

MOJE, TVOJE, NAŠE # 16
MINE, YOURS,
OURS

#16



THE NON-ALIGNED

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

**Towards a Conjunctural
Political Economy of
Non-Alignment and
Cultural Politics**

WORKSHOP PROGRAM

MONDAY, 27 SEPTEMBER 2021

TUESDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER 2021

WEDNESDAY, 29 SEPTEMBER 2021

10.30 KEYNOTE LECTURE

Vijay Prashad
(Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research)
Dilemmas of Humanity, via Zoom

MODERATOR: **Sanja Horvatinčić**

DISCUSSION

12.00 COFFEE BREAK

**12.15 PANEL 1 –
Non-Aligned
Internationalisms**

MODERATOR: **Davor Mišković**

Vedran Obućina
(University of Regensburg, DE)
*Religious and Cultural Diplomacy of
the Islamic Republic of Iran within
the Non-Aligned Movement*

George Loftus
(Freie Universität Berlin, DE)
*Islamic Internationalism inside and outside
of NAM: The Iranian Revolution in Bosnia*

Danijela Majstorović
(University of Banja Luka, BiH)
*Decolonizing a Future in a European
Periphery Via Colonial Wounds:
Socialist Yugoslavia's Anticolonial
Legacy and the Postcolonial Present*

DISCUSSION

13.45 LUNCH BREAK

**15.30 PANEL 2 –
The Spatio-Temporalities
of the Non-Aligned**

MODERATOR: **Branka Benčić**

Brigitta Isabella
(independent researcher, Kunci Study
Forum & Collective, Yogyakarta, ID)
*Southern Times in 1995 and Beyond:
Moments, Era, and Temporal Logic of
Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned
Countries Exhibition*, via Zoom

Ana Knežević
(Museum of African Art, Belgrade, RS)
*Nesvrstani.rs: A Heritological Experiment in
Mapping Non-Aligned Monuments and Marks*

Mila Turajlić
(independent filmmaker, FR – RS)
"The eyes of the world are on Belgrade today":
*An Investigation of Audio-visual Archives of
the 1961 Non-Aligned Conference*, via Zoom

17.00

KEYNOTE LECTURE

Sara Salem
(London School of Economics, UK)
*Anticolonial Archiving and the
Urgency of the Past*, via Zoom

MODERATOR: **Ljiljana Kolešnik**

DISCUSSION

Coffee Break

**PANEL 3 –
Anticolonial Antinomies
and Afterlives**

MODERATOR: **Paul Stubbs**

Sašo Slaček Brlek
(University of Ljubljana, SI)
*Decolonising Culture: The Case of the
Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool*

Zoltán Ginelli
(independent researcher, Budapest, HU)
*Hungarian Race for Anti-Colonial
Recognition in the Third World*

Ana Sladojević
(independent curator, Belgrade, RS)
*The Role of Affective Heritage of
Nonalignment in both Decentering
and Perpetuating Stereotypes in
Representation of African Arts*, via Zoom

DISCUSSION

LUNCH BREAK

**PANEL 4 –
Anticolonial and Socialist Aesthetics
and Discourses** (via Zoom)

MODERATOR: **Sanja Sekelj**

Grega Ulen
(Princeton University, USA)
*Aesthetics of Decolonization
& Nonaligned Comparatism*

Bojana Videkanić
(University of Waterloo, CA)
Socialism, People's Art and the Nonaligned

Nataša Kovačević
(Eastern Michigan University, USA)
*Yugoslav Non-Alignment and the
Anticolonial Intellectual Discourse*

DISCUSSION

17.00

10.30

**Remembering Non-Alignment:
Tvrтко Jakovina in Conversation
with Budimir Lončar**

MODERATOR: **Paul Stubbs**

DISCUSSION

Coffee break

**PANEL 5 –
Decolonising
Culture**

MODERATOR: **Tamara Bjažić Klarin**

Łukasz Stanek
(University of Manchester, UK)
*Decolonization by Non-Alignment:
Ghana's Construction Industry*, via Zoom

Ana Dević
(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, BE)
*Amnesias and Reassessment of the
Architectural Exports of Yugoslavia
in the Non-Aligned Movement: the
Changing Frames of Modernism*

Ljubica Spaskovska
(University of Exeter, UK)
*Comrades, Poets, Politicians
– Aco Šopov, Léopold Sédar Senghor
and the Cultural Politics of Non-Alignment*

Petja Grafenauer and Daša Tepina
(Academy of Fine Arts and Design,
Ljubljana, SI) *The Ljubljana Biennial of
Graphic Arts: Utopias of Non-alignment*

DISCUSSION

LUNCH BREAK

Closing Discussion

MODERATOR: **Paul Stubbs**



17.00

WORKSHOP PROGRAM

Towards a Conjunctural Political Economy of Non-Alignment and Cultural Politics

RESEARCH WORKSHOP
Rijeka, Croatia, September 27 – 29, 2021

This is the second of a series of workshops organised within the bilateral research project *Globe_EXCHANGE: Models and Practices of Global Cultural Exchange and Non-aligned Movement. Research in the Spatio-temporal Cultural Dynamics*, conducted by the **Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Ljubljana**, Slovenia, and the **Institute of Art History** in Zagreb, Croatia (2020–2023), and financed by the Slovenian Research Agency, and Croatian Science Foundation.

The research focuses on emergent visual regimes and new models of cultural exchange from the second half of the 20th century developed as a consequence of decolonization, as forms of radical political and aesthetic interventions into the dynamics of global Cold War and North-South relations. The workshop continues our exploration of the economic, social, cultural and political imaginaries of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) through a spatio-temporal, or conjunctural, frame. NAM is considered, here, as an unstable, dynamic, set of practices connected, in complex and underexplored ways, with broader networks of cultural and political solidarity, of South-South exchanges, and contributing to a common political agenda of decolonization. Challenging the supposed universality of colonial modernity and questioning capitalist concepts of development, a conjunctural political economy of NAM explores the material conditions and socio-political contexts of cultural exchange.

Close to the 60th anniversary of the Belgrade summit that heralded the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (1-5 September 1961), this conference,

organised by the Institute of Art History, Zagreb in collaboration with the NGO *Drugo more* from Rijeka, explores aspects of a critical conjunctural political economy of non-alignment and cultural politics. It has four broad aims:

❶ To explore aspects of the political economy of the Non-Aligned Movement and cultural politics across different spatio-temporal conjunctures with particular reference to its impacts in terms of North-South and West-East divisions and struggles, and in terms of the complex inter-relations between capitalism, colonialism and hegemonic racialised structures.

❷ To address the complementarities, contradictions and conflicts between non-alignment and other anti-systemic worldmaking projects including the Bandung spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity, the Tri-Continental, Pan-Africanism, pan-Arabism, and others, in terms of counter-hegemonic cultural politics.

❸ To identify contestations and complementarities in terms of socialist internationalist worldmaking in terms of cultural politics and cultural exchange, with particular reference to Soviet and Chinese politics and practices.

❹ To note elements of the spatio-temporal 'afterlives' of non-alignment and their significance for contemporary cultural politics, including Nasserism, Yugoslavism and Tricontinentalism.

