# Research Report June 2022 Open Society Archives

As a recipient of a Visegrad Scholarship, I carried out a stay in Budapest during the whole of June 2022 in order to conduct research at the Open Society Archives for the project "Imagining the Third World: Non-Alignment From the Outside". My main goal was to analyze the history of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), its evolution and its internal tensions, through the sources of Radio Free Europe, especially making use of press clippings and research reports coming from the Yugoslav collections. I was initially granted a 2-month scholarship to conduct such work, but for professional constraints, I was forced to reduce my research stay to one month. In discussion with Robert Parnica and Katalin Gadaros, I became aware that it would be possible to carry out the second month of my fellowship in the near future. Therefore, I plan to complete the second month of my work during the first semester of 2023.

During my stay in Budapest, I mainly worked with documents coming from the **Yugoslav Subject Files**. Although I initially intended to go through all boxes concerning Yugoslav non-alignment during the 1960s and 1970s, in the framework of this stay I focused mainly on the boxes concerning the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s.

During the first days of my visit I reviewed in detail the following dossiers:

# OSA 300-10-2 Yugoslav Subject Files I

# **BOX #285**

<u>Nicaragua, 1978-1985</u> Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1964-1968 [1 of 2]

# **BOX #286**

Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1964-1968 [2 of 2] Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1969 [1 of 2] Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1969 [2 of 2] Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1970 [1 of 3]

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# Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1970 [2 of 3]

# Non-Aligned (Foreign policy), 1970 [3 of 3]

These folders were extremely rich in press clippings, transcriptions, and research reports, all of which made me examine the materials in detail. I found interesting elements pointing to internal discussions in socialist Yugoslavia concerning the viability of NAM in the 1960s, debates between those who stressed the need to develop a "European policy" and those pushing for a "Third World" foreign policy, and also several sources that suggest that in effect most observers considered that the NAM was in crisis by the mid 1960s due to its internal contradictions, only to see the movement come back to life after 1968 and to a great extent due to Belgrade's efforts.

Moreover, my supervisor, Andras Mink, suggested that if I was interested in considering outside perceptions of NAM, I should take a look at the documents about non-alignment coming the Romanian collection. Given that I read Romanian, that I am personally interested in the history of Romanian socialism, and that Bucharest attempted to approach NAM in the 1970s, I took this suggestion with enthusiasm and I consequently consulted the following folders:

#### OSA 300-60-1 Romanian Unit Subject Files I

#### **BOX #293**

#### Foreign relations, relations with other countries, Non-aligned, 1968-1975

#### Foreign relations, relations with other countries, Non-aligned, 1975

These folders turned out to be very interesting. They gave me many hints to reflect upon how socialist Romania sought to instrumentalize NAM to enlarge its margin of action in spite of its allegiance to the Warsaw Pact, and how Belgrade supported this initiative during the 1970s, all of which suggests that Romania's role can shed light on interesting aspects of the history of NAM.

Finally, an unanticipated turn of events made me enlarge my research perspective. I was recently offred a position in Greece starting from next September in order to conduct a project that will assess the history of non-alignment in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. As a result, I decided to benefit from my access to the OSA collections to examine folders about Yugoslav relations with Greece and Cyprus:

Agustin Cosovschi

The folders are the following:

# OSA 300-10-2 Yugoslav Subject Files I BOX #104 Cyprus 1968-1981

# OSA 300-10-3 Yugoslav Subject Files II BOX #84

Yugo-Greek [Relations], 1962-1966

Yugo-Greek [Relations], 1970-1971

Yugo-Greek [Relations], 1972-1975

These folders were also very rich in spite of their relative smaller volume. As they contain not only Yugoslav sources, but also transcriptions from the Greek press and several research reports, these documents provide a useful vantage to consider Greece's and Cyprus' role in the region, and one that is especially useful to me at the moment given that I have limited access to sources in Greek for linguistic reasons.

All in all, my stay at the OSA was most productive. The vast amount of sources that I found here convinced me of the need to digitize a considerable part of the documents: in total, I took about 1000-1200 pictures. The stay also gave me the opportunity to have a more informed idea this archive's nature and contents, which will be most helpful for a forthcoming stay in which I will examine materials concerning non-alignment in the 1970s, other folders coming from the Romanian collection, and potentially also folders coming from the Bulgarian collection.

Agustin Cosovschi July 1, 2022