
# Yugoslav Socialism "Flavoured with Sea, Flavoured with Salt"

## Mediterranization of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the 1950s and 1960s under Italian Influence

Anita Buhin

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 26 February 2019

European University Institute
**Department of History and Civilization**

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I Anita Buhin certify that I am the author of the work Yugoslav Socialism "Flavoured with Sea, Flavoured with Salt": Mediterranization of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the 1950s and 1960s under Italian Influence I have presented for examination for the Ph.D. at the European University Institute. I also certify that this is solely my own original work, other than where I have clearly indicated, in this declaration and in the thesis, that it is the work of others.

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This thesis has been corrected for linguistic and stylistic errors. I certify that I have checked and approved all language corrections, and that these have not affected the content of this work.

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# Thesis abstract

Yugoslav discovery of its own Mediterraneaness was the result of several factors – global politics manifest in Yugoslav engagement in the Non-Aligned Movement, economic benefit from foreign tourism and the development of the Adriatic as the centre of Yugoslav entertainment. The new socialist government had to find a balance between the Yugoslavization of three main cultural spheres – Central European, Balkan, and Mediterranean – and multi(national) culturality symbolized in the ideological postulate of "brotherhood and unity". In the building of a specific Yugoslav culture, the spread of mass media and consumerism played an important role and enabled shaping Yugoslav popular culture. Two things were crucial: the introduction of self-management and opening to the Western countries. The first caused the liberalization of the cultural sphere and the "democratization" of culture, while openness to the West contributed to the further internationalization and commercialization of culture. In a country that had just started developing its entertainment industry, the Italian example not only filled a gap in the everyday needs of Yugoslav citizens, but it also shaped their taste, and expectations from domestic production. Three case studies – popular music, television entertainment, and fashion and lifestyles – demonstrate the Yugoslav Mediterranean was built upon direct Italian influence, ideological work on the creation of a specific Yugoslav culture, a collective imaginary of the Adriatic as a shared space among all Yugoslav people, and the promotion of Yugoslavia as a tourist destination. Finally, the development of domestic and foreign tourism at the Adriatic had not only an economic purpose, but also played an important soft-power role in disseminating information on everyday life under the Yugoslav socialist experiment. The international dimension of Yugoslav tourism thus created a platform for the promotion of the country and the Yugoslav good life abroad, with happy and satisfied tourists returning home with images of the sunny and light-hearted Mediterranean.

# Contents

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Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, prof. Pavel Kolář, for his commitment to my project, insightful comments and support in academic and personal life. I will especially cherish all our debates on Balkan and Mediterranean cuisine on both theoretical and practical level. I would also like to thank other members of the committee: prof. Lucy Riall for inspiring me in the very beginning of my PhD studies to embrace broader Mediterranean perspective, prof. Hannes Grandits for early scepticism at the doctoral workshop which motivated me to work harder on theoretical concepts, and especially assoc. prof. Igor Duda who, as a supervisor of both my BA and MA theses, was the main intellectual inspiration to become a historian in the first place.

As every historian knows, working on a novel project is both exciting and frightening. As a profession which highly relies on archives, the research and the journey towards the final written product is full of thrills and unexpected turns, and one has to always be creative in inventing new ways to find sources if historical, material or purely practical conditions of archival material fail you. That is why I am most grateful to all the staff of The Archives of Yugoslavia, The Croatian State Archives, The Archives of Croatian Radio-Television and The State Archives in Rijeka, as well as librarians of The National Library of Serbia, The National and University Library in Zagreb, and specifically to all employees of The University Library of Pula, for being helpful, often breaking the official rules in order to make my research faster and more convenient. However, I have to single out Leon Rizmaul from the Croatian Radio-Television without whose help this thesis would be poorer for a great and inspirational original video material. Finally, thanks to Andrew Hodges, who promptly and eagerly corrected language in the thesis, and consequently made it longer for at least thousand words, because of my Slavic inability to understand the concept of definite and indefinite articles.

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Once my supervisor told me that writing a PhD can be alienating and lonely experience. The growing number of people who struggle mentally and emotionally with the increasing pressure of academia confirms that. And although, as most of my colleagues, I also experienced better and worse days, I managed to get to the end of this process almost unharmed. Two things helped me – a healthy dose of beer and an enormous network of friends, which often went hand in hand with each other. Unfortunately, the space limit does not allow me to name everyone who was there for me, either only for a light chat in the end of a working day, or in the real times of need to offer support. Hence, I want to shout cheers to all my friends back home in Pula who kept me active in the real world outside of academia, and to Dragan Batančev and Nikola Baković who kept me aware the fun is possible inside of academia (and Facebook chats); Vasco da Gama historians for making the basement look sunny and bright; Cinghiali football team for accepting untalented sportswoman like me, Collettivo Prezzemolo comrades for all debates at the Sardo; and each and every person I had a drink with in Fiasco. My Fiasco nights would definitely be harder if John-Erik Hansson was not such a dedicated friend to do all the work behind the bar instead of me, and lonelier if Elie Michel was not so weak to regularly accept my offers to chat about football and politics over a drink or two. I also have to mention Wiebke Drews who was ready to engage in a thirteen-hours break-from-work with me; Elena Brodeală who was always ready to compliment my outfit and with whom I have established the greatest sisterhood; Jelle Bruinsma with whom, although his compliments usually failed, I developed a very intimate bond; Leonidas Oikonomakis with whom I spent hours gossiping over lunch and marocchino; and Arturo Rodriguez who was always late for lunch, but at least he would arrive with the new edition of *Rivoluzione* he hoped I would buy.

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To my parents, Karolina and Ivan, and my brother Antonio, I owe nothing but eternal gratitude. I can only hope that I can repay all the financial and emotional sacrifice, which during

years enabled me to focus on my studies, by making them proud with this small contribution to the historiographical field. And because they raised my like that, I want to dedicate this work not only to them, but also to my two little girls, Stefani Koneski and Mara Šaponja, who inspire me every day to try to be a better person and a female role-model.

Oh yes, and to Christophe Schellekens, because why not.

# Introduction

The lure of the sea. While it is often mentioned and described, it is rarely deconstructed. What is it that attracted people to move, permanently or temporarily, close to the shore? How did the image of the coast, and the beach, become a place of daydreaming and projected fantasy?

> "The coast has always produced strong visual images and emotional reactions. The natural landscape of sea, sky, cliffs and beach or the resort townscape of promenade, piers, pavilions, entertainment and exotic architecture, provide a distinctive sense of place: a holiday landscape that represents an escape from the ordinary routine of life. It formed part of their 'geography of hope', where even a short annual visit to the coast could be something to make the rest of the year endurable. There was a sense of excitement and anticipation on arrival."[1]

This is how the historian John Tower describes the construction of the first modern tourist gaze. According to him, the making of a seaside resort, from the mid-nineteenth century, has been "the most impressive manifestation of the power of leisure to create new landscapes, to shape new patterns of activity, and to generate new social and economic relationships."[2] In the post-1945 period, with the spread of mass media and consumerism, the imagined tourist anticipation of the sea increased, with sounds, images and flavours pouring out from cinema and television screens, radio-stations and music halls, magazines and adverts, and so on.[3]

The lure of the sea and the beach are, like the Mediterranean, inseparable from its discourse. And, with the tourist discovery of the Mediterranean sea, they started to merge into "an imagined, constructed space [which] tempts the unwary into lyricism, romanticism, or essentialism."[4] Expectations of maritime experience were shaped by culturally determined sets of practices, constructed in a collective memory of interaction between locals and guests, and shared as common cultural knowledge. In that way, both tourists and coastal dwellers performed cultural and social roles that dictated the form of the seaside holiday.[5]

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[1] Towner John, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World 1540-1940* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 1996), 220-221.
[2] Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism*, 167.
[3] Urry John, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Saga Publications Ltd, 1990), 3.
[4] Clancy-Smith Julia A., *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, C. 1800-1900* (Berkley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 2011), 10.
[5] Corbin Alain, *The Lure of the Sea. The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750-1840* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 250.

In transnational historiographical perspectives, in which the Mediterranean was transformed into a tourist mecca during the post-World War Two period, Italy serves as the example *par excellence* for describing most of the changes that countries, at least in the Euro-Mediterranean area, experienced. The rise of Italy as an exciting and semi-exotic Mediterranean country was best symbolized in the global success of the Italian *canzone*, a specific style of Italian popular music with typical lyrical tropes such as love, romance, sun, the beach and the sea.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sapore di sale* | *Flavour of salt* | *Sa okusom mora,* | *Flavoured with sea* |
| *Sapore di mare* | *Flavour of sea* | *sa okusom soli* | *Flavoured with salt* |
| *Che hai sulla pelle* | *You have on your skin* | *na usnama žarkim,* | *Your hot lips* |
| *Che hai sulle labbra* | *You have on your lips* | *u kosi i koži,* | *Your hair and skin* |
| *Quando esci dall'acqua* | *When you get out of sea* | *ti si došla iz mora* | *You get out of the sea* |
| *E ti vieni a sdraiare* | *You come to lie down* | *da se pružis kraj mene,* | *To lie down close to me,* |
| *Vicino a me* | *Close to me* | *došla si tu,* | *You came here* |
| *Vicino a me* | *Close to me* | *praćena suncem* | *Followed by the sun* |
| *(...)* | *(...)* | *(...)* | *(...)* |
| *Qui il tempo è dei giorni* | *These times and days* | *Ovo vrijeme i dani* | *These times and days,* |
| *Che passano pigri* | *Which are passing lazy* | *što prolaze lijeno,* | *Which are passing lazy* |
| *E lasciano in bocca* | *And leaving in my mouth* | *ostavljaju okus* | *Leave the taste* |
| *Il gusto del sale* | *The taste of salt* | *soli na usni,* | *Of salt on my lips* |
| *Ti butti nell'acqua* | *You jump in the water* | *ti skačeš u more* | *You jump into the sea* |
| *E mi lasci a guardarti* | *And leave me to watch you* | *pa me ostavljaš samog* | *And leave me alone* |
| *E rimango da solo* | *And I remain alone* | *na pijesku i suncu* | *On the sand and in the* |
| *Nella sabbia e nel sole* | *On the sand and in the sun* | *da te ponovo gledam...* | *sun To watch you again* |
| | | | |
| *Poi torni vicino* | *Later you come back close* | *A kada se vratiš* | *And when you return* |
| *E ti lasci cadere* | *And you let yourself fall* | *ja te pustim da padneš* | *I let you fall down* |
| *Così nella sabbia* | *Like that on the sand* | *u naručaj pijeska* | *Onto the sand* |
| *E nelle mie braccia* | *And into my arms* | *i u moje ruke* | *And into my arms* |
| *E mentre ti bacio* | *And while I kiss you* | *a onda te ljubim* | *And then I kiss you* |
| *Sapore di sale* | *Flavour of salt* | *sa okusom mora,* | *Flavoured with sea,* |
| *Sapore di mare* | *Flavour of sea* | *sa okusom soli,* | *Flavoured with salt* |
| *Sapore di te* | *Flavour of you* | *i okusom sna...* | *Flavoured with dream* |

When Gino Paoli in 1963 wrote *Sapore di sale* (Flavour of Salt), one of the evergreen songs of Italian music, he confirmed a trend of lyrical, musical and mental exploitation of the

image of the sea.[6] The song was immediately, as was the custom in the 1950s and 1960s, translated and covered by the Yugoslav singer-songwriter Arsen Dedić.[7] By changing the title into *Sa okusom mora* (Flavoured with Sea), the emphasis on the sea indicated the Yugoslav discovery of the Adriatic as an imaginary place of romantic encounters, eternal sunshine and the good life.

