

## THE ROLE OF BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY PROPAGANDA IN YUGOSLAV POPULAR MUSIC IN 1970s AND 1980s

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### ABSTRACT

Music has been an important part of Yugoslav society, identity and national consciousness throughout the whole existence of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This article focuses on implementation of Brotherhood and Unity ideology into Yugoslav popular music in 1970s and 1980s of 20th century in wider historical, cultural and political context. Building on wide range of primary and secondary sources (mainly of western, central and south-eastern European provenience), that has not been yet used and analysed in depth, it seeks to analyse how state ideology affected Yugoslav music and thus society. The aim of the article is by using comparative analysis and methodology developed by Serge R. Denisoff, bring completely new and yet unpublished view on phenomenon of Brotherhood and Unity ideology and its connection to popular music-put much-needed light on the complicated social and cultural relations between Yugoslav nations through music phenomenon. This topic is very important since state doctrine, national narratives, historical memory affect current and also future development of Ex-Yugoslav regions what is clearly visible on elaborated material.

**Keywords:** Music, Yugoslavia, Brotherhood and Unity, Propaganda, Society

### 1970 VE 1980'Lİ YILLARDA POPÜLER YUGOSLAV MÜZİĞİNDE KARDEŐLİK VE BİRLİK PROPAGANDASININ ROLÜ

### ÖZ

Müzik Yugoslavya Sosyalist Federal Cumhuriyeti'nin var oluřundan beri, Yugoslav toplumunun, kimliđinin ve ulusal bilincinin önemli bir parçası olmuřtur. Bu çalıřma, 1970 ve 1980'li yıllarda popöler Yugoslav müziđinde uygulanan

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Kardeşlik ve Birlik ideolojisine daha geniş bir tarihsel, kültürel ve politik bağlamda odaklanmaktadır. Bugüne kadar kullanılmamış ve detaylı olarak araştırılmamış pek çok birincil ve ikincil kaynaklara dayanarak devlet ideolojisinin Yugoslav müziğini ve böylece toplumu nasıl etkilediğini irdelemeye çalışmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı, Kardeşlik ve Birlik olgusuna ve bu olgunun popüler müzikle ilişkisine karşılaştırmalı inceleme yaparak ve Serge R. Denisoff tarafından geliştirilen yöntemi kullanarak tamamen yeni ve üstelik daha önce değinilmemiş bir bakış açısı getirmek ve müzik aracılığıyla Yugoslav milletleri arasındaki karmaşık toplumsal ve kültürel ilişkileri gözler önüne sermektir. Bu konu, çalışmada ele alınan örneklerden de açıkça görüldüğü gibi, son derece önemlidir çünkü devlet doktrini, ulusal anlatılar ve tarihsel hafıza Eski Yugoslavya bölgelerinin güncel durumunu ve geleceğini de etkilemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Müzik, Yugoslavya, Kardeşlik ve Birlik, Propaganda, Toplum

### Introduction

*“Hey Yugoslavs, may the voice be heard, we are like a stone because  
brotherhood is connecting us.”<sup>1</sup>*

Doris Dragović i More - Hej Jugosloveni (1985)

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY, later only Yugoslavia) went through significant changes during its existence - we may mention several crucial moments like Tito–Stalin split, The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution, Death of Tito, rise of ethonationalism, economy crisis between 1979-1985 - all the international, social, political, economic issues were reflected in Yugoslav popular music to a great extent. As stated by Vuletić *“popular music is one of the cultural phenomena that has been most shared among the peoples inhabiting the territory of the former Yugoslavia”*<sup>2</sup> we may add that still really is. It has been proved by the performance of a song *Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* (Spit And Sing My Yugoslavia) by Bijelo Dugme at Pula (Croatia, 2015) where the crowd sang together with Alen Islamović: *“Yugoslavia, get up on your feet. Sing, let them hear you Those that don't listen to song, will listen to storm!”*<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this study we have

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GrRDBzBies4>, (17.2. 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Dean Vuletić, “Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s”, *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 36, number 5, 2008, p. 861.

<sup>3</sup> This is also evidenced by the fact that music market did not completely disintegrate, although Yugoslavia broke up. Consumption of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav music, as well as star concerts from the previous era, led to the blurring of clear newly created borders between “national” music practices and markets. Ana Petrov, “Yugonostalgia in the market: Popular

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selected a period of 70s and 80s in Yugoslavia since this the era when the Yugoslav government was trying to resurrect a sense of Yugoslav identity, especially after the quashing of the Croatian Spring and the removal of liberal party leaderships in Slovenia and Serbia in the early 1970s, and also after the Tito's death in 1980 is most crucial in our complex research. The rise of Yugoslav commonness in music should have been the answer to rise of ethnotaionalism, that is to differ from the Yugoslav music of 50s and 60s which was also quite important period mainly after the official legitimization of Western popular music in Yugoslavia from 1950,<sup>4</sup> 1970s and 1980s brought significant changes in perception of "Brotherhood and Unity" concept. For the purposes of analysis, the corpus for this study consists of the lyrics of 9 songs (Plavi Orkestar-*Fa Fa Fašista* /1986/, Lepa Brena-*Jugoslovenka* /1989/, Dino Merlin-*Cijela Juga jedna avlija* /1986/, Ambasadori-*Zemljo moja* /1975/, Bijelo Dugme-*Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo* /1986/, Dubrovački trubaduri-*Moj je otac bio partizan* /1974/, Đorđe Balašević i Rani Mraz-*Računajte na nas* /1978/, Danilo Živković Uz Orkestar Slavomira Kovandžića-*Jugoslavijo* /1978/) from the Yugoslav popular music production during 1970 - 1990 which were chosen at random from a list of songs whose lyrics had been coded and which contained references to Yugoslavism/Brotherhood and Unity in a direct or even indirect way and regarded as the most impactful and memorable. According to R. L. Loseke and her examination of formula stories, she identifies two systems of codes: the first is the "symbolic code" and the second form of code is the "emotion code". We tried to use both of these parameters as a guideline to select song samples.<sup>5</sup> Selection procedure has been also done upon previous research of music in ex-Yugoslav space.<sup>6</sup> Music as one of the most important media for the transmission and expression of histories, news, beliefs, and

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music and consumerism in post-Yugoslav space", *Muzikološki Zbornik*, Volume 53, Number 1, 2017, p. 206, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2olphOJGotM>, (17.2. 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Dean Vuletić, "Swinging between East and West: Yugoslav Communism and the Dilemmas of Popular Music", *Youth and Rock in the Soviet Bloc: Youth Cultures, Music, and the State in Russia and Eastern Europe*, (ed.) William Jay Risch, Lexington Books, Lanham 2014, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Sophia K. Yanick, "A Narrative Inquiry of Protest Songs: Comparing the Anti-War Music of Vietnam and Iraq", *Sociology and Criminal Justice Undergraduate Honors Theses*, 2016, 2. p. 27-28. <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/sociuht/> (17.2. 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Maroš Melichárek, "Národná symbolika a mýtus v srbských vojenských piesňach z obdobia r 1991-1995", *Porta Balkanica*, Volume 7, Number 2, 2015, p. 25-34, another author's text War song in a service of ideology. Comparative essay on the example of Yugoslav and Ukrainian-Russian conflicts will be published in journal *Hiperborea* in 2020.

