and Frano Kršinić, built in 1942, Ethiopia 1955

Comparative overview of the MY collection and its contemporary counterparts – such as the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum – provides evidence that state gifts exchanged at the highest level typically followed a pattern.¹⁸ Pictures from Togo, created using the technique of marqueterie, objects from Sudan made of ivory and *tapis* woven on narrow looms from Mali, are only some of the examples of virtually identical gifts given to foreign statesmen, including Tito. Different from these gifts – which can be perceived as objects of “ethnic art”¹⁹ – are objects of modern design. Kenneth Kaunda often presented his guests with interior design objects such as lamps and coffee tables made of copper, one of the

¹⁸ John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, USA, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Search-Our-Collections/Browse-Digital-Collections.aspx> (Last accessed on 27th November 2016)

¹⁹ Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).



President Tito with his wife Jovanka visiting the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, Egypt 1955

most important commercial products of Zambia. Senghor was in the habit of gifting works by contemporary artists, such as a tapestry made in the city of Thiès and designed by painter Mamadou Wade.

A place where a gift was given is also of importance when considering its symbolic meaning. If we examine objects that Nkrumah passed on to the Ghana Armed Forces Museum in 1960 and 1965 – a shield and two spears which he received from Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia²⁰ – one can see that nearly indistinguishable gifts were given to Tito at the scene of the decisive Battle of Adwa (1896) in which Ethiopians, led by Emperor Menelik II, defeated the Italians. The historical importance of this battle had a far-reaching influence not only in Ethiopia but in a number of other African countries too: it represented one of the symbols of African resistance to colonialism. The context of photos – which show Tito at this historically sig-

²⁰ Fuller, 133.



President Tito with his wife Jovanka visiting Ethnographic Museum in Khartoum, Sudan 1959

nificant location wearing Ethiopian headgear and holding a shield and two spears in a seemingly colonial image if judged only by means of “costuming”, appropriation and scenography – allows us to interpret them as anticolonial in a markedly symbolic sense.

Besides sometimes being sent through gifts, messages of *national* continuity are also often projected through formal institutional representations of *cultural* continuity. The best examples of this are museums,²¹ but also archaeological sites, monuments, and places of national memory and remembrance.

²¹ However, it is precisely the museum – particularly in its modern 19th-century form – that is one of the key institutions for perpetuating a ‘colonial’ view: it encompasses different times and places and establishes an ‘image of the world’ by appropriating the past. Idea of a museum as a formal representation of culture and continuity, as well as national cohesion, may be observed in Tito’s relationship towards the founding of new museums: for his 70th birthday the city of Belgrade dedicated the Museum *May 25th* to him; previous to that he already had a small Archaeological Museum, as well as the archaeological site at Brijuni Islands, natural science ‘exhibits’ both at his Belgrade residence and at Brijuni Islands, where he also had a zoo. These are only some of the elements of a repertoire of presidential visits which we can also witness in numerous photos from around the world that belong to the President’s Cabinet collections.



Jovanka Broz and Safia Gaddafi, wife of Muammar el Gaddafi, sightseeing Brijuni Islands, Brijuni (Yugoslavia) 1977

Relating to tradition – and so to definitions of what traditional art is and how it may be interpreted – was an important anticolonial subject in many African countries. An “authentically African” art form was often the subject of interpretations and debates. Although the majority of these definitions were bound to be ideological, they did have a role in the recuperation of the position of certain art forms example with the performing arts in a wider cultural context.²²

²² In her essay on the First World Festival of Black Arts (aka FESMAN), held in Dakar, Senegal, in 1966 – one of the four most significant gatherings of this kind during the 1960s and 1970s (others were Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers, Algeria, aka PANAF in 1969, *Zaire 74* in Kinshasa, Zaire in 1974, and FESTAC in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1977) – Esther Dagan recalls the festival spirit attended by musicians and dancers from around thirty countries and by more than 350,000 visitors, including many African statesmen (Dagan mentions King Hassan II of Morocco and Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia), and calls it “an unparalleled event that must not be forgotten”. Esther A. Dagan, ed, „Senegal, Dances in the Dakar Festival, 1966”, in: *The Spirit's Dance in Africa, Evolution, Transformation and Continuity in Sub-Sahara* (Westmount: Galerie Amrad African Arts Publications, 1997), 154-155. More on the topic at: Dominique Malaquais and Cédric Vincent, *Entangled Panafrika: Four Festivals and an Archive* (Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 2016)



Jovanka Broz visiting archeological city Leptis Magna, Libya 1977

Established modes of representation provided cognitive frameworks – including visual and cultural – for the perpetuation of certain social relations not only in the decades or even centuries of colonial rule but also after decolonization.²³ Images of power that one may identify in the photos from the MY collections relied upon recognizable visual symbols that were particularly evident in meetings at the highest political level. Recent art and research work by Maryam Jafri, herself concerned with a period of independence of a number of world countries, provides us with an interesting analogy.²⁴ In a convincing yet subtle manner, Jafri analyses visual aspects of independence proclamation ceremonies of former colonies – and she does so that precisely through photographs. Photos show the extent to which these ceremonies were orchestrated by the retreating imperial

²³ Edward W. Said, „Kultura i imperijalizam“ (1993), in Zdenko Lešić, *Poststrukturalistička čitanka*, (Sarajevo, Buybook, 2002), 252-267. [Originally published in: Edward W. Said, *Culture and imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993)]

²⁴ Maryam Jafri, „Independence Day 1934-1975“ /2009-ongoing, <http://www.maryamjafri.net/indepDay.htm> (Last accessed on 21st November 2016)



The folklore program in front of the hotel Savoy in Ndola, Zambia 1970



The folklore program in front of the hotel Savoy in Ndola, Zambia 1970



On the way from Tema to the residence in Accra, Ghana 1961

powers as if the newly conquered independence and autonomous political language are still far from established.²⁵ A very important question to be asked, not only in the context of MY's photos but in a wider system of representations, is why this "adopted" modernity in presidential photos from former colonies is perceived as more grotesque than the colonial reality that established these models of representation in the first place. Is it because it so clearly points to how national projects in question were doomed to failure – which in itself is no more than a contemporary version of a stereotypical discourse on African countries as unsuccessful and incapable of independent functioning²⁶ – or because it unmasks colonialism as its

²⁵ For more on independence proclamation ceremonies, David Cannadine, "Introduction: Independence Day Ceremonials in Historical Perspective", *The Round Table*, (2008), 649-665; Claire Wintle, "Decolonising the Museum: The Case of the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes", *Museum & Society*, 11(2) (2009), 185-201.

