

## **Documents of Exhibition History, Cultural Diplomacy, and International Solidarity Networks in Eastern Europe and Beyond**

FINAL REPORT on the Visegrad scholarship at the Vera & Donald Blinken Open Society Archives

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Zsuzsa László

I have researched at Vera & Donald Blinken Open Society Archives documents of the transnational relations of East-European art scenes in the Cold War era focusing mainly on the '70s. I looked for art events documented in the archive that can be examined as case studies of exhibitions used as diplomatic tools, expressions of artist solidarity, and conflicts between different understandings of engaged art and cultural freedom. This research is connected to tranzit.hu's long run project Parallel Chronologies, which I have been working on in the past eight years. The project has so far been presented in the format of several exhibitions, smaller print publications and an online archive, which consists of chronologies of art events compiled by art historians and curators on the basis of their research of specific East European art scenes. In the current phase of the project, as a preparation for a comprehensive print publication I have been researching transnational relation like dissidence, solidarity, or cultural diplomacy and dialogue that can connect these parallel narratives.

Regarding relevant archival material at OSA in general I found very few documents related to actual art events, but a great abundance of material, which can provide background information for international cultural exchanges and networks, as well as historical and political processes addressed by the exhibitions I have been studying.

### **I. Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute**

Radio Free Europe scarcely reported on art events. Two exceptions proved to be important case studies in my research.

#### **Dissident Biennial**

The Dissident Biennial was organized in the framework of Venice Biennale between November 15 to December 15, 1977 to mark the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, by Carlo Ripa di Meana, socialist politician, who was the director of the two-yearly international art event between 1974-78. During his leadership more events were devoted to such political issues as supporting resistance against the Pinochet regime in Chile (1974). The 1977 Dissident Biennial endeavored to present "other thinking" intellectuals, samizdats, and dissident art from behind "the iron curtain," and address the question if human rights secured by Basket III of Helsinki Accords<sup>1</sup> are taken seriously in soviet countries. Obviously this concept was heavily criticized both by the Italian and the Soviet communist party, but also by art professionals, among them Enrico Crispolti who was responsible together with

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<sup>1</sup>Edit Sasvári, "Eastern Europe Under Western Eyes - The 'Dissident Biennale', Venice, 1977" *Comparativ* 24, no. 4 (2014): 14-15

and Gabriella Moncada for the fine art section.<sup>2</sup> Crispolti made a trip to East-Europe to recruit works for the exhibition with no success: according to the recollection of Hungarian artists and secret police reports on Crispolti's visit, they were not only afraid of retaliation, but also objected to be labeled and exoticized as dissidents.<sup>3</sup> Soviet Ambassador in Italy claimed that if the theme of the Biennale is not changed socialist states will boycott the event. Finally, Italian communist party decided to support the autonomy of the biennale, so the party can manifest its independence from USSR.<sup>4</sup> Mostly soviet but some East-European artworks were presented by emigre artists or as loans from western collections without the artists' consent, so many East European artist unions officially distanced themselves from the event.

In relation to all this controversy it was interesting to see how Radio Free Europe related to the event. On the basis of the documents studied at OSA (HU OSA 300-85-47 box 3)<sup>5</sup> I learnt that the Samizdat Archive of Radio Free Europe in Munich borrowed materials to be exhibited at the Biennale del Dissenso without indicating their source (on the request of RFE), and subsequently at other venues in Italy (Torino, Florence, where a dissident seminar was also organized). At the same time, in the Research Institute's Balkan section's, Yugoslav subject files (HU OSA 300-10-2 box 42, Biennale '77) the press survey included news of several artists boycotting the Biennial, and articles of West German Press that criticized the concept of Meana putting participants in uneasy situation in their home countries.

### **Artistic Freedom in Yugoslavia**

Among the reports of Radio Free Europe another remarkable incident also connects to the history of exhibitions. While in soviet satellite countries the state supported artistic production conforming to the decree of socialist realism – tolerating modernism in differing degree mostly in architecture and applied arts - in Yugoslavia the “official” style was “socialist modernism” from the mid ‘50s on.<sup>6</sup> A new generation of artists emerged from late ‘60s around Student Cultural Centers, which constituted a new network of institutions redirecting students' political criticism towards art production. New Artistic Practices, presenting dematerialized, performative and conceptual art in these institutions criticized

