

“WHY DO WE NEED THE COMPARISON WITH THE SAN REMO FESTIVAL?”

**THE BIRTH OF YUGOSLAV ZABAVNA MUSIC UNDER THE ITALIAN
INFLUENCE**

By

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Abstract

In the first ten years of socialism Yugoslavia passed through radical political, economic and cultural change. Tito's historical "no" to Stalin did not mean an immediate split with dogmatic practices, but in long terms it influenced the change of Yugoslav ideology. Two things were crucial: the introduction of self-management and opening to the Western countries. The first caused liberalization of the cultural sphere and "democratization" of music, but also introduced commercialism in the spread of cultural goods.

Light forms of entertainment were slowly accepted throughout the 1950s in Yugoslavia while a liberalized cultural policy increased the influx of Western music. While musicians and composers copied foreign popular songs, performing them in original language or translated, structures that were close to the official policy worked toward the creation of Yugoslav national style of popular music. Only in the mid-1950s did *zabavna* music, as a national genre, become established. The radio orchestras had an important role in its birth, but actually the creation of various festivals was the sign of the true acceptance of the light music genre. The Opatija Festival was especially important, considered as all-Yugoslav musical celebration where all republics and ethnicities, including minorities, were represented.

The promotion of Yugoslavia as a Mediterranean country could be seen in the representation of the motives in the popular music. Italy served as a perfect role model because of its closeness and historical connections. The world-famous San Remo Festival influenced Yugoslav culture on several levels. It did not bring only a certain type of music and style of performance, but also popularity, fashion and glamour with all their positive and negative sides.

List of Abbreviations:

AWEA - Association of the Workers of Estrada Art

CCA CFPRY (CSFRY) - Committee for Culture and Arts of the Cabinet of Federal's People Republic of Yugoslavia (the Cabinet of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)

CCW DCEA - Commission for Communist Work in the Domain of Culture, Education and Arts

CPY / LCY – Communist Party of Yugoslavia / League of Communists of Yugoslavia

FTT - Free Territory of Trieste

IC CC CPY (LCY) - Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (League of Communists of Yugoslavia)

ICP - Italian Communist Party

AYC - Association of Yugoslav Composers

AYMA - Association of Yugoslav Musical Artists

RAPM - Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians

SIAU - Slovene-Italian Antifascist Union

YAA - Yugoslav Author Agency

YRD / YRT - Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion / Yugoslav Radio Television

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Introduction

In 1958 an anonymous critic from the Yugoslav weekly *Vjesnik u srijedu* (Wednesday's Herald) in a report on the first Opatija festival, the biggest popular music festival in Yugoslavia, wrote: "Why do we need the comparison with the San Remo and other foreign festivals, why do we announce vacancies and spend money and energy, when we could just have kept current regular and unpretentious revues of *zabavna*¹ music, that in the end anyway give same results?"² Question of the imitation of Italy in 1958 demonstrated that the Yugoslav popular music already had its own style, but at the same time it did not satisfy certain ideological criteria that the author just implicitly states. My thesis will to argue that the ambiguous role of Yugoslav *zabavna* music was a result of the discrepancy between the Western influences, manifested in Italian popular music practices, and the need to create ideologically appropriate form of entertainment in the socialist society.

Music is one of the most important segments of cultural industry. It is not only significant because of the style or lyrics sung, but also because of its representativeness and impact on the population. Moreover, popular music is usually in opposition to higher musical styles and official cultural policy. Thus, popular music should be of a special interest to the scholars interested in society and its changes. Popular song succeeds because its motives connect with the life experience of the audience, and it that way becomes "pseudo-individual."³ Although popular music with all of its forms had often been accused of being

¹ *Zabavna* is the Croatian term for light popular music and literally translated means "entertaining." The term will be used in the original language throughout the text because it signifies the special national version of popular music, similarly to German *schlager*, Italian *canzone* or French *chanson*.

² "Koščica šipak pun", *Vjesnik u srijedu* (VUS) [Wednesday's Herald], 1 October 1958.

³ Darko Glavan, "Rock glazba" [Rock Music], in: *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj* [Discography in SR Croatia] (Zagreb: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1984), 32.

meaningless, kitsch and short-lived, critics had to admit that this form is massively consumed by the majority of the population and in that way shapes their musical taste and knowledge.⁴

The Yugoslav case is particularly interesting because of the country's status between the East and the West. My research will try to interpret just twenty years, the 1950s and 1960s as a time in which significant changes in Yugoslav society happened, not just in politics, but also in mentalities, culture and everyday life. The Tito-Stalin split of 1948 directed the Yugoslav state towards exploring new ways of communism, and life on the edge between the East and the West. The research of these twenty years should in the most visible way demonstrate changes in politics and society, from the communist dogma to almost complete openness.

The liberalization of politics, and the social and cultural consequences of it, can be found in the creation of the Yugoslav version of the popular music genre – *zabavna* music. Connections between political changes and changes of attitude towards popular music are crucial for understanding the role of *zabavna* music as the most popular music genre and the mediator of ideologically acceptable form of entertainment. Music festivals, among which the Opatija Festival was the most popular in Yugoslavia, served for the establishment of a supranational identity demonstrating that *zabavna* music was one of the connectors between different Yugoslav nations. Therefore, analysis of the development of *zabavna* music should provide a model for the transformation of the whole society. Moreover, it can also serve as a paradigm through which the openness of Yugoslavia to the West is analyzed. The promotion of Yugoslavia as a Mediterranean country could not only be seen in the development of mass-tourism, but also in the representation of the motives in the popular music. Italy served as a perfect role model because of its closeness and historical connections. Both the importation of

⁴ Nena Franičević, "Utjecaj društva na diskografsku produkciju u SR Hrvatskoj" [The Influence of the Society on Discographic Production in SR Croatia], in: *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1984), 87-88.

goods from Italy and spread of images through mass media contributed to the Westernization of lifestyles in Yugoslavia, as well as the creation of stardom and glamour.

This topic can be found in historiography only in traces. Historian Zoran Janjetović recently published a book *From the Internationale to Commercialism*,⁵ the first volume in the ex-Yugoslav historiography completely dedicated to popular culture and practices in socialist Yugoslavia. The author covers range of topics – movies, trivial literature, the yellow press, comic books, and finally popular music, but also introduces general cultural policy of Yugoslav authorities. Another historian, Igor Duda in *In Pursuit of Well-Being*⁶ implies the importance of Italian culture for the formation of popular culture in Yugoslavia, and explicitly mentions the Opatija Festival as a symbol through which Italian influence was manifested. Moreover, he provides political and social background for the liberalization period of the 1950s and 1960 and offers the analysis of everyday practices of citizens during that period concentrating on the creation of consumer society (influenced by one-day shopping practices in Trieste) and mass tourism which was developed on the Adriatic coast.

Music as a specific phenomenon is the central preoccupation of several historians. While there is a great deal of research on rock music as radical opposition to cultural trends and the influence on the creation of youth subcultures, light genres of popular music are often forgotten. Works that are researching Yugoslav music can usually be divided into two groups; first that deal with rock music, usually influenced by the Anglo-American cultural circle; and with so-called newly composed folk music. Nevertheless, they offer useful methodological tools and information about sources. The first is the research of the “New Wave” movement of the late 1970s and 1980s, which is usually connected with the youth movement, especially

⁵ Zoran Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* [From The Internationale to Commercialism: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia: 1945-1991] (Beograd: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011).

⁶ Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkoga društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* [In Pursuit of Well-being: On History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005).

in the youth press (*Polet*). Rise in interest in this topic is not noticeable just in the historiography (Marko Zubak,⁷ Mladen Majušević⁸), but amongst other scholars and publicists (Igor Mirković,⁹ Hrvoje Horvat¹⁰) as well. A similar tendency is closer to my topic because it deals both with foreign influence and popular music in the early communist period. The authors, for example Dean Vuletic and Ivan Dukić,¹¹ are mainly interested in the spread of rock (less jazz) music and Anglo-American culture. Dean Vuletic's PhD thesis *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music*, from which he published several articles dealing with different aspects of popular music in early-communism era in Yugoslavia,¹² is the most important and relevant work about connection between Yugoslav politics and spread of popular music. On the other hand, Ljerka V. Rasmussen offers quite provoking analysis of the newly composed folk music in Yugoslavia.¹³ It is a detailed research of the development of the genre and it demonstrates its symbolic representation and significance in Yugoslav society. However, Rasmussen also compares newly composed folk music with other genres, and she emphasizes the popularity of *zabavna* music. Ana Hofman deals with more specific research of female singers of newly composed folk music and their role in the society.¹⁴ She interprets liberalization of social sphere in terms of gender equality, but also tries to expose

⁷ Marko Zubak, "*Polet*"- Youth Press in Late Communist Yugoslavia, MA thesis (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004).

⁸ Mladen Majušević, *Rock skupina Azra i društveno-političke prilike u Hrvatskoj 1979-1984*. [Rock group Azra and Sociopolitical Circumstances in Croatia 1979-1984], MA thesis (Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 2010).

⁹ Igor Mirković, *Sretno dijete* [Happy Child] (Zaprešić: Fraktura 2004).

¹⁰ Hrvoje Horvat, *Johnny B. Štulić: Fantom slobode* [Johnny B. Štulić: Phantom of Freedom] (Zagreb: Profil International, 2005).

¹¹ Ivan Dukić, "'Studio'i 'Plavi vjesnik' – pogled na istraživanja prodora i utjecaja zapadne popularne kulture u Hrvatsku (1963.-1965.) ["Studio" and "Plavi vjesnik" – A View on Research of Penetration and Influence of Western Popular Culture in Croatia (1963-1965)], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* [Papers of the Croatian History Institute], Vol. 29 (1996).

¹² Dean Vuletic, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music*, PhD dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 2010). The articles used for this research: Dean Vuletic, "The Socialist Star: Yugoslavia, Cold War Politics and the Eurovision Song Contest", in: Ivan Raykoff, Robert Dean Tobin (eds.), *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Dean Vuletic, "Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 36, No. 5 (2008); Dean Vuletic, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest", in: Breda Luthar, Maruša Pušnik (eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington: New Academia Pub., 2010).

¹³ Ljerka V. Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁴ Ana Hofman, "Kafana Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia", *Narodna umjetnost* [Folk Art], Vol. 47, No. 1 (2010).

the role of the Association of Workers of Estrada Art in Yugoslavia. Even though they all provide useful information for the analysis of the liberalization period, they often ignore the number of people who listened to different genres of popular music (in the case of the “New Wave”) or their importance for the creation of official cultural policy in socialist Yugoslavia. In that light, the only volume that is completely dedicated to the *zabavna* music genre is Petar Luković’s *Better Past*,¹⁵ which gives a complete historical overview of the development of the genre during the socialist period. However, because it functions as a collection of interviews with the actors of the music industry conducted in the socialist period by the rock critic and publicist, it can serve only as a primary source, demonstrating the viewpoint of one period.

The first part of my research will demonstrate the theoretical approach of the thesis. The introduction of different Marxist interpretations of culture is necessary in order to understand the development of Yugoslav cultural policy. However, openness to Western practices and the influence of modernization and industrialization, visible in the development of media and record industry, brought to the acceptance of popular culture in the Yugoslav ideology. In music it meant hierarchization of different genres, which again has to be interpreted in the transnational context of the development of popular music. Finally, the reasons for the imitation of Italian practices are the last factors of the distinguished approaches of Yugoslavia to popular culture and music.

The second part will focus on the official attitude of the Party in regards to the liberalization and commercialization of culture. With the establishment of the new authorities and the new regime in 1945, Yugoslavia automatically turned to Eastern influences and neglected everything that was coming from the West. In the first three years, until the

¹⁵ Petar Luković, *Bolja prošlost: Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije 1940-1989* [Better Past: Sights from Musical Life in Yugoslavia 1940-1989] (Belgrade: Mladost, 1989).

turnover in 1948, Yugoslavia followed Soviet political and cultural practices. Yugoslav ideologues shared Soviet animosity towards Western decadent music styles, especially jazz and rock'n'roll. However, unexpected political events in 1948, the split between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform, forced Yugoslav leaders to change its political course and open to the West, which at the same time meant Western cultural influences. The introduction of self-management made cultural policy makers to change the focus from high culture to the democratization of music which included the spread of foreign popular music forms – *schlager*, *canzone* and *chanson*, but at the same time the development of the idea of a Yugoslav national version of light music – *zabavna* music.

The third chapter will analyze how the cultural policy was implemented, if it actually was implemented. The experience of the *zabavna* music artists will offer insider's view of the struggle between ideology and need for entertainment on the example of the *zabavna* music festivals with the detailed analysis of the first Opatija festival as the representative case study. Although in first years they were imitation of their Western neighbors' ideas, especially Italian's because of the success of the San Remo, festivals helped to create recognized and specific popular music production. More than to national compositions, festivals contributed to the affirmation of singers, creation of Yugoslav *estrada* and popular star system that would, with the growth of discography, bring to the complete commercialization of music industry.

Although in the last few years interest in cultural and social history of Yugoslav socialism has increased, there remains a great deal of empty space that has to be fulfilled. I believe that my thesis will not only demonstrate the history of popular music in the 1950s and 1960s, but also provide a model for understanding the main changes in cultural policies of early socialism in Yugoslavia.

1. Marxism, Popular Culture and Music between the Theory and Practice

Introduction: The Challenges of Popular Culture and Music in Yugoslav Context

To understand the challenge that *zabavna* music brought to Yugoslav culture in the 1950s requires a broad view of popular culture and music, not only in the socialist context but also as a part of a much larger debate over popular culture taking place over its very definition.¹ In the 1950s most interpretations operated with notions of “inferior kinds of work” or “to win favor” of people.² A shift in perspective during the 1960s, recognized by Raymond Williams, toward the view on popular culture as a people’s, folk culture, undermined established definitions and interpretations, but also contributed to dispersion of ideas about popular culture that in the end opened more questions than answers.³ The Marxist influence on popular culture theory introduces the role of the ideology, industrialization and commercialization of cultural commodities, both from Western scholars who were criticizing capitalism and from socialist ideologues that tried to adjust or invent massive people’s culture.

The Yugoslav approach to Marxism is intriguing because of the specific position Yugoslavia had in the after-war period. The politics of the so-called “third way,” in economy manifested in the invention of self-management, in foreign policy in the non-

¹ Zoran Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* [From The Internationale to Commercialism: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia: 1945-1991] (Beograd: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 16.

² According to Dominic Strinati, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture* (London – New York: Routledge, 2004), 4.

³ Strinati, *An Introduction to...*, 4.

alignment movement, demanded a different approach to the culture, different both from the Western “Taylorization of social lies” that reduced human need for culture on cheap entertainment on the one hand, and on the other from the “lakirovka” which propagated socialist realism with strict dictate of the state.⁴ However, according to Davor Dukić, finding the appropriate cultural model, could not be simplified to the dichotomy of Stalinist and bourgeois / Western / capitalist cultural practices, but the specificity of all national traditions, including minorities, represented in six federal republics had to be considered too, and then incorporated to the complex interaction of the two already existing cultural models in the East and West.⁵ At the same time, Yugoslav specific theoretical approach to the culture that had to be democratized (the term that would later be closely connected with the popular music for masses) and available to all social classes (that would eventually be eliminated) influenced the Marxist thought in general, especially after the postmodern shift and influences of poststructuralism in the 1960s and 1970s.

The question of where popular culture comes from, whether it comes from the elites and then sinks down, or it raises from the “folk” culture, has become more complex when the interaction between high and low culture was introduced. That is why the postmodernist and poststructuralist generation of scholars tries to research the creation of meanings that people ascribe to certain popular culture practices. According to John Fiske “popular culture is made by the people, not produced by the culture industry.”⁶ He believes that popular culture is not “a repertoire of texts or cultural resources,” but circulation of meanings that

⁴ Reana Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* [Lost in Transmission: Pop Experience of Socialist Culture] (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008), 74.

⁵ Davor Dukić, “Problem početka sadašnjosti ili kako misliti pedesete” [Problematising the Beginning of the Present or How to Think of the 1950s], in: Krešimir Bagić (ed.), *Način u jeziku / Književnost i kultura pedesetih: Zbornik radova 36. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* [Mode in Language / Literature and Culture in the 1950s: Collection of Papers from 36th Seminar of Zagreb Slavic School] (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2008), 64.

