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A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist by Predrag Milošević in Relation to the Question of Socialist Realism in Serbian Music History

Milan Milojković¹ Academy of Arts, Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Novi Sad

Abstract

Bearing in mind the position occupied by Yugoslav postwar music, in this article I review certain compositional strategies implemented by Predrag Milošević in his piece A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist, by means of which this modernist composer stepped into the field of socialist realism. I will analyze the score in order to identify the most significant compositional-technical strategies used by the composer. Further analyses will encompass an interpretation of the piece with respect to the theories of socialist realism, while a separate segment of this article will be dedicated to some aspects of the relationship between this composition and writings published at the time of its creation. I will then use these analyses to emphasize some points in Milošević's work where one can observe connections with the theoretical output of his contemporaries, as well as with recent writings that focus on understanding the place of socialist realism in Serbian music history.

Kevwords

Predrag Milošević, peasants, *lied*, socialist realism, communism, Yugoslavia, USSR

Introduction

The goal of this article is to investigate possible connections of the art song *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist* by Predrag Milošević² with theories and ideas related to the issue of socialist realism in Serbian music

¹ milanmuz@gmail.com

² Predrag Milošević (Knjaževac, 1904 – Beograd, 1988) was a Serbian composer, conductor, pianist, pedagogue and music writer, and member of "Prague group" of composers educated in the interwar period in the Czech capital. His opus comprises a small number of works, almost all representing the cornerstones of national musical history (e.g. *Sonatina for piano* (1926), *String quartet* (1928), and *Sinfonietta* (1930)). Neoclassicism within (moderated) modernism is the most common stylistic determination of his works. Hence Melita Milin observes that "Among all Prague students, only Milošević displayed a strong affinity with neoclassicism" (Milin 2006: 109); while Vesna Mikić observes that "Milošević pioneered compositional techniques of moderated modernism/ neoclassicism, while rejecting the subjectivity of late romanticism, and he advocated the sphere of historicist modernism" (Mikić 2009: 107). However, I will argue that he was also influenced by the idea of socialist realism in the late 1940s.

and art in general. First of all, A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist will be observed in the light of the social context within which the piece originated, especially in relation to political-aesthetical writings published in the magazine Muzika (Music) — an official newsletter of Yugoslav Composers Union.³ Following this segment, I will present an analysis of the score, pointing out some significant musical gestures in relation to the harmonic and formal structure of the piece. The goal of this analysis is to show the unusual complexity of the musical language of this piece, written in the period during which a simplification of contemporary art was demanded and expected. At the end of the article, I will consider the position of the work in relation to the theories about socialist realism by contemporary authors such as Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, Ješa Denegri and Miško Šuvaković.

Yugoslav Context of the Late 1940s

Predrag Milošević's song *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist*, with the lyrics by Gvido Tartalja,⁴ was published in 1949 (Milošević 1949) the very year of the shift from the Soviet to a specifically Yugoslav paradigm of a socialist society. The Tito-Stalin split⁵ that had occurred the previous year came as a surprise for many, since Yugoslavia was, until that moment, known as the most dedicated follower of the "Soviet way to communism".⁶ Also, during that year, very turbulent events occurred regarding music and socialism in the USSR, resulting in one more great purge of famous composers. Documents and reports about these conferences and meetings were published in Yugoslav musical newspapers and inspired polemics and decrees, while influencing many composers' activities.⁷

³ Published between 1948 and 1951, this magazine played a crucial role in the Yugoslav postwar music, even though only five issues were published. Its Editor-in-chief was Oskar Danon, while the Editorial board consisted of Predrag Milošević, Stana Đurić-Klajn and Mihailo Vukdragović. The contributors to this magazine were numerous famous composers and writers on music of that time, such as Nikola Hercigonja, Pavle Stefanović, Petar Bingulac, Jovan Bandur.

⁴ Gvido Tartalja (Zagreb, 1899 – Belgrade, 1984) was a Serbian poet, best known for his contribution to literature for children. During the 1920s he was among the writers who adopted a modernist orientation; however, immediately after World War II, Tartalja published several works strongly influenced by socialist realism, such as *Radost za taj dan (Joy for that day,* 1945), *Zore (Dawns,* 1945), *Beli grad (White City,* 1946), *Pesma o pruzi (A Poem About the Railroad,* 1946), *Udarne brigade (Striking Brigades,* 1946), etc (cf. Konstantinović 1983: 117–140). The composer Jovan Bandur also set one work to Tartalja's lyrics dedicated to the rebuilding of the country – a cantata *Raspeva se zemlja (The Land Begins to Sing,* 1949), a part of his famous trilogy *Partizanska rapsodija (The Partisan Rhapsody)*, written between 1947 and 1949.

