

**Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli /
Centar za kulturološka i
povijesna istraživanja
socijalizma**

**7. MEĐUNARODNI
ZNANSTVENI SKUP
SOCIJALIZAM
NA KLUPI**

**Juraj Dobrila University of Pula /
Centre for Cultural and
Historical Research
of Socialism**

**7TH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
SOCIALISM ON
THE BENCH**

**GLOBALNI
SOCIJALIZAM I
NESVRSTANOST
GLOBAL
SOCIALISM AND
NON-ALIGNMENT**

PULA, 18 — 20 / 09 / 2025



**ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG
SOUTHEAST EUROPE**

7. međunarodni znanstveni skup Socijalizam na klupi
GLOBALNI SOCIJALIZAM I NESVRSTANOST
Knjiga sažetaka

7th International Conference Socialism on the Bench
GLOBAL SOCIALISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT
Book of Abstracts

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**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG
SOUTHEAST
EUROPE**

7. MEĐUNARODNI ZNANSTVENI SKUP
SOCIJALIZAM NA KLUPI
Globalni socijalizam i nesvrstanost
Pula, 18–20. rujna 2025.
KNJIGA SAŽETAKA

7TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
SOCIALISM ON THE BENCH
Global socialism and non-alignment
Pula, September 18–20, 2025
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



Pula 2025.

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POZIV NA SUDJELOVANJE
CALL FOR PAPERS

Međunarodni znanstveni skupovi pod nazivom Socijalizam na klupi održavaju se u organizaciji Centra za kulturološka i povijesna istraživanja socijalizma (CKPIS) u dvogodišnjem ritmu od 2013. godine. Stotinjak sudionika po skupu do sada se okupljalo oko različitih glavnih tema: Kulturološke i povijesne interpretacije jugoslavenskoga i postjugoslavenskih društava (2013), Socijalizam: izgradnja i razgradnja (2015), Komunisti i komunističke partije: politike, akcije, debate (2017), Kontinuiteti i inovacije (2019), Antifašizam (2021) te Krize i reforme (2023). Izabrani radovi objavljeni su u zbornicima i časopisima.

Sljedeća konferencija usmjerena je prema temi GLOBALNI SOCIJALIZAM I NESVRSTANOST. Posljednje su godine obilježili ratni sukobi u istočnoj Europi i na Bliskom istoku, pandemijski izazovi, mijene u odnosima svjetskih sila i kontinenta, kao i porast migracija, društvenih napetosti i ekoloških ugroza. Usmjeravanjem prema globalnom socijalizmu, ovim se skupom želi istražiti doseg socijalističkih ideja i njihov utjecaj tijekom proteklog stoljeća i pol pa sve do suvremenosti, s naglaskom na razdoblje između ranih 1950-ih i kasnih 1980-ih kada se socijalizam preklapao s hladnoratovskom dinamikom, dekolonizacijom i usponom Pokreta nesvrstanih. Socijalističke ideje i revolucionarni pokreti utjecali su tada na društva u Africi, Aziji, Latinskoj Americi i istočnoj Europi. Napredak, suradnja, internacionalizam i mir često su supostojali sa sukobima i suparničtvima u sferi politike, ekonomije, kulture i drugim područjima. Postavljajući u žarište diskurs i praksu socijalizma i nesvrstanoosti, njihovu povijest i naslijeđe, skupom se želi obuhvatiti politike, ideologije, manifestacije i akcije na međunarodnoj, nacionalnoj i lokalnoj razini, unutar i izvan blokova, u Europi i na Globalnom jugu, od onih međunarodno relevantnih do pojedinačnih odnosa unutar društava.

Plenarna predavanja održat će troje pozvanih predavača: CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI (Sveučilište Ca' Foscari u Veneciji), TVRTKO JAKOVINA (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu) i PAUL STUBBS (Ekonomski institut, Zagreb).

Cilj naših skupova, kao i cjelokupnog djelovanja Centra, ostaje isti: jačanje suradnje među znanstvenicima s bliskim istraživačkim interesima, uočavanje tematskih, metodoloških i interpretacijskih podudarnosti, upoznavanje različitih tumačenja, poticanje dijaloga i novih istraživanja.

Jezici skupa su hrvatski (i međusobno razumljivi jezici) i engleski. Sudionici drže izlaganja u trajanju od 15 minuta. Prihvaćamo individualne prijave, ali moguće je naznačiti želju za okupljanjem u određeni panel. Moguće je predložiti i održavanje predstavljanja knjiga i okruglih stolova.

Skup će se održati na Sveučilištu Jurja Dobrile u Puli (Filozofski fakultet, Negrijeva 6, Pula) i u partnerstvu sa Zakladom Rosa Luxemburg SEE. Kotizacija se ne naplaćuje. Organizator osigurava popust u preporučenom hotelu. Sudionici sami organiziraju svoj smještaj i putovanje te snose njihov trošak.

Rok za prijavu je 1. travnja 2025. godine. Do 30. travnja uslijedit će obavijest o prihvaćanju izlaganja, a do 30. lipnja bit će objavljen raspored izlaganja.

Dodatne informacije potražite na mrežnoj stranici
https://www.unipu.hr/ckpis/socijalizam_na_klupi/2025
ili pišite na ckpis.conf@gmail.com.

Veselimo se vašim prijavama!

Organizacijski odbor



The series of biennial international conferences Socialism on the Bench (Socijalizam na klupi) have been organised since 2013 by the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism (CKPIS), at the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula. Around a hundred participants per conference have been gathering to discuss different main themes: Cultural and Historical Interpretations of Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Societies (2013), Socialism: Construction and Deconstruction (2015), Communists and Communist Parties: Policies, Actions, Debates (2017), Continuities and Innovations (2019), Antifascism (2021), and Crises and Reforms (2023). Selections of papers have been published in edited volumes and journals.

Recent years have been marked by war conflicts in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, challenges of the pandemics, shifting roles among global powers and continents, as well as growing migration, social tensions and environmental issues. By focusing on global socialism, the conference seeks to explore the reach of socialist ideas, their impact over the past century and a half, and their relevance to the present day, with particular emphasis on the period from the early 1950s to the late 1980s. This era saw socialism intersect with Cold War dynamics, decolonization and the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement. During this period, socialist ideas and revolutionary movements influenced societies across Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe. Progress, cooperation, internationalism and peace often coexisted with conflict and competition in political, economic,

cultural and other spheres. While maintaining a focus on the discourse and practice of socialism and non-alignment, their histories and legacies, the conference aims to address policies, ideologies, manifestations and actions on the international, national and local levels, both within and beyond the blocs, in Europe and the Global South, from the global stage to individual interactions within societies.

The conference programme will include three keynote speakers: CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI (Ca' Foscari University of Venice), TVRTKO JAKOVINA (University of Zagreb), PAUL STUBBS (The Institute of Economics, Zagreb).

The goal of our conferences, as well as the entire mission of the Centre, remains the same: strengthening the cooperation among scholars with similar research interests, revealing thematic, methodological and theoretical similarities, getting to know different interpretations, enhancing dialogue and new research.

The conference languages are Croatian (and mutually understandable languages) and English. Participants' presentation time is 15 minutes. We accept individual applications, but it is possible to indicate the desire to participate in a specific panel. It is also possible to suggest events like book launches and round tables.

The conference will be held at the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula (Faculty of Humanities, Aldo Negri Street/Negrijeva 6, Pula), and in partnership with the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation SEE. There is no conference fee. Conference organizers will arrange a discount at the recommended hotel. Participants will have to arrange and cover their own trip and accommodation.

APPLICATION DEADLINE IS APRIL 1, 2025 (online application form). By April 30, applicants will be notified about the acceptance of their proposal. By June 30, the conference programme will be published.

*For more information, please visit the conference website
https://www.unipu.hr/ckpis/en/socialism_on_the_bench/2025,
or contact us at ckpis.conf@gmail.com.*

We are looking forward to your submissions!

Organizing Committee

PROGRAM SKUPA
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

MJESTO ODRŽAVANJA SKUPA / CONFERENCE VENUE

Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli / *Faculty of Humanities, Juraj
Dobrila University of Pula, Negrijeva ulica 6 / Aldo Negri Street 6, Pula*
(novi kampus, 1. kat / *new campus, 1st floor*)
Dvorane / *Rooms* 219, 221, 232, 246

REGISTRACIJA / REGISTRATION

kod glavnog ulaza u zgradu / *by the main entrance to the building*

STANKE ZA KAVU / COFFEE BREAKS

hodnici na 1. katu / *hallways on the 1st floor*

U subotu, 20. rujna, konferencija se održava na Velom Brijunu.

Sudionici dobivaju posebne upute.

On Saturday, September 20, the conference will be held on the island of Veli Brijun.

Participants will receive special instructions.

VREMENSKA OGRANIČENJA / TIME LIMITS

Panels: 15 minutes per presentation and 45 minutes for the panel discussion.

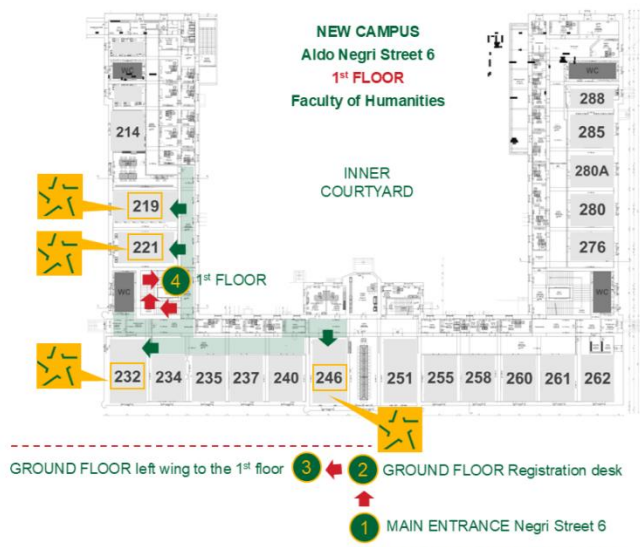
Keynotes: 45 minutes plus discussion max 30 minutes.

Book launches and round tables: 50 minutes.

MREŽNA STRANICA / WEB-PAGE

https://www.unipu.hr/ckpis/socijalizam_na_klupi/2025

https://www.unipu.hr/ckpis/en/socialism_on_the_bench/2025



ČETVRTAK / THURSDAY, 14.00-15.30

14.00 Filozofski fakultet, dvorana 246 (Aula magna) / *Faculty of Humanities, Lecture Hall 246 (Aula magna)*

OTVORENJE / OPENING

14.15 dvorana 246 / *Lecture Hall 246*

PLENARNO PREDAVANJE / KEYNOTE

CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI

The UN Decade for Women, the WIDF and the NAM: spaces and platforms of global socialist feminisms

ČETVRTAK / THURSDAY, 16.00-18.00

16.00-18.00 Room 219

AFRIČKO-EUROPSKE VEZE / AFRICAN-EUROPEAN CONNECTIONS

Moderator: Rory Archer

DOMNICA GOROVEI

Communist Romania's Strategy towards African States in the 1960s and 1970s

DALIA BÁTHORY

Romania and Tanzania in the 1970s and 1980s: Military and Economic Cooperation

JURE RAMŠAK

Because or in Spite of Ujamaa? Yugoslav-Tanzanian Industrial Cooperation

ĐORĐE LALIĆ

Uvoz kafe iz zemalja Globalnog juga u vreme ekonomske krize u Jugoslaviji 1979–1989: problemi i izazovi

16.00-18.00 Room 221

SINDIKATI I INDUSTRIJA / TRADE UNIONS AND INDUSTRY

Moderator: Anna Calori

MATEA RADAKOVIĆ

Od radničke demokracije do hladnoratovske čistke: razvoj sindikata u poslijeratnom Japanu (1945–1952.) u jeku geopolitičkih zbivanja

VLADIMIR UNKOVSKI-KORICA

The British Trade Unions and Yugoslavia in the Cold War: A Preliminary Investigation

ANA RAJKOVIĆ PEJIĆ

Industrijalizacija i nesvrstanost: utjecaj tvornice Đuro Đaković na razvoj urbanizacije u Slavonskom Brodu

16.00-18.00 Room 232

POGLED IZ VANA / A LOOK FROM THE OUTSIDE

Moderator: Vedran Duančić

PETER VUKMAN

Hungarian Foreign Affairs and Party Documents on Yugoslavia's Role in the Creation of the Non-Aligned Movement

MILAN SOVILJ

Pogledi predstavnika jugoslovenskog političkog egzila u Velikoj Britaniji na socijalizam i spoljnu politiku Jugoslavije 1960-ih

BRIGITTE LE NORMAND

Rijeka's Global Imaginaries

17.00 Hall 246

PREDSTAVLJANJE KNJIGE / BOOK LAUNCH

Za nesavršeni film: tekstovi i manifesti treće kinematografije (Blok, 2024)

Sudjeluju / Participating: VESNA VUKOVIĆ, KARLA CRNČEVIĆ, BOJANA PIŠKUR, MARTA BARADIĆ

ČETVRTAK / THURSDAY, 18.00-20.00

18.00-20.00 Room 219

NESVRSTANA MUZEOLOGIJA / NON-ALIGNED MUSEOLOGY

Moderator: Marta Harasimowicz

TINA PALAIĆ

Traces of Collaboration: Foreign Students' Contribution to Museum Knowledge at the Museum of Non-European Cultures During the Non-Aligned Movement

NATALIJA VUJOŠEVIĆ

The Art Gallery of Non-Aligned Countries "Josip Broz Tito"

MARIJA ŽIVKOVIĆ

Između ideje i prakse: nasljeđe nesvrstanoosti u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu

MILICA NAUMOV, EMILIA EPŠTAJN

Kuda dalje? Nasljeđe nesvrstanoosti i savremene muzejske prakse MAU

18.00-20.00 Room 221

GLOBALNI SOCIJALIZAM / GLOBAL SOCIALISM

Moderator: Jure Ramšak

JOUKO RAITANIEMI

Nordic "Neutral" Social Democracy, the Global South, and the Transformation of Democratic Socialist Internationalism (1960s–1980s)

JELENA VIDOJEVIĆ, PAUL STUBBS

Global Socialism and Struggles Against Apartheid in Southern Africa: "Battle for Hearts, Minds and Guns"?