⁶ John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 23.

people produce by accepting or rejecting different popular culture forms.⁷ Hence, consumption of popular culture is “a process of 'symbolic creativity' whereby value judgments are made.”⁸

Conflicts between a variety of parties – the artists, the audiences, the industry, the cultural authorities and past traditions – make the analysis much more complicated than classical Marxist class struggle theory.⁹ Historical analysis of popular culture differs from other approaches because it cannot be focused only on theory, but has to put an emphasis on historical – social, economic, political and cultural - context.¹⁰ Historians hence challenge theoretical concept of the impossibility of the reconstruction of the original context.¹¹

1.1. Popular Culture and Music in Marxist Theory

Marxist theory of popular culture can be divided into the Western approach that is focused on the critique of capitalistic cultural industry and the experiment of different state socialist countries to implement Marxist and Leninist theory. Both streams are important for Yugoslav case, not just because of the country's position between East and West, but also because they both influenced original theoretical approach to popular culture and music of leading Yugoslav ideologues. The mixture of Soviet avant-garde and later rejection of Zhdanovism and social realism on the one side, and invocation of Western theorists like

⁷ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 23.

⁸ Edward Larkey, “Austropop: Popular Music and National Identity in Austria”, *Popular Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1992), 155.

⁹ Larkey, “Austropop“, 154.

¹⁰ Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* [Well-Being Found: Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in the 1970s and 1980s] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 8.

¹¹ Dean Duda, “‘Užas je moja furka’: Socijalistički urbani imaginarij Branimira Štulića”[“Terror is My Style”: Socialist Urban Imaginarium of Branimir Štulić], in: Lada Čale Feldman, Ines Prica (eds.), *Devijacije i promašaji: etnografija domaćeg socijalizma* [Deviations and Failures: The Ethnography of the Domestic Socialism] (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2006), 8.

Edgar Morin or Jean Baudrillard on the other, together with the introduction of the social and economic system of self-management created the specific approach of Yugoslav cultural theorists.¹²

Many Western Marxists, starting with the Frankfurt School, focused on Marx's theory of commodity fetishism applied on cultural forms.¹³ Simplified, the general idea has been that the masses "are offered various forms of easy, false pleasure as a way of keeping them unaware of their own desperate vacuity."¹⁴ For Theodor Adorno, similar to social relationships between people that are expressed as, mediated by and transformed into, objectified relationships between commodities and money; so cultural commodities are created by and for the market where "the exchange value deceptively takes over the functions of use value."¹⁵ On the other hand Antonio Gramsci emphasizes the hegemonic role of the dominant groups in society, not exclusively the ruling class, "by securing the 'spontaneous consent' of subordinate groups, including the working class."¹⁶ Adorno emphasizes the need of lower classes to replace their economical incapability to poses high art artifacts with easy amusement that distracts as relief from labor.¹⁷ The American literary theorist, Lionel Trilling, from the more moderate leftist view also interprets modern high art as the opposition to the pleasurable lower artistic forms.¹⁸

Pierre Bourdieu follows the argument of Marxist interpretation of popular culture and offers the analysis in the terms of historical materialism. He questions the development of massive "lower taste" as the reaction on restriction of the access to art which was

¹² See for example: Vera Horvat-Pintarić, *Od kiča do vječnosti* [From Kitsch to Eternity] (Zagreb: Centar društvenih djelatnosti Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske, 1980); Stipe Šuvar, *Politika i kultura* [Politics and Culture] (Beograd: Vuk Karadžić, 1980).

¹³ Strinati, *An Introduction to...*, 50.

¹⁴ Tania Modelski, "The Terror of Pleasure: The Contemporary Horror Film and Postmodern Theory", in: Tania Modelski (ed.), *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 155.

¹⁵ Modelski, "The Terror of Pleasure", 152.

¹⁶ Modelski, "The Terror of Pleasure", 153.

¹⁷ J. M. Bernstein, "Introduction", in: Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), 6.

¹⁸ Modelski, "The Terror of Pleasure", 157.

reserved for those who could afford it.¹⁹ He states that “the denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile – in a word, natural – enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane.”²⁰ Hence, he argues that the undermining of popular taste actually strengthens the position of bourgeoisie, and nothing makes it more clearly than the taste in music. Similarly, Trilling, writing about his contemporary artists, argues “that high art had dedicated itself to an attack on pleasure in part because pleasure was the province of mass art.”²¹ Nevertheless, Bourdieu still does not completely rehabilitate positive meaning of popular culture, but contributes in the shift of the interest towards the connection with everyday life.²²

A different application of Marxist thought can be found in state socialism. Marxist-Leninist ideology defined every aspect of socialist life through class character. In that manner, culture in socialist regimes had to reflect the interests of all the workers, and be made by, about and for workers.²³ The cultural policy was designed to ensure that all workers have access to cultural wealth, which meant trying to find a solution for issues like music illiteracy or complicated instrument manufacture and usage.²⁴ Education and culture were connected on many levels. Everyone had to be educated to possess “the qualities required of an active builder of a new life-spiritual strength, moral purity and physical fitness.”²⁵ New mass culture had to be recreated. However, for socialist ideologues, mass culture could descend neither from rural folk culture, nor from urban bourgeois heritage. Folk music was found harmful to socialism because it “encouraged a cult of the old village”

¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.

²⁰ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 42.

²¹ Modelski, “The Terror of Pleasure”, 157.

²² Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 126.

²³ H. M. Shevchuk, *Cultural Policy in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic* (Paris: Unesco, 1982), 12.

²⁴ Neil Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement* (Oxford – New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 19.

²⁵ Shevchuk, *Cultural Policy in...*, 11.

which was contradictory to modernization and industrialization of the country.²⁶ Avant-garde movements, although quite political and in first decade after the Revolution praised, with the inauguration of Stalin were abandoned for its abstraction and elitism.²⁷ Socialist realism became the only welcomed form of art and should celebrate socialist regime and victory of working class. Zhdanovism, that reduced culture to a reflection of economic relations, was firstly institutionalized in the Soviet Union, but soon influenced other socialist regimes.²⁸ Everything that did not help in the creation of new socialist man was marked as negative, decadent, bourgeois or provincial.²⁹ In music songwriters were “recommended” to produce lyrics that incorporated socialist realist symbols and themes, such as the hammer and sickle, tractors or heavy industry, and those that continued to compose ideologically or politically inappropriate songs by the Communists were faced with the loss of one’s job, imprisonment, or penal labor.³⁰ A repertoire committee was deciding which performers would be recorded, which records would be released, and in how many copies.³¹ But the musical recording practices of commercial enterprises were not bound by borders or ideas, and after the 1960s, most of the popular music industry was led by market forces.

Criticism towards popular culture and light-entertainment was common for Western countries too, especially under the influence of Marxist thought. The negative attitude for every kind of leisure that did not require high intellectual or artistic investment has been spread amongst intellectuals no matter what kind of political ideology they were sharing.

²⁶ Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian...*, 16.

²⁷ Horvat-Pintarić, *Od kiča do vječnosti*, 21.

²⁸ Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg, “Introduction”, in: Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Houndmills – Basingstoke – Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988), 2.

²⁹ Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija: slovenska kulturna politika 1953 – 1962* [Socialist Cultural Revolution: Slovene Cultural Policy 1953-1962] (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 29.

³⁰ Dean Vuletic, “The Socialist Star: Yugoslavia, Cold War Politics and the Eurovision Song Contest”, in: Ivan Raykoff, Robert Dean Tobin (eds.), *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 85.

³¹ Marsha Siefert, “Re-Mastering the Past: Musical Heritage, Sound Recording, and the Nation in Hungary and Russia”, in: M. Szegedy-Maszak (ed.), *National Heritage – National Cannon*, Vol. 11 (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, Collegium Budapest workshop series, 2001), 265.

The Frankfurt School's conception of mass culture as "a monstrous and monolithic ideological machine"³² fits perfectly in, for many Marxists, paradigm of the art in general as a distraction, a form of entertainment or simple means of political efficacy.³³ For Simon Frith there is a wide range of reasons for the Marxist neglect of popular culture, from the organization of academy to the leftist prejudices about the popular as such.³⁴ John Fiske also emphasizes the tendency to demean the people for whom it speaks and to cast them as the victims of the system without any power.³⁵ However, this second rediscovery of Marxist humanism that started with the New Left in the 1960s and 1970s led critics to recognize that there are multiple cultures within the social formation. Criticism towards a simplified and accusing Marxist view on popular culture was replaced by the shift of interest to everyday practices and creation of meaning by people on the one hand, and on the other the more complex relations of power and meaning. While criticism in the characterization of popular texts as excessive and obvious stays, these characteristics are not evaluated negatively anymore.³⁶ It is expected that a cultural text should be "a highly crafted, completed, and self-sufficient object, worthy of respect and preservation."³⁷ However, popular text is minimally crafted and incomplete until people ascribe it some kind of meaning. So, according to Fiske, the artistic evaluation of popular culture forms is completely wrong because everyone denies their esthetic value. The importance lies in the social circulation of meaning and pleasure, as well as how they are used, consumed or rejected by the audience.

³² Modelski, „The Terror of Pleasure“, 156.

³³ Henri Lefebvre, "Toward a Leftist Cultural Politics: Remarks Occasioned by the Centenary of Marx's Death", in: Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Houndmills – Basingstoke – Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988), 83.

³⁴ Simon Frith, "Art Ideology and Pop Practice", in: Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Houndmills – Basingstoke – Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988), 461.

³⁵ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 162.

³⁶ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 114.

³⁷ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 123.

This shared experience gives people power to create their own meaning of texts, not necessarily the one intended from the creators or higher instances.³⁸

The shift in cultural Marxism can be seen in the relation with politics. The biggest Marxists' objection to popular culture is that it satisfies only primary and instinctive needs, and does not question social system and does not involve politically. Nevertheless, it reflects other aspects of society, gradually influencing changes in the mentality, lifestyles, morality, or generational and gender interrelations.³⁹ Fiske demonstrates that popular culture has the ability to act (counter)politically, but it does not always activate, or if it does, it is usually on the microlevel. Claiming that cultural power comes from social mobilization, he goes further and criticizes radical high art, usually revolutionary, which fails to influence everyday life and politics.⁴⁰ Once again, music is seen as the most powerful element of culture because it is a social factor that influences and involves all members of society.⁴¹ Popular music is viewed as giving voice to socially marginal groups, caught as they may be in class struggles, rural-urban transitions, conflicts of regionalism, and resistance to dominant ideologies.⁴²

1.2. Commercialization of the Cultural Industry and Popular Music

The history of technology and its industrialization is closely connected with the history of popular music and its commercialization.⁴³ With the introduction of phonograph

³⁸ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 49.

³⁹ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 15.

⁴⁰ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 161.

⁴¹ Miroslav Mavra, Lori McNeil: "Identity Formation and Music: A Case Study of Croatian Experience", *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, Vol. 2 (2007).

⁴² Ljerka V. Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xxv.

⁴³ Iain Chambers, "Contamination, Coincidence, and Collusion: Pop Music, Urban Culture, and the Avant-Garde" in: Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Houndmills – Basingstoke – Hampshire: Macmillan, 1988), 609.

and vinyl records, popular music became even more influential, shaping musical taste and knowledge, but also “democratizing” culture, even in closed or totalitarian societies.⁴⁴ Democratization was manifested in the shift in “music authorities” from the “small groups of the intellectual elite functioning as guardians, custodians and prime re-interpreters of a society’s myth-symbol complexes”⁴⁵ to judging the value of the artist by record sales.⁴⁶ The record industry developed in line with the spread of gramophone. More and more people could afford to listen to records in their own homes, first LPs around 1950, and then the CD in the 1980s, which contributed to the spread of primarily popular music genres in different social groups, from which many of them did not previously attend concerts.⁴⁷ On the other hand, for musicians it meant to focus more on the production on hit-singles for radio stations, while the live performances started to serve either for the promotion of the new record, or for the establishment of the personality as a popular star.

The other contributor to the commercialization of music industry is radio, and later TV programming policy. Edward Larkey stresses several important elements for mass media broadcasting: audience taste predictability, consensual programming policies, and the homogenization of music broadcasting in a variety of programs offered through daily repetition.⁴⁸ The special problem became the timing for different genres in radio and TV broadcasting and programming. Different genres compete for available time slots during the day and week, which leads to a “hierarchization of genres and styles according to the hegemonically-determined consensual aesthetic.”⁴⁹ The charts function in the way that through different playlists they help programming by selecting newly recorded songs that are supposed to become popular (because they contain a certain “degree of familiarity”),

⁴⁴ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music...*, xxv.

⁴⁵ Edward Larkey, *Pungent Sounds: Constructing Identity with Popular Music in Austria* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), 5.

⁴⁶ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 75.

⁴⁷ Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2004), 4.

⁴⁸ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 51.

⁴⁹ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 56.

and then are repeated on a daily basis.⁵⁰ They help to construct the identities of collective subjects by “inviting to feel,” through “sympathy/empathy” and “reciprocity,” for “confirming an actual or constructing a desired, self-image for listeners.”⁵¹ According to Karl Rosengren, preferences and choices for certain type of media content informs about audience’s interest and beliefs.⁵²

The further “focal point of identification” for the listening subject positioned in a mass audience is the identity of the singer, star or group of musicians. Popular music differs from other types because of the role of the performer. It is not only the music, or eventually lyrics that are relevant, but also the appearance of the performer, his/her image and personality.⁵³ According to Marsha Siefert, “while it would not be entirely correct to apply market-driven definitions of celebrity to the composers and performers within the socialist states, there is no doubt that there were celebrity musical performers in the socialist era, from all genres, in both the official and the ‘grey’ market.”⁵⁴ State control of popular music was established in order to have control of popular culture industry, as well as to use it for its own purposes, as the Yugoslav case will present in following chapters. Popular stars were promoting socialist values, encouraging their fans to share their beliefs and ideals, which contributed to the official acceptance of entertainment industry by the institutionalization of *estrada*.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 57.

⁵¹ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 26.

⁵² Gertrude Joch Robinson, *Tito’s Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 206.

⁵³ Frith, “Art Ideology and Pop Practice”, 466.

⁵⁴ Siefert, “Re-Mastering the Past”, 267.

⁵⁵ The term *estrada* is used in Slavic languages for different light forms of entertainment like theatre of a light or comic nature, comic stories, popular songs, vocal ensembles, circus and similar. According to: David MacFadyen, *Red Stars: Personality and the Soviet Popular Song 1955-1991* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 11.

1.3. Popular Music and Genre Diversity

Both official cultural policy and mass media programming are reciprocally influenced by different genres. Not all popular music genres provoke the same reaction from theorists or ideologues. Some genres, like punk or rock music, are by default provocative, subversive and anti-regime oriented. Because performers of rock and punk music challenge the system and its values, these genres have been of the central interest for most of the both theorists and researchers.⁵⁶ In socialist regimes, other genres of popular music were considered decadent as well, mostly because of their Western or bourgeois origin. In the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians (RAPM) manifesto of 1929 three ideologically unacceptable types of music were described: the urban romance, “religious petty-bourgeois aestheticism” and “the erotic dance of the contemporary capitalist city,” i.e. foxtrot, jazz and similar Western types.⁵⁷ While Western music, such as jazz, was considered unsuitable for a proletarian audience with its “primitive, monotonous rhythms” and “pornographic lyrics,”⁵⁸ and religious music did not fit in communist ideology; urban romance was criticized because their melodies “act in a debilitating way on the listener by their use of lush, statistic harmonies, [...] and interminable suspensions,” while their lyrics were “propaganda for prostitution.”⁵⁹ Western popular music was also perceived as a capitalist weapon that tries to “corrupt youth and swindle people of their money.”⁶⁰

On the other hand folk music had more ambiguous political role. From one side, it could be seen as a relic from the past, representing rural heritage that carries a negative connotation, especially during the time of modernization, industrialization and urbanization.

⁵⁶ Frith, “Art Ideology and Pop Practice“, 463.

⁵⁷ Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian...*, 20.

⁵⁸ Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian...*, 23.

⁵⁹ Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian...*, 20.

⁶⁰ Vuletic, “The Socialist Star”, 85.

However, it also represents the real people's music, created from the bottom. Especially after socialist ideologues accepted nationalism as a part of their ideology, folk music became appreciated and used for political purposes.⁶¹ Folk music also served as a matrix for new genres that combined tradition and modern elements, sometimes in the form of instrument or rhythm, or in the form of lyrics and motives.⁶²

Therefore, popular music is the most negotiable genre because of its mixed origin and open possibility for different lyrics, from patriotic to frivolous. It offers a possibility for different interpretation which allows both sides, the ones that hold power, and the wider audience, to be satisfied.⁶³ The state and cultural ideologues may use lighter forms of music for attempt to spread ideas and beliefs. Nevertheless, audience does not necessary have to share the same opinion as the official policy would like, but can ascribe its own meanings.

