

# KRITIKA IDEOLOŠKE KONSTRUKCIJE IDENTITETA SOCIJALISTIČKE JUGOSLAVIJE U MUZIČKIM VIDEORADOVIMA *VENCEREMOS (133)* I *DISCIPLINE* GRUPE *BORGHESIA*

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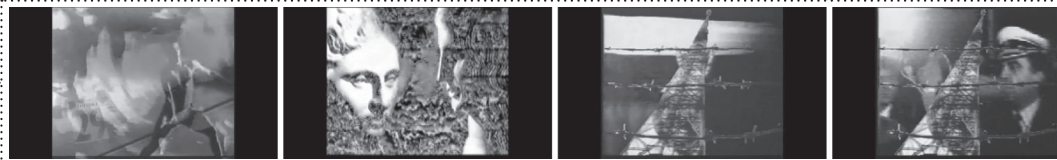
VANJA

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA),  
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## A CRITIQUE OF IDEOLOGICAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA: MUSIC VIDEO CLIPS *VENCEREMOS (133)* AND *DISCIPLINE* BY BORGHESIA

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**SAŽETAK:** U 'pukotini' socijalističke ideologije Jugoslavije, tijekom 80-ih godina, pojavio se 'prostor' za novoideološku konstrukciju, koja je samo naizgled djelovala kao 'slobodna tvorevina' alternativnih mišljenja i izražavanja u kasnom socijalizmu. Pravi kasnosocijalistički alternativni umjetnički i kulturalni istupi bili su usmjereni prema preispitivanju i kritiziranju ideološke konstrukcije socijalizma, a onda i kulturalnih identifikacijskih upisa. Glasnogovornik na alternativnoj sceni kasnosocijalističke Jugoslavije, grupa Borghesia iz Slovenije – u 'tekstovima' muzičkih videoradova *Venceremos (133)* i *Discipline* – zaniijekala je upise nacionalnih identiteta u socijalističkoj ideologiji. Oni su anticipirali novu homogenizaciju, odnosno interpelaciju individue u kolektivni identitet postsocijalističke nacionalne ideologije.

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:** alternativa, identitet, Borghesia, nacionalizam, socijalizam, komunizam

Osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća dio politički osviještenog građanstva, u kojemu su pojedinci pripadali alternativnoj kulturnoj provenijenciji, imao je kritički profilirane istupe. Kritika društva socijalističke Jugoslavije bila je predmet tumačenja alternativne grupe kasnog socijalizma devedetih godina, muzičkog sastava Borghesia. Cilj rada razmatranje je kasnosocijalističke kritike, odnosno preispitivanje ideološkog konstruiranja identiteta, prikazanih u muzičkim videoradovima *Venceremos (133)* i *Discipline*. Drugim riječima, razmatranjem spomenutih radova poistovjećuje se alternativni i nacionalni identitet, kako pozivanjem na rigoroznu socijalističku cenzuru tako i kritiziranjem nacionalizma 'srpsko-Miloševićeve' provenijencije, koji je shvaćan kao sinonim slovenskog političkog diskursa.

U teorijskim diskursima prepoznata su mnoga divergentna interpretiranja problema identiteta. Ipak, za ovu priliku, posebna pažnja bit će posvećena čitanju identitetskih upisa u subjekt, koju je postavio slovenski teoretičar i filozof Rastko Močnik.<sup>1</sup> Pod identitetom se misli prazna forma odnosa koju ideologija postulira između iskaza i iskazivanja. Identitet koji se iskazuje prethodno je stekao pravo na iskazivanje. Isti



**SUMMARY:** During the 1980s, some "room" appeared in the "gap" of Yugoslav socialist ideology for a new ideological construction, which was only apparently a "free product" of alternative modes of thinking and expression in late socialism. Genuinely alternative artistic and cultural actions in this late socialist period focused on the analysis and critique of socialist ideological construct, as well as its cultural production of identity. One of such spokesmen on the alternative scene of late socialist Yugoslavia, the Slovenian music band Borghesia, denounced these productions of national identity within socialist ideology in its "texts" for the music videos *Venceremos (133)* and *Discipline*. Thus, Borghesia anticipated the new homogenization and interpellation of the individual in the collective identity of postsocialist national ideology.

**KEYWORDS:** alternative, identity, Borghesia, nationalism, socialism, communism

In the 1980s, a segment of politically alert population, among them those belonging to the cultural alternative scene, engaged in critically intoned actions. A critique of Yugoslav socialist society was also a subject of interpretation by an alternative group from the period of late socialism in the 1980s, the music band Borghesia. The aim of this paper is to analyze the late-socialist critique and the ideological construction of identity as manifested in the video clips *Venceremos (133)* and *Discipline*. In considering these artworks, alternative and national identities are shown as interrelated phenomena, both in references to the strict socialist censorship and in criticizing the nationalism of "Serbian-Miloševićian" provenance, which was understood as a synonym of Slovenian political discourse.

In theoretical discourses, many diverging interpretations of the identity issue can be discerned. For our purpose, special attention will be paid to the reading of inscriptions of identity into the subject as posited by the Slovenian theoretician and philosopher Rastko Močnik.<sup>1</sup> Identity is here understood as an empty form of relations that ideology postulates between the enounced (*énoncé*) and the enouncement (*énonciation*). An identity that is enounced must have first obtained the right to enunciation. Similar identities

identiteti su integrirani u zajednicu. Faktor integriranja u zajednicu događa se nakon autorizacije identitetskog iskaza. Jedna od zajednica koja 'izdaje' ovlaštenje nacionalna je zajednica, odnosno 'nulta institucija',<sup>2</sup> koja ima funkciju da omogući društvu da postoji. 'Nulta institucija' „drži na okupu“ i ujedinjuje sve funkcionalne institucije. Te institucije, organizacije i ustanove upravljaju se, konstituiraju, shvaćaju i izvršavaju u odnosu na naciju. Drugačija od svih drugih, nacija je u svojoj suštini vanjska granica ili obod oko polja vlastite homogenosti. Alternativni identitet nije suprotan identitetu jugoslavenske socijalističke samoupravne ideologije, ali jest identitetu 'nulte institucije'. Identitetski iskazi koji su postilirani naspram/nasuprot 'nulte institucije' predstavljaju identitete alternativnih iskaza i iskazivanja.