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<sup>2</sup> Maria-Kristiina Soomre, An interview with Enrico Crispolti, the curator of the exhibition “New Art from the Soviet Union. Unofficial viewpoint”, 23 Jun 2007 [http://kunstmuuseum.ekm.ee/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2014/12/kumu\\_enrico-crispolti-eng.pdf](http://kunstmuuseum.ekm.ee/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2014/12/kumu_enrico-crispolti-eng.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Edit Sasvári, “Így né? A magyar részvétel kérdései az 1977-es Disszidens Biennálén”, *Kreativitási gyakorlatok*, ed. Annamária Szóke, Budapest, MTA-MKI, Gondolat, 2B-EMA, 2008, 437-440

<sup>4</sup> Sari Gilbert, “Soviets Pan Dissident Art in Venice,” *The Washington Post*, March 5, 1977 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1977/03/05/soviets-pan-dissident-art-in-venice/c18f0998-5086-4cf1-abba-71982e5bd01f/?utm\\_term=.c618ffc1d10a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1977/03/05/soviets-pan-dissident-art-in-venice/c18f0998-5086-4cf1-abba-71982e5bd01f/?utm_term=.c618ffc1d10a)

<sup>5</sup> Declarations of receipt of samizdat material on the behalf of Carlo Ripa di Meana, William A. Buell (RFE)'s Memorandum of October 25, 1977 on his meeting with Meana, correspondence, plans for Biennale program and its samizdat section.

<sup>6</sup> Bojana Pejić: “*Socialist Modernism and the Aftermath*,” eds. Lóránd Hegyi et al, *Aspects/Positions: Fifty Years of Art in Central Europe 1949–1999*, vol 2, 1999, 115-124

[http://www.c3.hu/ican.artnet.org/ican/texted92.html?id\\_text=57](http://www.c3.hu/ican.artnet.org/ican/texted92.html?id_text=57); Branislav Dimitrijević, The Grand Compromise: On examples of the Use of Political References in Serbian Art of the 90's, and its Historical Background, lecture [http://www.worldofart.org/english/0001/tekst\\_branko\\_ang.htm](http://www.worldofart.org/english/0001/tekst_branko_ang.htm), Jelena Vesić, “The Student Cultural Centre (SKC) As The Art Scene,” *Parallel Chronologies* <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive/essays/jelena-vesic/>

the local status quo and cultural infrastructure from a New Left perspective, disdaining object-based socialist modernism as a bourgeois commodity.

Several art historical accounts of the era described this opposition, which was present within the framework of state institutions following the idea of self-management, relative cultural freedom and plurality (with regard to the different cultures of nations composing Yugoslavia). This picture is complicated further by the reports of Radio Free Europe on artists who had conflict with the cultural infrastructure on a less abstract level. The background report of the Research Institute of RFE (HU OSA 300-10-2, box 27, by Zdenko Antic) gives a detailed analysis of artistic freedom in Yugoslavia with reference to exhibitions of Mića Popović (1923-1996), censored, closed or heavily criticized. Mića Popović, the most well-known non-conformist artist, is very rarely referred by international contemporary curatorial or art historical discourse, in comparison to the representatives of New Artistic Practices. He started his career in as an Informel artist and film director of the Black Wave, later turned to sarcastically realist style exposing the daily life of marginalized social groups. The RFE report focused on the accusatory press reviews of Popović's 1979 exhibition in the prestigious gallery of the Association of Fine Artists of Belgrade, which was organized by a writer associated with Serb nationalism, and presented works depicting the "bitter existence" of Yugoslav guest workers in Western Europe, as well portraits of dissident intellectuals under plainly symbolic black umbrellas. His 1974 show is also mentioned, the single instance of an exhibition closed by the authorities in Yugoslavia because Popović was unwilling to remove a painting (*Solemn Painting*) in which - closely following a press photograph - the artist represented Tito and his wife, together with the Belgian queen and king. This and earlier reports in the folder also quoted the arguments of the 1974 assembly of the Yugoslav League of Communists on artistic freedom, summarized by the report's author with clear pejorative purpose as "the style and the manner of expression is free but not the content". The folder also includes the London Times' review by Paul Overy on a 1975 Edinburgh exhibition of Yugoslav artists in Richard Demarco's gallery. The author sets the context claiming that in Scotland, also a "small country dominated by its larger neighbor" there's more attention payed on - in West otherwise ignored - East European art. The Demarco Gallery played an important role in the history of international relations of East European art as it consequently presented neo-avant-garde artists from this region during the '70s and '80s. The review emphasizes that the 1975 exhibition represented all the eight republics of Yugoslavia, inviting artists active in styles ranging from primitivism to conceptual art. On the basis of this review and the Popović incident the diversity of the local and international context in which so far canonized New Art Practices originally appeared can be reconstructed with more distinction.