Yugoslav case is more complex because of the proclaimed democratization of music which opened the door for different interpretations and creation of different versions of the popular music genre. *Zabavna* and *narodna* (in the meaning of the newly-composed folk music) music can be seen as different poles of Yugoslav popular music, especially because both were products of traditional forms and modern technology.⁶⁴ Consequently, *zabavna* and *narodna* music worked as two competing genres for the final affirmation of the representative genre of Yugoslav popular music. It is hard to define which was more successful also because of the decentralized music industry and self-management implementation. Catherine Baker claims that "the networks and taste cultures which developed while Yugoslavia functioned as one state were not separated by its fragmentation, although they were shaped by the policies and discourses thought necessary to establish the

⁶¹ Siefert, "Re-Mastering the Past", 257.

⁶² Shevchuk, *Cultural Policy in...*, 24.

⁶³ Ana Hofman, "Kafana Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia", *Narodna umjetnost* [Folk Art], Vol. 47, No. 1 (2010), 142.

⁶⁴ Catherine Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991* (Brulington: Ashgate, 2009), 2.

successors as culturally sovereign entities.”⁶⁵ However, programming policies, market research and concert attendance demonstrate interesting data.

When it comes to concerts and vinyl records production there is just a slight advantage of *narodna* music,⁶⁶ but it can be concluded that both genres were extremely popular amongst general audience. However, radio and TV broadcasting policies demonstrate the difference that can be interpreted as a result of Yugoslav cultural policy. Self-management in mass media caused regional programming, which in the case of radio and television meant six different networks and studios with locally produced content that was supplemented with a common program to which everyone contributed.⁶⁷ The survey from 1963 and 1964 demonstrated differences in various republic centers. *Zabavna* music was the most represented genre covering almost half of the music program, varying from 40 percent on Radio Belgrade to 64 percent on Radio Ljubljana.⁶⁸ On the other hand, *narodna* music was the least played, and a similar situation could be found on the TV program where classic music occupied 44 percent of music program, *zabavna* 41, while *narodna* had only 15 percent of broadcasting area.⁶⁹ This was the result of the official policy that was slowly becoming aware of the necessity of entertainment and leisure, finding *zabavna* music more appropriate for the accomplishment of ideological mission.

Zabavna music was a kind of a symbol of modernity and liberalization.⁷⁰ Although it was often criticized for being dilettante and lacking of artistic taste, critics left the opportunity for the development of *zabavna* music genre and finding autochthonous

⁶⁵ Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland*, 214.

⁶⁶ *Arhiv Jugoslavije* (AJ) [Archives of Yugoslavia], fund 475: Savez udruženja muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije [The Association of Yugoslav Music Artists], file 3.

⁶⁷ Gertrude Joch Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 207.

⁶⁸ AJ, f. 475, f. 3; see also: Joško Čaleta, “The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia”, *Narodna umjetnost* [Folk Art], Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 150.

⁶⁹ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

⁷⁰ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 113.

expression.⁷¹ In later observations about the creation of *zabavna* music, Zvonko Špišić mentioned jazz, chanson, revolutionary songs that were worthy of cultural preservation, while *narodna* music would always stay in opposition to official music pattern.⁷² Some pieces of *zabavna* music were pretty complex and they demanded both concentration and intellectual effort which should have satisfied the need of Yugoslav ideologues for higher forms of entertainment.

1.4. Transnationalism of Music

As the discussion of music genres has illustrated, popular music cannot be isolated inside the national borders. However, the international exchange of both ideas and products is rarely seen as mutual, but more as the influence of the cultural center on the less “civilized” and “enlightened” periphery. Acceptance of foreign influence helps the creation of the self-identity improvement and progress.⁷³ From different perspective, critiques, usually coming from Marxist thought, see it as cultural colonization and imposition of Western cultural practices.⁷⁴ Because of industrialization and spread of technology, exchange of cultural forms is unavoidable, even in closed societies. New (popular, massive) culture is recreated from combination of local traditional elements and transnational elements or technology.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Josip Andreis, Dragotin Cvetko, Stana Đurić-Klain, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Dynamics of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962), 705.

⁷² Zvonko Špišić, “Pop i rock kao prolazna moda”, in: Damir Grubiša, Stipe Šuvar (eds.), *Kulturna politika i razvitak kulture u Hrvatskoj: (“Crvena knjiga” i drugi dokumenti)* [Cultural Policy and the Development of Culture in Croatia: (“Red Book” and Other Documents)] (Zagreb: Republički komitet za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu: Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1982), 332.

⁷³ Čaleta, “The Ethnomusicological Approach ...”, 192.

⁷⁴ Stipe Šuvar, *Svijet obmana* [The World of Delusions] (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1986), 46.

⁷⁵ Larkey, *Pungent Sounds*, 7.

The example of popular music clearly demonstrates different variations of musical forms in non-Western societies that have been a result of a synthesis between local music traditions and Western influence in music and technology. Therefore, Israeli *musica mizrahit*, Turkish *arabesk*, Brazilian *musica sertaneja* or Greek *bouzouki* can be defined as different national genres of popular music that emerged during the processes of industrialization, urbanization and opening to the Western world and capitalistic practices.⁷⁶ Edward Larkey introduces theory of the creation of national style of popular music. On the example of the creation of Austropop, he defines four stages of nativization of foreign elements in national style music. First stage is consumption of the new musical culture that is still strongly separated from the domestic type of music. After the conquest of audiences follows second stage which can be defined as imitation of the innovations by domestic musicians in order to keep or gain similar popularity. The next step Larkey calls de-anglicisation of the imported music, but it can be applied to other influential circles too. It is characteristic for this stage that songs are performed in national language, often incorporating local motives. Last stage is so-called re-ethnification of new style and the struggle for their cultural legitimacy. Because of all included elements, new style in popular music cannot be seen as foreign anymore, but nevertheless, it still has to struggle for the recognition and evaluation by both interested parties – official politics and audience.⁷⁷

In the socialist regimes new forms of popular music became influential and powerful when regime accepted them as a demonstration of liberalization of cultural and everyday life, as well as the mean to disseminate ideas to the wider public. Moreover, institutionalization of national genre of popular music gave the opportunity to the party or the state to control import of Western cultural goods. On the other hand, the audience got the access to lighter forms of entertainment.

⁷⁶ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music...*, xxv.

⁷⁷ Larkey, „Austropop“, 151-153.

In the Yugoslav case, Italy was the most important mediator of consumer and popular culture. The biggest role, at least on the Adriatic coast, had Italian media that were in the 1950s more accessible, especially before the foundation of domestic TV-centers. Nevertheless, physical contact also had huge impact after the opening of the borders in 1955.⁷⁸ Trieste was the top destination for most of the Yugoslav citizens and operated as “thematic park and place of strong visual fascination.”⁷⁹ Even those that could not afford one-day shopping in Italy were familiar with Italian products, both material and nonphysical, finding them trendy and modern with cosmopolitan character.

1.5. Italy as a Mediator between East and West

Similarly to Yugoslavia, Italy underwent dramatic social and economic change in the first decade of post-war period.⁸⁰ The successful fast transformation of a rural society to a significant industrial power was one more reason for Yugoslavs to pay attention to their overseas neighbors. Nevertheless, Italian influence on Yugoslav culture cannot be correctly approached if it is not seen also as the mediator of American culture. With the massive U.S. aid, Italy underwent a remarkable economic recovery that saw rapid industrial expansion and a sharp increase in the standard of living. Through the Marshall Plan, the States helped the reconstruction of infrastructure and an increase in civilian consumption, but also used this as an ideological weapon in the fight against communism.⁸¹ According to Stephen Gundle, in a time of sharp political division “Italians made their transition to consumerism

⁷⁸ Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 70.

⁷⁹ Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje*, 70.

⁸⁰ Paolo Scrivano, “Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy’s Postwar Conversion to Consumerism”, in: Rudy Koshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 317-318.

⁸¹ John L. Harper, “Italy and the World since 1945”, in: Patrick McCarthy, *Italy since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 98.

with the aid of and led by American imagery” finally accepting the United States as a model society which meant the final victory of Christian Democratic government over Italian communist forces.⁸²

However, Italian popular culture cannot be seen as exclusive result of American consumerism, but more as a mixture of Hollywood glamour and Mediterranean cult.⁸³ The creation of stardom in the 1950s, particularly in the movie and music industry, is representative. Although celebrities started to turn to demonstration of sexual, they kept a strong natural appearance that symbolized, and in the same time mystified the Mediterranean identity.⁸⁴ So, it would be more correct to analyze the perception of Italian “charm” which for foreigners presented “an enticing image mixing beauty, sexuality, theatricality, wealth (in the form of heritage), and leisure.”⁸⁵

Finally, Italian left-wing intellectuals criticized the Americanization of Italian popular culture to the certain extent, in that way giving one more excuse to Yugoslav ideologues to follow the Italian approach to the popular culture. American “attack” on Italian popular music can serve as example. The San Remo Festival, which was one of the most important representatives of Italy influencing popular music not just in Yugoslavia, but in whole Europe, was in the late 1950s perceived as descending because Italian *canzone* distanced from traditional melodic style and turned to dancing music of American type,⁸⁶ with complete acceptance of all pop genres in the 1960s.⁸⁷ In that way, Italy passed through similar process as Yugoslavia, although without ideological adaptation problems, which passively influenced Yugoslavia bringing another wave of Westernization.

⁸² Stephen Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy”, in Rudy Coshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 344-347.

⁸³ Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour...”, 337.

⁸⁴ Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour...”, 347-348.

⁸⁵ Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour...”, 352.

⁸⁶ “Što pjeva svijet” [What is Sung in the World], *VUS*, 10 September 1958.

⁸⁷ Stephen Gundle, “Memory and Identity: Popular Culture in Post-War Italy”, in: Patrick McCarthy, *Italy since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 188.

2. Yugoslav Politics, Culture and (Popular) Music

Introduction

In order to understand the development of popular music in Yugoslavia, the context has to be clarified. The ambiguous position of the socialist country between the Eastern and Western blocs complicated the “realization of cultural revolution.”¹ After the Tito – Stalin split, economic and political pressure from the East during the 1950s forced Yugoslav ideologues to turn to the West, which influenced the new approach to culture and arts. Cultural policy was tightly connected with the economic system, but it also reflected foreign policy. Likewise, with acceptance of the light genres of entertainment, popular music and in the end the creation of a national genre – *zabavna* music, Yugoslavia promoted the regime as different to both capitalist and state socialist cultures.

Although Edvard Kardelj had already stated in 1949 that “people cannot live only from symphonies, but they have to have some other kind of music which will entertain them,”² the next two decades were characterized by “confusing opinions” on dissemination of cultural goods to the masses.³ Terms like “mass culture” and “democratization” of music were part of the official discourse, but it is evident that they were too vague, and maybe too utopist, to be applied to everyday life practices. This chapter will demonstrate how attempts were made to realize these ideas, who was struggling against them and why, how the party

¹ Stipe Šuvar, *Politika i kultura*, [Politics and Culture] (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1980), 232.

² Aleš Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija: slovenska kulturna politika 1953-1962* [Socialist Cultural Revolution: Slovene Cultural Policy 1953-1962] (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 103.

³ Dean Vuletic, “Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s”, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 36, No. 5 (2008), 872.

members responded to deviations in the system and finally the acceptance of commercialization of culture and arts with popular music as one of the main genres.

2.1. Following the Soviet Example

With the establishment of the new authorities and the new regime in 1945, Yugoslavia automatically turned to Eastern influences, and neglected everything that was coming from the West. In the first three years, until the turnover in 1948, Yugoslavia followed Soviet practices on all levels. Agitprop commissions were formed on all levels of party organizations and divided in different sectors: press and agitation, theoretical-educative, cultural, organizational-technical and pedagogical.⁴ Each sector had an administrator that possessed the required competences, while the head of the commission was the member of the party bureau which was entitled to take care of agitation and propaganda. Cultural policy was tightly connected with agitprop machinery and had “to popularize the building of the new regime and economic recovery, introduce the goals of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY)⁵ to the masses, mobilize them and ‘save’ them from foreign cultural and political influences.”⁶ This is also reflected in the positioning of ideologically suitable staff in the administrations of artistic and cultural institutions.⁷

⁴ Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura: agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji: 1945-1952* [Agitprop Culture: Agitprop Phase of Cultural Policy in Serbia: 1945-1952] (Belgrade: Rad, 1988), 37.

⁵ The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1952 changed the name to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), therefore, for the events happened before 1952 I will use the abbreviation CPY, and for latter LCY.

⁶ Zoran Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945-1991* [From The Internationale to Commercialism: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia: 1945-1991] (Belgrade: Institut za novu istoriju Srbije, 2011), 22.

⁷ *Arhiv Jugoslavije* (AJ) [Archives of Yugoslavia], fund 507/VIII: Ideološka komisija Centralnog komiteta Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije [The Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], file K-26.

According to the official policy, the role of the arts was to “tell the people what they have done, to bring them to the consciousness the deed they accomplished, to introduce them to new perspectives that are in front of them, to bring them to the consciousness the inexhaustible power and potential they have, and to demonstrate to them what they have to do and what to fight against.”⁸ Hence, the Party wanted artists to focus on recent history, new socialist man, the People’s Liberation War, industrialization and similar topics. While collaborationist and bourgeois heritage had to be eliminated, the tradition had to be Marxist and critically enlightened – realistic by form, progressive by content, public and accessible.⁹ The most important was that chosen topics should be close to the working class, so they would become motivated to create their own art. In 1948 the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of CPY (IC CC CPY) reported that the establishment of the regime’s cultural-educational and cultural-artistic work had shown good results in the approach to the working people which was visible in the number of societies and groups, manifestations and festivals, courses and seminars.¹⁰ Numerous amateur groups differed depending on location, equipment and the education of both performers and audience. Agitprop commissions tried to help organizers by preparing instructions for good performances. At every event the national anthem, recital, music part and theater play had to be performed.¹¹ However, the program had to be strictly educational, so all forms of light entertainment were forbidden.

Music formats appropriate for rigid Communist ideology derived from the war period. Massive and choir songs reflected everyday experience of the fight against the occupier, and had the task to “raise the consciousness of the masses, intensify the belief in victory and to

⁸ Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 193.

⁹ *Arhiv Jugoslavije* (AJ) [Archives of Yugoslavia], fund 314: Komitet za kulturu i umetnost Vlade FNRJ (1946 – 1948) [The Committee for Culture and Arts of Cabinet of Federal’s People Republic of Yugoslavia (1946-1948), file 2.

¹⁰ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f..K-29.

¹¹ Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 137.

call new compatriots to join the rebellion.”¹² Songs for masses with a war theme stayed popular even later, together with partisan marching songs, Russian songs and traditional folk songs. Other genres were supposed to reflect reality, as composer Natko Devčić described in the report on “Some Issues about Contemporary Music Critique” in 1948, “which means reflecting the effort and fight of our people to build socialism, striving for brotherhood and peace amongst nations in the world, as well as the battle against the remains of fascism in the world, war agitators and their imperialistic employers wherever they are.”¹³ It is hard to believe that someone who spent whole day working with a machine or using a tractor would enjoy in listening to the songs which would remind him on his hard working day, but actually it clearly demonstrates how far were Yugoslav ideologues from the understanding of everyday need of those that they ostensibly represented.¹⁴

In practice it meant the application of socialist realist symbols and themes. Most of the composers were not as enthusiastic as their colleague Devčić. Petar Vujić later recalled that composers were “suggested” to use socialist realist topics for lighter sung genres written by untalented but ideologically suitable poets.¹⁵ For example, Darko Kraljić was supposed to compose a song on lyrics about “a tractor that happily plows away, while the sun is even more happily shining” or “about happy people digging a field—and delighting in it!”¹⁶ Most of the composers obeyed agitprop directions because otherwise they would be excluded from musical production and performance.¹⁷ Although Yugoslav regime was more liberal than other socialist regimes even in the first several years so there are no examples of imprisoning

¹² Josip Andreis, Dragotin Cvetko, Stana Đurić-Klain, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Dynamics of Musical Culture in Yugoslavia] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962), 253.

¹³ AJ, f. 314, f. 2.

¹⁴ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 123.

¹⁵ Petar Luković, *Bolja prošlost: Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije 1940-1989* [Better Past: Sights from Musical Life in Yugoslavia 1940-1989] (Belgrade: Mladost, 1989), 41.

¹⁶ Vuletic, “Generation Number One”, 865.