Titovu vladavinu obilježila su kažnjavanja od strane režima zbog "delikata mišljenja", odnosno "verbalnih delikata", zbog kojih su se nerijetko organizirale periodične „čistke“, koje ipak nisu bile toliko brutalne kao one u SSSR-u. Za razliku od država Istočnog bloka, u Jugoslaviji je nakon „čistki“ upamćenih tokom krize 1948. postojao relativno liberalniji odnos prema kritičarima sistema. Oni nisu suštinski dovodili u pitanje socijalizam i „bratstvo i jedinstvo“. Po članu 133. Krivičnog zakona izricane su

kazne koje su se odnosile na 'neprijateljsku propagandu' i 'verbalni delikt', ali i na kontrarevolucionarne i terorističke prijestupe. Tolerirali su se kontakti, putovanja u inozemstvo, razmjene mišljenja i praksi.<sup>3</sup> Međutim, prijetnje – zabrane bavljenja strukom, objavljivanja, ili zatvorska kazna u težim slučajevima kršenja zakona – nerijetko su pratile intelektualce Jugoslavije. Od sredine osmog i tijekom devetog desetljeća formirali su se liberalni pokreti za seksualnu slobodu, urbanu liberalizaciju, zbog kojih je Slovenija postala mjesto eksperimenta i dijaloga.<sup>4</sup> Društvene promjene i preokreti odnosili su se na ukidanje smrtno kazne, uspostavljanje prigovora protiv vojne službe, dekriminalizaciju istospolne seksualnosti.<sup>5</sup> Pojedini predstavnici intelektualnog društva Jugoslavije 80-ih činili su kulturnu alternativu. Ti pojedinci koji misle, stvaraju, predstavljaju i izvode se drugačijim od socijalističkog bili su glasnogovornici alternative. Pod 'alternativnim' misle se kulturni identiteti i prakse koje su nastale kao izrazi kritike dominantnih kulturnih konstrukcija. Po prirodi, alternativni pokreti nisu bili strogo organizirani i međusobno institucionalno povezani. Opći cilj alternative bila je obrana alternativne scene i pokušaj njezina proširivanja, izvan Slovenije. Tako su se alternativne ideje u prvom redu javile na rubovima društva, ali ne i u establišmentu. Krajem

are integrated into a community. The factor of community integration happens after the authorization of identity enunciation. One of the communities that "issues" such authorization is the national community as the "zero institution",<sup>2</sup> whose function is to allow the society to exist. The "zero institution" serves to "keep together" and unite all functional institutions. These institutions and organizations are managed, constituted, understood, and performed with regard to nation, which is different from any other, as it is in its essence the outer border or edge around the field of its own homogeneity. Alternative identity was not opposed to the identity of Yugoslav socialist ideology of self-management, but it was to the identity of the "zero institution". Enunciations of identity posited with regard or in opposition to the "zero institution" were the identities of alternative enounced and enouncements.

Tito's rule was characterized by regime-imposed penalties for "crimes of opinion" or "verbal crimes", enforced by periodic "cleansings", although they were not as brutal as those in the Soviet Union. Unlike the countries of the Eastern Bloc, Yugoslavia kept a relatively liberal stance as to the critics of the system, at least after the "cleansings" that took place during and after the crisis of 1948. After all, these critics did not question socialism or "brotherhood and unity" as such. Article 133 of the Penal Code foresaw prosecution on the ground of engaging in "enemy propaganda" and "verbal crimes", as well as counterrevolutionary

and terrorist actions. What was tolerated was travelling abroad and exchange of opinions or practices.<sup>3</sup> However, Yugoslav intellectuals were often threatened – prohibited to practice their profession or publish – and in severe cases of violating the law they could be imprisoned. The mid-1970s and the 1980s saw the formation of liberal movements for sexual freedom and urban liberalization, owing to which Slovenia became a place of experimentation and dialogue.<sup>4</sup> Social changes and modifications included the abolition of death penalty, the possibility of appeal against military service, and the de-criminalization of same-sex relationships.<sup>5</sup> Some intellectuals in the Yugoslav society of the 1980s formed a cultural alternative, whose spokesmen thought, created, performed, and acted in ways that differed from the socialist ones. The term "alternative" includes here those cultural identities and practices that emerged as an expression of critique in regard to the dominant cultural constructions. As a rule, these alternative movements were not really organized or institutionally interrelated. Their general aim was to defend the alternative scene and to work on expanding it beyond the Slovenian borders. Consequently, alternative ideas first emerged on the margins of the society and not within the establishment. In the late 1980s, within the prevailing ideological framework, alternative culture was forced to reach for certain compromises for the sake of its own interests and goals.<sup>6</sup> Owing to its freethinking ideas, it