identities is a very strong tool for propaganda<sup>7</sup> and a strong motivator for group action in all aspects of human life. One can perceive music to be an implicitly social phenomenon, and one that may be as basic to human social life as language. How any one person reacts to and interprets music is a personal process relative to a larger social and cultural context, and this may be influenced by any element made relevant by the person experiencing the music.<sup>8</sup> Important assumption on discursive character of music was conceived by O'Flynn: "*Music-national identifications are discursive constructs, articulated through specific material and symbolic conditions. These include the sonic and structural properties of music and the social contexts in which it is sounded or heard, the mediating influence of national and non-national agencies, and the sets of values with which individuals or groups experience music.*"<sup>9</sup> Rising from suggestion that: "*musical propaganda is most successful when it affirms and makes use of positive associations, such as local traditions or very popular musical styles...*"<sup>10</sup> we may assume in the introduction that Yugoslav popular songs proved that: "*We are together because we sing some songs together, not as us, the Serbs, the Croats, the Muslims, and the Slovenes, but just as us, the people who sing those songs together after everything [...]*"<sup>11</sup> nevertheless it is only one view and we have to analyse it in broader methodological and historical context to finally prove the same and state about selected samples that are propagandistic. Main goal of this study is to find out whether selected songs could be considered as

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<sup>7</sup> The term offers a very broad and varied definitions from a deliberate effort to manipulate people's attitudes, opinions, or actions to cover everything from modern advertising towards military strategy. One of most appropriate and complex was formulated by Kevin B. Vichales, "*propaganda is any systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale. It is a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring an organization, an individual, or a cause. Propaganda proceeds by deliberate plan for calculated effects. It usually addresses a mass audience through mass media or is targeted at special audiences and media that provide access to mass opinion.*" M. J. Grant, Rebecca Möllemann, Ingvill Morlandstö, Simone Christine Münz and Cornelia Nuxoll, "Music and Conflict: Interdisciplinary Perspectives", *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, Volume 35, Number 2, 2010 p. 189; Valerián Bystrický and Jaroslava Roguľová, *Storočie propagandy. Slovensko v osídlach ideológií*, AEPRESS, Bratislava 2005, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Grant, Möllemann, Morlandstö, Münz Nuxoll, *op.cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> Jelena Gligorijević, *Contemporary music festivals as micronational spaces: articulations of national identity in Serbia's Exit and Guča trumpet festivals in the post-Milošević era*, University of Turku, Turku 2019, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> Grant, Möllemann, Morlandstö, Münz Nuxoll, *op.cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>11</sup> The statement given by the musician Goran Bregović in December 2014 on Radio Television Vojvodina. Ana Petrov, "Yugonostalgia in the market: Popular music and consumerism in post-Yugoslav space", *Muzikoloski Zbornik*, Volume 53, Number 1, 2017, p. 204.

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propagandistic from the viewpoint of promoting ideology of Brotherhood and Unity/Yugoslavism. In doing so we are going to use a model outlined by a sociologist and music critic Serge R. Denisoff where he set six primary goals of the propaganda/persuasive song: 1) solicits outside support, 2) reinforces the value structure of supporters, 3) promotes cohesion and solidarity among followers, 4) aims to recruit individuals, 5) invokes solutions, and 6) highlights a social problem or discontent.<sup>12</sup> In order to put it put our research into broader context of propaganda we shall also use selected points from Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell's the 10 divisions for propaganda analysis: 1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign 2. The context in which the propaganda occurs 3. Identification of the propagandist 4. The structure of the propaganda organization 5. The target audience 6. Media utilization techniques 7. Special techniques to maximize effect 8. Audience reaction to various techniques 9. Counterpropaganda, if present 10. Effects and evaluation.<sup>13</sup> Apart from mentioned broad sociological, cultural, linguistic, historical context has been taken into account while analyses of mentioned song's lyrics. Similarly as majority<sup>14</sup> of scholars dealing with music theory within Eastern and South-eastern Europe we followed the approach of cultural imperialism instead of aesthetic cosmopolitanism which seems to be more suited to the time after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when a large part of Europe lost its internal borders. Music, thanks to the internet, became practically borderless. Supporters of the 'cultural imperialism' paradigm accept that the music industry does not develop evenly, stronger countries and regions foist their products, rules and values on weaker ones. Such influence does not necessarily happen through force, but by subtler means, such as dominating the media and being able to invest more in innovation than can weaker countries and regions.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Serge R. Denisoff, *Sing a Song of Social Significance*, Bowling Green University Popular Press, Ohio 1972, p. 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> Garth S. Jowett - Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, SAGE, Los Angeles 2012, p. 270.

<sup>14</sup> For example sociologist Motti Regev portrays pop-rock music as "major embodiment of the transformation of national cultural uniqueness from purist essentialism into aesthetic cosmopolitanism" a "shift from commitment to essentialist notions of folkism and traditionalism, to fluidity and conscious openness to exterior influences of pop-rock". Miha Kozorog and Rajko Muršič (eds.), *Sounds of Attraction: Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Popular Music*, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana 2017, p. 170.

<sup>15</sup> Ewa Mazierska and Györi Zsolt, (eds.) *Eastern European Popular Music in a Transnational Context Beyond the Borders*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham 2019, p. 11-14.

### 1. East or West: which is the best...?

Music in Yugoslavia (in various shapes and forms) played an extremely important role in building a new common socialist state, as well as in promoting a sense of Brotherhood and Unity (Serbian: Братство и јединство). The dominant ideological principle of Yugoslavia was that the differences between the constituent nations were not significant. It was a federal state composed of republics defined on the basis of a dominant ethnic group. Brotherhood and unity was based on a formal policy of equality between constituent republics and nationalities. In order to maintain an ethnically disunited state, it was necessary to create a common identity as a citizens of the Yugoslav state. Yugoslavism, according to Perica, was the “*Yugoslav civil religion of brotherhood and unity*.” Symbolism and pageantry was central not only to the Yugoslav state building process, but to create an affective loyalty to the Yugoslav state.<sup>16</sup> Yugoslavism was promoted mostly through pop culture in 1980s, on the other hand determiner “Yugoslav” was also present in public life, among the urban and educated population as a rule, as evidenced by the 1981 census according to which the number of Yugoslavs was more than four times greater than in 1971 (from 1.3 percent it had grown to 5.8 percent of the total population).<sup>17</sup> One of the most suited evaluation of the whole what stood behind the Ideology of ‘brotherhood and unity’ has been said in Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić book *Titoism, Self-Determination, Nationalism, Cultural Memory*: “...despite the fact that it never was either completely true or existing on all levels of the Yugoslav nation is the only one that outlived its purpose within the borders of former Yugoslavia only to regain its reapplication on the European level: the concept ‘brotherhood and unity’ a futuristic social vision, projecting already then what will be happening now.”<sup>18</sup> Idea of Yugoslav art was directly connected to the rise, duration and fall of Yugoslav idea itself. From the glorifying of the anti-fascist partisan movement, wartime hardships, socialist development, Yugoslavism and Soviet Union, Yugoslav music industry leaned gradually much more towards the western culture, although Communist Party of

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<sup>16</sup> Nicole Lindstrom, “Yugonostalgia: Restorative and reflective nostalgia in former Yugoslavia”, *East central Europe-L'Europe du centre-est*, Volume 32, Number 1-2, 2005, p. 234.

<sup>17</sup> Sonja Biserko, *Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective*, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade 2017, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Gorana Ognjenović and Jasna Jozelić, *Titoism, Self-Determination, Nationalism, Cultural Memory. Volume Two, Tito's Yugoslavia, Stories Untold*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York 2016, p. 6.