## **II. Fondation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne**

During my scholarship at OSA I also had the special opportunity to do research in the archives of the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF) and the Foundation for the Support of

European Intellectuals<sup>7</sup> (FEIE), which had a less known, but influential role regarding the international connections of East-European art scenes. The history of the Foundation gives an invaluable, and today highly relevant insight into the changing ideological, political, economic, cultural and moral motives behind “western” funding invested in East European culture. The birth of the IACF and FEIE is connected to Ford Foundation - its main funder - and the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF, 1950-1967) - its predecessor - and the global network of the defenders and advocates of cultural freedom, one of the most important values and diplomatic missions of the representatives of “western culture” in the era of Cold War. The Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) was founded in 1955 to oppose the influence of the communist friendly World Peace Movement, which could enlist several influential leftist intellectuals. FEIE first was an informal committee of CCF focusing on European programs, then after CCF’s CIA funding was revealed, FEIE became a European sub-program of IACF, acting otherwise worldwide in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, in Latin America, with special programs in India and the Philippines. From 1975 FEIE functioned as an independent organization. Though several attempts were made to involve European financial sources, it was funded mainly by Ford Foundation throughout its history, till 1991 when it merged with Open Society Institute.

In the archive of FEIE in deposit at OSA I studied the following items, with special respect for contacts with the Hungarian art scene, so far not researched in this relation.

### **On the history of the Foundation and general concepts on funding**

[HU OSA 422-2-1:1/19, Activities Concerning Eastern Europe: Statement on East-West Dialogue by Constantin Jelenski, ca. 1970]

In this statement Constantin Jelenski, Program Counselor, gives a lucid overview on the main humanist motives and ideological dilemmas concerning the Foundation’s activities in the ‘60s. He describes that the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the ‘50s was mainly associated with the revisionism of disillusioned communists, liberals, emigres from Eastern Europe, and international protests for imprisoned intellectuals (like Tibor Déry, Gyula Illyés), but also had official relations with Polish cultural institutions. The main dilemmas of the ‘60s were – especially in connection with the CIA scandal – how to achieve genuine polycentricism, whether to establish secret or official contacts, whether to support protests and dissidents or initiate East-West dialogue and reform existing institutions. Jelenski also highlights that dialogue assumes that East also has values. In initiatives like Société Européenne de Culture, participants do not represent themselves but Western and Eastern values, and the failure of such meetings was caused by the fact that: “Western intellectuals who believed in Eastern values but behaved like Western intellectuals and Eastern intellectuals who believed in no values but acted the part of Eastern intellectuals.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> More translations are used, on a FEIE leaflet, without date, in HU OSA 422-2-3, box 8, Foundation for European Intellectual Cooperation.

<sup>8</sup> page 10

[IACF's 1973 statement, HU OSA 422-1-1, box 5, Fundraising Efforts of International Association for Cultural Freedom]

According to the statement IACF is an “organization of intellectuals – scholars, writers, artists, and men of public affairs. It is concerned with man, his culture and his freedom.”<sup>9</sup> IACF supports intellectuals in three situations: 1) working under repressive governments, 2) lack of resources and facilities, 3) cultural freedom threaten by uncontrolled technological innovation or abuse for violence. The statement lists the board and administration members, journals, associated local groups worldwide, and the seminars organized by IACF (several of them took place in Third World countries)

## **Grants**

[HU OSA 422-1-1, box 5 Fundraising

HU OSA 422-2-1, box 1-3 Grants to Eastern European Intellectuals

HU OSA 422-2-3, box 12, Conferences: National Stereotypes and Cultural Identity, Bad Homburg, 1985, reports of former grantees]

IACF/FEIE in addition to book distribution program, publishing anthologies and journals also supported dissident East European intellectuals with travel and other grants. I focused mainly on grants given to Hungarian artists and intellectuals (approx. 20 individuals/year) so that I can interpret and reconstruct the context the support.