The opening lyrics of the song, "flavoured with sea, flavoured with salt", became the leitmotif of the imagology of the Yugoslav Adriatic. In media discussions, it was a catchphrase with an unspoken connotation of the lure of the sea. The first Yugoslav maritime television comedy, *Naše malo misto* (Our Small Town) was, for example, described as a television programme flavoured with the sea. Similarly, other maritime tropes coming from the field of popular culture overwhelmed Yugoslav media space. Titles of songs such as *Ista plaža, isto more* (The Same Sea, the Same Beach),[8] or the aforementioned *naše malo misto,* always retained its original dialectal version, while certain generic maritime/Mediterranean expressions such as *riva* (a *riviera*), became standard in the media, but also in informal everday communication, confirming the specific position of the Adriatic in a Yugoslav cultural sphere.

There was another term that expressed the constructed Adriatic milieu perfectly – *fešta*. Originating from the Italian word *festa*, meaning a party, according to the sociolinguist Ivo Žanić "the form *fešta*, used in the Čakavian idioms of Dalmatia (and Istria), has been promoted on the national level – strongly, but spontaneously – from the early 1960s through various genres of popular culture: movies, sitcoms, soap-operas, and popular music, all painting the picture of stereotypically endless summers in sunny Dalmatia, where people are light-hearted, musical and always ready for an open-air fešta."[9] Having fun was maybe not a priority in the building of communism, but it played an important role in the Cold-War struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. Different case studies in this thesis will confirm the hypothesis that the question of entertainment was closely connected with the Yugoslav (popular-)cultural turn to the Adriatic, thus creating a specific mixture of socialist and Mediterranean lifestyles.

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[6] *Sapore di sale*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWgJjtmr7Yk. Accessed on 30 August 2018.
[7] *Sa okusom mora*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJQ7TwYwf7E. Accessed on 30 August 2018.
[8] *Ista plaža, isto more*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9S1oOKLU6Ew. Originally written in Italian (*Stessa spiaggia, stesso mare*), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvaCyff7Jn4. Accessed on 30 August 2018.
[9] Žanić Ivo, "Dialect electrified or horse-drawn: Popular music as a form of (un)conscious language policy", in Peti-Stantić Anita, Mateusz-Milan Stanojević (eds.), *Language Varieties Between Norms and Attitudes: South Slavic Perspectives: Proceedings from the 2013 CALS Conference* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), 17.

The historian Gleb Tsipursky describes "socialist fun" as a late-socialist version of modernity, that is "a society, culture, and a way of life widely perceived as progressive and advanced, informed by Marxism-Leninism, and actively constructed by human efforts."[10] Similarly, pleasure "was integral to the utopian promise of communism," although the concept was not purely ideologically marked.[11] Socialist pleasure could definitely be viewed as a product of the emancipation of the working class, and their taking control over the means of production, which would result in full communism, where working people are creators of their own physical and mental well-being. On the other hand, much essential, organic pleasure, was constructed through various everyday practices, and not necessarily connected to official ideology, rather evoking leisure, idleness and joy.

In 1958, the American economist John Kenneth Galbraith, teaching at the time in Yugoslavia, wrote in his diary: "[Here] people seem to be enjoying themselves. I suspect that I am too much of a hedonist to make a good modern socialist. The same might be true of the Yugoslavs."[12] In modern societies, hedonism was the antipode of asceticism and discipline, and was therefore seen as an engine for consumerist pleasure.[13] For Socialist Yugoslavia to enable the people to hedonistically enjoy the good life, without abandoning ideological commitments entailed the confirmation of a successful "third way" politics. According to Patrick Hyder Patterson, the Yugoslav good life – consisting of relaxation, fun, entertainment, leisure and rest – was based on the possibility of travelling, maritime tourism, and the development of a consumption-based vision of the Yugoslav Dream.[14]

The development of tourism was hence, next to the growth of mass media and the creation of new forms of popular culture, one of the crucial elements for shaping a desirable lifestyle, promoted through shared taste and collective imaginings.[15] As the historian Igor Duda claims, Yugoslav officials, tourism and cultural workers invested a great deal of thought, effort and money in order to create "the image of the Adriatic coast as a paradise, which in summer

[10] Tsipursky Gleb, *Socialist Fun. Youth, Consumption, & State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Soviet Union 1945-1970*, (University of Pittsburgh Press: Pittsburgh 2016), 4.
[11] Crowley David, Susan E. Reid, "Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?", in Crowley David, Susan E. Reid (eds.), *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern Univesity Press, 2010), 3.
[12] Galbraith John Kenneth, *Journey to Poland and Yugoslavia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 81.
[13] Gronow Jukka, *Sociologija ukusa* (Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk – Hrvatsko sociološko društvo, 2000), 22.
[14] Patterson Patrick Hyder, "Yugoslavia as It Once Was: What Tourism and Leisure Meant for the History of the Socialist Federation", in Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 391-392.
[15] Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits, "Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia", in Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 18.

months transforms into a display of tanned, healthy and cheerful working people."[16] Furthermore, the coast served as a showcase for manifestations of "brotherhood and unity" at "our" (i.e. shared) sea.[17] Finally, the international dimension of Yugoslav tourism created a platform for the promotion of the country and the Yugoslav good life abroad, with happy and satisfied tourists returning home with images of the sunny and light-hearted Mediterranean.

## The Yugoslav Mediterranean: hypotheses, questions, directions

The starting hypothesis of this project is that Socialist Yugoslavia sought to develop a Mediterranean identity throughout the 1950s and 1960s, ideologically supported by the "third way" politics of the Non-Aligned Movement, and made manifest in popular and everyday practices. This identity was popularized with the development of mass tourism, all under the direct influence of Italy.

Although, at first sight appearing quite complex and challenging, perhaps even ambitious, the Mediterranization of Yugoslavia is here approached using deduction and the deconstruction of several layers of different manifestations of "third way" politics. This is why foreign affairs have to come face to face with the democratization of culture, intertwined with the liberalization of society, and finally compared with the economic consequences of the modernization and urbanization of the country. Furthermore, the non-existence of history, and neither theoretical nor methodological concepts of the contemporary Mediterranean understood as a single space, directs researchers towards the appropriation of older concepts which, however, have to be adapted to modern conditions. This is why the starting point of the project have been Italian influences, since they are the most direct and most visible indicator of Yugoslav Mediterranization practices.

As the title of the project suggests, there are three main concepts, or research questions that this thesis will answer. The first problem is that of establishing the field of contemporary Mediterranean studies and a methodological approach to the contemporary history of the Mediterranean: can the Mediterranean be seen as a unique space after World War Two, and in light of Cold-War perspectives? What are the main unifying characteristics of the contemporary Mediterranean, and what do they tell us about more global processes and

[16] Duda Igor, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkoga društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), 109.
[17] Patterson, "Yugoslavia as It Once Was", 381-382.

impacts? Can Mediterranization be used as an analytical tool, similar to other *–izations* (Americanization, Westernization) for understanding changes to specific societies, countries and political regimes?

Second, the question of Italian influence has to be solved: Were the Italians aware of their influence? Did they use it as a form of soft power in the broader Cold-War environment, and what was the role of the Italian Communist Party? What was the official Yugoslav response, seeking to differentiate itself from its Western capitalist neighbour? What was the level of distribution and adoption of Italian influence in different parts (republics) of Yugoslavia? Can we therefore talk about a single foreign cultural policy, or was Italianization more a simpler geo-cultural product? Did Yugoslavia manage to build its own distinctive culture, or was it internationally recognized as a poorer socialist version of Italy?

And, finally, the internal problematization of Socialist Yugoslavia demands the most challenging reappraisal. Starting from the problem of cultural spheres to the construction of a supranational identity, the analysis of different forms of popular culture opens up many research questions. What was the ideological role of popular culture in the specific variety of Yugoslav socialism? How was the Adriatic shaped in collective imaginaries, and what was its status in competing Yugoslav cultural areas? On the other hand, what was socialist about Yugoslav Mediterranean culture? And, finally, can we recognize and apply the pattern of Westernization / Italianization / Mediterranization to all spheres of Yugoslav society?

However, before shifting the focus onto the chosen case studies, it is necessary to establish the historiographical, theoretical, and methodological field. For this reason, in the upcoming sections, an overview of the main intellectual traditions relating to the topics of Americanization, consumerism, and popular culture will be presented. They are important as they ground the epistemological basis for an analysis of specific Yugoslav popular cultural practices in the international context of the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, the historiographical background of Yugoslav and Italian social and cultural history will be summarized. This general overview will offer basic knowledge and information necessary for the interpretation of the primary sources, which will be mostly based on the concept of Mediterranization. The idea of Mediterranization is central to the thesis, and it also opens up new perspectives on research into the post-war Mediterranean in (popular) cultural contexts. Consequently, the whole of chapter one will be dedicated to historiographical and theoretical reflections on the problems of understanding cultural processes, and the Mediterranean and Yugoslav positions in those debates.

## Americanization and the rise of consumerism in Europe during the 1950s and 1960s

Separate national historiographies usually start with an interpretation of the post-war period as being one that saw "dramatic economic, social and cultural change."[18] However, although statistical data clearly demonstrates that the period between 1945 and 1973 (the year of the oil crisis) was the period witnessing the highest rates of economic growth of the century, in reality the results of prosperity were only visible from the late 1950s and 1960s.[19] This was especially the case for the underdeveloped and rural parts of Europe, which despite these economic statistics, were still catching up with more advanced countries.[20] The different dynamics of this development, together with the evolution of the Cold War, is precisely the reason why the 1950s and 1960s are such attractive periods for historical analysis.