¹⁷ Dean Vuletic, “The Socialist Star: Yugoslavia, Cold War Politics and the Eurovision Song Contest”, in Ivan Raykoff, Robert Dean Tobin (eds.), *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 85.

of musicians that did not obey to the proscribed cultural formula, composers and musicians of inappropriate genres faced other penalties such as banning the work on radio or impossibility to get a passport.¹⁸

Soviet influence was not just disseminated through propaganda and political work, but also on a practical musical level. It was already mentioned that Soviet songs were welcomed as one of the rare appropriate genres. Moreover, many, mostly classical Soviet musicians and singers were hosted in Yugoslavia in order to demonstrate cultural development of the first communist country in the world.¹⁹ Cultural exchange with other socialist countries was also encouraged. Vlado Mađarić, secretary of the Committee for Culture and Arts of the Cabinet of Federal's People Republic of Yugoslavia (CCA CFPRY)²⁰ defined it like this: "Our opinion is, when it comes to hosting foreign artists, that is not important if, for example Bandrovskaja is going to sing in 'The Barber of Seville' or in 'Manon'. What matters is that she was sent by the new Poland into the new Yugoslavia, and that with her started our cultural cooperation, and with that cooperation and exactly that visit also started a development of one new form of accomplishment of brotherhood between us and the Polish people."²¹ Again, cooperation with other socialist countries was twofold; it served for cultural enlightenment of the masses (because of the mostly high culture program), and for political purposes of strengthening the connection between socialist regimes. Because of similar cultural policies influenced by Soviets in all socialist countries,²² cooperation was in general easy to organize and successful.

Education of the masses for high culture could not have been accomplished with complete neglect of Western culture. Historical connections with neighboring countries,

¹⁸ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 11.

¹⁹ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 34.

²⁰ I am going to use the shorter version of the abbreviation CCA.

²¹ AJ, f. 314, f. 2.

²² H. M. Shevchuk, *Cultural Policy in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic* (Paris: Unesco, 1982), 55.

together with the high status of some Western cultures in the classical music sphere, were the reasons why Yugoslavia kept and encouraged the connections with non-socialist countries as long as they did not threaten ideology. Italy functioned as a perfect partner because of its musical tradition, but also because of its antifascist heritage and powerful Communist Party.²³ Guests from Italy had to prove their “correct” siding during the Second World War. All musicians were checked by the Yugoslav attaché in Rome whose role was to “suggest Italian artists whose artistic and political qualities are suitable for our country.”²⁴ This was not an easy task because most of the respected musicians worked during the war, as well as almost all spent some time in Germany, so descriptions like “he is not clerical” or “he is democrat” were acceptable.²⁵ The need for professional musicians, and even more, for music teachers, was high, and Yugoslavia was ready to accept top musicians as long as they were not prominent fascists. Also, because of its high culture heritage, even the lighter genres of Italian music were more acceptable because they originated from Italian opera.²⁶ For some musicologists, like Nikola Hercigonja, even later in the 1950s, *zabavna* music originated from opera was the only acceptable form of light genre.²⁷

At the same time, guests for events of high political and ideological importance were more carefully chosen. For example, Italian representatives at the cultural events during the youth work action of building the railway line Šamac – Sarajevo in 1947 were Giulio Einaudi, “publisher from Torino and recognized antifascist,” Arnaldo Mondadori, “publisher and antifascist known as a progressive man,” Gastone Rosi-Dorna, “musical critic from Rome,

²³ For the importance of the Italian Communist Party during the post-war period in Italy see: Linda Risso, “Against the ‘New Wehrmacht’: The Italian Communists’ Opposition to the European Integration Process, 1950-1955”, in Linda Risso, Monica Boria (eds.), *Politics and Culture in Post-War Italy* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006).

²⁴ AJ, f. 314, f. 5.

²⁵ AJ, f. 314, f. 5.

²⁶ Sebastiano Ferrari, “The Advent of the ‘Committed Songs’ in Italy: The Role of the Cantacronache in the Renewal of Italian Popular Music”, in: Linda Risso, Monica Boria (eds.), *Politics and Culture in Post-War Italy* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), 88.

²⁷ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 122.

antifascist, one of the best young musicians that enjoyed certain benefits during the fascism, but today he is a sympathizer of the Socialist Party” and many more.²⁸ Similarly, the case of Laura Ferlan, pianist from Trieste, is demonstrative. In 1947 the Ministry of Education of Slovenia informed CCA that Ferlan is forbidden to perform in Italy and the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) because she is the “daughter of one of the most active members of the Communist Party of the Julian March and president of the Slovene-Italian Antifascist Union (SIAU), and because she is also a member of SIAU and the United Trade Unions and known for her progressive position.”²⁹ The Committee agreed to organize a tour through the whole country latest in January of 1948. Although there is no data about the further development of the Ferlan case, it can illustrate the political agenda behind cultural events. Organization of the tour for young artist from Trieste should bring points in the battle for FTT, allowing the performance of the artist that was prohibited by democratic authorities, and demonstrating that the Yugoslav leadership cares about Trieste inhabitants.

The politically influenced cultural policy towards Italy was applied in other directions too. The CCA carefully chose where to send Yugoslav artists, again using the attaché in Rome for information. The music festival in Venice in 1948 can serve as an illustration. The festival was organized by Venice municipality that was governed by the Italian Communist Party (ICP). The festival committee, also members of the ICP, suggested Yugoslavia to represent a new opera which would demonstrate the achievements of new Yugoslav culture.³⁰

However, this settled set of rules and developed cultural practices were suddenly interrupted by a series of events in 1948 known as the split between Tito and Stalin. At first, the CPY stayed consistent and continued to propagate the Soviet theoretical approach, trying to be even more orthodox Marxist. The highest instances were warning Party members to be

²⁸ AJ, f. 314, f. 5.

²⁹ AJ, f. 314, f. 5.

³⁰ AJ, f. 314, f. 5.

cautious of “revisionist tendencies” which should “be theoretically and politically exterminated.”³¹ Similar practices can be found in cultural policy. “Great acquisitions” of Soviet culture and arts had still to be “the role model, the criteria, the new light”, while decadent Western arts with their “false contraption,” “antihumanism,” “antirealism,” “pessimism” and “irrationalism” had to be fought against.³² It took almost a whole year for the Yugoslav leadership to change its policy. Only in late 1949, when the CPY became aware that the split was definite, were Soviets criticized. Soviet movies started to disappear from the cinemas, radios no longer played Soviet music, and even Soviet classical writers were not welcomed.³³

While it was easy to expel Soviet repertoire from media, schools and other institutions, to change completely the cultural policy when it comes to the creation of cultural goods and arts was not an easy task. Milovan Đilas attacked Western arts at the Fifth Congress of the CPY in 1948, in the peak of the conflict, for being “perverted by different cubists, surrealists, existentialists; artists and writers such as Picasso or Sartre.”³⁴ Jazz music was considered especially dangerous with its “sentimentality” and “eroticism.”³⁵ The process of liberalization was hence more the result of the economic situation in the country and foreign policy than from the beliefs of leading politicians.³⁶ However, the Yugoslav authority lacked their own theoretical approach to culture and arts, different from dogmatic Stalinism. In most of the fields, two streams could be identified; one that wanted to keep the conservative Marxist position and stick to socialist realism, and the other that was more open to Western practices. A positive impulse for the second group came from Edvard Kardelj, who was the first high

³¹ Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 184.

³² Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 184-185.

³³ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 13.

³⁴ Predrag J. Marković, *Trajnost i promena: društvena istorija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji* [Stability and Change: Social History of Socialist and Postsocialist Everyday Life in Yugoslavia and Serbia] (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2007), 42.

³⁵ AJ, f. 314, f. 14.

³⁶ AJ, f. 475, k. 2. For more about economic aspect of liberalization see: Tvrtko Jakovina, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici (1948-1963)* [Socialism on American Wheat] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2002).

official that publicly criticized Soviet cultural model in the end of 1949, in line with conclusions from the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of CPY.³⁷ Most of the artistic fields, in the beginning of the 1950s, finally rejected Soviet dogmatism, which was the first step towards the liberalization of culture and arts in Yugoslavia.³⁸

2.2. Elimination of “Cultural Elitism”

The debate about the importance of entertainment in everyday life was possible after 1948, but the attempt to educate and cultivate the prevailing peasant population lasted through the whole 1950s, until the final acceptance of lighter genres of culture, led by popular music. However, most of the Party members in the beginning accepted liberalization only as necessary, but actually continued trying to build the new socialist man. Cultural and cooperative centers were usually the first place of contact with cultural artifacts, especially for inhabitants of small towns and villages.³⁹ Agitprop content was slowly abandoned because it lacked artistic and educational character.⁴⁰ In the music field unions were supposed to create new policy based on quality and planned repertoire. In 1950 the Association of Yugoslav Musical Artists (AYMA) and the Association of Yugoslav Composers (AYC) were founded. The aims of these societies were “ideological work on development of musicians – artists and guidance for work of composers and reproductive artists,” “cooperation with people’s government (Committee for Cultural, Artistic and Inner Institutions) on all affairs connected with improvement of musical art and the rise of musical culture such as the foundation of artistic institutions and definition of their new scopes, foundation of musical schools,

³⁷ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 42.

³⁸ Marković, *Trajnost i promena*, 43.

³⁹ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 31.

⁴⁰ AJ, f. 475, f. 2.

distribution of scholarships, awards and similar” and “selection and criticism of repertoire of theaters, radio stations, concert halls and public musical life in general.”⁴¹ Radio stations, as one of the biggest disseminators of music, had similar goals that were defined by the Radio Broadcasting Act.⁴²

Specific importance was given to the education of listeners, i. e., preparation of “common” people to recognize, value and enjoy opera, symphonies and other forms of classical music. In the first phase of the regime, when the program was strictly proscribed, organizers of cultural life did not place so much attention on the perception of the public. They believed that simple exposure to higher culture would be enough to satisfy people’s need for culture, but as soon as the other types of culture appeared, the audience turned to them because they were easier to approach and understand. Similarly to Russian avantguardists, the Yugoslav cultural authorities believed in the power of arts: “Arts are not entertainment and pleasure. If we accept Bergson’s understanding of arts, that arts introduce the real life to man, we cannot agree with completely light programs, because we believe that they do not raise the level of education, neither do they nurture the taste for real works of arts.”⁴³ When musicians started to encounter half-empty music halls, they started to rethink their tactics.⁴⁴ All five congresses of AYMA held during the 1950s and 1960s were preoccupied with the importance of the education of listeners as one of the central topics. At the Founding Conference in 1950 “comrade” Paulić explained: “The audience has to consciously perceive the artists. So that audience has to be clarified, so it can know what is going to be offered, it can be mentally ready to accept the artistic work, not to get something undefined.”⁴⁵ Fifteen years later, when the battle against light musical genres was already lost,

⁴¹ AJ, f. 475, f. 1.

⁴² Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 67.

⁴³ AJ, f. 475, f. 1.

⁴⁴ AJ, f. 475, f. 2.

⁴⁵ AJ, f. 475, f. 1.

the Board of Directors of AYMA blamed bad musical education in and outside of schools that did not enable youth to be critical towards musical kitsch.⁴⁶

A survey from 1957 clearly demonstrates that most listened genres on radio were folk, “dancing” and light music, while classical genres were the least popular, after all talking and music programs.⁴⁷ Amongst them, opera and operetta were the most listened to (considered as appropriate light genre by some Yugoslav composers), while solo, symphonic and chamber music had the minimum public attention. The audience for live performances was similar. Performers of folk music were the most popular in periphery and taverns, while jazz and *schlagers*⁴⁸ were more popular in the bigger cities. There is data already from 1947 where the CCA suggested “to raise the level of performance among *kafana*⁴⁹ musicians, as well as the correction and broadening of their repertoire” which meant “good and healthy compositions, primarily from folk music and actual mass compositions.”⁵⁰ However, folk music was contaminated with pseudofolk elements, which later served for the creation of newly composed folk music, the most popular genre next to *zabavna* music, never completely accepted in the official cultural discourse.

When composers and musicians accepted that they could not prevent the popularization of lighter genres because of the need for leisure and entertainment, they agreed that at least they should control their production and content.⁵¹ According to Zoran Janjetović, in the 1950s *zabavna* music was broadly defined and many popular works of classical music were considered as a part of it, so some composers and musicians found it a useful connector

⁴⁶ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

⁴⁷ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

⁴⁸ Schlager, in Croatian *šlager*, has a broader meaning than German version of popular music genre, and means all national versions of light music.

⁴⁹ Term present in the South Slavic languages for a separate kind of taverns, which mainly serves alcoholic liquors and coffee (and light snacks) where usually folk and newly composed folk music was performed.

⁵⁰ AJ, f. 314, f. 14.

⁵¹ AJ, f. 475, k. 3.

with serious music.⁵² Others rejected this argument claiming that “the audience is asking for [light music]” because it is “what the organizers offered or sent [to them] in the first place,”⁵³ in that way underrating visitors. Many of the AYMA and AYC members found the idea of composing and performing light genres offensive. Even though principally the Congress accepted the Resolution from 1961 which obliged academic musicians to care about the quality of jazz and *zabavna* music,⁵⁴ prejudices were deeply rooted in the beliefs of academics. Students in music schools and academies were directly or more discretely forbidden to practice popular music forms.⁵⁵ The Secretariat of the IC CC LCY in 1956 warned that “the cultural creator, if he cares about his reputation, cannot even think of composing popular song,” so “today popular *schlagers* are composed by people that gave up their name.”⁵⁶ The snobbism of academic cultural workers can be most clearly seen in the refusal to unite with the Association of Light and Folk Music, finding it “unacceptable.” Cultural elitism and academism was harshly attacked by Party ideologues, especially in the late 1950s with the new political, economic and cultural policy. The Central Committee of Serbia hence stated that both Associations “ideally, esthetically and politically fade, [...] and they carry out clear class politics,” while the Central Committee of Croatia accused musicians that they “fight exclusively for their own interest.”⁵⁷ The “interest” was clearly economic. Academic composers and musicians were frustrated because those that worked in the entertainment industry could earn more, which with the introduction of self-management on all levels became an important factor. Already in 1950 wind instrument performers complained that they were lacking compositions because their composers could not make

⁵² Janjetović, *Od internacionala do komercijale*, 125.

⁵³ AJ, f. 475, f. 2.

⁵⁴ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

⁵⁵ Janjetović, *Od internacionala do komercijale*, 129.

⁵⁶ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-19

⁵⁷ AJ, f. 475, f. 8.

income from royalties.⁵⁸ While in 1956 AYMA could still demand protection and stimulation of high music with educational character,⁵⁹ in the 1960s even academia had to accept the implementation of self-management policy, especially after 1963 with the new Constitution colloquially named “Self-management Charter.”

2.3. “Democratization” of Culture and Music

The basis for all the coming changes was the renowned final program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in 1958. Both manual and intellectual creations were supposed to be freed from class determination and all other limitations. Socialist social relations should free and affirm the human mind and creative human spirit. Culture and arts should mobilize a majority of the population: “The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue the aspiration to make arts and culture the property of the people, to create a mass basis for cultural creation, in the meaning of adoption of cultural inheritance, as well as of encouragement of cultural-artistic activities and initiative of the widest public masses.”⁶⁰ Culture could not be treated anymore as an agitprop means for the realization of political goals, but it had to become the goal itself, the final ideal of humanization of social relations.⁶¹ So-called “democratization” of arts, including music, became one of the preoccupations for party ideologues. The LCY defined democratization as the “implementation of socioeconomic postulations of the liberation of man and the overcoming of contradictories between the position of his work and cultural-spiritual value.”⁶²

⁵⁸ AJ, f. 475, f. 1.

⁵⁹ AJ, f. 475, f. 8.

⁶⁰ *Program Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije* [Program of League of Communists of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade: Kultura, 1958), 227.

⁶¹ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-29.

⁶² AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-29.

Stipe Šuvar was one of the main cultural ideologists in Yugoslavia during the whole socialist period. He was in charge of making “red” and “white” books where official cultural policy was proscribed and the deviations described.⁶³ Šuvar thought that the biggest problem of musical culture resided in the lack of democratization. Democratization could happen only when the overcoming of the gap between traditional and conservative musical manifestations and new tendencies with positive elements would be accomplished.⁶⁴ Diversity of musical genres and forms was finally appreciated, but only if they were satisfying certain criteria. In addition to professional musicians, other forms of semi-professionalism and amateurism were appreciated. Music education, school and trade union choirs, folk, rock and *zabavna* music, radio and TV broadcasting, LPs and cassettes, production of musical instruments, music and concert halls, music criticism – all this had to be analyzed, evaluated and incorporated in the concept of the democratization of music.