The workshop is financially supported by the the **Croatian Science Foundation** (HRZZ).

ABSTRACTS AND MONDAY, 27 SEPTEMBER

Vijay Prashad (KEYNOTE LECTURE)

Tricontinental:
Institute for Social Research

Dilemmas of Humanity

Where do we stand today, on the precipice between annihilation and extinction? Is a future possible for humanity and for nature?

VIJAY PRASHAD is an Indian historian, journalist, writer and the Director of Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research. He is the author of *Washington Bullets* (Monthly Review Press, 2020), with a foreword by Evo Morales Ayma; *Red Star Over the Third World* (Pluto Press, 2019); *Red October: The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon* (New LeftWord Books, 2017); *The Death of the Nation and the Future of the Arab Revolution* (2016, University of California Press); *Letters to Palestine* (Verso Books, 2015); *Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South* (Verso Books, 2013), with a foreword by Boutros-Boutros Ghali; *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (The New Press, 2007), and many others. He is also the Chief Editor of LeftWord Books (New Delhi).

Vedran Obućina

University of Regensburg

Religious and Cultural Diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran within the Non-Aligned Movement

The 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran was not only one of the most spectacular and long-lasting revolutions in internal terms, but also a profound event that changed the political landscape of many majority-Muslim countries and beyond. While unsuccessful as a Shiite uprising in exporting the revolution to the neighbouring countries, Iran did succeed to position itself as a role model for modern Islamist policies. Many Islamist political parties started to exercise religious policies, from law and order to social justice and culture.

The Islamic Republic of Iran became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement almost instantly after the revolution, as the principles of mutual respect, territorial integrity and sovereignty, equality and mutual interests, non-aggression, mutual coexistence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs

were also constitutional values of the new Iran. According to the Iranian worldview, rich countries with a higher level of development enjoy a better global position and they misuse other countries, void of resources, and make a huge gap and economic imbalance between rich and poor. The economic and political hegemony of such states includes also cultural hegemony that threatens the history, culture and identity of many countries. Following Articles 152 and 154 of the Iranian constitution, Iranian foreign policy cannot be seen as neutral, but as non-aligned with the "hegemonic powers", and considers international organisations as the best places for cooperation with other states.

This paper seeks to explore (1) how religious policies determined Iran's position within NAM, particularly in its policies towards the Islamic world; and (2) how cultural policies and cultural diplomacy formed a soft power with an ideological background that included the fight against "global arrogance", animosity towards Israel and Arab monarchies, and against "imperialist policies".

VEDRAN OBUĆINA, Croatian political scientist and theologian, is author of the book *Political System of the Islamic Republic of Iran*. Recently, he has taken part in the international and interdisciplinary web conference "The Rise of Asia in Global History and Perspective. 60 years after Belgrade: what non-alignment in a multipolar world and for a global future?" organised by the Universite Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and Universite Le Havre, on February 10-12, 2021. He is a priest and academic researcher whose narrow interest field includes religious diplomacy, religion and politics, faith-based diplomacy and peacebuilding, peace studies, religious and political/social semiotics, Iranian studies, and general religious studies.

B I O G R A P H I E S

George Loftus

Freie Universität Berlin

Islamic Internationalism inside and outside of NAM: The Iranian Revolution in Bosnia

Despite many Muslim-majority states being founding members, the dominance of secular nationalists and socialists often pushed Islam as a cohering transnational identity to the wayside. Despite this, it is well documented how Libyans, Egyptians and Iraqis contributed to Islamic learning in Bosnia and how such connections facilitated the Bosnian Islamic ‘revival’ during the 1970s. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was the precondition of their existence, but they were not necessarily of the Movement. With the arrival of the Iranian Revolution, Bosnian Muslim intellectuals drew on these networks to understand Khomeini’s world-historical revolution. It was also the moment in which NAM’s infrastructure was collapsing under its own contradictions, something that Khomeini’s foreign policy came to intensify.

The question is, therefore, how did the Iranian Revolution ‘come home’ in Yugoslavia? Using the archive of *Preporod* magazine and other publications of the *Islamska Zajednica (IZ)* from 1979-1983, this presentation explores some of the reactions that the Bosnian Muslim intellectual class had to the Iranian Revolution. As a major event in Islamic history, it could not be easily ignored – even as it challenged some of the basic assumptions of Islamic identity in NAM and under socialism. The views of Bosnian Muslims on the 1979 revolution are unique amongst contemporaries on both sides of the Cold War because of how experiences of NAM coloured their interpretations. Religion has often been neglected within wider studies of Cold War internationalism, but it was a crucial binding agent, especially for cultural and social connections from below. This presentation will examine closely the reflections of Bosnian writers at the time. This will show how NAM was *de facto* an organisation for Islamic internationalism but that such an internationalism existed uneasily within the Movement and in Yugoslavia itself.

GEORGE LOFTUS is currently an MA student with the Global History programme at Freie Universität Berlin. His research is part of the emerging tendency which seeks to approach Eastern European history through postcolonial approaches. His BA at SOAS, University of London, during which he focused on Cambodian history, has given him a fresh perspective on the history of Eastern Europe. Focusing on late-Socialism and the role of NAM in Yugoslav political and social cultures, his research seeks to question some of the assumptions of life under Self-Management Socialism. He is currently preparing his thesis on the development of Islamophobic discourses in Yugoslavia during the 1970s and 80s and their intersection with NAM and Islamic internationalisms.

Danijela Majstorović

University of Banja Luka

Decolonizing a Future in a European Periphery via Colonial Wounds: Socialist Yugoslavia’s Anticolonial Legacy and the Postcolonial Present

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), as the former Yugoslav republic, has been termed the ‘periphery of the periphery’ after the 1992-1995 war that was not only brutal and once unimaginable but has also brought forward theoretical and practical impasses in which peripheral selves’ struggles can be located and analysed. The Yugoslav revolution and socialist modernity were at heart anticolonial and Yugoslavia was never an empire despite the uneven development of its republics. Still, can we dismiss Yugoslav socialist modernity as colonial as many decolonial scholars do if we have in mind the legacy of the Antifascist Women’s Front, the proletarian struggles or NAM? Following and analysing the post-war overlap of postcoloniality and postsocialism in BiH and the way this trifecta has shaped the country’s present-day condition especially since the signing of the Dayton Accords, this presentation reflects on the overlaps and (dis)continuities as well as the specific

constituents of and conditions for BiH’s peripherality in relation to its colonial past and neo-colonial present, examining Yugoslav socialism and anticolonialism as an interruption. Insisting on “interconnectivities which link these places to processes nested at other spatial scales into the research design,” research on peripheries should not merely “limit itself to the description of ‘peripheral’ places,” but instead “integrate this with a study of the changing function of these places in larger socio-spatial configurations” and processes of peripheralization and coloniality which “demands a historical perspective” (Bernt and Colini 2013: 23).

