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Nonaligned Mobilities and the Post-Yugoslav Political Imaginary

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Abstract

From the First Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade in 1961 to the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Yugoslavs played a major role in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This coalition of developing nations sought agency in international affairs to elude the economic, political, and cultural domination of colonial and Cold War superpowers. I examine the Yugoslav case to demonstrate how the official politics of friendship materialized as people, objects, and infrastructures moved across the nonaligned world. Arguing that these mobilities were integral to Yugoslavia's internal political project and post-war international identity, I examine the interplay of solidarity and self-interest, attending to actors' genuine aspirations without losing sight of colonial epistemologies that dogged 'East-South' collaborations. The simultaneous undoing of Yugoslav socialism and nonalignment in the 1990s produced new, injurious (im)mobilities in Yugoslavia (as elsewhere) that were symbolic of the region's demotion in global geopolitical hierarchies. Recent attempts to deploy the memory of nonaligned 'movements' in museum exhibitions in the Yugoslav successor states inform an anthropology of post-socialist malaise and contribute to the literature examining invocations of the social and ideological forms of the past after the formal decline of state socialism.

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Introduction

In March of 2019, an exhibition entitled *Southern Constellations: Poetics of the Nonaligned* opened at the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova in the Slovenian capital. Ljubljana might be described as a small, southeast European city, yet the material on display gestured towards historical linkages extending beyond this limited regional geography. The exhibition featured contemporary art from across former Yugoslavia and Europe, but also from South Asia, West Africa, and Latin America, as well as documentary material and older works from locations across the global South. In the gallery, photographs of Yugoslav leader Josip Broz 'Tito' shaking hands with heads of newly independent nations in the decolonizing world sat beside ruminations on twenty-first-century crises of displacement. The exhibition title and interpretive materials offered an explanation for this juxtaposition of eras, themes and forms: this exhibition was about 'nonalignment' and its legacies, offering visitors an opportunity to revisit a unique twentieth-century geopolitical formation. The artefacts and artworks on display testified not to fragmented regional histories, but to relations of exchange, cooperation, and interdependence among unlikely partners: relations established at a moment of historical beginnings, only, the curators suggested, to be abandoned and forgotten in the decades since.

Emerging in the aftermath of the Second World War and in the midst of global decolonization, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was an international political project that sought a path for developing nations beyond Soviet or American domination. The Ljubljana exhibition sought to capture the internationalist ethos of this "'rainbow coalition" of dispossessed nations' from the point of view of one of its prominent founding states (Gupta 1992: 68). In the decades spanning the first Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade in 1961 and the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, distant worlds became accessible to Yugoslav citizens and their compatriots abroad. From their newspapers in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Skopje, Yugoslav publics followed Tito and his wife Jovanka on their travels across the globe. Global audiences were watching too, as African and Asian publics greeted Yugoslav 'friends' in elaborate performances of nonaligned solidarity. These encounters paved the way for material transfers removed (by varying degrees) from the sphere of high politics. By the late 1960s, Yugoslav development and planning expertise was in high demand across the developing world. As architects and engineers employed by Yugoslav construction companies identified markets, won development contracts, and spearheaded projects from Baghdad to Lagos, Congolese, Ethiopian and Indonesian students travelled abroad to study in Belgrade's classrooms. Under bilateral agreements for cultural cooperation, travelling exhibitions of folk and 'high' art, music, and dance circulated across continents. Emerging national publics in the South digested narratives of Yugoslav revolutionary struggle conveyed in partisan films; meanwhile, anti-colonial revolutionaries benefitted more directly from the experience of Yugoslav guerrillas in the Second World War. Encounters across multiple spheres facilitated exchanges of labour, architectural and artistic forms, material culture, and expert

knowledge, bringing together students, workers, and officials across the transnational space of the nonaligned.

The formal structure that facilitated these exchanges reflected the possibilities a dramatically rearranged post-war geopolitical map of the world seemed to offer emerging states, socialist and/or postcolonial. Fragile and contingent, the NAM and its solidarities emerged in a particular window of opportunity at the midpoint of the twentieth century; at that century's close, these political and affective structures came tumbling down. The end of the Cold War and the disappearance of European state socialisms were consequential events for the nations of the South, coinciding with the retreat of twentieth-century developmental states across wide swaths of the globe: in Mark Duffield's words, 'the brave but short-lived world of independent states gave way to what is perhaps the real heir of decolonization: an innovative, unstable and circulatory "world of peoples"'(2005: 144) . Alongside other projects of Afro-Asian and 'Third World' solidarity, the NAM was largely a casualty of these political-economic shifts.[1] The dawning of a post-Cold War era ushered in dark chapters in a number of its founding nations' histories, including Yugoslavia.

The historical irony of calling forth memories of nonaligned solidarity in light of these transformations was not lost on the Ljubljana exhibition's curators and contributors. Yet the attempt to display these 'southern constellations' for a contemporary audience went beyond an exercise in dramatic contrasts or an effort to emphasize an unbridgeable gap separating a bewildering present from a newly intriguing past. This was also an attempt to reclaim the political content of the NAM for a transformed world.

This exhibition raises various questions. First, how can the contemporary historiography of the NAM, post-war Yugoslavia, and 'global socialism' at large be supplemented by attention to mobilities and solidarities that emerged in the shadow of high political encounters? Second, what are the afterlives of such nonaligned 'movements'? How can we make sense of instances in which obsolete forms and defunct memories resurface at a moment in which political and economic alternatives seem elusive? In the following pages, I examine nonalignment first as a mobile historical formation, and second as a site of cultural memory and a framework for political critique in former Yugoslavia in the present day. 'Movement' and 'mobility' have multiple referents in this work, indexing the NAM as a progressive social and political movement constituted by the physical mobility of people, objects, and infrastructures across the transnational spaces of the Cold War; the comparative lack of 'movement' in space and time diagnosed by people living in the ex-Yugoslav successor states today (and elsewhere in the formerly nonaligned world); and the mobilization of the memory of the NAM that flows from this critical juxtaposition.

In Part I, I consider nonaligned solidarities bridging Yugoslavia and the global 'South' in relation to a budding literature examining Cold War linkages between the 'Second' and 'Third' worlds. Against the notion of stagnant national societies immobilized behind the Iron Curtain, recent investigations of global socialism stress the complexity and multipolarity of transregional exchanges proceeding from

Soviet, Eastern European, and Chinese outreach towards 'Third World' states (see e.g. Westad 2007; Ghodsee 2019). Framed by an official politics of solidarity, 'socialist mobilities' differed from the postcolonial and 'guest worker' migrations that became Western Europeans' primary sites of encounters with difference in the post-war period (Schwenkel 2014a; Chin et al. 2009). To some observers, these relations constitute nothing less than an 'alternative globalization': an attempt to redefine the circuits of the global economy, undercut neo-colonial relations between 'centre' and 'periphery', and forge a new global cartography of equality and sovereignty through friendship, modernization, and development (Bockman 2015; Calori et al. 2019; Mark et. al. 2020). I ask whether nonaligned mobilities engendered solidarities that differed substantively from these others, a claim put forward by contemporary actors in and beyond Yugoslavia. Finally, a study of nonalignment centred on Yugoslavia, a multi-ethnic state that pursued its own 'path to socialism', exposes the fragile interconnectedness of conjoined political projects at home and abroad.