osamdesetih godina, u aktualnim ideološkim okvirima, alternativa je bila prisiljena da zbog vlastitih interesa i ciljeva posegne za određenim kompromisima.<sup>6</sup> Zbog svojih ideja o slobodama alternativa je postala dragocjen partner liberalnim pokretima za nacionalno osvještenje. U predstavnike alternativne scene ubraja se grupa Borghesia. Poetiku muzičkih videa te grupe obilježila je kritika ideoloških konstrukcija. Kritika upućena društvenom 'konstruktoru' – socijalističkoj ideologiji – čitala se u naglašenim komunističkim, socijalističkim ikonografijama, praćenim autoerotskim, sadomasohističkim i homoseksualnim izvođenjima. Sve te prakse prikazivanja grupe Borghesia bile su oružje u borbi za ljudska prava, slobode izražavanja i djelovanja u omladinskom životu Jugoslavije. Oni su doveli u pitanje seksualna i rodna izvođenja, ali su promovirali i nove društvene pokrete, izazivali represivne i militarizirane mehanizme socijalizma, dok su istovremeno nalazili mjesta gdje su se socijalističke prakse račvale i udaljavale od svojih prvobitnih utopija. Njihovim umjetničkim izražavanjem, oblikovanim aktivističkim praksama, poput latentnog anarhizma, kritički se preispitivala društvena i politička stvarnost Slovenije u devetom desetljeću. Muzička videoostvarenja *Venceremos* (133) iz 1985./86.

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i *Discipline* iz 1989. godine<sup>7</sup> povezana su tehničkim, stilskim i idejnim asocijacijama,<sup>8</sup> budući da su oba videa integrirana u veću cjelinu 'filma' *Trijumf želje* (*The Triumph of Desire*) iz 1990.<sup>9</sup> Razlog izdvajanja tih dvaju muzičkih videa nije zbog sličnosti u tehničkom, stilskom i idejnom smislu, nego zbog razvojnog interpretativnog diskursa alternative. Točnije, razvoja alternativne misli od kasnosocijalističke borbe za slobode izraza, misli, djelovanja – skoro poistovjećenih s borbom protiv ograničenja izrečenih članom 133. Krivičnog zakona – do borbe protiv konzervativnih, determiniranih nacionalnih identifikacija, kao anticipacije postsocijalističkih prilika. U muzičkom videu *Venceremos* poistovjećeni su diskursi socijalističke Jugoslavije s komunističkim Istočnim blokom, dok se u muzičkom videu *Discipline* kritika društva iskazuje nacističkom ikonografijom preznačenom u nacionalistički ikonografski sistem znakova i simbola. Ipak, u oba muzička videa preispitivali su se svakodnevni diskursi u kojima su alternativne težnje i stavovi poistovjećeni s nacionalističkim. Socijalističko-komunistička instanca muzičkog videa *Venceremos* prepoznaje se u vizualnoj komponenti (dokumentiranim političkim govorima, arhivskim snimkama iz tvornica, kancelarija, zatim preko simbola

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became an important partner for the liberal movements that sought to increase national awareness. Such a representative of the alternative scene was also the music band Borghesia. The poeticism of its video clips is characterized by a critique of ideological constructions. Aimed against the main social "constructor" – the socialist ideology – this critique was expressed by quoting the communist or socialist iconographies in an exaggerated manner, accompanied by autoerotic, sadomasochistic, or homosexual performatives. All these performing practices of Borghesia were its weapons in struggle for human rights and freedom of expression and action in the life of Yugoslav youth. They questioned enactments defined by sex or gender, at the same time promoting new social movements, challenging the repressive and militarized mechanisms of socialism, and uncovering those issues in which the socialist practices fractioned and diverged from their original utopias. Their artistic expression and pre-designed activist practices, such as latent anarchism, critically questioned the social and political situation in Slovenia during the 1980s. The music video clips *Venceremos* (133) from 1985/86 and *Discipline* from 1989<sup>7</sup> are similar as to their technical, stylistic, and conceptual associations,<sup>8</sup> and both were integrated into a larger whole, namely the "film" *The Triumph of Desire* (1990).<sup>9</sup> The reason why I have singled out these two clips from the rest

is, however, not their similarity of technique, style, and idea, but rather as examples of the evolution of alternative interpretational discourse: more precisely, of the development of alternative thinking related to the late-socialist struggle for the freedom of expression, thought, and action – almost identical with the struggle against the limitations imposed by Article 133 of the Penal Code – amounting to a struggle against all conservative, predetermined national identifications as an anticipation of the postsocialist situation. The music video clip *Venceremos* identifies the discourses of socialist Yugoslavia with those of the communist Eastern Bloc, while *Discipline* criticizes the society by using Nazi iconography, re-semanticized into a nationalist iconographic set of signs and symbols. Nevertheless, both of them explore common discourses in which alternative aspirations and positions were identified with the nationalist ones. The socialist-communist element in the video clip *Venceremos* is in its visual component (documentary political speeches, archival footages from factories and offices, symbols of socialism and communism, textual messages), its caricature of the socialist federal law, and its textual component. On the visual level, the "socialist-communist" is expressed in the form of documentary footages showing speeches by Josip Broz Tito and other party functionaries at the speaker's stand, and also as an indirect embodiment of Tito in the atmosphere of a working collective