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Yugoslavia firstly followed the Soviets Unions model in cultural politics. Yugoslavia (and Finland for example) was even during the Cold War a country which enjoyed having one foot in each camp / (socialist) 'East' and the (capitalist) 'West'.<sup>19</sup> Yugoslav popular music was placed between different and often contradictory network of influences: historically we may trace Eastern tradition (Ottoman and Byzantine) and Westward leanings, politically, it was socialist and yet it was consumerist, like its capitalist counterparts; and aesthetically, it was developed between socialist realism and Western postmodernism.<sup>20</sup> Liberalization of Yugoslav cultural politics started in early 1950s and in 1952 the Department for Agitation and Propaganda, or Agitprop, which had until then enforced the Party line in cultural matters was abolished. As crucial in development of Yugoslav popular music we may consider establishment of Association of Jazz Musicians in Belgrade, the Zagreb Festival in 1953 and pan Yugoslav Federation of Musicians of Popular and Folk Music in 1955.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the first pan-Yugoslav popular music festival was established in Opatija (famous Croatian seaside resort on the Kvarner Gulf) and it gradually became the largest stage for popularization of artist and songs from all over the federation. Moreover, it was modelled on popular Italian music festival in Sanremo. The biggest Yugoslavian music star of that era, Ivo Robić, won the first Opatija Festival singing a duet with Zdenka Vučković. The song title was "Tata, kupi mi auto" (Daddy, Buy Me a Car)<sup>22</sup> and it reflected on growing consumerism among Yugoslavia's population what resulted from country's economic prosperity.<sup>23</sup> Yugoslavia during 1953-1963 recorded annual increase of 9,5% in production, 10% in consumption and one of the highest percentage of economic growth in the world, this fact resulted in investment of more resources to expansion of Yugoslav popular music.<sup>24</sup> As a result of such a

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<sup>19</sup> Mazierska and Zsolt, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> This popular culture survived the death of Yugoslavia, and its most popular and visible continuation is turbo-folk. Uroš Čvoro, *Turbo-Folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia*, Ashgate, Farnham 2014, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> The Zagreb Festival was one of the first popular music festivals in Europe, following in the footsteps of the Italian one in Sanremo. Nonetheless, the Zagreb Festival's influence was limited because it attracted participants primarily from Croatia and correspondingly lacked a pan-Yugoslav character. Vuletić, "Swinging between East and West", p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> TATA KUPI MI AUTO, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vvFOlmmMaPo>, (17.2.2020).

<sup>23</sup> Zrinka Mozara, "The Role of Music in the Conflict-Tool of Reconciliation or a Deadly Weapon (Case Study of War in Former Yugoslavia)", (2017), p. 4. [http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2015-12\\_annual/The-Role-Of-Music-In-The-Conflict--Zrinka-Mozara.pdf](http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2015-12_annual/The-Role-Of-Music-In-The-Conflict--Zrinka-Mozara.pdf), (17. 2. 2020).

<sup>24</sup> Vuletić, "Swinging between East and West...", p. 36.

rapid economic growth another important phenomenon reached the Yugoslav society and popular culture -so called Americanization. The first comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of Americanization in the Yugoslavia of the 1960s appeared in 1969 in the newspaper *Borba*: “*On the Champs Elysees one sees “Le Drugstore,” on the Red Square you can find youths wearing “blue jeans,” on Terazije people eat “popcorn,” along Copacabana Avenue they munch on” hot dogs,” and everywhere there are computers, Coca-Cola, chewing gum, and jazz in evidence. These are some of the superficial visual signs of the phenomenon that has come to be called “Americanization.”*”<sup>25</sup> As we can see from a report in the herald of League of Communists of Yugoslavia, this process was perceived as a reality and the reasons for its spread can be sought in the desire to improve everyday life, but not in politics or ideology. It is the period when we could trace the first sings of rock and roll music in Yugoslavia since artist like Elvis Presley, Fats Domino, Paul Anka could be heard. *Borba*, ran an article in 1956 about the king of rock and roll - Elvis Presley. Rock music as part of fairground merry-go-rounds, whether by accident or not burst forth in all milieu of the society, since merry-go-rounds were just as much of a rural as an urban phenomenon.<sup>26</sup> Republics got greater powers in the areas of cultural politics and economy following the decentralization of the federation in 1963. In the mid 1970s (before that time we may speak about pre-history as stated by a sociologist D. Mišina) rock and roll music had been discovered by Yugoslav society as a spirit of urban youth culture and country cultural officialdom gave this previously marginal culture form serious thought and consideration.<sup>27</sup> Yugoslavia in 1970s faced a phenomenon of transfer of newcomers to urban space, migration of people (mainly from Bosnia) who had very strong connection to their home villages (rural space) and their musical culture. In the music environment it meant that rock and roll was transferred from city centres into semi-rural urban outskirts and eventually villages.<sup>28</sup> The entire Yugoslav music market was in 1970s divided between pop, rock and roll, and folk music industries, whereas the 1980s brought a new tendency: the folk-influenced hard rock sound and the pop-influenced folk sound.<sup>29</sup> In the period

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<sup>25</sup> Radina Vučetić, *Coca-Cola Socialism: Americanization of Yugoslav Culture in the Sixties*, Central European University Press, Budapest 2018, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Vučetić, *ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Dalibor Mišina, *Shake, Rattle and Roll: Yugoslav Rock Music and the Poetics of Social Critique*, Ashgate, Farnham 2013, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Kozorog and Muršič, *op.cit.*, p. 172-173.

<sup>29</sup> Ana Petrov, “Yugonostalgia as a Kind of Love: Politics of Emotional Reconciliations through Yugoslav Popular Music”, *Humanities*, 2018, Volume 7, Number 4, p. 3.



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from the late 1970s to the late 1980s rock music in Yugoslavia was marked by strong political commitment, especially by targeting the socio-cultural critique of reality and most urgent issues in Yugoslav society. Rock and punk music in Yugoslavia was certainly a reflection of socio-political reality, and in many cases the lyrics were more important than music, sometimes even prophetic considerations.<sup>30</sup> The 80s (and death of Tito in particular) brought a new view on popular music embodied in the quote: “*Rock and Roll will keep us together*”, said by announcers during TV broadcast from 1984 Day of Youth (or Relay of Youth, Serbian *Илмафета младости*)<sup>31</sup> celebrations. Music was proclaimed as one of possible way how to save and preserve “brotherhood and unity” and the country itself.<sup>32</sup> Heroic past was not relevant for Yugoslavia and many of its citizen in 1980s so there appeared a solution-focus on what was a part of everyday life of each Yugoslav and music certainly was. Yugoslav popular music had the needed power to help saving the symbolic values of the country (fix the broken “brotherhood and unity”), moreover it was proclaimed as a symbol of “our” present unity and as “our” future.<sup>33</sup>

**2. From Dubrovački trubaduri to Lepa Brena... propaganda, or not?**

“*Poslušam Plavi orkestar – nisem nacionalist*” (“*I listen to Plavi orkestar – I am not a nationalist*”)<sup>34</sup>

Radio Študent produced badges shaped as linden leaf with this inscription during *Novi Rock* festival in 1985.

Famous American musician Stevie Wonder said: “*Music, at its essence, is what gives us memories. And the longer a song has existed in our*

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<sup>30</sup> Zrinka Mozara, “The Role of Music in the Conflict-Tool of Reconciliation or a Deadly Weapon (Case Study of War in Former Yugoslavia)” (2017), p. 5. [http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2015-12\\_annual/The-Role-Of-Music-In-The-Conflict--Zrinka-Mozara.pdf](http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2015-12_annual/The-Role-Of-Music-In-The-Conflict--Zrinka-Mozara.pdf), (17. 2. 2020).

<sup>31</sup> May 25 was a public holiday widely marked throughout the former Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1988, and officially defined as the celebration of Josip Broz Tito’s birthday, although the Yugoslav president was actually born on 7 May. Ognjenović and Jozelić, *op.cit.*, p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> Ana Petrov, “Rock and roll will keep us together”: Music and the representations of Yugoslav collectivity in the Day of Youth”, *Studia Musicologica*, Volume 56, Number 4, 2015, p. 418.

<sup>33</sup> Petrov, *ibid.*, p. 424-425.

