VISUALISING FRIENDSHIP: *LEDA*, LABOUR, AND THE MATERIAL POLITICS OF THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD

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This article offers a visual and archival study of the *Leda Footwear and Plastics Industry*, a self-managed shoe factory in socialist Yugoslavia where two generations of my family worked, tracing labour, leather, and plastic as material traces of transnational entanglements between Yugoslavia and Kenya. Drawing on the Micić family archive and employing the *Follow the Thing* method grounded in feminist materialist theory, it examines how the Non-Aligned World navigated colonial-imperial infrastructures in pursuit of decolonial economic strategies.[1] Through photographs, shoes, promotional objects, and production traces, the study reveals *Leda*'s practices as sites of ambivalent solidarity, gendered labour, and material contestation, where economic interest, friendship, and self-management intersected. Situating Cold War visual culture beyond East-West divisions, the article highlights the aesthetics and politics of the Non-Aligned Movement as enacted through the everyday work of my grandfather Vojislav Micić, whose labour materialised broader geopolitical, economic, and symbolic networks.

FAMILY ARCHIVES AND THE MATERIALITIES OF NON-ALIGNMENT

Despite its aspiration to alternative forms of internationalism, much of the existing scholarship on the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) has emerged from diasporic and scattered Yugoslav experience across the successor states, often building on the notion of Yugoslav exceptionalism as the power-structure within the Movement. Ongoing critical interventions have foregrounded the internal contradictions and tensions shaping Yugoslavia's non-aligned engagements. Sociologist Paul Stubbs characterises Yugoslavia as a "liminal hegemon," emphasising its ambivalent influence within the movement and the global power dynamics that conditioned both the possibilities and limits of transnational solidarity in postcolonial and (post)socialist contexts.[2] These claims draw attention to the fact that the ideals of political solidarity were frequently inconsistent with their uneven materially embedded manifestations in diplomacy, economic cooperation, knowledge production, and visual culture.[3] The existing research has largely relied on state-regulated portrayals of the NAM preserved imagery centered on officials and delegation visits.[4] Moving beyond centralised, state-commissioned representations requires a critical shift towards alternative visual narratives that challenge and complicate the intentionally selective preserved histories. Bridging global and personal histories by

1 For an elaborate description of the 'Follow the Thing' method, see: S. Sodero, A. Barron and L. Pottinger, "Follow the Thing" in *Methods for Change: Impactful Social Science Methodologies for 21st Century Problems* (Aspect and The University of Manchester, 2021).

2 Paul Stubbs, "Introduction: Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Contradictions and Contestations," in *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Social, Cultural, Political, and Economic Imaginaries*, ed. Paul Stubbs (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023), 4–21.

3 More information could be found in: Dubravka Sekulić, "Energoprojekt in Nigeria: Yugoslav Construction Companies in the Developing World," *Southeastern Europe* 41 (March 2017); Tamara Soban (ed.), *Southern Constellations: The Poetics of the Non-Aligned* (Museum of Contemporary Art Ljubljana, 2019).

4 Nemanja Radonjić, *Slika Afrike u Jugoslaviji* (Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2023).

consulting family archives of individuals affiliated with NAM offers a plurality of perspectives through which to trace the frictions between policy and representation, while acknowledging their unsystematic nature and rootedness in observation, remembrance, and lived experience.[5]

Countless Yugoslav families carry the material memory of the Non-Aligned World through preserved objects and inherited stories, including my own family members who worked at the *Leda* shoe factory. Yet the factory's history, deeply entwined with NAM networks, remains largely invisible in scholarship, revealing gaps in analyses of the material, labour, and visual dimensions of the Movement. The family archive persists in a dispersed, fragmentary state–scattered across attics, suitcases, and drawers–emerging less through deliberate collection than the contingent afterlife of everyday work. Incomplete and provisional, it exemplifies a non-archival logic: only photographs, occasionally grouped in envelopes, gesture towards intentional ordering. Today, it comprises over 200 items, including photographs, promotional ceramics and textiles, printed matter, notes, and leather and plastic shoes, with materials ranging from cow, goat, and calf leather to alligator, lizard, and snake skins in vibrant hues.