These linked destinies became visible in the early 1990s, with the dismantling of Yugoslavia signalling a 'realignment' of Balkan and European geospatial imaginaries as the Yugoslav successor states once again took their place at the margins of Europe. In the midst of crisis, mobility again proved central to defining the elements that constitute just societies and equitable relations across continents, yet this time in negative terms: newfound immobilities and new westward migrations of former Yugoslav citizens marked relations of inequality at the European periphery. Thus, refugee flows engendered by wartime violence, accelerated labour migrations fuelled by economic hopelessness, and burgeoning local landscapes of desertion and emptiness have served to underscore the marginalization of ex-Yugoslav peoples in internal and external mental maps.

In Part II, I turn to the legacies of nonaligned 'movements' in post-socialist, post-conflict former Yugoslavia. Here, I draw on a rich body of ethnographic work investigating the stubborn persistence of social forms and subjectivities associated with the socialist past. As new political forms render memories of socialism unspeakable, anthropologists observe efforts to deploy archives of cultural and political memory in order to envision more just and prosperous futures. Searching for 'sightings' of the nonaligned in the post-Yugoslav successor states, I discuss a series of recent museum exhibitions that engage the ideological, material, and social histories of nonalignment to reflect on the significance of lost mobilities and solidarities. In an era of increasing Europessimism, invoking the NAM recalls a time when Yugoslavia and its uniquely mobile citizens were more advantageously positioned within European and global geopolitical hierarchies; yet it also conjures up a moment when citizens and states worked actively to reshape those hierarchies for their own benefit and in the name of others, raising questions about the historical inevitability of present configurations of power and prestige.

I. Nonaligned Exchanges in the Shadow of the Cold War

In the decades following the Second World War, Yugoslavia came to occupy a remarkable position on the world stage, as Yugoslav leaders and publics looked beyond Europe to locations in the South

for the future of global cooperation and community. As internal debates over the forms and praxes of Yugoslav socialism structured domestic politics, nonalignment became the frame through which leaders represented their country's commitments in the wider world: against Great Power imperialism and colonial exploits past and present, and for national self-determination, non-interference, and rapid economic development in the 'Third World'. In the post-war period, these dual modernizing projects—constructing Yugoslav socialism at home and developing circuits of cooperation with the Third World, constituted through multidirectional movements of people and things—proceeded in tandem, informing and influencing one another.

By reaching out to newly independent southern nations at the historical juncture of the 1950s, Tito inserted Yugoslavia into a dynamic debate on the future of southern nations in a postcolonial era. At the first Afro-Asian Conference, held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955, emerging nations had begun to theorize a common inheritance of colonialism and imagine a path up from beneath the sway of former colonial powers and their Cold War successors. The Bandung moment, transpiring in the final phase of colonial retreat across Africa and Asia and against the backdrop of consolidating American and Soviet power, was suffused with promises for a radical restructuring of international relations in accordance with principles of sovereignty and equality, an end to foreign intervention, and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. Looking forward, its participants committed to fostering Third World unity by charting a new course for South-South cultural and economic cooperation.[2]

By the first Non-Aligned Conference, held in Belgrade in 1961, Tito had cemented Yugoslavia's role in a nascent NAM. As historians have shown, the Yugoslav 'pivot' towards the developing world had much to do with Yugoslavia's precarious positioning between East and West in an emerging post war constellation of power. For key Yugoslav politician and theorist Edvard Kardelj, Yugoslav ideology rested on three mutually reinforcing pillars: nonalignment; the doctrine of 'brotherhood and unity,' the internal unity of Yugoslavia's 'constituent peoples' embodied in Yugoslav federalism; and the pursuit of 'worker's self-management', Yugoslavia's singular brand of socialism (Niebuhr 2011; Rajak 2014). In the uncertain terrain of post-war Yugoslavia, these were parallel expressions of a single impulse: the need to manoeuvre between the blocs while imagining a future of equality, reciprocity, and social and economic justice in domestic and international relations. Recent scholarship has cautioned against an uncritical celebration of (newly rediscovered) connections, underscoring the tenuous dynamics of Yugoslavia's extra-European engagements. Examining the interplay of altruistic ideology and pragmatic self-interest, for example, Subotić and Vučetić (2019) frame Yugoslav engagements in the NAM as a series of status-seeking 'solidarity performances' that traded on global hierarchies of race to claim moral authority on the world stage, thereby cementing Yugoslavia's disproportionate influence in international relations. Yugoslavia's ability to position itself at the helm of a movement claiming to represent the black and brown peoples of the world while depicting itself

in turns as a 'developing' nation and speaking on behalf of 'underdeveloped' allies (Spaskovska 2018), leads Stubbs (2019) to refer to the 'flexible liminality of Yugoslavia's positionality' on the world stage.

These discursive treatments of Yugoslavia's international balancing act, however, do not answer questions about the relationship between NAM's official pronouncements and the forms of mutual aid that actually materialized in the post-war era. For Li (2020:153), '[n]on-alignment as a universalism can be usefully understood by moving away from grand ideological pronouncements and examining the transregional circuits that helped constitute its everyday existence'. Stubbs (2019) reminds us that 'the nature of the NAM as a multinodal network meant that, both above and below the radar, exchanges in the realm of science, art and culture, architecture and industry, occurred on a large scale and with at least relative autonomy from the political master narrative'. It is to these mobilities that I now turn, bringing the NAM's material histories to the discussion of its attempts to forge equitable relations across North and South in the second half of the twentieth century.

Nonaligned Mobilities: Yugoslavia in the world

The NAM was constituted by 'movement' in the narrowest and the broadest sense. The main avatars of Yugoslav entanglements in the wider world—Tito, 'Comrade Jovanka', and the ship 'Galeb' on which they traversed the globe—were in motion, quite literally, for large swaths of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Vučetić (2017: 19) calculates that Tito spent one-tenth of his forty-year tenure in power, over 1,000 days, on international journeys. Tito's movements in space produced a spate of parallel mobilities revolving around him. Film reels documenting his routinized departures and arrivals in distant lands were rushed back to Yugoslavia for incorporation into weekly newsreels screened in cinemas across Yugoslavia and distributed to the foreign press (Turajlić 2017). Gifts originating in Slavonian and Bosnian factories travelled to hosts abroad, where they were exchanged for objects of varied provenance to be carried back to Yugoslavia and deposited in Belgrade's Museum of the 25th of May, built to display the diversity of the nonaligned world to Yugoslav citizens. Tito's travels were reciprocated in fellow leaders' official visits to Yugoslavia. Between 1944 and 1980, Tito hosted 175 heads of state (Vučetić 2017: 19). These visits left an indelible imprint on the cityscape of Belgrade, as world leaders congregated in structures built for purpose on the banks of the Sava River and ritually planted trees in New Belgrade's newly founded 'Park of Friendship' (Kulić 2014b). Over time, the intensity of trans-regional connections established through the NAM mirrored the map of Tito's journeys, reflecting the role of individual friendships between 'great men' in keeping the movement afloat.

