

DR. NELE KARAJLIĆ IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE “NEW PRIMITIVES”

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ABSTRACT

The “New Primitives” is an alternative, and later, a cultural movement that emerged in Sarajevo in the late 1970s and early 1980s; the movement officially ceased to exist in 1987. The most substantial cultural capital of the movement relates to “Zabranjeno pušenje” (“No Smoking”) band and the radio and television show *Top lista nadrealista* (*Top List of Surrealists*), while the biggest individual cultural capital lies with Nenad Janković, a phony doctor with the “erotic” pseudonym of Dr. Nele Karajlić. The subject matter of this article is the authorship and co-authorship of Dr. Nele Karajlić within the “No Smoking” band and the television show *Top List of Surrealists* in the cultural space of the socialist Yugoslavia during the 1980s.

KEY WORDS: Dr. Nele Karajlić, “New Primitives,” “No Smoking Orchestra” band, *Top List of Surrealists*

“New Primitivism” was one of the most significant youth alternative movements in Yugoslavia during the 1980s, notable for their attempts of “creating an authentic rock culture” (Dragičević-Šešić 1992: 173). This research focuses on the general characteristics and aesthetics of “New Primitivism,” the role of Dr. Nele Karajlić in constituting the movement, his performances and the analysis of the (humorous) language used in songs that he wrote for the “No Smoking” band and in the screenplays for the television series *Top List of Surrealists*. My interdisciplinary approach is based on semiotics, linguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics, theory and history of literature, Bakhtin’s and Propp’s laughter theory, cultural studies, and relevant historical and sociological studies. I aim to situate the aesthetic and poetic oeuvre of Dr. Karajlić within the “New Primitivism” in the cultural space of the socialist Yugoslavia during the 1980s.

THE NEW PRIMITIVES

The “New Primitives” is an alternative cultural movement that emerged in Sarajevo in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Only in the specific neighborhood of Koševo, the unique area in Sarajevo “which is inhabited by residents from all walks of life, could these various grounds meet, and civilizations collide with an indigenous (non) culture” (Filipović 1987: 4). In 1987 the movement officially ceased to exist via a television video, based on a unanimous decision of the New Primitives collegium, who thus distanced themselves from the invasion of the actual primitivism. The movement was considered to be the Yugoslav response to punk and a reaction to contemporary movements such as “New Romantic” and “Neue Slowenische Kunst.”

The term “New Primitives” was coined by Mirko Srđić (alias Elvis J. Kurtović) in the 1980s and it referred to the work of the Sarajevo bands “Elvis J. Kurtovic and his Meteors,” “Zabranjeno pušenje” (“No Smoking”), “Bombaj štampa” (“Bombay Print”), “Crvena jabuka” (“Red Apple”), “Plavi orkestar” (“Blue Orchestra”), the radio youth program and later the television show *Top lista nadrealista* (*Top List of Surrealists*). The band “No Smoking” was quickly recognized as the leader of the “New primitives wave” (Janjatović 2007: 244). The first provocative appearance of the “New primitives” in public was in Mirko Srđić’s open letter to Goran Bregović, the guitarist and the main creative force behind one of the most popular bands in the SFR Yugoslavia, “Bijelo dugme” (“White Button”) (1974–1989), whom he called “the only Yugoslav rock dinosaur.” This proclamation was also a manifesto of the “New primitives” (Ibid), a form of “public auto-propaganda” (Hobsbaum 2014: 13), which recognizes the institutionalization of rock ‘n’ roll.

In 1966, when the first Guitar Festival (Gitarijada) was held in the Belgrade Fair Hall, rock ‘n’ roll in Yugoslavia officially entered “the phase of a politically verified and institutionalized phenomenon of everyday life” (Vučetić 2011: 209). While in some other countries behind the “iron curtain” rock ‘n’ roll was a part of the desire for different living and the riot against the system that imposed restrictions and limitations of personal freedoms (Ibid, 190), by “approving” rock music and musicians Yugoslav authorities diminished potential causes of youth dissatisfaction and showed once again that Belgrade was responsive to Western values – also showing to the East that socialism could actually be preserved, built and developed in this, more liberal Yugoslav manner (Ibid, 204).