The list of grantees is very heterogeneous ranging from internationally well-known writers through avant-garde and traditional artists to social scientists. To illustrate this seemingly ad-hoc versatility, some names of Hungarian artists and intellectuals who, on the basis of the consulted documents, received travel and so called “bridge grants” (helping those who had to flee their country), in some cases aiding translations, participation in language courses or international events: 1968: Géza Ottlik (writer), László Passuth (writer); 1969-70: János Pliniszky (poet, writer), György Konrád (writer, sociologist), 1971: Miklós Erdély (writer, architect, artist), Gábor Karátson (painter), 1972: Tamás Cseh (singer, actor, teacher) , István Tótfalusi (translator), Imre Oravecz (writer), 1973: Márta Kovalovszky, Péter Kovács (art historians), 1974: György Konrád, Iván Szelényi (sociologists, 1974); 1976: “Elephant Theatre” (avant-garde theatre group, later known as Squat Theatre), Zsuzsa Hegedűs (sociologist), Tibor Tardos (emigree writer), Tamás Szentjóby (poet, artist).

I examined in one case how the fact of the travel grant correlates with an artist's biography, what activities the grant aided. This question was also raised several times by FEIE's main sponsor, Ford Foundation, questioning the effectiveness, and urging to redefine what exactly FEIE can contribute to in the face of détente allowing more freedom to Eastern European intellectuals regarding travel and international contacts: “Lack of clarity as to what constituted an Eastern European intellectual and

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<sup>9</sup> In no studied documents the issue of equal representation of women – among grantees, participants of the events, authors of publications, board members – was raised. Marek Beylin (Foundation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne, unpublished manuscript, 1994, 70-71/128) refers to correspondence between Annette Laborey, the secretary of the Foundation and Ford Foundation in this question, claiming that Ford Foundation's request for equal representation was a cultural misunderstanding.

what he should do also gave rise to objections that grantees visiting the West were wasting their time, since there were no formal institutional frameworks created for them and thus their time, undisciplined, was spent frivolously without ever producing specific intellectual results.” Marek Beylin, in the history of FEIE, claims – echoing all the usual clichés in comparison of East and West of the Cold War, that it was a cultural misunderstanding between US pragmatism and European existentialism, and that in time spent in the much more sophisticated western environment both in an everyday and intellectual sense leisure and professional development cannot be separated.<sup>10</sup> Miklós Erdély, one of the most important neo-avant-garde artists in Hungary, that time involved mostly in actionism and conceptual art, according to the correspondence with Rosalyin Chenu,<sup>11</sup> applied for a two month scholarship, but got a smaller grant allowing a few week stay in Paris in 1971 September. Symptomatic of all the above dilemmas, Erdély, who otherwise travelled to Western Europe more times relying on his intellectual network of western emigrees and his secure financial situation, during his stay in Paris, smuggled an installation entitled *News from the Revolution*, into the Paris Biennial of Young Artists, and documented it.

Among the documents of the National Stereotypes and Cultural Identity conference (Bad Homburg, 1985) anonymous quotations from grantee reports were also enclosed. In contrast to the existentialist approach of Beylin, grantees relate not only the overwhelming experience of western atmosphere and lifestyle but effective field and library research, exhibitions and museums visited, lectures, congresses, discussions attended, important books bought to be used for concrete publications and research projects. At the same time all emphasize that because of foreign currency limitations it would have been impossible to spend more than few days in Western Europe without the FEIE grant

### **Galerie Lambert**

[HU OSA 422-2-1 box 1-3 Activities Concerning Eastern Europe: Lambert Gallery  
HU OSA 422-2-2 box 26, Fundraising: Lists of Contributors and Works, Miscellaneous 1978-8,  
box 28-29, Correspondence: Galerie Lambert 1966-1978]

Galerie Lambert (1959-1993) was a gallery in Paris affiliated with IACF and FEIE, where dissident artists from East Europe (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia) in addition to Japan, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish artists, but occasionally also artists from USA, Argentina, Australia, South Korea, Israel, Pakistan, Mali, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, Senegal, Paraguay and Sudan exhibited. The gallery was directed by Kazimierz Romanowicz, otherwise emigree publisher and book dealer who was advised by Constantin Jelenski from IACF/FEIE. The gallery’s mission (in 1967)<sup>12</sup> was to present young, “non-conformist,” avant-garde artists. At the same time, it seems to me that it was isolated from the new, performative and conceptual art practices of the ‘60s and ‘70s, which constituted most of East European underground art scenes yearning so much for international connections and recognition, and represented the “classical” avant-garde, which had relatively much