Historically, BiH has been peripheralized and colonized multiple times and from multiple sides, not only from the outside, by neighbouring Serbia and Croatia with their expansionist appetites and the external tutelage of the international community. From the inside, peripheralization was carried out by comprador political elites thriving on ethnonationalist capitalism seeking total control over the police, the media, the universities and property and assets gained through privatization of socially owned property. Acknowledging “the deeply unsettling work of decolonization” (Tuck and Yang 2012: 4),

6

I propose that the struggles against colonization in BiH should not in any way be positioned as equal to other struggles in more ‘traditional’ colonial contexts such as Africa, Asia or Latin America. Instead, they should be read within this optic because they share traits of peripherality and mobilize “a colonial wound” (Gagyi 2016, Anzaldúa 1999) which opens space for future global productive synergies and emancipatory politics beyond the essentialism of multiculturalism where we can learn from one another and be in struggles together.

DANIJELA MAJSTOROVIĆ (MA 2003, Ohio University; PhD 2006 University of Banja Luka) is Professor of English Linguistics and Cultural Studies in the University of Banja Luka’s English department. She is also a Humboldt Experienced Research Fellow studying social protests and third-wave migrations in and from post-2015 Western Balkans at Justus Liebig University in Giessen, Germany. She was a visiting researcher at Lancaster University in 2006, a Fulbright fellow at UCLA in 2012–2013, a Canada Research Chair in Cultural Studies Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Alberta in 2014 and a visiting researcher at Indiana University in 2016. Her research interests involve critical discourse analysis, critical theory, feminist theory, post- and decolonial theory, and post-Dayton Bosnia. She published over 25 journal articles, co-authored *Youth Ethnic and National Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Palgrave, 2013), authored *Diskursi periferije* (Biblioteka XX vek, Belgrade, 2013) and *Diskurs, moć i međunarodna zajednica* (FF Banja Luka, 2007). She edited *Living with Patriarchy: Discursive Construction of Gendered Subjects across Cultures* (John Benjamins, 2011), *U okrilju nacije* (CKSP Banja Luka, 2011) and *Kritičke kulturološke studije u postjugoslovenskom prostoru* (Banja Luka, 2012). Her new book *Discourse and Affect in Post-socialist Bosnia and Herzegovina: Peripheral Selves* is due to be published by Palgrave in 2021.

Brigitta Isabella

Kunci study forum & collective, Yogyakarta

Southern Times in 1995 and Beyond: Moments, Era, and Temporal Logic of Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned Countries Exhibition

This paper will explore the temporal discourse at play within the *Contemporary Art from Non-Aligned Countries* exhibition (held in Jakarta, 1995), by looking closely at the moments that the exhibition created, the era that shaped it, and the temporal logic that it offers. This mega exhibition—made up of more than 300 artworks from 42 countries—was advertised by the Indonesian curator, Jim Supangkat, as a refusal of the normative standard of Northern aesthetics and an attempt to find a shared basis of Southern perspective. As I will suggest in the paper, the exhibition and the accompanying seminar, titled “Unity in Diversity,” had become a meeting place for Global South art historians and theorists in the early years of the post-1989 era where they discussed, among other things, the temporal politics necessary for recovering and rewriting art histories of the South against the linear, hierarchical, and homogenizing time of Northern modernity. The Non-Aligned exhibition in Jakarta, however, was also filled with multiple and often conflicting narratives from those involved in it. From the mismanagement of exhibition logistics to misrecognition of particular struggles, these practical and political tensions show that the history of South-South artistic encounters were imbued not only with moments of harmony and shared understanding, but also

dissonance and misunderstanding. Only by learning from the latter aspects, I argue, may we understand the historical limits of Non-Aligned cultural networks while at the same time still persisting in practicing radical memorialization for re-actualizing its history of solidarity.

BRIGITTA ISABELLA navigates her encounters with people, objects, and discourses through various knowledge production platforms that operate at the intersection of art history, critical theories, and pro-democracy cultural activism. She studied philosophy in Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta (BA) and critical methodology in King’s College, London (MA). She is affiliated with a self-organized research group based in Yogyakarta, Kunci Study Forum & Collective and serves as a member of the translocal editorial collective of peer-reviewed journal *Southeast of Now: Directions in Contemporary and Modern Art*. Her research trajectory revolves around the questions of the politics of mobility and cosmopolitanism in art practices, the making and unmaking of geopolitical aesthetics, and the (art) history of transnational solidarity. For the last 5 years, she tackles these topics by inquiring into the artistic exchanges of Third World artists during the Cold War era and cultural diplomacy in the afterlives of the 1955 Bandung Conference. Currently she is also exploring the stories of forced mobility among Indonesian and Chinese artists against the backdrop of diplomatic turmoil between China and Indonesia in the 1960s—narratives which are often overlooked in postcolonial-nationalist art historiography.

Ana Knežević

Museum of African Art, Belgrade

Nesvrstani.rs: A Heritological Experiment in Mapping Non-aligned Monuments and Marks

Nesvrstani.rs is an ongoing project started as part of the “Non-Aligned World” exhibition in the Museum of African Art in Belgrade (currently in preparation). The project is supposed to be a specific plug-in, add-on, or extension of the Museum exhibition in cyberspace. The Nesvrstani.rs website, which is currently

under construction, is planned to launch online on 1 September 2021. Nesvrstani.rs map aims to mark “hard” and “soft” Non-Aligned monuments in Belgrade and to start a process of mapping the Non-Aligned heritage in the (Post-)Yugoslav space, as well as within the Third World cultural sphere by making an open call for website users, participants, and anyone interested in (Non-Aligned) heritage to make their own contributions. The map seeks to encompass monuments, memories, souvenirs, and different Non-Aligned mementos by marking sites of

memory in an expanded heritage field. It includes clear “monuments by definition” and “monuments by intention”, those implying a construction, object or structure erected to celebrate or commemorate an event, a name, a person, or the site of memory (*les lieux de memorie*). It involves also iconic scenes illustrating ephemeral spectacles of the Non-Aligned movement, memory clips and cuts, those “accidental/non-intentional monuments”, and names of streets, parks, parts of the city, or results of individual or collective memories. It also seeks to spot those artworks, sculptures, fountains, and similar actions in city decoration, naming them as “distant” or secondary Non-Aligned Monuments. The methodology used in mapping the Non-Aligned heritage here is a double heritological experiment: in visual appearance and through “distant reading/scrolling” it tries to diagnose a “health condition” of each monument or mark of Non-Aligned Movement, while through “close reading” and proposed “object biographies” it tempts to determine the “social life of things” of Non-Aligned marks through space and time.

Mila Turajlić

Independent film maker, Belgrade and Paris

“The eyes of the world are on Belgrade today”: An Investigation of Audio-visual Archives of the 1961 Non-Aligned Conference

The *Non-Aligned Newsreels* is an artistic research project begun in 2013 in collaboration with Filmske novosti (Yugoslav Newsreels) with the aim to excavate and contextualize the archives filmed by Yugoslav cameramen across the non-aligned world. In addition to digitizing these materials – newsreels, documentary films and unused outtakes – the aim is to cross-reference them with interviews, documents from state archives, and personal archives of the cameramen who shot them, thus layering them with subjectivities and contextualising the political circumstances of their creation. As the institution charged with making a special edition newsreel and colour film of the Summit, Filmske novosti’s filmed archive of the event offers a unique case study of the way its organizers focused on its mediatic representation.

