

SYLLABUS

Rada Iveković,

The epochal issue of migrations. The cosmopolitics of state closure. (The closure of Europe)

The course will analyse post-Cold War (post 1989) political conditions, border closures in Europe, the pushing back of migrants, the difficult integration after the "Transition", the gap between east and western Europe, prevailing populisms and fascist revivals hostile to immigration, a rejection that takes place both at the level of states and of societies.

Classes will be delivered in English; references quoted by the students will be in the original and in English.

Notes:

1. All students will provide 1-2 pages of memo and questions/comments to the teacher relative to her talks every week, i.e. 4-5 times each.
2. All will read and comment beforehand the titles prescribed for each week (2-3 pages maximum) in order to briefly show that they have read the texts or seen the documentaries.
3. All will write a final paper of a maximum of 5 pages for **at the latest** the last session (but some may be able to do it earlier) at which some of those papers can be read and discuss. The teacher will subsequently read them all and respond individually to those who haven't had a chance to exchange. It is expected that students do a lot of searching on Internet around the topics proposed, and that they bring in other examples too.

Most of the recommended readings can be had online as indicated, and some can be gotten as PDF from the teacher on demand. Students will probably not be able to read all (which means they have a choice), but they should read at least something from each group of papers/for each session, and report on what they have read. It is hoped that they will study different papers, so that they can inform each other on alternative readings. Except for the first session, papers rendered will primarily be concerned with readings prescribed for each date. But students may want to do their initial reading in preparation for the first class on their own without having yet met the teacher. This will enable a discussion from the beginning.

Dates for the 6 sessions, Thursdays 10AM-1PM, room 104R, HA Building3:

October 17: *Preliminary reading* for the 1st session prescribed, in English, available on Internet, and **papers rendered on:**

The general context of neurocapitalism; populisms and the danger of Ur-fascism. Fascist states and fascist societies.

READ:

1) Giorgio GRIZIOTTI, *Neurocapitalism. technological Mediation and Vanishing Lines*, Foreword by Tiziana TERRANOVA, translated by Jason Francis MCGIMSEY, Minor Compositions, Colchester/New York/Port Watson 2019 (available online, www.autonomeia.org).

2) Umberto Eco, "Ur-Fascism", English original, *New York Review of Books*, 22 June 1995, pp.12-15, https://www.pegc.us/archive/Articles/eco_ur-fascism.pdf

(<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1995/06/22/ur-fascism/>).

3) Boaventura de Sousa Santos on societal fascism and populism, *Nuestra America: Reinventing a Subaltern Paradigm of Recognition and Redistribution*, [http://www.boaventuradesousasantos.pt/media/Nuestra%20America Theory %20Culture%20and%20Society 2001.pdf](http://www.boaventuradesousasantos.pt/media/Nuestra%20America%20Theory%20Culture%20and%20Society%202001.pdf) ; <http://tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/18/2-3/185>

October 24: documentaries on migration. Papers rendered will concern the readings prescribed for Oct. 17th and/or Oct. 24th.

READ & SEE:

For Oct. 24th, Students will have seen the movie *Serbistan* (2015)

<https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x36bi7d> by film director Želimir Žilnik and *Fortress Europe* (2000), trailer <https://vimeo.com/296608935> and <http://www.zilnikzelimir.net/fortress-europe> . They can also work on Žilnik's larger filmography on migrants and refugees, or include filmographies and reading concerning other theatres of migrations, such as in Asia. They will combine reading and seeing movies.

Also: Emmanuel Mbolela, *Réfugié. Une Odissée africaine, édition augmentée*, Éd. Libertalia, 2017; 1st German ed., Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna 2014; "Refugee", a review: <https://www.dinamopress.it/news/rifugiati-reagiamo-saremo-consumati/> (Italian) ; a documentary:

<http://www.dreama.tv/2018/11/emmanuel-mbolela-the-congolese-refugee-who-fights-for-better-migration-policy/> ;

World Migration Report 2018: <http://www.snapshotsfromtheborders.eu/world-migration-report-chapter-1/>

October 31: State closure, state failure, preventing arrivals and the criminalisation of rescuers: about migrants, rescue NGOs, ships and women's associations: papers rendered.

READ:

Students will investigate the media information they can get on immigration attempts into Europe (comparisons with Asia always welcome), for ex. "The List: the 34,361 men, women and children who perished trying to reach Europe", <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/20/the-list-34361-men-women-and-children-who-perished-trying-to-reach-europe-world-refugee-day> , the cases of 3 women in the Mediterranean salvaging migrants in 2019, Carola Rackete (captain of Sea Watch-3), Pia Klemp (captain of Iuventa) and Ana Isabel Montes Mier (mission chief of rescue ship Open Arms of NGO ProActiva with captain Marc Reig Creus, <https://www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-327-open-arms-seizure.pdf>), on the petition <https://you.wemove.eu/campaigns/for-justice-and-solidarity-free-carola-rackete-and-pia-klemp> and the movement it started, as well as on the activity of the rescue ships, NGOs and associations vs. states that are criminalising both migrants and rescuers. On refugees in Malaysia, see *ICCS Newsletter* of 24-5-2019 etc.

November 7: The European post-1989 & post-Cold War failure and closure. The difficult construction of the European Union. Populisms short-circuiting democracy. papers rendered.