Leather and plastic within the archive signify generational engagements with Yugoslav non-alignment and evolving global trade. As documented in his working notes (14 December 1986 - 20 October 1988), my grandfather, a shoemaker, traveled across Yugoslavia, Kenya, and Egypt, honing leatherworking skills through NAM cooperation–an extraordinary circulation of labour preserved in photographs. My father, an economist, worked at the factory sourcing plastic from Germany and Italy, reflecting growing Western ties. These divergent pathways reveal shifting material flows and geopolitical alignments under self-managed socialism, with one generation embedded in NAM networks and the next increasingly engaged with the West, even as this article focuses on visual and material traces from the 1980s observed in the former factory premises in October 2024.

LEDA FOOTWEAR AND PLASTICS INDUSTRY

Established in 1959, *Fabrika obuće Knjaževac* (Knjaževac Shoe Factory) exemplified Yugoslavia's socialist industrialisation policies, embedded within the framework of the five-year plan for regional Yugoslav semi-periphery development. The factory began trial production in repurposed local buildings, such as a former green market and hunting club, and trained its workforce and technical management in six-month programmes at Belgrade's *Proleter* and *Petar Velebit* and, according to a research conversation, Vukovar *Borovo* shoe factories. In 1961, the factory was given its current name *Leda* "after the mythological beauty," which visualised the collective's desire to produce elegant, modern women's shoes.[6] According to the factory's publications, *Leda* was the first Yugoslav footwear company to adopt full two-shift production, driving technological

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Lina Džuverović, "Yugoslav Non-aligned Movement Solidarity Archive, the documents of Olja Džuverović," accessed September 30, 2025, https://www.dzuverovic.org/?path=/research/working-group/

6
'Female' and 'male' follow the archival terminology and do not imply gender.

improvements and, by 1972, expanding to produce plastic heels and manufacturing tools, completing its domestic footwear production cycle.[7] *Industrija obuće i plastike Leda* (Leda Footwear and Plastics Industry) sold materials to other domestic clients and introduced semi-finished goods (plastic shoe soles) and finished products like women's plastic footwear. In 1977, the factory became a self-managed enterprise composed of three OOURs (Basic Organisations of Associated Labour), a structural reorganisation aligned with Yugoslavia's broader self-management system.

Image 1. Jelena Micić, *Sala uzoraka/Sample Hall (Exhibition Detail)*: *30th Anniversary Leda catalogue*, 1991/2022, digital photography, Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, photo: Ivan Zupanc.

As described by historians Ljubica Spaskovska and Anna Calori, Yugoslavia's self-managed market socialism combined an outward drive for global integration with an inward focus on social ownership and worker participation. Inwardly, *Leda* backed sports, cultural programs, and seaside holidays in Ulcinj, while also providing welfare, housing, childcare, medical support, and education, shaping worker identification with *samodoprinos*, a system of collective self-contribution to community projects. Outwardly, Yugoslav enterprises expanded globally, aligning with the NAM and promoting self-reliance, equal exchange, and South-South cooperation, becoming desirable partners across the Cold War and North-South divide and reflecting an effort to reconcile market mechanisms with socialism.[8] By the early 1980s, *Leda* exported 50-66% of its production, with shoes branded "MADE IN LEDA" sold in the USSR, USA, UK, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria.[9] In 1980, it partnered with the French company *Kickers* and later with the British brand *Lee Cooper*, launching a tennis "white sport" club in 1985 Knjaževac to promote their athletic line. This dual orientation linked global competitiveness with internal solidarity, making enterprises both economic actors and carriers of Yugoslav values.[10]

7
Dragoslav Dimitrijević, *15 godina rada fabrike obuće 'Leda' u Knjaževcu* (Leda, 1976): 5.

8
Ljubica Spaskovska and Anna Calori, "A Nonaligned Business World: The Global Socialist Enterprise between Self-Management and Transnational Capitalism," *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 3 (August 2020): 8.

9
Dragoljub Sandić (ed.), *Industrija obuće i plastike 'Leda' Knjaževac – Yugoslavia* (Leda, 1986): 13.

10
Sandić, *Industrija obuće i plastike 'Leda' Knjaževac – Yugoslavia*, 10-12.

Page 19 of the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) passport belonging to my grandfather Vojislav Micić, features both printed and handwritten markings. A square-shaped, dark ink stamp from the British Embassy visa section authorises a visit to Kenya within three months from the date of issue, with the purpose of travel marked simply as "visit." Even though Kenya gained independence in 1963, the visa was issued by the British Vice-Consul and dated March 1st, 1980. Below, a fainter rectangular entry stamp from the Republic of Kenya confirms arrival, probably issued at Nairobi Airport.[11] The trip was likely organised by the Austrian travel agency *Touropa*, as indicated by German-language safari brochures and a flight ticket envelope.