<sup>34</sup> Zlatko Jovanovic, “*All Yugoslavia Is Dancing Rock and Roll*”: *Yugoslavness and the Sense of Community in the 1980s Yu-Rock*, Københavns Universitet, Det Humanistiske Fakultet Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, 2014, p. 125.

*lives, the more memories we have of it*<sup>35</sup> and this could also be the case of Yugoslav music, since songs about their country and themselves lived and still live in them, they are their memories - generally great memories. In our analyses we will follow the chronological order, mainly because of the fact that the first song is from 1974 and the last one from 1989 and the situation in which a Yugoslavia was in mentioned years was completely different from nearly each point of view. A song by Branko Karakaš as author of music and lyrics, performed by Plesni Orkestar RTV Zagreb and Dubrovački Trubaduri *Moj je otac bio partizan* (My dad was a partisan) is a first in our analyses. Dubrovački trubaduri (Croatian “Dubrovnik Troubadours”) was a Croatian beat, folk and pop band from Dubrovnik. It was formed in 1961 by Đelo Jusić (1939-2019), who acted as leader, main composer, guitar and mandolin player. Group was very popular during the 1960s and 1970s for their performing a mixture of pop music and medieval folk traditions of Dubrovnik. A song has a clear message - promotion of Yugoslav People's Army (Serbian: Југословенска народна армија) and thus make all ancestors of those who fought against Nazi and any other internal or external oppressors proud (although a title of a song mentions dad, lyrics contain also woman's /mother's/ role - “Partizanko oka garavog, liječila si rane starog druga tvog.” - a great number of women served in partisan movement).<sup>36</sup> It is not possible to say that the song attempts to solicit and arouse outside support, but it strengthen sympathy for a social or political movement. Point two of Denisoff's structure is quite ambiguous since we cannot define each Yugoslav citizen as active supporter of in our case ideology (of brotherhood and unity), but it reinforce the value structure of individuals: Freedom - *Moj je otac bio partizan*, *njemu je sloboda uvijek bila san*, harmony - *Partizane, svako dobro zna, oni su čuvari našeg mirnog sna*, courage - *Partizani, hvala vam za sve, tuđinu ste uvijek hrabro rekli “Ne!”*.<sup>37</sup> The song clearly promotes cohesion and solidarity among followers. Is a song aiming to recruit individuals? If the military service in Yugoslavia was voluntary (in 1991 there were about 140,000 active-duty soldiers - including 90,000 conscripts) it may raise the feeling of duty to enrol for the army (“Nek sve čuje, nek sve zna, sad smo jedna armija!”). We may compare it to song by famous American band

<sup>35</sup> *Oprah Talks to Stevie Wonder*, <http://www.oprah.com/omagazine/oprah-interviews-stevie-wonder/2>, (9.2.2020).

<sup>36</sup> Around 100.000 women served in partisan units, 25.000 died in battles and more than 40.000 of them were injured. Miroslav Tejchman, *Balkán ve válce a v revoluci 1939-1945*, Karolinum, Prague 2008, p. 387.

<sup>37</sup> *Moj je otac bio partizan*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dg7V3EBdtUE>, (17.2.2020).

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Village People “In the Navy” from 1978, the song was used in a recruiting advertising campaign for the United States Navy in television and radio.<sup>38</sup> The song does not invoke solution to real or imagined social phenomena in terms of action to achieve a desired goal. Song cannot be attributed as one pointing to some problem or discontent in society. This is one of the differences between 1970s and 1980s in Yugoslav popular music, lyrics point to unity of the people and the army and highly exalts heroic partisan past: “*Partizana veliki je broj, zajedno sa nama još je veći stroj.*”

Next song comes from 1975 when it was performed at Vaš šlager sezone, popular music festival held in Sarajevo from 1960s. My country (*Zemljo moja*) was written by a very popular musician from Sarajevo Kemal Monteno (1948-2015) and sang by Ismeta Krvavac member of group Ambasadori. *Zemljo moja* was one of the favourite songs of Josip Broz Tito and was often used at official receptions organized by him. At the beginning it has to be noted that *Zemljo moja* was written as a love song, a song of parting and awaiting. It was intended for migrant workers at the time, but soon gained a different connotations.<sup>39</sup> The song definitely promotes cohesion and solidarity since there appears strong feeling of patriotism, belonging to the country and its people: *I can see the grain fields of gold and the hill with home where I was born, I think about you every single moment, my country, my country.*<sup>40</sup> This song, not directly but indirectly points to problem in the society in emotional terms. From 1960 to 1966, about 380.000 people left Yugoslavia, most of them due to economic reasons. Emigration was at its peak in the mid-seventies when the needs for labour force in the Western-European countries was biggest, about 1.400.000 people used to be on the so-called “temporary labour” abroad. The numbers began to fall gradually (about 400.000 returned home). In the mid-eighties it amounted to a million clear.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Producer Henri Belolo decided to grant the rights gratis, they only required that the Navy assist them in shooting the music video on one of their ships. Village People arrived at the San Diego Naval Base where they were provided with a warship, USS Reasoner, several Phantom aircraft, and couple hundred Navy personnel, half dressed in uniform blues and half in uniform whites. Mark Bego and Randy Jones, *Macho Man: The Disco Era and Gay America's Coming Out*, Praeger, Westport 2008, p. 89.

<sup>39</sup> Ismeta Dervoz, *Pjesmu 'Zemljo moja' najviše je volio Tito*, <https://radiosarajevo.ba/metromahala teme/ismetadervoz-pjesmu-zemljo-moja-najvise-je-volio-tito/181754>, (18. 2. 2020).

<sup>40</sup> Ismeta Krvavac-Zemljo moja, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfOffUK7i3o>, (17.2.2020).

<sup>41</sup> Božo Repe, *Les migrations sur le territoire de l'ancienne Yougoslavie de 1945 a nos jours: predavanje: Séminaire européen d'enseignants "Etre migrant(e) en Europe"*, 6-9 mars 2002,

Author expresses feeling of sadness about being on the other place of the world since the most beautiful, fertile and friendly is Yugoslavia: “*The nights are not so blue over here, anywhere I go the sun doesn’t shine so bright, the green grass is not like yours over here*”.<sup>42</sup>The rest of the requirements set by Denisoff cannot be applied to this particular song.

One of the most famous songs attributed to ideology of “brotherhood and unity” is *Računajte na nas* (You can count on us) by Đorđe Balašević i Rani Mraz (Morning frost) from 1978. The song is still “living”, it was recently performed by Katarina Radulović in Kumrovec (last Dan mladosti 25 maj 2019).<sup>43</sup> Đorđe Balašević as author of *Računajte na nas* is a prominent Serbian and former Yugoslav singer, songwriter and poet. It is not the only one song with similar social-political context - he wrote also songs like *Tri Put Sam Video Tita* from 1981 (I saw Tito three times), *Samo da rata ne bude* from 1987 (Just let there be no war). Balašević considers generation of his own as heirs of partisans and a seed of their blood. The battle against axis forces were being transformed into metaphorical ideological struggles. In this case hymn-like melody of the 1940s has been exchanged by a popular chanson-like melody.<sup>44</sup> We may apply point 3 (partially also 4) of the Denisoff structure since *Računajte na nas* promote a high morale in an organization or movement supporting its world view: “*Within us is the fate of the future days, and some are perhaps frightened of it. Partisan’s blood flows through our veins, and we know what are we here for.*”<sup>45</sup> Balašević highlights responsibility of his generation for future development of Yugoslavia. The song certainly invokes solution to real social phenomena (possible abandonment of “brotherhood and unity”, partition of Yugoslavia): “*Some doubt that we are carried by a false stream...*” Author encourages his generation not to get smashed by that “false stream”, they have to keep on memory of partisans and their struggle to: “*protect peace*”. Balašević’s song definitely highlights a social problem or discontent. Conflict situations such characteristic for Yugoslav society of late 1970s seized every part of

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Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, Université de Neuchâtel, Neuchâtel 2002, <http://oddelki.ff.uni-lj.si/zgodovin/wwwrepe/20th/Migrations%20in%20the%20territory.pdf>, (17.2.2020).