The most substantial cultural legacy of the movement relates to the “No Smoking” band and to the radio and television show *Top List of Surrealists*, yet the greatest individual cultural legacy lies with Nenad Janković, a phony doctor with the “erotic” pseudonym of Dr. Nele Karajlić (the “last name” being derivative of the slang verb for sexual intercourse).

The “New primitivism” rediscovered the film director Hajrudin Krvavac, who was notable for directing movies of the Partisan film genre during the 1960s and the 1970s, including his masterpiece *Valter brani Sarajevo* (*Walter Defends Sarajevo*) (1972). An homage to the film was paid by the “No Smoking” band in the title of their first album *Das ist Walter* (1984), and the “Surrealists” used the main musical theme from the film in their sketch when members of the European observation mission on duty in

Sarajevo deliberately instigate a quarrel between two friends. What the “New primitives” discovered in Krvavac’s films was the “unique (...) scrupulous attitude towards the genre,” and realized that his films offered “specific resistance to the state of mind which, in its aspiration towards the ever present monumentality in any mythomania, had long deprived the revolution of any human content” (Тирнанић 1990).

DR. KARAJLIĆ AND THE “NEW PRIMITIVES”

In 1987 Dr. Nele Karajlić published a manifesto with a Germanised title “Neue Primitivismus for Beginners,” as a parody to the “Neue Slowenische Kunst.” The text appeared in the youth magazine *Lica* (*Faces*), published by the Central Committee of the Youth Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is why it would be incorrect to say that this was a marginalised youth social movement, or “a community of outsiders” (Gordon 2014). Having emerged five years earlier, “as a product of a collaboration of authors” coordinated by Karajlić (Karajlić 1987: 8–9), the manifesto consists of four episodes (from Radio Primus).

It insists on an authentic and intentional correlation with the “mainstream” base (uneducated urban folks, taxi drivers, burek-makers, kebab-sellers, café-owners) with the purpose of fighting against the higher-level primitives. The poetics insists that the new primitive poems must have “rhyming verses, or as the primitives say, the verses must match.” The prism of a new primitive poet is different from a Romantic poet, Gabriel Garcia Markes, Bob Dylan or Abdulah Sidran: “The first impression of a new-primitive poet, after seeing the rain fall, is that the afternoon derby match between Željo and Velež will be played on a muddy and soaked pitch.” One of the principal weapons of the movement is the “new primitive clothing,” aimed at violating aesthetic norms, thus linking this movement to punk rock. Satirical (mock) biographies of the “main figures” oppose standardized biographies of canonized main figures of the time.

The phony Dr. Karajlić authored mock-scientific texts “Provincialism as the Final Stage of Primitivism” and “The Critique of Bistrica Program,” where the former parodies the book *Filosofija palanke* (*The Small Town Philosophy*) by Radomir Konstantinović, and the latter is an allusion to Kant. The new-primitive fashion offered a sharp criticism of the Government for the harsh financial crisis in Yugoslavia in the late 1970s and the 1980s. During the reign Prime Minister Milka Planinc (1982–1986) a “Long-term economic stabilization program” was adopted. Austerity measures were introduced for repayment of Yugoslav debts, all of which resulted in major economic disturbances and affected the standard of living of the entire population. Electric energy was rationed and the import of consumer goods was prohibited, hence there was a shortage of coffee, sugar, oil, detergents, etc. The highest executive authority in the SFRY, the Federal Executive Council limited the sales of petrol to 40 liters per month. The odd-even driving arrangement system was introduced, so one could drive a car on a specific day depending on whether the final number on their license plate was odd or even. Travel was restricted and citizens who wanted to leave the country were obliged to submit a deposit. Karajlić’s manifesto criticized such policies: “The

race towards the West, where we are doomed to fail, was made even harder by introducing the deposits, which, however, failed to prevent those with deep pockets and shallow minds from heading towards abyss" (Karajlić 1987). References to "workers temporarily residing abroad" who could become "propagators of this new-primitive fashion in Europe" actually reveal the problem of unemployment as the main cause of economic emigration of Yugoslav people.

