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What, How, and Why in Serbian Music after the Second World War, in the Light of Ideological-Political Upheavals*

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ABSTRACT:

The subject of this paper concerns the consideration of the social and artistic position of Serbian music within the framework of socialist cultural policies and the post-socialist culture of Serbia in transition. That position will be examined from the perspective of some vital creative issues in respect of which aesthetic, poetical and stylistic streams have often been formed or modified, and weighed against each other. This involves the problems of *what* and *how*, which ultimately lie at the root of every musical trend and more generally in art, coupled with the problem of *why* as a certain point of 'rotation' at which both the *what* and the *how* are met and modified.

Key words: Serbian music, socialist realism, socialist/moderate modernism, post-socialist/transitional musical culture

My starting point for this article is an Adornian "duality in the character/nature of art (as autonomous and fait sociale), [which] persistently points to the field of its autonomy" (Adorno 1979: 32; cf. 369–423). In connection with music, I consider this duality in its 'absolute' and relative dimensions. By the 'absolute' dimension I refer to the exclusivity of the musical means, the specificity of their evolutive and disruptive changes, that is, to the purely disciplinary identity of music. By the relative dimensions

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sion of autonomy I mean the fact that music is not possible outside society, and that it is always a social fact, although, when professionally composed, individual in its character. Music has always been created and performed within society. Within it, music 'meets' itself in its stylistic, genre, and compositional-technical appearances; it is perceived and received personally and collectively; it affects people, it is experienced, explained, functionalized, used, and abused... As such, as both an aesthetic and social category, music has always been part of an ideology, already in the basic Marxist meaning of ideology – a form of social superstructure. Music has been created in all historical, social-economic, production and value systems, necessarily advocating them in a specific way: intentionally or unintentionally, directly or indirectly, approvingly or questioningly, but always with the latent power to affect those systems, potentially to foresee, offer or indicate the necessary steps forward from them, with the aim of transforming them. Even then, or, if we agree with Adorno, aesthetically in the most authentic way, that is, with the highest degree of its disciplinary autonomy especially when its social issues are inherent to music (Veselinović-Hofman 2007a: 205-214); when work on the thing itself, on *die Sache selbst*, results in the musical means as bearers of the 'absorbed', transformed expression of historically important moments of social development (Adorno 1968; 1984). Because of the duality of its autonomy – the absolute/aesthetic autonomy, and the relative / social – music can be (as also any other art can be) instrumentalized for concrete political purposes, in different ways and to a different extent. In the most general sense, it can be subjugated to state requirements for the affirmation of a certain political idea, political stance or programme either by open repression, or pressure ensuing from the state's 'suggestive' expectations concerning positive reactions to its requirements/recommendations for a politically 'correct' and cooperative direction of the social engagement of musical creativity. Such an instrumentalization of music need not occur only between music and a dominant political option in a country but, in principle, also between the dominant option and opposing ones.

The ideological-political functionalization of music is mostly based on the overemphasis of those musical concepts, phenomena and means which can play the role of the advocate of a certain ideology, politics and hierarchy of values. Such a functionalization mostly occurs in authoritarian systems of governing, which select those concepts, phenomena and means, imposing them as musically suitable and politically appropriate. Of course, musical contents, musical practices and the forms of their appearance supported and induced in such a way, considerably depend on the intellectual, educational, and cultural premises in general, on which such a system relies, more precisely on the intellectual, educational and cultural level of the representatives of public authorities.

From that perspective, a complex dynamic has existed in the relationships between the absolute and the relative autonomy of music in the Serbian cultural context after the Second World War. Within the framework of socialist cultural policy and the post-socialist culture of Serbia in transition, this dynamic has disclosed some ever-topical and crucial creative issues in respect of which aesthetic, poetical and stylistic streams have often been formed or modified, unfolded, evaluated, and confronted with each

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other during the history of (not only) Serbian music, and not only in sensitive ideological-political historical periods and situations. In addition, depending on these issues, some kind of political support and thereby social position can sometimes be easily 'deserved' or lost.