<sup>42</sup> Ismeta Krvavac - Zemljo moja, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfOffUK7i3o>, (17.2.2020).

<sup>43</sup> Katarina Radulović, “Računajte na nas, Kumrovec”, Dan mladosti 25 maj 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iZcdUIv5fNs>, (17.2.2020).

<sup>44</sup> Miranda Jakiša and Nikica Gilić, *Partisans in Yugoslavia: Literature, Film and Visual Culture*, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2015, p. 64.

<sup>45</sup> Jakiša and Gilić, *ibid.*, p. 63.

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Yugoslavia (to greatest extent Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia). “Confederalization” of Yugoslavia since the early 1970s - embodied by the Constitution of 1974 - could be considered as the main factor that eventually led to its collapse. The legal scholar Vojin Dimitrijević thus argues that the constitution, among other things: “*weakened the [Yugoslav] federation by paralyzing the decision-making process and removing real federal competences, [and] promoted the federal units into sovereign states and the only real centres of power, making decisionmaking in the federation subject to consensus.*”<sup>46</sup> The growth rate of the Yugoslav economy was artificially sustained by enormous inflation and foreign loans. Politics and ideology turned to past successes and could no longer offer attractive perspective. The functioning of the political system was increasingly influenced by Tito's age. Edvard Kardelj died in 1979. By his death, the communist elite in Yugoslavia lost the last member whose informal authority could at least partially be compared to Tito's influence.<sup>47</sup>

Two years before the death of Tito, well-known Yugoslav violinist and composer Milutin Popović-Zahar collaborated with the lyricist and singer Danilo Živković. They adapted and re-wrote the original song *Makedonijo* by Macedonian singer Aleksandar Sarijevski. Zahar wrote the new lyrics in a patriotic way and under the new title - *Jugoslavijo*, Danilo Živković released it on his single in 1978 (together with a song *Radimo složno /We are working unanimously/*). Lyrics of the song highlighted symbols of the Yugoslav society: ‘brotherhood and unity’, worker’s self-management, partisan battles, and cultural diversity.<sup>48</sup> Concerning the Denisoff structure we may apply only point 3 meaning that this song promotes cohesion, solidarity, and high morale through appeal for patriotism, loyalty and allegiance: “*Much blood has been shed for you, the fight has led you, the worker’s hand created you, live happy in freedom, let our love lead you.*”<sup>49</sup> In the context of this song it could be interesting to point at Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell’s the 10 division for propaganda analysis and in particular at point 3. Identification of

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<sup>46</sup> Jasna Dragovic-Soso, “Why Did Yugoslavia Disintegrate? An Overview of Contending Explanations”, *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*, (eds.) Lenard J. Cohen and Jasna Dragovic-Soso, Purdue University Press, 2007, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> Jože Pirjevec, *Jugoslávie 1918-1992 Vznik, vývoj a rozpad Karadjordjevičovy a Titovy Jugoslávie*, Argo, Prague 2000, p. 386-413.

<sup>48</sup> Ana Hofman, “Folk Music as a Folk Enemy: Music Censorship in Socialist Yugoslavia”, *Popular Music in Eastern Europe Breaking the Cold War Paradigm*, Ewa Mazierska, (Ed.), Macmillan, London 2016, p. 129.

<sup>49</sup> Danilo Zivkovic - Jugoslavija, <https://tekstovi.net/2,792,9734.html>, (19.2.2020).

the propagandist. The song *Jugoslavijo* wasn't warmly welcomed by editors, journalists, intellectuals and the general public panned the effort of composing a song about Yugoslavia in the *novokomponovana muzika* manner. The situation changed after Tito heard the song being performed at his yacht Seagull and commented that it was a great piece of music and exactly what Yugoslav people needed at that moment - a true folk anthem. The same editors who had banned the song and launched a public campaign against its authors changed their position very quickly. A song became extremely popular. Journalists, critics and musicologists saw the success of the song in its traditional melody and its sincere and inspiring lyrics. Danilo Živković was awarded with a prestigious medal of honour by PGP RTB (Production of LPs of Radio-television of Belgrade).<sup>50</sup> From this perspective, if we accept that the song is propagandistic (although it does not fully fill in the Denisoff's structure) the main propagandist was J.B. Tito itself.

The 1980s gave rise to three new waves of music commitment - music movements, who saw themselves as bearers of new rock and roll spirit: New Wave, New Primitives, and New Partisans. They offered a basis for directing youth to understand problems and tensions within the "new socialist culture" of Yugoslavia in terms of their own unique socio-cultural position and their different poetic expression.<sup>51</sup> Apart from Bijelo Dugme, Plavi Orkestar was a band Merlin one of key representatives. The leader of the group was Edin Dervišhalidović - now a solo artist famous as Dino Merlin (from 1991). In 1985, a band was formed by 5 members Džaf Saračević, Mili Milišić, Dino Merlin, Mensur Lutkica and Tula Bjelanović. In the context of the analysed song cannot be the term New Partisans more merged with the persuasion of the group as in the cover of the album *Teško meni sa tobom /a još teže bez tebe/* (It's hard with you (even harder without you)) on which was the song "Cijela Juga jedna avlija" released (1986). The album-cover was inspired by the iconic photograph *Kozarčanka*. Famous portrait of Milja Marin shot by Georgije Skrigin in northern Bosnia during the winter of 1943-44, it shows a smiling female Partisan wearing a Titovka cap and with a rifle slung over her shoulder. A photograph became an icon of post-war party propaganda. There is clearly visible a similarity between album-cover and composition of poster "*hasta la victoria siempre*", a redrawing of Ernseto Che Guevara's famous photo. It gives a picture significant revolutionary appeal. A rifle from the

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<sup>50</sup> Hofman, "Folk Music as a Folk Enemy...", p. 130-131.

<sup>51</sup> Dalibor Mišina, "Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia: New Partisans, Social Critique and Bosnian Poetics of the Patriotic", *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 38, Number 2, 2010, p. 266.

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original photograph is no longer visible, mainly due to fact that war means should be avoided in saving Yugoslavia.<sup>52</sup> Merlin's artistic engagement has as its ultimate objective - the restoration of true moral and ethical values on which Yugoslav society was originally founded through an appeal to a particular form of "moral-ethical partisanism." According to Dervišhalidović the cancer of Yugoslav society is the superficiality and disingenuousness of its current form of culture, manifested in the pervasive nihilist attitude and in the supremacy of materialist shallowness.<sup>53</sup> Important is that he perceives the world from the position of a "commoner" without rhetorical flourishes. Ana Vujanović in her paper *The "Black Wave" in the Yugoslav Slet: The 1987 and 1988 Day of Youth* considered a song "Cijela Juga jedna avlija" as populist song which should remind the audience of brotherhood and unity,<sup>54</sup> what we cannot accept in its entire meaning. We consider Merlin's vision as sincere, not populist. Merlin's song combines points 3 and 4 from Denisoff's structure, since it reinforces the value structure and promotes cohesion, solidarity - equality in racial and social terms: "I'm your real man, a worker, a countryman come with me - don't be sad [...] Serbs, Bosnians, Blacks, and Albanians were never strangers in my city".<sup>55</sup> "Belgrade is dancing, Novi Sad is dancing Tuzla, Sombor, Zagreb, Titograd entire Yugoslavia one courtyard" - by reciting a series of Yugoslav cities and stressing the inter-ethnic coexistence in their own city, Sarajevo, Merlin links the city and Yugoslavia in a way that every Yugoslav easily would recognise Sarajevo being "Yugoslavia condensed into one city."<sup>56</sup> That above mentioned commoner is real, authentic, working-class Yugoslav is an incarnation of genuine goodness and fundamentally of the right moral and ethical compass. Dervišhalilović's new partisanism was meant to be Yugoslavia's moral-ethical - and thus spiritual - rearmament.<sup>57</sup> This is closely connected with points 5 and 6. Merlin highlights a social problem or discontent, moreover invokes solution to real or imagined social phenomena: "cheerful estrade, starry parade, coffee,

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<sup>52</sup> Miranda Jakiša and Nikica Gilić, *Partisans in Yugoslavia: Literature, Film and Visual Culture*. Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld 2015, p. 126-130; Jelena Batinić, *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2015, p. 227.