Acceptance of lighter and entertaining genres of music as a part of the democratization process eliminated the negative attribute to mass culture whose “effect depends on its ‘usage’ in specific social order.”⁶⁵ According to Šuvar, the main characteristic of mass culture is that although the content is homogeneous, mechanized and depersonalized, the audience is heterogeneous and, most important, has “a freedom to choose what it is going to listen or watch.”⁶⁶ In Yugoslavia it meant that “elite cultural snobbism” had to be eliminated, and the focus had to be on “the” reader or listener, not some abstract persona, whose needs and

⁶³ Although the „red book“ which is used in the thesis, was published in 1982, it was a result of the decadal theoretical work of Šuvar. The repetition of the need for the “real democratization” of culture and music can be found in his earlier essays (from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s) that were collected and republished in volumes *Politika i kultura* and *Svijet obmana*, both used in the thesis as well.

⁶⁴ Damir Grubiša, Stipe Šuvar (eds.), *Kulturna politika i razvitak kulture u Hrvatskoj: (“Crvena knjiga” i drugi dokumenti)* [Cultural Policy and the Development of Culture in Croatia: (“Red Book” and Other Documents)] (Zagreb: Republički komitet za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu: Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1982), 185.

⁶⁵ Reana Senjković, *Izgnubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* [Lost in Transmission: Pop Experience of Socialist Culture] (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008), 69.

⁶⁶ Stipe Šuvar, *Svijet obmana* [The World of Delusions] (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1986), 37.

demands had to be systematically scholarly researched in the public opinion analysis.⁶⁷ The main concern was how to avoid the reduction of the role of “ordinary” people only to “sheer consumer, object of manipulation, admirer or indifferent observer”.⁶⁸ Still, Yugoslav ideologues did not naively believe that they were going to eliminate “šund” and kitsch, but at least tried to minimize its influence by offering more refined forms of entertainment.⁶⁹

There was a well-grounded concern that the term democratization could be misinterpreted. The IC CC LCY stressed the importance of a critical approach to creativity in order to avoid “different forms of false humanism and pseudoculture.”⁷⁰ Yet, criticism needed to avoid the elitist approach, keeping in mind that democratization of music is a long process that requires an educated public. New distrust in the ability of the “ordinary” people to value culture and arts on their own came with the urbanization (“absence of urban sociality” and “withering of human relations”) and the spread of mass media that were guilty of “inertness and leveling” of “collective conscience.”⁷¹ Šuvar rejected so-called “enlightening-educative” action in which he saw three big mistakes. Firstly, instead of assimilation, dominant culture should change. Further, the social integration of the working class should not be realized by subordination to the dominant culture. And the last, education and informing could not be done with political manipulation. He continues: “The basis is to achieve new organization of human labor, thus also the transformation of the working environment which has to become culture itself. The essence is that human labor becomes creative and to overcome the condition in which history is created behind the back of the people. And that is finally the training ground for common good, if we still want it.”⁷² Kardelj continued in the same line stating that communists were not competent to judge artistic trends, but their role was to

⁶⁷ Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 82.

⁶⁸ Šuvar, *Politika i kultura*, 305.

⁶⁹ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-21.

⁷⁰ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-29.

⁷¹ Vera Horvat Pintarić, *Od kiča do vječnosti* [From Kitsch to Eternity] (Zagreb: Centar društvenih djelatnosti Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske, 1979), 24.

⁷² Šuvar, *Svijet obmana*, 161.

provide opportunities for people to become active cultural creators.⁷³ However, democratic possibilities were in practice used completely differently. Workers never really became creators of their own cultural life, but they kept the right to choose what they wanted to listen to. On the other side, musicians' main preoccupation with self-management orientated them to market practices, instead of further democratization of music.

Self-management in culture was not easy to achieve. It started with the creation of new state/public administrative organs – councils for education and culture – which replaced ministries in republics and committees in counties and cities.⁷⁴ Thus, councils should have contributed to further decentralization, debureaucratization and democratization which were the main goals of self-management policy.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, in 1957 the Cultural-Educational Board of Yugoslavia was founded in order to “encourage and develop positive tendencies in cultural life and to activate different public organizations, cultural institutions and individuals against negative phenomena.”⁷⁶ The creation of the institution that had to “cooperate” with local entities, which included control and supervision, was the sign that self-management was not suitable for all domains. Although self-management was finally affirmed in the Constitution of 1963 that defined workers as “free and equal producers and creators,”⁷⁷ minutes from meetings of the Commission for Communist Work in the Domain of Culture, Education and Arts (CCW DCEA) demonstrate that relations in the system were too complicated and contradictory to accept the self-managing ideal.⁷⁸ This ambiguity was mainly the result of material insecurity that was common for all non-productive spheres.⁷⁹ The new

⁷³ Edvard Kardelj, *O nauci, kritici i kulturi: izbor tekstova* [On Science, Critic and Culture: Chosen Work] (Subotica: Minerva, 1981), 174.

⁷⁴ Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 250-251.

⁷⁵ Jakov Sirotković, *Ekonomski razvoj Jugoslavije, od prosperiteta do krize* [Economic Development of Yugoslavia, from Prosperity to Crisis] (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1990), 133.

⁷⁶ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-29.

⁷⁷ Hrvoje Matković, *Povijest Jugoslavije: 1918. – 1991.* [History of Yugoslavia: 1918-1991] (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 2003), 341.

⁷⁸ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-17.

⁷⁹ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-17

economic reform in 1965 finally destigmatized the market,⁸⁰ and opened the door to the final stage of the commercialism of cultural life.

The state gradually stopped financially supporting culture and arts which forced cultural workers to turn to capitalistic market practices. Many were not satisfied, criticizing the new policy as a degradation of culture and “humanistic values” on simple “consumer good.”⁸¹ Furthermore, they accused carriers and distributors of mass culture, in radio and TV studios, in large and small circulation newspapers, in film and discography labels, in the whole cultural industry, for dictating what culture to offer, which was actually created by them too.⁸² The CCW DCEA defended the new policy claiming that the market was the sign of democratization because it signaled if the society valued a certain product or not. A member of Commission, Veljko Mićunović was clear: “Without a market we cannot allocate funds. [...] There are laws of supply and demand, regardless of educational and cultural level and the market has to be included.”⁸³ For musicians it meant that concert organizers were focusing on “attractiveness,” caring only about the number of sold tickets. The Fourth Congress of the AYMA reluctantly concluded that music was not perceived as a cultural good, but as a normal consumer good.⁸⁴ Keeping that in mind, the “cultural elitism” of academic musicians and composers can be deconstructed. While to certain extent it was a result of snobbism, the major part was motivated by financial reasons. The AYMA and AYC did not want to unite with other associations of workers in the music industry, like the Association of the Workers of Estrada Art (AWEA), because it meant they would have to share the profit from the Yugoslav Author Agency (YAA) with financially more successful colleagues, which in the end meant less income for them.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Branko Horvat, *ABC jugoslavenskog socijalizma* [ABC of Yugoslav Socialism] (Zagreb: Globus, 1989), 18-9.

⁸¹ AJ, f. 507/VIII, k. (K-19)

⁸² Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 36.

⁸³ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-17.

⁸⁴ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

⁸⁵ AJ, f. 475, f. 3

The second problem for musicians was radio and TV programming. In 1965, the state gave each enterprise control over up to 70 percent of its funds. This changed the management of radio and television in the way that programming was more focused on the demand of the public than the recommendations of cultural workers.⁸⁶ The research of Gertrude J. Robinson demonstrates that “since 1965, stations have increased their ‘folk’ and ‘country’ music shows [and] decreased the large number of generally unpopular serious music broadcasts.”⁸⁷ In the following chapter the role of radio and TV in the popularization of *zabavna* music will be further elaborated.

The liberalization of the political and cultural sphere, economic change, consumer practices, focus on the satisfaction of basic need of every individual – all these contributed to the creation of Yugoslav *zabavna* music. Nevertheless, the international aspect – openness to the West – was the last factor that provided the final affirmation of popular music and the creation of Yugoslav national genre.

2.4. Influences from the West: Mediterranization of Yugoslav Cultural Identity

Following Soviet ideology immediately after the war, Yugoslav politicians dedicated their work to the struggle against capitalism, symbolized by the USA. Yugoslav vice-premier, Milovan Đilas stated in 1947: “America is our sworn enemy, and jazz, likewise, as its product.”⁸⁸ Yugoslav ideologues shared Soviet animosity towards Western decadent music styles, especially jazz and other derivatives that were part of Yugoslav prewar bourgeois

⁸⁶ Gertrude Joch Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 51.

⁸⁷ Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 211.

⁸⁸ Dean Vuletic, “European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest”, in Breda Luthar, Maruša Pušnik (eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington: New Academia Pub., 2010), 125.

culture.⁸⁹ However, because Western popular music continued to be consumed in Yugoslavia despite official diatribes against it, Yugoslav political elite was able to question their tactics in foreign cultural politics already in 1949 at the Third Plenum of CC CPY. The opened doors for Western culture could especially be seen in Slovenia and Croatia that had historical connections with Western cultural circles.⁹⁰

Yugoslav communists used the openness to the West to propagate the idea of “the open society.”⁹¹ While the United States used the power of popular culture for infiltration and propaganda in all socialist countries, and the same goes for Yugoslavia, Yugoslav ideologues interpreted it as “open international exchange of ideas and goods” lining up with Western European countries that at the time accepted American popular culture as a part of a Marshall Plan.⁹² It was already argued that Italy was particularly influenced by American popular culture, which together with the closeness to Yugoslavia and shared Mediterranean identity made it some kind of gate to the West.

Modernization of technology promoted linking with neighboring countries, primarily Italy and Austria. The still developing media system on the one hand, and the need for different forms of entertainment on the other, resulted in a high number of Yugoslav citizens (living mainly in Croatia and Slovenia) following Italian and Austrian radio and TV programs.⁹³ Even Yugoslav television while it was still in the experimental phase broadcasted Italian and Austrian programs lacking the program of domestic production.⁹⁴ Cooperation

⁸⁹ Vuletic, “The Socialist Star”, 85.

⁹⁰ Gabrič, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija*, 15.

⁹¹ Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 36.

⁹² Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkoga društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* [In Pursuit of Well-being: On History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), 40.

⁹³ Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 30.

⁹⁴ Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 70.

with neighboring countries was desirable, especially with Mediterranean countries, which were later defined as long-lived policy.⁹⁵

Yugoslav siding with Mediterranean identity could be identified as an expression of “the more and more universal life of people in the more and more united global community.”⁹⁶ However, besides Šuvar’s reflections on the globalization of culture that could be connected with Yugoslav role in the non-alignment movement, Yugoslavia geographically and historically related to several cultural spheres. Although Svanibor Pettan focused only on Croatia, his concept is applicable to the whole Yugoslavia. He defined them as Dinaric (Balkans), Pannonian (Central European) and Mediterranean zones.⁹⁷ Although most of the country geographically was in the Balkans, the Dinaric identity was seen as inferior and regressive, in music represented in the form of folk music, later newly composed folk music. The central European heritage was not negatively perceived, but it evoked Habsburg and bourgeois heritage. Consequently, Mediterranean identity served perfectly for several purposes. The development of mass-tourism helped the economic recovery of Mediterranean countries. Yugoslavia was a part of the European boom in mass tourism in the 1950s and 1960s focusing mostly on the seaside and inventing “a Cote d’Azur for the low-income bracket.”⁹⁸ In that way, songs with maritime themes, motives and styles of the Adriatic region “reflected a common cultural discovery of the sea.”⁹⁹

Moreover, music style also reconfirmed the stereotypical image of the Mediterranean. In Gad Yair and Daniel Maman’s study of the Eurovision song contest, Yugoslavia was included in the Mediterranean bloc together with Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey and

⁹⁵ Grubiša, Šuvar, *Kulturna politika*. 227.

⁹⁶ Šuvar, *Svijet obmana*, 46

⁹⁷ Svanibor Pettan, “The Croats and the Question of Their Mediterranean Musical Identity“, <http://www.umbc.edu/eol/3/pettan/index.html>, accessed 23 May 2012.

⁹⁸ Karin Taylor, Hannes Grandits, “Tourism and Making of Socialist Yugoslavia: An Introduction”, in: Karin Taylor, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010).

⁹⁹ Vuletic, “European Sounds...”, 127.

Monaco because they all shared “common experiences of sea and history, which helped to create similar cultural tastes for music, dance and sexuality.”¹⁰⁰ Dean Vuletic states that in the 1950s and 1960s “the trends being set by Italian popular music – especially the sort featured at the San Remo Music Festival that started in 1951, and which Eurovision was modeled upon – were closely followed in Yugoslavia by artists, composers, lyricists and, of course, many fans.”¹⁰¹ The production of *zabavna* music was developed mainly in Croatia exactly because of its Mediterranean identity, while numerous music festivals along the coast were followed by millions of listeners and viewers in the whole of Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

In just ten years, Yugoslavia passed through radical political, economic and cultural change. Tito’s historical “no” to Stalin did not mean an immediate split with dogmatic practices, but in long terms it influenced the change of Yugoslav ideology. Two things were crucial: the introduction of self-management and opening to the Western countries. The first caused liberalization of the cultural sphere and “democratization” of music, but also introduced commercialism in the spread of cultural goods. Openness to the West contributed to the further commercialization by import of the Western popular culture with which Yugoslav ideologues continued to fight even later, during the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁰²

Schlager and *canzone*, both national forms of popular music, entered Yugoslav homes in the 1950s on the peak of their popularity.¹⁰³ Kardelj warned that “Yugoslavia’s citizens were singing foreign songs too much because they did not have home-grown alternatives in

¹⁰⁰ Vuletic, “European Sounds...”, 133.

¹⁰¹ Vuletic, “European Sounds...”, 128.

¹⁰² Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 16.

¹⁰³ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music...*, 40.

popular music.”¹⁰⁴ Although the CCA as early as in 1948 suggested the creation of a Yugoslav type of light music “just as there is a special type of Italian, German or French light music,”¹⁰⁵ because of the elitism of professional musicians and composers, but also because of the still unclear policy of “democratization” of music, only in the mid-1950s did *zabavna* music, as a national genre, become established. The radio orchestras had an important role in its birth, but actually the creation of various festivals was the sign of the true acceptance of the light music genre.

¹⁰⁴ Vuletic, “Generation Number One”, 869.

¹⁰⁵ AJ, f. 314, k. 14.

3. *Zabavna* Music in Yugoslavia

Introduction

Light forms of entertainment were slowly accepted throughout the 1950s in Yugoslavia while a liberalized cultural policy increased the influx of Western music. If we accept Larkey's theory of the nativization of foreign music genres, in the early 1950s Yugoslavia was already deeply in the second stage. Slovenian musicologist Andrej Rijavec points out that foreign music influences and regional interactions can be found early in the twentieth century, claiming that "the first American influences came indirectly through the German Schlagermusik."¹ Although during the short period of Stalinism in Yugoslavia Western music was suppressed, it never actually disappeared from dance halls, at least not in the bigger cities. For this reason, in the 1950s second and third step were carried out almost simultaneously. While musicians and composers copied foreign popular songs, performing them in original language or translated, structures that were close to the official policy, such as the Association of Yugoslav Composers (AYC) and Association of Yugoslav Music Artists (AYMA) or radio and TV stations, worked toward the creation of Yugoslav national style of popular music.²

The Yugoslav weekly *Vjesnik u srijedu* (Wednesday's Herald) published an interesting article about *schlagers*, just a week before the first Opatija Festival that would become the most important all-Yugoslav music festival. The author elaborated the importance of *schlager* which "with its melody or text strikes hundreds of thousands, even millions of people"

¹ Ljerka V. Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 39.

² Dean Vuletic, "Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 36, No. 5 (2008), 863.

because it “pleases a specific psychological status and mood.”³ The article continues with the idea that the melody and text of a popular song could reflect the pulse of a given society, and gives examples from different countries. As demonstrated in previous chapter, Yugoslav ideologues were aware of the potential of popular music to reach large population, so their policy was focused on promoting the domestic popular music that “could have a role in the forging of cultural ties among Yugoslavia’s national groups.”⁴ Similar to the Soviet case, but much earlier, music festivals were also cultural manifestations with a strong political connotation.⁵ The Opatija Festival was especially important, considered as all-Yugoslav musical celebration where all republics and ethnicities, including minorities, were represented. Nevertheless, their intention was not to create a supranational homogeneous culture, but the acceptance of every ethnic heritage on one side, and modern sounds on the other as the sign of the new socialist culture. As the last chapter showed, a Mediterranean identity was preferred for several reasons.