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<sup>10</sup> Beylin, 66-7

<sup>11</sup> That time secretary of the Foundation, HU OSA 422-1-2 box 3 Grants to EE intellectuals, [Correspondence on Scholarships: A-J]

<sup>12</sup> HU OSA 422-2-2, box 29, Galerie Lambert

more acceptance in socialist countries. Exceptions to this observation were exhibitions of Paul Neagu (1970) and Ladislav Novak (1976). Hungarian exhibitors were (on the basis on the consulted documents): 1960: Tamás Konok; 1962: Katalin Hetey; 1963: András Beck; 1964: Tibor Csernus; 1965: Ákos Szabó, Miklós Dallos; 1966 Tamás Konok; 1968: Lajos Vajda; 1969: András Rác. Though it was against the policy of FEIE to encourage emigration, many of the Hungarian artists who exhibited at Galerie Lambert did not go back to Hungary for years. The gallery was from the mid '60s affiliated with the Paris Biennale of Young Artists and was a venue in the Biennale's program giving more visibility to Eastern European artists. At the end of the '70s, the gallery was also involved in the unsuccessful fundraising projects of FEIE.

### **Unrealized exhibitions**

[HU OSA 422-1-2, box 7-9, Unrealized exhibitions]

In addition to its journals, anthologies, book distribution program, seminars and conferences, grants to intellectuals, and collaboration with Galerie Lambert in the mid '80s FEIE also embarked to organize international exhibitions.

### **Paintings in Water-Colours from Europe 1970-1985. The experience of Time**

The exhibition was planned to take place in West Berlin or Switzerland, and travel to Italy and France. I have studied the related correspondence with hundreds of European artists, but the motivations behind, the context of the exhibition-plan, and the causes of its failure will need further research. On the basis of the consulted documents the main motivation was to help the isolation of East European artists, and the strategy of selection was to present well-known names from Western Europe among new discoveries. The project was directed by Hubert Salden, and du Mont was about to publish its catalogue. The participation Western artists was requested to show their solidarity and give artistic credit to the event. The genre of watercolor was chosen for practical reasons, and also because of its marketability. Hubert Salden and Annette Laborey was in contact from Hungary with art historian László Beke and artist Dóra Maurer, and in 1991 when FEIE was dissolved, works by András Böröcz, Miklós Erdély, Áron Gábor, László Herczeg, Dóra Maurer, László Révész, Gábor Roskó, János Sugár, János Szirtes, Ernő Tolvaly were sent back to László Beke.

### **Writing and Painting Exhibition, 1984**

Annette Laborey's father, Jürgen Aschoff donated the Foundation 10 000 DM, in order to organize an art exhibition on the subject "Writing in Painting" with the intention is to commemorate his sister, Eva Aschoff (1900 – 1969), artist working with the techniques of bookbinding and calligraphy. The project was to be realized in collaboration with Klaus Groh. Annette Laborey in connection with this project was in contact from Hungary with art historian Éva Körner, who suggested the participation of the following artists: Sándor Altorjay, Imre Bak, András Baranyai, Ákos Birkás, Miklós Erdély, János Fajó, Tibor Gáyor, István Haraszty, Tamás Hencze, György Jovánovics, Zsigmon Károlyi, Károly Kelemen, Ádám Kéri, Ilona Keserű, Dóra Maurer, István Nádler, Lili Ország Gyula Pauer, László Révész, Gábor Roskó, Zsuzsa Szenes, János Szirtes, and the Új Zenei Stúdió.

### **Other Sources at OSA in connection with the Congress for Cultural Freedom**

HU OSA 300-7-9 Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: US Office: Subject Files Relating to the World Communist Movement, box 40, Conference: Congress for Cultural Freedom

*Freedom Takes the Offensive*, 1950, Berlin (statements and conference program)

*We Put Freedom First* [1950] (the booklet of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom)

*Congress for Cultural Freedom News* July 1958, 1960 Sept-Oct, 1961, Jan, March-April

*Encounter* magazine

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Peter D. Bell: "The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor." *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Harvard University Press, 1972, 115-128

Marek Beylin: *Foundation pour une Entraide Intellectuelle Européenne*, unpublished manuscript, 1994.