For Western Europe, after the first few post-war years of recovery, development entailed further urbanization, industrialization and modernization, under the "blessing" of, and with financial help from the United States. Changes in European society and in the everyday life of the period are usually interpreted through the prism of Cold-War battles, exemplified in the "kitchen debate" between the USA and the USSR, where through a series of encounters in 1959, the two heads of state ideologically confronted one another, using technological innovations as a sign of the superiority of their own political systems. Yet, current research on Americanization suggests that the processes of massification and the commercialization of cultural commodities cannot be completely ascribed to American cultural imperialism.[21]

American influences on European (mass) culture can be traced back to the interwar period, and especially to the 1930s with the golden age of Hollywood, and the spread of jazz

[18] Gaffney John, Diana Holmes, "Introduction", in: Gaffney John, Diana Holmes (eds.): *Stardom in postwar France* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 1.
[19] Mazower Mark, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1998), 305. Compare with: Hobsbawm Eric, *Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), 258-259; Judt Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: William Heinemann, 2005), 325.
[20] Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 159.
[21] For this purpose, the examined historiography has focused on cultural history and the Americanization of Europe. See: Gundle Stephen, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: the Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Stephan Alexander (ed.), *Americanization and Anti-Americanism: the German Encounter with American Culture after 1945* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); Bischof Günter, Anton Pelinka (eds.), *The Americanization/Westernization of Austria* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

music.[22] Nevertheless, as with the spread of consumer culture, it would only be appropriate to talk of the mass acceptance of Americanized culture after the World War Two, when the majority of the population were able to participate in such manifest practices in everyday life.

Generally, youth culture, influenced by the media and the USA, was criticized as causing a decline in old European values. It may be true that Americanization was the most decisive factor in the formation of the post-war youth, although it would be more appropriate to talk of "an aesthetic of sensuousness,"[23] meaning the acceptance of forms, but not the entire adaptation of content. This complex approach to Americanization becomes even more significant if the focus is switched from youth to a general audience, i.e. all generations. According to Eric Hobsbawm, the cultural revolution can be best understood through "the structure of relations between the sexes and generations."[24] Applied to the focus of this research project, it entails that Americanization cannot only be observed through the practices of youth, but through those of society in general. Thus, there is undoubtedly evidence of the American influence on the everyday life of European families, on households, mentalities, mass culture and entertainment. On the other hand, scholars agree that some of the aforementioned cultural modes were not entirely products of American soft power or the cultural Cold War, but rather the consequences of modernization. As such, some of them would have happened even without the American impact.[25]

Not only must we consider which cultural phenomena were transmitted and appropriated, we must also examine the processes of selection, mediation, translation and the reinterpretation of popular cultural forms shaping this interaction.[26] This intellectual problem also invokes the question of interrelations and the reciprocal exchange of cultural formats inbetween European countries, both among those belonging to the same Cold-War bloc and those on the borders of the Iron Curtain. Debates about everyday life and sociocultural practices in Eastern Europe demonstrate that it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the

[22] Forgacs David, *Italian Culture in the Industrial Era, 1880-1980: Cultural Industries, Politics, and the Public* (Manchester – New York: Manchester University Press – St. Martin's Press, 1990), 1.
[23] Minganti Francesco, "Rock 'n' roll in Italy: Was it true americanisation?", in Kroes Rob, Robert W. Rydell, Doeko F. J. Bosscher (eds.), *Cultural Transmissions and Receptions: American Mass Culture in Europe* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1993), 143-144.
[24] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 320.
[25] Pells Richard, "American Culture Abroad: the European Experience since 1945", in Kroes, Rydell, Bosscher, *Cultural Transmissions and Receptions*, 67. Compare with: Pells Richard, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997); Ramet Sabrina P., Gordana P. Crnković (eds.), *Kaazaaam! Splat! Ploof!: the American impact on European Popular Culture since 1945* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
[26] Ramet Sabrina P., "Americanization, Anti-Americanism, and Commercial Aggression against Culture: an Introduction", in Ramet Sabrina P., Gordana P. Crnković (eds.), *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof!: the American impact on European Popular Culture since 1945* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 4.

consumerism of the West and the "dictatorship over needs" of the East. Even when they included illegal actions of consumption, late-socialist regimes tolerated them to a certain extent, although always balancing the ambition to demonstrate modernity and to raise living standards on the one hand, with ideological criticism of capitalism on the other.[27] However, it seems that exactly because consumption was not considered a subversive act (as long as it did not directly challenge the regime), the desire and possession of artefacts from the "imagined West" did not disrupt the socialist order.[28] Therefore, the term "Westernization" might be more suitable than "Americanization" as it can refer to a twofold process – the second-hand transmission of Americanization, and the influence of new, original goods.[29]

Moreover, the question of Americanization and Westernization is not only about the import of foreign cultural goods, but also about the way in which the receiving society accepted or rejected it in creating its own national version of popular culture. The international exchange of both ideas and products is rarely seen as mutual, but more as the influence of the cultural centre on the less "civilized" and "enlightened" periphery. The acceptance of foreign influences helped the creation of a self-identification with improvement and progress.[30] Although Marxist critique sometimes interprets these processes as cultural colonization and the imposition of Western cultural practices, because of industrialization and the spread of technology, such exchange of cultural forms is unavoidable, even in closed societies. Finally, new (popular, mass) culture is recreated from a combination of local traditional elements and transnational elements or technology.[31]

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[27] Crowley, Reid, "Introduction: Pleasures in Socialism?", 20-21.
[28] Bren Paulina, Mary Neuburger, "Introduction", in Bren Paulina, Mary Neuburger (eds.), *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.
[29] For East Germany see: Pence Katherine, Paul Betts, "Introduction", in Pence Katherine, Paul Betts (eds.), *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 13. For Hungary see: Tóth Eszter Zsófia, "'My Work, My Family, and My Car': Women's Memories of Work, Consumerism, and Leisure in Socialist Hungary", in Penn Shana, Jill Massino (eds.), *Gender Politics and Everyday Life in State Socialist Eastern and Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 41. For Poland see: Fidelis Malgorzata, "Are you a Modern Girl? Consumer Culture and Young Women in 1960s Poland", in Penn Shana, Jill Massino (eds.), *Gender Politics and Everyday Life in State Socialist Eastern and Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 174.
[30] Ćaleta Joško, "The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia", *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 192.
[31] Larkey Edward, *Pungent Sounds: Constructing Identity with Popular Music in Austria* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), 7.

## Americanized consumerism, Mediterranean style

The success of Italian culture on a global scale was the result of the adoption of Americanized popular practices, manifest in the Hollywoodization of the cultural sphere, and fostering representations of Italian traditional values. The rise of Italian international movie stars, symbolized in the figure of Sophia Loren, can serve as a good example of the new Italian – Mediterranean identity. Changes in Italian society during the 1950s and 1960s could thus serve as the basis for the development of the idea of Mediterranization.

What makes the Italian case specific is the parallel process of rapid and concentrated industrialization and urbanization. As a consequence, Italy faced massive external and internal migration, the former ensuring the worldwide spread and recognition of Italian (traditional) culture, which started as early as in the nineteenth century with the first mass migrations. Internal migrations, mainly from the south to the urban centres in Northern Italy, were more complex processes since they caused a clash of mentalities and lifestyles along the lines of a rural–urban based dichotomy.[32] The southern, traditional society, however, even persisted through the 1960s, although the transformation of mass consumption due to the spread of mass media brought, at the very least, desires and aspirations for a more comfortable life, particularly in the eyes of younger generations.[33] And, as in the rest of Europe, the dream was "American".

In the existing literature, Italy is often seen as the European country that received the most American influence through the Marshall Plan. However, similarly to the rest of the continent, the traces of Americanization, and especially of popular culture, can be traced back to the interwar period.[34] The works of the historian Stephan Gundle and the literary theorist David Forgacs demonstrate the development of Italian (popular) culture, and all the side-effects that came with it. In this manner, post-war Italian popular culture can be analysed through two interconnected processes – Americanization and a cultural battle between the Christian Democracy (CD), and the Italian Communist Party (ICP), for the establishment of a new cultural policy.

As distinct from the interwar period, the presence of Allied troops in Italy resulted in Italians having, by as early as 1943, direct contact with American products such as chewing gum and nylon stockings. These symbolized future prosperity, however, they were still

[32] Allum Percy, "Italian Society Transformed", in McCarthy Patrick (ed.), *Italy since 1945* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12.
[33] Allum, "Italian Society Transformed", 20.
[34] Forgacs David, Robert Lumley (eds.), *Italian Cultural Studies: an Introduction* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 312.

confined to urban areas at this stage.[35] In the aftermath of the World War Two, Italy experienced reconstruction, and both material and moral recovery from the war atrocities. Receiving a massive amount of American aid, Italy underwent a remarkable economic recovery that saw a sharp increase in the standard of living. These rapid changes in Italian society caused "an enormous cultural gap that only ideas, themes, products, and norms of an American origin seemed able to fill."[36]

Through the Marshall Plan, the United States helped with the reconstruction of infrastructure and an increase in civilian consumption, but they also used this as an ideological weapon in the fight against communism. In the case of Italy, according to Stephen Gundle, in a time of sharp political division, "Italians made their transition to consumerism with the aid of and led by American imagery," finally accepting the United States as a model society, which entailed the final victory of the Christian Democratic government over Italian communist forces.[37] This was ultimately manifested in the infiltration and control of all main cultural media, including television broadcasting as the most powerful medium of the period, through which the CD could exercise soft power and censorship.[38] Nonetheless, during the cultural battle between the CD and the CPI, mostly through the 1950s and early 1960s, the two parties influenced each other's opinions, actions and reactions. Paradoxically, because both rejected the commercialization of cultural life, which was an inevitable consequence of Americanization, they developed their own visions of popular entertainment. These popular culture practices mostly reproduced the American forms, but varied in terms of content so as to strive to preserve traditional Italian identity as much as possible. Always in opposition to the "American way of life", both conservatives and communists promoted their values and social norms through the appropriation of the celebrity culture.

It is actually difficult to unravel what was so attractive about Italians and their culture. Partly, the fascination of the rest of the Western world with Italy resulted from previously established stereotypes of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Mediterranean. Moreover, the Italians were ready to reinforce their own image in order to gain recognition of their specific national (cultural) expression. The success of Italian popular music is exemplary. The Italian

[35] Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow,* 32.
[36] Gundle, *Between Hollywood and Moscow*, 75.
[37] Gundle Stephen, "Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy", in Rudy Coshar (ed.), *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 344-347.
[38] Forgacs David, *Italian Culture in Industrial Era,* 104.

*canzone* brought back sentimentality and love after the cruel war and post-war reality, and this was exactly what the public demanded.[39] When in 1958 Domenico Modugno conquered the musical world with the lightness of his hit song *Nel blu depinto in blu* (In the Blue, Painted Blue), also known as *Volare* (To Fly), this was another confirmation of the success of Italian popular culture. Finally, owing to the development of mass tourism, foreign visitors could experience the charm of the Mediterranean cult, simultaneously both familiar and exotic. The images that tourists brought back home and spread to others who were still unable to afford to visit the "mythic land" in the end contributed to positive representations of the country more than their official foreign policy.