Cohorts of minor figures—diplomats, activists, journalists, photographers, secretaries—accompanied Tito or followed in his wake. Their own travels solidified impressions of places and political projects that framed the Yugoslav experiment in new terms. From 1959 to 1962, Tito's young cameraman, Stevan Labudović, documented the anti-colonial struggle alongside Algerian troops, 'carrying a camera in one hand and a rifle in the other'. He would subsequently be remembered in Algeria as the

'cinematic eye of the revolution' (Vučetić 2019: 137). Journalist and then diplomat Zdravko Pečar and his wife Veda Zagorac spent decades in Africa and bore witness to wars of independence in Algeria and Mozambique; the private art collection they brought home became the seed for Belgrade's Museum of African Art. Vida Tomšič, member of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the Antifascist Women's Front, built relationships with women's organizations across the nonaligned world, travelling across continents to represent Yugoslavia in UN World Conferences on Women from Mexico City to Nairobi (Bonfiglioli 2016). Meanwhile, diplomatic and professional relationships beyond the highly publicized bromances of Tito, Nehru, Sukarno, Nasser, and Nkrumah quietly opened doors for Yugoslav companies in Africa and Asia and facilitated the transfer of expert knowledge in economic and development cooperation, as some Yugoslavs made their careers building the networks of the nonaligned (Čavoški 2012).

Yugoslavia's global ambitions within the NAM created institutions with a transnational scope. Across the spheres of media, education, culture, and industry, Yugoslav companies and government bodies spearheaded cooperation across national boundaries. In contemplating these forms, it is helpful to think not of individual organizations or bodies in motion, but of mobile assemblages of organizations, experts, and materials (Avermaete 2012; Burrell and Hörschelmann 2014). Recent studies show how organizations operating at varying distance from state control enacted the dictates of nonalignment, expanding and modifying them in the process. Vukasovich and Boyd-Barrett (2012) examine Tanjug, the national news agency of Yugoslavia and central coordinating agency for NANAP, the Non-Aligned News Agency Pool, whose thousands of correspondents stationed across the global South were the first to break monumental Cold War stories, from the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 to the 1973 Pinochet coup. Turajlić (2017) and Vučetić (2019) analyse *Filmske Novosti* (translated as 'Yugoslav Newsreels'), Yugoslavia's state-run film production institution, whose mandate grew from documenting Tito's journeys abroad to producing serious, influential portraits of anti-colonial struggles in Africa. Lazić (2009) and Bondžić (2011) consider the thousands of students from Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia who studied at universities and technical schools in Yugoslavia on state-funded scholarships. Undoubtedly the most striking material legacy of Yugoslav nonalignment is the vast corpus of military, industrial, and urban infrastructures designed and constructed by Yugoslav architects, engineers, and labourers across Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Ranging from hydroelectric power plants, ports, naval bases, and municipal water and electric grids to trade centres, skyscrapers, and regional urban development plans, infrastructures built by Yugoslav companies abroad are a lasting testimony to Yugoslav engagement in the 'Third World' (Kulić 2014a; Cvitanović, Smokvina and Kincl 2016; Sekulić 2017). As such, they embody the NAM's singularities, promises and contradictions, leading to the question: what is the relationship between material exchanges and the political commitments that facilitated them?

Yugoslavs and the (anti-)colonial encounter

The ambiguities of Yugoslav engagements abroad are epitomized in the travelling figure of Tito, once described by an Indian diplomat as 'the first great statesman who came to Asia not as a representative of colonizers, but as a great friend of Asian nations' (Životić and Čavoški 2016: 81). The spectacular performativity of Tito's international appearances and his hyper-curated public image are well-studied (Kilibarda 2010). Interrogating photographs of Tito's journeys in Africa, Vučetić (2017) shows how the Yugoslav leader, embarking on a safari or being lavishly received in performances of postcolonial pageantry, is virtually indistinguishable from colonial visitors that preceded him. Ritualized gift exchanges reveal a similar dynamic: Tito, the 'great modernizer', furnishes automobiles manufactured in Yugoslav factories, receiving works of figurative or functional 'traditional' art in return.

Tito's strategy in the face of historical difference was to look for shared experience. This involved the rediscovery of a 'colonial' past for Yugoslavia, whose territories were subject at various points in time to Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Italian rule, and asserting parallels between Yugoslavia's revolutionary struggle in the Second World War and contemporary anti-colonial wars of independence waged by its nonaligned partners. This form of imaginative recourse to the past underscores the relationship between Yugoslav domestic concerns and support for anti-colonial struggles abroad, which served 'to extend and continually reactivate the genesis narrative on which the power of the Yugoslav Communist Party was founded' (Turajlić 2017: 13). To some Yugoslav travellers, historical parallels were readily apparent. Former partisan fighters and anti-colonial revolutionaries experienced particular 'affective affinities' (Stubbs 2020): fighting alongside African comrades, the former found a means of 'reconstructing their own history' (Radonjic 2016: 75).

Reading Yugoslav travelogues as auto-representations of Yugoslavia vis-a-vis Africa, Radonjić (2016) details the narrative strategies employed by Yugoslav revolutionaries, artists, writers, and intellectuals abroad to make sense of their experiences and relate them to familiar models. Accounts oscillate between reproductions of the exoticized images of Africa familiar from colonial travel writing and critical takedowns of such representations, ostensibly enabled by Yugoslav writers' own peripheral location at the 'margin of European modernity', experience of subjugation, and emancipatory socialist sensibilities (Piškur 2019: 12). Yugoslav travellers' often incongruous musings on race represent an archive of their own, one which reflects the 'deeper history of colonialism [that] has both made whiteness available as an identification within Eastern European national identities and informed the frames through which it is disavowed' (Baker 2018: n.p.). As Yugoslavs discovered their own whiteness in Africa, African students in Yugoslavia were discovering hierarchies of race internalized in Yugoslav society despite official pronouncements of anti-racism (Lazić 2009; Bondžić 2011).

Beyond tenuous assertions of commonality, Yugoslavia's material commitments to anti-colonial projects were significant. Aid to liberation movements across Africa and Asia took the form of military expertise and equipment, but also (limited) political acknowledgement and advocacy on the world stage, leading leaders and onlookers to proclaim Yugoslavia a more steadfast, less self-interested

international ally than the Soviet Union, and occasionally than other postcolonial nations (Byrne 2015; Vučetić 2019). Yugoslav actors understood the necessity of winning information wars alongside military ones. Vučetić (2019: 1330) examines Yugoslav film cooperation in the context of official support for the Algerian FLN and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), where, in her telling, Yugoslav 'film cameras began to arrive alongside the weapons and to shoot almost as effectively'. Despite abundant offers of Chinese, East German, and Soviet assistance and the comparative modesty of Yugoslav capacities, documentary films made by *Filmske Novosti* were in high demand, a fact contemporary actor attributed to the high quality of Yugoslav productions and filmmakers' willingness to decentre their own role in the narrative. Downplaying socialist ideological content, Yugoslav filmmakers were committed to 'valuing national provenance in every film component, including language—Arabic, Bambara or Swahili' and offering sincere, realistic depictions of everyday life among aspiring national subjects (Vučetić 2019: 135). This reflected one of the principle tenets of nonalignment, namely, respect for self-determination in all spheres, including the preservation of cultural identity.