In fact, that dynamics involves the problems of *what* and *how*, which ultimately lie at the root of every musical trend and generally in art, and by that token are always conducive to theoretical considerations. At the same time, these problems imply the ideologically and politically most vulnerable issues of artistic creation, those which by their nature fall victim to direct ideological 'operations', because the question of *what* understood in the sense of the extra musical, programmatic dimension of a piece of work, appears to be extensive enough to open the possibility of 'side' interventions in the realm of the work's subject matter. As is the case with the question of *how*, considered in the sense of the ways of fulfilling a recommended/expected topic and 'message' that is required, which means, in the sense of the purely musical, formal aspect of a work. The questions of *what* and *how* are complemented in this paper by the question of *why* because it is this question which seems to be the crucial problem point, actually a certain point of 'rotation' at which – depending on the specific social circumstances – both the *what* and the *how* are met and modified.

Therefore, on this occasion, I shall try to consider the relationship between what, how and why in the musical and cultural policy of socialist Serbia as part of the former Yugoslav Federation, firstly during and after socialist realism, and then in the post-Cold War, and Serbia in transition. That is, from the time of the socialist realist 'paradigm' to the socialist conception of culture and education, to this music's currently neglected and socially dismantled position.

The socialist realist 'paradigm' that dominated in our country between 1945 and 1950 was modelled on several elements.³ The first of them concerns the principles and achievements of the interwar aesthetics of social art which, in any case, within the then intensified conflicts between the realist and avant-garde stances, was closer to the realist one. The second element points to a certain degree of adoption of the Soviet model of socialist realism, which meant the removal of all manifestations of "bourgeois formalism" of an avant-garde and of a modernist nature in general, in the name of the new, proletarian, socialist art. The third element refers to the fostering and revitalization of music from the people's liberation struggle, that is, to the transposition of a wartime, anti-fascist and anti-capitalist fighting spirit,

- 2 The phenomena and problematic issues of the complex relations between art and politics, have been elucidated by Miško Šuvaković in a multifaceted way in his book *Umetnost i politika*. *Savremena estetika, filozofija, teorija i umetnost u vremenu globalne tranzicije* [Art and Politics. Contemporary Aesthetics, Philosophy, Theory, and Art in the Time of Global Transition] (Šuvaković 2012a).
- 3 For more about socialist realism in Serbia/Yugoslavia see: Стефановић 1948; Данон et al. 1948; Veselinović (=Veselinović-Hofman) 1983; Милин 1998; Докнић et al. 2009; Веселиновић-Хофман 2007b; Dedić 2012a, 2012b; Šuvaković 2012b; Mikić 2012a; Radoman 2012.

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to a collective determination directed at restoring and reconstructing the devastated country. And so, socialist realism in Serbian music (as well as in the whole of Serbian art) was not only a phenomenon that ensued from a simple transfer of the artistic forms applied in the wartime struggle of World War II to the environment of a new social system established through that struggle; it was also a phenomenon connected with the broader artistic and political context, serving as a means in striving for a new socialist state.

This aspiration encompassed a cultural policy programme that required the participation of music in the presentation of the "optimal projection" of an ideal, party-created vision of socialist society. Consequently, special importance was attached to education. It was the belief of the socialist government that in order to build music 'appropriate' to such a society, this music, and the world of music in general, should be brought closer to the common people (the "masses"), who should be introduced and included in the musical life of the time. These were, after all, viewpoints that had also existed outside the socialist order. Between the two World Wars and in the post-war period, they had drawn the attention of some European composers and theoreticians; mainly those who were either simply close to Marxist views, or advocated them in their writings, or even participated in the European labour movement. So, for example, Kurt Weil, Hanns Eisler, or our own Vojislav Vučković, in their individual considerations of the issues of music in the proletarian class, emphasized the problem of the treatment of pre-proletarian (and especially 'bourgeois') music in the new social system, but also in the circumstances that subsequently changed within the bourgeois capitalist system itself, as a result; they also stressed the importance of educational projects and bringing music closer to the wider audience (Veselinović-Hofman 2007a: 201–269). For those purposes they found programmatic and vocal-instrumental music, and musical theatre (also film), more effective than absolute music; more precisely, they favoured music with a text, a plot and protagonists, because these dealt with real life and its issues (Eisler 1976a: 51–53). They did not uphold thereby any prescribed musical means, any formal or procedural compositional clichés, but freedom in the use of musical means and procedures, including the avant-garde. In that respect, Eisler's understanding that socialist realism "is not any compositional method but a composer's view of the content and the relationship between the form and the content" is most symptomatic (Eisler 1976b: 265). In fact, Eisler was convinced that socialist realism would never turn into any uniform requirement or compulsion (Eisler 1976b: 265–269).