Image 2a. Micić Archive, *Vojislav Micić and the Trade Partners*, 1980, analog photography, 9 x 13.2 cm.

Furthermore, the three temporally and spatially connected images from the trip depict a loosely structured, work-related gathering focused on inspecting and handling animal hides. In the first image, my grandfather stands with a group beside stacks of dried hides, the scene led by two Kenyan men in a hierarchised rapport. Some workers are shirtless or barefoot, their varied gazes reflecting uneven comfort with the camera. The second photograph, taken outside a storage area with metal doors, derives its stark sun-shadow contrasts from the day's heat, as Vojislav and a colleague assess a hide while workers exchange glances, one returning the camera's gaze. The third image is more dispersed: Vojislav appears contemplative or dissatisfied, while others register optimism, discomfort, or surprise–their expressions non-negotiably included in the posed composition.

As an instrument of empire, photography legitimised authority, naturalised racial hierarchies, and obscured

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In the early 1930s, Koloman Trčka helped establish the *Bata* factory in the Yugoslav town of Borovo. Between 1937 and 1939, during his assignment in what is now Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, Trčka oversaw leather procurement for *Bata* and documented his experience through a series of photographs offering a perspective on early global industrial networks. In the 1970s, Trčka served as a consultant for the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). To keep production costs low, *Bata* sourced materials such as leather, rubber, and cotton directly from Asia and Africa and between 1940 and 1950 established a tannery and leather factory in Limuru near Nairobi. See: Марија Милош, *Кенија, Танзанија и Уганда*: 1937-1937. *Фотографије Коломана Трчке* (Музеј афричке уметности, 2018): 20.

the violence of extraction, binding the medium to structures of domination and control.[12] The three sequential photographs echo this continuity: they recall scenes of colonial-era resource inspection while introducing an informal, non-generic atmosphere that subtly unsettles transcontinental imaginaries. In this way, they evoke a visual genealogy–from trade routes such as Trčka's leather procurement–while also pointing to altered conditions in which relations, though no longer formally colonial, persist in asymmetrical form.

Image 2b. Micić Archive, *Vojislav Micić and the Trade Partners*, 1980, analog photography, 9 x 13.2 cm.

Image 2c. Micić Archive, *Vojislav Micić and the Trade Partners*, 1980, analog photography, 9 x 13.2 cm.

Extending these dynamics to the broader patterns of transnational more-than-human exploitation, the photographs also highlight how animals already appear in a processed state–transformed into hides that supply

12 Daniel Steinbach and Robert S.G. Fletcher, "Introduction: Photography, Colonialism, and War: Five Exposures," *War & Society* 44, no. 2 (February 2025): 216.

raw material for factory production. As independent scholar Christian Stache explains, animals are treated as private property freely given by nature and deployed as means of production. As super-exploited beings, animals perform labour and produce products for free, their bodies fully used, bred, and killed industrially to generate animal-based commodities and profit.[13] The hides, ultimately deemed of "poor" quality, were dismissed as fit only for shoe interiors and ultimately went unused, highlighting how industrial standards determined which materials could circulate and which were discarded.[14]

LIONS, ELEPHANTS AND *A GOLDEN DOE*

Twenty years after *Leda*'s privatisation by the Italian investor *Falc East*, I visited the premises in October 2024. The outlet's interior incorporates adapted elements–burgundy glass pendants, white structural décor accented by neon bulbs, and dark blue-mauve plastic panels–reflecting a reconfigured post-socialist material and visual culture. Along a mirrored surface, stylised stuffed animal heads–a lion, elephant, bear, and giraffe–materialise a child-oriented design language evident in the *Naturino* line of kids' shoes. Behind a sculpture of SpongeBob, the American animated character, stands a Golden Doe statue encased in glass, their reflections casting a bluish hue over stacked cardboard boxes, suggesting the layering of past industrial symbolism with contemporary commercial aesthetics.