'Nonaligned modernism' against cultural imperialism

Yugoslav ideological commitments to solidarity reverberated in the arenas of art, architecture and cultural policy. Applied to the field of culture, the Yugoslav doctrine of 'coexistence' sought to 'preserve the autonomy of national or regional cultures from both the historical weight of colonialism and the contemporary ideological pressures of the Cold War powers' (Robertson 2020: 408). From the 1950s onwards, museums and art galleries across the republics sought to expose domestic publics to nonaligned art, sometimes with state approval, other times through the autonomous initiative of curators and directors (Piškur 2019). Over time, the public representation of extra-European worlds coalesced around key institutions, including Belgrade's Museum of African Art and the Josip Broz Tito Gallery for the Art of Non-Aligned Countries in Titograd, established to serve as a common institution for the countries of the NAM. The unusual provenance of these institutions' permanent collections of African, Asian, and Latin American Art—built not on the foundation of colonial plunder, but through gifts offered in solidarity—informed their curatorial practices, as demonstrated by the efforts of the Museum of African Art to promote itself as Europe's only anticolonial museum (cf. Sladojević 2012).

Videkanić (2020: 151) argues that transfers facilitated by the NAM amounted to a 'parallel art system' that challenged the cultural hegemony of Western international modernism by offering a 'counter-image of the Third World and indigenous cultures' in Yugoslavia while also fostering the construction of art infrastructures in developing countries. Examining the International Biennial of Graphic Arts, established in Ljubljana in 1955, Videkanić argues that its organizers' efforts to provide platforms for artists from the 'developing' world in order to sensitize Yugoslav and European publics to an alternate modernist canon anticipated the Western discovery of 'diversity' in art as a normative good by two

decades. Again, solidarity aligned with the pursuit of legitimacy for a small institution on the European margin: representing itself as a 'bridge' between East and West, Ljubljana manoeuvred to become a stop on the art world's biennial route by recruiting high-calibre Western artists, then leveraged its new notoriety to promote artists from the nonaligned world (and to do so cheaply, graphic art being easy to transport). Its 'cultural diplomacy' in turn made the biennial a candidate for state funding. A product of complex negotiations, the Ljubljana Biennial is paradigmatic of a unique, conjunctural cultural formation that Videkanić labels 'nonaligned modernism': 'a form of non-Western modernism that hovered between international modernist aesthetic principles and the political and social demands placed on it' by Yugoslav solidarity projects (ibid. 2020: 188; cf. Piškur and Merhar 2019).

Travelling architectural forms, referred to by Kulić (2014a) as experiments in 'mobile design,' are another example of alternative circuits for the dissemination and adaptation of modernism brought into being through Cold War entanglements. If Yugoslav architectural and urban planning practices rejected socialist realism in favour of international modernism, synthesizing the visual lexicon of the former with the political commitments of self-managing socialism, nonalignment added another element to the mix (Robertson 2020; Videkanić 2020). Analysing the unlikely transposition of architectural plans for an unrealized hotel on Croatia's Adriatic Coast to 1970s Baghdad, Kulić (ibid. 2014a: 51) shows how 'nonalignment opened up new paths for the circulation of modern architecture, showing that modernity no longer had to 'flow' unidirectionally from the West to the East and from the North to the South. Instead, it could also take alternative, more convoluted paths, which circumvented the hierarchical structures of colonialism or superpower hegemonies, thus connecting the developing world laterally'.

Yugoslav architects and planners working in nonaligned countries attended to local forms, viewing the dissemination of modernism not as a 'vehicle for homogenizing globalization' but as an opportunity to cement emerging articulations of national selfhood in concrete and steel (Sekulić 2017: 225). Sekulić (2017) shows how Belgrade-based construction firm Energoprojekt sought to reconcile competing prerogatives. Practicality, functionality, and the imperative to operate at low cost vied with the need to offer convincing displays of developmentalist modernism in line with Yugoslavia's promises to nonaligned partners and architects' commitments to maintaining the integrity of local landscapes and 'national cultures. The results were dramatic monuments such as the Lagos World Trade Fair, who's centrifugally arranged federal pavilions, built relatively cheaply and efficiently using prefabricated elements, mimicked the circular compounds architect Zoran Bojović had observed in his travels across Nigeria's Kano State. In this project and others, ideological commitments were hedged against profits: materials, skilled labour, and machinery were imported from Yugoslavia, while unskilled labour was recruited locally, with no attempt to integrate local workers into companies' self-management structures (Sekulić 2017). Such examples demonstrate the specificity of relations between nonaligned partners: if other states proffered the 'gift of urban design' to developing countries, bluntly transposing static models from Soviet, Chinese, or East German contexts to the streets of Hanoi or Baghdad in

demonstrations of benevolence (Schwenkel 2014c), Yugoslav engagements were more ambiguous, fusing genuine commitments to promoting national sovereignty and the equality of cultures through modernization with economic imperatives. Such tensions would become more evident in the shifting economic environment of the 1970s and 1980s.

'Collective self-reliance' and the fight for economic equality

The success of political independence movements across the Third World signalled a shift in the centre of gravity of the NAM: 'a rebellion against colonialism turned into a rebellion against the prevailing international order and in particular its economic mores' (Spaskovska 2018: 332). As Bockman (2015) has shown, states from the 1960s sought to reshape the existing, neo-colonial relations of the capitalist economy radically and to instate a 'New International Economic Order' (NIEO) based on cooperative principles, a truly globalizing project launched from the platforms of the NAM, the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the Group of 77 Developing Countries (G77). From the 1950s onwards, Yugoslavia embarked on a program of intensive economic, 'technical', and development cooperation with nonaligned countries in a project for 'collective self-reliance' (Spaskovska 2018). As in the fight for political independence, Yugoslavia presented itself as a natural ally to states embarking on the path of industrial development, urbanization, and infrastructural investment, offering expertise from a partner 'further along' the road to modernity whose own rapid post-war industrialization was a recent memory. Having rebuilt their own country, Yugoslav construction firms flocked to the Middle East and North Africa in search of markets and opportunities to fulfil their country's 'political obligations' to the developing world (ibid. 2018: 338). At its height, Yugoslavia's transnational construction industry employed tens of thousands of Yugoslav workers abroad on projects with a total value of works estimated at over USD 500 million (ibid. 2018: 334, citing Jakovljević 1988).

Bilateral frameworks and companies' networks facilitated a 'flow of experts and blue-collar labour on a relatively unprecedented scale for a small, developing European country' (ibid. 2018: 337). Boasting a workforce whose engineering talent was enriched by high wages and companies' self-managing structures, Yugoslav enterprises set out to demonstrate the superiority of Yugoslavia's economic system to Western liberal capitalism *and* Soviet state socialism. Through oral histories, Spaskovska (2018) demonstrates that the rank and file of Yugoslav construction companies in the Middle East were genuinely committed to the project of exporting self-management. Life on Yugoslav construction sites abroad centred around the welfare of workers, who in turn sought to extend the sphere of equitable relations in their dealings with local workforces.