Both form and content of the manifesto reflect the cultural and educational capital of its author, as well as the profile of the movement as an "alternative culture that recognizes the elite culture and intentionally rejects it" (Dragičević-Šešić 1992: 175), whereas the intentional violation of aesthetic norms and distancing from the mainstream indeed relate the movement to the punk rock movement.

THE NEW PRIMITIVE MAN

The "New primitives" adopted an unfashionable style of petty hoodlums and small-time smugglers seen around the Baščaršija market in Sarajevo. On the covers of their first two LP records the band "No Smoking" published "Manuals for primitives" which sketched out the ideal "New primitive man" Šeki Gayton and Sejo Saxon. Their visual style and behaviour is a consequence of the instinct for the affirmation of personality both in erotic and social terms by resorting to the "apparent distinctions" of the "New primitive man," in which he expressed his status and identity:

Different positions in the social space suit lifestyles, the systems of differential variations which are symbolic translation of an objective, existential difference. (...) Taste, inclination and ability for (material and/or symbolic) appropriation of certain types of objects or activities (sorted by class, or classifying) is a creative formula that is in the principle of a lifestyle; this is a unique set of distinctive preferences that show, in the specific logic of each symbolic subspace – furniture, clothing, language or physical posture—the same expressive intention, the principle of unity of style; what is learned by direct observation, while analysis destroys it, singling in it special universes (Bourdieu 2008: 156).

Unlike the subcultures in the West which "predominantly arise from the working class" (Hebdiđ 1980: 102), "the Primitives" actually belonged to the middle class, just like many other young followers of subculture in Yugoslavia. Typically, they "acquired a decent education, they are internationally oriented and materially supported by their parents, and therefore able to accept the global sub-cultural or fashion trends" (Dragičević-Šešić 1992: 174). But, unlike the New Wave movement in Belgrade, whose visual component was developed by students and teaching assistants at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts, thereby confirming their origin and belonging to the middle class, "the Primitives" did not affirm their class. At the level of the language, their identity

is further confirmed through the use of “youth jargon,” which is essentially a sociolect (Bugarski 2006: 19–20) that opposes the standard language.

DR. KARAJLIĆ AND THE “NO SMOKING” BAND

Nele Karajlić was the founder, composer, songwriter, and frontman of the punk rock band “No Smoking,” with which he released four albums between 1980 and 1990 – *Das ist Walter* (1984), *Dok čekaš sabah sa šejtanom* (*Awaiting the Morning with Satan*) (1985), *Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari* (*Greetings from the land Safari*) (1987),² *Male priče o velikoj ljubavi* (*Little Stories about Great Love*) (1988)³ – and held more than 1000 concerts in the cities and villages of SFRY (Karajlić 2014).

Karajlić caused one of the biggest scandals in Yugoslav rock in 1984 when, during a concert, he said: “Marshall has croaked!” (“Crk'o Maršal!”). At the denotative level, “Marshall” is a type of guitar amplifier, while at the connotative level, it is the highest military title in the armed forces of the SFRY, normally used to refer to Josip Broz Tito, who had died four years before this event. The censorship that followed drastically reduced the band’s activities and had a direct impact on the break-up of the first line-up of “No Smoking.” The initial circulation of the album *Das ist Walter* was 3,000 copies, and eventually sold 100,000 copies; however, the next album suffered a drastic decline in sales. Moreover, after this affair, it was impossible to continue with the “Top List of Surrealists” and they had a five-month hiatus between two seasons.

Media censorship of the band should be considered within a particular system of ownership and socio-political control of the mass-media, which depended on the state or the party and served as a means of economic and political propaganda (Šušnjić 2004: 108–109). Yugoslav socialism was “the system of monist party-oriented etatism” (Imširović 1991: 22), or the “monolithic political system” (Петрановић 1993: 105) where the “meta language of an agitation and propaganda remain a permanent part of the ideological monopoly of the Communist Party” (Тодић 2010: 48), whose roots date back to a period of Agitprop (from 1945 to 1952). Milanka Todić associated the Agitprop culture with the Stalinist conception of culture (Тодић 2005); the entire cultural activity was placed under the leadership of Agitprop, who had their authorities at all levels of the party organization (Јањетовић 2011: 21). The aforementioned “Marshall” scandal and censorship that followed confirmed the ideological mono-