READ:

- 1) Wolfgang Streeck, "The European Union is a liberal empire, and it is about to fall", The London school of Economics 6 March 2019, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2019/03/06/long-read-the-european-union-is-a-liberal-empire-and-it-is-about-to-fall/>
- 2) Chantal Mouffe, *For a left populism*, London, Verso 2018; Chantal Mouffe, Íñigo Errejón (in conversation), *Podemos: In the Name of the People*, Publ. Lawrence & Wishart Ltd 2016.
- 3) Etienne Balibar, "Borderland Europe and the challenge of migration", <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/borderland-europe-and-challenge-of-migration/> ; Balibar, "Lenin, communists and immigration", <https://www.viewpointmag.com/2019/01/14/introduction-to-lenin-communists-and-immigration/>
- 4) Stefano Bianchini, "Taking a Closer Look at State Partition", <https://elgar.blog/2017/10/27/taking-a-closer-look-at-state-partition/>
Stefano Bianchini, "Taking a Closer Look at State Partition" (book: Bianchini, *Liquid Nationalism and State Partitions in Europe*, ISBN: 9781786436603, Edward Elgar Publ., 2017).

November 14: The epochal issue of migrations. Borders as a paradigm, borders as operators of closure or opening; migration as source of new forms of citizenship, of politics or of movements; missing citizens: papers rendered.

READ:

- 1) Brett NEILSON and Sandro MEZZADRA, *Borders as Method or The Multiplication of Labor*, Durham, Duke University Press 2013.
- 2) Mezzadra-Neilson, «Ne qui ne altrove - Migration, Detention, Desertion: A Dialogue»
http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol2no1_2003/mezzadra_neilson.html
- 3) Etienne Balibar, "A call for an international right of hospitality", <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/call-for-international-right-of-hospitality/> ; "At the borders of Europe. Discussing with Etienne Balibar" by Sandro Mezzadra,
<http://www.euronmade.info/?p=12089> .

November 21: Eastern and Central European populisms and closure; "left wing" populisms, illiberal democracies. The European gap and dreams of sovereignty (eastern vs western Europe, and the failed integration of the failed post-socialist transitions) hostile to immigration. Final memos + final papers rendered.

READ:

- 1) Srećko Horvat & Igor Stiks (eds.), *Welcome to the desert of post-socialism. Radical politics after Yugoslavia*, London, Verso 2015;
- 2) Dubravka Stojanovic, *Populism the Serbian Way*, Belgrade, Peščanik 2017, available online: <https://pescanik.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Dubravka-Stojanovic-Populism-the-Serbian-Way.pdf>
- 3) Darko Suvin, *Splendour, Misery, and Potentialities: An X-ray of Socialist Yugoslavia*. Foreword Fredric Jameson. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2016. XXI+428 pp. ISBN 9789004306943 hardcover, 9789004325210 e-book, paperback Chicago: Harvester P, Oct. 2017.

4) Dimitri Vatsov, *LOGICS OF PROPAGANDA*

Part One. Populism and Propaganda: Dangerous Liaisons and Family Resemblances, in *Critique & Humanism*, vol. 49, no. 1/2018;

Part Two. ^[LIT]_[SEP] The Conspiratorial Logic of Populist Propaganda, in *Critique & Humanism*, vol. 49, no. 1/2018. Both chapters are available on

www.academia.edu

5) Johanna Bockman (available on www.academia.edu), “A Variety of Globalizations”,

https://www.academia.edu/21958098/A_Variety_of_Globalizations ;

“Karl Polanyi and the Non-Aligned Movement” (Video),

https://www.academia.edu/29476905/Against_Technoscience_The_Economic_Ideas_of_Karl_Polanyi_and_the_Non-Aligned_Movement ;

“The origins of neoliberalism between Soviet socialism and Western capitalism: “A galaxy without borders””,

https://www.academia.edu/929598/The_Origins_of_Neoliberalism_Between_Soviet_Socialism_and_Western_Capitalism_A_Galaxy_Without_Borders ;

“Socialist Globalization against Capitalist Neocolonialism: The Economic Ideas behind the New International Economic Order”,

https://www.academia.edu/11780898/Socialist_Globalization_against_Capitalist_Neocolonialism_The_Economic_Ideas_behind_the_New_International_Economic_Order ;

“The Long Road to 1989. Neoclassical Economics, Alternative Socialisms, and the Advent of Neoliberalism”,

https://www.academia.edu/7103289/The_Long_Road_to_1989_Neoclassical_Economics_Alternative_Socialisms_and_the_Advent_of_Neoliberalism ;

An Interview to *Rebel News*,

<https://rebelnews.com/jackmarsh/markets-in-the-name-of-socialism-an-interview-with-johanna-bockman/>

6) Ranabir Samaddar, Samir Kumar Das & Subir Bhaumik, moderated by Rajat Ray, August 3, 2018, A debate on the National register of citizenship (NRC) at CRG, Kolkata:

More than 40 lakh people have become non-citizens in Assam.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUBmECC3g2M> ;

Ranabir Samaddar, “Migrants, NRC, and the Paradox of Protection and Power”,

<https://thewire.in/rights/migrants-nrc-paradox-protection-power>