socijalizma, komunizma, tekstualnih poruka), ali i u karikiranju socijalističkog federalnog zakona ili tekstualnoj komponenti muzičkog videa. Vizualna razina 'socijalističko-komunističkog' sastoji se u emitiranju dokumentiranih govora Josipa Broza Tita ili drugih partijskih funkcionera za govornicom, zatim u indirektnom prisutnjenu lika Josipa Broza u atmosferi radnog kolektiva socijalističke stvarnosti, ili u poznatoj tekstualnoj paroli „fabrike radnicima“ dokumentarne snimke o tvorničkoj ili industrijskoj proizvodnji. U okviru vizualnog socijalističko-komunističkog spadaju i: jugoslavenska petokraka, komunistički srp i čekić, ili 'jugoslavenska' knjiga „Smeri razvoja političnoga sistema socijalističnoga samoupravljanja“ Edvarda Kardelja iz 1977. godine. 'Socijalističko-komunističko' u tekstualnoj komponenti izgovoreno je već na početku muzičkog videa, odnosno u grotesknom preuveličavanju člana Krivičnog zakona. Članom Zakona se izricala kazna zatvora od jedne do deset godina za kritiku vlasti preko umjetničkog i narodnog stvaralaštva, slobodnog mišljenja u štampi, i općenito javnoj riječi.<sup>10</sup> U muzičkom smislu, 'socijalističko-komunistička' instanca prepoznaje se već na samom početku muzičkog videa, odnosno u simulaciji zvuka tvornice, tj. zvuka lupanja čekića u nakovanj. Također, 'socijalističko-komunističko' u muzičkom toku jest i

totalitarističko-zapovjedna intonacija studijski modificiranog glasa, s tekstom komunističkih predznaka „*Staljin sila se kazuva ...*“<sup>11</sup> (Staljin silu predstavlja, op. prev.). U muzičkom videu *Discipline* preznakuje se nacistički u nacionalistički ikonografski sistem znakova. To ostvarenje Borghesie je audio-vizualna sinteza, izgrađena tehnikom montaže. Rezultat formalne muzičke analize poklapa se sa strukturalnom koncepcijom vizualnih predstava. Slika prati muzički tok<sup>12</sup> te se sa smjenom strofa i refrena mijenjaju i vizualni objekti, pokreti figura, ambijent, efekti i dr. Pokret u vizualnoj instanci dirigitiran je motoričnošću ritma muzičke komponente. 'Nacističko-nacionalističko' vizualizirano je: insertima iz filma „Olimpija“ Leni Rifenštal (Leni Riefenstahl) (bacač koplja), antičkim figurama, slikama bodljikave žice, ali i mitingom Slobodana Miloševića na Kosovu itd.<sup>13</sup> Muzička fraza<sup>14</sup> na fonu elektronski modificiranog karikiranog zvuka zvona koju pjeva dječji zbor ironična je dječja zborna pjesma kojom počinje muzički video. Tim srpsko-jugoslavenskim stihovima sastavljenim od voditelja Radio Študenta dan je ironičan osvrt na indoktrinaciju najmlađe populacije. U skladu s praksom nacističkog glorificiranja 'totalitarne' slike vladara u najranijoj dobi djeteta, Borghesia prikazuje djecu u zboru u kroma modulaciji. Vizualizacija preznaka nacističkog u nacionalističku ikonografiju

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA), STILL IZ GLAZBENOG  
VIDEA VENCEREMOS (133), 1985.–1986.

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA), A STILL FROM THE  
MUSIC VIDEO CLIP VENCEREMOS (133), 1985-1986

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or the famous textual slogan “Factories to the workers!” in the documentary footage showing factories and industrial production. The socialist-communist visuals also include the Yugoslav five-pointed star, the communist hammer and sickle, and the seminal “Yugoslav” book *The Paths of Development of the Socialist Political System of Self-Management* by Edvard Kardelj (1977). The “socialist-communist” element in the textual component is uttered at the very beginning of the video clip, in the grotesque overstatement of the article from the Penal Code which foresaw imprisonment of one to ten years for criticizing the authority through artistic or folklore activities, statements in the media, and generally public speech.<sup>10</sup> In terms of music, the “socialist-communist” component is also recognizable at the very beginning of the video clip, in simulating the factory sounds, that is, the sound of a hammer banging against the anvil, as well as the totalitarian-authoritarian intonation of an artificially modified voice, with a text that bears communist associations: “*Staljin sila se kazuva ...*” (Stalin represents the power, op. prev.) In the video clip *Discipline*, the Nazi iconography is re-semanticized into a nationalist one. This piece by Borghesia is an audio-visual synthesis produced by the montage technique, in which the result of formal musical analysis corresponds to the structural concept of visual performances. The image follows the flow of music<sup>12</sup> and the alternation of strophes

and refrain is accompanied by an exchange of visual objects, movements of human figures, changes of ambience, visual effects, and so on. In the visual component, movements are directed by the rhythm of music. The “Nazi” element is visualized by means of excerpts from the film “Olympia” by Leni Riefenstahl (the javelin thrower), classical ancient figures, images of barbed wire, and also a mass meeting for Slobodan Milošević in Kosovo.<sup>13</sup> The musical phrase<sup>14</sup> uses an electronically modified and twisted sound of the bell, sung by a children’s choir, as an ironical version of the children’s song that opens the video. The Serbian-Yugoslav verses, written by moderators from Radio Študent, offer a sarcastic view of indoctrination practiced on the youngest segment of the population. In accordance with the Nazi glorification of the “totalitarian” image of the ruler in children’s minds, Borghesia shows the choir children in chromatic modulation. The visualization of Nazi imagery in the form of nationalist iconography has been achieved by showing barbed wire on the Yugoslav flag, which refers to Milošević’s policy of suppressing the Albanian minority in Kosovo. The text is not sung in this video clip. Instead, the words “discipline” and “punishment”<sup>15</sup> are uttered by gradually raising the voice pitch to reach the Nazi-like totalitarian and authoritarian intonation. That “imperative of the totalitarian” is visualized in a metamorphosis



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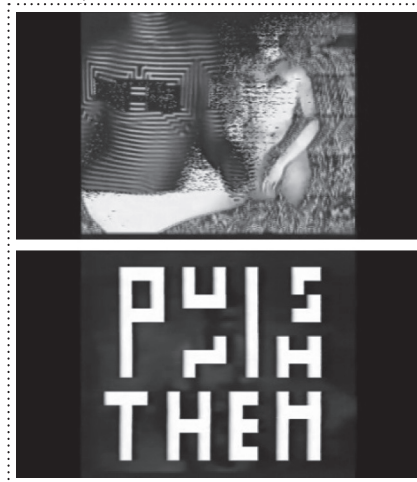
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of classical sculptures and other figures into inkblots. The classical Greek model, which was an ideal of Nazi Germany, is a cynical performance for Borghesia, anticipating what was about to happen – the perpetuation of old totalitarian systems in the new form of decaying Yugoslav identity.