2 The renowned film director Emir Kusturica appears as a band member on this album.

3 This is the last album of the band “No smoking” in the original line-up. After this album, because of the war, the band split into two groups carrying the same name. The group that remained in Sarajevo never progressed beyond the regional fame. “The other group, based in Belgrade, was renamed the ‘No Smoking Orchestra’ by Janković and added a now-permanent member, Kusturica, who had already collaborated with the band in the late 1980s by co-authoring songs and joining them on stage. The addition of Kusturica’s famous name to the band launched the group on international stages and circuits” (Bertellini 2014).

poly of the Communist Party, but also pointed to the disintegration of the system on its way to the full collapse at the end of the 1980s.⁴

KARAJLIĆ'S ANTHOLOGY POEMS

Five Karajlić's songs are included in Petar Janjatović's anthology of rock poetry (Janjatović 2008): two from the period of socialist Yugoslavia, "Šeki is on the Road Again" and "Nedjelja kad je otišo Hase" ("Sunday When Hase Left"), and three songs of the band "No Smoking Orchestra" from the 1997 album *Ja nisam odavle* (*I am not From Here*): "Tri ratna havera" ("Three War Friends"), "Od istorijskog AVNOJ-a" ("From Historical AVNOJ") and "Ljubav udara tamo gdje ne treba" ("Love Strikes Where it Should Not").⁵ Although only the first two songs formally belong to the "New Primitivism," all of them embody the same poetics. These poems are reflections of the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav socio-historical reality through the prism of a marginalized group: ex-convicts (Šeki), football fans ("Sunday when Hase left"), three friends who ceased to be friends, war refugees ("From Historical AVNOJ"), two lovers who adhere to different religions ("Love Strikes Where it Should Not").

The linguistic basis of Karajlić's songs is the "standard Serbian language" of the "ijekavian subdialect (variant) of Štokavian" (Ивић 2009) with an exception towards "Herzegovina-Krajina dialect"⁶ and some "ekavian" words, which were ijekavian both in standard and in a subdialect variant. The choice of language suggests the identification of members within a language community (Radovanović 2003), which may be experienced as a "naturalised, common state of affairs" (Đorđević 2009: 84), yet it must be observed within a specific cultural code, as it bears certain ideological implications. Karajlić is oriented towards a local (Yugoslav) linguistic and cultural area. On the other hand, there is an example of the Slovenian band Laibach (the name for Nazi-occupied Ljubljana) and other New Slowenische Kunst groups in the 1980s who employed German as their principal language (Erjavec 2003: 170). They also acted within the Yugoslav cultural area; however, by choosing German language, they proved to be oriented towards the idea of Mitteleurope, which "embraces countries and cultures that have built their cultural identity under the influence of the Austro-

4 In 1987, when the relations between the central government in Belgrade and Slovenia were already tense, the New Collectivism group designed the official poster for the Day of Youth Festival, the annual youth festival celebrating Tito's birthday; they submitted their poster on the basis of a public competition and received the first prize (Erjavec 2003: 168–169). However, the poster was a remake of the Nazi painting "The Third Reich" by Richard Klein, from 1936; a huge scandal broke out, but a year later was announced that the prosecutor's office had concluded that what was at stake "was nothing more than a manner of artistic expression." Erjavec concluded: "Again the work of an NSK group was interpreted as a purely artistic work, in spite of possessing all the characteristics of an ideological and political artefact."

5 Emir Kusturica directed film *Life is a Miracle* inspired by this song (Janjatović 2007: 245).

6 Earlier "Eastern Herzegovinian dialect" (Ивић 1985).

Hungarian Empire” (Šuvaković 2003: 90). Thus Erjavec comments: “While German culture was still the centuries-old enemy, because of historical distance and a vastly changed political framework, its relation to Slovenian culture proper now began to be perceived in a more benign way” (Erjavec 2003: 136).