ANA KNEŽEVIĆ is an art historian, curator of Museum of African Art in Belgrade, and PhD student of Museology and Heritology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She was a part of the organizational team of the regional student conference “Literature and Art in Yugoslavia: (dis)continuity (1918-1992)”, during 2016, a member of the editorial board of the magazine for art history *Artum* (2015-2016). As a curator of the Museum of African Art in Belgrade she was part of the curatorial team of exhibitions *Unprotected Witness no.1: Afodisiac* (2019), *REFLECT – Namibia after 30 years of independence* (2020), and *Unprotected Witness no. 2: MMM* (2020). Her published papers are dedicated to museums in the age of cyberculture, art history methodology in cyberspace, as well as to architecture, pop culture, and contemporary art and visual culture. Currently, she is a PhD student of Museology and Heritology and she is working on two websites originating from exhibition projects such as *Unprotected Witness and Non-Aligned World*. She is interested in museology and heritology, the culture of remembrance, media studies, film, and architecture.

This presentation will consist of a selection of filmed materials culled from recently-digitized outtakes of previously unused film reels shot during the Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade. Included in the footage are speeches by heads of state which were synchronized with existing sound recordings thus reconstituting for the first time in 60 years the audio-visual experience of the summit’s proceedings. The presentation seeks to foreground the fact that the summit was as much a media event as a diplomatic one, by examining the use of the newsreel reports on the Conference in order to question how symbolic and performative actions such as summitry were harnessed by newly-independent countries to challenge the Great Power monopoly of international information flows. Ultimately, the aim is to explore the ways the filmic image chronicled the birth of a political project, becoming at the same time the vehicle through which this community was constituted and its vision narrated.

MILA TURAJLIĆ is an award-winning director born in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Her films have screened at numerous festivals including Toronto and Tribeca, and have been released theatrically in Europe, North America and across the former Yugoslavia. Her most recent film *The Other Side of Everything* (2017) was HBO Europe’s first co-production with Serbia. It won 32 awards including the IDFA Award for Best Documentary Film, the Grand Prix for Best historical documentary released in France in 2018, and was nominated for the LUX Prize the European Parliament. Mila’s debut feature doc, *Cinema Komunisto* (2011) played at over 100 festivals and won 16 awards including the Gold Hugo and the FOCAL Award for Creative Use of Archival Footage. In her work with archives, Mila researches the intersection of personal and national memories, seeking to reactivate forgotten histories, through forms ranging from lecture performances and video art to analytical essays. In 2018 she was commissioned by MoMA to create a series of archive-based video installations for their landmark exhibition on Yugoslav modernist architecture. A graduate of the London School of Economics, Mila teaches documentary and creative use of archives at SciencesPo and INASup in Paris. Mila is currently in post-production on her third feature film, *The Labudović Reels*, an archival road trip through the archives of African liberation movements of the 50’s and 60’s filmed by Stevan Labudović, the cameraman of Yugoslav President Tito. In 2020 Mila was invited to join the AMPAS Documentary Branch.

TUESDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER

Sara Salem

(KEYNOTE LECTURE)

London School of Economics

Anticolonial Archiving and the Urgency of the Past

This talk explores anticolonial memory and anticolonial archiving as entry points into broader questions of time, temporality and the politics of the present. Thinking with Egypt's project of decolonisation in the mid-twentieth century, I focus on the varying ways in which anticolonial pasts express themselves in the present, and what this might suggest about the future. The first part of the talk explores these topics from the perspective of non-alignment and transnationalism, following the figure of Gamal Abdel Nasser and the many ways in which he appears in the present across various spaces, from pictures in the back of taxis to streets named after him across the world. I explore these representations of him across time and space and the uncanny feelings these provoke, asking whether they might tell us something about archiving anticolonial pasts, and in particular if they help us think through the politics of Third Worldism, non-alignment, solidarity, Pan-Africanism/Arabism and South-South relations. The second part of the talk explores a more tangible legacy of Nasser's project, that of economic nationalisation and the particular state form it produced. I explore the ways in which this practice lives on in the present, in particular through strikes by industrial workers in the 2000s leading up to the 2011 revolution. Can we think of this, too, as an anticolonial archive? Through an exploration of these two forms, I think through both the urgency of the past and the present in Egypt, as well as the ways in which the crisis of the anticolonial past has structured the crisis of the postcolonial present.

SARA SALEM is an Assistant Professor in Sociology at the London School of Economics. Her research interests include political sociology, postcolonial studies, Marxist theory, and global histories of anticolonialism. Her recently published book with Cambridge University Press is entitled *Anticolonial Afterlives in Egypt: The Politics of Hegemony* (2020).

Sašo Slaček Brlek

University of Ljubljana

Decolonising Culture: the Case of the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool

My paper focuses on the development of non-aligned cooperation in the field of information and communication, particularly the non-aligned news agencies pool (NANAP) as the foremost form of this cooperation. The 1973 NAM summit in Algiers is significant not only because it furthered non-aligned economic cooperation and expressed the demand for a New International Economic Order, but also because it challenged "cultural alienation" as a consequence of "imperialism and colonialism". The action programme for economic cooperation reflects this focus on decolonizing culture by including concrete measures for cooperation of non-aligned mass media and information exchange between non-aligned countries. These efforts would grow to encompass NANAP as well as cooperation between non-aligned broadcasters (BONAC). On the one hand, cooperation in the field of information and communication was meant to strengthen South-South cooperation and increase understanding between non-aligned countries. On the other, it was supposed to challenge the hegemony of Western news agencies and media in global information flows, which was understood to originate from and perpetuate (neo-)colonial relations of domination and subjugation. I focus on

Yugoslavia's role in initiating and furthering non-aligned cooperation in the field of information and communication. My research indicates that the Yugoslav news agency *Tanjug* played a key role in this regard, both by influencing the policies of Yugoslavia and the non-aligned movement, as well as by acting as the initiator and driving force of NANAP.

SAŠO SLAČEK BRLEK is a research associate at the Social Communications Research Centre of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ljubljana. His main research interests include critical political economy of communication, labour process analysis, as well as theories of public opinion and the public sphere. Recently he has been focusing on global communication inequalities from a historical perspective, particularly the history of the New World Information and Communication initiative and the work of the MacBride commission.

Zoltán Ginelli

Independent researcher, Budapest

Hungarian Race for Anti-Colonial Recognition in the Third World

This paper overviews three case studies on how Hungarians opened to Afro-Asian decolonization and the emerging Non-Aligned Third World between the mid-1950s and early 1960s. All featured actors had a background in the interwar era populist “folk movement”, the Peasant Movement and the Smallholders’ Party, which sought progressive agricultural reform and often a “third way” development.