In both video pieces, Borghesia juxtaposes the alternative identity to the national one. As for the video clip *Venceremos*, the alternative critique has been introduced by transparent references to austere socialist censorship on the one hand, and the presence of a provoking, alternative spokesman on the other. The alternative text consists of the visual potentials of performance,<sup>16</sup> the documentary content,<sup>17</sup> and music.<sup>18</sup> As a counterpoint to the power of ideology, the alternative scene becomes a weapon of the new “alternative” or the national discourse in disguise. The awareness of this “abuse” of alternative power has been demonstrated by Borghesia in the musical quotation or instrumental phrase from “The March to the Drina” as a national, moreover Serbian idiom, which has been modified to the point of sounding like a caricatured militant march. By using an alternative text, the article from Yugoslav Penal Code has been musically transformed into an imaginary symptom in its most traumatic form.<sup>19</sup>

Similar technical and stylistic methods for criticizing the nationalism of “Serbian-Miloševićian” provenance have been used in the video



izvedena je prikazom bodljikave žice na zastavi SFRJ, što se odnosi na Miloševićevu politiku ugnjetavanja albanske manjine na Kosovu. Tekst muzičkog videa *Discipline* se ne pjeva. Riječi „discipline“ ili „punishment“<sup>15</sup> tijekom muzičkog videa izgovaraju se postepenim povisivanjem intonacije do nacistički totalitarno-zapovjedne. Taj 'imperativ totalitarnog' vizualiziran je u metamorfozi antičkih skulptura i drugih figura u rošah metodi. Antički model, koji je bio uzor u nacional-socijalističkoj Njemačkoj, u radu Borghesie cinična je

predstava. Njom se anticipira ono što će uslijediti – opstajanje starih sistema totalitarnog uređenja u novoj formi urušenog jugoslavenstva.

U oba rada grupe Borghesia izveden je čin poistovjećivanja alternativnog i nacionalnog identiteta. Alternativna kritika muzičkog videa *Venceremos* predstavljena je transparentnim pozivanjem na rigoroznu socijalističku cenzuru, s jedne strane, ali i na prezentnost provokativnog, alternativnog govornika, s druge strane. Alternativni tekst čine vizualne sposobnosti predstavljanja,<sup>16</sup> dokumentaristički sadržaji<sup>17</sup> i muzičko izvođenje.<sup>18</sup> Kao kontrapunkt moći ideologije, alternativna scena postaje istovremeno oružje nove 'alternative' ili maskiranog nacionalnog diskursa. Svijest o 'zloupotrebi' alternativne moći Borghesia je prikazala muzičkim citatom ili instrumentalnom frazom „Marš na Drinu“, kao nacionalnim i to srpskim idiomom, koji je modificiran do zvuka karikirane militantne marševske koračnice. Alternativnim tekstom jugoslavenski član Zakona SFRJ je muzički transformiran do zamišljenog simptoma u najtraumatičnijem obliku.<sup>19</sup> Slična tehnička i stilaska rješenja, za kritiku nacionalizma



BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA),  
STILL IZ GLAZBENOG VIDEA  
*VENCEREMOS* (133), 1985.–1986.

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA),  
STILL IZ GLAZBENOG VIDEA  
*DISCIPLINE*, 1989.

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA),  
A STILL FROM THE MUSIC VIDEO CLIP  
*VENCEREMOS* (133), 1985–1986

BORGHESIA (NEVEN KORDA),  
A STILL FROM THE MUSIC  
VIDEO CLIP *DISCIPLINE*, 1989

VANJA  
TERZIN

clip *Discipline*.<sup>20</sup> At the turn of the 1990s, the largest and most successful liberal movements endorsed “national liberation” or the construction of a national “zero institution”, which Borghesia openly criticized.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the band was aware of the fact that with this “national liberation” all alternative identities would become nationally determined. The once strong aspiration of alternative movements to achieve social change in everyday life and experience had been forgotten and people believed that the crucial “alternative” change was to be achieved through national liberation, which was the object of critique in the video clip *Discipline*. Borghesia warned

of the fact that different, alternative identities were disappearing from the cultural and even subcultural map of Slovenia. Therefore, the video clip *Discipline* shows Serbian nationalism, the most dangerous aspect of nationalism in the Yugoslav republics, as a synonym of Slovenian political discourse. The politics of Slobodan Milošević is identified with the Slovenian reality as a sort of stepping out of the imaginary from the basic phantasm, which proves fatal for the alternative.<sup>22</sup> In this way, Borghesia anticipated the abuse of alternative texts in constructing an ideologically homogeneous, national “zero institution.”