<sup>53</sup> Mišina, "Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...", p. 280-281.

<sup>54</sup> Ana Vujanović, "The 'Black Wave' in the Yugoslav Slet: The 1987 and 1988 Day of Youth", *Social Choreography*, Number 21, 2013, p. 24.

<sup>55</sup> Merlin-Cijela Juga jedna avlija (Official Audio) [1986], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KHYbFhUisvA>, (19.2. 020).

<sup>56</sup> Jovanovic, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>57</sup> Mišina, "Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...", p. 282.

*kenijades*<sup>58</sup> and young girls but to me, what's with me, tonight I am so fussy".<sup>59</sup> It may seem that everything is in order, but there is something sneaking into Yugoslav society - something evil in particular. Country's cultural divergence is evident in the snobbery and the glorification of superficiality within everyday social encounters and interactions. The key is actively to promote the "revolutionization of our moral-ethical selves" by resurrecting the Partisan past. Failing to do so shall lead to the spreading of "primitive cultural experiences" and their destructive tendencies of "separate and divide."<sup>60</sup>

In the same year was released the second album of Plavi orkestar (Blue Orchestra) called *Smrt fašizmu (Death to fascism)*<sup>61</sup> where iconic song "Fa, fa fašista nemoj biti ti (jerbo ću te ja draga ubiti)" appeared. Dalibor Mišina described the Plavi orkestar's Yugoslavism of the 1980s as a "soundtrack for the country that never was".<sup>62</sup> Members of Plavi Orkestar belonged to the so called "last Yugoslav generation". Very important is to note that in their eyes Yugoslavism was an expression of particular generational socio-cultural experience manifested in emotional link to Yugoslavia as a specific type of cultural rather than political community. Their feelings lied in values of revolutionary anti-fascism, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism - rather than of a commitment to official politics of the day.<sup>63</sup> Fa, fa fašista nemoj biti ti is initially a love song - love between young couple is destroyed by the war and eventually girl falls in love with a German soldier. Rest of the song lies in dichotomy between "good" and "evil" (i.e. fascists and anti-fascists) and cast the whole situation in a highly moralistic tone.<sup>64</sup> This song reinforces the value structure of supporters, because it points to menace, although in the year when the song was created it wasn't fascism itself, but nationalism. It was considered a retrograde force responsible for the partitioning of Yugoslavia during World War II and for much of the brotherly bloodshed that followed. A song may follow a combination of points 3 and 4 of Denisoff structure- it promotes cohesion and solidarity among followers and aims to recruit individuals. Unity of Yugoslavs - or better said need for

<sup>58</sup> Fruit juice popular in the 80s and 90s (authors note).

<sup>59</sup> Merlin-Cijela Juga jedna avlija (Official Audio) [1986], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KHYbFhUisvA>, (19.2.2020).

<sup>60</sup> Mišina, "Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...", p. 282.

<sup>61</sup> It is a first part of the partisan anti-fascist greeting from the World War II. "Death to fascism, freedom to the people!" (Смрт фашизму, слобода народу!).

<sup>62</sup> Dalibor Mišina, "The Blue (White and Red) Orchestra: A Soundtrack for the Country that Never Was", *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 45, Number 3, 2017, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Mišina, "The Blue (White and Red) Orchestra...", p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> Mišina, "Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...", p. 279.



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unification against “evil” - definitely promotes cohesion among Yugoslav people. Recruitment of individuals comes from revolutionary Yugoslavism promoted by Saša Lošićs and Plavi Orkestar. Lyrics contain direct “threat”: “*Fa, fa, fascist don't you be because I will kill you, my dear*”<sup>65</sup> - do not stand on the side of “evil” forces, if you do so you have to perish. Revolutionary Yugoslavism of Plavi Orkestar had two main objectives: “*to insert the missing “cultural bloodline” into the socio-cultural tissue of the Yugoslav society in crisis, and to revolt against the elitist concept of culture fundamental to Yugoslav society.*”<sup>66</sup> The song points to a problem - nationalism and the fate of Yugoslavia itself. In the era of the song was Yugoslavia at the crossroads. The price of social and political peace was the state's enormous indebtedness and the sowing of the seed of national conflicts. Since 1986 however, latent contradictions began to grow into open tensions. The international situation has accelerated the crisis in Yugoslavia and especially the changes related to the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR. Yugoslavia lost its exclusive status and developed industrial countries limited economic assistance to Yugoslavia and have started claiming their billions.<sup>67</sup> All these factors affected the rise of nationalism – mainly in Serbia (but not only). Intellectuals in Serbia hardly criticized and sanctioned by the communist political elite. One of the main arguments was the inferior political and economic position of Serbia and the Serbs in Yugoslavia. The Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts was published in *Večernje novosti* in 1986.<sup>68</sup> Yugoslav citizens didn't know what will happen, what is the faith of their country? As written by Dušan Kecmanović: “*...the system of values that had existed for many years was drastically disturbed. The pendulum of history began to swing wildly, and no one knew when, how, or where it would stop.*”<sup>69</sup> We may stat the song unquestionably invokes solution to real social phenomena. The aim of the record, was not only to glorify the past but to offer it as both a symbolic foundation for resisting the ethnonationalist de-Yugoslavization of society, and the basis for a new Yugoslav(ist) cultural platform.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Plavi Orkestar- Fa fa fasista - ( Audio ), [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PSuA\\_SWbqc8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PSuA_SWbqc8), (20.2.2020).

<sup>66</sup> Mišina, “The Blue (White and Red) Orchestra...”, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Miroslav Šesták, *Dějiny jihoslovanských zemí*, Lidové noviny, Prague 1998, p. 279-280.

<sup>68</sup> Djordje Tamić, “From “Yugoslavism” to (Post-) Yugoslav Nationalisms: Understanding Yugoslav Identities”, <http://dordetomic.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/From-Yugoslavism.pdf>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>69</sup> Dusan Kecmanović, *Ethnic Times: Exploring Ethnonationalism in the Former Yugoslavia*, Praeger, Westport 2001, p. 19.

<sup>70</sup> Mišina, “The Blue (White and Red) Orchestra...”, p. 11.