Firstly, after the brief postwar democratic moment (1945–1947) was terminated by Stalinist Sovietization, Hungarian anti-communist refugees in the West raced to persuade postcolonial countries against “Soviet colonialism”. Backed by the USA, Hungarian ex-premier Ferenc Nagy successfully popularized this critique in the International Peasant Union and the Assembly of Captive European Nations, and after his three trips to South and East Asia (1953–55) managed to influence the outcome of the first conference of Afro-Asian countries in Bandung (1955). Secondly, during the 1956 revolution state minister István Bibó compiled a memorandum calling for pacifism and turning to a Yugoslavian socialist, non-aligned “third way”. With a small group of intellectuals, including Árpád Göncz (later President of Hungary in 1990), Bibó contacted Indian diplomats, including Mohamed Aatur Rahman, to ask Nehru to mediate peace negotiations with the Soviet Union. Although this attempt failed with the revolution, Bibó and Göncz were spared due to the intervention of fellow Smallholders’ Party refugees, who contacted Nehru to step up.

Thirdly, after 1956, Hungarian communists raced to persuade Third World countries to vote against the Western condemnation of Soviet invasion in the UN and evade international isolation. Ghanaian president and Non-Aligned leader Kwame Nkrumah, too, looked to allies in the Eastern Bloc to relieve Western dependency. In 1962, Nkrumah commissioned the Hungarian economist József Bognár to develop Ghana’s First Seven-Year Plan, and consequently Bognár founded the Centre for Afro-Asian Research (1963).

This paper explores how former Smallholders’ Party members pursued different political paths ultimately connected by attempts of forming anti-colonial alliances, and how Hungarian postwar political agendas globalized to translate and connect to the postcolonial world. Finally, it asks why these Hungarian interactions are missing from the global history of the Non-Aligned Movement.

ZOLTÁN GINELLI is an independent researcher and a critical geographer, historian of science and global historian. His research is in the geographies of knowledge, world-systems analysis, and the histories of geography, colonialism and racism, with a focus on the historical relations between Eastern Europe and the Global South or the Third World. Zoltán has presented his work at numerous international academic conferences and taught at various universities and colleges, including Milestone Institute and guest lectures at The University of Manchester and Rutgers University. Between 2015 and 2019, he worked as an assistant on the project *Socialism Goes Global* at The University of Exeter. In 2020, he conducted the project *Postcolonial Hungary: Eastern European Semiperipheral Positioning in Global Colonialism* within the EEGA program at The University of Leipzig, exploring Hungarian colonial history from a world-systemic perspective. Recently he co-curated, with art historian Eszter Szakács, the art and documentary exhibition *Transperiphery Movement: Global Eastern Europe and Global South* displayed in May 2021, at OFF-Biennale Budapest. Zoltán is currently working on two books, one for Cambridge University Press with James Mark and Péter Apor, about the global histories of Hungarian relations to colonialism and anti-colonialism in the long 20th century, entitled *Che in Budapest: Hungary between the Colonial and Anti-Colonial Worlds*, and his individual book project based on his doctoral research about the global histories of the “quantitative revolution” in geography.

Ana Sladojević

Independent curator, lecturer and theorist, Belgrade

The Role of Affective Heritage of Nonalignment in both Decentering and Perpetuating Stereotypes in Representation of African Arts

Nonalignment as an idea and a set of values has been brought into the academic spotlight after decades of obscurity. This change in its theoretical presence was linked with perpetual crisis on a global level, where alternative models of existing in the world seemed to have become rather scarce. It was synchronous, but not completely in tune, with ever increasing calls for decolonization of heritage and representation, and this is where I would like

to make an intervention into the current study of nonalignment, when it comes to cultural production and representation.

Namely, while I have been actively engaged in re-thinking and re-activation of nonalignment in the last ten years, as a sort of affective heritage, based upon the values of anticolonialism, antiracism and solidarity, my work initially started in the field of African art representation, some twenty years ago. The body of theoretical work written on the topic of representation and cultural construction of African art, and its treatment within the broader scope of representation, is of utmost importance in understanding the cultural production of hegemony and racism. This body of work is still not, I argue, sufficiently present within the context of thinking about nonalignment.

Bearing in mind the scarcity of material traces of historical nonalignment, and very few places of remembrance of this period, among which we can certainly number the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar Collection and the Museum of Yugoslavia, I find it important to understand the responsibility of these institutions in perpetuating stereotypes through their past and current practices, despite a nominal anticolonial discourse. In an attempt at critical re-thinking of museum representation, I intend to open a debate as to how an anticolonial museum can be thought about, with the affective legacy of nonalignment in mind.

ANA SLADOJEVIĆ is an independent curator and art and media theorist. She studied museums as complex objects, whose previous discourses, often inscribed within different unrecognized or “invisible” elements, such as “surplus” of museum production in form of archives, documentation, or study materials, bear influence on how a meaning is formed. She researched these questions particularly within the context of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr. Zdravko Pečar collection, and the Museum of Yugoslavia, with emphasis on certain aspects of these institutions that are related to historical non-alignment. She took part in the following projects: *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned*, Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova/Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana (2019) / Asia Culture Center, Gwangju (2020); *Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity*, Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade (2017) / Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (2018) / Wende Museum, Los Angeles (2019); *NYIMPA KOR NDZIDZI, One Man No Chop, (Re)conceptualisation of the Museum of African Art – the Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar Collection*, MAA, Belgrade (2017-2018); *Non-Aligned Modernisms*, Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade / ERSTE Stiftung (2011-2016). She defended her PhD dissertation *Museum as an Image of the World, the Space of Representation of Identity and Ideology*, at the University of Arts in Belgrade, Interdisciplinary Studies, Group for Theory of Arts and Media in 2012.

Grega Ulen

University of Princeton

Aesthetics of Decolonization & Nonaligned Comparatism

Historical, “actually existing” decolonization is often described as an arrested or unfinished project. Under the influence of methodological nationalism, dominant scholarship has reduced it to a juridical-political transformation of the postwar world order, whereby territorialized peoples have secured their political sovereignties within a system of formally equivalent nation-states. This narrative, however, fails to account for a variety of cultural forms and aesthetic practices invented as part of the third-worldist project of decolonization, aimed fundamentally at displacing Enlightenment humanism and its attendant secular-liberal definition of the human.

In this paper, I look at several third-worldist writers and theorists from the 1950s for whom art, and literature specifically, represented a material practice capable of contesting the colonial meanings of culture and subjectivity. In the thought of anticolonial figures such as Jacques Stéphen Alexis, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Miroslav Krleža, and Husayn Muruwah, “committed literature” was imagined as not only describing or narrating but materially transforming the world: on the one hand, it could negate the discursive manufacturing of the real that subtended colonial governmentality; on the other hand, it fostered alternative modalities of knowing and understanding reality and therefore reconsolidated a more holistic human beyond the positivist, rationalist, and subject-centered discourses of colonial knowledge. Examining anticolonial aesthetic ideologies which, like political ones, rejected the representational models imposed by both blocs of the cultural Cold War (modernist-aesthetics of the U.S. and socialist-realist of the USSR), I want to propose a “nonaligned comparatism” as a horizontalist and critical regionalist methodology of reading third-worldist texts on their own narrative and referential terms, beyond the Eurocentric frameworks of cultural extractivism, liberal humanism, and postcolonial “writing back.” Nonalignment as an object of knowledge and a conceptual reorientation of spaces, subjects, and archives can thus offer a politicized orientational schema in contrast to the identitarian forms of alterity that dominate cultural criticism.