ALICE TRINKLE

A Global Reform Socialist Movement? Insights on Chinese-Eastern European Exchanges on Economic Reforms from the 1970s to the 1990s

ANASTAS VANGELI

Is (Global) China Socialist? An Uncomfortable Inquiry

18.00-20.00 Room 232

PRAVO I SOCIJALIZAM / LAW AND SOCIALISM

Moderator: Tin Celner

VID ŽEPIĆ

The Role of Roman Law in the "Socialist" Legal Systems with Special Regard to Yugoslavia

LOREDANA COLCHIOR

Law, Nationalism and the New Man: Socialist Legality in Ceaușescu's Romania

MILOŠ HRNJAZ

The Non-Aligned Movement and the Interpretation of the General Principles of International Law: Lessons for the New Global South

18.00 Hall 246

PREDSTAVLJANJE KNJIGE / BOOK LAUNCH

Ana Kladnik, ed., *Visions and Practices of Democracy in the Socialist and Non-Aligned States* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2025)

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: ANA KLADNIK, HENRIKE RUDOLPH, HELEN YAFFE, NINA VODOPIVEC, GORAN MUSIĆ, IGOR DUDA, DARIA DYAKONOVA, JAKUB ŠLOUF

19.00 Hall 246

PREDSTAVLJANJE KNJIGE / BOOK LAUNCH

Ulf Brunnbauer, *U olujama transformacije. Dva brodogradilišta između socijalizma i Europske unije* (Srednja Europa, 2025)

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: ULF BRUNNBAUER, MAGDALENA NAJBAR-AGIČIĆ, ANDREA MATOŠEVIĆ

PETAK / FRIDAY, 9.00-11.15

9.00-11.15 Room 219

VIZUALNE POVIJESTI / VISUAL HISTORIES

Moderator: Iva Kosmos

DOMINIK GUTMEYR-SCHNUR

Picturing Non-Alignment: Visual Histories of Yugoslav–Cambodian Entanglements

GABRIELLE CHOMENTOWSKI

Sékoumar Barry: A Guinean Filmmaker Trained in Belgrade in the 1960s

ANDREA MATOŠEVIĆ

Yugoslav High Politics in Short Form: Visual Anthropology of Diplomacy in Newsreels

TANJA PETROVIĆ

Od slike prema glasu: politička obećanja nesvrstanosti i režimi njihove historizacije

MILENA JOKANOVIĆ

Životi *Trkača* na Akademskom platou, ili o čemu nam sve govori jedan zid

9.00-11.15 Room 221

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONALISM(S): NON-ALIGNMENT AND BEYOND (1950s-1980s)

Moderator: Chiara Bonfiglioli

SHIVANGI JAISWAL

Framgmented Internationalisms: Unpacking the Contours of Indian Women's Organisations' Transnational Solidarity Networks in the Early Cold War Era (1950s-1960s)

SARAH NAGATY

Egypt's Inconsistent Internationalism: Women under Nasser's Authoritarian Non-Alignment

GIULIO FUGAZZOTTO

Attempts at Socialist Modernization? The Union Nationale de la Femme Tunisienne of Radhia Haddad in the 1960s

ALBERT MANKE

Boosted by the Revolution: Women's Internationalism in Cuba

BRUNO WALTER RENATO TOSCANO

Fragile Bonds: African American Women, Transnational Solidarity and the 1980

9.00-11.15 Room 232

OD ISTOČNOG MEDITERANA DO AFGANISTANA / FROM EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN TO AFGHANISTAN

Moderator: Goran Musić

ŽIGA SMOLIČ

Tito–Naser između redova prijateljstva: izazovi implementacije međudržavne saradnje između Egipta i Jugoslavije

KARLO JAGATIĆ

Jugoslavija i arapsko-izraelski sukobi: nesvrstanost i dinamika vanjske politike

LUKA SAVČIĆ

Jugoslavija kao domaćin Treće antikolonijalne konferencije Mediterana i Srednjeg istoka (1959)

SHOKHRUZ SHARIPOV

Socialist Ideas Among Afghan Students in the Soviet Union: Impact, Influence, and Legacies of the Afghan War (1950s–1980s)

9.00-11.15 Hall 246

MLADI I OBRAZOVANJE / YOUTH AND EDUCATION

Moderator: Tina Filipović

IGOR DUDA

Being International and Unequal: Yugoslav Pioneers at Artek Summer Camp in the USSR

VINCENZO COLAPRICE

Youth, Anti-Imperialism, and Non-Alignment: Reassessing the Role of the WFDY during the Cold War

JELENA CALIC

Languages of Solidarity: Decolonial Imagination and Language Pedagogy

PETAK / FRIDAY, 11.30-13.45

11.30-13.45 Room 219

VOLUNTEERS ACROSS COLD WAR BORDERS: SOLIDARITY AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Moderator: Nina Vodopivec

SEVERYAN DYAKONOV

Soviet Red Cross Hospitals in Asia and Africa (1950s–1960s)

JELENA ĐUREINOVIĆ

Mapping the Practices and Socio-Political Ecosystems of Anti-Colonial Solidarity in Yugoslavia: The Case of Military Medicine and Guinea-Bissau

HELEN YAFFE

Cuban Medical Internationalism

GEORGE BODIE

Arisen from Ruins: Voluntarism and the Birth of the East German Solidarity Movement

ANA KLADNIK

The International Firefighting Organization and Solidarity with the Global South during the Cold War

11.30-13.45 Room 221

JUGOSLAVIJA I MEĐUNARODNE ORGANIZACIJE / YUGOSLAVIA AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Moderator: Ivana Mihaela Žimbek

JELENA TEŠIJA

Co-operative Women's Labour Activism in the Yugoslav Countryside and Internationally (1950s–early 1960s)

NESA VREČER

The Conference for the Social Activity of Women and International Cooperation in 1960s Yugoslavia

TINA FILIPOVIĆ

Partisan Veterans and International Politics: SUBNOR's Role in Cold War Veterans' Cooperation

LJUBICA SPASKOVSKA

Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement in the Twilight of the NIEO

SAŠO SLAČEK BRLEK

Between Emancipation and Accommodation: Yugoslavia's Leadership in the New World Information and Communication Order

11.30-13.45 Room 232

NOSTALGIJA, IMAGINACIJE, REPREZENTACIJE / NOSTALGIA, IMAGINATION, REPRESENTATION

Moderator: Andrea Matošević

IVA KOSMOS

Višestruke imaginacije: jugoistočna Azija u (jugo)slavenskom putopisu

ŽELJANA TUNIĆ

Translating Solidarity: Representations of Yugoslavia in Postcolonial West Africa

MARTA HARASIMOWICZ

Nesvrstana melankolija, nostalgična nesvrstanost? Sjećanje na Pokret nesvrstanih između emocije i političkog izazova

ANA BEZIĆ

Sweet Nostalgia: "Negro" Candies and Colonial Aftertastes in the Former Yugoslavia

11.30 Hall 246

PREDSTAVLJANJE KNJIGE / BOOK LAUNCH

Vladimir Unkovski-Korica, Saša Vejzagić, eds., *Socialist Entrepreneurs? Business Histories of the GDR and Yugoslavia* (Routledge, 2024)

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: VLADIMIR UNKOVSKI-KORICA, SAŠA VEJZAGIĆ, ANNA CALORI

12.30 Hall 246

PREDSTAVLJANJE KNJIGE / BOOK LAUNCH

Marko Grdešić, Mislav Žitko, *Socialist Economics in Yugoslavia: A Critical History* (Routledge, 2025)

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: MARKO GRDEŠIĆ, MISLAV ŽITKO, PAUL STUBBS

15.00-17.15 Room 219

HUMANITARIZAM I SOLIDARNOST / HUMANITARIANISM AND SOLIDARITY

Moderator: Ulf Brunnbauer

FILIP MITRIČEVIĆ

Sutjeska Goes Global: Yugoslav Communist Regime's Diplomacy with Memory and Nasser's Visit in 1958

TAKUYA MOMMA

Re-examination of Yugoslav Veterans' Involvement in the Decolonization Struggles

DORA TOT

"Solidarity Week" Campaigns (1967–1987): A Domestic Practice of Yugoslav Humanitarian Internationalism

MILA MAEVA

Internationalisation of Medical Care: Bulgarian Aspects from the Socialist Period

LUCIANA JINGA

Socialist Solidarity and the Global South: Romania's Humanitarian Aid and Economic Diplomacy in the 1970s

15.00-17.15 Room 221

KULTURA I LIKOVNA UMJETNOST / CULTURE AND VISUAL ARTS

Moderator: Vesna Vuković

JULIETTE RONSIN

Collections on the Move: Exhibitions and the Circulation of Ethnographic Objects as a Means of Promoting Self-Management Socialism (1940s–1980s)

LJILJANA KOLEŠNIK

Navigating the Non-Aligned Cultural Landscape: Racial, Political and Cultural Tensions in the Struggle for African Unity and Cultural Emancipation

NATAŠA JAGDHUHN

Non-Aligned Movement's Commitment to the Decolonization of Cultural Heritage

SANJA SEKELJ

Yugoslavia, Non-Alignment, and Cultural Exchange at the Turning Point of 1989

15.00-17.15 Room 232

RAZMJENA ZNANJA / KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

Moderator: Antun Dulibić

IVANA MIHAELA ŽIMBREK

The Adriatic in Moscow: International Exchanges and the Modernization of Yugoslav Retail (1950s–1980s)

VEDRAN DUANČIĆ

Connecting the World(s) as an R&D Strategy: Yugoslavia's International Medical Cooperation

MONIKA WULZ

Spaces of Non-Aligned Knowledge: The Conferences and Journal Socialism in the World

ALIAKSANDR SHUBA

International Western and Eastern German Initiatives as Acknowledgements and Possibilities for Reconnecting Individual State Socialist Architectural and Urbanistic Writings and Collective Debates and Discourses

16.00 Hall 246

OKRUGLI STOL / ROUNDTABLE

Global Yugoslavia Revisited: China, Non-Alignment, and Beyond

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: LJUBICA SPASKOVSKA, TANJA PETROVIĆ, JOVAN ČAVOŠKI, ZVONIMIR STOPIĆ, ANASTAS VANGELI, JURE RAMŠAK

PETAK / FRIDAY, 17.30-19.30

17.30-19.30 Room 219

NON-ALIGNMENT, NUCLEAR ENERGY AND THE THIRD WORLD DURING THE COLD WAR AND BEYOND

Moderator: Saša Vejzagić

CARLO PATTI

Brazil, India and a Common "Non-Aligned" Reaction to the Global Nuclear Order (1965–1975)

GIORGIA PERLETTA

The Non-Aligned Movement's Stance(s) on Iran's Nuclear Dossier: Unity or Divergence?

MARKO MILJKOVIĆ

Fractured by Ambition: How Leadership Struggles Undermined NAM's Nuclear Cooperation

17.30-19.30 Room 221

JUGOSLAVIJA I NESVRSTANOST / YUGOSLAVIA AND NON-ALIGNMENT

Moderator: Dora Tot

NATAŠA MIŠKOVIĆ

Baku–Bandung–Brioni: Socialism and the Road to Non-Alignment

NEBOJŠA ĐORĐEVIĆ

From Global Socialism to Global Yugoslavia: Ideology and Pragmatism in Yugoslav-Indonesian Relations

AGUSTÍN COSOVSKI

Veljko Vlahović: Broker of Non-Alignment

STEVO ĐURAŠKOVIĆ

Ideje nesvrstanoši: aspekt ideološke dezintegracije socijalističke Jugoslavije?

17.30-19.30 Room 232

OGLEDALA NESVRSTANOSTI

Moderator: Lada Duraković

ALEŠ GABRIČ

Njihova Afrika: slika Afrike u slovenskoj prijevodnoj književnosti afričkih pisaca

SARAH LUNAČEK

Snimatelji Filmskih novosti u Africi: iskustva Branka Marjanovića

MATEJA REŽEK

Imaginariji globalnog juga i jugoslavenske nesvrstanoši u slovenskom školskom obrazovanju

RADINA VUČETIĆ

Jugoslavija kao most: izlazak savremene umetnosti nesvrstanih na globalnu scenu

17.30 Hall 246

OKRUGLI STOL PROJEKTA / *PROJECT ROUNDTABLE*

YUWORKZAMBIA (FWF) – A Socialist Workplace in Postcolonial Africa: A Connected History of the Yugoslav Workforce in Zambia

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: GORAN MUSIĆ, ANNA CALORI, IMMANUEL HARISCH, RORY ARCHER

18.30 Hall 246

OKRUGLI STOL PROJEKTA/ *PROJECT ROUNDTABLE*

HOUSING.YU (ERC) – Right to Housing: The Production of Spaces of Everyday Life in Yugoslavia (1945–1991)

Sudjeluju / *Participating*: TAMARA BJAŽIĆ KLARIN, IGOR DUDA, LIDIJA BUTKOVIĆ MIĆIN, MARTINA MALEŠIĆ, MEJREMA ZATRIĆ-ŠAHOVIĆ, LJILJANA KOLEŠNIK, IRENA ŠIMIĆ, HANA BEČEIĆ, ANTUN DULIBIĆ, FRANO PETAR ZOVKO

SUBOTA / SATURDAY, 10.30-13.45

10.30 Verige Hall, Brijuni National Park

PLENARNO PREDAVANJE / *KEYNOTE*

PAUL STUBBS

Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: conjunctures, contradictions, and contestations

12.15 Verige Hall, Brijuni National Park

PLENARNO PREDAVANJE / *KEYNOTE*

TVRTKO JAKOVINA

When did non-alignment become part of European politics: Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Non-Aligned and Neutral countries of Europe

13.30 Verige Hall, Brijuni National Park

ZATVARANJE / *CLOSING*

S A Ž E C I
A B S T R A C T S

Pozvani predavači / Keynote speakers

Chiara Bonfiglioli

Associate Professor at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice

The UN Decade for Women, the WIDF and the NAM: spaces and platforms of global socialist feminisms

Tvrtko Jakovina

Full Professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

When did non-alignment become part of European politics: Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Non-Aligned and Neutral countries of Europe

Paul Stubbs

Emeritus at The Institute of Economics, Zagreb

Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement in the long 1970s: conjunctures, contradictions, and contestations



Dalia Báthory

Romania and Tanzania in the 1970s and 1980s: Military and Economic Cooperation

This chapter explores the military and economic cooperation between Romania and Tanzania during the 1970s and 1980s, highlighting Romania's role in modernization efforts and support for anti-apartheid movements. Through bilateral agreements, Romania secured economic partnerships that not only facilitated industrial and infrastructural development in Tanzania but also provided Romanian industries with markets for their finished goods. These agreements granted Romania Most Favoured Nation status, reinforcing economic ties between the two states. Beyond economic collaboration, Romania extended military and medical assistance to liberation movements, aligning with Tanzania's role as a sanctuary for anti-apartheid organizations and leaders. Drawing on archival documents from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Council for the Securitate Archives, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the chapter examines Romania's motivations, objectives, and the broader geopolitical impact of these relations. Additionally, an analysis of Romanian media coverage reveals how the regime sought to justify and promote its involvement, emphasizing solidarity with African nations in their struggles against apartheid. By investigating these economic and military ties, the chapter provides insights into Romania's strategic interests in Africa and its broader ideological commitments during the Cold War.

Ana Bezić

Sweet Nostalgia: “Negro” Candies and Colonial Aftertastes in the Former Yugoslavia

This paper examines the production and consumption of the “Negro” candy, an anise-licorice sweet still sold across the former Yugoslavia, as a porous and undisciplined object for investigating the lingering presence of colonial imaginaries on the European periphery. Marketed with the slogan “the chimney sweeper of the throat” and bearing the image of a stylized Black man in a top hat, the candy's branding reproduces racialized tropes that have remained largely uncontested in the post-socialist cultural landscape. While the candy's branding has drawn some criticism, its enduring popularity underscores the banal persistence of racialized representations in everyday life. By linking this visual and linguistic racialization to the material history of licorice and anise extractive economies, long cultivated in the Middle East and Central Asia and circulated through colonial and colonially entangled trade networks, this paper frames the “Negro” candy as both a product and a residue of imperial formations. Drawing on postcolonial theory, critical race studies, and the history of commodity consumption, I argue that such sweets are not innocent artifacts of nostalgia, but sites where race, empire, and taste converge.