²⁶ More on African countries as "unsuccessful projects" in: Branwen Gruffydd Jones, "Africanist Scholarship, Eurocentrism and the Politics of Knowledge", in: Araújo, M. and S. Maeso (Eds.), *Eurocentrism, Racism and Knowledge, Debates on History and Power in Europe and the Americas* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 114-135, 129.



The parade of social organizations in Accra, held in honor of President Tito, Ghana 1961

source, bearing the entire burden of disappointment with the downfall of 1960s idealism?

If images of lion and big game hunting in Africa, safari hats and clothes reflect ideas of staged 'touristic' authenticity, then the magnificent halls and stands, Houses of Assembly and new building sites represent stereotypical images of aspiration for power. In fact, the following question that connects these two kinds of images should be asked: which other images are they the 'mirror reflections'²⁷ of, how long did these images circulate in the imperial and colonial world, and to what extent are they inscribed in our modern-day perceptual systems?

As Achille Mbembe points up: "More than any other region, Africa thus stands out as the supreme receptacle of the West's obsession with, and circular discourse about, the facts of "absence," "lack," and "non-being," of identity and difference, of negativeness – in short, of nothingness."²⁸ The representations and self-representations of African countries in the period

²⁷ Characterized in this manner by my colleague Emilia Epštajn.

²⁸ Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 4.



Presidents Tito and Kaunda at the rally in the workers' village at the building-site of HP Kafue, Zambia 1970

after political decolonization often served as a backdrop to be “filled out” with ideas of one’s own political and international importance, in the same way in which a one-time “filling out of empty space” with mermaids, cannibals and monsters took place.²⁹

Referring both to the recently decolonized African countries and to Yugoslavia, Davičo describes a strategy of survival of ‘small countries’ in a polarized world as a ‘politics of open doors’³⁰ entailing intensive international communication. By reusing previously established statesmanly representations, not only do the global diplomatic meetings – as a prescribed, procedural and thus quite a conservative system – repeat existing codes of conduct, they also perpetuate an entire meta-level of stereotypical cultural references, a practice made easy as the system of political

²⁹ For more on this topic, see En Mek Klintok, „Genealogija imperijalizma”, *Postkolonijalna teorija u: Treći program*, br. 125-126, I-II, (2005), 130-160. [Originally published in: Anne Mc Clintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995)]

³⁰ Davičo, *Crno na belo*, 299-300.



Presidents Tito and Nasser visiting the building site of Aswan Dam, Egypt 1968

representations with its inherited, adopted language of imperialism that was not 'decolonized' at all.

IV ... anticolonialism is not a discourse that belongs to the past.³¹

Some long established social orders persist, while others are easily and swiftly forgotten and abandoned. The cultural space of former Yugoslavia, in which photos from the MY collection came into being, provides evidence in this regard. Even though this space was exposed to theories of decolonization and writings of intellectuals such as Fanon, whose works were contemporaneous with processes of decolonization, there are a few reasons that explain why ideologies of anticolonialism and cultural and epistemological emancipation were soon forgotten within a wider social framework. While people like Selassie, Nkrumah, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ahmed Sukarno, Agost-

³¹ Marlon Simmons and George J. Sefa Dei, "Reframing Anti-colonial Theory for the Diasporic Context", *Postcolonial Directions in Education*, 1(1), (2012), 67-99, 69.



Honoring Patrice Lumumba at the plenary session of the First Conference of the Non-Aligned, Belgrade (Yugoslavia) 1961

inho Neto, Lumumba and others were well-known and played a role in public discourse – after all, streets and public buildings were named after them (streets of Patrice Lumumba, Nehru, and Dr. Agostinho Neto are still there, as are the Patrice Lumumba Halls of Residence) – their significance and familiarity have almost entirely disappeared with the cessation of values of socialist Yugoslavia (as discussed in the introduction). With the end of bloc division in 1989, the Non-Aligned Movement – which provided a passage for the influx of African realities into Yugoslav public discourse – is denied one of its initial and integral purposes; this aspect of cultural memory and remembrance thus corresponded with the general political and cultural climate of forgetting in Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s.³²

³² Naturally, main erasure happened in various institutions that stood as a legacy of socialist Yugoslavia. Resistance shown by the word “Yugoslavia” in persevering as part of the name of several institutions during the 1990s – including the Museum of Yugoslav History, the Archives of Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav Film Archive – has everything to do with political moves of Serbian authorities which combined growing nationalism with a rhetoric of “Yugoslavhood”, in itself perceived as a political asset in a claim to state continuity.



Presidents Tito and Nasser passing in a car through Cairo, Egypt 1955



Meeting of president Tito with the Kenyans who studied in Yugoslavia, Kenya 1970

The general self-understanding of Yugoslavia in the public discourse was that, although European, it was never a imperial country; rather, it was a country that suffered intensely in its struggle for liberation. This type of discourse was so pronounced in Yugoslav foreign policy that it calls for a separate consideration of its implications for Yugoslav self-perception within a wider social context. On the one hand it was affirmative, as it allowed for a narrative of solidarity and friendship with nations around the world, especially those that have only just gotten rid themselves of the colonial social system. On the other, this discourse was so potent and incontestable that in some ways it put an end to all debate before any such debate had even begun. This nominal narrative of 'not-being-colonial' had virtually 'liberated' Yugoslav nations from the need to reflect on their position in former (and on some meta-levels still present) colonial orders of social relations and knowledge production and perpetuation.

In a wider global context, the period of colonialism and its remnants, such as archives and museum collections, are to some extent still insufficiently analysed and interpreted; one may even say they are deliberately



Representatives of liberation movements of South and South-West Africa at the reception with President Tito in the Yugoslav Embassy, during the Second Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, Egypt 1964

obscured.³³ Poor perceptibility of *colonial* history – characteristic of many western institutions of memory and remembrance – had a blotting out of *anticolonial* history as its most direct consequence. This is particularly true for anticolonialism as a continuous process – not only as a struggle against the state and social order of colonialism before this order ceased to exist but also as a conceptual framework both before and after, in the long period of the “decolonization of the mind”.³⁴ Contrary to the conspicuousness of anticolonial ideas at the height of the process of decolonization in the 1960s and 1970s, what is conspicuous at the present time is the lack of awareness with regards to the colonial heritage which continues its influence through educational and cultural representations.