The world-famous San Remo Festival influenced Yugoslav culture on several levels. It did not bring only a certain type of music and style of performance, but also popularity, fashion and glamour with all their positive and negative sides. This chapter will present the development of *zabavna* music genre, its popularization on music festivals, its influence on the creation of popular star system and the final commercialization of all segments of music industry that could previously be found only on the other side of the Adriatic.

³ “Što pjeva svijet” [What is Sung in the World], *Vjesnik u srijedu (VUS)*, 10 September 1958.

⁴ Dean Vuletic, “Generation Number One”, 870.

⁵ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 42.

3.1. The Role of Radio Stations in the Popularization of *Zabavna* Music

Petar Luković begins the story about *zabavna* music in the winter of 1947 when “at 6 a.m., in the program for ‘working people that go to work’, Ivo Robić sang accompanied with piano on Radio Zagreb” two songs – *Jesenja ruža* (Autumn Rose) and *Sniježi* (It’s Snowing).⁶ Radio-station live performances, which were crucial for the popularization of *zabavna* music, were rooted in the prewar and war times in Zagreb. Ivo Robić, one of the first *zabavna* music stars, started to sing in 1943 both on Radio Zagreb and hotel “Esplanada”. Because of the music tradition and the numerous musicians, Radio Zagreb continued to broadcast light music without big disruptions during the war. It seems that authorities were less strict about domestic musicians’ activities than with foreigners coming from West. Janjetović claims that it was a tactic to “recruit intellectuals and public.”⁷ Howsoever, it is clear that Radio Zagreb and Ljubljana founded their light music orchestras as early as in 1946/1947 without bigger interventions from the authorities. “The Radio Zagreb Dancing Orchestra” and “the Radio Ljubljana Entertaining [zabavni] Orchestra” played mostly marches, *schlagers* and swing with small jazz improvisations. Before the formation of festivals, radios were centers for musicians and composers where they pushed the limits of allowed entertainment and established criteria for the good composition or performer.⁸ The first years of *zabavna* music on radio were dominated by orchestras and instrumental music, while later singers like in Belgrade Vojin Popović, while in Zagreb Ivo Robić, became the first recognized popular singers on radio.⁹

⁶ Petar Luković, *Bolja prošlost: Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije 1940-1989* [Better Past: Sights from Musical Life in Yugoslavia 1940-1989] (Belgrade: Mladost, 1989), 56.

⁷ Zoran Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945-1991* [From The Internationale to Commercialism: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia: 1945-1991] (Belgrade: Institut za novu istoriju Srbije, 2011), 115.

⁸ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 113.

⁹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 12.

Although after the split with the Soviet Union popular music became tolerated, too radical experiments were restrained. Second chapter demonstrated the fight of cultural ideologues against light genres that were symbolized in jazz music as the most decadent type. So, in the attempt to introduce entertainment in Yugoslav music, even jazz composers and musicians rather focused on light experiments in popular music from which *zabavna* music originated. The innovativeness of domestic composers gave a local flavor to the light mixture of “jazz and blues, French *chansons*, Italian *canzone*, evergreens, Hollywood sentimental melodies and who knows what else.”¹⁰ In the late 1950s the entertainment music scene finally disintegrated in three directions: *zabavna* music, jazz in the narrow sense and rock’n’roll.¹¹ The popularization of music festivals meant the definitive success of *zabavna* music, leaving other genres in a kind of opposition towards the official music policy, as elaborated in previous chapters.¹²

Although artistic groups gathered around radio had certain freedom, the Committee for Culture and Arts (CCA) controlled the content of light music. In 1948, when Radio Belgrade wanted to found its own orchestra, the Committee asked the Ministry of Education of PR Slovenia to found a commission that would select the appropriate music material from the fund of Radio Ljubljana.¹³ The Commission was founded and after just two months the Ministry of Education of PR Croatia presented the results: “The Commission did not identify a single work that has adequate text, but from a musical point of view, there are a considerable number of works that could be performed. The Commission believes that Radio Belgrade should directly contact Radio Zagreb and request material for orchestra from the attached list. The Commission suggests creating for the time being a potpourri on one or two composers together, and to perform their work without singing because in the near future

¹⁰ Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 131-132.

¹¹ Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 131.

¹² Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 22.

¹³ AJ, f. 314, f. 14.

composers of light music will create works that are suitable for today's need.”¹⁴ The list contained 57 compositions by 28 composers, from which Neno Grčević was the most represented with 12 compositions and one of the rare members of the Croatian Association of Composers.¹⁵ While from the titles it is apparent that the lyrics of the songs were not compatible with socialist-realist ideal – *Sad je sreći kraj* (The End of Happiness), *Nemoj plakati* (Don't Cry), *Zašto si me ostavio* (Why Did You Leave Me), *Poljubi me* (Kiss Me), *Pjevaj i plači* (Sing and Cry), *Bila crnka ili plava* (No Matter if She Has Black Hair or Blonde” – there was a gap between ideology that demanded a domestic composing style and the type of light music that was accepted for the radio, mostly in the style of a foxtrot, slowfox or tango.

Boogie-woogie, tango, rumba, blues and the English waltz were also the most popular dances in the dancing halls.¹⁶ Đorđe Marjanović, one of the first Yugoslav music stars explained in the interview of 1982 that at the beginning of light music in Yugoslavia: “People wished entertainment, fun, they turned to intimate emotions: dancing with girl or romantic whisper could not be followed by those [revolutionary] songs. Something for tender cuddle was needed, for a smooth sway in the rhythm, for a touch, a whisper.”¹⁷ The officials shared the concern about negative consequences of the hidden eroticism on the behavior of youth. Accordingly to the survey of 1961, 90 percent of youth preferred *zabavna* music that listened on the radio.¹⁸ Concentration on frivolous topics could distract youth from their ideological education. Adorno similarly accused radio broadcasting for being guilty for depolitization of

¹⁴ AJ, f. 314, f. 14.

¹⁵ AJ, f. 314, f. 14; for the members of the Croatian Association of Composers see: Krešimir Kovačević, *Muzičko stvaralaštvo u Hrvatskoj 1945-1965: u povodu 20-godišnjice djelovanja izdalo Udruženje kompozitora Hrvatske* [Music Creation in Croatia 1945-1965: Published by the Croatian Association of Composers Regarding Twentieth Anniversary of Work] (Zagreb: Udruženje kompozitora Hrvatske, 1966), 179-245.

¹⁶ Janjetović, *Od internacionala do komercijale*, 128.

¹⁷ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 81.

¹⁸ AJ, 475, 3.

its audience that served “so-called liberals.”¹⁹ That Yugoslav policy makers followed similar line decades after is another demonstration of the discrepancy between the propagated changes in cultural policy and the actual belief of policy makers which was already previously discussed.

However, editors of radio programs found Italian colleagues more suitable than abstract Marxist theorists. Italian *canzone* brought back sentimentality and love after the cruel war and post-war reality, and this was exactly what the public demanded.²⁰ Generally, Italian *canzone* became worldwide popular after the San Remo Festival was founded in 1951 in the small Italian town of San Remo. It became the most popular and influential music festival on the international level, so even Eurovision, the popular music contest organized by the European Broadcasting Union, was modeled upon it.²¹ All Italian hits were translated and sung by Yugoslav popular singers. Composer Dušan Jakšić remembered: “For years we listened to ‘San Remo’ which was directly broadcasted on radio, and we would spend the same whole night, until the morning, in writing adaptations and arrangements, so we could have our own versions the very next day which were broadcasted together with originals! We covered songs very professionally, we even had a translator for Italian language that translated literally every single word of the song, and then we were changing and adapting the text.”²² This practice lasted until the mid-1960s, when the production of the domestic *zabavna* music was developed enough to satisfy the market demand.²³

¹⁹ Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), 48.

²⁰ Igor Duda, “Svakodnevnica pedesetih: od nestašice do privrednog čuda”, Krešimir Bagić (ed.), *Način u jeziku / Književnost i kultura pedesetih: Zbornik radova 36. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* [Mode in Language / Literature and Culture in the 1950s: Collection of Papers from 36th Seminar of Zagreb Slavic School] (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2008), 70.

²¹ Dean Vuletic, “European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest”, in Breda Luthar, Maruša Pušnik (eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington: New Academia Pub., 2010), 128.

²² Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 64.

²³ Dražen Vrdoljak, “Zabavna glazba” [*Zabavna music*], in: *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj* [Discography in SR Croatia] (Zagreb: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1984), 26-27.

Yugoslav singers did not just interpret Yugoslav versions of Italian songs, but in their first attempts also tried to imitate their overseas colleagues. The most popular Yugoslav singers usually stressed out that their ideals were Italian singers like Domenico Modugno, Mina, Milva and Claudio Villa.²⁴ The singer Tereza Kesovija, who was known for her Southern and Mediterranean character, described the beginning of her career: “In our minds we were comparing ourselves with some stars in Italy, who are singing at San Remo which everyone listens to and whom everyone admires. I was imagining myself as Milva who was my idol, and I believed that one day I would become like her, so I started to imitate her. [...] Luckily, I found my own way very soon, got rid of Milva, Mina and all those singers.”²⁵ Finding singers’ own style was finally possible when they established themselves as something more than anonymous interpreters of melodies on radio-stations. This change of focus from music style to the performer himself happened owing to the growth of the record industry and multiple appearances on the stages of music festivals.

3.2. Festivals of *Zabavna* Music as Final Affirmation of the Genre

During the 1950s and 1960s the *zabavna* music festivals were the most powerful medium for the “presentation, production, and definition of Yugoslav popular music.”²⁶ The festivals offered the opportunity for domestic composers to demonstrate their vision of a Yugoslav version of popular music genre. Although in the first years they imitated their Western neighbors, especially Italians because of the success of the San Remo Festival,

²⁴ Ivan Dukić, “‘Studio’i ‘Plavi vjesnik’ – pogled na istraživanja prodora i utjecaja zapadne popularne kulture u Hrvatsku (1963.-1965.) [“Studio” and “Plavi vjesnik” – A View on Research of Penetration and Influence of Western Popular Culture in Croatia (1963-1965)], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* [Papers of the Croatian History Institute], Vol. 29 (1996), 337.

²⁵ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 153.

²⁶ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 41.

festivals helped to create recognized and specific *zabavna* music production style.²⁷ Finally, they also served overall social development²⁸ because of the promotion of the festivals as supranational cultural manifestations for the whole of Yugoslavia.²⁹

The first festival, organized by the Croatian Society of Composers in Zagreb in 1954 with the motto “Choose the best dancing melodies of 1953,” was the result of Robić’s work in Zagreb.³⁰ Although in the first year only two vocal soloists, Ivo Robić and Rajka Vali, performed all twelve songs, it opened the door for other interpreters to become a part of the *zabavna* music scene before the big boom of music festivals in the late 1950s. Later, to distinguish itself from numerous festivals throughout Yugoslavia, the Zagreb Festival started to foster a school of chanson,³¹ which was a chance for authors and performers that represented a more “artistic” style, known as *kantautorstvo*, and which would later be praised as satisfactory popular music style by some ideologues like Zvonko Špišić which was mentioned in the previous chapter.³² Nevertheless, most of the ideologues were concerned more with the ideological implications that a festival could have than with the finesse in someone’s style. With that in mind, the Opatija Festival was founded.

The first Opatija Festival was organized in 1958, and soon became the biggest and most important Yugoslav celebration of popular song. Later, from 1961, it also served to showcase the choice of the Yugoslav representative for the Eurovision song contest.³³ The success of the Opatija Festival encouraged the foundation of many other festivals, but often with more specific styles of music.³⁴ The Split Festival (or the Adriatic Melodies) was

²⁷ Vrdoljak, “Zabavna glazba”, 25.

²⁸ Nevena Škrbić Alempijević, Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić, “Croatian Coastal Festivals and the Construction of the Mediterranean”, *Studia Ethnologica Croatica*, Vol. 22 (2010), 319.

²⁹ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 42.

³⁰ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 42.

³¹ Vrdoljak, “Zabavna glazba”, 25.

³² *Kantautor* comes from Italian word *il cantautore* and it signifies a singer-songwriter, similar to *bards* in the Soviet Union or beatnik folk singers in the U.S.

³³ Vuletic, “European sounds, Yugoslav Visions”, 125.

³⁴ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 64-65.

distinguished by its Mediterranean image and Dalmatian style of popular song, and in 1967 became international in character with popular performers such as Claudio Villa.³⁵ Smaller regional festivals with the emphasis on a regional type of popular music with folk and traditional elements were founded in Istria (The Melodies of Istria and Kvarner), Krapina (The Festival of Kajkavian song) and Požega (The Slavonija Festival).³⁶ Croatia was a major contributor from all federal republics in shaping *zabavna* music on the festival front, not just because of the number of festivals but also because, at least in the 1950s and early 1960s, most of the *zabavna* music singers were from Croatia, especially from the Adriatic coast.³⁷ In Serbia the biggest and most popular was the Belgrade Spring, which was, next to “Opatija” and “Zagreb” the most professionally organized with big orchestras and to which all important members of *zabavna* music scene contributed. Bosnia was represented with Your Schlager of the Season in Sarajevo which was a good starting point for the music career of beginners.³⁸

Generally, festivals were a starting point for young singers, but also a proof of one’s success and popularity. To be invited to perform at a festival was an acknowledgment of good work and a prosperous career.³⁹ Vice Vukov’s case can serve as an illustration. He debuted in Opatija in 1959 and won the competition, as well as in the next two years. He also won the competition in 1962 in Zagreb and Split, becoming one of the most popular singers in Yugoslavia.⁴⁰ However, his controversial involvement in the Croatian nationalistic movement in 1971 made him undesirable on radio stations, as well at festivals. Although he was never

³⁵ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 41; Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 114.

³⁶ Vrdoljak, “Zabavna glazba”, 26.

³⁷ Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 42.

³⁸ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 114.

³⁹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 65.

⁴⁰ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 94.

officially forbidden to perform, the ignorance of festival organizers and radio programmers destroyed his career.⁴¹

The coordination between festivals and mass media is evident in the organization of the Opatija Festival. Namely, the Association of Yugoslav Composers (AYC) and Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion (YRD)⁴² aimed on promotion and improvement domestic production of light music genre that had to replace foreign musical forms. Besides, it also had to demonstrate that *zabavna* music had become an equal genre in the proclaimed democratization of music.⁴³ It can be argued that the creation of the Opatija Festival was the final affirmation of the recognition of *zabavna* music. Although member of the AYC generally did not find appropriate for their status to get involved in the *zabavna* music production, many respected composers contributed in the first few years, such as the famous composer and conductor Bojan Adamič or academic clarinetist and composer Mihailo Živanović, because they both believed that *zabavna* music could be directed to jazz music which was considered as a higher form of light music.⁴⁴ The newspapers *Borba* and *Politika*, as representatives of official policy, however, had a different view of national musical style, advocating folk elements and lyrics that would depict an optimistic Yugoslav reality. Composers did not accept the return to socialist realism claiming that *zabavna* music demonstrates “the pulse of contemporary times.”⁴⁵ Specifically, it meant “housing and comfort problems, tourism and vacation on the Adriatic coast, light industry and consumer goods, retail trade and the satisfaction of consumers.”⁴⁶

⁴¹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 96-101.

⁴² Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion was renamed in the Yugoslav Radio Television (YRT) after the decentralization of programming. According to: Gertrude Joch Robinson *Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 18.

⁴³ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 126.

⁴⁴ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 37-49.

⁴⁵ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 127.

⁴⁶ Duda, “Svakodnevnica pedesetih”, 70.

Nevertheless, festivals at least served ideology in the way they promoted the idea of “brotherhood and unity”. Above all the Opatija Festival was recognized as an all-Yugoslav festival. It was realized on several levels. The Macedonian singer Zoran Georgijev noted the importance of the existence of such a festival because it “represents all Yugoslav *zabavna* music, while other festivals are narrower in their local frames.”⁴⁷ For a singer coming from SR Macedonia the Opatija Festival was one of the rare opportunities to become recognized. Concentration on the building of national culture and the education of inhabitants in undeveloped parts of Yugoslavia like Macedonia in the late 1950s,⁴⁸ in the time when other republics like Croatia already started to demonstrate first signs of commercialization of culture, shows all the complexity of the decentralization and democratization that ideologues tried to implement.

With this in mind, irrelevance of singer’s nationality at festivals that singers and composers emphasized in various interviews could be seen as the perfect analogy for the relationships between federal republics. The implementation of self-management and decentralization of power brought first signs of disintegration of unity manifested on the focus on particular interests of a republic and the start of the division on “rich and poor” republics. After two decades, this became crucial political problem, so it does not surprise that the actors of the Opatija Festival in the end of the 1980s emphasized that national background did not play any role in the beginning. For instance, Nikica Kaloderić said to Petar Luković in 1989: “No one asked if you are from Sarajevo, Belgrade, Zagreb or Ljubljana. These notions, as such, did not exist... [...] Generally, festivals were all-Yugoslav.”⁴⁹ Dušan Jakšić continued in the same tone stressing that brotherhood was a result of “the education of one

⁴⁷ “Iz skopskog hora do festival u Opatiji”[From Skopje’s Choir to the festival in Opatij], *Estrada*, No. 2 (1965).