In a region often imagined as “outside” or “innocent” of colonialism, this case study challenges the myth of non-involvement and foregrounds the global entanglements of seemingly local objects.

George Bodie

Arisen from Ruins: Voluntarism and the Birth of the East German Solidarity Movement

Recent focus on internationalism in the GDR has centred on the 1960s onward as the high point of international solidarity. Such narratives are indebted to the very real fact that decolonization in Africa, in particular in the late 1950s and early 1960s, caused a sudden growth in solidarity activities in the GDR, a growth that peaked in the mid-1970s. And yet the institutions and practices associated with internationalist practices mostly predated this growth, coming into existence alongside the state itself in the late 1940s. These roots are important because they explain, among other things, why international solidarity in the GDR placed such a strong emphasis on voluntarism. In its earliest incarnation in the Soviet occupation zone, solidarity was a tool for mobilization campaigns that aimed to reconstruct the German nation, both literally and metaphorically. This paper will explore how this conception of solidarity was transformed from an inwardly directed practice to an outwardly directed one, retaining an emphasis on voluntarism but shifting toward a global focus.

Jelena Calic

Languages of Solidarity: Decolonial Imagination and Language Pedagogy

The institutional and political erasure of, and resistance to, reclaiming the historical legacy of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in the successor states of Yugoslavia after its collapse is well documented (Spaskovska 2021; Stubbs 2023). In line with this trend, and despite the fact that international education at universities in Yugoslavia was facilitated by educational policies specifically designed to cater to the needs of students from NAM member countries, including language teaching provisions for them, little to no space is dedicated to these pedagogical developments in the genealogies of the field of Serbo-Croatian as a foreign language teaching. In recent calls to reconsider the methods and assumptions of decolonization in the disciplinary fields of applied and sociolinguistics, it has been recognized that local knowledges and decolonial diversities are often disregarded in favour of globally intelligible discourses of struggle and resistance (Deumert and Makoni 2023). However, in the exploration of epistemic and symbolic violences imposed by former colonial languages and Western ways of knowing, references to

the “historical sequence of NAM” (Kirn 2023) and Yugoslavia’s involvement in past alternative forms of interconnected knowledge production are scarce. This paper aims to address these erasures by retracing the development of solidarity-based educational policies for students from non-aligned countries and their embeddedness in imagining different, better, and more just futures. I will present data from archival records of policies, testimonies, and teaching materials that shaped international (language) education in Yugoslavia.

Gabrielle Chomentowski

Sékoumar Barry: A Guinean Filmmaker Trained in Belgrade in the 1960s

Sékoumar Barry, one of the founders of Guinean cinema, who made one of the first African documentary films focusing on colonization and Guinean Independence, *Et vint la liberté* (1968), was trained from 1960 to 1966 in Belgrade at the university’s film department. Like many Guineans of his generation, he was one of the young people who benefited from grants awarded by socialist countries to African countries that had become independent. His support for university education was part of a wider policy of assistance to so-called Third World countries developed by the Soviet Union, the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and Yugoslavia (among other works, see C. Katsakioris’ articles). In this presentation, I will retrace the journey of Sékoumar Barry in Yugoslavia: arriving in Belgrade in 1960, studying at Fakultet dramskih Umetnosti, working in different film studios in Yugoslavia as an assistant, and acting in Yugoslav films before returning to Conakry in 1965. I will compare Sékoumar Barry’s testimony with the silence of the archives kept in Serbian institutions (Serbian National Archives and Fakultet dramskih Umetnosti archives), questioning the place of the history of African student life in contemporary ex-Yugoslav society.

Vincenzo Colaprice

Youth, Anti-Imperialism, and Non-Alignment: Reassessing the Role of the WFDY during the Cold War

This presentation offers a reassessment of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) by exploring its evolving relationship with the Non-Aligned Movement and youth organizations from the Global South during the Cold War. Traditionally framed as a pro-Soviet front, the WFDY also functioned as a site of ideological confrontation and adaptation, especially in response to the rise of anti-colonial struggles and post-Bandung internationalism. Drawing on recently accessed archival sources, the presentation will highlight how the WFDY attempted to redefine its anti-imperialist agenda beyond the dichotomies of East and West. From the reform debates of the 1950s to the internal conflicts sparked by the Sino-Soviet split and the expansion of solidarity campaigns in the 1970s, the federation

increasingly opened itself to actors from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These organizations did not passively follow a Moscow-driven line; rather, they contributed actively to shaping the WFDY's political discourse, pushing for a more inclusive and multipolar vision of international youth cooperation. By focusing on these dynamics, the presentation aims to move beyond reductive Cold War narratives and shed light on the complex and often contentious processes that defined transnational activism in the second half of the twentieth century.

Loredana Colchior

Law, Nationalism and the New Man: Socialist Legality in Ceaușescu's Romania

This study explores socialist law and legality in Socialist Romania (1965–1989) as instruments for constructing a communist society and the “new man,” deeply intertwined with nationalist ideology. In Marxist-Leninist theory, law is both a reflection of social relations and a tool for achieving ideological goals, aiming to harmonize individual and societal interests. In Socialist Romania, legality was not only a means of social control but also a vehicle for reinforcing national identity, portraying collective property and socialist development as essential to national sovereignty and prosperity. Through content analysis of Communist Party materials and Ceaușescu-era laws, this study highlights how legal mechanisms actively shaped citizen behavior, embedding socialist and nationalist ideals into daily life, fostering a sense of patriotic duty, and legitimizing the Party's leadership as the guardian of national interests. Beyond its domestic role, socialist legality also served as a means of legitimizing Romania's independent stance within the Non-Aligned Movement. By examining the intersection of law, ideology, and foreign policy, this presentation demonstrates how Romania used legal structures to balance internal conformity with external autonomy, crafting a version of the “new man” that was both a devoted socialist and a patriot, reinforcing Romania's distinct position.

Agustín Cosovschi

Veljko Vlahović: Broker of Non-Alignment

After rising in the ranks of the youth branch of the Yugoslav Communist Party throughout the 1930s, fighting as a volunteer in the Spanish Civil War, and spending six years in exile in the USSR during World War II, Veljko Vlahović became a leading figure in the Yugoslav communist regime in the postwar period. Following Belgrade's break with Moscow, Vlahović also played a central role in foreign policy, and he was charged, among other things, with overseeing Yugoslavia's relations with progressive parties abroad and developing alliances with political forces ideologically akin to Yugoslavia's new direction in international affairs. Due to the obscure nature of such a task, Vlahović's contribution to the making of non-

alignment has often been neglected, and his life has remained surprisingly underexplored by the literature dealing with non-alignment. Drawing on Vlahović's writings and his personal archive, this paper will discuss his life, tracing continuities between his trajectory as a Communist militant and an internationalist fighter in the 1930s, and his role as an international broker for the politics of non-alignment in the 1950s. By doing so, the paper seeks to stress how the experience of the antifascist struggle and socialist internationalism of the interwar period shaped and defined some of the features of Yugoslav non-alignment in the postwar years.

Vedran Duančić

Connecting the World(s) as an R&D Strategy: Yugoslavia's International Medical Cooperation

In the mid-1970s Yugoslavia wanted to become a nexus of all scientific-technological cooperation among developing countries. The idea arose from Yugoslavia's engagement in the NAM and the belief in the emancipatory effects of the transfer of knowledge, science, and technology, but there was also a crucial domestic aspect to the proposal: Yugoslavia's coordinating role could create a virtuous R&D cycle. Medical cooperation was not initially envisioned as one of the core areas of this scientific-technological cooperation, yet it quickly became its focal point. The paper explains why it (unexpectedly) came to play a critical role and outlines its main characteristics. But rather than treating it as a success story, the paper proposes an alternative reading, one of contingent and structural failures. Yugoslavia's coordinating role never took off and the transfer of knowledge and technology among developing countries often worsened rather than improved bilateral relations. Medical cooperation with Libya, which accounted for an overwhelming share of Yugoslavia's international scientific-technological engagement, was a case in point. The paper argues that approaching Yugoslavia's international medical cooperation from the perspective of the transfer of knowledge and technology, rather than geopolitics and diplomacy, provides a much better insight into how it was designed, put in practice, and what its results were.

Igor Duda

Being International and Unequal: Yugoslav Pioneers at Artek Summer Camp in the USSR

After 1950, in the aftermath of the Tito – Stalin split, the Pioneer Alliance of Yugoslavia entered a period of reform to reposition itself as a mass organisation for children reflecting Yugoslavia's new and independent socialist path to communism. Features seen as Soviet influences were changed, and the Pioneer Alliance sought to become a demilitarised, less politicised organisation, promoting fun and leisure while upholding socialist and revolutionary values. Among its many programmes,

summer camps across the country were intended to present and promote the best of Yugoslav childhood. After the re-establishment of Yugoslav-Soviet relations, Yugoslav delegations were also sent to Artek, the main Soviet camp on the Crimean Peninsula, which hosted children from pro-communist organisations worldwide. Yet the experiences of Yugoslav delegations mirrored the country's broader stance towards the Soviet Union. Reports from the holdings of the Archive of Yugoslavia reveal the troubled path of Yugoslavia's engagement with global socialism and internationalism when arranged by the Soviets.

Severyan Dyakonov

Soviet Red Cross Hospitals in Asia and Africa (1950s–1960s)

In the 1950s, the Soviet Red Cross gained positions in the governing bodies of the International League of the Red Cross, supported by newly established Red Cross and Red Crescent societies in the decolonizing world. Seeking to shape foreign public opinion, it established medical and research facilities in Algeria, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Cambodia. This article examines the Soviet Red Cross presence in these countries, where Soviet doctors practiced medicine, published research in medical journals, and trained future local doctors. Notably, most Soviet doctors were women, an unprecedented phenomenon in the 1950s. The USSR sought to redefine humanitarianism, shifting it from a Western concept of philanthropy to socialist development aid, effectively equating humanitarianism with socialism. This paper is based on archival data from the International Federation of the Red Cross, and from Russian, American, Canadian, and British archives.

Nebojša Đorđević

From Global Socialism to Global Yugoslavia: Ideology and Pragmatism in Yugoslav-Indonesian Relations

Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations with Indonesia during the latter's anticolonial struggle against Dutch rule. Seeking to strengthen its socialist influence, Yugoslavia aimed to establish ties with Indonesia before the Soviet Union, a move shaped by the recent ideological break between Tito and Stalin. Despite initial warmth, exemplified by Indonesian leader Sukarno's affectionate address to Tito as "dear friend", underlying divergences in global outlooks surfaced already at the First Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade and intensified during the last days of Sukarno's rule. After the transition from Sukarno to Suharto, good bilateral relations were restored, yet never fully recovered, partly due to Indonesia's anti-communist purges. While Yugoslavia provided substantial economic aid and maintained a corporate presence in Indonesia, the diffusion of its socialist ideology remains ambiguous. This paper traces the transmission and eventual decline of Yugoslav socialist

thought in early bilateral cooperation, arguing that the initial framework of “global socialism” gradually shifted toward a “global Yugoslavia” paradigm. Following Yugoslavia’s dissolution, Indonesia emerged as a prominent defender of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus positioning itself as an important participant in the “clash of civilizations”.

Stevo Đurašković

Ideje nesvrstanosti: aspekt ideološke dezintegracije socijalističke Jugoslavije?

Dosadašnja istraživanja ukazala su na deideologiziranje načela nesvrstanosti u vanjskoj politici te ideologiziranje u unutarnjoj politici Socijalističke Jugoslavije putem konceptualiziranja nesvrstanosti kao nastavka naslijeđa NOB-a i jugoslavenskog posebnog puta u socijalizam. U dijalogu s dosadašnjim istraživanjima, ovo će izlaganje pokazati kako je ideologizacija nesvrstanosti bila jedan od aspekata ideološke dezintegracije Jugoslavije. Izlaganje kreće s interpretacijom kako narativ nesvrstanosti ne sadrži samo ideje antiimperijalizma i prava svake zemlje na odabir vlastita puta razvoja, već i „prometejske“ ideje o tome da emancipacijski potencijal samoupravljanja treba služiti kao globalni uzor za oslobađanje i od hegemonije kapitala, i od opasnosti socijalističkog „velikodržavlja“. Nadalje, izlaganje će pokazati kako je ideologizacija nesvrstanosti bila vanjskopolitička refleksija ideje jugoslavenskog socijalističkog patriotizma, koji je 1960-ih koncipiran na potpunom napuštanju ranijih pokušaja izgradnje (etno)kulturene komponente jugoslavenskog nadnacionalnog identiteta te na posljedičnom definiranju jugoslavenstva isključivo kao ponosa na pojedinačne dosege jugoslavenskih naroda i narodnosti na zajedničkom putu izgradnje socijalizma. Naposlijetku, ovo će izlaganje pokazati i da je nesvrstanost bila „liminalno“ ideologizirana i u vanjskoj politici, osobito u ranoj fazi Pokreta nesvrstanih, koja se poklapala s unutarnjopolitičkim previranjima u Jugoslaviji ranih 1960-ih godina.

Jelena Đureinović

Mapping the Practices and Socio-Political Ecosystems of Anti-Colonial Solidarity in Yugoslavia: The Case of Military Medicine and Guinea-Bissau

The paper examines the development of Yugoslav networks and practices of anti-colonial solidarity and assistance to liberation movements between the late 1950s and late 1970s. The agency of socio-political organisations is the focus, tracing the transformation from individual initiatives and the cooperation of these organisations to the establishment of coordinating bodies dedicated specifically to helping liberation movements. The paper explores the developments between the Algerian War of Independence and the establishment of the Committee for Helping

Algeria, and the late 1970s and the activities of the Fund for Helping Victims of Aggression and Colonial Domination. The paper explores the cases of Algeria and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC), centring on the sphere of health and medicine. Medical assistance to liberation movements, in this case the FLN and PAIGC, illuminates the agency behind Yugoslav anti-colonial solidarity initiatives, including the entwinement of state, and non-state spheres and civilian and military actors.

Tina Filipović

Partisan Veterans and International Politics: SUBNOR's Role in Cold War Veterans' Cooperation

Yugoslav Partisan veterans (SUBNOR), as representatives of a Non-Aligned European state, held distinctive position in the international veterans' movement during the Cold War. Dedicated to mediating between opposing blocs, SUBNOR initiated cooperation among European veterans' associations from ideologically divergent states to promote lasting peace, solidarity, détente, and disarmament, particularly through major gatherings of veterans and resistance fighters in the 1970s and 1980s. Veterans closely monitored international developments, linking them to the domestic political and security context. SUBNOR leaders often began their speeches with reflections on global affairs, framing them through Yugoslavia's path to socialism and non-alignment, while consistently criticizing bloc dynamics, the arms race, great-power hegemonism, and widening social inequalities. Their criticism sometimes targeted specific policies, resulting in protest letters to ambassadors and governments, or in calls for local veterans to strengthen civic defence and cross-border cooperation. This presentation will explore how Partisan veterans interpreted events and relationships in international politics. It will highlight with whom and how SUBNOR built its partnerships and discuss the significance and effects of international cooperation on SUBNOR's activities.