With all their connotations, photos from the MY collection make up only one part of a complex intersection of circumstances and ideologies of a historical period that they belong to; but they were also meant to be

³³ Elizabeth Edwards and Matt Mead, “Absent Histories and Absent Images: Photographs, Museums and the Colonial Past”, *Museum & Society*, 11 (1), (March 2013) 19-38.

³⁴ More on the topic at: Ng g wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind, The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981).



Travelling by *Galeb* to visit African countries, 1961

a sign of times to come – times since unrealized and perhaps even forestalled. A thought out modern-day usage of these photos must, therefore, take into consideration all their previous meanings formed in different contexts, all the while returning to the most important question, and that is: what makes this so important to us today? Are we dealing with sentimental idealization, nostalgizing, commercialization, holding onto traces of former importance, or is a reappraisal of these photos an attempt to reappraise the past itself – at a time when it seems that alternatives are far from many? Are we in need of affirmative models – as much as they had been unsuccessful or are utopian in nature – or have we simply not yet exhausted the interpretations of the recent but in many ways obscured past?

Some of the artistic and research approaches to the MY photographic collections are opening the existing narratives to alternative interpretations from different, sometimes opposed perspectives. The photographs under discussion provide us with a unique opportunity to critically re-

think both colonialism and anticolonialism; a similar opportunity to be acknowledged ought not to be denied to all those realities “beyond the photographic frame” because temporal distance clearly proves that they are today, albeit in a slightly altered sense, as relevant as they were fifty or sixty years ago.³⁵

³⁵ More on the topic at: Ana Sladojević, *Slike o Africi/Images of Africa* (Belgrade: Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, 2015).

Curators' Note

Ana Sladojević
Mirjana Slavković

The narrative of the exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity* is based on a changing relation between two main components: one comprising the social values of solidarity and anticolonialism and the other the formal representations of international meetings at the highest level.

The values of solidarity and anticolonialism were held in common by the Third World countries with which Yugoslavia had shared beliefs and goals in the 1960s and the 1970s. These values dominated the official discourse, memoranda, reports, and other documents of that time.

Visual representations of this rhetoric, however, are more complex. Photo and film footages of heads of state meetings reflect strict rules and norms of world diplomacy, inherited from previous – *colonial* – systems of representation.

The legacy of anticolonialism – a conceptual framework that transcends the actual ending of colonial regimes – is not readily evident on the international level. Despite the strong presence at the time of bilateral relations between socialist Yugoslavia and African countries, modern-day post-Yugoslav spaces betray a conspicuous lack of awareness and knowledge of anticolonialism. More worrying, however, is the lack of knowledge about colonialism, as its legacy continues to be perpetuated through cultural and educational representations.

Without claiming to present the totality of international contacts of Yugoslavia and African

countries – or to make definitive assessment regarding the meaning of their cultural, economic or political cooperation – the curators of this exhibition endeavour to integrate these mentioned narrative components. By juxtaposing them – all the while acutely aware that neither the photographs nor their selection are neutral, and that there may be many, even opposing, interpretations – the curators wish to underline the significance of the context in interpreting an ‘image’.



The exhibition *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity* is a result of cooperation between researchers gathered around the international project *Socialism Goes Global*, based at the University of Exeter, UK, and the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Serbia. The majority of the exhibited items are from the Museum of Yugoslavia collections, including photographs and negatives produced by the President’s Cabinet between 1947 and 1980. Other exhibits are loanes from the private collections of the Lalević and Lovrić families, the Museum of African Art – the collection of Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar, the Archives of Yugoslavia, and *Filmske novosti*.

After the Museum of Yugoslavia exhibition, a smaller version of the show will be presented at the Pitt Rivers Museum in the UK and the Wende Museum in the USA.

The Selection of Photos for the Exhibition "Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity"

Radovan Cukić / Paul Betts / Radina Vučetić

1. 1955_050_030 Red Sea 1955. President Tito aboard "Galeb" sailing to Ethiopia.
2. 1955_50_105 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito, as the head of the Yugoslav delegation, laying wreath on the Monument of Liberation in Addis Ababa.
3. 1955_50_096 Ethiopia 1955. Antifascist monument Yekatit 12, the work of A. Augustinčić and F. Kršinić, built in 1955 in Addis Ababa, as a gift from President Tito and the people of Yugoslavia to Ethiopia.
4. 1955_50_141 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito visiting St. Paul's Hospital in Addis Ababa.
5. 1955_50_178 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito with members of Yugoslav colony in Addis Ababa.
6. 1955_51_248 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito at the site of the historical Battle of Maychew.
7. 1955_51_301 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie at the site of the historical Battle of Adwa.
8. 1955_51_302 Ethiopia 1955, J. B. Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie at the site of the historical Battle of Adwa.
9. 1955_1956_52_032 Egypt 1955, Presidents Tito and Nasser passing in a car through Cairo.
10. 1959_105_188 Ethiopia 1959, J. B. Tito and his entourage hunting in southwest Ethiopia.
11. 1959_106_018 Sudan 1959, The meeting of President Tito and president of the Supreme Military Council of Sudan Ibrahim Abboud in the Palace of the Republic in Khartoum.
12. Egypt 1955. President Tito with his wife Jovanka visiting the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.

13. 1956_053_276 Egypt 1956. President Tito with members of Yugoslav colony in Cairo.
14. 1959_106_094 Sudan 1959, Jovanka Broz visiting the City Hospital in Khartoum.
15. 1959_106_120 Sudan 1959, The people gathered to welcome President Tito in Barakat.
16. 1959_106_131 Sudan 1959, The people gathered to welcome President Tito in Barakat.
17. 1959_107_086 Ethiopia 1959, Jovanka Broz sightseeing in Axum, the largest center of the old Ethiopian culture.
18. 1959_108_091 Ethiopia 1959, Jovanka Broz visiting the School for Arts and Crafts in Addis Ababa.
19. 1959_108_041 Ethiopia 1959, J. B. Tito at the exhibition of economic development of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa.
20. 1959_109_012 Sudan 1959, J. B. Tito at the parade of tribes in Al-Ubayyid.
21. 1959_109_102 Sudan 1959, Jovanka Broz visiting an elementary school in Khartoum.
22. 1959_109_105 Sudan 1959, Jovanka Broz visiting an elementary school in Khartoum.
23. 1959_109_130 Sudan 1959, J. B. Tito having tea at the home of the son of the historical leader of Sudan, Mahdi, in Omdurman.
24. 1959_109_142 Sudan 1959, President Tito giving gifts to the president of the Supreme Military Council of Sudan, Ibrahim Abboud.
25. 1961_151_059 Ghana 1961, Unknown resident of Accra.
26. 1961_151_066 Ghana 1961, A passer-by on the streets of Accra.