GREGA ULEN is a PhD candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature at Princeton University. He works on 20th century cultural production from Africa, the Caribbean, the Middle East, and the Balkans, focusing on the questions of decolonization, utopianism, third-worldism, nonalignment, and the relationship between politics and aesthetics. He is also interested in the histories of eurocentrism, orientalism, and methodological nationalism in the disciplinary production of knowledge.

Bojana Videkanić

University of Waterloo

Socialism, People's Art and the Non-aligned

Yugoslav art during the socialist period was an eclectic terrain open to many different modes of art making – from various realist and modernist tendencies, neo-avant-gardes of the mid-1960s onwards, to forms of Naïve and outsider art. This artistic eclecticism was reflective of the ways in which the state itself experimented with different approaches to socialist economy and politics, trying to find the ‘right’ balance between socialism, capitalism and the pressure of the Cold War. Yugoslavia’s founding of, and participation in, the Non-Aligned Movement was also reflective of the state’s search for a way out of the bind of the divided world. Even though Nonalignment was first a political and economic movement, it nevertheless also became a cultural one as well. Its culture was produced on many different levels (official and unofficial) and, within this, various artistic forms responded to what it meant to be non-aligned. In this paper I will look at the rich and lively history of the so-called “Naïve”

art in Yugoslavia to understand its possible links to both Yugoslav understanding of socialism and its artistic production. As naïve art, or as I would like to perhaps dub it people’s art, had a rich history in Yugoslavia even before World War Two, and the ways in which it connects to some of the aesthetic ideas of the nonaligned is important, especially when the work of the Naïve Yugoslav artists is compared to the work and writing of similar artists in other countries of the NAM. This paper is therefore interested in both delving into the history of people’s art, linking it to NAM as a movement, and in comparative analysis of this art to others across the NAM world.

BOJANA VIDEKANIĆ is an Associate Professor of Contemporary Art and Visual Culture in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Waterloo. Her research focuses on the 20th century socialist art in Yugoslavia and its contributions to the rise of global modernisms, socialist art, and anti-imperialist cultural work in the 20th century. Her book *Nonaligned Modernism: Socialist Postcolonial Aesthetics in Yugoslavia, 1945-1985* came out in 2020 for McGill-Queens University Press.

Nataša Kovačević

Eastern Michigan University

Yugoslav Non-Alignment and the Anticolonial Intellectual Discourse

In 1968, Aimé Césaire’s play *The Tragedy of King Christophe* was performed at the second BITEF theater festival in Belgrade, two years after being performed at the First World Theater of Negro Arts in Dakar. That same year, Agostinho Neto presented his translated book of poetry at the October Meetings of Writers in Belgrade. In 1975, Léopold Sédar Senghor participated in the Struga Poetry Evenings and awarded its most prestigious award, the Golden Wreath. During the era of decolonization, these and other writers/intellectuals carried enormous prestige due to their status as both anticolonial leaders/revolutionaries and thinkers devoted to developing a new cultural expression and an anticolonial critical discourse.

As Yugoslavia developed its Non-Aligned foreign policy in the late 1950s and early 1960s, its writers, intellectuals, and journalists – who were in many cases former revolutionaries and partisans – wrote about European colonialism and the various movements of liberation, developing an anticolonial intellectual discourse that, in many tropes and rhetorical moves, echoes the more familiar critical texts by Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, and CLR James. Thus, for example, the travelogue *Crno na Belo* [Black on White] by avant-garde poet and novelist Oskar Davičo, whose travels in West Africa overlap with Tito’s own trip in 1961, could be said to figure as the literary and critical accompaniment to an emergent political narrative. I will consider this text side by side with contemporaneous Yugoslav travelogues, and literary and cultural criticism, to think about Non-Alignment also as an attempt to develop an anticolonial intellectual discourse

in Yugoslavia that is intertwined with the politics of national liberation.

These texts often quote and analyze anticolonial poetry and prose; describe conversations with anticolonial intellectuals-revolutionaries; address the necessity of developing an independent cultural policy; include subaltern narratives in an attempt to “give voice” to the colonized; and highlight the biases of colonial epistemology. While their occasional Eurocentric biases and blind spots should in no way be glossed over, they make a contribution to the concurrent development of global anticolonial intellectual discourses. It is important to reconstruct these early networks of intellectual solidarity since, according to Monica Popescu (*At Penpoint*, 2020), contemporary scholarship tends to privilege Western postcolonial theory starting in the late 1970s – and more recently, I would add, the contemporary articulations of decolonial theory – while “early” anticolonial intellectual work is often downplayed as merely “pioneering” and compromised through its embroilment in the violence of national liberation.

NATAŠA KOVAČEVIĆ is Professor of Postcolonial Literature at Eastern Michigan University and editor of *JNT: Journal of Narrative Theory*. She is the author of two monographs, *Narrating Post/Communism: Colonial Discourse and Europe’s Borderline Civilization* (Routledge, 2008) and *Uncommon Alliances: Cultural Narratives of Migration in the New Europe* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018). She has also written articles on intersections between postcolonial and postcommunist studies, Cold War orientalism, avant-garde performance art, and literature and film about migration to the European Union. Her work has appeared in *Postcolonial Studies*, *Cultural Critique*, *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, *Modern Fiction Studies*, and a number of edited collections. Her ongoing research concerns the cultural representations and postcolonial critiques of the European Union and, most recently, Non-Aligned literature and culture.

Remembering Non-Alignment: Tvrtko Jakovina in Conversation with Budimir Lončar

TVRTKO JAKOVINA is tenured professor and former head of the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. He is the author of several books including *The Third Side of The Cold War /Treća strana Hladnog rata/* (Fraktura, 2011), as well as many articles dealing with the foreign policy of Tito's Yugoslavia and Croatian history in 20th century. His latest publication is a biography of the last Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, Budimir Lončar. He is vice-president of the Croatian Fulbright Alumni Association, member of the Board of the Croatian-American Association, Management Board President of the Centre for Democracy and Law "Miko Tripalo" and a member of several editorial boards. He obtained his MA in American Studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium and his Ph.D. from the University of Zagreb (in 2002).

BUDIMIR LONČAR was born in Preko, on the island of Ugljan, in 1924. He attended high school in Zagreb. After the occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he joined the illegal anti-fascist movement, and the following year the People's Liberation Army. As a partisan, he was wounded twice. During the war he held positions in the League of Communist Youth for Dalmatia, and after the war in the Ministry of the Interior of the People's Republic of Croatia. He transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1949, and in 1950 he was appointed vice-consul at the Yugoslav Consulate General in New York. He remained in that position until 1956, when upon his return to Belgrade he managed the Analysis and Planning Group within the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and became a special advisor to State Secretary Koča Popović. He participated in the preparations for the First Conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in 1961 and in the work of the Second Conference in Cairo in 1964. He was appointed Ambassador to Indonesia in 1965, at the time when that country was shaken by a severe internal crisis. From 1969 to 1973 he was an advisor to the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SFR Yugoslavia. He had an important role in the preparation of the Third Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Lusaka 1970. In 1973 he became Yugoslav Ambassador to FR Germany preparing the historic visit of President Tito to that country in 1974. In 1977 he became Undersecretary of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and in 1979 he was appointed Yugoslav ambassador to the United States. From 1984 to 1987, he was Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs. At the end of 1987, Budimir Lončar became Yugoslav Federal Secretary