The visual materials from the digitised archive of the regional nearby factory *KTK Zaječar* (Leather and Textile Industrial Complex) include photographs of a shared exhibition booth and product displays with *Leda* at the *Moda u svetu* (Fashion in the World) Belgrade Fair in 1978.[15] In 1984, *Leda* received the prestigious *Zlatna košuta* (Golden Doe) award, as documented in posters preserved by the Ristić family and articles from the local newspaper *Knjaževačke novine*.[16] The imagery of the boot alongside the Golden Doe, once reproduced in posters echoing the original booth display, now resurfaces sporadically and out of context, transformed from a symbol of collective achievement into a material trace of a dismantled industrial past, revealing how this legacy has been largely forgotten, and its material traces marginalised within the post-industrial landscape.

Animals, both symbolically and materially, played a central role in *Leda*'s production and branding, most vividly through safari photographs from the Kenyan trip, accompanied by my grandfather's accounts. These images of lions, elephants, monkeys, and hippos illustrate how photography, as a means of colonisation, reinforces an anthropocentric worldview, others animals, and sustains colonial

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Christian Stache, "Conceptualising Animal Exploitation in Capitalism: Getting Terminology Straight," *Capital & Class* 44, no. 3 (September 2020): 412.

14
Zoran Micić (*Leda* Director of Plastics until 1995), interviewed by the author, Knjaževac, April 19, 2022.

15
Initiated in 2018 by theorist Vesna Madžoski and photographer Mikica Andrejić, the archive aims to preserve the industrial heritage of Zaječar and the Timočka Krajina region. See: "COLLECTION OF DIGITIZED PHOTOGRAPHS 'LEATHER AND TEXTILE INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (KTK)' about factory," SKVER Magazin, accessed December 6, 2024, https://www.skvermagazin.com/zbirka-ktk/.

16
"'Zlatna košuta' Ledi," *Knjaževačke novine* VII, no. 137, March 10, 1984, 1, 5, https://digitalnazbirka.biblio-knjazevac.org/novine-i-casopisi/knjazevacke-novine/442-knjazevacke-novine-list-socijalistickog-saveza-radnog-naroda-opstine-knjazevac-137.

domination over nature.[17] Beyond representation, some photographic processes themselves materially relied on animal products, while metaphorically positioning the camera as a weapon that "hunts" animals both literally and symbolically.[18] "Safari diplomacy," a concept introduced by historian Radina Vučetić through the analysis of presidential photographs and albums in the Museum of Yugoslavia, shows how Tito's African travels both resisted and reproduced colonial imaginaries. Though framed as visits of friendship and solidarity, these encounters relied on inherited colonial protocols, where safaris, gift-giving, and stereotypical objects visually staged the negotiation of power and friendship. Tito was celebrated as an anti-colonial leader, yet his image was still shaped by the very apparatus of colonial domination.[19]

Patterns observed in family-album animal photographs parallel the intertwining themes of mobility and trans-continental imagination shaped by late socialist travel to postcolonial Africa, where diplomatic gift-giving played a key role. In the study of the transfer of live animals from NAM countries to the menageries of Yugoslavia's Brioni residence, Tijana Vujošević introduces "animal and diplomacy affairs" to show how animals served as emblems of international friendship and material tokens of solidarity with partners from the "Economic South."[20] Acquiring, arranging, and displaying these animals mobilised colonial representational tropes, highlighting that Yugoslavia cultivated its NAM ties primarily through trade agreements rather than development loans–positioning animals as living symbols within a broader strategy of diplomatic exchange.[21]

17
Mary Shannon Johnstone, "Decolonizing Photography," Arts 12, no. 4 (July 2023): 6-7.

18
Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Rosetta Books LLC, 2005), 11.

19
Radina Vučetić, "Titova Afrika: reprezentacija moći na Titovim afričkim putovanjima," in *Tito u Africi: slike solidarnosti*, eds. Radina Vučetić and Pol Bets (Beograd: Muzej Jugoslavije, 2017), 42-43.

20
Tijana Vujošević, "On Animals and Seas: Menageries as Representations of Yugoslav Global and Local Space in the Cold War Era," *Cultural Geographies* 26, no. 1 (January 2019): 80.