Giulio Fugazzotto

Attempts at Socialist Modernization? The Union Nationale de la Femme Tunisienne of Radhia Haddad in the 1960s

Although Tunisia had been a non-aligned country since 1961, it always maintained a political stance decidedly closer to the Western bloc, even in opposition to the two North African giants, Algeria and Egypt, which were oriented towards the socialist world, with close relations with Yugoslavia and significant economic ties with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, during the 1960s, Tunisia embarked on a process of economic socialization through the cooperative experiment, which developed alongside the country's economic and cultural modernization. Can the intense social

activity and women's awareness campaigns undertaken by the state-run women's organization, the Union Nationale de la Femme Tunisienne (UNFT), under the leadership of Radhia Haddad, be placed within this process? In other words, can the UNFT's policies be interpreted as a specific manifestation of attempts to follow a path toward socialist modernity with distinct national characteristics? Through a systematic review of the UNFT press, the private archives of the Haddad family, and the UNFT archives, examples of the organization's activities and discourses will be examined in an effort to answer these questions.

Aleš Gabrič

Njihova Afrika: slika Afrike u slovenskoj prijevodnoj književnosti afričkih pisaca

U prijevodnoj književnosti u Jugoslaviji dominirali su prijevodi iz književnosti velikih naroda, a razvojem Pokreta nesvrstanih država je poticala i kulturnu razmjenu sa zemljama čije su kulturne tradicije bile gotovo nepoznate jugoslavenskim građanima. Jedan od uspješnijih izdavačkih pristupa bio je projekt koji je 1976. pokrenula manja slovenska nakladnička kuća Pomurska založba iz Murske Sobote. Počela je izdavati zbirku *Mostovi*, koja je godišnje obično objavljivala šest knjiga prijevodne književnosti iz kultura nepoznatih Slovincima, od kojih su mnoge bile djela autora iz Afrike. Knjige su obogaćene vrijednim analizama o autoru i njegovom djelu te državi i njezinoj kulturnoj baštini. Većinu je napisala najbolja poznavateljica afričke kulture i književnosti u Jugoslaviji, Biserka Cvjetičanin, suradnica zagrebačkog Instituta za zemlje u razvoju i autorica monografije *Roman i afrička zbilja* (1981.). Za razliku od slika Afrike koje su jugoslavenskim građanima predstavljali državni mediji i putopisi stranaca koji su putovali Afrikom, čitatelji su kroz čitanje ovih djela mogli upoznati izvorne poglede afričkih pisaca na domaće prilike. Njihove ocjene o ulozi kolonijalista, antikolonijalnoj borbi, lokalnim vlastima, odnosu tradicije i modernizacije te utjecaju različitih religija na svakodnevni život mogle su se značajno razlikovati od državno propagirane slike Afrike. Analiza će se usmjeriti na te devijacije, na slike koje su afrički autori ponudili ne-Afrikancima i koje nisu bile proizvod stereotipa ili predrasuda bijelaca izvana.

Domnica Gorovei

Communist Romania's Strategy towards African States in the 1960s and 1970s

In the context of the global Cold War, the image of the developing world (Global South, Third World), in the Romanian Marxist-Leninist reading of history, emphasized the fight against colonialism since the 1950s, and afterwards the fight against the racist regime in Southern Africa. Thus, after the African independences (although there were prior exchanges, as shown by Iacob 2022, Cuvelier 2021), the communist regime immediately recognised the new states and established relations

with them. Although absent from the ceremonies of independence, Romania prioritized, in a third phase, representation at the embassy level to better develop its main economic interests, among others. Using as main sources the diplomatic and party archives, and as a secondary source the media of the time, the present research aims at sketching the main strategies of communist Romania towards the African continent in the 1960s and 1970s. Special attention will be given to some West African states: francophone Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal and respectively anglophone Nigeria.

Dominik Gutmeyr-Schnur

Picturing Non-Alignment: Visual Histories of Yugoslav–Cambodian Entanglements

Visuality played a central role in the representation of non-aligned relations, and the display of Yugoslav–Cambodian ties was no exception, with both sides keen to capitalize on diplomatic visits and utilize photography to convey domestic and international messages about ideas of socialism, leadership and global relevance, as well as non-aligned cooperation. This paper explores how both state-sponsored and private photographic practices established a complex imagery of non-alignment that often navigated the fine line between established colonialist (self-)representation of Indochina on the one hand and anticolonialism as a central pillar of Yugoslavia's foreign policy on the other. By analyzing photographs and the networks behind their production and circulation, the paper touches upon a broad variety of themes and entangled histories of Yugoslavia and Cambodia, ranging from labor history against the backdrop of the company Energoprojekt and its Kirirom 1 Hydropower Dam project to the history of educational exchanges. It suggests that photographic practices reflected and co-constructed ideas of Yugoslavia's liminal hegemony within the Non-Aligned Movement, conflicting notions of colonial traditions of visual representation and vernacular cultures of (self-)representation, imaginations of socialist modernity and self-management, predominantly traditional imageries of masculinities and femininities, and visualized concepts of solidarity and anti-colonialism.

Marta Harasimowicz

Nesvrstana melankolija, nostalgična nesvrstanost? Sjećanje na Pokret nesvrstanih između emocije i političkog izazova

S porastom interesa za fenomen Pokreta nesvrstanih u povijesnoj znanosti, oživljavanjem postkolonijalne refleksije i slojevitim promjenama kolektivnog sjećanja na jugoslavenski socijalizam, Pokret nesvrstanih također sve češće postaje i inspiracija za različite kulturne prikaze. U tim je prikazima ujedno nerijetko artikulirana perspektiva mlađih generacija koje više nemaju izravan odnos prema

nesvrstanosti kao realpolitičkom projektu. Odnosno, pokušavaju je shvatiti s apstraktnijih pozicija: kao ideju, dio ideološkog i estetskog „krajolika“ socijalističke Jugoslavije ili neki oblik retroutopije. Zajednička je značajka mnogih takvih tumačenja melankoličan odnos prema nesvrstanosti ili uključivanje sjećanja na taj fenomen u nostalgичne naracijske kodove. Izlaganje će se fokusirati na izabrane primjere melankolije i nostalgije povezane sa suvremenim prikazima povijesti Pokreta nesvrstanih. Pokušat ćemo razmišljati o njima u kontekstu postojećih teorijskih koncepcija, kao i pratiti teme i motive koje se u tim prikazima pojavljuju. Probat ćemo odgovoriti na pitanje: kakav je odnos „nesvrstane melankolije“ prema kolektivnom sjećanju na socijalističku Jugoslaviju, koje su motivacije za njezino tematiziranje i ima li ovaj oblik prikaza potencijal za stvaranje novih političkih imaginarija?

Miloš Hrnjaz

The Non-Aligned Movement and the Interpretation of the General Principles of International Law: Lessons for the New Global South

The member states of the Non-Aligned Movement have articulated a clear stance on the general principles of international law, which became an integral part of the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States (the Declaration). This stance significantly influenced the text of the Declaration itself, as well as subsequent interpretations of key principles of international law, such as sovereign equality, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations, and the right of peoples to self-determination. This paper explores the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement's approach to the use of general principles of international law in achieving a more just global order, specifically in relation to how the New Global South (a concept explained in the paper) perceives and engages with international law. In this context, the paper presents the core argument that there are both continuities and discontinuities between the Non-Aligned Movement and the New Global South. However, the fundamental dilemma remains the same today as it did in the past: can international law, with its colonial past and the structure built upon that legacy, be used as a progressive tool for establishing a more just global order?

Karlo Jagatić

Jugoslavija i arapsko-izraelski sukobi: nesvrstanost i dinamika vanjske politike

Osnivanjem države Izrael 1948., prethodno nestabilna situacija na Bliskom istoku, odnosno sukob između Arapa i Židova, poprimila je dodatnu složenost. U takvim se geopolitičkim procesima nova jugoslavenska država, nastala nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, brzo profilirala u međunarodnim odnosima kao socijalistička država

s određenim odrednicama neovisnosti u odnosu na Sovjetski Savez. Politički sukob 1948. između Josipa Broza Tita i Josifa Staljina doveo je do značajnih promjena u odnosima između Jugoslavije i Sovjetskog Saveza, što je utjecalo na razvoj unutarnje i vanjske politike Jugoslavije. Sredinom 1950-ih, jugoslavensko je vodstvo postupno počelo prihvaćati koncepciju nesvrstanosti. Novi vanjskopolitički smjer Jugoslavije, koji, dakako, nije bio linearan, značajno je redefinirao poziciju Jugoslavije u svim ključnim geopolitičkim pitanjima, uključujući odnose na Bliskom istoku. U tom je kontekstu zanimljivo pratiti razvoj jugoslavenskog viđenja bliskoistočnih sukoba od Prvog arapsko-izraelskog rata 1948. pa sve do Šestodnevnog rata 1967., kada je Jugoslavija prekinula diplomatske odnose s Izraelom. Tako su nesvrstanost, kao i odnosi unutar Pokreta nesvrstanih, bili ključni faktor u donošenju te važne političke odluke, koja je kratkoročno izazvala i političke napetosti unutar Saveza komunista Jugoslavije.

Nataša Jagdhuhn

Non-Aligned Movement's Commitment to the Decolonization of Cultural Heritage

The recent awakening of academic interest in the legacy of the Non-Aligned Movement has coincided with a revival in public and scholarly discussions on the decolonization of the museum sphere. This paper, which connects both academic areas, will show how the Non-Aligned Movement's cultural diplomacy raised the profile of calls for the decolonization of museum theory and practice during the Cold War. The analyses of historical, political and museological entanglements in the institutionalization of the Non-Aligned Movement's cultural politics will be approached through two perspectives: 1) the speeches of its dignitaries at the Non-Aligned Movement summits and 2) curatorial strategies related to the establishment of the first, and only, museum-like institution established on the idea of non-alignment, the Gallery for the Art of the Non-Aligned States (Titograd, Yugoslavia). It will be argued that, to fully understand the causes of the post-1989 decolonial museal turn, strongly influenced by the idea of non-alignment, it is necessary to place the development of museology as an academic discipline during the Cold War in a wider global context, one that includes not only East–West rivalry but also the world's multiple Souths.

Shivangi Jaiswal

Fragmented Internationalisms: Unpacking the Contours of Indian Women's Organisations' Transnational Solidarity Networks in the Early Cold War Era (1950s–1960s)

The 1950s and 1960s, shaped by decolonisation, the Cold War, non-alignment, and the rise of anti-imperialist Pan-Asian and Afro-Asian internationalism, were a

dynamic terrain where women's organisations actively negotiated, redefined, and contested notions of solidarity. Indian women's organisations across the political spectrum navigated this international politico-economic landscape while being rooted in the post-independence context, shaped by the aspirations and challenges of the newly independent Indian state, which upheld, albeit with limitations, the principles of democracy, socialism, and non-alignment. They critically engaged with contemporary realities, simultaneously developing both vernacular and internationalist lenses, envisioning transnational solidarity in ways that transcended the singular contextual framing of the Cold War or non-alignment. How did the different narratives of internationalism across Indian women's organisations contribute to decolonial worldmaking? To what extent did these narratives challenge or disrupt the state's understanding of the ideas of "non-alignment"? By examining the networks of key organizations, the All India Women's Conference and the International Alliance of Women, the National Federation of Indian Women and the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the National Council of Women in India and the International Council of Women, this paper explores the contextual and discursive frameworks that shaped diverse forms of internationalism within these networks and the political trajectories they facilitated at national and regional levels.

Luciana Jinga

Socialist Solidarity and the Global South: Romania's Humanitarian Aid and Economic Diplomacy in the 1970s

This paper examines Romania's humanitarian aid and economic cooperation strategies during the 1970s, highlighting the political, economic, and diplomatic considerations that shaped its engagements. The study analyzes archival data to assess the allocation of aid, the beneficiaries, and the decision-making processes involved. Humanitarian aid was primarily financed through the International Solidarity Fund, with additional contributions from the National Red Cross Society and UNICEF. Romania assisted in response to natural disasters, conflicts, and development needs, often in alignment with its foreign policy objectives. The research outlines key trends in humanitarian aid distribution, demonstrating how domestic crises, such as major floods and the 1977 earthquake, influenced Romania's external commitments. Case studies include aid provided to Yugoslavia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Peru, and Vietnam, with particular emphasis on scholarships granted to Vietnamese students. The paper further explores Romania's approach to economic cooperation with African nations following Nicolae Ceaușescu's diplomatic tour in 1977. The findings reveal that Romania's humanitarian aid and economic partnerships were shaped by both solidarity rhetoric and pragmatic calculations, including efforts to strengthen geopolitical influence and economic ties with the Global South. The study contributes to the broader discourse on Cold War-era development aid and the role of socialist states in international humanitarian

efforts.

Milena Jokanović

Životi *Trkača* na Akademskom platou, ili o čemu nam sve govori jedan zid

Godine 1989. Vladimir Veličković poklonio je Beogradu mural na zidu Kapetan Mišinog zdanja na Akademskom platou kod Filozofskog fakulteta, povodom uređenja i pripremanja grada za Deveti samit Pokreta nesvrstanih. Ovaj čin bio je deo šire inicijative za uređenje grada, tokom koje su različite jugoslovenske opštine donirale umetničke radove u znak prijateljstva i solidarnosti, kreirajući svojevrsnu galeriju na otvorenom. Dok je Veličkovićev rad, preko gotovo celog zida, postajao deo nove slike grada, „Jugoslavije u malom“, istovremeno je onaj, u širim okvirima znatno poznatiji, Berlinski zid konačno oboren, najavljujući društveni i geopolitički zaokret tokom kojeg je i sama Jugoslavija nestala. Ipak, *Trkač* na platou pretrajava i samo nekoliko godina nakon svog nastanka postaje svedok velikih studentskih protesta, raspada države u kojoj je stvoren, te izlaska iste iz Pokreta nesvrstanih, a zid na kojem je postavljen dobija nove slojeve značenja novim muralom: portretom Zorana Đinđića odmah ispod *Trkača*. Oslanjajući se na metod biografije stvari, u ovom istraživanju pratićemo život zida na Akademskom platou u Beogradu, koji danas predstavlja mesto nasleđa, svojevrsni pejzaž u kojem se oblikuju i transformišu prostori sećanja i preispitivati da li i koliko su inicijalne tekovine Pokreta nesvrstanih opstajale sve do danas aktuelnih društvenih previranja na istom mestu, ispred ovog zida.

Ana Kladnik

The International Firefighting Organization and Solidarity with the Global South during the Cold War

Since 1900, membership in the International Organization for Fire Prevention (CTIF) was mainly composed of European countries. The onset of the Cold War also affected the activities of CTIF members on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In the early 1960s, CTIF organized the first firefighting Olympics, which was initially attended solely by firefighting departments from Western European countries. It was only at the third Olympics at the end of the decade that firefighting departments from both sides of divided Europe competed together. Within the CTIF, the socialist countries had their own committee, which proposed various initiatives (for example, the participation of women in the firefighting Olympics). The socialist countries also sought cooperation with countries of the Global South. For example, Czechoslovak firefighters regularly exchanged contacts and organized joint competitions with firefighting groups from the Global South. This presentation will shed light on how solidarity between firefighting departments from European socialist countries and those from the Global South shaped CTIF's international cooperation.