⁵ "Tito-Stalin split" is the term commonly used to refer to the conflict that occurred in 1948 between the communist party leaderships of Yugoslavia and the USSR, represented by their general secretaries Josip Broz Tito and Joseph Stalin. Tensions between Yugoslavia and the countries of the Informbiro resulted in purges within the communist party and the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the Soviet-allied states (from 1955 known as "Warsaw pact" or formally *Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance*).

⁶ Muzičke novine were published in Zagreb at the time and had a regular column entitled Sovinformbiro dedicated to the news on Soviet music.

⁷ Details about the Soviet influence on Yugoslav music are presented in Стефановић 1949: 41–54. Also, important decrees from congresses and meeting were published in translation from Russian to Serbo-Croat (Anon. 1948(a): 98–100; Хрењиков 1949: 1–15).

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia before World War II had mostly been an agricultural country, and after the war ended there was not much left besides the physical labor of the workers' minority and a vast population of peasants (Petranović and Zečević 1988: 976). This period later become known as the "Years of restoration and rebuilding" – the years during which many youth labour actions were organized in order to rebuild and develop the devastated land quickly. Although the optimism was ever-present in daily propaganda, the reality was far from cheerful. Even though the results of these endeavors were visible – roads, railroads, bridges, mines, tunnels and other massive infrastructural projects were finished or in progress all over the country – food shortages became a very serious issue and the only source of sustenance were the primary producers of goods, that is, the peasants. This is why a system called "compulsory purchase" ("obavezni otkup") was introduced,8 according to which every agricultural producer was forced to sell a percentage of his crops to the state, for a fixed price determined by the state and much lower than the supposed market value. The refusal to do so was punished by force, and many peasants protested and were imprisoned during these years. Paradoxically, the peasant population formed the majority of the population in Yugoslavia, and was one of the three cornerstones of the Revolution (peasants, workers, students). Results of the Revolution in villages were visible, not only in the aforementioned "compulsory purchase", but also in the nationalization of privately-owned land and division among peasants, as well as the collectivization and the making of kolkhoz-style "collective farms". The implementation of these socialist ideals encountered numerous obstacles, and this influenced all other spheres of social activities, especially in the area of culture, through the activity of "agit-prop" (Department of Agitation and Propaganda of CK KPJ) which tried to encompass all aspects of cultural life (cf. Petranović 1988: 120–161).

Writings about Music in the Time of A Peasant's Interview with the Foreign Journalist

It is important to mention the participation of a Yugoslav composer Oskar Danon at the Second International Congress of Composers and Writers About Music, held from 20 to 29 May 1948 in Prague (as part of the Prague Spring festival), with a paper The Role of Contemporary Music in Society, later published in the first issue of the magazine Muzika, alongside the joint Decree made at the meeting (Anon. 1948(a): 103). Danon's paper presented the intentions of the state leadership to intensify the Sovietization of the society in order to follow 'the only true way to communism'. The author emphasized that "a work cannot lose its contact with cultural heritage, with great classical works, with the audience that these works were written for, and with the inexhaustible source of folklore art" (Danon 1948: 5), adding that composers should strive towards a simple musical language, a new musical expression which will reflect the tendency towards the democratization of art, and produce works which will be "understood and accepted by the people" (Ibid).

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⁸ This compulsory purchase was justified with a slogan: "We give wheat to the workers, they gave us industrial goods" (Petranović 1988: 104).

Oskar Danon also asked composers to pay special attention to vocal music – mostly to mass songs, choral compositions and *lied*. Even though mass songs were often discussed by the writers of that time (Anon. 1948(b): 78–86), it seems that *lied*, as one of the "acceptable" forms of expression, remained in the shadow of the request to compose for the masses. Ironically, only about a month before the beginning of the Tito–Stalin conflict, Danon would proclaim this (very Soviet) doctrine as the standpoint of the majority of Yugoslav composers.