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Seeking to reduce its reliance on Western markets, Yugoslavia sought to establish a competitive presence in less demanding markets, asserting its economic influence among newly decolonised nations. Yugoslavia did not only export raw materials and agricultural products at low prices, but now had the opportunity to obtain favorable terms for mostly monocultural, primary raw materials like cotton, oil, grains, wool, ore, and, as Bogetić mentioned, leather sourced from various countries such as Ethiopia, India and Indonesia. See: Dragan Bogetić, "'Jugoslovensko bekstvo iz Evrope'. Novi ekonomski prioriteti nesvrstane Jugoslavije sredinom 50-ih godina," *Istorija 20. veka*, no. 1 (2012): 163.

22
Shadi S. Neimneh, Nisreen M. Sawwa, and Marwan M. Obeidat, "Re-tellings of the Myth of Leda and the Swan: A Feminist Perspective," *Annals of Language and Literature* 1, no. 1 (October 2017): 33.

LEDA AND THE SWAN

The swan appears as a recurring motif in photographs, sculptures, logos, and promotional materials in both naturalistic and stylised forms, blurring the boundary between organic life and industrial imagination. Although the factory is named after Leda, its emphasis falls instead on the swan, a disproportionate reorientation that effaces the mythological figure, reducing it to an animal emblem. Given the mythological and gendered complexities of the *Leda and the Swan* motif, this strategy demands careful, nuanced analysis. While the myth recurs across art and literature, its meanings differ widely: from beautification and romanticisation, as in the case of the factory's name, to feminist critique and condemnation. The motif should not be read as merely aesthetic or ambiguously appealing; instead, it must be understood through gendered frameworks that expose its structural allegory of sexual violence, power asymmetry, and ambiguous consent.[22]

The swan's visual language continues inside the former factory canteen, where a large, unsigned tapestry still hangs. It presents a striking composition: a swan with outstretched wings emerges from a fiery nest or volcanic eruption, evoking the Yugoslav coat of arms. The tapestry's blue-green palette echoes the shimmering hues of peacock feathers, which were once a daily presence in the industrial landscape of *Leda*. The swan's raised wings resemble a heraldic emblem, and its body shares the vibrant, feathered texture of the peacocks. With its head lowered, the swan appears poised for ascent. The second tapestry, featured in both monographs in the general directors' office, presents a warm-colour composition dominated by a large brown globe marked with red meridians, anchoring the imagery to place and the Leda and the Swan myth. Within it crouches a stylised nude female figure in black, eyeless but animated by outstretched arms. A white swan leans close, its body patterned with red hearts echoed in the figure's hair. At the globe's center, a radiant sun diffuses yellow and orange light, intensifying the tapestry's elemental presence.

Image 3. Jelena Micić, *Leda Visit: Swan Tapestry*, October 23, 2024, digital photography.

Building on the argument of Spaskovska and Calori, Yugoslavia's participation in the NAM can be understood as a form of geopolitical branding, an identity that was strategically situated within global symbolic and material production circuits and bore variations of the golden *Leda*'s "Made in Yugoslavia" imprint of on a darkbrown label. However, the factory's legacy of solidarity and self-management gave way to globalised, outsourced labour, while its visual language transformed from socialist ecological symbolism to the ever-transitioning capitalist sleekness. Privatisation replaced *Leda*'s swan with the falcon of *Falc East*, marking a symbolic shift from a mythologised vulture to a streamlined emblem of capitalist predation.

Ultimately, *Leda*'s visual language entwines socialist aesthetics with ecological symbolism and commercial design, using the swan as a visual anchor for the

factory's self-managed legacy. The swan motif encodes both economic function and social ideology, functioning as a visual node where labour and power intersect.[23] Its symbolic use mirrors the factory's material practices, which relied primarily on calf hides and synthetic substances–composites of compressed floral and faunal sediments.[24]

Image 4. Micić Archive, *Leda and the Swan*, ca. 1975–86, printed linen bag (detail), ca. 50 x 38 cm.