⁴⁸ AJ, f. 507/VIII, f. K-17

⁴⁹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 114.

generation.”⁵⁰ Whether their memories were real or they were product of the current situation, the promotion of collectivity and friendship amongst singers from different republics was one of the goals of festivals. Singers should, hence, promote abiding to the socialist beliefs, and serve as a role model for the general audience. Similar to the Soviet case after Stalin, Yugoslav authorities believed that festivals would help “to bring people together.”⁵¹ Truly, festivals were extremely popular among Yugoslav citizens. The success of the first Opatija festival in 1958 affirms that Yugoslav society accepted *zabavna* music in its entirety.

3.3. The Creation of the Yugoslav San Remo: The Opatija Festival of 1958

Although the Zagreb Festival had already existed since 1954, four years later the YRD organized a new festival, in the small touristic Adriatic town Opatija. Their aim was to create a supranational festival, a festival where all republics would be represented and which should help the development of distinguished national style. But, besides the ideological element, there was also the need to analyze the musical taste of a wide audience. In 1958 the director of the festival Josip Stojanović explained: “The festival has another meaning for us working on the radio; we want to find out the taste of the radio-listeners, we want to find out which genres listeners from different parts of the country like. The analysis of the votes will tell us that. It is our serious attempt to get closer to our public.”⁵² The director of the Summer Stage in

⁵⁰ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 66.

⁵¹ David MacFadyen, *Red Stars: Personality and the Soviet Popular Song 1955-1991* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 10-11, for the Soviet promotion of popular music and festivals see: Christine Evans, “Song of the Year and Soviet Mass Culture in the 1970s”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2011), 619-621.

⁵² “A ritmo di beguines, calipso e mambo le ‘Allegre melodie 1958’” [In the Rhythm of Beguines, Calypso and Mambo on the “Entertaining Melodies 1958”, *La voce del popolo* [Voice of the People], 14th September 1958.

Opatija, Veljko Milošić continued in the same tone in one of the announcing interview stressing that the melody should be simple and catchy in the first place.⁵³

The application for the competition explicitly described the *zabavna* music genre, implying that it is the most popular form amongst the population, continuing: “It is also required that melody is followed by full text in which simple scenes from everyday life have to be described. The authors of lyrics have to try to avoid usual sentimentality...”⁵⁴ The organizers stressed that if the text would be found “unacceptable” the composition would not be considered for the festival even if the music was acceptable. Good melody meant “our expression [...] without reliance on foreign models” with “possible usage of ethno motives, but not necessarily.”⁵⁵ Finally, 267 compositions were running for final evenings, amongst which 18 were chosen to compete in Opatija.⁵⁶

Although organizers expressed satisfaction with the accepted compositions, as well as the lyrics, music experts and press reporters for the most part did not share the same enthusiasm. Recognized composers, members of the AYC and members of the festival jury, Slavko Zlatić and Ferdo Pomykalo, were critical claiming that competing compositions still had too many foreign elements, but they also shared enthusiasm for the future events that in long terms would finally contribute to the better quality of Yugoslav *zabavna* music.⁵⁷ On the other hand, journalists and critics were harsher towards the performed compositions. Reasonable comment came from the VUS’ journalist that observed that “from all eighteen compositions, which the jury unanimously chose, there was not even one that looks for ‘our

⁵³ “Zabavne melodije 1958.” [Entertaining melodies of 1958], *Novi list* [New Paper], 14 September 1958.

⁵⁴ Goran Pelaić, “Kulturna baština bez baštinika: osvrt na hrvatsku zabavnu glazbu” [Cultural Heritage without Successors: A Comment on Croatian Zabavna Music], in *Croatian Musician Almanac*, <http://www.croatianpopmusic.com/povijest%20kulturna%20bastina%20bez%20bastinika.htm>, accessed 22 May 2012.

⁵⁵ “Koščica šipak pun” [Pomegranate full of Seeds], *VUS*, 1 October 1958.

⁵⁶ “L’anteprema (vietata al pubblico) di ‘allegre melodie’” [The First Day (Closed for Public) of “Entertaining Melodies], *La voce del popolo*, 13 September 1958.

⁵⁷ “Opatijski festival utjecat će na poboljšanje kvalitete domaće zabavne muzike” [The Opatija Festival Will Influence the Improvement of the Quality of Domestic Zabavna music], *Novi list*, 22 September 1958.

expression' [...], but [they] depend on foreign dance patterns," detecting five beguines, three calypsos, three foxtrots, two rumbas, two slowfoxes, two waltzes and one tango.⁵⁸ Other critics objected that the melodies were outdated and under the influence of "central European" style from the beginning of the century. A famous satirical commentator with the pseudonym Serafin wrote in *Borba*: "I developed a need, listening to this music, to order pitchers of beer, enjoy outrageously in *zwecken knödels*,⁵⁹ grow *backenbart*⁶⁰ and ecstatically [...] start to dance tango as the newest form which provokes justified social scandal,"⁶¹ recalling Austrian-Hungarian tradition that was supposed to already have been exceeded after all the effort cultural ideologues put in the democratization of music and the propagation of national and socialist motives. Similarly to Pettan's observation of three cultural circles elaborated in the previous chapter, critics believed that the old-fashioned musical style did not fit in the desired promotion of Yugoslavia as the follower of Mediterranean identity that was recognized world-wide in 1958 by the international success of the winning song of the San Remo festival *Nel blu depinto di blu*.

Lyrics of the performed songs were criticized equally as the melodies. The titles of the songs illustrate the general idea of the themes: *Bijela ruža* (White Rose), *Kalipso* (Calypso), *Ko biser sjajni* (Like a Shiny Pearl), *Ksenija, Sretna luka* (Joyful Sea-port), *Kućica u cveću* (A House with Flowers), *Mala djevojčica* (Little Girl), *Molba vjetru* (Wish from the Wind), *More, more* (Sea, Sea), *Naši susreti* (Our Encounters), *Okrećem listove kalendara* (I Turn Pages of Calendar), *O mojoj ljubavi* (About My Love), *Plavi lan* (The Blue Flax), *Pjesma voljenoj zemlji* (A Song to the Beloved Country), *Ples, pjesma, smijeh* (Dancing, Singing, Laughing), *Sa suncem u oku* (With Sunshine in the Eye), *U sjeni palme* (In the Shadow of the Palm), and *Vozi me vlak v daljave* (A Train Takes Me Far Away). The lyrics were mainly

⁵⁸ "Koščica šipak pun".

⁵⁹ Plum dumplings.

⁶⁰ Side whiskers, typical for Austro-Hungarian time.

⁶¹ "Jugoslavenski San Remo" [The Yugoslav San Remo], *Borba* [Combat], 23 September 1958.

about love and passion, with few examples of patriotic songs. Again, lyrics like “A house with flowers is my dreams coming true / and if my darling would be there, I would have all,”⁶² or “I am sorry, I don’t remember anymore / the color of the flower you gave me / but I remember that in that moment / on my handkerchief snow fell,”⁶³ could barely fit in the ideal of depicting “the needs and rhythm of the everyday life of [Yugoslav] contemporary man.”⁶⁴ Although no one expected to hear a song about “tractors that happily plows away” anymore, lyrics about the loss of the loved one could not be accepted as the major concern of a new socialist man. The proclaimed democratization of music meant the acceptance of entertaining genres, but the term entertaining [*zabavni*] was not supposed to mean trivial and had to include “serious” in order to satisfy high cultural standards of an idealized socialist man. For this reason, critics that followed the ideological line could not accept that next to the comic opera *Ero s onog svijeta* [Ero the Joker] there was a need for songs like *Mala djevojčica* or *Kućica u cvijeću*.⁶⁵

Not even the authority of the jury, whose members were the president of the YCL Slavko Zlatić, composers Borivoj Simić, Josip Stojanović and Ferdo Pomykalo and writer Milorad Pavić,⁶⁶ nor the foreign guests like Italian distinguished composers of popular music Gino Botoni and Virgilio Panzuti or the conductor of the Radio Salzburg Orchestra Alfred Scholz,⁶⁷ could contribute to the acceptance of the *zabavna* music festival as equal to other cultural forms. On the contrary, some critics saw it as a sign of the elitist academism that would turn programs of radio-stations into “eight-hour broadcasts of chamber quartets, pianos for two hands, solo fagot and similar modulations.”⁶⁸ The rejection of both “too entertaining”

⁶² *Kućica u cveću*.

⁶³ *Okrećem listove kalendara*.

⁶⁴ “Koščica šipak pun”.

⁶⁵ “Jugoslavenski San Remo”.

⁶⁶ “Publika je izabrala najbolje pjesme” [The Public chose the best songs], *Borba*, 20 September 1958.

⁶⁷ „Otvoren festival zabavnih melodija u Opatiji” [The Festival of Entertaining Melodies in Opatija is Opened], *Borba*, 19 September 1958.

⁶⁸ “Jugoslavenski San Remo”.

and “too serious” music styles, sometimes coming from the same author, demonstrates all the complicity of the understanding what the democratization of music was and what it should accomplish.

The involvement of YRD in the organization of the Opatija Festival has to be seen as another method of the popularization of *zabavna* music in the context of the role of radio and television broadcasting in cultural policy demonstrated in the previous chapter. Because the spectacle lasted for three days, from which only the last one, the finals, was opened to the public, most of the Yugoslav population could be introduced to new achievements of *zabavna* music only through mass media. Interest was great which was proved by the sold out finals even before the festival started,⁶⁹ and crowds in the buses from Rijeka to Opatija during the event.⁷⁰ Those that were not lucky enough to get a ticket could enjoy the music via radio or television, the latter only for 4,000 TV owners.⁷¹ Others had to be satisfied with radio broadcasting of the festival on all republic radio-stations⁷² or massive gathering in front of shop-windows with TV sets in cities all over Yugoslavia.⁷³

The huge importance of the Opatija Festival for the ideological work of radio and TV broadcasting can also be seen in the effort that Yugoslav television put in the organization of the first live-broadcasting outside the TV-center with just three cameras only two years after the establishment of the first TV center in Zagreb.⁷⁴ The signal was transferred via skyscraper in Rijeka to the transmitters on the Učka Mountain in Istria and the Sljeme Top next to Zagreb. The confirmation of a good job came from Yugoslavs citizens in Trieste that could

⁶⁹ “Večeras počinje u Opatiji festival zabavne muzike” [Tonight in Opatija Begins the Festival of Zabavna Music], *Novi list*, 19 September 1958.

⁷⁰ “Festivalske gužve” [The Festival Jams], *Novi list*, 25 September 1958.

⁷¹ “Stasera il via al Primo Festival” [Tonight on the First Festival], *La voce del popolo*, 18 September 1958.

⁷² “Publika je izabrala najbolje pjesme”.

⁷³ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 122.

⁷⁴ “Stasera il via al Primo Festival”.

judge the good broadcasting because of their “experience with Italian television.”⁷⁵ The wide coverage by all media, from local and state newspapers and weeklies to the TV center was also a demonstration of the care for the need of the audience which required modern form of the entertainment.

The focus on the public was another consequence of the democratization of music, because unlike the San Remo Festival, the audience (both the one present on the spot and radio listeners and TV viewers) took part in voting and awarding the best compositions of the festival. Josip Stojanović emphasized this “improvement” of the San Remo voting model, sharing the belief of ideological superiority over Italian capitalistic system.⁷⁶ Likewise, Dušan Plavša from weekly magazine *Globus* stressed that the final winner of the competition was chosen in the most democratic way because all radio listeners throughout Yugoslavia could become a part of the jury.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the data about the number of the votes was not public, which was also the part of criticism published in media, so the final contribution and decision-making of the audience could not be definitely proved.⁷⁸ While this may be true, the number of awards and their various distributions depending on the type of jury was a sign of the democratic practices. Six first and second place awards were given to six different compositions, four in the name of the audience (listeners of Radio Belgrade, Radio Zagreb, Radio Ljubljana and the auditorium in Opatija) and by two juries of experts (the jury of Radio-diffusion and the jury of music critics). The song *Mala djevojčica* won two first places and one second from six different juries, made both of the experts and the public, which finally made it absolute winner of the festival.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Duda, “Svakodnevnica pedesetih”, 69.

⁷⁶ “A ritmo di beguines, calipso e mambo le ‘Allegre Melodie 1958’”.

⁷⁷ “Opatijski festival utjecat će na poboljšanje kvalitete domaće zabavne muzike”.

⁷⁸ “Koščica šipak pun”.

⁷⁹ “Okrećem listove kalendara: Primo premio della Radiodiffusione” ,[I Turn Pages of Calendar: The First Award of the Radio-Diffusion], *La voce del popolo*, 22 September 1958.

According to Igor Duda, the success of *Mala djevojčica* has to be interpreted in the context of 1958, which he positions as the year of the creation of consumer society in Yugoslav socialism. Firstly, Yugoslavia was passing through the “golden age” of its economy which is also known as the Yugoslav economic miracle. Without this economic basis, an orientation on consumerism would not be possible. A political acknowledgment of the new lifestyle came in the already introduced new program of the LCY. This document confirmed and approved all changes that had happened in previous ten years, after the split with Stalin. It predicted “more comfortable everyday life,” the ownership of “different consumer articles,” “better provision of goods to consumers,” and the provision of “relaxation and entertainment.”⁸⁰ The new political idea could be defined as focusing on the happiness of the individual. Only in a consumerist oriented society, a song titled *Mala djevojčica*, but also popular as *Tata kupi mi auto* (Daddy, buy me a car), could win the first Opatija Festival.⁸¹ Duda claims that “no matter how nice a melody could be, or how attractive the singers were, in the society that does not recognize consumerism, or in which the party or the state forbid consumerism, the song called *Daddy, buy me a car* could not become popular.”⁸² The confirmation came from Ivo Robić that emphasized the importance of the lyrics for the Yugoslav society: “[In 1958] started the development of our country. Do you know what a car meant in that time? The shop-windows started to be decorated, everything started to become better: from nothing – we got that far.”⁸³ However, in Robić’s case “getting that far” meant arriving in Opatija with his own car which was a sign of luxury of which majority of

⁸⁰ Igor Duda, *Pronađeno blagostanje: svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* [Well-Being Found: Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in the 1970s and 1980s] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 18.

⁸¹ The lyrics: Daddy, buy me a car, a bicycle and a scooter / buy me a teddy bear, a bunny and baby carriage
Jugovinil / daddy, buy me some cookies, candies and two oranges / at least one small doll / I promise that is all.

⁸² Igor Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* [In Pursuit of Well-being: On History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s] (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), 60.

⁸³ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 59.

population could only dream.⁸⁴ The creation of stardom in the 1960s, to which festivals spread by mass media significantly contributed, caused new problems to advocates of *zabavna* music.

3.4. *Estrada*: Socialist Version of Stardom

The famous TV director, Anton Marti, in 1963 produced a TV show *Na kraju ljeta* (End of Summer) in which all famous Yugoslav singers appeared. The show was extremely successful, not only among the audience, but also among critics that demanded an “artistic” approach to the entertainment genre. TV critic Žika Bogdanović wrote in *Borba*: “Nothing is happening without a reason. He [Marti] would, for instance, use extreme close-up shot of Tereza Kesovija because of her expressive eyes, Lola Novaković cools herself with a fan so the audience can wonder if she got it from the tour in Japan, and if [Marti] places the semi-profile of Beti Jurković in one corner of the screen, he makes a balance with the decorative line in the other side.”⁸⁵ Indeed, Marti was an expert in TV directing and his new show imported interesting innovations in visual expression of music performance, but his specific approach to each performer can also be a sign of the individual profile that was ascribed to the popular star. Personality, “something new, special, unexpected, never seen,”⁸⁶ became a standard in the Yugoslav art world, and musicians with their glamorous appearance on festivals and TV shows contributed to the emergence of the star system in socialism.

⁸⁴ Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 61.

⁸⁵ Nikola Vončina, *Prilozi za povijest radija i televizije u Hrvatskoj V: najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971.* [Contribution to the History of Radio and Television in Croatia V: The Most Popular Programs 1964-1971] (Zagreb: Hrvatska radiotelevizija, 2003), 235.