While the West must have become impressed with the rediscovery of Italian culture, namely modern and Westernized Mediterraneanity, for their Eastern neighbours Italy's "Western character" was hardly questioned.[40] Although often associated with imperialism, and more recently with fascism, the modernity of Italy was undeniable for Yugoslavs. While the 1953 Trieste crisis over the Italo–Yugoslav border definitely had an impact on the inhabitants of that area, for most Yugoslavs Trieste became a symbolic gate to the West, as one of the research chapters will demonstrate. Moreover, the images of Italian success, as manifest in popular stars like Gina Lollobrigida or Domenico Modugno, easily found their way to Yugoslav citizens through radio and television signals transmitted from the other shore of the Adriatic Sea, as well as through press and magazines that were increasingly oriented towards light topics. Direct contact with Italians was another route, either through shopping in Trieste, or through hosting them during the tourist season, or through the Italian funfairs that travelled through Yugoslavia in the 1950s, and which became so popular that even the Italian term *lunapark* became a catchword. Thus, from being the (imperialistic) enemy of the people, over two decades Italians slowly became a role model for transformation from the "poor and despised South to the happy and prosperous West."[41]

In Yugoslavia, the debate about the importance of entertainment in everyday life became possible after the 1948 Tito–Stalin split and Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform, which consequently pushed Yugoslav foreign, economic, social and cultural policy into being open to Western influences. Still, the attempt to educate and cultivate the

[39] Duda Igor, "Svakodnevica pedesetih: od nestašice do privrednog čuda", in Bagić Krešimir (ed.), *Način u jeziku / Književnost i kultura pedesetih: Zbornik radova 36. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2008), 70.
[40] Marković, Predrag J., *Trajnost i promena: društvena historija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2007), 138-139.
[41] Marković, *Trajnost i promena,* 129.

prevailing peasant population lasted throughout the whole of the 1950s, until the final acceptance of lighter genres of culture, with popular music taking the lead. Thus, perhaps it would be more appropriate to take the mid-1950s as a starting point, since the transition period after the 1948 events lasted for several years, as necessary for the consolidation of politics and the economy, along with the creation of a new ideological approach.[42] The newly recreated ideology, as manifest in the ideas of self-management, non-alignment and democratization, was closely connected with global Cold-War movements, in this way forming an amalgam that would be recognized as the Yugoslav "Third Way".[43] However, with the rise of living standards and the spread of consumer culture, Yugoslavia, by the late 1960s, approached capitalist society as much as a socialist country could.[44] Its opening to the West, and the imitation of certain Italian practices had some unwanted consequences, or better said, consequences unwanted by the officials. The spread of consumer goods, commercialized culture and the creation of a socialist version of glamour, and culture of celebrity, were direct consequences of the Westernization of Yugoslav space.[45]

Similarly to the rest of the Western world, Yugoslavia experienced a profound modernization, which included the creation of practices related to being a mass consumer society. Together with the speedy industrialization, a fast urbanization and modernization of society in general occurred. The shaping of a mass consumer and leisure society was the basis for the building of the welfare state.[46] Everyday life was transforming in line with all these changes. Among them, leisure – understood as the time meant for consumption and the enjoyment of the fruits of one's own work, as well as the results of state policy – had an important place. The basis for all such coming changes was the renowned final programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1958, in which the development of consumer culture and better living conditions were propounded: "The essence of socialist economic

[42] For the consolidation period, see for example: Jakovina Tvrtko, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici* (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2002); Dimić Ljubodrag, *Agitprop kultura: agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji: 1945-1952* (Belgrade: Rad, 1988); Doknić Branka, *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije 1946-1963* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2013).
[43] Marković Predrag J., *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada, 1948-1965* (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 16-17.
[44] Patterson Patrick Hyder, *Bought & Sold. Living & Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 149.
[45] Švob-Đokić Nada, "The Decline or the Renaissance of the Mediterranean" in Cvjetičanin Biserka (ed.), *The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Intercultural Dialogue: Proceedings of the Conference The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Prospects for Intercultural Dialogue, Dubrovnik, 5. – 7. December 1997.* (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations: Europe House, 1999), 73-74.
[46] Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 143.

politics is a concern for human needs, the constant improvement of the cultural and material conditions of life and work for all working people."[47] For the first time the focus was on "the comfortable life", the ownership "of different consumer goods", the achievement of "better service to consumers" and care for their "everyday needs and supplies, for their leisure and entertainment."[48]

Hence, according to the historian Tvrtko Jakovina, the success of Yugoslavia as concerns its fast modernization and industrialization was "the most important and lasting thing that happened to the country, the consequences of which were enjoyed by many, even everyone".[49] To claim that "everyone" in Yugoslavia could enjoy the fruits of Yugoslav economic and cultural progress would be somewhat of an overstatement, at least as regards the 1950s and 1960s. However, it could be claimed that everyone could at least participate in the Yugoslav success by sharing common pride in "Yugoslav exceptionalism."[50] This shared experience of being different, but also successful in a world divided into blocs, was partially the result of non-aligned policy propaganda, but more probably the consequence of improved living conditions and everyday life experiences.

## The Yugoslav democratization of culture

The main objection to the concept of popular culture is that it satisfies only primary and instinctive needs, without questioning the social system or involving people politically. The cultural theorist John Fiske demonstrates that popular culture has the ability to act (counter)politically, but it does not always activate, and if it does, it usually does so on the microlevel. In claiming that cultural power comes from social mobilization, he goes further and criticizes radical high art, usually revolutionary, that fails to have an influence on everyday life and politics. Popular culture is viewed as giving a voice to socially marginal groups, caught as they may be in class struggles, rural–urban transitions, regional conflicts, and resistance to dominant ideologies.[51]

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[47] *Program Saveza komunista Jugoslavije. Prihvaćen na Sedmom kongresu Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (22-26. travnja 1958. u Ljubljani)* (Sisak: GRO Jože Rožanković, 1984), 185.
[48] Duda Igor, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 18.
[49] Jakovina Tvrtko, "Historical Success of Schizophrenic State: Modernisation in Yugoslavia 1945-1974", in Kolešnik Ljiljana (ed.), *Socialism and Modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950-1974* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2012), 38.
[50] Patterson, *Bought & Sold*, 288.
[51] Rasmussen Ljerka V., *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xxv.

The subject of popular culture necessarily invokes the terms Westernization or Americanization, especially in terms of exercising soft power. In defining the concept, the political scientist Joseph Nye listed popular culture as one of the most potent means of exerting a soft-power influence on another ideology / country / culture. However, he warns that there is the possibility of disseminated popular culture products being interpreted in different ways by receivers.[52] This is widely accepted and established among cultural theorists too. Together with sociology, cultural theory has a long history of interpreting popular culture practices, from criticizing it for the creation of false needs and serving capitalism (in traditional Marxist theory), to final acceptance of the role of receptors as co-creators of meanings that can be completely opposite to and subverting of the ones initially given by the producers. In the existing literature there are different theoretical applications in the analysis of different popular culture case studies. In form, we can distinguish the analysis of production and broadcasting policies in cultural industries, relations with politics and power on the one hand, and audience reception, statistical surveys, changes in meaning, and the influence on mentalities on the other hand. Third, the subject can be researched via the study of creators of different forms and their position as more from "above" or "below". Nevertheless, the final reception and meanings ascribed to it cannot be the only factor in the interpretation of popular culture products, at least not in historical analysis. Certain cultural behaviour is influenced by various factors.

In Yugoslavia, the politics of the so-called "Third Way," in the economy was manifest in the invention of self-management, in the foreign policy of the Non-Aligned Movement, which demanded a different approach to culture, different from both the Western "Taylorization of social lies", that reduced the human need for culture to cheap entertainment on the one hand, and on the other from the "lakirovka", which propagated socialist realism under the strict dictate of the state.[53] However, according to the literary scholar Davor Dukić, finding the appropriate cultural model could not be simplified to a dichotomy of Stalinist and bourgeois / Western / capitalist cultural practices, but rather the specificity of all national traditions, including minorities, represented in six federal republics had to be considered too,

[52] Nye Joseph S., Jr., *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Pubblic Affairs, 2004), 16.
[53] Senjković Reana, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: Pop iskustvo soc kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008), 74.

and then incorporated into the complex interaction of the two already existing cultural models in the East and West.[54]

Stipe Šuvar, as one of the most influential theorists of Yugoslav ideology and society, observed in 1970 "huge contrasts in the clash between technical and natural milieu, pre-urban and urban living conditions, the rhythms of modern civilizations and those of traditional order," concluding that in "one pole of society the oases of super-technical civilization are already germinating, while on the other there still exists the preserved oases of patriarchal, natural self-sufficient life."[55] For him, the remains of the pre-industrial traditions and lifestyles could not be desirable in a society that promoted modernization and progress, sometimes even with the price of ideological deflection. However, the creation of a new supranational identity could not be achieved without taking into consideration the previous cultural divisions and complexities of Yugoslav territory. Building upon the already existing model with ideological forms seemed more appropriate.

At the same time, the specific Yugoslav theoretical approach to culture that had to be democratized announced a return to original Marxist–Leninist ideology, which defined every aspect of socialist life in terms of its class character. In this manner, culture in socialist regimes had to reflect the interests of all the workers, and be made by, about, and for workers. Šuvar believed that only when culture becomes a part of everyday life, with workers as active agents in both the creation and consumption of cultural forms, would the ideological goal be accomplished. Otherwise, "if this battle for culture and its constellation was not won," it would not be possible to build socialism anymore, and culture would remain under the auspices "of the state or market."[56] However, the democratization of culture was neither a simple nor an easy process.