By the mid-1970s, nonaligned exchanges reached all-time heights, with Yugoslav enterprises cooperating across the developing world. The formal political coalition of the NAM, however, was in decline, plagued by diverging political projects and the intractability of neo-colonial economic relations. In the wake of global economic crisis, developing countries had begun to turn 'from multilateral global

connections and from south-south collective self-reliance toward north-south bilateral agreements reminiscent of colonial bilateral relationships' (Bockman 2015: 122). In Yugoslavia, economic liberalizations and the turn towards 'market socialism' in response to mounting debt altered the conditions for solidarity. Parallel transformations in labour regimes reflected the shifting balance of Yugoslav relations with the West and the developing world: less equitable labour practices of Yugoslav enterprises abroad, which began jettisoning self-managing Yugoslav workers for low-cost local or imported labour, can be read alongside an uptick in the export of Yugoslav 'guest workers' to Western Europe (Spaskovska 2018; Brunnbauer 2019). In a shifting global economic environment, Yugoslavia began to turn away from the developing world and 'back' towards Europe via new frameworks for regional and European cooperation (Kilibarda 2010: 38).

At the close of the Cold War, the material links explored above read like characters inhabiting a single storyline ending in disaster. 'Immersed in an interlocked chain of debt, global decline in oil prices, conflict and sanctions,' many nonaligned countries had by the 1990s become 'casualties in their own pursuit of collective self-reliance' (Spaskovska 2018: 344ff). Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, 10,000 Yugoslav workers were evacuated from the Middle East, resettled, and reemployed by companies facing financial pressure and owed outstanding debts by partners across the South. Buildings and infrastructures, proud totems of the modernizing postcolonial state, found undignified and uncertain paths forward in a post-Cold War era, as the aspirations of their creators fell victim to new political projects or the vagaries of the global economy. The Findeco Office tower, built by Energoprojekt in Lusaka in the mid-1970s as the price of copper reached its peak, was rendered virtually obsolete even before its completion as prices plummeted, sending Zambia into lasting economic recession (Sekulić 2017: 224). Baghdad's 'Babylon Hotel', a symbol of Arab nationalism and nonaligned unity, found a dystopian afterlife as a home base for foreign correspondents in the First Gulf War before being purchased by a U.S.-based hotel chain (Kulić 2014a). Even the travel writings of Yugoslavs abroad register the transition from an era of 'Afro-optimism' to one of 'Afro pessimism'; discovering a newly dangerous world materializing around them, writers' enthusiastic participation in progressive political movements gives way to more muted projects of documentation and testimony (Radonjić 2016). Of course, for Yugoslavs, the troubles had only just begun.

Mutually Assured Destruction: Realigning Yugoslavia

Decades before Yugoslavia came apart, leading to brutal regional wars and the total restructuring of life in its successor states, Edvard Kardelj had posited the inextricable entanglement of three Yugoslav ideals: self-management, 'brotherhood and unity,' and nonalignment. In the decade following Tito's death in 1980, nationalist politicians rose within the party structure, a reckoning with the spectacular accumulation of debt that had artificially propped up the Yugoslav economy became unavoidable, and the Yugoslav project began to come apart at these seams. To observers embedded in nonaligned networks, the simultaneous 'failure' of states and modernizing projects at opposite ends of the

nonaligned world was more than coincidental, lending a bitter irony to the NAM's assertions of commonality among its members. As pointed out by Darryl Li's (2020) interlocutors, individuals positioned between Middle Eastern and Balkan states, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and allied nation-states across the South with the worldwide collapse of state socialism and the rise of ethnic and sectarian politics are fundamentally interrelated. Nonalignment writes Li (2020: 158), 'was imagined as a quilt stitching together patches already made, but which torn apart would bleed from all sorts of unexpected places.

The vanishing of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia foreclosed possibilities for solidarity with the global South. Scores of analyses have examined the increasing salience of ethnicity in Yugoslav politics in the 1970s and 1980s, yet few have considered simultaneous shifts in racial discourses as part and parcel of this trend. Kilibarda (2010: 40) reads the geopolitical 'realignment' of Yugoslavia with the Euro-Atlantic world discursively as an attempt by elites to 'enact a 'European' subject position that was defined against the 'Balkan' and 'oriental' locally and against the 'nonaligned' internationally' (see also Bakić Hayden 1995). Centring race in her analysis, Baker (2018: n.p.) suggests that nationalist intellectuals' attempts to imagine 'returns to Europe' in late socialism reflected the revitalization of whiteness as a category of identification across Eastern European states: rejecting Soviet socialism as an 'Asian' imposition, states turned away from a discourse of solidarity with the non-white world. This casting off of nonaligned entanglements had real implications for people caught up in the networks of the NAM. Li (2020) shows how Arab students and workers in Yugoslavia were transformed from guests embodying nonaligned cosmopolitanism to suspect and dangerous interlopers. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina 'implicitly discredited Non-Alignment, thereby repolarizing racial categories alongside nationalist ones: as Yugoslavs came to identify first and foremost as Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks instead, the perception of Arabs rapidly shifted from symbols of socialist solidarity to bearers of a rootless Muslimness' (ibid. 2020: 151).

It is worth dwelling on the disappearance, persistence and mutation of nonaligned mobilities after the decline of the NAM as a coherent political project. In the changing environment of the 1990s, some pathways of nonaligned cooperation disappeared. With the splintering of Yugoslavia, giants like Tanjug and Energoprojekt would shrink to a fraction of their former size, while state channels of cultural cooperation dematerialized overnight. In a dramatic twist of fate, the official 'Fonds of Solidarity with Non-Aligned and Developing Countries, 1975-1991' housed in the Archives of Yugoslavia was destroyed in the April 1999 NATO bombings of Belgrade in connection with the war in Kosovo, permanently excising a portion of the experience of nonalignment from the historical record. Such seismic erasures prompted smaller, subversive acts of recuperation. Critic Nada Beroš (2019) recounts how, in 1995, a formal invitation from the organizers of an exhibition on the art of nonaligned countries sponsored by the Indonesian government arrived in Zagreb, a startling anachronism in a country embroiled in war. Beroš's quiet selection of a number of anti-nationalist artists to participate in the Jakarta event as formal representatives of the Croatian state slipped 'under the radar' of

government bodies; to date, no documentation of the artists' participation can be found in the archives (Beroš 2019: 118).