During the same year, a meeting of members of the Composers' Association of Serbia and of the Association of Serbian Writers was held, and the main issue discussed was that of the Yugoslav mass song and the direction of development that it should take. However, *lied* as a separate genre, or a sub-genre of the mass song was rarely in question, since the focus was mainly placed on vocal-instrumental creations in general.

It is important to emphasize that in the same year as Milošević composed A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist, scores of several similar compositions were published, among them March of the Youth Brigades by Jovan Bandur, Young Battalions by Radovan Gobec, Song of the Builders of the Highway by Dragutin Čolić, Collective Farm House (Zadružni dom), A Young Miner, The Recruits' Song, Song for the First Five-Year Plan by Mihovil Logar, Song of the National Youth by Josip Slavenski, The Party Embrace by Oscar Danon and March of the Miners by Stanojlo Rajičić. However, it seems that, other than Milošević's work, only Song of the National Youth by Slavenski stands out from this group of works that were obviously composed in accordance with recommendations and decisions presented in numerous papers, from Danon's report to the founding assembly of the Composers' Association of Yugoslavia that took place the following year (Anon (Danon?) 1951: 84–98), during which certain changes in the cultural policy were indicated.

In the meantime, Pavle Stefanović kept readers of the magazine *Muzika* up to date with current happenings on the music scene in the USSR, initially not implying that any deviations from the officially proclaimed ideas of the CK SK-P(b) existed within Yugoslav musical practice (Stefanović 1949: 41). This claim is further supported by new works composed at the time (such as the aforementioned *Partisan Rhapsody* by Jovan Bandur), as well as articles written about those works, whose authors repeated the basic ideas of Danon's report.

In the light of the events of the time, it is not hard to discover why a peasant is taken as the main protagonist of Milošević's work. Although its title suggests that we will hear a dialogue, the lyrics are actually the peasant's monologue, told to the journalist who remains invisibly passive. Despite the obvious reduction of musical means that can be observed in the post-war works such as cantatas, mass songs and folklore-based pieces, *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist* contains very dense, developed musical material, presented in the form of a concise *lied*. ⁹ It is possible to say that Milošević's song did not

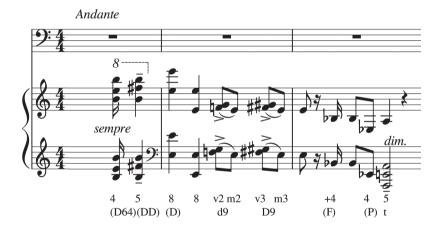
⁹ Even in the pre-war period, Milošević wasn't very open to the idea of experimentation is music, nor to using radical compositional techniques. From that period, the most important works are already mentioned: *Sonatina* for piano (1926), *String Quartet* (1928), *Sinfonietta* (1930, diploma piece, written in the class of Josef Suk).

lose its link with great classical works – as Danon demanded in his report – but nevertheless it cannot be said that it is a typical manifestation of this ideal. In this sense, works by Mihailo Vukdragović, Jovan Bandur and Danon himself¹⁰ are much closer to the idyllic model, while Milošević establishes a kind of new attitude towards the music of the past, refusing to be limited only to the nineteenth century heritage or to simplifying his means of expression. Regarding Danon's remark about the audience, *lied* was one of the favorite genres of Serbian nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, and there are almost no pre-war composers without at least one piece of the kind in their output.

Music Analysis

The form of *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist* is through-composed, often with every verse followed by a separate musical phrase. The introduction has a typically modernist feel, but it is also possible to interpret it in terms of extended tonality (Example 1). Regardless of that, this segment brings the exposition of all intervals, from consonant to dissonant ones:

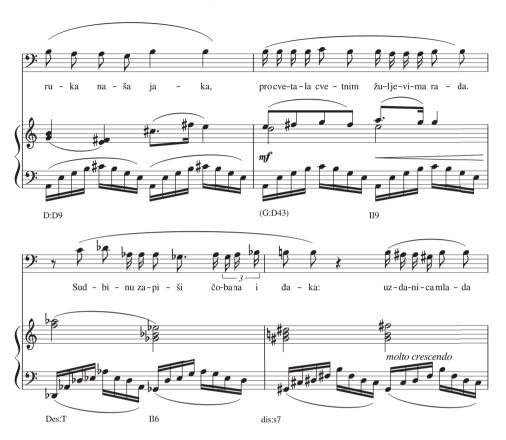
Example 1. Predrag Milošević, *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist*, bars 1–2



A further development leads to an intense harmonic activity, with distant modulations leading to the very limits of the tonal system (Example 2), which can be noticed in the segment from bars 18–21:

Details about Danon's works in: Hercigonja 1948: 29.