The development of new cultural practices was a long-term process, during which dogmatic cultural practices had to be abolished, either those coming from elitist bourgeois cultural expectations, or from the short Soviet-oriented period. At first, in the immediate interval after the Cominform expulsion, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) remained consistent and continued to propagate the Soviet theoretical approach, trying to be even more loyal to orthodox Marxism. The highest counts were those warning Party members to be cautious of "revisionist tendencies", which should "be theoretically and politically

[54] Dukić Davor, "Problem početka sadašnjosti ili kako misliti pedesete", in Bagić Krešimir (ed.), *Način u jeziku / Književnost i kultura pedesetih: Zbornik radova 36. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2008), 64.
[55] Šuvar Stipe, *Sociološki presjek jugoslavenskog društva* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1970), 116.
[56] Dukić, "Problem početka sadašnjosti ili kako misliti pedesete", 88.

exterminated."[57] Similar practices could be found in applied cultural policies. The "great acquisitions" of Soviet culture and arts remained "the role model, the criteria, the new light," while decadent Western arts with their "false contraption," "antihumanism," "antirealism," "pessimism" and "irrationalism" had to be fought against.[58] It took almost a whole year for the Yugoslav leadership to change its policy. Only in late 1949, when the CPY became aware that the split was definitive, were the Soviets criticized. Soviet movies started to disappear from the cinemas, radios no longer played Soviet music, and even Soviet classical writers were not welcomed.[59]

While it was easy to expel the Soviet repertoire from the media, schools and other institutions in order to completely change the cultural policy, when it came to the creation of cultural goods and arts this was not an easy task. Milovan Đilas attacked Western arts at the Fifth Congress of the CPY in 1948, at the peak of the conflict, for being "perverted by different cubists, surrealists, existentialists; by artists and writers such as Picasso or Sartre."[60] Jazz music was considered especially dangerous due to its "sentimentality" and "eroticism."[61] The process of liberalization was hence more the result of the economic situation in the country and foreign policy than due to the beliefs of leading politicians.[62] However, the Yugoslav authorities lacked their own theoretical approach to culture and the arts, an approach different to dogmatic Stalinism. In most fields, two streams could be identified; one that wanted to keep the conservative Marxist position and stick to socialist realism, and another that was more open to Western practices. A positive impulse for the second group came from Edvard Kardelj, who was the first high-ranking official who publicly criticized the Soviet cultural model at the end of 1949, in line with the conclusions from the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPY.[63] At the beginning of the 1950s, most artistic fields finally rejected Soviet dogmatism, which was the first step towards the liberalization of culture and the arts in Yugoslavia.[64]

[57] Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 184.
[58] Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 184-185.
[59] Luković Petar, *Bolja prošlost: Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije 1940-1989* (Belgrade: Mladost, 1989), 13.
[60] Marković, *Trajnost i promena,* 42.
[61] Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia, AJ), 314 Komitet za kulturu i umetnost Vlade FNRJ (1946 – 1948), 14 Muzička umetnost, Poročilo komisije za presojo domače lahke glasbe (12. 2. 1948)
[62] AJ, 475 Savez muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije, 2, Drugi kongres SMUJ 1953., Referat v. d. generalnog sekretara Saveza MUJ podnet na II. kongresu maja 1953 godine.
[63] Janjetović Zoran, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* (Belgrade: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 42.
[64] Marković, *Trajnost i promena*, 43.

As in other spheres of daily life, the basis for all the coming changes was the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in 1958.[65] Both manual and intellectual creations were supposed to be freed from class determination, and all other limitations. Socialist social relations should free and affirm the human mind and creative human spirit. Culture and the arts should mobilize the majority of the population:

> "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue its aspiration to make the arts and culture the property of the people, to create a mass basis for cultural creation, in the sense of the adoption of cultural inheritance, as well as of the encouragement of cultural-artistic activities and initiatives for the widest public masses."[66]

Culture could no longer be treated as an agitprop means for the realization of political goals; it had to become the goal itself, the final ideal of the humanization of social relations. The so-called "democratization" of the arts became one of the preoccupations of Party ideologues. The LCY defined democratization as the "implementation of socio-economic postulates of the liberation of man, and the overcoming of contradictions between the position of his work and cultural-spiritual values."[67]

There was a well-grounded concern that the term democratization could be misinterpreted. The Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the LCY stressed the importance of a critical approach to creativity in order to avoid "different forms of false humanism and pseudoculture."[68] Yet, criticism needed to avoid an elitist approach, keeping in mind that the democratization of culture was a long process that required an educated public. New distrust in the ability of "ordinary" people to value culture and arts on their own came with urbanization ("the absence of urban sociality" and the "withering of human relations") and the spread of mass media that were guilty of an "inertness and levelling" of "collective conscience."[69] Stipe Šuvar rejected the so-called "enlightening-educative" action, in which he saw three big mistakes. First, instead of assimilation, the dominant culture should change. Further, the social integration of the working class should not be realized by subordination to the dominant culture. And lastly, education and informing the public could not be done via political manipulation. He continued:

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[65] The Communist Party of Yugoslavia renamed itself into the League of Communists in 1952.
[66] *Program Saveza Komunista Jugoslavije*, 227.
[67] AJ, 507/VIII Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, II/8-(1-84) (K-29), Savez komunista u borbi za socijalističke društvene odnose i razvoj obrazovne, kulturne i naučne delatnosti (1966).
[68] AJ, 507/VIII, II/8-(1-84) (K-29), Savez komunista u borbi za socijalističke društvene odnose i razvoj obrazovne, kulturne i naučne delatnosti (1966)
[69] Horvat Pintarić Vera, *Od kiča do vječnosti* (Zagreb: Centar društvenih djelatnosti Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske, 1979), 24.

> "The basis is to achieve a new organization of human labour, and so this includes the transformation of the working environment, which has to become culture itself. The essence is that human labour becomes creative, and that it overcomes the condition in which history is created on the backs of the people. And that it is finally a training ground for the common good, if we still want it."[70]

Kardelj continued in the same line, stating that communists were not competent in judging artistic trends, but that their role was to provide opportunities for people so as to become active cultural creators.[71] However, democratic possibilities were in practice made use of in a completely different way. Workers never really became creators of their own cultural life, but they retained the right to choose what type of (popular) cultural products they wanted to use.

Self-management in culture was not easy to achieve. It started with the creation of new state/public administrative organs – councils for education and culture – which replaced ministries in the republics, and committees in the counties and cities.[72] Thus, councils should have contributed to further decentralization, debureaucratization and democratization, which were the main goals of self-management policy.[73] Nevertheless, in 1957 the Cultural Educational Board of Yugoslavia was founded in order to "encourage and develop positive tendencies in cultural life, and to activate different public organizations, cultural institutions and individuals in fighting against negative phenomena."[74] The creation of an institution that had to "cooperate" with local entities, which included control and supervision, was a sign that self-management was not suitable for all domains. Although self-management was finally affirmed in the Constitution of 1963, defining workers as "free and equal producers and creators,"[75] the minutes from the meetings of the Commission for Communist Work in the Domain of Culture, Education and the Arts demonstrated that relations in the system were too complicated and contradictory to fully accept the self-managing ideal.[76] This ambiguity was mainly the result of material insecurities common to all non-productive spheres.[77]

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[70] Šuvar Stipe, *Svijet obmana* (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1986), 161.
[71] Kardelj Edvard, *O nauci, kritici i kulturi: izbor tekstova* (Subotica: Minerva, 1981), 174.
[72] Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, 250-251.
[73] Sirotković Jakov, *Ekonomski razvoj Jugoslavije, od prosperiteta do krize* (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1990), 133.
[74] AJ, 507/VIII, II/8-(1-84) (K-29), Informacija Sekretarijata Komisije za ideološko-politički rad pri CK SKJ o nekim merama na kulturnom području (1957)
[75] Matković Hrvoje, *Povijest Jugoslavije: 1918. – 1991.* (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 2003), 341.
[76] AJ, 507/VIII, II/2-b-(205-218) (K-17), Stenografske beleške sa sastanka Grupe za rad komunista u oblasti kulture, održanog dana 4. juna 1965. godine u 17 časova, u zgradi CK SKJ – Novi Beograd (1965.)
[77] AJ, 507/VIII, II/2-b-(205-218) (K-17), Stenografske beleške sa sastanka Grupe za rad komunista u oblasti kulture, održanog dana 4. juna 1965. godine u 17 časova, u zgradi CK SKJ – Novi Beograd (1965.)

The State gradually stopped financially supporting culture and the arts, thus forcing cultural workers to turn to capitalist market practices. Many were not satisfied, criticizing the new policy as a degradation of culture and "humanistic values", and culture's relegation to the status of a simple "consumer good."[78] Furthermore, they accused the bearers and distributors of mass culture, in radio and television studios, in large and small circulation newspapers, in movie and discography labels, and in the whole culture industry, for dictating precisely what culture was to be available, culture that was actually created by them too.[79] The Commission for Communist Work defended the new policy claiming that the market was a sign of democratization because it signalled whether a society valued a certain product or not. One member of the Commission, Veljko Mićunović was clear: "Without a market we cannot allocate funds. […] There are laws of supply and demand, regardless of educational and cultural levels, and the market has to be included."[80]

The turn to free-market values proved to be especially beneficial for the flourishing of popular culture. Although rejected by Party officials and the cultural elite as something trivial, mass-produced and cheap, in the end Yugoslav popular culture barely challenged the system.[81] This was the case, partially, because the democratization of culture depoliticized it, in such a way that prevented it from becoming a form of political opposition.[82] While there were sporadic examples of counter-cultural expressions, they were marginal and usually part of the higher artistic and aesthetic spectrum. Thus, members of the highest levels of the Party rarely commented on or intervened in popular cultural products, unless they could gain some points as regards the international positioning of the country, or as a sign of liberalism to the West.[83]

## The state-of-the-art, methodology, sources, thesis structure

### The state-of-the-art

Although over the last decade, the number of publications on Yugoslav social and cultural history has been rising, just a small number of volumes deal with questions of popular

[78] AJ, 507/VIII, II/2-c-(1-85) (K-19), Predlog izveštaja o društvenim i idejno-političkim problemima prosvete, nauke i kulture i o radu Komisije (1968.).
[79] Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 36.
[80] AJ, 507/VIII, II/2-b-(205-218) (K-17), Stenografske beleške sa sastanka Komisije za rad SK u oblasti kulture, održanog 2. decembra 1965.
[81] Senjković, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu*, 17,
[82] Lilly Carol S., "Propaganda to Pornography: Party, Society, and Culture in Postwar Yugoslavia", in Bokovoy Melissa K., Jill A. Irvine, Carol S. Lilly (eds.), *State-society relations in Yugoslavia 1945-1992* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 157.
[83] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 17.

culture.[84] It is, nevertheless, striking that while all the authors more or less directly involved in researching Yugoslav popular culture, consumerism and everyday life recognize the importance of Italy for the cultural life and policies of Yugoslavia during the 1950s and 1960s – only one author, Francesca Rolandi, has engaged in the discovery of the origins, reasons for, and dissemination of Italian culture. Two intellectual trends can be traced; one that only sees Italy as a mediator of Americanized popular culture, and another that takes Italian influences for granted, e.g. as common knowledge and memory.