Other nonaligned linkages were repurposed to foster new ideological projects. Li (2020) has demonstrated how even before its collapse, nonalignment served as a conduit for a very different universalist project by inadvertently enabling exchanges between Muslim nationalists in Yugoslavia and Middle Eastern Islamist movements. These alliances would prove significant in wartime Bosnia and Herzegovina, when they facilitated the journeys of foreign fighters as well as sizable transfers in humanitarian aid. Finally, as pathways of nonaligned mobility vanished, individuals from across the nonaligned world were brought together in new and bitterly different migratory circuits, as refugees fleeing war-torn states for the West or as similarly immobilized subjects trapped beyond Europe's hardening external borders. Whether shadows of past solidarities influenced relations between Bosnians and Somalis, Kosovars and Iraqis who shared refugee accommodations, laboured under the radar as cleaning women and construction workers, and navigated indifferent bureaucracies in Austria, Germany, and Sweden in the 1990s, is a question thus far unexplored. My own research, however, suggests that some Bosnians in Germany sought consciously to differentiate themselves from refugees with darker skin, emphasizing their origins in a 'developed' European country in order to decentre their own evident precarity as 'tolerated' (*geduldete*) wards of the German state. If the end of the Cold War produced new forms of exclusion across Eastern and Western Europe, former Yugoslavs would experience and participate in these processes at home and abroad; their story is part of the story of new racial hierarchies and the politics of fear that would define Europe in a post-Cold War era (Chin et al. 2009; Schwenkel 2014a).

II. The Afterlives of Nonalignment

In 2019, the exhibition *Projekat Jugoslavija (Project Yugoslavia)* opened in the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade. Initiated in the midst of a major overhaul of the museum's unique material archive, the exhibition featured short videos of 100 public intellectuals from across the Yugoslav successor states reflecting on the significance of discrete objects from the collections (Adamović and Pekić n.d.).[3] Nonalignment was a central theme, reflecting the provenance of many of the artefacts housed at the museum. One participant was Zlatko Dizdarević, a Bosnian journalist turned diplomat who once accompanied Tito on foreign journeys. Dizdarević spoke of the history of nonalignment in a tone of hesitant defiance, countering the urge to be apologetic or self-effacing in the face of expected ridicule and dismissal (see Petrović 2016; Gilbert 2019). Weaving between past and present, his account of the NAM and his career within its circuits is brave but muted, subdued by the disappointment and humiliation that attends the present:

> It's quite painful for people of my generation to talk about what used to be. Because sentiments and nostalgia are, I imagine, natural human qualities. Being confronted with today's reality compared with what it was like is fairly brutal (…) As a journalist, I had

> the opportunity to deal with the actual foreign policy of Yugoslavia (…) and I witnessed what that represented in the world. What first comes to mind when I think of those years is how respected we were. Not only at conferences and in political affairs and engagements but how truly respected we were in the streets of the cities we visited throughout the world, where we were treated with the utmost respect. I think it's a normal fact in life that a man cares about his dignity. What I recall now is that we really had dignity and felt that we had dignity. We felt that we were identified as good, that people associated us with integrity.

Dizdarević's narrative poignantly foregrounds the affective qualities that attend to remembrances of the past: pride, dignity, the gratification of being held in high esteem by representatives of a wider world. This is followed by a rueful discussion of the crushing loss of self-respect engendered by the postsocialist 'fall from grace' (Jansen 2009): 'I have a saying—it seems like a joke but unfortunately it is not—that you used to only have to show your passport at the airport and they'd say, you pass, and all the rest of you, wait at the side. Today all the others are let through, and we have to wait.' Attributing present degradations to the absence of a 'system' in Bosnia and Herzegovina ('because we don't have a state, we have neither a domestic nor a foreign policy'), Dizdarević posits his remembrances as a form of self-preservation and exercise in truth-telling that produces a critical intervention against pernicious forms of inaction at work in the society around him:

> What's even worse and harder to bear than having it all and losing it is that we as people are growing accustomed to how things are. We are beginning to accept that we are irrelevant. Back then, we did not accept this. And the reason we didn't accept it is because we had all the arguments against it. I think that in an elementary human sense, that this is something that's essential. And it's what I carry inside me as a feeling and as a form of knowledge. Regardless of what other people might think of it.

Since the mass project of building socialist utopia disappeared from Yugoslavia, uneven, partitioned landscapes of precarity have emerged in its wake. The recent anthropology of the region explores how material precarity, manifesting across the post-Yugoslav space in the context of state withdrawal or indifference, is intimately entwined with emic perceptions of moral, ontological, and even bodily precariousness (Jansen 2005; Greenberg 2011; Jašarević 2017; Rajković 2018). These investigations reveal the degree to which visions of 'normalcy' and prosperity are defined in reference to the socialist past. Contemporary 'yearnings for the state' (Jansen 2015) are grounded in the specific experience of life in the *Yugoslav* state, whose ethics of care, high material standards, and nodes of state-sponsored sociality prescribed the collectively articulated set of qualities that defined 'a life worth living', producing expectations of the future to which the present has dishearteningly failed to live up. Former Yugoslavs' expressions of discontent find a rhetorical foothold in the lifeworlds of the past: by calling up quotidian material practices, from guaranteed vacations on the Adriatic coast (now unaffordable), to daily routines of enacting citizenship, solidarity, and agency as self-managing employees at the local textile factory (now closed), former socialist citizens remember a world more firmly within their grasp (see Bonfiglioli 2019). The past recalls material, but also temporal security and agency: stable rhythms

and predictable life trajectories of a bygone era contrast with present-day uncertainty and arrhythmia.

Dizdarević's testimony is a striking indication of how memories of a better, more humane past—a past that had a future (Dzenovska 2020)—are situated at multiple scales and involve expansive geographies, tying prosperity in the hyper-local spaces of the workplace, the market, or the school to dignity on the world stage. In the first section of this work, I argued that the Yugoslav project must be defined with reference to global entanglements. If nonaligned mobilities were a site at which Yugoslav identity emerged—if 'Yugoslavia was a state whose sovereignty was most apparent when its citizens were mobile' (Greenberg 2011: 90)—this identity was also disseminated and projected elsewhere, not least to Eastern and Western Europe, via the travels of Yugoslavs and Europeans in the context of a vibrant post-war tourism industry (Greenberg 2011; Kulić 2014a). Seen in this light, it is unsurprising that some of the most striking articulations of post-Yugoslav malaise evoke the relative immobility of post-Yugoslav citizenries, a reflection of the post-Cold War reorganization of imaginaries of national prestige and power. Once, possession of the famed 'red passport' entailed the privilege of unrestricted movement across East and West, marking Yugoslav travellers as uniquely welcome guests; by the twenty-first century, restrictive mobility regimes, personified in visa queues and heightened border scrutiny, demonstrated the heights from which ex-Yugoslav citizens had fallen in the European imagination (Jansen 2009; Greenberg 2011). Experiences of 'spatiotemporal entrapment' (Jansen 2009) on the margins of the EU go hand in hand with new, precarious forms of mobility, as ever greater numbers of former Yugoslavs are incorporated into Western European regimes of migrant labour, leaving behind aging towns and emptying villages. (Ex-)Yugoslav travellers have gone from mobile personifications of cosmopolitan internationalism, to unwanted representatives of minor Balkan nations suspended in seemingly endless efforts to 'join Europe'.