Ljiljana Kolečnik

Navigating the Non-Aligned Cultural Landscape: Racial, Political and Cultural Tensions in the Struggle for African Unity and Cultural Emancipation

Efforts invested in Africa's postcolonial cultural emancipation were manifested, among other things, through several major cultural events organised in the 1960s and 1970s, intended to celebrate both Africa's contribution to world culture and the idea of African (political) unity and its shared resistance to colonialism. The First and Second World Festivals of Black Art, held in Dakar (1966) and Lagos (1977), the Pan-African Festival held in Algiers (1969), together with a series of Africanist World Congresses that took place between 1961 and 1973 in Accra, Dakar and Addis Ababa, offered a compelling presentation of the richness, diversity, and vitality of traditional African cultures, emphasising their impact on both the local contemporary cultural scene and the cultural production of the African diaspora in North and South America. Along with discussing the visual art exhibitions included in these events, the paper focuses on the political, racial and cultural tensions underlying their organisation, approached from the perspective of both the political dynamics of the Non-Aligned Movement and its relation to the problems of race and racialisation, which are comparable to its attitude towards culture and the position of culture within the politics of non-alignment.

Iva Kosmos

Višestruke imaginacije: jugoistočna Azija u (jugo)slavenskom putopisu

Bliski odnosi s Globalnim jugom, ideje i prakse političke, kulturne i ekonomske suradnje, kao i konkretna potreba za izvještajima iz tada (pa opet sada) nepoznatih zemalja utjecali su na rađanje nove vrste antikolonijalnog putopisa u Jugoslaviji i šire u socijalističkom svijetu. Takvim putopisom dominiraju novinari, ratni izvjestitelji, diplomati i predstavnici struke, a kao glavni predstavnik nesvrstanih uspostavlja se Afrika (Radonjić 2023.). Uz Afriku, u slovenskom kulturnom imaginariju posebno mjesto zauzimaju Indonezija i jugoistočna Azija. O njima je pisao ugledni diplomatski bračni par Bebler (1966.), koji je ujedno skupljao i promovirao indonezijsku umjetnost. U jugoistočnu Aziju putuju autori dvaju navodno najboljih slovenskih putopisa u drugoj polovici prošlog stoljeća (Lah 1999.): slikar Jože Ciuha (1963.) te jedan od glavnih predstavnika suvremenog književnog kanona Evald Flisar (1979.). Pomoću njihovih i drugih djela ispitat ću stvaranje višestrukih imaginacija (Radonjić 2020.) i višestrukih odnosa prema nesvrstanoj. Jedan od naglasaka stavljam na različita pregovaranja solidarnosti s Drugim, primjerice kada se prijateljske nesvrstane države okreću drugim političkim pravcima, kao što je Indonezija nakon pada Sukarna.

Dorđe Lalić

Uvoz kafe iz zemalja Globalnog juga u vreme ekonomske krize u Jugoslaviji 1979–1989: problemi i izazovi

Socijalistička Jugoslavija se, kao zemlja globalnog socijalizma, početkom 1980-ih suočavala sa ozbiljnom ekonomskom krizom. Kriza je pogodila sve slojeve društva i manifestovala se, između ostalog, nestašicama robe široke potrošnje. Među brojnom robom koja je bila deficitarna, kafa se izdvajala kao posebno značajna, budući da je njena nestašica posebno teško pogađala građane. Jugoslavija je kafu uvozila iz velikog broja zemalja Globalnog juga, koje su većinom bile članice Pokreta nesvrstanih. Tema predloženog rada jeste analiza kompleksnog sistema uvoza kafe iz nesvrstanih zemalja, koji je nakon 1979. dodatno otežan daljim procesom federalizacije jugoslovenske privrede, problemima koji su nastajali prilikom ugovaranja kontingenata kafe s izvoznim kompanijama nesvrstanih zemalja, pokušajima Jugoslavije i jugoslovenskih spoljnotrgovinskih preduzeća da iskoriste svoj položaj u Globalnom jugu i pronađu alternativan način da plate kafu, s obzirom na deficit deviza, kao i inovativnim idejama pojedinih preduzeća da kafu nabavljaju sa sopstvenih plantaža u Africi. Predloženi rad obrađuje teme ekonomske i poslovne istorije i u nekoliko slojeva analizira probleme sa kojima su se jugoslovensko društvo i država suočili tokom kriznih godina.

Brigitte Le Normand

Rijeka's Global Imaginaries

As socialist Yugoslavia's most important port, Rijeka became a node connecting the country to the world, and as a result, the residents of the city developed a multifaceted global imaginary. Drawing on the newspaper *Novi List*, this paper examines one of the main sources of this imaginary, visits by foreign guests, and examines how these were shaped by global socialism and non-alignment. It focuses on three major categories of guests: foreign dignitaries, delegations, and experts and cultural actors. Whereas Rijeka was not usually the final destination for dignitaries, it was often included due to the significance of the port and the shipbuilding enterprise "3. maj", and fostering mutually beneficial economic relations was a key aspect of Yugoslavia's strengthening ties to what would become the non-aligned world. Visits by dignitaries, delegations, and experts and cultural actors were opportunities not only to exchange ideas but also to solidify ties and perform friendship and solidarity. These visits, in combination with tourism and ties to the maritime world, produced a specific idea of Rijeka as a globally networked city.

Sarah Lunaček

Snimatelji *Filmskih novosti* u Africi: iskustva Branka Marjanovića

Snimatelji *Filmskih novosti* bili su reporteri koji su pratili Tita na putovanjima po nesvrstanim zemljama i beležili međunarodne i druge događaje u SFRJ. Labudović je postao deo alžirskog oslobodilačkog pokreta (Turajlić 2023), a Popović je bio prihvaćen kao glas FRELIMO-a. Obojica su učestvovala u filmskoj solidarnosti (Martíne Luque 2023) u borbi za nezavisnost afričkih naroda. *Filmske novosti* su, proizvodnjom domaćih vesti, pružale podršku nekim novonastalim nezavisnim državama; tako je Branko Marjanović radio kao reporter, mentor i koordinator filmskih vesti u Maliju. Pored toga, učestvovao je u automobilske ekspediciji koju je organizovao poznati avanturista Tibor Sekelj. Tvrdio je da je svrha ekspedicije bila razbijanje stereotipa, iako je teško izbeći pomisao na kolonijalne konotacije jednog takvog poduhvata (Burton, Ginelli, Mark i Radonjić 2023). U ovom izlaganju posvetiću se pitanju kako je Marjanović razmišljao o svojim iskustvima i kako se sećao različitih susreta i saradnje s ljudima. Pored vizuelne solidarnosti i kontradikcija vezanih za ekspediciju, zanima me i kakav su uticaj ti konteksti imali na građenje odnosa reportera s različitim ljudima i na stvaranje slike o Africi.

Mila Maeva

Internationalisation of Medical Care: Bulgarian Aspects from the Socialist Period

The study focuses on Bulgarian state policies of sending highly qualified medical workers abroad as part of the internationalisation and globalisation of medical care during the socialist regime. It traces the legal justifications and procedures for ensuring the employment of medical personnel abroad from 1944 to 1989. Secondly, the research focuses on the micro level: on doctors' motives, opportunities, and problems when travelling and working in a foreign national context. Temporary work engagement abroad also becomes an essential prerequisite for improving doctors' quality of life and accumulating professional experience, knowledge, and skills which is especially important for professional development and growth upon returning to Bulgaria.

Albert Manke

Boosted by the Revolution: Women's Internationalism in Cuba

With the Cuban revolution of 1959, the leftist Democratic Federation of Cuban Women (FDMC) and women's organizations within the resistance movement against the Batista dictatorship were dissolved and integrated into the newly

founded Federation of Cuban Women (FMC). The FMC built on the FDMC's cooperation with the WIDF, thus placing Cuba in the international leftist women's movement and expanding cooperation with the Global South and East. Revolutionary Cuba became increasingly involved in the NAM, to the point that it hosted the 6th Summit of the NAM in Havana in 1979, becoming the first Latin American country to do so. Cuban women not only contributed to NAM internationalism designed by their male counterparts, but developed their own visions towards women's transnational solidarity and cooperation. While independent women's organizing and feminism were curtailed by the state-led FMC, the revolution created the material and social conditions for an improvement of women's equality and the participation of formerly disadvantaged classes. Grounded on archival and field research in Cuba, this paper argues that as a result, women's internationalism was boosted by the revolution and became widely prominent across women's organizations particularly in NAM countries, and not least through Cuba's role in the WIDF.

Andrea Matošević

Yugoslav High Politics in Short Form: Visual Anthropology of Diplomacy in Newsreels

In this presentation I will focus on the analysis of several Yugoslav newsreels filmed from the 1950's to 1970's that had a particular visual and auditory documentary form. Created and filmed for the strictly informational purposes for a wide audience, and covering a variety of topics, their content, however, offers a large set of subtle decisions when it comes to high politics. Namely, they inform the viewer of the status of the guests by presenting their itinerary, places of visit, duration, or content of their stay. For the purposes of this conference, I will put an emphasis on the newsreels showing encounters between Yugoslav delegations and those from the USSR, Sudan, and Uganda, i.e. Josip Broz Tito and Nikita Khrushchev, Muhamed al-Nimeiri and Idi Amin Dada, representatives of very different socialist state organizations.

Marko Miljković

Fractured by Ambition: How Leadership Struggles Undermined NAM's Nuclear Cooperation

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged in 1961 as a response to Cold War bipolarity, uniting newly independent nations resisting superpower influence. While it nominally remains a major political alliance today, its historical role in shaping nuclear security has been both significant and constrained. This research examines

Yugoslavia, Egypt (UAR), and India's role in shaping early nuclear security discussions leading to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968. Moving beyond diplomatic initiatives, it focuses on nuclear technical cooperation in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Despite shared strategic and ideological interests, no meaningful technology exchange occurred. Instead, leadership struggles, security concerns, and status-driven rivalries prevailed. Historical evidence suggests that dominant NAM states acted in an almost neocolonial manner, exploiting weaker partners and fostering distrust rather than solidarity. These divisions undermined efforts to form a unified diplomatic front, thus further undermining NAM's influence in global nuclear politics. These dynamics align with Waltz's "classical" theory of self-help in an anarchical system, forcing NAM to pursue minimal rather than ambitious nuclear security goals. Ultimately, internal rivalries reinforced NAM's limitations in shaping the global security order, despite certain significant achievements in the process.

Nataša Mišković

Baku–Bandung–Brioni: Socialism and the Road to Non-Alignment

In 1920 in Baku, communists from all over the world discussed how to overthrow imperialism and bring about the world revolution. Stalin favoured an alliance between the workers' movement and the oppressed peoples from the global South, while Lenin recommended a collaboration with the nationalist elites of the colonized countries. Twenty-five years later, in April 1955, the leaders of the successful freedom movements from Asia and Africa gathered in Bandung, Indonesia, to forge a fragile Afro-Asian solidarity. The following year began with a sensation when Soviet chairman Nikita Khrushchev delivered his famous speech at the CPSU's Twentieth Congress, condemning his predecessor Stalin's crimes and proclaiming a "New Course" that opened different paths to socialism. Full of hope, Jawaharlal Nehru, the leader of independent India, accepted Yugoslav president Tito's invitation to Brioni. The Brioni Meeting in July 1956 was the founding moment of the Non-Aligned Movement, where Nehru's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Panchsheel) were agreed upon as the foundation of a new policy of equidistance in a bipolar world. For Tito and Nehru, this also included a short-lived rapprochement with the Soviet Union, which cost both of them dearly in the face of the Hungarian and Suez crises.

Filip Mitričević

Sutjeska Goes Global: Yugoslav Communist Regime's Diplomacy with Memory and Nasser's Visit in 1958

My paper analyzes the 1958 commemoration of the Battle of Sutjeska in a global

Cold War context. Nasser's presence at the commemoration provided Tito and the Party with an opportunity to project their image as role models of freedom-fighting and independence-seeking within a broader struggle to avoid the pitfalls of Cold War bloc division. The Yugoslav regime legitimized its international policy course of non-alignment and its leadership in the movement by marrying its values of their antifascist legacy with those of the Global South's anticolonialism. Tito's Yugoslavia often "benched" its ideology for the sake of establishing networks of solidarity within the Cold War order with those countries that might not have been receptive to socialist ideas. Instead, Yugoslav antifascist legacy presented itself as the most efficient and malleable legitimizing platform, often synonymized with the Global South's decolonization. When the opportunity arose for one of Yugoslavia's global partners in building the future of NAM to add yet another layer to an emotional moment in commemorating a key World War II victory, Tito and the Party did not miss it. Nasser's visit in 1958 exemplifies the Yugoslav regime's efforts to speak to both domestic and global audiences, legitimizing their foreign policies while blending the past and the present.

Takuya Momma

Re-examination of Yugoslav Veterans' Involvement in the Decolonization Struggles

Although decolonization movement during the Cold War has been re-examined in a global context, the role of veterans' organizations has not yet been the subject of detailed analysis (Alcalde and Seixas, 2018). In fact, veterans' organizations in socialist Yugoslavia, called SUBNOR (Savez udruženja boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata), maintained a stance of supporting anti-imperialist regional conflicts. According to my archival research, Yugoslav veterans expressed anti-war appeals in various ways by interacting with actors both inside and outside the Non-Aligned Movement, while aiming to re-idealize their own partisan struggle. This paper analyzes how SUBNOR constructed its own anti-imperialist ideology, especially in the late 1960s, in response to the Vietnam War and the Middle East War. Based on this content, I consider how SUBNOR responded to the security policy of socialist Yugoslavia, while taking into account the changes in the power structure of international politics resulting from the progress of the decolonization movement.

Sarah Nagaty

Egypt's Inconsistent Internationalism: Women under Nasser's Authoritarian Non-Alignment

Gamal Abdelnasser, in his 1958 speech in Syria, connected the quest for freedom and independence with following non-alignment. He declared the nation, i.e. the

United Arab Republic, as “neither biased to the East, nor to the West, but of a non-aligned policy”. For a leading NAM figure, freedom meant national independence from colonialism. NAM emphasized national sovereignty, but wasn’t designed to address people’s freedom within their own nations. For Egyptian feminist militants, the freedom to connect with their counterparts, who also shared a non-aligned, anti-colonial struggle, was limited by restrictions on activism, especially on the international level. I explore whether Nasser’s authoritarian, yet ardently anti-imperialist, regime contributed to conceptual and practical inconsistencies within the women’s movement. Two examples demonstrate inconsistencies in connecting with other NAM militants (notably Yugoslav and Indian feminists). First, a series of correspondence between the Women’s National Union and the Federation of Women’s Societies of Yugoslavia, particularly Soheir Qalamawy and Marija Kos, located in the Archives of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. Second, news coverage of the suffragette Doria Shafik seeking refuge in the Indian Embassy in 1957. Shafik’s act was seen as “selling out”. She was condemned to house arrest and severely criticized in public opinion. Through both sets of archival material, I ask: where could Egyptian feminists be located in NAM?