Looking at Karajlić’s choice of linguistic standard, we can notice how the “hegemonic” use of the standard (Maglston 2003: 188) was interrupted by other “linguistic varieties” (Bugarski 1996: 162), which required a knowledge of specific discourses and the interpretation of many layers of meaning and marking during the creative process. Karajlić seized the opportunities of “sublingual variations” (Radovanović 2003: 155) within the standard Serbian language, especially the spoken (colloquial) speech from Sarajevo with Turkish words (as borrowings), as well as Germanisms, Hungarianisms, words from Romance languages, elements from the “general” and “youth jargon” – provincialisms, insulting words, obscene vocabulary, vulgarisms, curses and non-standard words. All these “sublingual variations” are manifestations of “the free street speech” (Bahtin 1978), whose democracy, according to Mikhail Bakhtin, is a signal “to speak freely, without concealment and euphemisms” (Ibid, 204). By subjecting the language to grammar rules but not obeying the “politeness and hierarchical barrier” (Bourdieu 1977), their use in language results in the translation from a “high to material-body” plan (Bahtin 1978), thereby symbolically abolishing the hierarchy in the text, with the provocative representation of the social reality.

In the song “Šeki is on the road again” we notice “code switching” (Radovanović 2003: 147) towards the “linguistic imperialism of English” (Šuker 2005: 259–260) – which connects them with younger generations around the world, to whom English language is a means and a symbol of unity and modern life, but even more a part of their identity (Bugarski 2010: 47). “Code switching” is also seen in the song “From Historical AVNOJ,” because there is a slogan in Spanish “No pasaran,” the most famous slogan of leftists around the world, which was used as a symbol of Spanish communists during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). In these songs, Karajlić addresses current social and political topics – the character of a former convict,⁷ an allusion to Tito’s death,⁸ the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s⁹ – which situates him into the “punk-rock popular music genre” (Bortvik, Moj 2010: 97–122).

Due to the non-fictional relationship with the reality, he can even relate to the traditional realist narration found in Serbian epic folk poems, due to their main structure – “literature as history” (Деретић 1996: 12). Karajlić’s poems mention (either directly or through allusions): the centuries long Ottoman rule, the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip, the Spanish Civil War, AVNOJ, the national hero Ivo Lola Ribar, the end of World War II, the liberation of Trieste by Yugoslav partisans, Tito’s death, XIV Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo,

7 “Šeki is on the Road Again.”

8 “Sunday When Hase Left.”

9 “Three War Friends,” “From Historical AVNOJ,” “Love Strikes Where it Should Not.”

the killing of a Serb in Sarajevo during the wedding ceremony as one of the triggers for the beginning of the war in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the military operation "Koridor" ("Corridor"), the commander Slavko Lisica, refugee convoy of Serbs from the Western Krajina region, Dayton Agreement, the Republic of Srpska, etc. The author has witnessed contemporary historic events and they serve as material for his poetic imagination. Historical facts and persons referred to in Karajlić's songs include the elements of their own nature: "history, in comparison to literature, does not constitute an external phenomenon whose elements may be freely used, reshaped and modified by literature, but rather, history is the factor embedded within the system and brings the elements of its own nature into literary products, primarily the element of non-fiction" (Деретић 1996: 14).

Karajlić's satirical attitude towards socio-political reality is especially evident in the poem "From Historical AVNOJ". The characters are members of a modern (Тимотијевић 2006: 171), nuclear (Stojković 2008: 91) or conjugal (Вулетих 2006: 115) family: a father, a mother and a son. The son in the "opposing code" (Hol 2008) verbalises a critical attitude towards Yugoslavia, communists and Tito, and such code was intensified in expression through the use of derogatory words for communists and vulgarisms for Yugoslavia and Tito. The character of father reflects the individual history of a former communist and partisan to the present-day refugee. A fictional narrator states that the father's dreams switch between his revolutionary past and the reminiscence of the fight against fascism during the Spanish Civil War. The character of mother has no reflections of the past. She just asks if some of the men could turn up the radio a bit, thereby confirming her belonging to a patriarchal microgroup with a clear distinction of gender roles.