And yet, such a belief was essentially overridden by the project and practice of socialist realism in the Soviet Union, coupled with strict adherence to similar stylistic model in countries in which social realism was also dominant. From the cultural and institutional point of view, in Serbia/Yugoslavia this model also had a strong and immediate impact on the formation of post-revolutionary attitudes, with regard to the social role and position of art and culture (Doknić 2009); that is to say, regarding the implementation of the prevailing political standpoints which maintained that art/music had to be one of the building blocks in the construction program of

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the new socialist state; because it was that program which was the primary political and social aim, and being aware of this was what mainly guided the selection, moderation and modification of artistic and musical practice.

It was a crucial period in the history of Serbia/Yugoslavia that was sensitive in every respect. The plan for the "reconstruction and construction" of the war-ravaged country, called for its people to demonstrate enthusiasm and dedication for the "public good", and the expression of a collective spirit; in other words, the transposition of heroism and sacrifice in wartime to peacetime and renewal. Therefore, it is not surprising that when the reasons for which life and art were conceived and guided in a specific way were the priority, in Serbian music there occurred an aesthetically undifferentiated relationship between the *what* and the *how*. This relationship originated from the fact that in the immediate post-war period the issue of the why became crucial and decisive to such an extent that it actually 'absorbed' in itself the two previous issues. Their sense and importance did not appear as mutually distinctive but in their reciprocated identification, in their overlap, 'uniformity', directly caused by the answers to the why. In other words, the extra musical topics and narrative, and musical content, functioned in socialist realism as 'uniformed' correlates of its political doctrine. Therefore, the relationship established between the *what* and the how was of an almost mechanical nature: it ensued entirely and 'automatically' from the why, and was strictly regulated through it. From that perspective, the what 'represented' the thematic and verbal appearance of the why, and the how, that is, musical language – the why's potential sound appearance.

In everyday life, in short, it all meant that the assignments of the cultural policy were aimed at raising the general cultural level of the people (Данон et al. 1948: 104) and their musical education by means of various aspects of bringing professional musical creation closer to the "masses", through fostering "musical forms of the most tangible content" (ibid.) – those which included text (e.g. songs, choir songs, particularly mass songs, cantatas, oratorios), and simplified, neoclassically 'purified' musical language, also akin to folk music, and thereby coupled with the substitution of "the

- 4 So, "for its own purposes, the political elite established a cultural elite, creating an official art in that way, and also a state artist as its representative. The state artist has existed since the time of state monopoly over art, but it has never received such importance as in communism because the state was the only funder and the only critic" (Doknić 2009: 30).
- 5 "Our mass battle partisan song as the expression of the liberation struggle of our people is their favourite. It should and can serve as a model for the creation of new mass songs about labour in freedom, the constructional labour of the country. Since not enough attention is paid to the mass song, it would be necessary that wherever it is performed (...) its arrangement would correspond to its spirit and meaning (that it be simple and approachable but artistically at a high level), and that its performances be serious and worthy." ("494 ΚΑΒΩΗΕΤ ΠΡΕΔCΕΔΗИΚΑ... Београд, 14. 2. 19519" [OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT... Belgrade, 14. 2. 1951] (Doknić et al. 2009, Vol. 2: 415).
- 6 For example, such a musical language might be attested by Jovan Bandur's trilogy of cantatas: *The* 1941 *Poem*; *Yugoslav Partisan Rhapsody* both from 1947, and *The Country Sings* (1949); the symphonic

utmost subjectivism (...) with new, progressive ideas (...) and progressive contemporary characters" (Данон et al. 1948: 104).

Socialist realism, among others, showed that the relationship between the *what* and the *why* of music especially as a particular form of social propaganda, is by nature closer and more direct than between the *how* and the *why*, considering that the topic, extra musical content and the 'message' that is 'transmitted' by them, do not conceal the reason for their presence. On the contrary. The aim of the *what* in any politically engaged music is actually to make the reason of its presence, that is, its *why*, receptive and immediately accessible. However, as for the *how* and the *why*, they need not be 'poster-visible'. It is perhaps indicated in the best way by the above-mentioned fact that Weil, Eisler, and Vučković considered all compositional procedures including the avant-garde (and even the purely experimental), as appropriate means of expressing progressive political attitudes.