Example 2. Predrag Milošević, *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist*, bars 18–21



Harmonic progression in this case moves from D major, over D flat major, to G sharp minor, which can also be interpreted as minor dominant in C sharp/D flat major, given the lead *B-sharp* shift to *C* in b. 22 (Example 3):

da je na-ša na - da. ši **7**a no-vi-ne o zem - lii, pesante #₀8 D2 DD43 dis: S Cis:D2 VIIvi G:II7-5 po - to - ku po - to - ku zno po - lju, B: D7-5

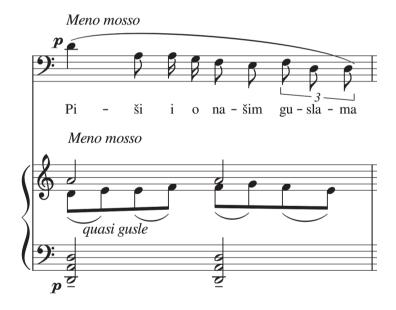
Example 3. Predrag Milošević, *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist*, bars 22–25

The relations between music and lyrics are very prominent in two structurally important points of the work. The first one is at the moment when the vocal part brings forth the lyrics "write, journalist, about a country, about a stream of blood, about a stream of sweat", when the tonality retreats again, in favour of a different kind of tone organization (Example 3). In bars 25–26, on the tone F in bass, the chord F-A-B occurs, while in the right-hand part there are repeats of two lines in contrary motion – F–E–E flat and D#–E–F around the tone A. Chromatic movement is also present in the vocal part – B-C-B-B flat-A, coupled with lyrics "about a stream of blood, about a stream of sweat" – and additional tension is brought by the rhythm of the melody with triplets, not being in sync with the piano part. Although it is possible to make conditional tonal interpretation of this segment as variations on the dominant chord with a flattened fifth in B-flat major, it is more likely that Milošević, in order to emphasize the expressive potential of the lyrics, moved closer to principles of "constructive organization" and stepped away from functional progressions. However, this kind of pathos is not new to socialist

art, but musical means employed to achieve these expressive "limits" were not very common in works by Milošević's contemporaries such as Jovan Bandur, Oskar Danon or Nikola Hercigonja.

Regarding the folklore influences (which are often present in pieces composed by Milošević's contemporaries at the time) there are no explicit quotations of tunes or motives, although Milošević made references towards this musical sphere by employing technique of simulation of the sound of the gusle. Although the idea behind the mark quasi gusle is not completely new in Serbian music (Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) used term Alla modo serbo-classico in his 'ballet-grotesque' Sobareva metla [The Servant's Broom, 1923], and later other composers made similar remarks) this whole segment can be viewed as a certain reduction of musical activities in order to illustrate the text "write about our gusle, about the whistle, about sound, about a voice over the fields" (Example 4). Structurally, this part functions as an anti-climax followed by the last wave of modulations.

Example 4. Predrag Milošević, *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist*, bar 29



After analysing the score, one may notice that the peasant is simply the subject of the work, whose voice is aesthetically and ideologically very distant from a real-life peasant's point of view. A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist is close to the spirit of the inter-war mid-European lied, accomplished using compositional means from the treasury of late romantic

¹¹ As Vesna Mikić writes, "...when introducing the concept of simulation, Baudrillard relies on the origins that this term has in military and medical terminology and explains the simulation as an act in which we 'pretend we have something that we don't" (Mikić 2009: 65–66). In this case, this applies both to *the gusle* and the peasant.

and modernist techniques. Given that this song is only 45 bars long, all these different elements with atonal segments make it very tense and expressive as a whole. The brevity in this case is not a consequence of reduction but of condensation, a tendency to create a musical flow with a high intensity of changes, getting closer to the strategies and procedures employed by authors akin to European expressionism.

A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist and Socialist Realism¹²

The idea of socialist realism can simply be defined as a demand placed on artists not to express their own response to their surroundings, but to portray the "bright future" of a socialist society as well as the "reality" of current time that is in accordance with official state politics and interests. Socialist-realist art, generally speaking, has got very high ethical standards (with no socially inadequate content), and it also possesses – as an imperative – a strong connection between art and the contemporary issues of the common man, which should help, affect, and educate him while he enjoys the art as an aesthetic object.