27. 1961_151_109 Ghana 1961, The parade of social organizations in Accra, held in honor of President Tito.
28. 1961_151_112 Ghana 1961, A participant of the parade of social organizations in Accra, held in honor of President Tito.
29. 1961_152_025 Ghana 1961, Jovanka Broz with women of Ghana at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra.
30. 1961_152_148 Ghana 1961, Presidents Tito and Kwame Nkrumah during the final Ghana-Yugoslav talks conducted aboard "Galeb". (M. Rašeta)
31. 1961_153_079 Togo 1961, Marketplace in Lomé.
32. 1961_153_113 Togo 1961, President Tito laying foundation for the new hydroelectric power plant in Kpime. (M. Rašeta)
33. 1961_153_177 Togo 1961, Jovanka Broz visiting a kindergarten in Lomé.
34. 1961_154_008 Ghana 1961, President Tito and members of Yugoslav delegation talking with builders of the harbor Tema.
35. 1961_154_027 Ghana 1961, A formal reception organized for President Tito on the Kumasi airport.
36. 1961_155_032 Liberia 1961, Presidents Tito and Tubman at the ceremony of handing decorations in Monrovia.
37. 1961_154_041 Ghana 1961, A scene from the city of Kumasi.
38. 1961_154_062 Ghana 1961, President Tito and his entourage visiting the Experimental Agricultural School in Kumasi.
39. 1961_155_085 Liberia 1961, President Tito visiting the Parliament of Liberia in Monrovia.
40. 1961_155_134 Liberia 1961, The Monument of Joseph Roberts in Monrovia.

41. 1961_156_040 Liberia 1961, President Tito and his wife Jovanka visiting the estate of President Tubman in Totota.
42. 1961_156_054 Liberia 1961, A scene on the road between Totota and Kokota.
43. 1961_154_110 Ghana 1961. President Tito visiting cocoa plantations in Tafo.
44. 1961_157_019 Guinea 1961, A welcome for President Tito on the way to the residence in Conakry.
45. 1961_157_032 Guinea 1961, Presidents Tito and Sekou Toure laying wreath at the Memorial for the Victims of Colonialism in Conakry.
46. 1961_157_034 Guinea 1961, Laying wreath at the Memorial for the Victims of Colonialism in Conakry.
47. 1961_157_157 Guinea 1961, A scene on the road from Conakry to Mamou.
48. 1961_157_180 Guinea. A parade of youth and pioneers held in Mamou in honor of President Tito.
49. 1961_158_029 Guinea 1961, From the parade of military, youth and pioneers held in honor of President Tito in Kindia Region.
50. 1961_159_003 Mali 1961, The official welcome for President Tito at the Bamako airport.
51. 1961_159_050 Mali 1961, From the official talks of delegations of Mali and Yugoslavia in Bamako.
52. 1961_160_067 Morocco 1961, President Tito giving presents to King Hassan II in Rabat.
53. 1961_160_103 Morocco 1961, The welcome organized for President Tito in Meknes.
54. 1961_161_044 Morocco 1961, President Tito with entourage and hosts at the traditional lunch under tents in Ifran.
55. 1961_162_033 Tunisia 1961, Presidents Tito and Bourguiba on the way from the harbor to the residence in Tunisia.

56. 1961_163_002 Tunisia 1961, A scene from the streets of Tunisia.
57. 1961_163_009 Tunisia 1961, President Tito with entourage visiting Engine House in Tunisia.
58. 1961_163_046 Tunisia 1961, President Tito and his wife Jovanka visiting the Bardo National Museum in Tunisia.
59. 1961_163_061 Tunisia 1961, President Tito visiting the Centre for Advancement of Agriculture in El Hababi.
60. 1961_163_075 Tunisia 1961, Presidents Tito and Bourguiba at a ceremonial play in the theatre in Tunisia.
61. 1961_163_115 Tunisia 1961, A welcome to President Tito in Kairouan.
62. 1961_164_164 Egypt (UAR) 1961, Presidents Tito and Nasser with wives at the concert of Cairo Opera.
63. 1961_173_182 Pula (Yugoslavia) 1961, A welcome organized for President of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah.
64. 1961_178_022 Belgrade (Yugoslavia) 1961, Honoring Patrice Lumumba at the plenary session of the First Conference of the Non-Aligned.
65. 1961_178_056 Belgrade (Yugoslavia) 1961, All heads of delegations at the First Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.
66. 1962_189_164 Egypt 1962, J. B. Tito with his wife Jovanka on a ship in front of the temple in Abu Simbel.
67. 1962_190_021 Sudan 1962, Ceremonial reception at the airport in Khartoum and the meeting of President Tito and President of the Supreme Military Council of Sudan Ibrahim Abboud.
68. 1962_190_091 Sudan 1962, Presidents Tito and Abboud strolling the streets of Khartoum.

69. 1962_190_106 Sudan 1962, President Tito with entourage and hosts visiting the Leather Factory in Khartoum, built by Yugoslav companies.
70. 1962_190_131 Sudan 1962, Presidents Tito and Abboud visiting the Zoo in Khartoum.
71. 1962_190_143 Sudan 1962, A scene from the market in Khartoum.
72. 1962_190_144 Sudan 1962, Photographer of "Filmske novosti", Stevan Labudović, taking pictures of the market in Khartoum.
73. 1962_191_053 Egypt 1962, Presidents Tito and Nasser in the Koubbeh Palace in Cairo.
74. 1964_255_009 Egypt 1964, Representatives of the Resistance from Portuguese colonies at the reception with President Tito in the Yugoslav Embassy, during the Second Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.
75. 1964_255_012 Egypt 1964, Representatives of liberation movements of South and South-West Africa at the reception with President Tito in the Yugoslav Embassy, during the Second Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.
76. 1965_265_102 Algeria 1965, Visit of Jovanka Broz to the Rehabilitation Centre in Douera, near Algeria.
77. 1965_265_146 Algeria 1965, Rally at the square Esplanade Africa in Algeria.
78. 1965_266_143 Algeria 1965, Welcome for President Tito on the way from the airport in Oran to the city.
79. 1965_266_170 Algeria 1965, Rally at the Place 1 November in Oran.
80. 1965_266_187 Algeria 1965, Presidents Tito and Ben Bella visiting the building site of the textile factory in Oran, built by the company "Krušik" from Valjevo.