A critique of ideological identity constructions that originated in alternative discourses on the re-semanticization of old into new systems served to explore the issues that were topical in late socialism and to anticipate the problem levels in the postsocialist society. The notorious Article 133 in the Penal Code was transformed into a new field of trauma for the Yugoslav republics. In Borghesia’s discourse, the national element or the leading thought of the new “alternative” has been described through the Serbian “zero institution” as a traumatic symptom in the Yugoslav

'srpsko-Miloševićeve' provenijencije, korištena su u muzičkom videu *Discipline*.<sup>20</sup> Na pragu 90-ih najveći i najuspješniji liberalni pokreti zauzeli su se za 'nacionalno oslobođenje' ili konstrukciju nacionalne 'nulte institucije', koje je Borghesia javno kritizirala.<sup>21</sup> Također, grupa je imala svijest o tome da će 'nacionalnim oslobođenjem' svi alternativni identiteti postati nacionalano determinirani. Nekadašnje potrebe alternative za promjenama u svakodnevnom životu i iskustvu bile su zaboravljene. Vjerovalo se da je najbitnija promjena 'alternativne provenijencije' ostvarena nacionalnom liberalizacijom, što je bio predmet kritike muzičkog videa *Discipline*. Time se upozoravalo da drugačiji, alternativni identiteti nestaju na kulturalnoj, pa čak i supkulturalnoj mapi Slovenije. Zato je u muzičkom videu *Discipline* srpski nacionalizam, kao najopasniji vid jugoslavenskog republičkog nacionalizma, prikazan kao sinonim slovenskog političkog diskursa. Politika Slobodana Miloševića u muzičkom videu poistovjećena je sa slovenskom realnošću, kao svojevrsnim po alternativu kobnim iskorakom imaginarnog iz temeljne fantazme.<sup>22</sup> Time je Borghesia anticipirala zloupotrebu

tekstova alternative sa svrhom konstruiranja ideološki homogenizirane nacionalne 'nulte institucije'. Kritikom ideoloških konstrukcija identiteta proizašlih iz alternativnih diskursa o preznačenjima starih u nove sisteme preispitali su se aktualni problemi kasnog socijalizma i anticipirale problemske razine društva u postsocijalizmu. Ozloglašeni član 133 Krivičnog zakona transformiran je u novo polje trauma jugoslavenskih republika. U diskursu Borghesie nacionalno ili misao-vodilja nove 'alternative' opisani su srpskom 'nultom institucijom' kao traumatičnim simptomom republičkih prostora Jugoslavije. Drugim riječima, alternativni govornik svjestan ograničenja socijalizma postaje aktivni protagonist društvene kritike kasnog socijalizma i anticipator-kritičar postsocijalističkih identiteta.

<sup>1</sup>Vidi: Rastko Močnik, *3 teorije: Ideologija, nacija, institucija*, Centar za savremenu umetnost: Škola za istoriju i teoriju umetnosti, Beograd, 2003.; Rastko Močnik, *Alterkacije: Alternativni govori i ekstravagantni članci*, XX vek, Beograd, 1998.; Rastko Močnik, Nismo mi krivi, ali smo odgovorni, u: *Up&Underground – Časopis za umjetnost, teoriju i aktivizam*, intervju, razgovarao Ozren

KRITIKA IDEOLOŠKE  
KONSTRUKCIJE  
IDENTITETA  
SOCIJALISTIČKE  
JUGOSLAVIJE  
U MUZIČKIM  
VIDEOKLIPOVIMA  
VENCEREMOS (133)  
I DISCIPLINE GRUPE  
BORGHESIA

A CRITIQUE OF  
IDEOLOGICAL  
IDENTITY  
CONSTRUCTION  
IN SOCIALIST  
YUGOSLAVIA:  
MUSIC VIDEO CLIPS  
VENCEREMOS (133)  
AND DISCIPLINE BY  
BORGHESIA



republics. In other words, the alternative spokesman, aware of the limitations of socialism, has become an active protagonist in the social critique of late socialism and an anticipatory critic of postsocialist identities.

“alternative” fermentation was stronger there than in other Yugoslav republics. In Croatia, there were strong cultural movements and intellectual contradictions within the struggle against the nationalist movement in the early 1970s. In Serbia, cleansing was taking place in universities and schools. Bosnia was also a very austere place at the time, with emigration of intellectuals and students who moved to other places owing to a very repressive regime. Cf. Rastko Močnik, “Nismo mi krivi, ali smo odgovorni” (as in n. 1), 144-145.

<sup>1</sup> Rastko Močnik, *3 teorije: Ideologija, nacija, institucija* [Three theories: Ideology, nation, institution] (Belgrade: Centre of Contemporary Art, School of History and Theory of Art, 2003); idem, *Alterkacije: Alternativni govori i ekstravagantni članci* [Altercations: Alternative speeches and extravagant articles] (Belgrade: XX vek, 1998); idem, “Nismo mi krivi, ali smo odgovorni” [It is not our fault, but we are responsible], an interview conducted by Ozren Pupovac for *Up&Underground – Journal for Art, Theory, and Activism* 17-18 (Zagreb, 2010), 140-155, <http://www.up-underground.com/brojevi/07-08/> (last accessed on September 10, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> In those years, the main voices of the alternative scene were the TV-weekly *Mladina*, published in Slovenia and sold in all major cities of Yugoslavia, and Radio Študent, a legacy of the 1968 revolution, active in Ljubljana.

<sup>2</sup> The “zero institution” is represented by a “subject that is supposed to know” or the ideologically interpellated subject. Cf. Rastko Močnik, *3 teorije* (as in n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> On the alternative representatives, actions, and practices in Slovenia, see: Rastko Močnik, *ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Mari-Žanin Čalić, *Istorija Jugoslavije u 20. veku* [History of Yugoslavia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century] (Belgrade: Clio, 2013), 242.