In the period of socialist realism, Serbian music did not have any experience of such a freedom of choice, but it would formally fulfil conditions for that after 1948, on account of the political break between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. And after the introduction of self-government in 1952, socialist realism would begin to recede before the aesthetic views of modernism. This tendency has been noted in the relevant Serbian bibliography (primarily in terms of literature and the visual arts after the Second World War) as socialist aestheticism, and then, in terms of its development during the 1950s and 1960s, as socialist modernism (Denegri 2003, 2012; Šuvaković 2012b, 2012c, 2012d; Dedić 2012a, 2012b, 2012c). Those formulations were transferred also to Serbian musicological literature (Mikić 2012a, 2012b; Radoman 2012). This has resulted in a certain equality in the theoretical approach to the arts in Serbia; in the possibility of their comparison according to common or analogous assumptions; and in similar terminology. Besides, the adjective *socialist* in both formulations is a signal of the socialist, that is, *political* character of Serbian and Yugoslav aestheticism/modernism, more precisely, of the policy of the socialist self-governing state which in fact stood behind the freedom of creativity. The state 'prescribed' and supported that freedom, particularly in the forms of international cultural collaboration, such as festivals (participating in and organizing them), guest tours of foreign artists in Serbia/Yugoslavia, and of Serbian artists abroad, actions on the part of artistic associations, and the like. Everything through which art/ music was able to represent the ideological openness of the state's policy, and its selfgoverning socialist democracy, had the support of the relevant state institutions. Of course, this also involved the non-aligned policy of the country, whose peaceful and intermediary position during the Cold War determined the country's principal orientation in its entire cultural and artistic policy. And yet, the in-between position – articulated in Serbian music predominantly between the traditional and the modernistic, the national and the international – did not appear only as the moderation of a 'middle way'

poem Road to Victory (1944) and the cantata The Girls Embroidering Liberty (1947) by Mihailo Vukdragović; Epicon 1945 for violoncello and piano (1945) by Milenko Živković; or The Song of the Dead Proletarians for mixed choir (1945) by Marko Tajčević.

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between those opposites, always producing the same level of balance, carefulness and cautiousness. Such a position also implied open affinity for either of the above-mentioned opposites, or open denial of them. In other words, between these poles, there was poetical and stylistic incoherence, and large aesthetic amplitude. The reason for this, in considerable measure, lay in the simultaneous artistic activity among composers who belonged to different generations, each of which had its own interests and challenges, but also in the specificities of the composers' personal creative paths and singular creative 'psychology'. Hence, since the second half of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, until the beginning of the 1990s (and even later, albeit in an essentially changed social-political environment), in Serbian music, that is, in the period demarcated as socialist modernism, with a unifying 'stylistic' determinant moderate (moderate modernism!) instead of socialist, there were many more or less distinctive streams: aspects of various neo styles such as neoclassicism (occurring in the range from the schematized to the evolving and explorative), neobaroque, neoromanticism, neoimpressionism and neoexpressionism, regional forays in to the avant-garde, and postmodernism, together with national orientation, appearing at different levels and in different measures in every stream listed above (Veselinović-Hofman 2007b). Because of that stylistic variety, and particularly in the context of this paper, I consider the attribute *moderate*, first of all, as a characteristic symptom of a liberating state of mind in Serbian music after socialist realism, but, as a stylistically unspecified, neutralizing attribute that, in the syntagm moderate modernism, that is, socialist modernism, has a predominantly political connotation. It discloses the nature of the *socialist*, in fact, the answer to the *why* of the culture, art and music in the non-aligned self-governing Serbia/Yugoslavia.