for Foreign Affairs in the government of Branko Mikulić. He remained in that office when the government of Ante Marković was formed in 1989. He was instrumental in Belgrade hosting the Ninth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1989 and helped move Yugoslavia closer to European integration. In early 1991, he mediated with Saddam Hussein in an attempt to resolve the Kuwaiti crisis peacefully. During 1991, he engaged in intense diplomatic activity to prevent the war in Yugoslavia, but in the autumn of that year, horrified by the aggression against Croatia, he resigned from the post of federal secretary. From 1992, he held official positions in the United Nations in Jakarta and New York. In 2005 he was named as a special adviser to Croatian President Stjepan Mesić for foreign and domestic policy, and was instrumental in Croatia becoming a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2007. During the mandate of President Ivo Josipović (2010-2015) he was the president of the Council for Foreign Policy and International Relations within the Office of the President. He has been married to Janja Bralo since 1964 and has two children, Srđan and Ivan. He lives in Zagreb.

Łukasz Stanek

University of Manchester

Decolonization by Non-Alignment: Ghana's Construction Industry

This paper argues that the principle of non-alignment was central to the process of decolonization of the construction industry in Ghana after its independence in 1957, or the emergence and emancipation of indigenous actors and institutions in charge of design and construction. While so understood decolonization was prepared in Ghana during the late colonial period (1949-57), its dynamics shifted in the wake of Ghana's independence, when the country became one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

While from the colonial archives decolonization often looks like the closure of the former colonial markets, this paper shows that it meant just the opposite: a radical opening towards multiple sources of expertise. Accordingly, the development of architecture and construction in Non-Aligned Ghana was facilitated by resources and knowledge coming from Yugoslavia, India, and other NAM countries, but also from Britain, the US, the Soviet Union, and Eastern European socialist countries. I argue that this opening defined the dynamics of decolonization of the Ghanaian construction industry during the country's first decade of independence.

This argument will be developed by foregrounding African agency both in the

sense of taking over positions of authority in design and construction, and as an ability to think architecture beyond the colonial precedents. This includes, first, focusing on the negotiation between the policies of supporting Ghanaian contractors and the establishment of state-owned construction industry, facilitated by non-aligned and socialist countries. Second, studying the decision-making processes of Ghanaian administrators, such as architect Vic Adegbite, largely based on comparison of architectural resources from within and across Cold War divides in order to adapt them for the purposes of Ghana. By discussing the emancipatory potential of these practices and the risks involved, this paper reconceptualizes decolonization as deeply entangled with, and dependent on, non-aligned internationalism.

ŁUKASZ STANEK is Professor of Architectural History at the University of Manchester, UK. Stanek authored *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory* (University of Minnesota Press, 2011) and *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War* (Princeton University Press, 2020), which won the Alice Davis Hitchcock Medallion by the SAH GB and the RIBA President's Award for History & Theory Research. Besides Manchester, Stanek taught at the ETH Zurich, Harvard University GSD, and the University of Michigan.

Ana Dević

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, University Business Academy, Novi Sad

Amnesias and Reassessment of the Architectural Exports of Yugoslavia in the Non-Aligned Movement: the Changing Frames of Modernism

The history of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and of the cooperation that existed among the individual countries that took part in it, has been one of the critical spots of the "loud silence" about the socialist past in the post-Yugoslav space, euphemistically referred to locally as "the region" (*regija*). It functions as part of the general

post-1991 hegemonic mix of amnesia and odium directed at socialism in general, and, more significantly, at the Yugoslav political regime, its state composition (perceived as a hierarchy of unequal republics), and society, jumbled together in a still endless "diary of insults and complaints."

In this paper I focus on one zone of the "return" to the Non-Aligned Movement: the history and politics of the "exports" of Yugoslav construction/ architectural enterprises in the NAM countries since the mid-1960s. First, I look at the works of social scientists and historians as the sites that have been already made in the direction of the re-discovery of the NAM in the past decade, and discuss the

approaches they employ (e.g., whether they treat it as part of the Yugoslav history of socialism or frame them as endeavors of individual Yugoslav republics).

From these recent local "returns" to the NAM, I move to an (alternative/ contrasting) approach employed in a "foreign" perspective on architectural exports – the exhibition "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980," which ran in the New York Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) from July 2018 to January 2019. I aim to unpack the modes of presentation of the architectural-cum-political links (and solidarities) between Yugoslavia and the NAM countries by analyzing: 1) The original documentation that accompanied the visual exhibits/ models selected by the MoMA, including the catalogues that illustrated the exhibition (referring also to the interviews with curators Vladimir Kulić and Martino Stierli); and 2) Interviews with several architects – the authors of major Yugoslav infrastructural works in Africa, focusing on their assessments of the differences between construction periods, the subsequent maintenance, and reflections on the works: from the 1960s till the mid-1980s.

ANA DEVIĆ is an associate professor of sociology who obtained her Ph.D. from the University of California at San Diego. She has part-time posts at the universities in Bologna and Novi Sad. Between 2018 and 2021, Ana was a Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellow at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, where she is currently associate researcher. Her areas of specialization are nationalism, politicization of intellectuals, class, social movements, gender, politics of memory, cinema and the arts in socialism and postsocialism. Her recent publications include: "The Hijacking of Feminism in Postsocialist Serbia" (2021); "Class, Conflict and Power between Hegemony and Critical Knowledge: Debates in the (Ex-Post) Yugoslav Space" (2021); "The Eurasian Wings of Serbia: Serbian Affinities of the Russian Radical Right" (2019), and "Theatre of Diversity and Avant-Garde in Late Socialist Yugoslavia: Paradoxes of the State of Disintegration" (2018).

Ljubica Spaskovska

University of Exeter

Comrades, Poets, Politicians – Aco Šopov, Léopold Sédar Senghor and the Cultural Politics of Non-Alignment

“It is impossible to talk today about the poet Senghor without thinking at the same time about the politician Senghor. There is an organic unity between the poetry and the politics, a harmony between the political preoccupations of the poet and the poetic ambitions of the politician.” This excerpt from the 1975 Foreword by Aco Šopov to the Macedonian edition of the collected poems by Senghor reveals a central aspect of the cultural politics of non-alignment and in this case the understanding, representation and reception of African culture and art in socialist Yugoslavia. This presentation will explore the period of the ‘strategic’ appointment of Šopov as Yugoslav ambassador to Senegal (1971-1975) that culminated in Senghor’s visit to Yugoslavia in 1975 and his inauguration as poet laureate at the Struga Poetry Evenings. Drawing upon archival documents, historical media articles, reviews and poetry, the presentation will examine the art-politics nexus, interrogate the importance of a generational lens for our understanding of the cultural politics of non-alignment and explore the post-socialist legacies of these somewhat forgotten encounters with African literature, history and art.