For example, Radina Vučetić's work on the Americanization of Yugoslav society, *Coca-Cola Socialism: the Americanization of Yugoslav Popular Culture in the 1960s*, focuses on the importance and consequences of Yugoslav foreign policy. However, although not explicitly, she recognizes a Yugoslav need to demonstrate to the West how liberal it is, and to show the East that a different "path to socialism" is possible. According to Vučetić, Yugoslav society can be interpreted as a country of a two-faced Janus:

> "It would be more precise to define Yugoslavia not as the country between East and West, but as a country both at the East and West, according to the needs of the government on different occasions. It seems like the Yugoslav regime was ready, in crucial moments, to say to both sides 'no', never finally saying 'yes.'"[85]

She sporadically reflects on Italy, but only as a mediator of Americanization through the huge popularity of Italian "Western" comic books like *Tex Willer* or *Zagor* in the late 1960s, which were published in two different comic-editions by Golden Series and Lunov Magnus Comics.[86]

The historian Zoran Janjetović shares this same problem in the only volume in the post-Yugoslav historiography completely dedicated to Yugoslav popular culture, *From the "International" to the Commercial: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia 1945-1991.* Janjetović tries to explain the birth, development and decline, or "the triumph of the West", of supranational Yugoslav popular culture. He offers an interesting view on the commercialization of the "entertainment industry", stating that it was mostly directed by the changes in economic system and the implementation of self-management. However, he claims in the end it failed to satisfy the needs of its citizens, and thus the importation of Western varieties prevailed. Janjetović

[84] For an overview of the historiography of Yugoslav social and cultural aspects, see: Duda Igor, "Nova istraživanja svakodnevice i društveno-kulturne povijesti jugoslavenskoga socijalizma", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2014), 577-591.
[85] Vučetić Radina, *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 402.
[86] Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 318.

acknowledges the existence of Italian influences in everyday life, such as the Italian circuses and amusement parks which travelled through Yugoslavia, but only as a filter for American music, adding that "[Italian] radio and television stations could easily be caught in most of Yugoslavia, and the music performed on them was an imitation of American music."[87]

Similarly, Branislav Dimitrijević in the volume *Socialism Consumed: Culture, Consumerism and Social Imagination in Yugoslavia (1950-1974)* analyses the cultural imagology of consumer practices in Yugoslavia. He argues that the Yugoslav society of the 1950 and 1960s was not a proper consumer society, but a transitional one that was based on "the creation of a fantasy about a better future world in which consumer products would be available to everyone."[88] Later on, in his analysis of various case studies, he recognizes a collective need to belong to Westernized cultural circles, and often cites Italy as a mediator of Western popular culture, especially using the example of the fashion industry. Dimitrijević notes the influence of Italian mopeds and fashion design as promotors of liberal and novel values, but does not contextualize this in the theoretical framework of cultural transfer.

On the contrary, the historian Igor Duda has recognized Italy as more than just a transmitter of Americanized culture. In his first volume, *In Pursuit of Well-being: on the History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s*, he focuses on the "invention" of leisure under the blessing and control of the State, dealing mostly with the social history of consumer practices and tourism. Duda conducts research of considerable depth into the development of maritime tourism, both domestic and foreign, which is of great importance for understanding economic and foreign policy. The attention paid to the Adriatic by the very core of the Party demonstrates that the Yugoslav political leaders found a connection with the Mediterranean to be a part of their ideology. Finally, he states:

> "Italy was slowly becoming a role model to Croatia in numerous fields, thus shaping consumer and popular culture. […] It is not necessary to waste words on the influence of Italian popular music, Vespa or Fiat. Italy truly was Croatia's main window to the West, while the shop windows of Trieste were the sites of the creation of consumer delirium."[89]

It could be argued that in the Croatian historiographical context, the orientation of Croatia towards its Adriatic neighbour may seem quite obvious and natural, and so it is

[87] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 141.
[88] Dimitrijević Branislav, *Potrošeni socijalizam. Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950-1974)* (Belgrade: Peščanik 2016), 28.
[89] Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 70.

interesting to compare Duda's findings with Patrick Hyden Patterson's book *Bought & Sold. Living & Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Approaching Yugoslavia in its totality, Patterson mostly focuses on the Yugoslavization of consumer and popular culture, tracing ideological and practical examples of the creation of shared supranational identity, sometimes substituted with transnationalism. As do the other authors, he also recognizes Westernizing patterns, but probably because of the geographical scope of the volume, does not distinguish different cultural areas within the country. Italian influence is, then, approached only through the historiographical elaboration of cross-border shopping tourism to Trieste, which again serves as an example of shared all-Yugoslav practices.[90]

Finally, two recent doctoral dissertations offer a more complex take on Yugo–Italian relations through the lens of popular culture. Dean Vuletic in his unpublished doctoral dissertation *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music* starts with the idea of "non-aligned" culture as a "gatekeeper and merchant" of cultural trends between East and West.[91] Crucially, Vuletic is the only author that explicitly elaborates on the importance of Italian culture. He analyses the re-establishment of political and cultural relations after the 1954 London Memorandum, which settled the dispute between Yugoslavia and Italy over the territory around Trieste, the development of cooperation between the broadcasting services, and most significantly, the influence of the Sanremo Festival and Italian *canzone*, not only in Slovenia and Croatia, but also in the other republics.

However, even more importantly, Francesca Rolandi extensively researched Italian influences on Yugoslav popular culture in the 1950s and 1960s. Her dissertation *Con ventiquattromila baci: The Influence of Italian Mass Culture on Yugoslavia (1955-1965)*[92] deals with all the important topics such as the Yugoslav acceptance of popular culture and entertainment as a sign of liberalization and modernization, changes in the political relationship between Italy and Yugoslavia, and their influences on social and cultural life. Finally, it offers examples of Italian influence on the case studies of popular music, screen culture and material culture.

[90] Patterson, *Bought & Sold*, 182-183.
[91] Vuletic Dean, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music* (doctoral dissertation, New York 2009), 18.
[92] The dissertation has since been published, but in this research the original version was used as a reference point. See: Rolandi Francesca, *Con ventiquattromila baci. L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Jugoslavia (1955-1965)* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2015).

Rolandi's outstanding research therefore serves as the main inspiration and the basis for this thesis. However, the analysis of Yugoslav popular cultural phenomena over the following two hundred pages will go a step further, and demonstrate how Yugoslavs appropriated Italian culture and gave it both a Yugoslav and Mediterranean identity. The main question that remains undiscussed in the existing literature is that of how the creators of popular cultural forms negotiated various Yugoslav identities – Yugoslavism, transnationalism, internationalism, Balkanism, Mediterraneanism – in order to create a distinctively Yugoslav popular culture product.

## Methodology

In her work on the Americanization of Yugoslav popular culture, Radina Vučetić uses communication studies as a methodological tool for the analysis of motivations for the dissemination and reception of cultural phenomena. The latter were also analysed through reception studies, which "interpret culture in a given political, ideological and social context, which presupposes the intersection of dominant discourses with interpretation modalities, that include moral judgment, ideological-political reactions, feelings of refusal or liking, enjoyment…"[93] In this thesis, the analysis of popular cultural phenomena will be furthermore based on the theory of cultural transfer, which focuses on cultural and textual mediation. According to Manuela Rossini and Michael Toggweiler, "the mobility of words, concepts, images, persons, commodities" can only be understood by acknowledging their fluidity, not only in meaning but also in time and space, in shaping national and political identities:

> "Discourses of 'culture' and 'text' prove highly effective in terms of inclusion or exclusion, and 'imaginary communities' are potent political agents. The analysis of Cultural Transfer and Culture as Transfer has to take into account the dramatic situations of contact zones and border regimes as well as the conditions and dynamics of selection, translation, adaption or mutation within highly asymmetrical power relations."[94]

Cultural transfer therefore unequiovocally implies reflecting on the representations of one's own collective identity and the Other, which are dialectically opposed, as the cultural theorist Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink argues.[95] Hence, to understand cultural transfer, the focus should be on

[93] Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 18.
[94] Rossini Manuela, Michael Toggweiler, "Cultural Transfer: An Introduction", *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2014), 5.
[95] Lüsebrink Hans-Jürgen, "La perception de l'Autre: jalons pourune critique littéraire interculturelle", *Tangence*, Vol. 51 (1996), 51.

understanding practices and manifestations of the reception of "transferred culture" in a receiving society, and not simply be analysed through the lens of the "authenticity" of a cultural product.[96] As Andrés Arteaga-Uribe and Lucas Khalil concluded, "a cultural transfer implies not only the transfer of a single object, but also, and fundamentally, semantic and conceptual issues inherent to the nations or cultural groups involved."[97] Consequently, discourse analysis will be supplemented with a study of the cultural, ideological and political adaptations of meanings that are transferred, and adopted in the receiving society.

Sources

As was elaborated earlier, since popular culture rarely becomes a part of official political discourse and discussions, evidence of cultural importance and of the political influence of popular culture can hardly be found in archives. Therefore, the primary sources for this research, besides popular cultural artefacts themselves, are newspapers and the popular press. They offer insight not only into the presentation and reception of new models of popular culture, but are often the centres of intellectual debates and critiques, and as such present themselves as the most valuable source.

An additional challenge for research into popular culture is the selection of representative examples for analysis. Especially in Yugoslav society, as a participant in Western commercialized culture, a vast number of newspapers, magazines and popular press articles were published. The situation is even more complicated because of the decentralized publishing politics, made manifest in specific republic based presses. However, as a part of popular culture themselves, the majority of the popular press was all-Yugoslav in character, and for this research it was important to establish similarities and differences between sources originating from the coast and those from the continent. For that reason, all the discussed popular cultural phenomena here is approached from press sources produced in two different centres: Zagreb and Belgrade. Here, Zagreb represents the Croatian part, as geographically and culturally representing the Adriatic. Belgrade, on the other hand, represents not only the distant hinterland, but also the centre of federal power, and is in this way seen as representative of an all-Yugoslav view.

[96] Espagne Michel, Michaël Werner, "La construction d'uneréférence culturelle allemande en France: genèse et histoire (1750- 1914)", *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations.42e année*, Vol. 4 (1987), 984-986.
[97] Arteaga-Uribe Andrés, Lucas Martins Gama Khalil, "The concept of cultural transfers and reflections about Brazilian versions of English-language rock songs", *Revista Diálogos*, Vol. 10 (2013), 82.

The sources used can thus be divided into three groups. The first one includes archival material from the Archives of Yugoslavia (offering a federal perspective), the Croatian State Archives (a republic perspective), and the State Archives in Rijeka (a local perspective). Here, the material analysed includes the minutes from the meetings of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia/Croatia, discussions from various cultural committees (which acted as ministries of culture, education and the arts), and reports of the work of vocational associations (such as musicians, television workers and so on).

The second group of sources consists of newspapers and the popular press. For quantitative and qualitative reasons, the daily and political press were only consulted in relation to specific events and processes, while the majority of the research is based on specific weekly and biweekly press sources. *Vjesnik u srijedu* (Zagreb) and *NIN* (Belgrade) have been chosen as representatives of the popular press dealing with political and social issues, thus offering an overview of ideological and cultural critique. Other examples include specified press sources for various popular culture related questions, and the choice is again based on the binary distinction of Zagreb – Belgrade. As concerns popular music, only *Ritam* is used, as it was the only magazine specializing in issues of modern popular music. For this reason, additional material can be found in *Studio* (Zagreb) and *TV novosti* (Belgrade), whose primary function was television scheduling and television critique. Finally, for research into fashion and lifestyles, *Svijet* (Zagreb), *Praktična žena* (Belgrade), and *Bazar* (Belgrade) proved to be valuable sources.