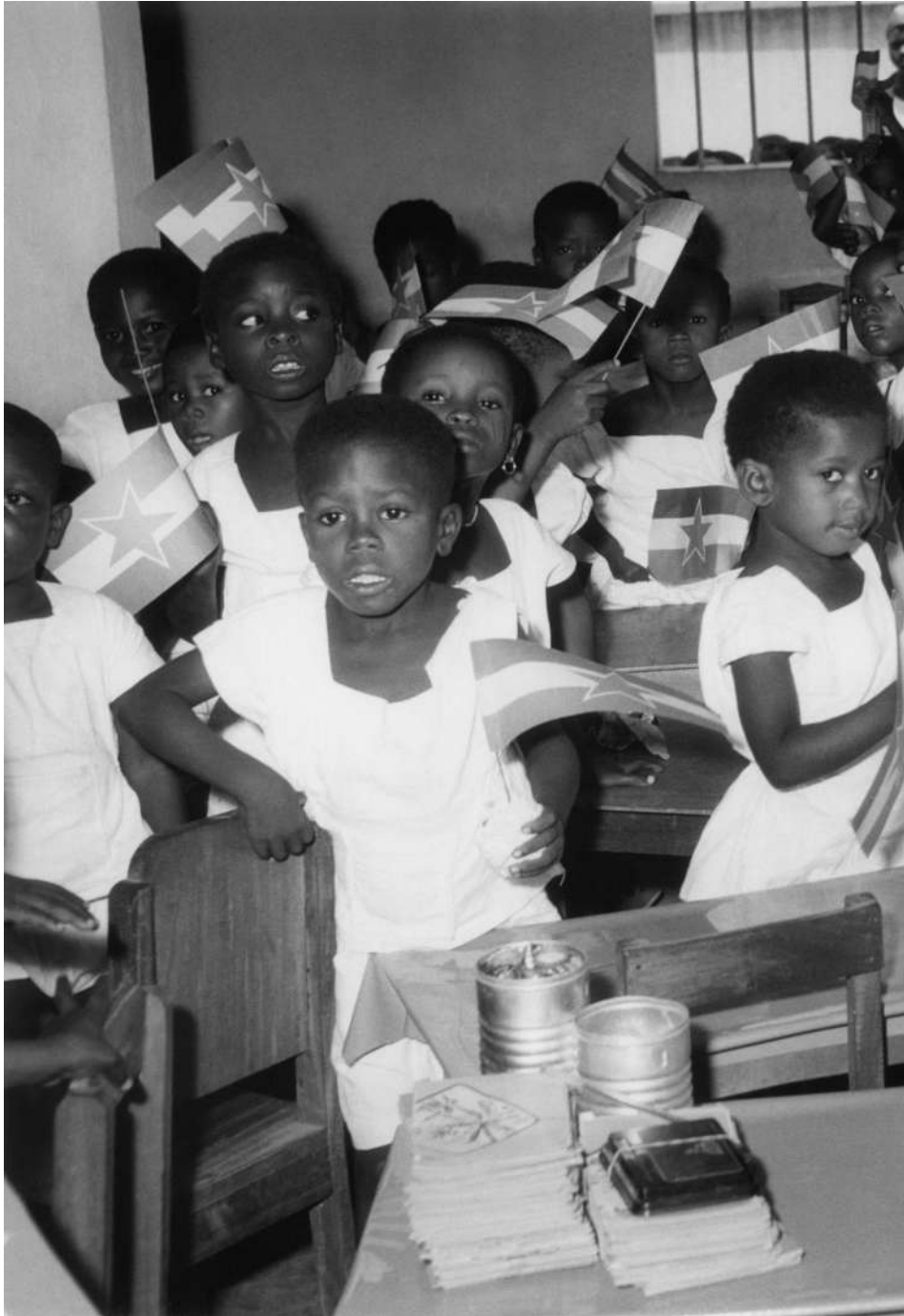
81. 1965_267_098 Algeria 1965, President Tito visiting Ethnographic-archeological Museum Bardo in Algeria.
82. 1966_300_048 Egypt 1966, From the welcome of President Tito in Alexandria.
83. 1966_300_113 Egypt 1966, A scene in the surroundings of Alexandria.
84. 1966_301_129 Egypt 1966, Manifestation of youth folklore, held in honor of President Tito in Alexandria.
85. 1968_359_102 Ethiopia 1968, City Council of Addis Ababa.
86. 1968_360_091 Ethiopia 1968, President Tito and his wife Jovanka with a boy Tito, who would go to school in Yugoslavia in Bako.
87. 1968_361_041 Egypt 1968, Presidents Tito and Nasser visiting the building site of Aswan Dam.
88. 1968_361_046 Egypt 1968, Presidents Tito and Nasser visiting the building site of Aswan Dam.
89. 1969_416_160 Algeria 1969, President Tito visiting agricultural property Si Ben Daho Abdel Kader, on the territory of Gdeidel commune.
90. 1969_416_173 Algeria 1969, President Tito visiting Petrochemical Industry in Arzew.
91. 1970_421_088 Tanzania 1970, Jovanka Broz visiting the Museum of Village Houses in Dar es Salaam.
92. 1970_421_139 Tanzania 1970, President Tito receiving gifts in the central office of TANU Party in Dar es Salaam.
93. 1970_422_069 Tanzania 1970, President Tito with his wife Jovanka in the camp in the lake Nduu.
94. 1970_422_105 Tanzania 1970, President Tito with his wife Jovanka, hunting in the lake Nduu.