The satirical attitude is reinforced by two literary canons: the response to the verses of Serbian poet Branko Miljković ("Will freedom itself sing / As slaves have sung of it") (Миљковић 2000) – "The freedom couldn't sing, though," and stating the name of Vladimir Mayakovsky, a Russian poet who in 1920 put his poetic gift in the service of the revolution (Benjamin 2007: 143). By doing so, Karajlić presents and confirms his own educational capital which, according to Gramsci, is the result of the development and organization of education and the proof of relevance attributed to intellectual functions and categories in the modern world, where school has a positive educational function (Gramši 2008: 152).

This song creates a thematic unit together with the song "The Day of the Republic," introducing the character of Dragan, a disappointed revolutionary aware of the fact that "the old dream is not dreamt any more." His bitterness about the collapse of the revolutionary fight for freedom and the revolutionary remains in Yugoslavia culminates in the motive of refugeeism and Sremska Rača in the poem "From Historical AVNOJ."

The toponym Sremska Rača, a border town through which refugees from the Republic of Srpska Krajina went to Serbia, is an allusion for the "most severe ethnic cleansing in Europe after World War II" (Илић 2006: 263), to which the international community (UN, EU, etc.) failed to react (Ibid). On the day of the so-called "Black Friday," on 4 August 1995, a military action called "The Storm"

was launched and concluded within a short period of time by the Croatian army and police forces, directed against the western part of the Republic of Serb Krajina (the areas of north-west Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija), and, consequently, the RSK ceased to exist.

The disintegration of the country, the civil war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the emergence of new ethnonational states, with “ethnic cleansing,” among other things, resulted in enormous population movements, as well as a considerable number of refugees who moved towards their “mother countries” (Raduški 2007: 81). According to the UNHCR data from March 1995, the number of refugees in the region of the former Yugoslavia, irrespective of their nationality or habitual residence, is estimated at 3.9 million and at least an additional 500.000 refugees from the region fled to third countries (Raduški 2007: 82).¹⁰ Refugees are the tragic epilogue not only of the disintegration of political and socioeconomic system of the former SFRY, but also of the ideology of Yugoslavism (Радушки 2011: 375), while refugeeism marks a discontinuity in almost all aspect of life of an individual and a family (Радушки 2011: 386).

THE TOP LIST OF SURREALISTS

The comedy show *Top List of Surrealists* (TLS), where Nele Karajlić was a screenwriter and an actor is an example of media culture in socialist Yugoslavia in 1980s, as a highly rated television series. The TLS directly points out to the Surrealism, whose “black humour is both funny and dark; like Surrealism, it does not require interpretation, but lets your imagination run wild, which is, after all, the basis of every creative work” (Hobsbaum 2014: 15). However, what is lacking is the “rebellious spirit” (Novaković 1992: 494) of Surrealism, which is due to the fact that the show aired on the media controlled by the state (Veljanovski 2009: 57). Broadcast on three occasions from 1984 until 1991 by TV Sarajevo’s Channel 2 and also shown in the rest of the SFR Yugoslavia through the JRT system,¹¹ TLS started as a 15-minute radio comedy segment on the “Primus” programme on Radio Sarajevo’s Channel 2 during the early 1980s (1981–1985). Their debut was in the form of a fictional terrorist takeover attempts of radio station, where they read their manifesto, together with a list of demands. The television comedy show *Top list of Surrealists* was broadcast as a part of a prime time show of “newly composed folk songs” (Golemović 2006: 245) or “new folk songs” (Čolović 1982), performed by popular folk singers, with comedy sketches after each song.

The “Surrealists” relied on improvisation and, in the beginning, on mild social criticism, referring to contemporary global events of that time. In the second and third

10 According to UNHCR, it was estimated that in late 1993, out of 15 million refugees in the world, almost every fifth refugee came from the region of the former SFRY (Радушки 2011: 375).

11 Eleven episodes in 1984, seven in 1989 and two New Year’s Eve episodes—on 31 December 1989 and one a year later.

seasons (filmed in 1991, when the war in Yugoslavia had already began) they created some of the most successful and best remembered sketches, playing with stereotypes in displaying different mentalities in Yugoslavia, and using political satire to comment on the current political situation. Moreover, some of their sketches are now seen as prophetic.