It was in this period that an essential change occurred in both the *what* and the *how* of Serbian music. Namely, both of them were confronted with a completely free choice guaranteed by the state in the degree to which choice would not 'jeopardize' the state system. Thus, the *what* was freed from the pressure of dogmatism, and hence music reached for various thematizations: from national, archaic, 'universal', to ironic-satirical, implicit or non-existing.⁷ And the *how* had thereby free access, in principle, to all levels of traditional and modernistic means, to the affirmation of aesthetized, ideologically unengaged music, the poetic and stylistic autonomy of both the *what* and the *how*. Mutually 'assimilated' in socialist realism, the *what* and the *how* became 'detached' after it. Nevertheless, at this point I recall Adorno, who would call this kind of absence of coercion to functionalize music socially, recognition, in fact, of its function.

Regardless of that, the cultural policy of socialist Serbia/Yugoslavia clearly demonstrated that *professional* art and *high* culture acted as an important factor of its policy and

7 Within the indicated range of thematization in the framework of socialist/moderate modernism (1949–1991) might also be 'read', among other compositions, Songs of Space (1956) by Ljubica Marić, The List (1952/1955) by Dušan Radić, Sinfonia lesta (1965) by Rudolf Bruči, Sigogis (1967) by Petar Ozgijan, The Hexagons (1974–1978) by Srđan Hofman, Vocalinstra (1976) by Vladan Radovanović, Off (1982) by Zoran Erić, and many other compositions from Serbia up to the beginning of the 1990s.

a natural indicator of the entire qualitative picture of its society. Part of such a policy was also the educational system (Hofman 2009). Nevertheless, the process of education did not unfold apart from the ideological impact wherever this was possible; the *general educational* system was stable, informatively ramified, and serious. As for music, it encompassed a basic insight in crucial segments of its history, and the practice of choir singing. Of course, the number of lessons, the factual range, the presence of sound examples, etc., depended on the curricula of the elementary or secondary schools, of the gymnasium departments where the accent was more on the social or the pure sciences, or vocational schools. And parallel to the general educational system, there was a developed system of free, ten-year musical education. In other words, considerable importance was attached to learning and knowledge, since they were regarded as a competitive commodity.

In the post-Yugoslav Serbia, the system of musical education has remained formally unchanged on the whole, except that it has functioned in conditions of a market economy, the interests of private capital, under pressure of the logic of profit, and a changed standard of values in compliance with that logic. One can also add that it has functioned in conditions of a state cultural policy which currently seems more like a farce about culture, since it is still suffering from the impact of the wars in the 1990s. Specifically, a close causal connection was established at that time between the state apparatus and the 'masses' - in the sense of a relationship between official political standpoints and musical production. More precisely, it involved a musical industry that accepted those standpoints and spread them in society in the most banal, warmongering way, aggressively, vulgarly and primitively (Veselinović-Hofman 2013). Thereby, one side generated and backed the other so that their interest was reciprocal: for the state, the political interest was at the same time financial; and for the war music industry, financial interest was at the same time political. In that spectacularization, a distortion occurred in criteria and taste and, justifying it with the "wishes and needs of the masses", this distortion released the most primitive and rudimentary human impulses, far removed from the need for any intellectual effort. A Pandora's box was thereby opened in our culture and, consequently, the much-needed post-war establishment of a worthy cultural policy has been essentially burdened and endangered.

Therefore, nowadays, almost, as it were, mockingly, Serbian cultural policy has quite evidently devastated the former system of musical life to a large degree, through relativizing, neglecting, and underestimating the importance of musical institutions – paradoxically, especially those which had effectively promoted musical creativity in Serbia, for decades; by endangering their existence, even closing some institutions,

- 8 See the documents from both volumes of the book (Doknić et al. 2009).
- 9 "Indeed, knowledge took priority over ideology, but the final aim of the whole system of education and upbringing in the socialist Yugoslavia remained the same till the very end: [the aim was] to generate an ideal, creative, socialist human being." (Hofman 2009: 92)
- 10 Allow me to recall the absence of appropriate support for the International Review of Composers, and the conspicuous marginalization of the Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS), on account of longstanding financial 'suffocation'.

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which had functioned successfully, despite an ever chronic shortage of funding."

