

From the Discourse of Brotherhood and Unity to the Discourse of EU Integration: the case of "transition" in Serbia

Dr. Jelisaveta Blagojević

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 trans 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:

1. community;
2. friend/enemy;
3. minorities and
4. 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.

DAY 1

Morning Session:

Introduction to the course / discussion on background readings

- Tony Judt, *Postwar – A History of Europe since 1945*, Penguin Press; 1st edition (October 6, 2005).
(Presentation Group B)
- 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.
(Presentation Group A)

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 Session:

Discourse and ideology: Theoretical presuppositions

Recommended reading:

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

DAY 2

Morning Session:

Context: Balkans;

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

Afternoon Session:

Context: Balkans;

Recommended reading:

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

DAY 3

Morning Session:

Who is the friend? Who is the enemy?

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

Afternoon Session:

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.
(All Groups)

DAY 4

Morning Session:

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)
(Presentation Group B)
- Boris Buden, "Children of postcommunism" , *Radical Philosophy*.
(Presentation Group A)
- Boris Buden, "The post-Yugoslavian Condition of Institutional Critique: An Introduction On Critique as Countercultural Translation", 2007.
(Presentation Group B)
- 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.
(Presentation Group A)

Afternoon Session:

Transiting Discourses:

Community as Brotherhood and Unity vs Community as Trans/National Identity;

- Anthony D. Smith, "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity" in *International Affairs*, Vol 68, No 1, 55-76, (January, 1992)
(Presentation Group B)
- Thomas Diez, "Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourses" in *Journal of European Public Policy* 6/4, Special Issues, 1999:698-613.
(Presentation Group A)
- Milica Uvalić, "Integrating Serbia into the EU" in *Serbia in Transition – Towards the Better Future*, Palgrave, MacMillan, New York, 2010, p. 216-249.
(Presentation Group A)

- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *What is Gender? What is Europe? Walking with Balibar*, European University Institute, 2006.
(Presentation Group B)

DAY 5

Morning Session:

Popular Culture

Recommended 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. **(Group A)**

Afternoon Session:

“Minorities”

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

DAY 6

Morning Session: Final Session and Closure

Recommended 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.
(Presentation Group B)
- Žarana Papić, “The Possibility of Socialist Feminism in Eastern Europe” in *Women and Citizenship in Europe*.
(Presentation Group A)
- 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.
(Presentation Group B)

- 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 Kulpa and Joanna Mizielińska, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, UK, 2011.

(Presentation Group A)

Afternoon Session: Evaluation