

2014 Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies
June 30 – July 7, 2014

Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS)
at the Faculty of Media and Communications

**From the discourse of brotherhood and unity to the discourses
of EU integration: the case of “transition” in Serbia**

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Course Description

Since the time when Serbia was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ), the country has been through very difficult cultural, political and ideological challenges and changes. While the dominant socialist ideology in former Yugoslavia, organized around Tito's idea of “brotherhood and unity”, helped to pacify and diminish differences between various ethnic and religious groups, Serbian society during the period of the Milošević regime has deployed different ideological patterns characterized by national pride, territorial integrity, and the policy of “all Serbs in one country” politics. These ideas were brought together under the banner of securing national and cultural identity, as well as territorial integrity.

In dominant political and ideological discourses, contemporary Serbian society is most often characterized as a society “in transition”, colloquially referred to as “Serbia after democratic changes”. In such discourses, everything in Serbia in the past 15 years is “in transition”: the justice system, the economy and culture, but also our lives, our freedoms and our rights. Our recent historical transition experience generally refers to the path from communism and socialism to capitalism and liberal democracy, recognized as synonymous with European Union (EU) integration. At the same time, while “transiting” from one ideology to another, Serbian society is carrying the heavy burden of recent historical events: wars, ethnic cleansing, isolation and the collapse of all institutions, among others.

Course themes:

The course will be organized around four concepts:

- community;
- friend/enemy;
- minorities;
- popular culture.

The aim of this course is to understand the transition from the dominant Yugoslav ideology to what came after in Serbia through the analysis of changes in the discourses that organize the four concepts above. Discussion will focus on Serbia as well as on comparisons with the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

- Course Outline by Day -

Tuesday July 1 (Day 1)

Morning class:

Introduction to the course / discussion on background readings

- Tony Judt, *Postwar – A History of Europe since 1945*, Penguin Press; 1st edition (October 6, 2005).
- Dejan Jović, “The Disintegration of Yugoslavia – A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches”, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 4 (1): 101-120, Sage Publications, London, 2001.

Recommended reading:

- Milica Uvalić, “Introduction” in *Serbia in Transition – Towards the Better Future*, Palgrave, MacMillan, New York, 2010. p. 1-14

Additional reading:

- Timeline: Break-up of Yugoslavia, Published: 2006, BBC.
- The Violent Breakup of Yugoslavia (Part 1,2) by James Graham.
- *YUGOSLAVIA*, 1991, by Aleksandar Hemon, *New Yorker* magazine, Issue of 2006-06-12, Posted 2006-06-05.

Afternoon class:

Discourse and ideology: Theoretical presuppositions

Recommended reading:

- Slavoj Žižek “Introduction – The Spectre of Ideology” in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek, Verso, London & New York, 1994, pp. 1-33.
- Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses” in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek, Verso, London & New York, 1994, pp. 100-140.
- Michèle Barrett “Ideology, Politics, Hegemony: From Gramsci to Laclau and Mouffe” in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek, Verso, London & New York, 1994, pp. 235-264.

Wednesday July 2 (Day 2)

Morning class:

Context: *Balkans*;

- Movie: *Whose Is This Song?* (2003), Adela Peeva (70 min) and Discussion.
- Opening Remarks

Afternoon class:

Context: *Balkans*;

Recommended reading:

- Slavoj Žižek, “Ethnic Dance Macabre”, *The Guardian Manchester* (UK); Aug 28, 1992.
- Katerina Kolozova, “Zizek Imagining the Balkans,” *Psychoanalysis, Society and Culture* (Palgrave MacMillan), September 2011.
- Rastko Močnik, “Social change in the Balkans” (*Atlas of Transformation*, 23.05.2012).
- Srećko Horvat, Igor Štiks, “Welcome to the Desert of Transition! Post-socialism, European Union and New Left in the Balkans“.

Thursday July 3 (Day 3)

Morning class:

Who is the friend? Who is the enemy?

- Movie: *Pretty Village Pretty Flame*, directed by Srdjan Dragojevic, 1996 and Discussion.
- Opening Remarks

Afternoon class:

Who is the friend? Who is the enemy?

Recommended reading:

- Pavle Levi, “Of Ethnic Enemy as Acousmetre” in *Aesthetics and Ideology in post Yugoslav Cinema*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2007.

Friday July 4 (Day 4)

Morning class:

Transiting Discourses: Community as Brotherhood and Unity vs. Community as Trans/National Identity;

Recommended reading:

- Milica Bakic Hayden “Nesting Orientalism – The Case of Former Yugoslavia” in *Slavic Review*, Vol 54, No 4, 917-931 (Winter, 1995)
- Boris Buden, “Children of postcommunism”, *Radical Philosophy*.
- Boris Buden, “The post-Yugoslavian Condition of Institutional Critique: An Introduction On Critique as Countercultural Translation”, 2007.
- Denisa Kostovicova, *Post-socialist identity, territoriality and European integration: Serbia's return to Europe after Milošević*, *GeoJournal* 61: 23–30, 2004. © 2004 Kluwer Academic Publishers. Printed in the Netherlands.

Afternoon class:

Transiting Discourses: Community as Brotherhood and Unity vs. Community as Trans/National Identity;

Recommended reading:

- Anthony D. Smith, “National Identity and the Idea of European Unity” in *International Affairs*, Vol 68, No 1, 55-76, (January, 1992)
- Thomas Diez, “Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourses” in *Journal of European Public Policy* 6/4, Special Issues, 1999:698-613.
- Milica Uvalić, “Integrating Serbia into the EU” in *Serbia in Transition – Towards the Better Future*, Palgrave, MacMillan, New York, 2010, p. 216-249.
- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *What is Gender? What is Europe? Walking with Balibar*, European University Institute, 2006.

Saturday July 5 (Day 5)

Morning class:

Popular Culture

- *Do You Miss YU* - Yugoslavia for beginners, eps. 3 (2011)
- Opening Remarks

Additional reading:

- Dubravka Ugrešić, „European Literature as a Eurovision Song Contest” in *Writing Europe, What is European about the literatures of Europe*” eds. Ursula Keller and Ilma Rakusa, CEU Press, Budapest & New York, 2004.

Afternoon class:

“Minorities”

- Movie: *The Parade*, directed by Srdjan Dragojević, 2011 and Discussion.
- Opening Remarks

Additional readings:

- Sabrina P. Ramet, “In Tito’s Time” in *Gender Politics in Western Balkans*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, The Penn State University Press, 1998, p. 89-105.
- Žarana Papić, “The Possibility of Socialist Feminism in Eastern Europe” in *Women and Citizenship in Europe*.
- Žarana Papić, “Women in Serbia: Post-Communism, War and Nationalist Mutations” in *Gender Politics in Western Balkans*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, The Penn State University Press, 1998, p. 153-169.
- Jelisaveta Blagojević, “Between Walls. Provincialisms, human rights, sexualities and Serbian public discourses on EU integration” in *De-Centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives*, eds. Robert Kulpaand Joanna Mizielińska, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, UK, 2011.

Sunday July 6 (Day 6)

Morning class:

Final Session and Closure

- Serbia: polishing its image for Europe, part 1&2.

Afternoon class:

Evaluation