Today, the 'reorganization' of the cultural platform in the field of music is unfortunately primarily preoccupied by the market space, in which financial support for certain projects often lacks artistic 'justification'. Accordingly, the space in which the criteria of values are formed is based on the distribution of power, which also encompasses the forms and intensity of its presence in the media. In other words, the very media placement of a musical 'product' – the composer's or the performer's – appears to be more important than its quality, that is, marketing becomes the social norm of that quality. And to enter the market's 'orbit' and thereby draw public attention, that 'product' will often be advertised in the media with a vague 'promise' that it will contain at least something the audience would like to hear. For example: where it concerns a pieceby a Serbian composer who was 'unfairly neglected' and 'forgotten' in our country although the 'whole world' admires him/her; or a composition which is neither experimental nor based on any current technology; or it refers to a historical or religious topic; or it relies on folklore, or is 'flooded' with it; or it includes elements of popular music, rock and jazz; or it belongs to the sphere of world music; or it is simply 'heartfelt', accessible, catchy, miraculous, and so forth.

Of course, I am not saying that the above-listed features of a piece of music are negative as such (although they might be if realized unprofessionally, uncreatively and uncritically). I am merely highlighting the fact that they *can* be effective as '*competitive* promises' *even when there are no grounds for this*, and provide the desired social attention to the 'product' they are marketing and 'covering'.

Apart from being an indicator of the mechanism of the social placement and 'survival' of professional musical achievements in our conditions of liberal capitalism, the described marketing situation also indicates the alarming absence of a soundly deliberated cultural policy, and that the policy is predominantly a day-to-day one, dependent on benefits and the preference for 'easy' communication.¹² That is exactly

- 11 The most drastic example of this is the case of the Jugokoncert concert agency.
- the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, for the purchase of books for the public libraries in our country, in 2015, is very symptomatic. That reaction is not only a grounded critique of the betrayal of the goals of a useful and far-reaching project concerning the fostering of good quality literature in our country, but also an accurate 'diagnosis' of the downturn in the criteria and values of current cultural policy in Serbia. Hamović strongly condemns the fact that the Ministry's expert committee recommended to our libraries many books which, in terms of artistic value, do not deserve to be chosen. He stressed that this signalled an "irreversible path of favouring social weaknesses and the erosion of a public institution". "By bowing to widespread bad taste and personal interests, and contrary to its past work", Hamović warned, "the committee was betraying its mission in the literary-publicist domain of its work. The greatest damage lies in the fact that they have succumbed to pressure and have given an alibi to a body of insufficiently qualified but vocal librarians to choose editions 'that the people want', and to which they are also not averse, in terms of their own personal taste (...). In a frantic race to increase readers' visits, they lower the criteria (...), and for minor privileges they become the megaphones of so-called writers and publishers who are instigators of the lowest impulses." (Hamović 2015)

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the reason for the neglect of knowledge as the value based on which the stability of a professional and social position should be acquired. Contrary to this, the rapid achievement of wealth and popularity outside the 'burden' of education, are implanted into the hierarchical minds of people as the 'highest' values of our present society, which is especially exemplified by the events that are occurring in the entertainment, popular music scene.¹³

Still, all this does not mean that in this prevailing value system of post-socialist Serbia, which is otherwise directly proportional to the logic of the market, the power of advertising, propaganda and profit, there are no worthy, professional musical creations or variety of forms of musical life. Compositional and performing production is intense and unfolding in the full freedom of deciding in respect of the what, and the how. So, considered from a purely creative angle, both of these (what and how) enjoy full individual autonomy. However, when, by reason of its social placement and position, music bows to the market and to what our cultural policy encourages, the what and the how of music can easily overlap again, in their direct dependence on that why. And as I have emphasized, it relies on purely market interests. In that way, the what and the how of music, but also the participants in the Serbian musical field that tolerate market demands and conditions, place themselves in the function of a direct exchange of interests with the state institutions. In such a context, a certain layering of the *how* emerges on its internal (poetical) and external (representative) side, in which primarily the latter influences the market, social position of a musical product. Thus, the advertising and propaganda mechanism produce the most immediate effects exactly in the forms of appearance of the *how*. Public attention increases with the degree of provocativeness in the forms of appearance of the *how*, thereby shaping the social mind and musical taste directly towards and to the benefit of the representation of the *why*.