LJUBICA SPASKOVSKA is a lecturer in History at the University of Exeter. She is the author of *The Last Yugoslav Generation: The Rethinking of Youth Politics and Cultures in Late Socialism* (Manchester University Press 2017) and *1989: A Global History of Eastern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), with Bogdan Iacob, James Mark, and Tobias Rupprecht.

Paetja Grafenauer & Daša Tepina

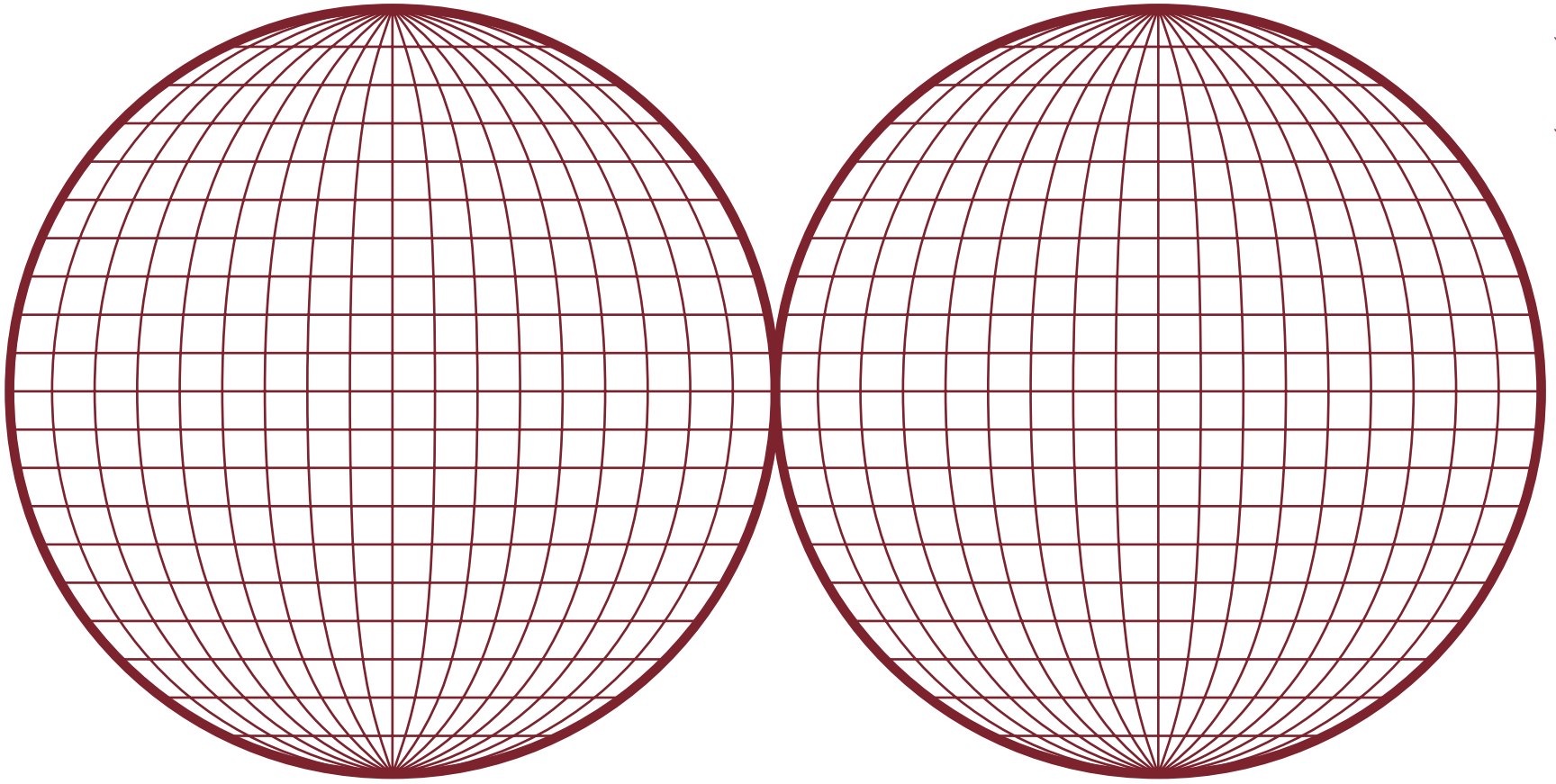
Academy of Fine Arts and Design, Ljubljana

The Ljubljana Biennial of Graphic Arts: Utopias of Non-alignment

Utopias interlaced with socialist order after the Second World War manifested themselves through the internationalization of socialist utopian ideas within the Non-Aligned Movement. Through this perspective we establish them as research paradigms to capture art practices and visual cultural exchanges influenced by utopian ideas and practices. Through utopias we address images as communication tools, as collective cultural codes represented through so-called ‘common language’ having a broader role as discourse in culture (Hall 1998). We focus on the case study of Cuban artist Félix Juan Albert Beltrán Concepción, whose images speak the language of the Cuban revolution and have become communication tools for a wider socialist revolutionary project. We follow his representation of images through their appearances in three Biennials of Graphic Arts in Ljubljana (1977, 1979 in 1981) and explore their communicative role in the Yugoslav socialist self-management system.

PETJA GRAFENAUER, is an assistant professor at the Department for Theory of the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana, where she obtained PhD in 1976. She is a specialist in local and regional art after the Second World War. Petja regularly publishes her findings in scientific, professional and popular media. She has written or edited several books about visual art. Currently she is working on a bilateral research project J7-2606 *Models and Practices of Global Cultural Exchange and Non-aligned Movement: Research in the Spatio-Temporal Cultural Dynamics*.

DAŠA TEPINA is an assistant researcher for art theory at the Department for Theory, of the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana. She obtained her PhD in sociology in 1982, at the Faculty for Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. Daša’s main research interests include social movements, autonomy, art and utopias. Currently she is working on a bilateral research project J7-2606 *Models and Practices of Global Cultural Exchange and Non-aligned Movement: Research in the Spatio-Temporal Cultural Dynamics*.



Mine, Yours, Ours #16

The Non-Aligned

RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Towards a Conjunctural Political Economy of Non-Alignment and Cultural Politics

27 – 29 / 9 / 2021

IMPRESSUM

Organizers

Institute of Art History, Zagreb
Drugo more, Rijeka

Organizing Committee

Paul Stubbs
Ljiljana Kolečnik
Davor Mišković
Petra Corva
Ana Ćurić

Production

Ivana Katić
Dubravko Matanić
Daria Morosin

Graphic design

Oleg Šuran

Partner

Moderna galerija, Ljubljana

Scientific Committee

Aida A. Hozić
Rada Iveković
Paul Stubbs
Ljiljana Kolečnik
Vladimir Unkovski-Korica

Technical Support

Cyclorama d.o.o.

Print

Kershoffset, Zagreb

The workshop *Towards a Conjunctural Political Economy of Non-Alignment and Cultural Politics* is financially supported by the Croatian Science Foundation

Mine, Yours, Ours program is supported by Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia and City of Rijeka – Department for culture.

Drugo more is a beneficiary of the financial support of the Kultura nova Foundation

Association of organisations Molekula manages Palach and Filodrammatica.

Rijeka, 2021.

Typefaces

Bara (TPTQ), Mote (TPTQ), FZN DOM (FznFnts)