*“Spit and sing, my Yugoslavia! my mother, stepmother, my sorrow and consolation my heart, my old house my quince from the cupboard my bride, my beauty my poor queen Yugo, Yugoslavia.”*<sup>71</sup> Is it possible to imagine a more sincere and passionate rock-anthem of Yugoslavia than this particular Bijelo Dugme song? Definitely not. It takes a listener from a definition of patriotism, love and affiliation to a country (as Bregović stated: *“Yuga hasn’t had such a patriotic song, like the one I wrote, in a long time”*),<sup>72</sup> through transcendental religious mysticism<sup>73</sup> to prophetic vision. Goran Bregović’s concept of “Yugoslav idea of a somewhat different type” cannot be described as a mere glorification of state and its ideology in political terms. Bregović highly criticized existing ideological rigidity:

*“officialdom’s tendency to declare any form of disagreement, criticism and/or disenchantment – or, as he calls them, “anti-communism” – as nationalism. The danger of this “propaganda mistake” (as Bregović puts it) is the irrational “manufacturing” of nationalists with the potential to attract people who otherwise do not think in nationalist terms but are, like “real nationalists,” dissatisfied with certain aspects of society and can therefore identify with the nationalistic ideas propagated by those branded as nationalists by the regime.”*<sup>74</sup>

This can be proved by the fact that state authorities affected the creation of album since they banned Bijelo Dugme to approach Vice Vukov, Mića Popović, Koča Popović who were effectively proscribed from public discourse in Yugoslavia. Points from 1 to 3 of Denisoff’s structure can be applied to a song, not in an absolutely full scale but compared to rest of the researched lyrics song fulfils its propagandistic role. Quite similarly as Lošić’s idea, Bregović’s recruitment of individuals (in an indirect way has to be noted) is connected to lyrics which contain direct threat: *“Those that don’t listen to song, will listen to storm!”* It was Bregović who mentioned that it is a song that can frighten the politicians.<sup>75</sup> Togetherness and Yugoslavism is presented as a solution to real social phenomena. The song *Spit and sing, my*

<sup>71</sup> Bijelo Dugme - Pljuni i zapjevaj moja Jugoslavijo, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pkAwXlduks>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>72</sup> Mišina, “Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...”, p. 272.

<sup>73</sup> Matthew 26:26: *“...Jesus took some bread, and after a blessing, He broke it and gave it to the disciples...”*

<sup>74</sup> Mišina, “Spit and Sing, My Yugoslavia...”, p. 268.

<sup>75</sup> Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia From the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milosevic*, Routledge, London 2002, p. 127.

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*Yugoslavia!* definitely points to problem/discontent in society, “storm” stands for rising ethnonationalism. If Yugoslavs do not resist nationalism, it will overcome them: “*here no one will ever find his tribe, until learning how to howl*”. Once a mighty and united state is now a “poor queen” - Yugoslavia is being destroyed. Bijelo Dugme reacted on nationalistic clashes in early 1980s when ethnic riots in Kosovo appeared.<sup>76</sup> In 1983 Bijelo dugme released a song in Albanian called “Kosovska” (“Kosovo Song”).<sup>77</sup> The purpose to write an Albanian song, a song that would become a big hit in whole Yugoslavia, was to teach (non-Albanian speaking) Yugoslavs a few words in Albanian and thereby, at least symbolically, break the linguistic barrier and instead promote the inter-ethnic communication and understanding.<sup>78</sup> Concerning Bijelo Dugme being a “Yugoslav” symbol we may find very interesting research of Ana Petrov who argues the “symbolic iconism” of Bijelo Dugme: “(1) *its active years coincide precisely with a symptomatic period filled with changes in Yugoslav society, beginning with its 1974 constitution and ending with its disintegration; (2) it was recognised as one of the most important successes of the country’s popular music industry; and (3) it has had a specific ‘afterlife’ that sheds light on the ways the culture in the Yugoslav era has been perceived.*”<sup>79</sup> It is questionable, but through cultural habituation songs of Bijelo Dugme still serve as symbols of the country that does not exist anymore.

“Last icon of Brotherhood and Unity”, “first big Balkan”, “Tito’s Barbie” or “Jugoslovenka”? Just these few names can be attributed to artist Lepa Brena who was born as Fahreta Jahić in 1960 in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina and grew up in Brčko in a working-class family. She has recorded 18 albums, shot 5 movies and 2 TV shows, and became the most popular public figure in Yugoslavia and the first one having her “own” Barbie Doll. Brena as a symbol of socialist Yugoslavia opened the Winter Olympic games in Sarajevo in 1984.<sup>80</sup> She was also extremely popular in other Balkan

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<sup>76</sup> Kosovo riots started in March 1981 as an isolated and at first sight insignificant student protest. Gradually it unrests grew bigger, until then was unprecedented in Yugoslavia. During riots slogans like: “We are Albanians, not Yugoslavs”, “Republic Kosovo”, “Unity with Albania” appeared. Václav Štěpánek, *Jugoslávie - Srbsko - Kosovo: kosovská otázka ve 20. Století*, Masaryk University, Brno 2011, p. 367-302.

<sup>77</sup> Bijelo Dugme-Kosovska, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tKQO0WJo8Xs>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>78</sup> Jovanovic, *op.cit.*, p. 159-160.

<sup>79</sup> Ana Petrov, “In Search of ‘Authentic’ Yugoslav Rock: The Life and Afterlife of Bijelo Dugme”, *AM Journal of Art and Media Studies*, Number 13, 2017, p. 43-44.

<sup>80</sup> Ana Hofman, “Lepa Brena: Repolitization of musical memories on Yugoslavia,” *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta*, Volume 60, Number 1, 2012, p. 23.

countries (mainly Romania<sup>81</sup> and Bulgaria<sup>82</sup>) and one of the best selling artists in Yugoslavia from the early 1980s. In 1981 she became the third best-selling Yugoslav performer (Miroslav Ilić was first and Novi Fosili on the second place).<sup>83</sup> Ana Hofman remarked that: “*Her public persona embodied multicultural Yugoslavia in all aspects of her public appearances*”. This was reflected in a transformation of a famous Yugoslav slogan “Mi smo Titovi, Tito je naš” - when in 1985, for the first time the chant “Mi smo Brenini, Brena je naša” was heard (in Mostar, at a Veleža stadium concert attended by 25-30 thousand people).<sup>84</sup> She was born as Bosnian Muslim, her stage name was Serbian and she sang in ekavica dialect - lexis and construction which are generally considered “Serbian”.<sup>85</sup> Instead ethnic identity role she played an identity-irony game with a stereotype of a beautiful woman. It was this identity what made her famous including ironic gestures, melodies and words which were present in her self-presentation. Lepa Brena became the “reincarnation” of the myth of a beautiful Serbian woman.<sup>86</sup> When asked what a song means to her now, she replied: “*This is a love song and it is not important if you sing it to the country in which you, your mother or your pet lives. The most important thing is that ‘pure emotion.’ That is what people miss. Because of that, old songs return, that’s why we remember schlagers.*”<sup>87</sup> She highly degraded its political and ideological role. *Jugoslovenka* was written by Miloš Mandić and Brena’s vocalists were Alen Islamović (third and the last vocalist of ‘Bijelo Dugme’), Milan Popović (best known for representing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest in 1983 with the song “Julie”), V. Kalember (original vocalist and bass player of ‘Srebrna Krila’). Lyrics of the song are written in a similar way as Lepa Brena was publically presented - “*something from a fairy tale, blonde and benign fairy queen.*”<sup>88</sup> Author presents “Jugoslovenka” (Yugoslav girl) as a magic creature,

<sup>81</sup> Lepa Brena - Zivela Jugoslavija - (Temisvar, 1984), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rohAI7Qt5DE>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>82</sup> Lepa Brena - Koncert na stadionu Vasil Levski - (Sofia, Bugarska 1990), [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WhQxB-D\\_A8A](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WhQxB-D_A8A), (20.2.2020).

<sup>83</sup> Ljerka V. Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia*, Routledge, New York 2013, p. 172.

<sup>84</sup> Lepa Brena: “A Yugoslav”, <https://rememberingyugoslavia.com/lepa-brena-yugoslav/>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>85</sup> Susan Fast and Kip Pegley, eds. *Music, Politics, and Violence*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2012, p. 65.