Finally, the last group of sources are the primary expressions of popular culture. Songs, television shows, movies, and photography have all been chosen in accordance with their representative quality in relation to the discussed phenomena. As all three case studies – popular music, television and fashion/lifestyle – have their own theoretical and methodological epistemology, each study is approached with a different set of analytical tools, which do not just include discourse analysis, but also the reinterpretation of audio, visual and material expressions.

## Thesis structure

The thesis is structured around four chapters. The first chapter "Yugoslavia between Italy and the Mediterranean" places the research questions in a historiographical and cultural perspective. Beginning with a deconstruction of Braudelian discourse on the Mediterranean, this chapter will demonstrate a paradigm shift towards a localized view, giving agency to the inhabitants of the area, rather than interpreting their identities and actions through a semi-

Oriental gaze. Hence, the focus on the Italian example of identity construction forms the most optimal starting point, as Italy epitomized the image of the modern Mediterranean, shaped by mass tourism and popular culture. To understand how, why and to what extent Italy influenced Yugoslav social and cultural politics, this chapter will furthermore offer an overview of ideological, political and economic interactions between the two Adriatic states, from being viewed as enemies to an example of possible cooperation between capitalism and communism. Finally, in order to understand how the Mediterranization of Yugoslavia through Italian experience was materialized in different popular culture practices, the chapter elaborates the conflict and blending between three competing cultural areas of Yugoslavia (Mediterranean, Balkan and Central European). With each of the cultural spheres having its own set of ascribed positive and negative (socialist) values, the Mediterranean emerges as most suitable for the spreading of appropriate light entertainment on the one hand, and for the international promotion of Yugoslavia as a liberal and modern country on the other.

The subsequent three chapters deal with specific case studies, each of which focusing on different aspects of the Mediterranization of Yugoslavia. The first case study, centred on the creation of a Yugoslav style of modern popular music is illustrated in chapter two. Starting with the direct influences of Italian *canzone* and the worldwide famous Sanremo Festival, the chapter follows the nativization of foreign elements up until the final creation of a specifically Yugoslavized genre of popular music. The analysis of official cultural politics offers insight into debates over the importance of entertainment in everyday socialist life, as well as demonstrating the primacy of modern sounds over traditional folk culture, expressed in balkanized discourse. The emergence of popular music festivals in the late 1950s stresses the first cultural turn to the Adriatic. The expressions of maritime identity were threefold. The Opatija Festival served as a showcase for all Yugoslav socialist-style entertainment, while the Adriatic Melodies offered modern Dalmatian and dialectal expression, while the internal selection for the representative song at the European Song Contest indicated a siding with the Mediterranean cultural sphere. All the examples show the complexity of Mediterranization processes in the cultural field, which were actualized either through the mass media, or through direct contact on the shore during the summer holidays. In that way, the specific Yugoslav popular music genre functioned as a soundtrack for the changes taking place in the society.

The following chapter, Television and the Spread of Maritime Images, follows up on the success of popular music. Viewed as a multidimensional mediator of established musical

identity, the chapter elaborates the creation of Yugoslav television entertainment, based on Italian experiences. While the process of the naturalization of Italian television programmes was similar to the formation of popular music, the competition between different television studios demonstrated the problem of republic sectarianism and a refusal of unified and joint all-Yugoslav cultural work. Besides this, research into Yugoslav television programming will provide insight into ideological debates on the role of television in political work on the education and cultivation of the masses. The prevalence of entertainment and the popularity of television shows will be analysed in the context of the further commercialization and Westernization of cultural life. Here again, Italy is positioned as an example of high quality entertainment, while an insistence on domestic popular music in television shows will be interpreted in the context of the Mediterranization of Yugoslav popular culture. In this way, the production of the comedy series *Naše malo misto* at the end of the 1960s, and its national success, both among the critics and the audience, affirms the maritime way of life widely accepted as the best expression of the Yugoslav socialist living ideal.

The final chapter thematizes fashion and lifestyles, placing an emphasis on generational issues such as modernity, emancipation and sexuality. Starting with an analysis of the 1960 movie *Ljubav i moda* (Love and Fashion) as the first Yugoslav movie openly promoting consumerism and new youth lifestyles, the focus of the chapter is on the effort to create recognizably Yugoslav fashion. However, unlike in previous case studies, the question of folklore as the only true expression of the wider Yugoslav masses appears as a contrast to overly Westernized popular culture. Yet, as the example of cross-border shopping tourism in Trieste indicates, Yugoslav citizens perceived themselves culturally as part of the Western world, staying faithful to socialism through cultivating modesty and good taste. Finally, two very different, but closely connected examples of negotiating youth identity evidently expose the duality of Yugoslavia as a part of international Western culture and locally ingrained Mediterraneanity. Although both male sex/romance tourism and female beauty pageants could be viewed as inherently anti-socialist, in this chapter they will be approached through the lens of emancipation and sexual liberation. Therefore, by rejecting Mediterranean morals, symbolized in concepts of shame and honour, Yugoslav Mediterraneanism was expressed as progressive (and socialist).

# 1. Yugoslavia between Italy and the Mediterranean

Predrag Matvejević, Yugoslav writer and intellectual, in his passionate work on the Mediterranean, once stated:

> "Yet speak I must, because the world knows little about the Mediterranean's South Slavs – even their neighbours on the Adriatic – and because we ourselves have done little to remedy the situation. We have reiterated ad nauseum the extent to which the Mediterranean has marked the land we inhabit. It is a crossroads between East and West: the meeting place of Latin and Byzantine culture and the scene of the major schism within Christianity, the boundary between the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires and a battlefield for Christianity and Islam. Our culture has developed in a symbiosis with Mediterranean cultures as a "third component" among such oppositions as east/west, north/south, land/sea, Balkan/European, and others more homegrown. […] Like everyone, we ask ourselves what we are, individually and as a whole. The answers – peoples on the edge of the European continent, inhabitants of the Balkans, Slavs on the Adriatic, the first Third World country in Europe, the first European country in the Third World – are not mutually exclusive: the Mediterranean does not determine where we belong."[98]

Seemingly, there is no more accurate description of the problematization of the Mediterraneanity of Socialist Yugoslavia. The geographical component becomes quite obvious with just a glance at the map, which shows that the largest part of the country was situated in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, characterized by the Dinarides mountain range. Nevertheless, the Slovenian connection with the Alps, and the Northern Croatian connection with the Pannonian Basin, and consequently with different cultural spheres, demonstrate the complexity of constructing a unifying (cultural) identity. Additionally, the Adriatic Sea represented almost one quarter of the Yugoslav border, and with its closest hinterland, constituted yet another geo-cultural area of Yugoslavia.

Second, historical circumstances and divisions enabled the (co)existence of three religions – Catholicism, Orthodox Church and Islam, each of them bringing different sets of practices, traditions, values and morals. The historical and cultural diversity was also confirmed

[98] Matvejević Predrag, *Mediterranean. A Cultural Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 85-86.

in multilingualism and the use of two different alphabets (Latin and Cyrillic). However, Yugoslav complex cultural identity was also result of internal economic disparities, was manifest in the discrepancy between rural and urban areas, as well as between the different socio-economic status of different republics inside the Yugoslav Federation.

Finally, the international geo-strategical positioning of Yugoslavia, on the crossroads between the East and West, yet also between Europe and the Mediterranean Sea, with all of its Others on the other side of the water, symbolized in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement, meant that appropriate cultural representations depended on foreign affairs as well. Hence, to side with a specific regional identity could have had political and ideological implications in the Cold-War and decolonizing world. As Alvin Rubinstein argued in the 1972 paper The Evolution of Yugoslavia's Mediterranean Policy, Tito's political strategy "was international, not regional, in character," but was clearly directed towards the Mediterranean area for geopolitical reasons and the struggle for ideological dominance.[99]

Therefore, to build a common or unified supranational identity could have been of benefit for the newly established socialist state, with a prevalently rural and illiterate population. A clear geo-cultural identity could also offer a chance for Yugoslavia to place itself as a leader of the area it identified with, but could also be harmful for the internationalist image Yugoslavia tried to build up. Besides, keeping in mind the sins of the previous unitarization policies of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which was usually referred to as the "dungeon of nations," the new socialist government had to carefully find a balance between the Yugoslavization of cultural spheres and multi(national)culturality symbolized in the ideological postulate of "brotherhood and unity".

This complex situation was furthermore complicated with the Americanization of the European continent and modernization processes, which in Socialist Yugoslavia had the additional component of implementing self-management. For all these reasons, it was not even possible to plan the construction or build up one single supranational identity, one that would satisfy all conditions. Hence, the Yugoslav turn towards the Mediterranean can be explained in terms of cultural, political and geo-strategical reasons, yet also by the mere definition of the Mediterranean as a sum of inscribed meanings.

This chapter will elaborate on how Mediterraneanity developed from a historical, anthropological and cultural interpretation as unchangeable, unmodern, and even backward,

[99] Rubinstein Alvin Z., "The evolution of Yugoslavia's Mediterranean policy", *International Journal*, Vol. 27 (1972), 534.

before shifting to being understood as having a fluctuating identity, open to a variety of readings. As the case of Italy demonstrated, Mediterranization could be seen as a specific mechanism of domesticating imported culture and building up its own national brand based on modernized tradition, which served both for the unification of the country and representation abroad.

According to the historian John Urry, the post-war reconstruction of Europe can be symbolized by the rapid development of the Mediterranean, and, thus, that of the Adriatic as well.[100] Hence, it can be argued that post-war Yugoslavia and Italy, and their interrelationship with all its dynamics in the after-war period, embody characteristics of the multiple representations of the Mediterranean. Both countries in the first two post-war decades experienced economic growth and a rise in living standards, notably helped by the Marshall Plan. However, although the involvement of the United States in the recovery of the countries entailed the Americanization of everyday practices, both Italy and Yugoslavia developed their own specific Mediterraneanity, fitting into ideological systems, (geo-)political agendas and cultural traditions.

There, Italy served as a perfect role model for Yugoslav Mediterranean identity not only because of its closeness and historical connections, but also because it had "undergone similar experiences of state-building despite the challenges of north–south economic and cultural disparities, the modernization of predominantly rural societies and wartime divisions."[101] Like Italy, Yugoslavia was a part of the European boom in mass tourism in the 1950s and 1960s focusing mostly on the seaside and inventing "a Côte d'Azur for the low-income bracket."[102] The development of mass tourism at the Mediterranean would, finally, be of crucial importance for multiple, often contesting understandings of the Mediterranean.

## 1.1. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of the Cold War

The (de-/re-)construction of the notion of Mediterraneaness and Mediterranization in the post-war period is a challenging task. It brings the question of the definition of the

[100] Vuletic Dean, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music* (doctoral dissertation, New York 2011), 220.
[101] Vuletic, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music*, 206.
[102] Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits, "Tourism and Making of Socialist Yugoslavia: An Introduction", in Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 20.