95. 1970_423_104 Zambia 1970, President Tito visiting Copper Refinery in Ndola.
96. 1970_424_080 Zambia 1970, Presidents Tito and Kaunda at the rally in the workers' village at the building-site of HP Kafue.
97. 1970_424_145 Zambia 1970, President of Zambia Kenneth Kaunda in his residence in Lusaka.
98. 1970_424_173 Zambia 1970, Presidents Tito and Kaunda exchanging gifts.
99. 1970_426_032 Kenya 1970, Presidents Tito and Kenyatta at the ceremonial lunch in Nairobi.
100. 1970_426_053 Kenya 1970, President Tito visiting University farm Kabete in Nairobi.
101. 1970_426_090 Kenya 1970, President Tito hunting in Keekorok.
102. 1970_426_105 Kenya 1970, President Tito hunting in Keekorok.
103. 1970_426_121 Kenya 1970, President Tito resting in Keekorok.
104. 1970_426_124 Kenya 1970, Jovanka Broz resting in Keekorok.
105. 1970_426_157 Kenya 1970, President Tito resting in hunting ground in Keekorok.
106. 1970_427_107 Kenya 1970, Before the reception in the Parliament of Nairobi, in honor of President Tito and his wife.
107. 1970_427_158 Kenya 1970, The exchange of presents in the City Council of Nairobi.
108. 1970_427_173 Kenya 1970, President Tito visiting the industrial zone of Nairobi.
109. 1970_428_020 Uganda 1970, President Tito receiving gifts from President Obote during a shorter visit to Uganda, travelling from Kenya to Sudan.
110. 1970_428_042 Sudan 1970, President Tito upon arrival at the Residence in Khartoum, accompanied by General Gafaar el Nimeiry.

111. 1970_428_088 Sudan 1970, Jovanka Broz visiting the Museum of Ethnology in Omdurman.
112. 1970_429_047 Egypt 1970, Presidents Tito and Nasser at the building site of the hydro-power plant in Aswan.
113. 1970_429_079 Libya 1970, Presidents Tito and Gaddafi during the reception in the airport in Tripoli.
114. 1970_429_143 Libya 1970, Presidents Tito and Gaddafi exchanging gifts in Tripoli.
115. 1973_526_192 The meeting of President Tito with President of the Republic of Uganda Idi Amin in Algeria, during the Fourth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement.
116. 1977_634_032 Libya 1977, Jovanka Broz visiting the archeological city Leptis Magna.
117. 1977_634_089 Libya 1977, President Tito and his wife Jovanka meeting the family of President Gaddafi, in his personal residence in Tripoli.
118. MIJ-9-022 Egypt 1962, Workers of "Energo-projekt" at the construction site of the diesel power plant in Wadi El Natrun.
119. MIJ-1468-013 Zambia 1970, President Tito with entourage at the market of handicrafts on Victoria Falls.
120. MIJ-1511-070 Guinea 1961, Program organized in honor of President Tito.
121. MIJ-1463-011 Libya 1977, Meeting of Presidents Tito and Gaddafi in Tripoli.
122. MIJ-1504-012 Ethiopia 1955, President Tito and Emperor Haile Selassie in the ceremonial reception in Addis Ababa.
123. 1977_650_121 Brijuni (Yugoslavia) 1977. Jovanka Broz and Safia Gaddafi, wife of Muammar el Gaddafi, sightseeing Brijuni.
124. MIJ-512-010 Egypt 1958, Watchtower of the members of the Yugoslav detachment in the UN force on the hill El Sabha in Sinai.

125. MIJ-512-013 Egypt 1958, Members of the Yugoslav detachment in the UN force in Sinai maintaining camp.
126. MIJ-512-022 Egypt 1958, A member of the Yugoslav detachment in the UN force in Sinai meeting with colleagues from Brazil in the demarcation line.
127. MIJ-1182-006 Algeria 1960, A scene from the lives of soldiers of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
128. MIJ-1182-012 Algeria 1960, A scene from the lives of soldiers of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
129. MIJ-1182-015 A scene from the lives of soldiers of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
130. MIJ-1182-020 Algeria 1960, A scene from the lives of soldiers of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
131. MIJ-1263-015 Algeria 1965, Ceremonial reception of President Tito in Algeria.
132. MIJ-512-025 Egypt 1958, Members of the Yugoslav detachment in the UN force on Sinai conversing with the Bedouin.
133. MIJ-1509-057 Liberia 1961, President Tito visiting the Zoo at the estate of President Tubman.
134. MIJ-1518-004 Tanzania 1970, President Tito hunting at the lake Ndutu.
135. MIJ-1518-019 Tanzania 1970, President Tito with his wife Jovanka resting in the hunting ground at the lake Ndutu.
136. MIJ-1888-025 Kenya 1970, Jovanka Broz with members of the Maasai people.
137. JBT_163_018 Egypt 1962, A photojournalist on assignment, during the visit of President Tito to Luxor. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
138. JBT_173_007 Egypt 1962, President Nasser cruising with President Tito on the Red Sea. (Photo by J. B. Tito)

139. JBT_259_025 Egypt 1962, Aswan Dam. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
140. JBT_054_003 Egypt 1962, A scene on the banks of the Nile. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
141. JBT_054_004 Egypt 1962, A scene on the banks of the Nile. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
142. JBT_054_005 Egypt 1962, A scene of the rural life in Egypt. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
143. JBT_054_007 Egypt 1962, A scene of the rural life in Egypt. (Photo by J. B. Tito)
144. 1953_019_074 Great Britain 1953, President Tito and Yugoslav ambassador in London, Vladimir Velebit, leaving for talks with Churchill.
145. 1956_068_030 Belje (Yugoslavia) 1956, J. B. Tito and Nikita Khrushchev in the ceremony of "Hunters Initiation".
146. 1961_153_046 Togo 1961, Presidents Tito and Olympio passing through Lomé in a car.
147. 1961_154_027 Ghana 1961, President Tito on the ceremonial reception at the airport Kumasi.
148. 1961_154_061 Ghana 1961, President Tito with his wife Jovanka visiting Experimental Agricultural School in Kumasi.
149. 1961_157_004 Guinea 1961. Presidents Tito and Sekou Toure passing in the car to the residence in Conakry.
150. 1961_157_018 A visit to Guinea: the road to the residence in Conakry
151. 1962_201_140 USSR 1970, Presidents Tito and Khrushchev hunting at the hunting ground Zavidovo, near Moscow.
152. 1970_426_142 Kenya 1970, President Tito with his wife Jovanka hunting in Keekorok.
153. 1971_469_077 Tjentište 1971, President Tito and his wife Jovanka, in the company of Richard Burton, observing the shooting of certain frames of the movie "Battle of Sutjeska".



Jovanka Broz visiting a kindergarten in Lomé, Togo 1961

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Obtaining Independence

**Establishment of Bilateral
Relations with Yugoslavia**

Algeria – July 5, 1962
(from France)

Algeria – July 2, 1962

Angola – November 11, 1975
(from Portugal)

Angola – 1975

Benin – August 1, 1960 (from
France)

Benin – 196.