Milica Naumov, Emilia Epštajn

Kuda dalje? Nasleđe nesvrstanosti i savremene muzejske prakse MAU

Muzej afričke umetnosti u Beogradu nastaje u okviru ideološkog i političkog konteksta Pokreta nesvrstanih, a njegove zbirke, politike sakupljanja i izlaganja oblikovane su od samog osnivanja ovim specifičnim nasleđem. Danas, u drugačijim društvenim i kulturnim okolnostima, otvara se pitanje budućnosti ovih zbirki: kako ih tumačiti, reinterpretirati, imajući u vidu istovremenost delovanja kako istorijskog nasleđa tako i pitanja (i odgovora) koje nameće savremeni trenutak? Tekst istražuje mogućnosti savremenih muzejskih strategija u radu sa zbirkama koje su rezultat specifičnih geopolitičkih odnosa, osvetljavajući šira muzeološka pitanja poput dekolonizacije, restitucije, dostupnosti i angažmana različitih zajednica sa kojima predmeti i zbirke komuniciraju. Fokus je na izazovima i mogućnostima koje ovaj muzej u Beogradu ima u očuvanju i reartikulaciji nasleđa nesvrstanosti, ne kao statične prošlosti, već kao prostora za kritičko promišljanje i dijalog.

Tina Palaić

Traces of Collaboration: Foreign Students’ Contribution to Museum Knowledge at the Museum of Non-European Cultures During the Non-Aligned Movement

The Museum of Non-European Cultures, a dislocated unit of the Slovene

Ethnographic Museum, operated between 1964 and 2001 in the town of Goričane near Ljubljana. It exhibited collections from other continents, acquired by various collectors since the 19th century. Museum curator Pavla Štrukelj frequently collaborated with students from non-aligned and other countries of the Global South who were studying in Slovenia. They provided her with additional information about objects already in the collection; some donated or sold objects to the museum; and the Union of African Students borrowed museum objects for their exhibitions. Students also participated in the preparation and execution of accompanying events and appeared on television shows to present their heritage or comment on the exhibitions. While newspaper articles about museum events sometimes contained stereotypical descriptions of the students and their activities, it is important to emphasize that the museum's collaboration with them represented a significant advancement in presentation of non-European collections. The students were given the opportunity to present their own heritage, and museum visitors may have encountered and spoken with people from distant places for the first time at exhibition openings and events. Applying the concept of re-earthing, the traces of the museum's collaboration with foreign students appear remarkably ahead of their time, aligning with contemporary trends in participatory and inclusive museology, and holding the possibility to inspire current and future museum practices.

Carlo Patti

Brazil, India and a Common “Non-Aligned” Reaction to the Global Nuclear Order (1965–1975)

Brazil and India were among the “non-aligned” members of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC) that, between 1965 and 1968, discussed the text of a Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). With strong criticism of the draft treaty proposed by both the Soviet Union and the United States, representatives of Brazil and India presented several amendments that would significantly modify the nature of the NPT. Relying on the most recent literature and primary sources from Brazil, the United States, and the United Kingdom, this paper will show the common position adopted by the two countries toward the global nuclear order from 1965 to 1975. While the first part will show the parallel efforts to modify the NPT and to attract new members to the anti-NPT group, the second part of the study will discuss the attempt at cooperation between the two countries. The conclusion will demonstrate that, even after the 1974 Indian nuclear test “Smiling Buddha”, cooperation between the two countries remained limited. However, the diplomatic stance of India and Brazil against the unfair nuclear order imposed by the superpowers would continue to overlap for several decades.

Giorgia Perletta

The Non-Aligned Movement's Stance(s) on Iran's Nuclear Dossier: Unity or Divergence?

This paper examines Iran's nuclear discourse and non-proliferation stance in the late 1970s, focusing on its engagement with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and developing nations. Following India's 1974 nuclear test, heightened U.S. concerns over proliferation led to tighter restrictions on nuclear cooperation with Iran. In response, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's government pursued alternative partnerships, strengthening ties with European allies while exploring collaborations with the Soviet Union, Argentina, and various Third World states. Iran's engagement with NAM members reflected a shared opposition to restrictive U.S. non-proliferation policies, which were perceived as limiting developing nations' access to peaceful nuclear technology. This culminated in the 1977 International Conference on Nuclear Energy and Proliferation, hosted in Tehran, where Third World nations voiced criticism of Western-imposed nuclear restrictions. Iran positioned itself as an advocate for equitable access to nuclear energy, aligning with NAM demands while maintaining its commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). By analyzing Iran's evolving nuclear diplomacy, this paper identifies key areas of convergence between Tehran and NAM states, illustrating how Iran sought to sustain its nuclear ambitions amid growing U.S. pressure and shifting global nuclear politics.

Tanja Petrović

Od slike prema glasu: politička obećanja nesvrstanosti i režimi njihove historizacije

Među radovima objavljenim u posljednje dve decenije, posvećenim Pokretu nesvrstanih, ulozi Jugoslavije u njemu, kao i političkoj imaginaciji i praksama koje je ovaj pokret podsticao i omogućavao, značajan je broj onih koji se zasnivaju na analizi fotografskih arhiva i vizuelnih reprezentacija: stilova oblačenja, poza pri fotografisanju, dekoracija, odnosa među liderima Pokreta nesvrstanih uhvaćenih kamerom itd. Cilj Pokreta nesvrstanih je, sa druge strane, bio da u međunarodnoj politici glas dobiju zemlje koje ga do tada nisu imale, one koje su se upravo oslobodile od ugnjetača (ili su se još uvek oslobađale) i u čije ime je do tada govorio neko drugi. Polazeći od ove tenzije između značaja političkog glasa za Pokret nesvrstanih i ogromnih napora koji su ulagani da se on artikuliše i čuje, te njegovog zanemarivanja u savremenim pokušajima da se pokret razume, objasni i predstavi, u ovom prilogu razmatram političke i epistemološke posledice tog zanemarivanja. Glas tretiram kao konceptualnu prizmu koja nam omogućava da izbegnemo interpretacije zasnovane na teleološkom razumevanju odnosa između prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti, ali istovremeno pokušavam da postavim pitanja o prirodi tog glasa, kao i o infrastrukturama i praksama koje su omogućavale da politička obećanja koja je taj glas oblikovao nailaze na razumevanje, podršku i prihvatanje.

Matea Radaković

Od radničke demokracije do hladnoratovske čistke: razvoj sindikata u poslijeratnom Japanu (1945–1952.) u jeku geopolitičkih zbivanja

Izlaganje prati razvoj sindikata u poslijeratnom Japanu (1945.–1952.) u kontekstu geopolitičkih događaja koji su utjecali na politiku SCAP-a (Vrhovno zapovjedništvo savezničkih snaga), a samim time i na prava i pokrete radnika u Japanu. Iako su sindikati u početku okupacije Japana uživali potporu SCAP-a te je sam vrhovni zapovjednik, general MacArthur, poticanje sindikata uvrstio u svojih pet temeljnih reformi, geopolitički interesi SAD-a stavili su u prvi plan borbu protiv komunizma u Aziji. Tako je već u siječnju 1947. MacArthur zabranio planirani veliki generalni štrajk sindikata, a tijekom 1949. i 1950. provodila se „crvena čistka“ s ciljem uklanjanja komunista i njihovih pobornika iz društvenih, političkih i radničkih struktura Japana. Upravo su ovi događaji bili kulminacija Politike obrnutog kursa koja se provodila u Japanu od 1947., a koja je SAD-u trebala pomoći u suzbijanju komunizma u Aziji. Stoga, izlaganje se fokusira na četiri važnija geopolitička događaja: sovjetsku invaziju Mandžurije, početak Hladnog rata, komunističku revoluciju u Kini te Korejski rat, i njihov paralelni utjecaj na razvoj sindikata u poslijeratnom Japanu.

Jouko Raitaniemi

Nordic “Neutral” Social Democracy, the Global South, and the Transformation of Democratic Socialist Internationalism (1960s–1980s)

Between the late 1960s and the 1980s, democratic socialist internationalism underwent a profound transformation as European social democrats faced both internal challenges and global changes. This paper explores how social democrats in Northern European “neutral” states, especially Sweden and Finland, interacted with emerging socialist models and non-alignment in the Global South, and how these interactions influenced the reshaping the Socialist International during the “long 1970s”. Once largely a Western European Cold War organisation, the International evolved during this period into a global political forum, a “mini-UN”, increasingly incorporating parties from the Global South and addressing issues beyond the East–West divide. This development was particularly supported by the Nordic and “neutral” parties, which referred to their international status to advance a more peaceful and just international order. However, as social democratic internationalism globalised, it simultaneously became increasingly intertwined with national foreign policies. These policies reflected both international changes and domestic generational tensions: “the youth”, inspired by international student radicalism and anticolonial revolutions, criticised the older generation’s alignment with Western capitalist structures and pushed for stronger anti-colonial solidarity, while social democratic leaders, influenced by national concerns and a sense of

increasing global interdependence, remained more cautious, supporting a form of “active” neutrality and diplomatic bridge-building.

Ana Rajković Pejić

Industrijalizacija i nesvrstanost: utjecaj tvornice Đuro Đaković na razvoj urbanizacije u Slavonskom Brodu

Jedan od glavnih nositelja razvoja industrije u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, među ostalima, bilo je i slavonskobrodsko poduzeće Đuro Đaković. Jedan od razloga bila je i činjenica da se proizvodnja odvijala s obje strane Željezne zavjese. Naime, ovo je poduzeće paralelno poslovalo i na području Istočnog, ali i Zapadnog bloka čime je pratilo državnu politiku nesvrstanosti, plasirajući svoje proizvode kako na sovjetsko, tako i na američko tržište. U tom je kontekstu, s jedne strane, Đuro Đaković sudjelovao u izgradnji niza objekata u zemljama poput Iraka, Indije ili Indonezije. S druge strane, poduzeće je surađivalo s nizom zapadnih zemalja i njihovim tvrtkama, poput britanskog Teddington Bellowsa, američkog General Motorsa, njemačkog Krupp Polysiusa te Babcocka. Osim toga, u poduzeće su dolazile razne delegacije, od kubanskih i sovjetskih do francuskih i američkih. Ta je nesvrstana proizvodnja utjecala na razvoj jugoslavenskog gospodarstva, što se očituje u mikroprikazu Slavonskog Broda, čiji je razvoj uvelike ovisio upravo o Đuri Đakoviću. Imajući to u vidu, cilj je izlaganja analizirati manifestaciju utjecaja nesvrstane proizvodnje, odnosno njezine implikacije na društveni i ekonomski razvoj gradova na primjeru Slavonskog Broda.

Jure Ramšak

Because or in Spite of Ujamaa? Yugoslav-Tanzanian Industrial Cooperation

Much like Yugoslav socialist self-management, which had garnered international interest since the 1960s, Tanzania's system of *Ujamaa* [familyhood] became the most globally visible form of African socialism in the 1970s. However, it attracted little attention from Yugoslav politicians, theoreticians, diplomats and, least of all, entrepreneurs. Through a case study of industrial cooperation between the Tanzanian parastatal State Motor Corporation and the Yugoslav company Vozila Gorica, drawing on archival sources and oral history, this paper will show that Nyerere's rural socialist experiment played no significant role in this industrial project, neither in its procurement nor implementation. However, this certainly did not mean the collaboration lacked the characteristic progressive elements reflecting a shared global commitment to redefining relationships between more and less industrially developed countries. While the political alliance forged between Tito and his African counterpart Julius Nyerere was instrumental in establishing this

pioneering and ultimately well-managed venture, by the late 1980s Nyerere's successors struggled to prevent its collapse under the weight of debt and broader economic crises in both countries.

Mateja Režek

Imaginariji Globalnog juga i jugoslavenske nesvrstanosti u slovenskom školskom obrazovanju

Referat se bavi formiranjem kolektivnih percepcija Globalnog juga i uloge Jugoslavije u svijetu kroz reprezentacije jugoslavenske nesvrstanosti i Globalnog juga u obrazovnim medijima socijalističke Slovenije. S jedne strane fokusira se na sliku Drugoga, a s druge strane na vlastitu sliku, odnosno samoreprezentaciju jugoslavenskog nesvrstanog internacionalizma i međunarodne solidarnosti. Istraživanje se temelji na analizi nastavnih planova i udžbenika za društveno-humanističke predmete, posebice povijesti i društveno-moralnog odgoja.

Juliette Ronsin

Collections on the Move: Exhibitions and the Circulation of Ethnographic Objects as a Means of Promoting Self-Management Socialism (1940s–1980s)

In 1952, an exhibition of Yugoslav folk art was held at the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris, France. Participants included Predrag Milosavljević, from the SFRY government's Commission for Culture and the Arts, and Colette Janković, the ethnologist who, together with her husband, the artist Dušan Janković, collected six thousand objects, mainly from Yugoslavia, at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris between 1947 and 1981. Colette and Dušan Janković's aim was to build a collection of objects representative of the "traditional culture of the South Slavs", through the purchase or donation of items related to clothing, domestic and agricultural life, handicrafts, and worship. In this way, they also contributed to the circulation of objects and knowledge between France and Yugoslavia, and to the international dissemination of socialism through culture. Unlike other socialist countries, Yugoslavia cooperated with UNESCO and organized this type of exhibition to highlight the cultural diversity of each republic and province in the federation. How was cultural policy mobilized as a means of promoting an internationalism marked by political decentralisation? What kind of representation of 'traditional South Slavic culture' was pursued as Yugoslav society experienced significant social and economic change from the 1950s to the 1980s?

Luka Savčić

Jugoslavija kao domaćin Treće antikolonijalne konferencije Mediterana i Srednjeg istoka (1959)

U decembru 1959. u Beogradu je održana Treća antikolonijalna konferencija Mediterana i Srednjeg istoka, tokom koje su u glavni grad Jugoslavije došli predstavnici brojnih antikolonijalnih organizacija i pokreta. Konferencija je održana u trenucima intenziviranja Hladnog rata i procesa dekolonizacije, kada je Jugoslavija već bila priznata kao značajna antikolonijalna „karika“, nakon što je prošla kroz proces emancipacije iz Istočnog bloka i počela sve snažnije da vodi vanblokovsku politiku orijentisanu ka zemljama Globalnog juga. Iza organizacije Treće antikolonijalne konferencije (Prva u Atini u novembru 1957; Druga u Rimu u oktobru 1958) stajala je Jugoslovenska liga za mir, nezavisnost i ravnopravnost naroda, osnovana u prvoj polovini iste godine sa zadatkom održavanja veza sa mirovnim i antikolonijalnim pokretima širom sveta. Cilj rada je da se u širem kontekstu globalnog socijalizma, Hladnog rata i dekolonizacije rasvetli rad konferencije, od njenih priprema, samog toka, do rezultata i značaja, kako za samu Jugoslaviju, tako i šire. Takođe, fokus će biti i na analizi odnosa Jugoslavije prema antikolonijalnim i revolucionarnim pokretima, pre svega na prostoru Mediterana i Srednjeg istoka, ali i širom Afrike, Azije i Latinske Amerike.