<sup>7</sup> Nikolai Jeffs, “FV and the ‘Third Scene’, 1980-1990,” in: *FV Alternativa osamdesetih / Alternative Scene of the Eighties*, ed. Breda Škrjanec (Ljubljana: mglc, 2008), 379-394.

<sup>4</sup> During the 1980s, Slovenia was affected by a crisis and the

<sup>8</sup> Nika Grabar, an interview with Neven Korda: “Pleasure in Discipline,” [http://talkingcriticarts.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/lta\\_publication\\_art\\_in\\_critical\\_confrontation\\_to\\_society.pdf](http://talkingcriticarts.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/lta_publication_art_in_critical_confrontation_to_society.pdf), 490-505 (last accessed on February 2, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> The film, which is, according to Neven Korda, actually a collection of video clips, consists of *The Mud, Discipline, G.U.M., No Hope No Fear, Poppers, She, Venceremos*, the triptych *The*



Pupovac, br. 17–18, Zagreb, 140–155. Vidi: <http://www.up-underground.com/brojevi/07-08/>, (zadnji pregled: 10. 9. 2013.).

<sup>2</sup> 'Nultu instituciju' reprezentira subjekt za kojeg se pretpostavlja da zna' ili ideološki interpeliran subjekt. Vidi: Rastko Močnik, op.cit., 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Мари-Жанин Чалић, Историја Југославије у 20. веку, Clío, Београд, 2013, 242.

<sup>4</sup> Tokom 80-ih Slovenija je bila na udaru krize, a „alternativna“ fermentacija bila je jača u Sloveniji, nego u drugim republikama Jugoslavije. U Hrvatskoj su postojala jaka talasanja kulture i intelektualne oprečnosti unutar okvira borbe protiv nacionalističkog pokreta na početku 70-ih. U Srbiji su se događale velike čistke na fakultetima i školama. Vrlo strogo mjesto tog vremena bila je i Bosna s emigracijama inteligencije i studenata, koji su se selili u druga mjesta, zbog vrlo represivnog političkog poretka. Vidi: Rastko Močnik, Nismo mi krivi, ali smo odgovorni, op.cit., 144–145.

<sup>5</sup> Tih godina glavni glasnogovornici alternativne scene bili su TV nedeljnik *Mladina*, koji se objavljivao u Sloveniji, a prodavao u svim većim gradovima Jugoslavije, i *Radio Student*, dostignuće revolucije iz 1968. godine – aktivan u Ljubljani.

<sup>6</sup> O alternativnim predstavnicima, istupima i praksama u Sloveniji vidi: Rastko Močnik, isto.

<sup>7</sup> Nikolai Jeffs, *FV and the 'Third Scene', 1980–1990*, u: *FV Alternativa osamdesetih / Alternative Scene of the Eighties*, ur. Breda Škrjanec, mglc, Ljubljana, decembar 2008, 379–394.

<sup>8</sup> Nika Grabar, Interview with Neven Korda: Pleasure in Discipline, preuzeto s: [http://talkingcriticarts.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/lca\\_publication\\_art\\_in\\_critical\\_confrontation\\_to\\_society.pdf](http://talkingcriticarts.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/lca_publication_art_in_critical_confrontation_to_society.pdf), 490–505. (zadnji pregled: 2. 2. 2013.).

<sup>9</sup> Film, ili kako autor Neven Korda ističe, zbirku muzičkih videa

čine: *The Mud, Discipline, G.U.M., No Hope No Fear, Poppers, She, Venceremos*, zatim triptih *The Futurists i dokumentarac. Također* vidi: <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/ip/zanka/triumf.html>

<sup>10</sup> Riječ je o karikiranju člana 133: „[...] na smrtnu kaznu, koja će se izvršiti vješanjem [...]“

<sup>11</sup> Svi prikazani frejmovi iz muzičkih videa *Venceremos (133)* i *Discipline* odabir su autorice teksta.

<sup>12</sup> Vizualna komponenta nastala je prema prethodno sačinjenoj muzičkoj komponenti muzičkog videa *Discipline*. Vidi: Nika Grabar, isto.

<sup>13</sup> U koncipiranju *Discipline* korišteni su različiti medijski oblici, kao što su: film, fotografija, skulptura, radio, televizija. Budući da je korišteno više medija u muzičkom videu, *Discipline se može predstaviti terminom miksmidij. Svaki od medija ima funkciju dopunjavanja, razgradnje i potvrde značenskog nivoa poruke.*

<sup>14</sup> Riječ je o tekstu: „Slobodane, slobodom te zvali, tebe vole veliki i mali, dok se Slobo ovom zemljom šeće, narod nikom robovati neće“.

<sup>15</sup> Ovaj dio muzičkog videa citat je ili preuzeti audio-vizualni isječak Ejenštajnovog govora iz 20-ih pred kamerama, a koji se u *Discipline* ponavlja u skladu s repetitivnim ritmičkim modelom druge strofe.

<sup>16</sup> U vizualne sposobnosti predstavljanja alternativnog spadaju: arhivske fotografije s nastupa u *underground* prostorima (podrumima), fotografije publike, pojedinih pripadnika *punk* pokreta, prizori iz *Radio Studenta*, zatim plakati *HC scene*, *FV klubova*, *Laibacha* (kojim se najavljujvalo dešavanje u alternativnom, omladinskom prostoru), kao i naslove strane časopisa *Mladina*, novih društvenih pokreta i novi vidovi dokumentiranja (snimanja) stvarnosti.

<sup>17</sup> Strategije štampanja, snimanja, kopiranja sa svrhom

*Futurists*, and a documentary. Cf. <http://www.ljudmila.org/scca/ip/zanka/triumf.html>.