Botswana – September 30, 1966
(from the United Kingdom)

Botswana – 1970

Burkina Faso – August 5, 1960
(from France)

Burkina Faso – 1968

Burundi – July 1, 1962
(from Belgium)

Burundi – 1962

Gabon – August 17, 1960
(from France)

Gabon – 1960

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Tito's Visits to Africa	Visits of African Statesmen to Yugoslavia
<p>Meeting with the Algerian provisional government during a visit to Tunis April 9–14, 1961</p> <p>Algeria, April 24–30, 1965</p> <p>Algeria, November 5–9, 1969</p> <p>Algeria, September 2–10, 1973</p> <p>Algeria, October 20–21, 1979</p> <p>Algeria, May 28–31, 1979</p>	<p>September 1–6, 1961, Benyousséf Ben Khedda, President of the provisional government (Belgrade Conference)</p> <p>March 5–13, 1963, President Ahmed Ben Bella</p> <p>October 6–11, 1965, President Houari Boumédiène</p> <p>June 12–13, 1966, President Boumédiène</p> <p>October 15, 1973, President Boumédiène</p> <p>January 14–15, 1978, President Boumédiène</p>
	<p>April 22–23, 1977, President Agostinho Neto</p>
	<p>June 2, 1977, President Omar Bongo</p>

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Gambia – February 18, 1965
(from United Kingdom)

Gambia – 1965

Ghana – March 6, 1957
(from United Kingdom)

Ghana – 1959

Guinea – October 2, 1958
(from France)

Guinea – 1958

Guinea-Bissau – September 10, 1974
(from Portugal)

Guinea-Bissau – 1975

Egypt – February 28, 1922
(from the United Kingdom)

Egypt – February 1, 1908

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Ghana, April 28–March 4, 1961	August 3–8, 1961, President Kwame Nkrumah September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), President Kwame Nkrumah
Guinea, March 19–24, 1961	January 6–11, 1961, President Sékou Touré September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), foreign affairs minister, Louis Lansana Beavogui August 2–4, 1965, President Sékou Touré July 23–24, 1979, President Sékou Touré
	May 30–July 2, 1976, President of the State Council of Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral August 13, 1979, Chief Commissioner of Guinea Bissau, João Bernardo Vieira October 31, 1979, Chief Commissioner of Guinea Bissau, João Bernardo Vieira
Egypt, February 5, 1955 Egypt, December 24, 1955 –January 6, 1956 Egypt, December 5, 1958 Egypt, February 20–28, 1959 Egypt, February 18–21, 1961 Egypt, April 17–22, 1961 Egypt, November 18–19, 1961 Egypt, February 4–14, 1962	July 12–19, 1956, President Gamal Abdel Nasser July 2–14, 1958, President Gamal Abdel Nasser June 13–20, 1960, President Gamal Abdel Nasser September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), President Gamal Abdel Nasser May 12–16, 1963, President Gamal Abdel Nasser

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Equatorial Guinea – October 12, 1968 (from Spain)

Equatorial Guinea – 1970

Ethiopia – Except for a brief period of Italian occupation (1936–1941), it has never been colonized in the classic manner.

Ethiopia – 1952

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<p>Egypt, October 5–10, 1964 Egypt, April 15–24, 1965 Egypt, May 2–7, 1966 Egypt, February 8, 1968 Egypt, February 23–25, 1970 Egypt, February 13–20, 1971 Egypt, October 20–21, 1971 Egypt, January 20–27, 1977</p>	<p>September 1–4, 1965, President Gamal Abdel Nasser July 10–12, 1968, President Gamal Abdel Nasser February 4–5, 1972, President Anwar el-Sadat January 11–12, 1973, President Anwar el-Sadat March 28–30, 1974, President Anwar el-Sadat May 29–30, 1975, President Anwar el-Sadat April 8–10, 1976, President Anwar el-Sadat</p>
<p>Ethiopia, December 11–24, 1955 Ethiopia, February 2–12, 1959 Ethiopia, January 27–February 4, 1968 Ethiopia, February 9–11, 1970</p>	<p>July 20–26, 1954, Emperor Haile Selassie August 13–15, 1959, Emperor Haile Selassie September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), Emperor Haile Selassie November 2–4, 1963, Emperor Haile Selassie October 26–27, 1967, Emperor Haile Selassie August 4–5, 1967, Emperor Haile Selassie September 23–26, 1968, Emperor Haile Selassie June 24–30, 1972, Emperor Haile Selassie October 30–31, 1973, Emperor Haile Selassie December 7–8, 1978, President Mengistu Haile Mariam</p>

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Zambia – October 24, 1964
(from the United Kingdom)

Zambia – 1964

Zimbabwe – April 18, 1980
(from the United Kingdom)

Zimbabwe – 1980

Cameroon – January 1, 1960
(from the French rule after
the UN mandate)

Cameroon – 1960

Cape Verde – July 5, 1975
(from Portugal)

Cape Verde – 1975

Comoros – July 6, 1975 (from France)

Kenya – December 12 or 20, 1963
(from the United Kingdom)

Kenya – 1963

DR Congo – June 30, 1960
(from Belgium)

DR Congo – 1961

Congo – August 15, 1960
(from France)

Congo – 1964

Lesotho – October 4, 1966
(from the United Kingdom)

Lesotho – 1972

Liberia – independent since
July 26, 1847.

Liberia – 1959

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Zambia, February 2–9, 1970 Zambia, September 8–10, 1970	May 6–11, 1970, President Kenneth Kaunda November 27–28, 1974, President Kenneth Kaunda
	June 21–24, 1967, President Ahmadou Ahidjo
	October 22, 1975, Prime minister Pedro Pires
Kenya, February 12–20, 1970	
	September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), Prime minister Cyril Abdullah (in the fraction of Antoine Gizenga) August 29–31, 1970, President Joseph-Désiré Mobutu
Liberia, March 13–18, 1961 Liberia, September 18, 1963	June 23–28, 1963, President William Tubman

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Libya – December 24, 1951
(from Italy)

Libya – 1955

Madagascar – June 26, 1960
(from France)

Madagascar – 1960

Malawi – July 6, 1964
(from the United Kingdom)

Malawi – 1998

Mali – September 22, 1960
(from France)

Mali – 1961

Morocco – March 2, 1956
(from France)

Morocco – March 2, 1957

Mauritanja – November 28, 1960
(from France)

Mauritius – March 12, 1968
(from the United Kingdom)