Walter Laqueur: "Antikommunizmus külföldön: Emlékezés a kongresszus a kulturális szabadságért (Congress for Cultural Freedom) nevű szervezetére." *Európai szemle*, vol 8 no 1 (1997): 33-50

Nicolas Guilhot: "A Network of Influential Friendships: the Fondation pour une entraide intellectuelle européenne and East-West Cultural Dialogue." *Minerva*, vol 44 no 4 (2006): 379-409

Elena Aronova: "The Congress for Cultural Freedom, Minerva, and the Quest for Instituting 'Science Studies' in the Age of Cold War." *Minerva*, vol 50 no 3 (2012): 307-337

Ioana Popa: "'Discrete' Intermediaries: Transnational Activities of the Fondation pour une entraide intellectuelle européenne." *Beyond the Divide. Entangled Histories of Cold War Europe*. ed. Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen, Berghahn Books, 2015

Nancy Jachec: *Europe's Intellectuals and the Cold War: The European Society of Culture, Post-War Politics and International Relations*. I.B. Tauris, 2015

### **III. Further Case Studies**

#### **Foreign(er) is Beautiful**

The Black Box video journal, which started its activities in 1988 also reported on some cultural events, among which the exhibition series "The Foreign(er) is Beautiful" (1992) should be mentioned. The event organized in six galleries is a rare example of self-organized solidarity exhibitions, and was responding to recent atrocities against foreign students in Hungary, It is also noteworthy that exhibitions were opened by both art professionals and politicians: Göncz Árpád (writer, that time president of Hungary), Éva Forgács (art historian), József A. Tillmann (philosopher), Ákos Szilágyi (writer art theorist), Gábor Fodor (politician, member of parliament), and Miklós Peternák (art historian)<sup>13</sup> - demonstrating how temporarily around the time of the Regime Change art events became sites for the public and democratic discussion of political issues.

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<sup>13</sup> *Beszélő* vol 4 no 8, 22, 24



During my research period I also studied the following archival materials:

-For the upcoming issue of tranzit.hu's online magazine mezosfera.org and a related exhibition on transnational regionalism, the legacy of decolonialist discourses in Hungary, and in the former network of socialist internationalism: RFE background report on relations between East-Europe and Third World countries, Transnational Links of [East-European] Opposition (HU OSA 300-5-190 Records of Vlad Socor, box 46-7), and the visual didactics of Propaganda Filmstrips regarding the relations of socialist countries to Third World countries and cultures.

-In relation to the upcoming GDR chronology to be published in Parallel Chronologies <http://tranzit.org/exhibitionarchive> documents of GDR underground: *GDR Underground Films*, 1989 (FL Record 0157), *Claiming Space*, dir. Loeser, Claus, 2010 (FL Record 2887)

-HU OSA 388-0-1 Rodolf Hervé Collection: Video Recordings on Alternative Cultural Life in Hungary in Transition, Miklós Erdély's Exhibition, The opening in Galeria Spicchi dell'Est, Rome, 1992

The research conducted at OSA was a unique opportunity to gain a multi-angled insight into the transnational circuits of Cold War cultural diplomacy, dilemmas of the interpretation of cultural freedom the social responsibility of art, with some glimpses to the transition period of the '90s. I could get an in-depth understanding of the global dynamics of solidarity. Solidarities practiced by the "Western" countries both towards the Second and Third World independence struggles were at various points competing for attention and funds. On the other hand, the solidarity practiced by soviet satellite states through anti-imperialist movements was also directed towards both the Third World and the "oppressed" groups of capitalist countries (Angela Davis). The Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement maneuvered in this triangle of rivalling solidarities, interests, and influences. With this overview the analysis of the documents of Radio Free Europe and FEIE at OSA could substantially contribute to "transnationalize" my long run research on exhibition history, tranzit.hu's project Parallel Chronologies, and to complete and continue my previous research in the archive of the Institute for Cultural Relations at the Hungarian National Archives.

I am very grateful to Visegrad Fund for support this research, which I will inform more upcoming publications and curatorial projects I am currently working on. I am also indebted to the staff of OSA, among them Katalin Székely, my supervisor, as well as Örs Tari Lehel, Perica Jovchevski, and Katalin Gáboros giving the most useful and guidance during my stay at OSA and regarding several research questions. Due to this rewarding experience, I am also convinced that I will return the Vera & Donald Blinken Open Society Archives from time to time to study further parts of this exceptional collection.