Sanja Sekelj

Yugoslavia, Non-Alignment, and Cultural Exchange at the Turning Point of 1989

This contribution examines Yugoslavia's cultural exchange and geopolitical positioning at the pivotal moment of 1989. This year holds symbolic meaning, marking a split between what are considered socialist and post-socialist (art) histories. However, in the case of the former Yugoslav republics, the latter typically begin only after they gained independence, while events of the 1980s are often framed either as symptoms of or precursors to Yugoslavia's disintegration. Such a focus inadvertently obscures the dynamics of some federal and republican systems, such as the one established for international cultural exchange. In the cultural field, cooperation with non-aligned and developing countries had, at least nominally, been a priority of Yugoslav cultural policy since the First NAM summit in Belgrade in 1961. In 1989, the Ninth summit was once again held in Belgrade. This contribution, therefore, aims to tentatively reconstruct the structural and discursive shifts in Yugoslav cultural policy within the fast-changing sociopolitical and cultural landscape of 1989, considering its cooperation with non-aligned and developing countries in relation to two other significant actors: the European Community and the Soviet Union. Theoretically, it seeks to move beyond the disintegration paradigm and consider periodization as an ideological construct.

Shokhruz Sharipov

Socialist Ideas Among Afghan Students in the Soviet Union: Impact, Influence, and Legacies of the Afghan War (1950s–1980s)

Recent geopolitical developments, including armed conflicts in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, have reignited scholarly interest in Cold War-era socialist movements and their long-lasting impact. This paper examines the intersection of Afghan socialist ideas and the experiences of Afghan students studying in the Soviet Union from the early 1950s to the late 1980s. Against the backdrop of decolonization, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Afghan War (1979–1989), Afghan students in Soviet universities became key figures in promoting socialist ideologies within Afghanistan's political and social fabric. The research focuses on how Afghan students engaged with global socialist discourses, both within academic institutions and through political activism upon their return to Afghanistan. It explores how socialist ideals of progress, internationalism, and peace were adapted to the local context, shaping revolutionary movements and political factions such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Furthermore, the paper analyzes the dual role of the Soviet Union as both an educational hub and a political influencer during a period marked by Cold War tensions and shifting global power dynamics. By examining personal narratives, archival materials, and educational policies, the study highlights the complexities of socialist interactions between the Soviet bloc and Afghanistan. It addresses the ideological exchanges that occurred within Soviet academic spaces and how these experiences translated into Afghanistan's internal political struggles, culminating in the Afghan War. The paper concludes by reflecting on the legacies of socialist ideas in Afghanistan, particularly in light of the ongoing challenges the country faces today, including political instability, migration, and social tensions. Through this analysis, the research contributes to a broader understanding of global socialism's reach and influence during the Cold War period, emphasizing the significance of educational diplomacy and ideological exchanges in shaping political developments in the Global South.

Aliaksandr Shuba

International Western and Eastern German Initiatives as Acknowledgements and Possibilities for Reconnecting Individual State Socialist Architectural and Urbanistic Writings and Collective Debates and Discourses

The evolutions of architectural and urbanistic debates within state socialist Europe were shaped by both internal ideological frameworks and transnational intellectual engagements, while the imposition of Soviet architectural policies in the late 1940s led to the adaptation of so-called socialist realism. These were followed by subsequent shifts in architectural paradigms, particularly following Khrushchev's policy changes in architecture, which enabled more fluid exchanges of knowledge

and ideas between architects, urban planners, and academics across state socialist Europe and beyond. The Herder Prize, awarded by the Alfred Toepfer Foundation in Hamburg, and input from the GDR Bauhaus colloquia served as key means of recognising and fostering academic and professional engagements between Eastern and Western European intellectuals. A central focus of this study is on the Herder Prize laureates and the input from the GDR Bauhaus colloquia, whose scholarly contributions helped interpret the global history of urban development and architecture. These contributions shaped the education of emerging architects in terms of urban development history and theory and played significant roles in the cross-border intellectual exchange of knowledge and the development of professional networks beyond the so-called Iron Curtain. This paper critically examines how initiatives originating in both Eastern and Western Germany contributed to the reconnection of individual state socialist architectural and urbanistic publications by distinguished state socialist architects and scholars with local, broader national, and international debates and discourses in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Drawing upon archival research in Hamburg, Vienna, and Weimar, this paper reflects on the institutional and intellectual mechanisms that facilitated architectural and urbanistic exchanges during the so-called Cold War. By contextualising these initiatives within the broader landscape of global socialism and non-alignment, the study highlights the plurality of socialist architectural debates and their intersections with international discussions on urbanism. By analysing the laureates' biographies and their writings, as well as the input from the Bauhaus colloquia, this research reflects upon their impact on architectural and urbanistic thought and the transfer of knowledge between socialist and capitalist professional circles.

Sašo Slaček Brlek

Between Emancipation and Accommodation: Yugoslavia's Leadership in the New World Information and Communication Order

This paper examines socialist Yugoslavia's underexplored leadership in the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), positioning it as a key case study of how socialist principles and non-aligned solidarity converged to shape global reform efforts in the 1970s. Yugoslavia's dual identity, as a socialist republic advocating the socialization of communication and as a leading force within the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) seeking geopolitical influence, produced a dialectical framework through which the contradictions of NWICO were both revealed and managed. Yugoslavia's involvement in NWICO was driven by three overlapping forces. First, its socialist commitment to democratizing communication sought to challenge global media monopolies. Second, solidarity with postcolonial states aligned it with critiques of cultural imperialism and the enduring structural

inequalities of colonialism. Third, the revitalization of NAM in the 1970s, with its emphasis on “self-reliance”, provided a political platform through which Yugoslavia advanced these ambitions. Yet Yugoslavia’s NWICO strategy was also shaped by Cold War pragmatism. Confronting internal and external crises, Yugoslav leaders used NWICO to strengthen the country’s international standing and bolster their domestic legitimacy. These ambitions exposed the extent to which Yugoslavia’s idealistic goals of global communication reform were deeply intertwined with the practical imperatives of state power. Central to Yugoslavia’s NWICO leadership was a set of unresolved contradictions. It criticized Western media dominance while seeking greater influence within the U.S.-led global order; it advocated decolonizing information flows while pursuing modernization strategies modelled on the West; and it promoted communication socialization while reinforcing centralized state control. These tensions were not incidental but reflected the broader paradoxes of Yugoslavia’s non-alignment, which continually balanced ideals of emancipation with strategies of accommodation. By foregrounding Yugoslavia’s role in NWICO, this paper contributes to wider debates on global socialism’s influence in shaping postcolonial communication policies amid Cold War geopolitics.

Žiga Smolič

Tito–Naser između redova prijateljstva: izazovi implementacije međudržavne saradnje između Egipta i Jugoslavije

Ovaj rad nastoji da prevaziđe uobičajenu naraciju jugoslovensko-egipatske saradnje na nivou globalne politike i formiranja Pokreta nesvrstanih. Paralelno sa događajima koji su vodili ka prvoj konferenciji nesvrstanih u Beogradu, septembra 1961, rad će se fokusirati na pokušaje implementacije prijateljskih odnosa dvojice predsednika i njihovih idealističkih političkih vizija na ideološku i ekonomsku saradnju dve države. Posebna pažnja biće posvećena pitanjima ideološkog i neposrednog uticaja Jugoslavije na unutrašnjopolitičke reforme u Egiptu početkom šezdesetih godina, pre svega reorganizaciji privrede kroz opsežnu nacionalizaciju jula 1961, kao i uspostavljanju političke partije i masovnih društveno-političkih organizacija. Koliki je bio stvarni uticaj jugoslovenskog modela na formiranje Naserovog arapskog socijalizma? I kakav su odnos jugoslovenska vlast i njeni stručni kadrovi imali prema egipatskim partnerima? Ova pitanja i s njima povezane dihotomije u implementaciji partnerskog odnosa na poljima privrede, kulture i izgradnje egipatskog socijalizma biće razmatrane u senci ličnog prijateljstva dvojice lidera. Poseban naglasak biće stavljen na to kako su vlasti, kroz privredne, ideološke, istorijske i kulturne okvire, pokušavale da povežu dva društva s prilično različitim društveno-političkim i istorijskim kontekstima.

Milan Sovilj

Pogledi predstavnika jugoslovenskog političkog egzila u Velikoj Britaniji na socijalizam i spoljnu politiku Jugoslavije 1960-ih

Nakon, uslovno rečeno, prve generacije jugoslovenskih političara u britanskom egzilu, koja se formirala još za vreme Drugog svetskog rata uz aktivnost jugoslovenske izbegličke vlade, a u velikoj meri je ostala prisutna u Velikoj Britaniji i nakon 1945, krajem 1950-ih i tokom 1960-ih pojavila se grupa mladih intelektualaca sa jugoslovenskog prostora, koja je, za razliku od svojih prethodnika, imala nešto drugačije poglede na Jugoslaviju. Povratak ka bivšem političkom sistemu pre 1941. za njih nije bio imperativ, iako se sa razvojem situacije nakon 1945. nisu slagali. Neke od njihovih ideja odnosile su se na stvaranje federativne višepartijske parlamentarne države. Međutim, bili su otvoreni i prema ideji jugoslovenske konfederacije. Vrlo često su se javno izražavali i o pitanjima spoljne politike Jugoslavije. Radilo se o osobama rođenim uglavnom 1920-ih, koje su u emigraciju otišle ili tokom Drugog svetskog rata ili neposredno nakon 1945, nezadovoljni novim komunističkim režimom u Jugoslaviji. Neki od njih bili su okupljeni oko Saveza „Oslobođenje“, organizacije mladih srpskih demokrata u emigraciji, koja je izdavala časopis *Naša reč*, prvobitno u Parizu (1948–1958), nakon toga u Londonu (1959–1990). Izlaganje je bazirano na analizi prevashodno jugoslovenske emigrantske štampe, kao i literature čiji su autori bili neki od jugoslovenskih emigranata.

Ljubica Spaskovska

Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement in the Twilight of the NIEO

The sense of triumphalism that came with the first oil shock and the visions for the restructuring of the global economy were gradually replaced with a sense of lost opportunities and eroded solidarity during what has been termed the “lost decade” of the 1980s. This paper will explore the events and debates within the NAM during the fifteen years following the NIEO, which also marked the Movement’s last Cold War chapter. Although Yugoslavia hosted the 1979 WB/IMF annual meeting in Belgrade and UNCTAD VI in 1983, by the end of the 1980s it also ranked the most indebted countries, alongside African developing and fellow non-aligned countries such as Zambia and Ghana. What types of resistance and alternatives were presented from within NAM to the rising neoliberal consensus? Whereas ideals couched in the language of economic decolonisation, a new, more equitable economic order, and sovereign rights may have underpinned and dominated earlier forms of non-aligned multilateralism and cooperation, by the end of the 1980s a generational shift in international organisations and in individual countries’ elites (including Yugoslavia), coupled with the decline of socialism and “global Keynesianism”, irreversibly undermined the consensus around the NIEO.

Jelena Tešija

Co-operative Women's Labour Activism in the Yugoslav Countryside and Internationally (1950s–early 1960s)

Starting in 1951, women activists established Sekcije žena zadrugarki (Co-operative Women's Sections) within the Yugoslav co-operative system. These sections were understood as the most appropriate organizational forms for working with and among peasant women. While collaborating closely with women from other socialist organizations, co-operative women primarily carried out educational and advocacy activities in the spheres of agricultural production and women's reproductive labour. In 1951, the Section active at the federal level became a member of the International Co-operative Women's Guild (ICWG), an ideologically mixed international organization that dealt with various topics concerning peace, co-operative economics, and reproductive labour. The role of co-operative women's remains an under-researched topic in recent historical research on women's organizations in socialist Yugoslavia. This presentation sheds light on these sections by exploring co-operative women's labour activism in the Yugoslav countryside and internationally in the 1950s and early 1960s. Considering Yugoslavia's international position and the specificities of its co-operative system, I examine how women activists from different political and economic systems negotiated their positions, built networks, and addressed differences among themselves while working together on shared projects in the ICWG.

Bruno Walter Renato Toscano

Fragile Bonds: African American Women, Transnational Solidarity and the 1980s

Amid the crisis of the U.S. and international radical left, grassroots organizations in the United States sought to rebuild transnational solidarity networks starting in the late 1970s, aiming to engage movements across the Third World. African American women, in particular, played a key role in forging transnational connections, especially with women's organizations in non-aligned countries. Although fragile, these ties became a defining yet understudied feature of Black women's activism in the 1980s. This presentation seeks to reconstruct these connections by examining leftist African American organizations and highlighting how these relationships, despite their complexity and precarity, were essential to shaping the international history of women's activism in the final phase of the Cold War.

Dora Tot

“Solidarity Week” Campaigns (1967–1987): A Domestic Practice of Yugoslav Humanitarian Internationalism

Political and economic entanglements with decolonized countries and extensive support for liberation movements were among the most studied ways in which Yugoslavia expressed anti-imperialist solidarity and contributed to the global expansion of socialism. While its influence on postcolonial spaces has received much attention, the domestic ramifications of these globalizing activities have received far less scrutiny. This paper, therefore, examines Yugoslavia’s humanitarian practices linked to the process of decolonization not only in their global, but also in their domestic, dimensions. To effectively capture Yugoslavia’s distinctive approach to solidarity, one that framed anticolonial struggles as a humanitarian concern, this study employs the concept of “humanitarian internationalism”. The presentation focuses on humanitarian “Solidarity Week” campaigns organized annually across Yugoslavia between 1967 and 1987, with the goal of actively engaging the population in the global struggle against imperialism and socialist “worldmaking”. While officially framed as fundraising and material aid efforts for liberation movements, this paper argues that these campaigns primarily functioned as a mechanism for fostering an internationalist consciousness blended with non-aligned values among Yugoslav citizens. By analyzing the discourse and practice surrounding these initiatives, this study situates Yugoslav humanitarian efforts within the broader Cold War dynamics of global socialism, decolonization, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Alice Trinkle

A Global Reform Socialist Movement? Insights on Chinese-Eastern European Exchanges on Economic Reforms from the 1970s to the 1990s

China’s reemergence as a global economic powerhouse rests upon the country’s reform process starting in 1978. These reforms, integral to China’s transformation, were based on crucial advice from Chinese economic experts. China’s reforms have been portrayed as an indigenous “China miracle”. However, recent scholarship has shed light on the global inspirations behind Chinese reform thinking. These studies reveal that Chinese reformers drew upon insights from various economic systems around the world, both within and beyond the socialist realm. At the conference, I will give an overview of the insights gained within my PhD project, in which I study Chinese-Hungarian and Chinese-Yugoslav reform intellectuals’ exchange on reform and market socialism, as well as liberalisation and economic change. As Hungary had implemented market socialist economic reforms as early as 1968, the country became a key case study for Chinese reform intellectuals in their endeavour to develop a research-based and comprehensive reform programme. Their goal was to integrate a market economy into a previously strictly planned economic system

while maintaining the socialist political set-up. Through archival documents, I demonstrate that Chinese and Eastern European reformers learned from each other about market-oriented reforms in the fields of reform ideology and theory, banking and financial markets, economic policymaking, market liberalisation, and political reforms. I will establish how a globally spanning reform socialist movement first (re-)connected worldwide, influenced crucial policy decisions, and how this movement fell apart post-1989, with starkly different local outcomes. While in countries like Hungary a system transition towards democracy and capitalism was pushed ahead from within the reform socialist movement, such dynamics were suppressed in China post-1989, leading to the emergence of market liberalisation paired with political authoritarianism. My presentation will be part of a broader field of work that examines alternative forms of globalisation within socialist contexts. I explore a “peripheral” modernisation initiative originating within the socialist world, demonstrating how a globally active market socialist school of thought influenced China’s reform agenda. As a result, China would move from periphery to the core of the world economy.