Mauritius – 1969

Mozambique – June 25, 1975
(from Portugal)

Mozambique – 1975

Namibia – March 21, 1990
(from South Africa)

Namibia – 1990

Nigeria – October 1, 1960
(from the United Kingdom)

Nigeria – 1960

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Ivory Coast – August 7, 1960
(from France)

Ivory Coast – 1968

Rwanda – July 1, 1962
(from the rule of Belgium after
the UN mandate)

Rwanda – 1971

São Tomé and Príncipe – July 12,
1975 (from Portugal)

São Tomé and Príncipe – 1977

The Seychelles – June 29, 1976
(from the United Kingdom)

The Seychelles – 1977

Senegal – August 20, 1960
(from France)

Senegal – 1961

Sierra Leone – April 27, 1961
(from the United Kingdom)

Sierra Leone – 1961

Swaziland – September 6, 1968
(from the United Kingdom)

Swaziland – 1968

Somalia – July 1, 1960
(from the rule of the United
Kingdom after the UN mandate)

Somalia – 1960

Sudan – January 1, 1956
(separation from Egypt)

Sudan – 1956

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	August 30–September 3, 1975, President Léopold Sédar Senghor
	September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), President Aden Abdullah Osman Daar March 26–29, 1976, President of the Supreme Council of Somalia, Mohamed Siad Barre
Sudan, February 12–18, 1959 Sudan, February 14–18, 1962 Sudan, February 20–23,	July 9–20, 1960, President of the Supreme Council, Ibrahim Abboud September 1–6, 1961 (Belgrade Conference), President of the Supreme Council, Ibrahim Abboud June 15–19, 1970, President Gaafar Mohamed el-Nimeiri

CHRONOLOGY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Tanzania – April 26, 1964

(from the United Kingdom)

* April 26, 1964, Unification Day of Tanzania (gained independence in 1961) with Zanzibar (gained independence in 1963)

Tanzania – 1961

Togo – April 27, 1960 (from the rule of France after the UN mandate)

Togo – 1960

Tunisia – March 20, 1956
(from France)

Tunisia – 1957

Uganda – October 9, 1962 (from the United Kingdom)

Uganda – 1963

Central African Republic – August 13, 1960 (from France)

Central African Republic – 1960

Chad – August 11, 1960
(from France)

Chad – 1966

Djibouti – June 27, 1977
(from France)

Djibouti – 1978

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Tanzania, January 26–February 2, 1970

October 15–16, 1969, President Julius Nyerere

Togo, March 4–7, 1961

June 23–24, 1976, President Gnassingbé Eyadéma

Tunisia, April 9–14, 1961

September 1–6, 1961(**Belgrade Conference**), President Habib Bourguiba

March 30–April 5, 1965, President Habib Bourguiba

Uganda, February 20, 1970

April 20–22, 1976, President Idi Amin Dada

May 3–6, 1973, President Jean-Bédel Bokassa

| Notes on Contributors

- > **Radina Vučetić** is Associate Professor of Modern History at the Department of History, the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. She is the author of *Monopol na istinu. Partija, kultura i cenzura u Srbiji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina XX veka* [*Monopoly on the Truth. The Party, Culture and Censorship in Serbia in the 1960s and 1970s*] (2016), *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne culture šezdesetih godina XX veka* [*Coca-Cola Socialism. The Americanization of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the 1960s*] (2012), *Evropa na Kalemegdanu. 'Cvijeta Zuzorić' i kulturni život Beograda 1918-1941* [*Europe on Kalemegdan. 'Cvijeta Zuzorić' and the Cultural Life in Belgrade, 1918-1941*] (2003) and (co-authored with Aljoša Mimica), *Vreme kada je narod govorio: 'Odjeci i reagovanja' u Politici, 1988-1991* [*The Time When the People Spoke: 'Echoes and Reactions' in 'Politika', 1988-1991*] (2008), as well as a number of articles related to the history of Yugoslavia. Her research focuses on the history of socialist Yugoslavia and the history of the Cold War. She has taken part in a number of projects, both at home and abroad. Currently, she is involved (as team member) in the *Socialism Goes Global* project. She is also working on her new book *Titova Afrika* [*Tito's Africa*].
- > **Paul Betts** is Professor of Modern European History at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. He previously taught at the University of Sussex and the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He is the author of *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford, 2010) and *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design* (Berkeley, 2004). He has also co-edited a number of books, most recently (with Stephen Smith) *Science, Religion and Communism in Cold War Europe* (London, 2016) and (with Corey Ross) *Heritage in the Modern World: Historical Preservation in Global Perspective* (Oxford, 2015). Another volume (with Jennifer Evans and Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann) *The Ethics of Seeing: 20th Century German Documentary Photography Reconsidered* (New York/Oxford, 2017) will be published later this year. He is also 'Co-Investigator' of the *Socialism Goes Global* project.

- > **Radovan Cukić** earned his bachelor's and master's degree at the Department of History, the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. He was history teacher from 2009 until 2011. For the last five years, he has been a curator of the Museum of Yugoslavia's photo collections and the Head of Research and Conservation of Museum's Collections Department since 2015. He was research associate in the following Museum of Yugoslavia exhibitions: *Poslednja mladost u Jugoslaviji/The Last Youth in Yugoslavia* (2011), *Srbija kroz vekove/Serbia through the Centuries* (2012) and *Tehnika narodu/Technology to the People* (2012). He is one of the authors of the exhibitions *Travelling Communiqué* (2014) and *Figure sećanja/Forms of Remembrance* (2015). Since 2012 he has been involved in the digitalization and interpretation of the Museum of Yugoslavia Photography Archives. His research interests include representations of Yugoslav history and its place in collective memory, the management of museum collections and policies of acquisition, and the digitalization and accessibility of museum collections to the public.

- > **Ana Sladojević** works as an independent curator and art consultant. She holds a PhD in Theory of Arts and Media (2012, Interdisciplinary Studies, University of Arts in Belgrade), and an MFA (2003) and a BFA (1999) from the Faculty of Applied Arts, University of Arts in Belgrade. Since 2003, she has worked as curator in a number of cultural institutions in Serbia, including the Museum of African Art – Collection of Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar, the Museum of Yugoslavia, and the Central Institute for Conservation in Belgrade. Her essays on cultural representations and African arts have been published by the Museum of African Art, the Centre for Studies in Cultural Development (journal *Kultura*), the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, and others.

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