<sup>10</sup> It was a caricature of Article 133: “[...] to death by hanging [...]”

<sup>11</sup> All the frames from the music video clips *Venceremos (133)* and *Discipline* have been selected by the author of this text.

<sup>12</sup> The visual component of the video clip *Discipline* was produced according to the previously created musical component. Cf. Nika Grabar, *ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> Various media were used in the concept of *Discipline*, such as film, photography, sculpture, radio, and television. Owing to that, this video clip may be defined as a mixed medium. Each of the media serves to complement, deconstruct, and confirm the semantic level of the message.

<sup>14</sup> The text runs as follows: “Slobodan, you are called freedom, beloved by young and old; as long as Slobo walks this country, its people will be slave to nobody.”

<sup>15</sup> This segment of the video clip is a quotation or a borrowed audio-visual segment from Eisenstein’s speech in front of the camera from the 1920s, which is in *Discipline* repeated in accordance with the repetitive rhythmical model of the second strophe.

<sup>16</sup> These visual potentials for representing the alternative include archival photographs of performances in underground spaces (cellars), photographs of the audience, photographs of individual representatives of the punk movement, scenes from *Radio Student*, posters of the *HC scene*, *FV clubs*, *Laibach* (announcing events in the alternative youth venue), as well as cover pages of *Mladina*, new social movements, and new ways of documenting (recording) the reality.

<sup>17</sup> Strategies of printing, recording, and copying in order to multiply the statements, the documents, and thus the reality,

have been metaphorically employed as an alternative text and to undermine the new dominant ideological repetition at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

<sup>18</sup> The electronically modified voice of Aldo Ivančić is an example of such alternative performance, beside the alternative music trend known as “industry pop.” The multiplication of visuals was achieved by means of a “directed” performance of the musical component in terms of rhythm and motif.

<sup>19</sup> The “symptom” is a spot or place in which the tacit, the hidden, or the understood becomes expressed and represented, and by that very act of signifying placed into a symbolic network. In this way, the now meaningless symptom is deprived of its traumatic content. Cf. Miško Šuvaković, “Symptom” [Symptom], in: *Pojmovnik teorije umetnosti* [Lexicon of art history] (Belgrade: Orion Art, 2011), 643–644.

<sup>20</sup> In the video clip *Discipline*, modified signs or words accompany the figure of Slobodan Milošević, e.g. the fourfold Cyrillic “S” representing the slogan “Samo Sloga Srbina Spasava” (Only concord will save the Serbs). In one of the scenes showing Milošević in an informative TV programme, the words “New Tito” have been added.

<sup>21</sup> Nikolai Jeffs, “FV and the ‘Third Scene’, 1980–1990,” (as in n. 7), 392–393.

<sup>22</sup> Marina Gržinić, “NSK: It’s perpetuum mobile,” in: *Art & Politics: The Imagination of Opposition in Europe*, ed. Noel Kelly (The Art Projects Network) (Dublin: Conference Papers, 2004), 48.

THIS RESEARCH IS THE RESULT OF THE PHD TITLED *ALTERNATIVE ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL PRACTICES: THE CASE OF LATE-SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA*, MENTORED BY DR. MIODRAG ŠUVAKOVIĆ AT THE INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF THE ART AND MEDIA THEORY, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE.

umnožavanja iskaza, dokumenata, a time i stvarnosti, metaforično su postavljene u funkciju alternativnog teksta i potkopavanja nove dominantne ideološke repeticije na pragu XXI. stoljeća.

<sup>18</sup>Elektronski modificiran glas Alda Ivančića predstavlja jednu od instanci alternativnog izvođenja, pored alternativnog muzičkog pravca industrijskog popa (*industry pop*). Umnježavanje vizualnih predstava izvedeno je 'dirigiranim' ritmičkim i motivskim izlaganjem muzičke komponente.

<sup>19</sup>'Simptom' je točka ili mjesto u kojem prešutno, skriveno ili podrazumijevano postaje izgovoreno i prikazano te tim činom označavanja smješteno u neku simboličku mrežu. Tako se, onda, obesmišljenom simptomu oduzima njegov traumatični sadržaj. Vidi: Miško Šuvaković, „Simptom“, u: *Pojmovnik teorije umetnosti*, Orion Art, Beograd, 2011, 643–644.

<sup>20</sup>U muzičkom videu *Discipline* modificirani znakovi ili riječi prate prikazivanje lika Slobodana Miloševića poput četiri znaka ćiriličnog 's', tj. slogana „Samo Sloga Srbina Spasava“. U jednom od prizora u kom se prikazuje Miloševićev lik u televizijskom informativnom programu ispisana je parola „Novi Tito“.

<sup>21</sup>Nikolai Jeffs, 'FV and the 'Third Scene' 1980–1990', op.cit., 392–393.

<sup>22</sup>Marina Gržinić, „NSK: It's perpetuum mobile“, u: *Art & Politics: The Imagination of Opposition in Europe*, ed. by: Noel Kelly (The Art Projects Network), April 29-30, 2004, Dublin – Conference Papers, 48.

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 ISTAŽIVANJE JE PROIZAŠLO IZ RADA NA DOKTORSKOJ TEZI *ALTERNATIVNE UMETNIČKE I KULTURNE PRAKSE: SLUČAJ POZINOSOCIJALISTIČKE JUGOSLAVIJE*, POD MENTORSTVOM DR. MIODRAGA ŠUVAKOVIĆA NA INTERDISCIPLINARNIM STUDIJAMA TEORIJE UMETNOSTI I MEDIJA UNIVERZITETA UMETNOSTI U BEOGRADU.

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 KONSTRUKCIJE  
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 U MUZIČKIM  
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