Against trivializing readings of 'nostalgia' that fail to discern 'other historical emotions'— 'humour, embarrassment, even joy' (Gilbert 2019: 295; see Petrović 2018), the recent ethnography of Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular registers the urge to envision history as a reservoir of affective, aesthetic, and hence also political content, to discern in its invocation transformative forms of social solidarity in the making (Biehl and Locke 2010; Jašarević 2015; Gilbert 2019). Permeating these accounts is a sense that the Yugoslav past has become newly resonant, as if certain memories may dwell, hibernating, under the surface of individual and collective consciousness until the time is ripe for their re-emergence. For Kurtović (2019: 22), archiving projects revitalizing Yugoslav women's antifascist struggle and worker's associational life are evidence of 'a shift in the historical self-understanding' of local activists and publics. Such exercises go beyond ubiquitous references to material prosperity and socialist camaraderie by attempting to access the direct ideological content of past projects; yet in the process, activists discover that 'there is nothing straightforward about the relationship between history and political action' (Kurtović and Sargsyan 2019: 3; see Dzenovska and De Genova 2018). While certain pasts seem to speak in particular ways to certain presents, it is tantalizingly and perhaps alluringly unclear where such conjunctures lead.

It is with this uncertainty in mind that I turn to the significance of nonalignment in the public imagination in post-socialist former Yugoslavia. My survey in Part I of what is still an emerging historiography of the NAM's material exchanges reflects resurgent interest in this aspect of Yugoslav socialist and global history, yet clearly this interest is not confined to scholarly circles. Nor does it treat nonalignment solely as a historical phenomenon, for like activist archives (or seaside vacations), the NAM and its exchanges are also potent sites of memory (Nora 1984; Halbwachs 1992). In the following, I examine recent museum exhibitions that explore nonalignment and its afterlives to launch interventions that are more or less overtly political. Without delving into the relationship between museal representation as a node of (elite) public discourse and broader social processes, I read these exhibitions as signs of emerging demands for the reclamation of the NAM and its material histories.

Musealising the history of Yugoslav nonalignment on the terrain of the successor states is a fraught task. Spaskovska (2014: 507) outlines the difficulty of framing 'the Yugoslav story in a context where Yugoslav time is historical, while the (post)Yugoslav space and the many people who inhabit(ed) that time and space still exist'. Official curatorial stances of critical distance or 'objectivity', often enacted through irony or humour, can alienate publics from their own experiences and affective orientations towards the past. Petrović (2016) points out that museal narrations of the Yugoslav have tended to privilege material histories of socialist commodities or artefacts of popular culture, downplaying expressly political messages; conversely, an outsized focus among intellectuals on the post-Yugoslav left on the ideological content of Yugoslavism threatens to strip this past of affect and emotion (Petrović 2013). How do recent efforts to musealise nonalignment resolve the gap between ideological aspirations and decades of lived experiences? How are intellectual and material histories reconciled? More broadly: whence—and whither—this sudden interest in a political project long pronounced dead?

Exhibiting the NAM

In 2017, the exhibition *Tito u Africi—slike solidarnosti* (*Tito in Africa: Picturing Solidarity*) opened at the Museum of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, drawing on the museum's vast photographic archive to present Tito's journeys across the continent to a public audience. Photographs featured Tito alongside African hosts, exchanging gifts, splendid in military regalia; visiting universities, power plants, and sites of anti-colonial victories; hunting game; greeting children waving small flags adorned with his image. Confronted with the ambiguity of these encounters, audiences were encouraged to imagine the photographic evidence in conversation with official rhetoric and engage with prickly questions of solidarity, performance, and the cult of personality. Twenty minutes away by foot, the Museum of African Art was raising similar questions in the exhibition *Nyimpa kor ndzidzi—Čovek ne može opstati sam* (*Nyimpa Kor Ndzidzi—One Man, No Chop*, with the Serbian translating directly to 'Man cannot survive alone'). The exhibition sought to historicize the museum's collections by foregrounding the unique circumstances of its creation as 'Europe's only anti-colonial museum' within the circuits of the

NAM (Museum of African Art n.d.). Both exhibitions revisited material histories, engaging only briefly with contemporary meanings of the NAM.

This latter inheritance was on display in *Projekat Jugoslavija* the following year, when a full-scale renovation of the Museum of Yugoslavia's collections offered an opportunity to re-examine the museum's complex and revealing institutional history (cf. Manojlović-Pintar and Ignjatović 2013; Vasiljević, Kastratović Ristić, and Cvijović n.d.). The series of videos in which Zlatko Dizdarević's testimony featured displayed the full affective and emotional force of Yugoslav and nonaligned pasts for the project's participants, whose individual biographies marked them as unapologetically partial custodians of a past to be carefully guarded and recklessly invoked. Former journalists and diplomats, they seem caught off guard by the revelation of their own memories. Another participant, Bogdan Osolnik, recalled in a tone of palpable discovery the 'incredible pride' with which he took part in international summits, the feeling of having been a part of 'something special': an attempt 'to allow the world to turn to progress instead of devastation'. His account is permeated by a powerful sense of shattered agency, the lost ability to actualize a positive vision of the world and one's place in it. Whereas formerly, this agency flowed down from state institutions and rhetoric to ordinary Yugoslavs at work in the world, today, state impotence produces agentive paralysis in citizens (Greenberg 2011; Jansen 2014; Rajković 2018). In the process, the world has grown smaller and narrower: preoccupied by troubles individual and national, 'people today hardly remember nonalignment'.

While these are undoubtedly personalized elite memories, their discovery in the halls of an institution tasked with narrating and mediating the Yugoslav past in the Serbian nation-state suggests a shift in attitudes towards nonaligned histories. To museumgoers, these public acts of remembrance were likely dramatized by *Projekat Jugoslavija*'s juxtaposition with a very different treatment of post Yugoslav marginalization. The exhibition *Devedeseti: Rečnik migracije* (*The Nineties: A Glossary of Migrations*) opened at the Museum of Yugoslavia around the same time as *Projekat Jugoslavija*. Bringing together artists and activists, the exhibition addressed intersecting movements of people across and beyond the post-Yugoslav space in the turbulent decade of the 1990s. Contributions from former refugees and migrants displayed the dehumanizing effects of a then still consolidating European border regime, offering another, different framing of the post-Cold War reordering of global geopolitical hierarchies. From one gallery to the next, Yugoslavs were transformed from mobile modernizers to shadowy interlopers, unmoored refugees, and clandestine labour.

Finally, I come to the exhibition *Southern Constellations: Poetics of the Nonaligned*, which opened at the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova in Ljubljana in 2019, and with which this paper opened. Its exploration of the NAM went beyond historicized representations of the nonaligned past through musealized material objects and narrated personal histories. The exhibition featured meticulous documentation of the NAM's material exchanges in historical exhibits on Yugoslav cultural and architectural cooperation with the nonaligned world. *Southern Constellations* also served as a soul

searching exercise for participating ex-Yugoslav cultural institutions, for in loaning artefacts from their collections, they offered up their own mutating institutional histories for public consideration. Visitors could re-examine, for example, the heritage of the Josip Broz Tito Gallery for the Art of Non-Aligned Countries, founded in Titograd (Podgorica) in 1984 as the central cultural institution of the NAM. Its diverse collections, gifted by individual member countries, were discretely folded in 1995 into the Contemporary Art Centre of Montenegro. The setting aside of the gallery's uniquely transnational institutional brief for a more conventional vision of the museum as repository of national heritage reflected processes of re-territorialisation in former Yugoslavia (Videkanić 2020).