Ješa Denegri argues that: "the word 'socialist' in this term [socialist realism, M.M.] denotes the social order of the new state, the term 'realism' denotes a dominant model and type of presentation which by rule portrays, idealizes and always depicts prediction of the actual reality of life" (Denegri 2009: 13). Hence, socialist realism is based on an interesting paradox: its major demand for the depiction of material reality is, in a way, equated with its very opposition, i.e. the requirement that the reality should fit the postulates of one ideology, namely, socialism. As Miško Šuvaković observed, "during the late 1940s and early 1950s in Eastern European countries, realism was, mostly, a model of presentation of the optimal projection of the social and revolutionary situation that was forced upon [a country] from the outside. Socialist realism lost its critical function, and the apologetic functions were pushed towards rhetorical ones – ornamental or trivially educational effects of promises or projections of a specific modern 'era'" (Suvaković 2008).

Although every realism depicts a certain ideology through the decision to interpret an actual event, socialist realism differs because it explicitly shows the ideal materialization of the ideology as a real(istic) event. As Ivan Hofman noticed, "artists were expected to draw their content from the reality of life in socialist society. Their subjects were the revolution and the construction of socialism, their heroes the workers, kolkhozes, fighters, pioneers, and other builders of the 'happier future'. Art was ideologically dictated and it was expected to spread optimism and faith in a new, just and happy society, that is, to 'ideologically transfigure and to nurture working people in the spirit of socialism'. Theoreticians of socialist realism differentiated the bourgeois realism

¹² The idea of socialist realism appeared at the Second Congress of the International Association of Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov in 1930, and was later developed during the First Congress of the Association of Soviet Writers in 1934, and the Plenum of the Association of Soviet Writers in 1936. It was a dominant artistic practice in Serbia since the end of World War II until the beginning of the 1950s, although it occasionally appeared in the pre-war period.

which, at least in theory, aimed to show life the way it was (and which was, as such, outdated), and socialist realism, whose mission was to present life as it should be" (Hofman 2005: 42).

It is possible to notice that all these ideological assumptions are connected to Milošević's work, given the fact that *lied* as a musical genre is used by the author to transmit a very current topic – peasants' struggle with the demands of the state (presented as society), together with their unbreakable revolutionary spirit, which guarantees success in achieving the goals set by the recent Liberation war. The peasant could be understood as a materialization of one socialist ideal, because he is not a person with a name and a face; he is anonymous and this anonymity should imply that he is just one of the many, a role model or paradigm.

Nevertheless, there are some hidden properties of this work that provide a reason for considering its relation towards realism in a more "brechtian" fashion. This work "really" depicts the "ruling view as the view of the ruling" (Brecht 1976: 96), bearing in mind that the peasant, although the main protagonist, remains below the social level of the *lied*, a composition commonly written to be performed in a concert hall, for an audience that consists of well-educated citizens, who, after the Revolution and the declaration of a classless society, kept the privilege of enjoying the artistic "beauty" of their social class. This reveals that Milošević's work speaks about reality in the future tense, and the present is depicted as something that the future could or should be. In other words, the ideal of the (socialist) future is presented as a reality, since the kind of peasant presented in *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist* still needs to be constructed in reality. For now, he is just an aesthetical object for presenting politically-correct fine art.

This example speaks in favour of the assumption that socialist realism is an art for the collective, for the masses, but at the same time, it is not collective art, since the artist is commonly one "prominent individual" who acts as a role-model with his entire personality. However, his uniqueness is subjected to the state ideology and is only possible if it communicates what everyone understands, completely opposite to the romantic "un-understandable" genius.

Symbols of different social strata are noticeable throughout the piece. First, there is a peasant, a representative of the lowest, but the most controversial class within the new state, since the government considered them to be their "potential enemy" due to their defense of private property. A connection with the recent partisan war is emphasized in the peasant's descriptions of numerous battles with the Nazis, but it is also implied that the newly formed Yugoslav Peoples' Army carries the spirit of the guerilla war, and has got, at the same time, a prominent role in the government and strong ties with "the people" and their brotherhood-and-unity viewpoint. In other words, the lyrics remind us that armed forces were preventing the rebirth of nationalism and separatism, still a real threat at the time. In addition, it should be noted that *lied* is a token of pre-war bourgeois salons. So, it is possible to say that *A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist* is an artifact whose ideological and aesthetic functions cannot be separated; a work that engages with its surrounding as a political act presented in the form of a work of art.

As Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman notes: "a simplified kind of musical neoclassicism recognizable by premises of socialist realism was in fact a consequence of ideological and political usage of this style in the years after World War II. Precisely, it represented a certain stylistic frame of the turnaround towards methods of realism already expressed in the pre-war period" (Veselinović-Hofman 2007: 198). Although *lied* is certainly an important part of the compositional canon of that time, it should also be said that it carries, for post-war circumstances, a questionable link with the bourgeois past of Yugoslav society. Hence, in his *lied* Milošević masked these negative implications with his choice of an appropriate subject, undoubtedly rooted in contemporary issues. So, it is clear that this *lied* was composed for an urban audience, but not in the same way as it would have been done before the war, since it is based on, as Denegri said, "a prediction of the actual reality of life", seemingly opposed to the "enjoyment in empty forms", characteristic for the bourgeois distortion of reality.

Questions Surrounding A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist

Predrag Milošević's A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist provides a valuable testimony to the complexity of the situation that existed in Yugoslavia in the post-war period in the field of music. The assumption about the existence of a monolithic aesthetical darkness imposed by the dictatorship is certainly not plausible and it is obvious that no single platform exists that would enable the understanding of every single musical piece from this period. Furthermore, it is difficult to speak about Milošević's turnaround, when taking into account the thing from which he turned away and the thing he turned to, as well as the place that A Peasant's Interview with a Foreign Journalist would take up within that process. From the standpoint of means of musical expression, Milošević uses those established at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, even though he does it in a highly individual way, combining them with the newer, atonal and/or constructivist practices. This is why, when speaking about this piece, one can use the prefix neo-, as it is realized mostly through canonical techniques of the time. However, the word that follows the prefix is much harder to determine, given the fact that Milošević seemed aware that the aesthetical effect of any given piece in a certain reality is determined by the ideology and that, by speaking in the very language of that ideology, it makes it impossible for its impact to unfold in only one direction.

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Милан Милојковић

РАЗГОВОР СЕЉАКА СА СТРАНИМ НОВИНАРОМ ПРЕДРАГА МИЛОШЕВИЋА У ОДНОСУ НА ПИТАЊЕ СОЦИЈАЛИСТИЧКОГ РЕАЛИЗМА У ИСТОРИЈИ СРПСКЕ МУЗИКЕ

(Резиме)

Полазећи од приказа стања на југословенској музичкој сцени непосредно након Другог светског рата, у раду су представљене композиционе стратегије које је Предраг Милошевић применио у делу Разговор сељака са страним новинаром (1949), а које се могу разматрати и у светлу тезе о "искораку" овог модернистичког композитора у поље социјалистичког реализма. Поред анализе музичког текста, у којој су истакнути поступци неуобичајени за дело тог идејног усмерења, разматран је и однос између Милошевићевог остварења и идеја о савременом музичком изразу сагласном са доминантним идеолошким токовима, представљеним крајем 1940-их година у часопису Музика, органу Савеза композитора Југославије. Посебно су разматрана питања симболике "сељака" у контексту активности Агитпроп-а и тадашњих друштвених дешавања, као и потенцијалног презначења овог "токена" приликом интеграције у музичко дело. Један од аспеката рада јесте и питање "идејне исправности" жанра соло песме у социјалистичком реализму, као и његов однос са масовном песмом, имајући у виду Милошевићев веома елабориран језик представљен на "малом простору", који сложеношћу контрастира сродним делима савременика попут Оскара Данона, Јована Бандура и других. Такође, у рад су укључене теорије и претпоставке Мирјане Веселиновић-Хофман, Мишка Шуваковића и Јеше Денегрија о музици и уметности социјалистичког реализма уопште, као део аналитичке платформе са које је *Разговор* сагледан. Имајући то у виду, циљ овог рада се може одредити и као настојање да се, поред истицања сличности и разлика између дела и написа из истог времена, прикаже и једна од могућих интерпретација позиције овог музичког дела у светлу данашњег схватања социјалистичког реализма и његових веза са историјом српске музике.

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