Željana Tunić

Translating Solidarity: Representations of Yugoslavia in Postcolonial West Africa

Not only did solidarity with African countries play an enormous role in Yugoslavia within the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, but the alliance with socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, also became important in the self-imagining of some African countries. This paper focuses on cultural techniques used to bring the populations of countries, with almost no prior contact, closer together and even strengthen their mutual perception in terms of friendship and alignment, enabling affective bonding. I aim to analyze how specific events and motifs were reactivated to communicate solidarity between Yugoslavia and postcolonial West Africa, with a focus on Guinea and Togo. I will work with the concept of the sociality of emotion (Hochschild, 1985; Ahmed, 2013; Nussbaum, 2015; Illouz, 2019) by asking how particular practices around these objects created political communities. In the final part, relying on my field research, I will shed light on the effects of these exchanges on the perception of Yugoslavia in contemporary societies of West Africa.

Vladimir Unkovski-Korica

The British Trade Unions and Yugoslavia in the Cold War: A Preliminary Investigation

With Europe facing a new wave of rearmament amid rising international tensions, there is increasing fear that welfare states are being transformed into warfare states. The role of trade unions in society and international affairs is, therefore, once again

a topic of debate: how should they relate to these trends and fears? Historians can offer valuable insights into how trade unions dealt with similar predicaments in the past. Based on both British and Yugoslav sources, this paper will explore how British trade unions, firmly in the Western bloc during the Cold War, interacted with Yugoslavia, nominally a socialist state, but one outside the Soviet bloc, espousing a non-aligned foreign policy and a third way in industrial relations. It will interrogate what drove British trade union policies domestically and internationally, shedding light on clashing approaches at the time and offering lessons for contemporary discussions.

Anastas Vangeli

Is (Global) China Socialist? An Uncomfortable Inquiry

Is (Global) China socialist? The question persists, unresolved, politically charged, and, for many, deeply uncomfortable. This paper does not offer a definitive answer. Instead, it invites a conversation in discomfort, about meanings, contradictions, and the uses of “socialism” in and by China, where socialist language, institutions, and aspirations endure, yet are entangled with market logics, authoritarian governance, and global capital flows and their contradictions. Adopting an eclectic, critically reflexive approach, the paper traces divergent interpretations of China’s system and its global role, moving beyond typologies to foreground ambiguity, paradox, and the limits of Western-centric, teleological analytic frames. Ultimately, the aim is not to resolve the discomfort, but to learn to dwell within it, not least because the question of “socialism with Chinese characteristics” is inseparable from a deeper, more pervasive unease: the discomfort of a world where China matters, and keeps mattering more, not only as an emerging global power, but also as a “Red Swan” putting much of the liberal common sense, but also of socialist imaginaries and orthodoxies, to the test.

Jelena Vidojević, Paul Stubbs

Global Socialism and Struggles Against Apartheid in Southern Africa: “Battle for Hearts, Minds and Guns”?

This paper explores support from socialist states for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union, Eastern bloc states including the GDR, China, Cuba, and Yugoslavia were all active in offering tangible support (financial, military, diplomatic and humanitarian) to anti-apartheid movements and the front-line states where these movements operated from. Primarily, we compare and contrast the roles of the Soviet Union and socialist Yugoslavia. In much of the literature on support for

decolonial liberation movements across the Global South, a narrative emerges of socialist Yugoslavia as the preferred partner compared to the Soviet Union, largely because its support was less conditional. We suggest that, notwithstanding the added value of Yugoslav support in terms of the Non-Aligned Movement which included the front-line states as members, and treated anti-apartheid liberation movements as equal partners, the nature and extent of Soviet support, particularly military, was often crucial. We explore elements of co-operation and competition in terms of different socialist states' contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle, as well as their responsiveness to the demands of different liberation movements, in order to reassess the support that global socialism offered to decolonial and anti-racist struggles.

Nesa Vrečer

The Conference for the Social Activity of Women and International Cooperation in 1960s Yugoslavia

This paper examines the international co-operation of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women in the 1960s. The decade is marked by different events; the Non-Aligned Movement was officially founded, and contacts and visits to and from countries in both the Eastern and Western blocs were observed, along with the beginnings of numerous contacts with African countries in the process of gaining independence. Compared to the 1970s, when large international conferences became prominent, particularly in anticipation of the UN Year (and later Decade) of Women, the 1960s were characterized by more individualized exchanges of delegations. Rather than focusing on bilateral relations with specific countries, this study analyzes reports on foreign delegations visiting Yugoslavia, with particular attention to their activities in Slovenia. Typically, these delegations toured multiple Yugoslav republics, but by concentrating on the Slovenian segment, we can explore the regional variations in how Yugoslavia presented itself internationally. Using archival reports from CSAW Slovenia, this paper identifies recurring themes and key messages conveyed to foreign delegations. It examines how these visits were structured, which aspects of Yugoslav society were emphasized, and how women's roles were framed in efforts to shape Yugoslavia's international image.

Radina Vučetić

Jugoslavija kao most: izlazak savremene umetnosti nesvrstanih na globalnu scenu

Jugoslavija, kao specifična nesvrstana zemlja između Istoka i Zapada, razvila je jedinstven umetnički izraz, socijalistički modernizam, koji je odražavao njen

poseban put u socijalizam. Istovremeno, dok je jugoslovenska umetnost bila usmerena ka Zapadu, i u manjoj meri, ka Istoku, Jugoslavija je kroz kulturne kontakte sa Globalnim jugom stvarala novi umetnički prostor, otvarajući se prema savremenim umetničkim tokovima Afrike, Indije i Latinske Amerike. Izložbe, muzejske postavke, pozorišne predstave i festivali postali su mesta susreta umetnika sa Istoka, Zapada i iz nesvrstanih zemalja, ali i platforma za promociju savremene umetnosti Globalnog juga. Posebno u kontekstu afričke umetnosti, Jugoslavija je razbijala stereotipe o tradicionalnoj, „egzotičnoj“ Africi, ističući njene savremene i avangardne umetničke tokove. Tako je postala most preko kojeg su Evropa i svet upoznavali se sa najnovijim umetničkim stremljenjima Globalnog juga. Koristeći kulturnu diplomatiju, Jugoslavija je povezivala zemlje „Trećeg sveta“ sa „Prvim“ i „Drugim“ svetom, doprinoseći globalnoj afirmaciji njihove umetnosti i redefinišući predstave o kulturnoj periferiji.

Natalija Vujošević

The Art Gallery of Non-Aligned Countries “Josip Broz Tito”

Established by the Titograd Municipal Assembly in 1981, the Art Gallery of the Non-Aligned Countries Josip Broz Tito was conceived as a platform for cultural exchange and artistic solidarity. Gaining municipal, republican, and federal support, it was envisioned as an institutional embodiment of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). In 1982, the publication Josip Broz Tito Gallery of Art of the Non-Aligned Countries – Pride and Commitment was printed in 80,000 copies, mobilizing workers, citizens, and youth to contribute to its development through voluntary donations. At the 1983 NAM conference in New Delhi, member states were invited to donate artworks, culminating in a collection of 800 pieces from 56 countries by the early 1990s. The gallery facilitated cultural exchanges, artist residencies, exhibitions, and international symposia. In 1989, efforts to institutionalize it as NAM's official cultural center were formalized but remained unrealized due to the political fragmentation of Yugoslavia. The gallery's collection, encompassing revolutionary iconography, folk traditions, and contemporary artistic practices, reflects a collective curatorial methodology rooted in principles of solidarity and exchange. As both a product of local socialist initiatives and an expression of NAM's principles of solidarity, it stands as a testament to an alternative model of cultural diplomacy and artistic cooperation.

Peter Vukman

Hungarian Foreign Affairs and Party Documents on Yugoslavia's Role in the Creation of the Non-Aligned Movement

Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia played a prominent role in the creation and institutionalisation of the Non-Aligned Movement, as shown by the fact that the

founding congress of the organisation was held in the Yugoslav capital in 1961. In the second half of the 1950s, following the execution of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, Hungarian–Yugoslav relations reached a new low. A change can be observed from 1961 onwards. At that time, there was already interest on the Hungarian side in a certain normalisation of party relations. János Kádár, in his speech at the 1962 Congress of the MSZMP, emphasised foreign policy cooperation between the two countries, but he also found similarities in inter-party relations. However, the restoration of inter-party relations had to wait until 1964. In my paper I will examine how Hungarian foreign policy and the leadership of the MSZMP approached the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the “Third World” from the mid-1950s onwards, what information they had about the Belgrade Conference, how they viewed Yugoslavia’s role in the movement in the first half of the 1960s, the period of normalisation of Hungarian–Yugoslav relations, and whether this had any impact on the shaping of Hungarian foreign policy at the time.

Monika Wulz

Spaces of Non-Aligned Knowledge: The Conferences and Journal *Socialism in the World*

Between 1976 and 1989, the Yugoslav Communist Party organised the annual conference series *Socialism in the World* in the village of Cavtat on the Dalmatian Coast. In those conferences, Yugoslavia presented itself as a knowledge hub for heterodox socialist and non-aligned thought. In 1981, the conference focused on “Socialism, Science, Technology, Development Strategies”: numerous politicians, intellectuals, and academics from non-aligned countries of the Global South interacted with those from socialist countries of the Eastern bloc and heterodox left-wing and feminist intellectuals from Western Europe and the USA. A journal with scholars such as Henri Lefebvre, Eric Hobsbawm, and Samir Amin on the advisory board, in which the contributions to the conference were published, provided internationally visible documentation of the interactions in Cavtat. Methodologically grounded in the social and political history of science and based on recent scholarship of non-aligned Yugoslavia (Stubbs 2023), the paper will focus on the divergent perspectives on science and technology presented at the conference: from the non-aligned and heterodox left-wing positions to orthodox socialist positions. The paper will show the controversies surrounding the role of science and technology in the decolonising world and the role of non-aligned actors in Yugoslav spaces of knowledge.

Helen Yaffe

Cuban Medical Internationalism

Every few years, events of global significance bring attention to the endeavours of

Cuban medical personnel who travel overseas to save and improve lives: the devastating 2010 earthquake in Haiti; the 2014 Ebola epidemic in West Africa; and, most recently, the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. However, Cuban medical internationalism has been a core feature of Cuban foreign policy almost from the beginning of the revolutionary government. Responding to other international developments in the 1960s, Cuba established the four approaches to Cuban medical internationalism, all of which endure today: 1) Emergency response medical brigades sent overseas; 2) Foreign patients treated for free in Cuba; 3) The establishment abroad of public health apparatus to provide free health care for local residents; and 4) medical training for foreigners, both in Cuba and overseas. By 2014, some 400,000 Cuban medical professionals had worked overseas in 164 countries since 1960. Cuban medical internationalism tends to be discussed in the rather lonely and nostalgic category of “international solidarity”. While there is a rationale for underscoring its uniqueness, in motivation, quantity and quality, doing so also facilitates this extraordinary assistance to be censored or sidelined in international analysis. This chapter will outline this “hidden” history of international solidarity and engage with the debate about motivations for the Cuban state and medical professionals who volunteer to participate. It will argue that the revolution of 1959, which shaped the Cuban view of solidarity, combined the values of national independence hero José Martí, with Karl Marx’s analysis of capitalism. Taking up battle cries from both Martí (“homeland is humanity”) and Marx (“workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains”), Cuba’s revolutionary leaders sought to promote a global struggle against diverse forms of underdevelopment, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They view global poverty and poor health as a result of those exploitative structural conditions. The post-1959 public healthcare system was constructed on those values; free, universal state provision was endorsed as a human and constitutional right. Cuban medical internationalism is an extension of those principles overseas.

Vid Žepić

The Role of Roman Law in the “Socialist” Legal Systems with Special Regard to Yugoslavia

This study will examine whether the so-called socialist legal family truly existed or if socialist legal systems were simply an ideological modification of the Roman-Germanic tradition, in which Roman law played a foundational role. Despite the Marxist-Leninist framework of socialist systems, many Eastern bloc countries, including Yugoslavia, retained core elements of Roman law. Roman legal principles, particularly in property rights, contracts, and family law, were adapted to align with socialist ideals of collective ownership and state control. The research will highlight how Roman law’s principles continued to shape legal education and practice in socialist countries, ensuring continuity and structure even under regimes focused on

collectivism. These Roman concepts provided a solid foundation for socialist legal systems, especially in fields such as family law and contracts. Despite the ideological shift, socialist countries maintained key aspects of Roman legal methodology, such as codification and legal classifications, which remained integral to their legal education and practice. This study will demonstrate how Roman law's adaptability allowed it to persist and evolve across different political contexts, ensuring its enduring relevance in socialist legal systems. The research aims to challenge the idea that socialist law diverged completely from the Roman-Germanic tradition, showing that it rather transformed and incorporated Roman legal principles in unique ways.

Ivana Mihaela Žimbrek

The Adriatic in Moscow: International Exchanges and the Modernization of Yugoslav Retail (1950s–1980s)

From the 1950s, an important role in the modernization of retail in socialist Yugoslavia, which was predominantly based on the construction of self-service department stores, was played by the transnational and international activities of Yugoslav experts and professionals. Transnational activities were arranged between retail enterprises, expert institutions, and individuals, and while many were conducted between Yugoslavia and other European state-socialist regimes, most encompassed exchanges with Western European and Nordic countries as well as the United States. From the late 1960s, these transnational activities were also conducted on a more formal, international level through the Yugoslav participation in the International Organization of Socialist Department Stores. This presentation will analyze the transnational and international encounters and exchanges of Yugoslav retail experts, retailers, and department store employees between the 1950s and 1980s by focusing on the activities of large department store chains and institutions in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo. The presentation will map the global expert trajectories that defined the hybrid character of knowledge production on modern retail in Yugoslavia from the 1950s to the 1980s, which was based on the experts' active exchange and adaptation of knowhow, technology, and goods needed for the modernization of retail in the Yugoslav self-management system during the Cold War.

Marija Živković

Između ideje i prakse: nasljeđe nesvrstanosti u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu

Zbirka izvaneuropskih kultura Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu formirana je u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća. Uz najstariji materijal koji je većinom rezultat

individualnog sudjelovanja u kolonijalnim i imperijalnim poslovima, u zbirci se nalaze i darovi građana koji su u vrijeme Jugoslavije radili i živjeli u zemljama Globalnog juga. Od sredine 1960-ih do kraja 1980-ih zbirkom se sustavno bavila kustosica Aleksandra Lazarević koja je ujedno intenzivirala izložbene i edukativne aktivnosti muzeja, organizirane u suradnji s raznim muzejima, privatnim kolekcionarima, veleposlanstvima, Institutom za zemlje u razvoju i Međunarodnim studentskim klubom prijateljstva. Izlaganje razmatra dosege antikolonijalnih ideja na lokalnoj razini kroz aktivnosti Etnografskog muzeja u tom razdoblju, kao i mogućnosti interpretacije zbirke nastalih u kontekstu Pokreta nesvrstanih, s naglaskom na izložbu Etnografskog muzeja *Putnici* otvorenu krajem 2024. godine.

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