Southern Constellations incorporated works of contemporary art alongside historical exhibits, intimate and contemplative treatments of the nonaligned legacy from a twenty-first-century vantage point. One artist brought a personal artefact—a fifty-year-old postcard addressed to his father by an Egyptian colleague in broken Serbo-Croatian—to his exploration of friendship and solidarity across continents. In *Spectre*, a video installation shot on Tito's yacht, Galeb, Bosnian-Slovenian artist Ibro Hasanović explored 'the deserted, empty remains of a glorious history, progress, journeys, representations of modernism, enclosed spaces, spaces of fiction' while presenting 'glimpses…of the true destiny of the ship, which is to become a commodified tourist attraction' (Benčić, cited in Soban 2019: 133). Crucially, perspectives on nonalignment from beyond (former) Yugoslavia were represented as well. Naeem Mohaimen's three-channel film *Two Meetings and a Funeral* explored the erosion of socialist, decolonizing and Third World projects by juxtaposing footage from the 1973 NAM summit in Algeria and the 1974 meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in Pakistan. In a group exhibition by Indonesian artists, Sekarputi Sidhiwati playfully revisited the spirit of Bandung in fragments of ceramic art, one embossed with the reproach, 'we used to be friends.

Southern Constellations claimed nonalignment as a starting point, yet was all over the map geographically, thematically, and temporally, featuring exhibits with more or less easily discernible links to the NAM. Some installations made no direct allusions to nonalignment whatsoever, instead highlighting themes of racialized (neo)colonial exploitation past and present; the violence of European bordering practices and the perils facing the world's displaced; and life in the wake of the apparent departure of postcolonial modernity. The startlingly wide scope of the exhibition was the essence of its political contentions: by joining together intellectual, political, affective, and material histories, offering perspectives from across the post-Cold War world, and merging past, present, and future in the space of the gallery, the exhibition argued for the salience of nonalignment in confronting interlinked and mutually reinforcing contemporary crises. Here, 'nonalignment' was a concept by no means neatly bounded. Rather, it was conceived alternately as a set of ideological principles ('solidarity,' 'friendship') only loosely related to the historical circumstances of their formation; as concrete material relations manifesting in a particular historical window of opportunity, whose aftershocks permeate that period's temporal boundaries; and as a site of memory in the present day. Though different, all three

manifestations of 'nonalignment' were— dizzyingly—presented as invested with their own particular political potential.

Conclusion: 'A Nonaligned Contemporaneity'

Recent revitalizations suggest that in former Yugoslavia, 'nonalignment' is beginning to signify something more than a historical phenomenon or set of ideas and relations bound inextricably to the political and material context of their emergence. In 2016, prior to the exhibitions explored above, a number of ex-Yugoslav cultural institutions came together in Belgrade to theorize the 'Non-Aligned Museum' (*Nesvrstani muzej*). Coinciding with the 55th anniversary of the 1961 Belgrade Conference, the 'Non-Aligned Museum Conference' re-examined the 'the potential of the legacy of the Non-Aligned Movement in the development of a more just, more solidarity-driven and freer future world' (Museum of Yugoslav History 2016). Among contemporary injustices to be addressed by rehabilitating nonalignment were 'cultural hegemony, [the] role of multinational corporations, [the] expansion of terrorism, xenophobia, nationalism, mass displacement, [and] environmental catastrophes' (ibid. 2016). What can we conclude from the suggestion that the memory of the NAM can help us confront this sweeping catalogue of contemporary global dilemmas? Does the attempt to project 'nonalignment' into the twenty-first century by divorcing it from its historical moorings and 'spatiotemporal situatedness' (Spaskovska 2014: 242) risk stripping it of its substance? Moreover, to paraphrase historian Antoinette Burton (2014: 244) on the afterlives of Bandung, can we assume any 'natural or necessary connection between the histories we have and the politics we want'?

The NAM was a complex and ambiguous historical formation: in the words of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, although it was 'a progressive movement, it was not a movement of progressive states' (Prashad 2007: 113). A transnational 'imagined community' designed primarily to protect emerging nationalisms, the NAM—like these nationalisms—was flawed by its dependence on the towering figures that personified so many projects of postcolonial independence (Gupta 1992). As the Yugoslav case shows, intra-movement solidarities bridging 'East' and 'South' failed to fully interrogate the 'psychosomatic effects' of colonial structures of thought (Karkov and Valiavicharska 2018: 809); the NAM reflected this legacy, even as actors within its circuits mounted formidable attempts to destabilize global hegemonies of power. Yet mobile encounters and the cultural products around which they coalesced forged lasting bonds across social, historical and cultural divides, linking places and people occupying very different locations on the global map of the Cold War; in the process, these maps were at least partially redrawn, if only fleetingly. Contemporary readings of the NAM's solidarities must range considerations on the 'developmentalist underpinnings of socialist modernity and its complicity in the logic of global coloniality' (ibid. 2018: 786) against its considerable material legacies.

On the cultural terrain of the post-Yugoslav successor states, recalling 'nonalignment' is becoming a means of reclaiming forgotten emancipatory histories—personal and institutional—that matter

intimately to local publics in the present historical moment. Even here, the legacy of the NAM is contested: in the museum, the urge to recapture nonalignment as a 'pure' ideological project vies with attempts to recover nonaligned 'movements' historically as lived experience. Against the backdrop of post-socialist immobilization, stigmatization, and loss of agency, nonalignment recalls mobility, mutual respect, and international status. Yet we can go further. For memories of nonalignment also complicate what appears to be a binary choice between visions of the future often framed as oppositional in former Yugoslavia: the embrace of reactionary and exclusive nationalisms, on the one hand, and the historical inevitability of technocratic European integration and capitalist expansion, on the other (cf. Greenberg 2014). Well into the twenty-first century, as the boundary between 'European' and nationalist projects wavers erratically, the promise of uplift via European unity has faltered: citizenries caught in increasingly humiliating accession processes watch 'Europe' itself begin to come apart. Nonalignment recalls a time when citizens and states worked actively to forge a 'third way' by reshaping global geographies of power in the name of solidarity and shared fate. Invoking its memory serves as a humble reminder to demoralized citizenries that perhaps, they could be reshaped again.

[1] The NAM still exists today, yet its geopolitical significance is much reduced.
[2] On Bandung and for the recent political history of the NAM and other solidarity projects, see e.g. Bott et al. 2015; Dinkel 2015; Jakovina 2011; Kullaa 2012; Lee 2010; Lüthi 2016; Mišković et al. 2013; Prashad 2007; Westad 2007.
[3] The full video archive can be found online at <https://www.muzej-jugoslavije.org/projekat-jugoslavija/> (accessed 6 July 2020).

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