SAMPLE HALL AND INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE: FROM *LEDA YUGOSLAVIA TO LEDA SRBIJA*

On the first floor of the former cantina, layers of dust and cobwebs coat the red marble, and the lacquer on the wooden stair railing has dulled. Behind upholstered doors lies the intact sample hall, a space thick with dust yet resonant with past prestige. Red leather-padded walls, matching armchairs, and a central table, retro yet faintly cyber in design, recall the formal chic of a bygone era, while trophies and awards line the table, and a narrow red-carpet strip stretches like a catwalk. While the 1986 monograph depicts a renovated white interior with a central platform echoing a fashion runway, the 1961 version presents factory managers seated amid shoes, carnations, and ashtrays. Glass shelves filled with unpaired shoe samples flank mirrors that reflect both women's and children's footwear–sandals, pumps, slippers, sneakers, and boots–in extravagant colours and textures, from pale lavender and sky-blue leather to snakeskin and glossy purple lining. Fastenings range from buckles to laces, styles from high boots to low shoes, with the *Leda Knjaževac Yugoslavia* swan emblem

23
Clelia Lury, Brands: *The Logos of the Global Economy* (Routledge, 2004): 49.

24
Heather Davis, *Plastic Matter* (Duke University Press, 2022), 70–72.

anticipating the branding of contemporary *Leda Knjaževac Srbija*, inscribed on a freshly printed logo on a uniform pocket, marking a thread of continuity into the factory's present incarnation.

The active production hall now unfolds a transformed industrial landscape: artificial materials dominate workstations branded with *Gucci*-patterned logos, while underly populated stations bear handwritten names–*Milena, Nina, Milica*, Iva–some crossed out, signaling personnel transitions. Genuine leather has become a relic, and a handmade measuring board engraved with a heart echoes other small personal touches: fruit stickers, holiday magnets, faded *Team Falc* remnants, and a glue bottle marked with baby-pink clover-shaped hearts. Brand names–*Naturino Familija 1 and Familija 2*–sit alongside taped images of *Gucci, Fendi*, and *Voile Blanche* products, spanning sneakers, children's sandals, and women's footwear.

Image 5. Jelena Micić, *Leda Visit: Sample Hall*, October 23, 2024, digital photography.

At the hall's far end, a woman in a white coat sits among cardboard boxes, the atmosphere heavy with quiet observation. Sewing machines, including *Pfaff, Jelena, and Camarb N21* All-in-One devices, carry traces of previous users, while some remain idle. Uniforms vary–some red, some tracksuits–revealing either fragmented management or multiple ownership transitions. Machines bear stitched initials and layers of residue; wall instructions, safety signs, and casually placed bottles punctuate the space. The remaining visual traces of production–handwritten names, synthetic and animal materials, idle machines, and branded residues–weave a fragmented narrative that reveals not only the erosion of once-shared collective imaginaries but also a growing estrangement from production, exposing a complex entanglement between humans, machines, and materials. The handwritten names on machines suggest a lingering desire to reforge lost bonds, highlighting a fragile wish to reconnect with the means of production even amid globalised, outsourced labour and the symbolic shift from socialist ecological imagery to capitalist sleekness.

Through material and visual engagement with archival fragments, industrial remnants, and intergenerational family narratives, this article has traced how the visuality and infrastructures of the Non-Aligned Movement were entwined with the everyday realities of labour, gender, and production at the Yugoslav *Leda Footwear and Plastics Industry*. By following the circulation of materials–particularly leather and plastics–across Cold War trade routes shaped by colonial continuities, non-alignment emerges as a lived, negotiated, and gendered practice rather than a purely ideological stance. *Leda* functioned as both a site of generational material production and a visual field where socialist solidarity, gendered labour, and postcolonial imaginaries intersected, revealing how Yugoslav self-management translated NAM principles into industrial and social practice.

Image 6. Jelena Micić, *Leda Visit: Production Hall Leda Knjaževac* Srbija, October 23, 2024, digital photography.

Grounded in a feminist materialist reading of the family archive, the study situates NAM within uneven global circuits, where swans and hides, unpaired shoes, and sample halls reveal layered tensions between labour, economy, and visual representation. The transformation of *Leda*'s swan into *Falc East*'s falcon signals more than a shift in imagery; it embodies a systemic transition from self-managed solidarity to a neoliberal logic of predation. As the factory's physical landscape deteriorates, hand-marked machines, forgotten trophies, and inscribed glue bottles testify not only to estrangement, but also to a persistent effort to reimagine relationships between production, memory, and friendship, extending beyond the fading infrastructure of non-alignment. *Leda* exemplifies the entangled NAM World and Movement, where global ambitions, local labour, and personal histories intersect, leaving enduring visual and material traces that demand a critical approach to NAM's political potential beyond nostalgia.

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