In their sketches the “Surrealists” used diverse products of popular culture from different cultural and language backgrounds, thanks to their education and the openness of the Yugoslav media space, though not in the sense of assimilation, but through a “transcultural” process, and interference with art, music and literature. These examples confirm the availability of Western media products to the television and cinema audiences in Yugoslavia, which has its roots in the 1950s when a “Copernican turnaround in culture” occurred and “cultural pluralism” came to life (Janjetović 2011: 28). Imports of Soviet films ceased in 1950 (Janjetović 2011: 41–43) and since 1952 Yugoslavia started receiving money from the USA as part of technical assistance for the purchase of films (Ibid, 28). In the same year Yugoslavia joined the American Information Media Guarantee Program which enabled the import of American books and movies at highly favourable rates. This made American films much cheaper and thus more competitive on the Yugoslav market than the films from other countries, including the domestic ones.¹² Moreover, the Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT) joined the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), and its connection with socialist countries and domestic media production were the sources that provided the variety of media offer to the “Surrealists,” which they lavishly used. The “Surrealists” dived into all spheres of economic, social and political life in Yugoslavia, its place and role in the international community, including everything and everyone in their intellectual criticism.

A particular parodic focus is directed at professional politicians and military elite, where mockery culminates in the process of post-production dubbing of documentary footage of politicians (in the Parliament Hall, at the work table, behind the rostrum, walking through the park with a journalist, etc.). This is overdubbed with the text that has nothing to do with the original context. The climactic sketch is “The Parliamentary restaurant” in which the politicians quarrel about the final bill – who ate and drank what and how much of it -- using the documentary footage of the 14th Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, held in January 1990, which is one of the key events in the breakup of Yugoslavia.

In their sketches, “the Surrealists” identified the “paradoxical transition from the communist to the national ideology” (Dragičević-Šešić 1994: 185, 224) visible among the politicians in power. *TLS* is full of verbal comedy, which relies on different linguistic varieties carefully adapted to each character with regard to its gender,

12 Films that were critical about American society could not be purchased to be shown in Yugoslavia, not even by free foreign exchange, independent of the Technical Assistance, because the United States Information Agency, USIA, and the State Department prohibited that (Косановић 2011).

class, profession, social group,¹³ etc. Similarly, the titles of their sketches and the funny names of the characters are subsidiary stylish tools applied to amplify the comic situation, character or plot (Prop 1984: 118). The expressiveness of language is one of the most important factors of humor (Ibid, 120) as “Surrealist’s” successfully demonstrated in the sketch *Openly about the language – The Institute of language, literature, small businesses and telecommunications from Čajnič*. In this sketch the same sentence (“Ja čitam” – “I am reading”) is repeated six times as if it were in “six (different) languages.” They ridiculed the same thing in *The ideal dictionary for mixed marriages*, confirming Prop’s conclusion that “stupidity and social harmfulness do not exclude each other: stupidity is an instrumentality for unmasking harmfulness” (Ibid, 96).

Karajlić was the author of the majority of political sketches in the *TLS*. His sketches *The Sarajevo Wall* and *The War in the Family Popušlić* were retroactively declared prophetic, as they showed the breakup of a family and the division of the city of Sarajevo. Bearing in mind that this was about destroying the basic social unit and the environment – and that the humorous element is in contrast to the serious, hence laughter can be reached only with respect to small defects (Prop 1984: 154) – it is clear why these “defects” were too big to actually provoke laughter.

CONCLUSION

The poetics of Karajlić’s anthological poems during his work in “No Smoking” band is based on a non-fictional relationship towards socio-historical reality. This relationship is reflected through the prism of an “ordinary” man, using the technique of objective story-telling in third person from the perspective of a fictional omniscient narrator. The choice of language and motifs in the poems, addressing the current socio-political topics with a satirical attitude towards Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav reality during the 1980s and 1990s, points to the author’s orientation towards domestic linguistic and cultural areas. This is exercised in reflexive poems at the linguistic level through the use of various “sublingual variations,” which disturb the “hegemony” of the standard language. Among the “linguistic varieties” employed by the author, the Sarajevo colloquial speech, as well as the “general jargon” and “youth jargon” are particular specificities which help achieve the authenticity of the linguistic and poetic expression.