<sup>86</sup> Gabriele Griffin and Rosi Braidotti, *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies*, Zed Books, London 2002, p. 140-141.

<sup>87</sup> Ana Hofman, “Lepa Brena: Repolitization of musical memories on Yugoslavia,” *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta*, Volume 60, Number 1, 2012, p. 25.

<sup>88</sup> Griffin and Braidotti, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

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supernatural being, emerging from world from mystical world: “*Where are you from, beautiful girl, who gave you the blue eye, who gave you the golden hair, who created you so fiery.*”<sup>89</sup> Taking Denisoff’s structure into account we may apply only one point - the song creates and promotes cohesion, solidarity, and high morale. Combining official music video (Brena as magic fairy as key figure - in a blue dress, both personifying her as not only a member of the Yugoslav federation, but as an embodiment of it)<sup>90</sup> and lyrics - song aims to promote “brotherhood and unity”: “*My eyes are the Adriatic Sea, my hair is Pannonian grain ears, My sister is a Slavic soul, I am a Yugoslav*”.<sup>91</sup> Brena claims that she owes her entirety to Yugoslavia, and that she is just a reflection of Yugoslav unity. Lyrics present the relationship shared between members of the former Yugoslavia and their attached feelings which resonate with many lives.<sup>92</sup> She was the first NCFM (so called newly composed folk music - the precedent for turbo-folk) performer who introduced a patriotic content in her songs, performed in arenas - everything that was not possible for folk stars before her. She was one of the most important Yugoslav entertainment industry export product in the East, and a mark of successfulness of Yugoslav liberal-socialist project.<sup>93</sup> When we point at Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell’s the 10 division for propaganda analysis and in particular at point 3. Identification of the propagandist, we may state that Brena gaining legitimization through official culture politics - main propagandist is official state policy. But the propagandistic nature of this song is highly questionable (according Denisoff structure). Reflection of ‘Western-ness’ (use of rock music and clothing style) and ‘Eastern-ness’ (use of folk music instrumentation and provocative lyrics that deal with the urban–rural split) in her production displayed cultural divides between rural and urban and East and West that justified the debates about so-called NCFM in Yugoslavia, and defined the authorities’ relation to the music.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Lepa Brena – “Jugoslovenka” - (Official Video 1989), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gsKn5KX6XnU>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>90</sup> Bennett Shapiro, “Kitsch Me, I’m Brena-slavian,” <https://scalar.usc.edu/works/turbofolk/kitsch-me-im-brena-slavian>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>91</sup> Lepa Brena: “A Yugoslav”, <https://rememberingyugoslavia.com/lepa-brena-yugoslav/>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>92</sup> Bennett Shapiro, “Kitsch Me, I’m Brena-slavian”, <https://scalar.usc.edu/works/turbofolk/kitsch-me-im-brena-slavian>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>93</sup> Hofman, “Lepa Brena: Repolitization...”, p. 29.

<sup>94</sup> Čvoro, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

## Conclusion

*“The war should not happen to us, just that we could prove that we are patriots. The war should not happen to us so that we can be heroes, isn't that the case, my friends!”<sup>95</sup>*

Željko Bebek - *Drugarska pesma* (1984)<sup>96</sup>

Call for a peace, preservation of unity and future for children - these are the main messages of the song performed by ex Bijelo Dugme member Željko Bebek at Day of Youth in 1984. This song quite directly explains the shift which Yugoslav popular music made from 1970s (from prosperity, togetherness and unity reflected in the texts of that period to direct calls for peace and concerns about the possible military escalation of the crisis present in Yugoslav society). Music became one of the last possible solutions to a crisis which Yugoslavia faced, at least at a symbolic level. We may state that eight selected songs are sufficient in our analyses since even if take into account also other songs similarly coded (which we have also analysed for purposes of this study) Lepa Brena and Miroslav Ilić, orkestar Slatki Greh - *Živela Jugoslavija* (1985), Prljavo kazalište - *Moj je otac bio u ratu* (1979), Doris Dragović i More - *Hej Jugosloveni* (1985), Električni orgazam - *Igra Rok'en'rol Cela Jugoslavija* (1988), results will not be different from ours. Yugoslav rock music has long been marked with political messages and allusions. As in other communist countries, in Yugoslavia was rock very much music attuned to political messages.<sup>97</sup> In this respect, it is sometimes very difficult to find the border between patriotism, social and political criticism and the propaganda highlighted by us. To do so and to point out propagandistic intentions reflecting the ideology of Brotherhood and Unity (sometimes not separated and associated with Yugoslavism) we used the Denisoff's scheme and his 6 points. After overall evaluation of all points only one point (3) can be attributed to every song - the song reinforces the value structure of individuals who are active supporters of the social movement or ideology. In each song it was reflected differently and to some individual extent. Points two and three were applicable only to two songs of our sample. Points from 4 to 6 were reflected in half of analysed songs. The only one song which fully fills in the Denisoff's scale is Goran Bregović's *Spit and Sing My*

<sup>95</sup> Ana Petrov, “Rock and roll will keep us together: Music and the representations of Yugoslav collectivity in the Day of Youth”, *Studia Musicologica*, Volume 56, Number 4, 2015, p. 427.

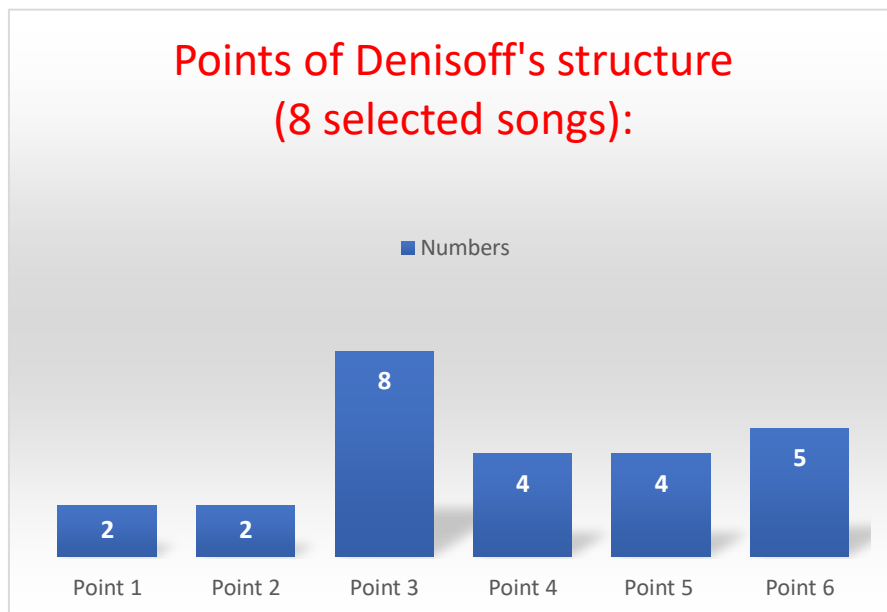
<sup>96</sup> Dan Mladosti 1984 Željko Bebek Drugarska, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euquonlkPSI>, (20.2.2020).

<sup>97</sup> Ramet, *op.cit.*, p. 127.

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*Yugoslavia*. Each analysed song present artists' opinions and attitudes, we haven't found direct connections between intentions to write a "patriotic" song and official state representatives of CPY in our samples. This we may apply also in other songs we have analysed outside mentioned 8. We must point out that although the results showed us the specific findings - only one song from the sample we selected fills all the required points of the Denisoff's scheme, also the others bear propaganda features and could had been and were used for this purpose. This finding also shows us the necessity for comprehensive analysis and assessment of conclusions in the historical, social and cultural context, not just the application of individual points. Presented analyses confirms that music can carry an affective message, through combining music and lyric it carries an enormous emotional weight.

**Diagram 1.**



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