Our current cultural policy is, regrettably, subservient to the *why*. In other words, this policy is not being built with the aim of overcoming the destructive modes directed at the entire musical sphere of Serbia in transition, but with the concept of

show on TV Pink. Young competitors ("stars"), but also children ("little stars") perform before a jury of our most popular entertainment stars. Undeniably, there are very gifted competitors among them all, for whom a good rating in the competition opens a swift rise to fame, as a result of which they may actually 'skip' the 'laborious' process of study, which they see more or less as an obstacle on their path. Sometimes comical, but sometimes disturbing, this show openly advocates at least three viewpoints which are characteristic of our contemporary society: 1) the goal in life is to be famous and rich regardless of the 'content' of that fame, no matter how shallow its foundation is, and how dangerous fame may be for young people, seen from a purely psychological and educational perspective; 2) popularity and wealth can be achieved quickly and easily – at least in comparison to the way in which they might be gained by going through a profound process of acquiring knowledge; and 3) the 'message' is that knowledge is unnecessary, and is, moreover, an undesirable 'surplus' in the hierarchy of values, almost worthy of ridicule!

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'flirting' with lucrative pastime fun, to the de-hierarchization of values and a sort of 'juggling' with institutions. Thus, without any visible efforts to create an adequate and respectable alternative system to solve the transitional problems of musical life, our cultural policy is actually encouraging the breakage of values, and thereby deeply and extensively endangering our musical life and cultural level, in general.

It is hard to believe that there is no awareness of the fact that the disappearance of the high art/music of a country indisputably leads to the disappearance of its cultural identity and its integrity suffers thereby.

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Шта, како и зашто у српској музици после другог светског рата, у светлу идеолошко-политичких превирања

(Сажетак)

У овом раду размотрен је однос између питања *шша, како* и *зашшо* у музици и културној политици социјалистичке Србије као дела југословенске Федерације, у време и након социјалистичког реализма, а потом и музичке/културне политике у транзицијској Србији. Дакле, у времену од соцреалистичке музичке 'парадигме' и културно-образовне социјалистичке концепције, до данашње, стратегијски запуштене и разорене друштвене позиције музике и културе у Србији.

Тако је показано да је у социјалистичком реализму веза између *шша* и *зашшо* музике по природи ствари ближа и непосреднија него између *како* и *зашшо*, будући да циљ тог *шша* у свакој политички ангажованој музици, па и нашој тадашњој, јесте у томе да разлог његовог постојања, дакле његово *зашшо*, учини пријемчивим и непосредно доступним. Ипак, у вези са *како*, то *зашшо* није увек било и плакатски наметљиво.

По увођењу самоуправљања 1952, соцреализам ће почети у српској музици и уметности да се повлачи пред естетским начелима модернизма. Та тенденција се у релевантној српској литератури, пре свега о књижевној и ликовној уметности после Другог светског рата, тумачи као социјалистички естетизам, који се развија у социјалистички, умерени модернизам.

Атрибут умерен је овде схваћен пре свега као карактеристичан симптом једног ослобађајућег стања духа у музици после соцреализма; као један стилски неспецификујући атрибут који, у синтагми умерен тј. социјалисшички модернизам, има пре свега политичку конотацију. Он упућује на природу политике тог социјалисшичкої, заправо на оно зашшо културе, уметности и музике несврстане самоуправне Југославије. У том раздобљу су се, стога, и оно шша и оно како српске музике нашли пред слободним избором, државно гарантованим у мери у којој тај избор неће 'угрозити' државни систем.

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Поистовећени у соцреализму, шша и како су се, значи, након њега 'раздвојили'.

У друштвено-вредносном систему постсоцијалистичке Србије, директно пропорционалном логици тржишта, композиторска и извођачка продукција одвијају се у пуној слободи одлука и с обзиром на оно *шша* и на оно *како*. Али, када се из разлога свог друштвеног пласмана музика ипак приклони тржишту тј. ономе што наша културна политика подстиче, *шша* и *како* музике могу са лакоћом поново да се преклопе у својој директној зависности од оног *зашшо*. Јер се наша културна политика данас не гради на концепту превазилажења разорних модуса управљених на укупну институцију музике у транзицијској Србији, већ на концепту 'кокетирања' са разбибригом уносне забаве, на укупном вредносном обезваживању институција и 'жонглирању' њима.

Кључне речи: српска музика, социјалистички реализам, социјалистички/ умерени модернизам, пост-социјалистичка/транзициона музичка култура