The relationship with the reality correlates with the traditional realist narration found in epic folk poems, due to its main structure of “literature as history” (Деретин 1996). On the other hand, the non-fictional relationship towards the reality and violations of the (language) standard bring the author’s work closer to the punk rock aesthetics, with “irreverence” (Prinz 2014) being one of the aesthetic ideals. This ideal is also visible in other Karajlić’s activities within the movement “The New

13 For example, after the participation in Kusturica’s film „Time of the Gypsies”, some of the „Surrealists” acquired some knowledge of the Romani language and used it in the sketches.

Primitivism,” such as: a) causing scandals at the concerts of “No Smoking” band and subsequent censorship; b) the creation of an authentic visual and linguistic identity (through the sociolect of “youth jargon”) of a “New Primitive man,” whereby his origin and belonging to the (middle) class is not confirmed, thus contrasting some other sub-cultural movements; c) verbal and visual comedy that the “Surrealists” employ to disclose any mythomania, even their own; d) experimenting within the language (neologisms, absurd speech).

The creative work of Dr. Karajlić within the alternative youth movement “The New Primitivism,” in the band “No Smoking” and in the television series *Top List of Surrealists* documents a period of time, but is also a testimony of that time – the critical and satirical, demystifying narration of communism and its demise in Yugoslavia.

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БОРИСЛАВА ВУЧКОВИЋ

Др Неле Карајлић у оквиру „новог примитивизма”

(САЖЕТАК)

Поетика антологијских пјесама Нелета Карајлића, које је изводио с бендом „Забрањено пушење”, заснива се на нефикционалном односу према друштвено-историјској стварности. Овај однос рефлектован је кроз призму „обичног” човјека, у техници објективног приповиједања у трећем лицу, из перспективе фиктивног свезнајућег наратора. Избор језика и мотиви пјесама, у којима се бави актуелним друштвено-политичким темама и на сатиричан начин односи према југословенској и постјугословенској стварности осамдесетих и деведесетих година прошлога вијека, указују на ауторову усмјереност према домаћем језичком и културном простору. На лингвистичком нивоу, његов ангажовани однос у рефлексивним пјесмама се остварује употребом различитих „језичких варијетета”, којима се прекида „хегемонија” стандардног језика. Међу „језичким варијететима” које користи, сарајевски (колоквијални) говор, те „општи жаргон” и „омладински жаргон” су нарочити спецификуми којима остварује аутентичност језичког и поетског израза.

Реалистичан однос према стварности у вези је с традиционалном реалистичком нарацијом у српским епским народним пјесмама због основне структуре „књижевност као историја” (Деретић 1996). С друге стране, нефикционални однос према стварности и кршење (језичког) стандарда приближавају ауторов рад естетици панк-рока, у којој је „неозбиљност” (Prinz 2014) један од естетских идеала. Овај идеал је видљив и у другим Карајлићевим ауторским и коауторским активностима у оквиру покрета „Нови примитивизам”, као што су: а) изазивање скандала на концерту „Забрањеног пушења” и цензура као његова посљедица; б) конструкција аутентичног визуелног и језичког идентитета (кроз социолект „омладинског жаргона”) „Новог примитивца”, којим не потврђује своје поријекло и припадност (средњој) класи попут припадника других поткултурних

покрета; в) вербална и визуелна комедија којом „Надреалисти” разоткривају сваку митоманију, па и сопствену; г) експериментисање у оквиру језика (неологизми, апсурдни говор).

Креативни рад др Карајлића у оквиру алтернативног омладинског покрета „Нови примитивизам”, у бенду „Забрањено пушење” и телевизијском серијалу *Топ листића надреалистића* јесте документ једног времена, али и свједочанство о времену – критичко-сатирична демистификована нарација о комунизму и његовом крају у Југославији.

Кључне речи: др Неле Карајлић, „Нови примитивизам”, „Забрањено пушење”, бенд „No Smoking Orchestra”, *Топ листића надреалистића*