⁸⁶ Vera Horvat Pintarić, *Od kiča do vječnosti* [From Kitsch to Eternity] (Zagreb: Centar društvenih djelatnosti Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske, 1980); Stipe Šuvar, *Politika i kultura* [Politics and Culture] (Beograd: Vuk Karadžić, 1980), 188.

Although Ivo Robić could be considered as one of the first Yugoslav stars with his fancy style and numerous fans,⁸⁷ Đorđe Marjanović was actually the one that brought personality on the music scene, “until then very genteel and appropriate to the moral of new, postrevolutionary times.”⁸⁸ Petar Luković continues: “He might not be remembered as the person that took the microphone out of its stand and walked through the openmouthed audience; it might not be written in history that he was the first one that stripped of his jacket on the stage and threw it to his fans, or that he was the first one that was jumping and falling on the stage,” but he was definitely the first singer in the socialist Yugoslavia “that felt all dimensions of unseen fame and popularity based on market principles.”⁸⁹ His popularity and massive hysteria, which was until then ascribed only to the decadent West, forced the ideologues to start the struggle against new unwanted elements on the popular music scene.⁹⁰

Interpreters of light music continued to be socially marginalized even after the official acceptance of the genre. For those in charge it was easy to find a reason: “one time it was ‘easy enrichment’, other time ‘tax evasion’, sometimes ‘degradation of artistic level’ and ‘dissemination of kitsch’, welcoming each new scandal that would prove that *estrada* workers are necessarily evil that has to be eliminated as soon as possible.”⁹¹ Underestimating tone came from the culture chief Šuvar too, who compared the need of “ephemeral” stars for publicity to the limping man that needs a crutch. Nevertheless, he accepted the popularity as something that is deeply embedded in the human character stating that masses can easily identify with their “heroes.”⁹² Similarly, the Soviet pamphlet about *estrada* stated that “this ‘light’, ‘second-rate’ art-form, as the champions of high spirituality would have it, has entered

⁸⁷ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 56.

⁸⁸ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 80.

⁸⁹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 80.

⁹⁰ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 81-87.

⁹¹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 7.

⁹² Stipe Šuvar, *Politika i kultura*, [Politics and Culture] (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1980), 68.

firmly into social consciousness, into our daily lives,”⁹³ but it also helps to bring people together. Connecting people was exactly the point on which defenders of *estrada* could agree. Robić, as one of the main characters of Yugoslav *zabavna* music, said “the music is one of the rare activities that integrate people in this country.”⁹⁴ The Opatija Festival was the most evident proof that could not be neglected so easily. Analogous to the acceptance of *zabavna* music genre in the first place, the institutionalization of *estrada* happened at the moment when the ideological battle was definitely lost.

In the magazine *Estrada* the Association of the Workers of Estrada Art promoted their “right for profession.” In the first issue, their demands were explained: “If we want good stuff for our troupes, on this job, *estrada* work has to become recognized as a profession of artistic work. Then you can demand the best. Then you can set obligations, too. Only then specialized associations can control the work of every individual. That individual represents us all, he is the projection of the new Yugoslav man. He has to be qualified for that, because he has to connect people, both in the country and abroad. Only like that can we respond to the new economic reform and socialist society in general.”⁹⁵ Institutionalization would enable *estrada* workers to gain the dignity enjoyed by other artists, as well as legalization of the music vocation and control of the professional activities, by providing the *estrada* workers regular employment, pensions and health insurance. Similar processes happened in the West where “entertainment musicians” were also organized in order to secure “non-discriminatory social benefits.”⁹⁶ On the other hand, *estrada* in the socialist regimes had to satisfy ideological requirements. Therefore, Yugoslav officials considered that performing without a contract and

⁹³ MacFadyen, *Red Stars*, 11.

⁹⁴ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 66.

⁹⁵ “Pravo na zanimanje” [The Right for Profession], *Estrada*, No. 1 (1965).

⁹⁶ Edward Larkey, *Pungent Sounds: Constructing Identity with Popular Music in Austria* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), 40-41.

at the places inappropriate for an artist was particularly dangerous for musicians; saving one's dignity was crucial if they wanted to be appreciated as "good *estrada* performers."⁹⁷

The acceptance of *estrada* by high instances can also be found in the close relationship between numerous stars and Yugoslav leadership. According to Janjetović, the invitation to sing for Tito and his closest circle was a sign of the final affirmation in the Yugoslav society.⁹⁸ Adamič's complaint to Tito in the early 1950s that *zabavna* and jazz music had been prosecuted because Tito said he does not like it, seems legitimate: "What you say, that is the law! Maybe it is not true, but there are people that will use your personal opinion to secure their actions."⁹⁹ Although Tito was more appreciative of other music genres, like original folk music from Dalmatia and Hrvatsko Zagorje and Russian marching songs,¹⁰⁰ he and his associates were aware of the positive implications of the acceptance of light genres for the stability of the Yugoslav system. Finally, a majority of the members of the entertainment industry believed in Yugoslav socialism and its leaders, at least in public and in that way projected their values to their admirers.¹⁰¹

The final goal of *estradization* was to establish equality among the various musical genres and to create a balance between "high" and "low" culture. Opera singers, entertainment music composers, folk orchestra instrumentalists or newly composed folk music performers were presented by policy-makers as artists who deserved equal respect, as "people who entertained us on the improvised stages in the Partisans, camps or visited all our post-war construction sites, singing to a frontiersman or a patient in hospital."¹⁰² In the official discourse, the creation of the *estrada* art worker included musicians from the rural

⁹⁷ Ana Hofman, "Kafana Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (2010), 151-152.

⁹⁸ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 135-6.

⁹⁹ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 46.

¹⁰⁰ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 71.

¹⁰¹ Janjetović, *Od internacionalne do komercijale*, 50.

¹⁰² Hofman, "Kafana singers", 152.

social milieu, as well as urban performers of “old” and “contemporary” genres unified in the concept of mass-culture, as a part of the integrating process of all social subjects in building a classless society, represented as a main feature of socialist life. It was the last attempt to implement the idea of democratization of music, but as the next section is going to show, commercialization was too deeply rooted in the music industry that the overcoming of differences between “academia” and “entertainers” was impossible task.

3.5. Last Step to the Final Commercialization of the Yugoslav Music Industry

The accusations against *estrada* were just a continuation of the struggle that academic musicians had led since the acceptance of light genres. As explained in the second chapter, the AYMA and AYC were worried that musicians who worked in entertainment take both their audience and their money, supporting their cause under the ideological paradigm of the real democratization of music that was supposed to “solve complex cultural issues.”¹⁰³ Confrontation with colleagues from the entertainment industry was the central focus of the Fifth Congress of the AYMA in 1965. Opera singer Oskar Zornik resentfully stated: “We came to the situation in which one piper of *zabavna* music is more favored and popular than one first-rate music artist who is neither stimulated nor recognized.”¹⁰⁴ A similar attitude was presented in the report “On Problems of the Concert Activities in SR Croatia” with worries about the situation in the media “where concerts are announced with one simple note, where the Opatija Festival is the only concert event that is covered by media, where the record ratio is 500 : 18,000,000, where the actual music problems are presented in the press through so-

¹⁰³ Mata Bošnjaković, “Neka opažanja uz diskografsku produkciju ‘lakih žanrova’ u nas”, in: *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj*, 102.

¹⁰⁴ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

called ‘Nanut scandal’ in Dubrovnik (like the Planinić scandal),¹⁰⁵ while on the other hand one long-term and systematic public information on concert life, as well as actual cultural problems and difficulties, especially in new conditions, does not exist – so it is not surprising that the situation is alarming.”¹⁰⁶ In reference to the Nanut scandal¹⁰⁷ and its comparison to the football match-fixing demonstrate musicians’ protest against “degradation” of their profession to the same level as football that Šuvar described as the replacement for *bacanje kamena s ramena*.¹⁰⁸ However, they could refer to the music sphere as well, not only because Šuvar continued his confrontation with ignorance comparing *schlagers* with *ojkanje*,¹⁰⁹ but also because music industry showed similar deviations as football industry.

It did not take long from the romantic and naïve period of festivals where participants were like “one big family,”¹¹⁰ to the result-fixing.¹¹¹ This turn started with the increasing interference of record industry which did not wait to see if a composition was going to become successful after the festival, but led by the market and profit, produced records with all songs from the festival no matter what quality the compositions.¹¹² The change of internal policy of record labels, again because of the profit, was manifested in the focus on the specific singer, rather than the festival in the late 1960s, so many of the performers then finally published their first solo long-play record without covers of foreign songs that was another former practice.¹¹³ It was the result of the establishment of the star system, which was slowly

¹⁰⁵ The Planinić scandal was one of the biggest football scandals in Yugoslavia. It happened in 1965 after goalkeeper of Željezničar Ranko Planinić admitted that several football matches in the Yugoslav First Football League were fixed.

¹⁰⁶ AJ, f. 475, f. 3.

¹⁰⁷ The Nanut scandal happened in 1965 when orchestra conductor Anton Nanut was fired from Dubrovnik orchestra, but after the protest of public and musicians got his job back.

¹⁰⁸ *Bacanje kamena s ramena* (literal translation would be „throwing stones from the shoulder“) is traditional game similar to contemporary shot put that was played mostly in rural places of Yugoslavia. In this context it symbolizes backwardness and illiteracy. See: Šuvar, *Politika i kultura*, 68.

¹⁰⁹ *Ojkanje* is polyphonic folk singing coming from the Dalmatian hinterland, and similarly to *bacanje kamena s ramena*, evokes the Dinaric heritage which, according to Pettan, did not have positive meaning.

¹¹⁰ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 65.

¹¹¹ Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 132.

¹¹² Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 132.

¹¹³ Vrdoljak, “Zabavna glazba”, 26-27.

institutionalized in *estrada*, in the end resulting in the promotion of personality of singer as the most important factor for the success in *zabavna* music industry.

Popularization of solo records brought first tensions on festivals among singers who replaced the cooperation with competition in order to win a festival, which would make him/her a star of the evening, and in the end increase the popularity that “could earn [a star] large sums of money and financial existence.”¹¹⁴ Although there was no explicit evidence of result-fixing, someone’s suspicion could be enough to create a scandal. Anyway, just mere existence of this topic in Yugoslav public discourse shows that the profit became central and final point in music industry. The Yugoslav authorities would try to fight it in the upcoming years, inventing even the “šund tax” in 1976, but without any success.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how rapid the change in *zabavna* music sphere was, from the shy attempts of Ivo Robić on the radio stations to become accepted by official cultural policy in the late 1940s to the existence of enormous popularity of singers like Mišo Kovač who in the 1969 sold his hit single *Proplakat će zora* (The Dawn Will Cry) in previously impossible number of 500.000 copies.¹¹⁶ Exactly halfway of this twenty-year period, in 1958 the Opatija Festival was established and it immediately became a symbol of all changes in *zabavna* music industry. Cultural policy creators finally accepted that *zabavna* music festivals dictated the level of light music, but continued criticizing their low standards and shallowness.¹¹⁷ The official recognition of the genre as “national”, but the further need for the

¹¹⁴ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 49.

¹¹⁵ Franičević, “Utjecaj društva na...”, 90.

¹¹⁶ Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 238.

¹¹⁷ Damir Grubiša, Stipe Šuvar (eds.), *Kulturna politika i razvitak kulture u Hrvatskoj: (“Crvena knjiga” i drugi dokumenti)* [Cultural Policy and the Development of Culture in Croatia: (“Red Book” and Other Documents)]

reaffirmation is the characteristic of the last stage of Larkey's theory. For Yugoslav case study it means that the evocation of Italian influence was not needed anymore, but it did not necessary have positive tone. What was before ascribed to the Italians, "scandals, cheating, fighting, disappointments, protests, financial interests, controversies, intrigues, and people that drive you crazy,"¹¹⁸ the media could implement on Yugoslav music scene as well, joining the criticism of authorities. However, on the other hand, the media supported popularization of singers by entering more and more in the private lives of singers.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the growing importance of profit together with the increasing involvement of discography indicated the final turn to the market.

(Zagreb: Republički komitet za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu: Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1982), 196.

¹¹⁸ "È giunto dal cielo blu l'alloro di Modugno" [Now the Sky is Blue for the Laureate Modugno], *La voce del popolo*, 5 February 1958.

¹¹⁹ Anita Buhin, "Ljetovati na Jadranu 1969" [Summer Holidays on the Adriatic in 1969], *Epulon: Časopis studenata povijesti Sveučilišta Jurja Dobrile u Puli* [Epulon: The Journal of Students' of History of University Juraj Dobrila in Pula], Vol. 7 (2009), 72.

Conclusion

The socialist Yugoslavia presents quite a challenge for every historian that is interested in the cultural history. Especially the first twenty years of the new system demand the combination of several approaches. The first is the one from the above that could be also perceived as the theoretical. The first chapter of this thesis presented the complicity of the interconnections between Eastern and Western interpretations of Marxism that were joined with Yugoslav own theoretical thought developed from the politics of the “third way.” It can be concluded that the theory of the democratization of music was contradictory in its very essence. The cultural workers in the music sphere were supposed to educate masses for the acceptance of higher music, but also give the opportunity to the people to choose on their own the form they like. Because majority mostly enjoyed in the listening to the light genres, new policy had to provide an entertaining music whose style was supposed to be neither “too Western” nor “too folk,” neither “too Dinaric” nor “too Habsburg,” neither “too boring” nor “too erotic,” and so on. Interestingly, through whole analyzed material, there was not even one example of the “perfect” song that could serve as a role model. It seems that the idea of acceptable light genre was impossible to implement because there was always “too much of something” inappropriate for Yugoslav socialism. However, on the other hand, the lack of the clear pattern gave the chance to composers to experiment and practice their own ideas because, no matter how dissatisfied officials were, they had to provide some kind of entertainment to the public. This in the end resulted with the creation of – *zabavna* music.

The next ambiguity appears on the level of the official implementation of the cultural policy. Analyzed material demonstrates that theory developed by leading Yugoslav ideologues in many cases failed in practice. There are several reasons for it. Again, the

discrepancy between two segments of the idea of self-management resulted in the general confusion and different applications on the field. Self-management was supposed to return the means of production and creativity to workers, but also make them responsible for their work. The case of academic musicians demonstrates that it was not possible to devote the work to pure artistic forms because they were not profitable, and without profit musicians could not secure their own existence in the society that decided to shift the financial responsibility from the state to the working collective. Consequently, the second acknowledgment of *zabavna* music genre was the result of the elimination of the “cultural elitism,” that could not survive in the market society without the state intervention.

The third level that demonstrates the difficulty to have linear analysis of the problematic derives from the first two. The acceptance of the market from the one side, and ideological promotion of the “brotherhood and unity” on the other, were personalized in popular singers’ identity. Therefore, Yugoslav socialist stars had to balance between the demand to serve as the role-models for the youth and the enjoyment in the luxury and glamour. The media complicated the situation even more by simultaneous praising and criticizing of popular stars.

And finally, the analysis of *zabavna* music argues the openness to the Western practices. In the most cases it was just a demonstration of the ideological difference from the Eastern Bloc countries in the international context. Interestingly, there is an obvious parallel with Italy that in foreigners’ eyes was depicted as glamorous, while at home tried the provincial connotation was kept.¹ However, as well as the Italian specific glamour had some basis in the reality, the same goes for the Westernization of the Yugoslav society. There surely were Western influences on the Yugoslav culture, especially coming from its first

¹ Stephen Gundle, “Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy”, in Rudy Coshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 356.

neighbor – Italy, but they cannot be taken for granted. It is clear that ideologues, but also other members of the society (like the example of singers' shows), tried to copy Western (Italian) ideas only until they developed their own distinguished approach which, nevertheless, stayed inspired by the West.

Therefore, this research cannot provide definite conclusion on the character of Yugoslav socialism. As well as the split between Tito and Stalin was not dramatic turnover, but more gradual change of politics (which can also be seen in the fact that some officials, at least when it came to culture and music, never could get rid of their dogmatic views), the importance of *zabavna* music for Yugoslav society cannot be reduced to simple answer such as “it had huge impact” or “it was irrelevant.”

I would rather accept Fiske's argument that the influence of popular culture can be seen on the microlevel. *Zabavna* music did not challenge or provoke the system or the Party. *Zabavna* music was not equally important for the cultural development in all parts of Yugoslavia. *Zabavna* music was not completely influenced by or derived from Western genres like *canzone* or *schlager*. However, *zabavna* music can be a paradigm through which the liberalization of the 1950s and 1960s can be identified. The Yugoslav liberalization was gradual, inconsistent, differently accepted, criticized and influenced by the West – exactly like *zabavna* music.

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