Mediterranean in several spheres – geographical, political, economic, mental, and cultural. However, the contemporary construct of the Mediterranean space is closely connected with the memory of a long-lasting understanding of the meaning of the Mediterranean, both inside and outside of academia. The notion of the Mediterranean in historiography is highly marked by the pivotal work of Fernand Braudel *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the Age of Phillip II*. His concept of three temporal levels, especially of the history of *longue durée*, influenced the research field so strongly, that it is still considered as the starting point for a number of prevailing studies of the Mediterranean.

One of the first questions is the definition of space. Although Braudel differentiates between the Mediterranean per se, and the broader Mediterranean, the Mediterranean is usually simplified to a geographical identification of an area covered with olive trees in the north, and palm trees in the south, or an area known for its distribution of typical Mediterranean flora such as, for example, figs, grapes or dates. According to Braudel, given that geographical preconditions shaped human actions, even the diverse Mediterranean societies "lived and breathed with the same rhythms."[103] However, this does not entail the complete unity of the Mediterranean world. Reflecting on Lucien Febvre's definition of the Mediterranean as "the sum of its routes."[104] Braudel continues by stating that the only unifying quality of the area is its understanding as the "meeting place, bond of history."[105]

In the Yugoslav case, historical interconnections between the shore and the hinterland, including distant areas of shared national space, were especially noticeable in the examples of port cities, which for centuries served not only as transit zones, but also as intercultural exchange points. Although in the early modern period the Venetian perspective on the Eastern Adriatic population was demi-Oriental, by the ninetheenth century the Dalmatian coast, and Istria as well, "increasingly figured as a site of racial and cultural mixture or hybridity."[106] This cultural amalgam was then also reinforced by contacts with hinterland cultures, which were distinctively highland thanks to the specific geographical features of the Mediterranean. Hence, as Valentina Gulin Zrnić demonstrates via the example of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the

[103] Horden Peregrine, Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrputing Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), 12-13.
[104] Braudel Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, (London: Collins, 1972), 276.
[105] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, 198.
[106] Ballinger Pamela, *History in Exile. Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 20.

Adriatic ports inevitably constituted "a part of a broader territory: Adriatic, Mediterranean, Balkan, Central European."[107]

These centuries-old mutual contacts between distant shores, local shores and the hinterlands, and finally the distant hinterlands, signify that the Mediterranean could not exist without a certain coexistence and acceptance, despite its diversity. The question of coexistence, and consequently, of confrontation, was of special interest to anthropologists. The human element of Mediterraneaness was theoretically and conceptually formulated through close observation of modern societies that preserved, mainly because of their physical isolation, some premodern customs and traditions, like the concepts of honour and shame. In simplistic terms, anthropologists find three concepts of the Mediterranean: one of exchange and meetings (coexistence), one of conflicts and hatred (confrontation), and the Mediterranean of underlying cultural complicities.[108] The necessity to communicate across a relatively small area, isolated from other, more similar communities, by the sea or sometimes by the topography of the nearby hinterlands, forced the Mediterranean communities to coexist. Therefore, the history of the Mediterranean cultural space can be written as a history of commercial and cultural exchange. But it can also be written as a murderous and vengeful confrontation of religious and ethnic cultures.[109]

The existing historiography confirms that all the established tropes about the Mediterranean are used as inviolable analytical tools. Moreover, it demonstrates that the history of the Mediterranean is understood as complex, while still applying the assumed duality of the Mediterranean in terms of a discrepancy between coexistence and confrontation, honour and shame, or diversity and unity. Nevertheless, it is significant that even a cursory glance at the Mediterranean historiography shows that these concepts work well for antiquity, the medieval and early modern periods, and so the majority of research centres on everyday life, trade, economic relations, agricultural structures, and similar themes. In contrast, historical production for the modern period has focused on the (re)discovery of the Mediterranean and the anthropological process of Othering that have shaped perceptions of this space, while the

[107] Gulin Zrnić Valentina, "The Mediterranean from a Mediterranean Angle: Renaissance Dubrovnik", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 151.
[108] Bromberger Christian, "Bridge, Wall, Mirror; Coexistence and Confrontations in the Mediterranean", *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (2007), 292.
[109] Abulafia David, "Introduction. What is the Mediterranean?", in Abulafia David (ed.), *The Mediterranean in History* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 26.

contemporary period almost completely avoids looking at the Mediterranean in the singular, implying the impossibility of such research.

The fragmentation and complexity of the modern Mediterranean was explained by Predrag Matvejević who was, after Baurdel, perhaps the most intriguing conceptualist of the Mediterranean. Throughout his oeuvre he elaborated the multiplicity of the Mediterranean:

> "There is no such thing as unique Mediterranean culture: there are many within a single Mediterranean. They are characterized by traits, in some ways similar, at other times different, rarely united, and never identical. The similarities are due to proximity of a shared sea and to the encounter on its shores between neighbours and forms of expression. The differences are marked by origins and history, beliefs and customs, sometimes irreconcilable. Neither the similarities, nor the differences are absolute or constant: sometimes the former prevail, other times the latter. The rest is mythology."[110]

That mythology is constructed by the Others. As with other geo-cultural concepts, the notion of the Mediterranean (together with Mediterranization and Mediterraneanism), is constructed in order to differentiate it(self) from other parts of Europe / the world, similar to the peripheral Balkans, or even Eastern Europe.[111]

The invention of the "Mediterranean spirit" served not so much to define the geographical, cultural or socio-political space, but rather to create the European Other that could fit in the power discourse of civilization, modernization or development.[112] Although usually signified in the discourse of "backwardness", the interpretation has been somewhat fluid, since it also meant a return to uncontamined nature and the lost world of innocence and leisure, which coincided with the (re)discovery of the Mediterranean in the eighteenth century following the popularization of the Grand Tour and in the nineteenth century with the blooming of the Romantic movement, after it lost its geo-economic position following the trade shift towards the Atlantic in the early modern period.[113]

Despite the fact that the South became more and more popular, at least for the upper classes, visitors did not interact with the local inhabitants. While still full of contrasts and

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[110] Matvejević Predrag, *Il mediterraneo e l'Europa: lezioni al College de France* (Milano: Garzanti, 1998), 31.
[111] See: Todorova Maria, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York – London: Oxford University Press, 1997); Wolff Larry, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1994). The three concepts: the Mediterranean, Balkan and Central/East-European will be further developed in the analysis of the cultural spaces of the Yugoslav sphere as an area that contained all three of them.
[112] Matvejević, *Il mediterraneo e l'Europa,* 32.
[113] Chambers Iain, *Mediterranean Crossings: the Politics of an Interrupted Modernity* (Durham, N.C. – London: Duke University Press, 2008), 12-13.

different representations in everyday life, the Mediterranean in the eyes of the foreigners was symbolized almost exclusively through the aesthetic and sensual experience of the Mediterranean shores and sunshine.[114] As John Pemble concludes, "it was a landscape that took its colour from their own emotions; an oracle that took its wisdom from their own expectations."[115] In the eyes of the travellers, the Mediterranean people were "lovers of the open-air, happy, hospitable, unreflective, their society simple and harmonious."[116] The Mediterranean myth persisted well into the twentieth century, which with the advent of mass tourism gained its modern version in the phrase "sea, sand, sun and sex."[117]

The changes in nineteenth century society, the industrial revolution, and the advent of the steamboat all influenced views on the Mediterranean. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 symbolized the beginning of the final transformation of the sea, which became just one of the stops in world expeditions.[118] In the same period another construct was created, that of north-western European political and economic power and supremacy.[119] For the Northern travellers, and later tourists, the Mediterranean represented a contrast to their modern, industrialized world. Thus, as the ethnomusicologist Eleni Kallimopolou concludes, the construction of "Mediterraneanism" represents the formation of the North/Western European's (projection of) knowledge about their neighbours.[120]

More recently, several other authors have recognized and criticized a semi-Orientalist approach in academic discourse as well. As early as in 1993 James Kurth noticed that the countries of Southern Europe, which he defined as highly shaped by a Mediterranean identity, have for the last 175 years been "in the twilight zone of semidevelopment, seen by observers either as the least developed of the advanced economies or as the most advanced of the

[114] Pemble John, *The Mediterranean Passion. Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 114.
[115] Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 274.
[116] Horden, Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 29.
[117] Loukissas Philippos, Pantelis Skayannis, "Tourism, Sustainable Development, and the Environment" in Apostolopoulos Yorghos, Philippos Lokissas, Lila Leontidou (eds.), *Mediterranean Tourism. Facets of Socioeconomic Development and Cultural Change* (London-New York: Routledge, 2001), 242. See also: Furlough Ellen, "Club Méditerranée, 1950-2002", in Segreto Luciano, Carles Manera, Manfred Pohl (eds.), *Europe at the Seaside: The Economic History of Mass Tourism in the Mediterranean* (New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 190.
[118] Braudel Fernand, *Mediteran. Prostor i historija* (Belgrade: Centar za geopoetiku, 1995), 111.
[119] Bouchard Norma, Valerio Ferme, *Italy and the Mediterranean. Words, Sounds, and Images of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 23.
[120] Kallimopolou Eleni, "Locating the Mediterranean in Music: The Medi-Terra Music Festival", in Kousis Maria, Tom Selwyn and David Clark (eds.), *Contested Mediterranean Spaces: Ethnographic essays in honour of Charles Tilly* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 62.

underdeveloped economies."[121] However, it was *The Corrupting Sea*, written by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell in 2005, which broke away from the widespread discourse (through novels and memories), as well as from a Braudelian understanding of the Mediterranean. Criticizing contemporary anthropologists for reproducing an established, Orientalized notion of "Mediteraneaness", Horden and Purcell detected three "sins" of anthropological research into Mediterraneanism. They started with the problem of exoticizing the Mediterranean for scholarly purposes, i.e. creating the Other non-European Mediterranean in order to defamiliarize their ethnographic subject, and gain the appreciation of the scholarly community. The second element was found in emphasizing the homogenizing elements, which had usually been theoretically pre-assumed. Finally, Horden and Purcell criticized the imposed comparison across the sea that excluded the possibility for taking comparative research in other directions, mainly European or Atlantic.[122] Similarly, Norma Bouchard and Valerio Ferme criticized the leading post-war anthropological research, including Julian Pitt-Rivers for retaining an Orientalist view of their research subjects, Othering them from ideas of progress, development and modernization.[123]

The paradigm shift in interpreting the Mediterranean started to become more visible in the upcoming years. The 2005 edited volume *The Mediterranean Reconsidered. Representations, Emergences, Recompositions*, as the title states, had the purpose of offering new intellectual trends in Mediterranean historical and cultural studies. In the introduction, the editors Mauro Peressini and Ratiba Hadj-Moussa reflected on the duality of "historical" understandings of the Mediterranean, either as the ancient cradle of civilization, or as "the reverse image of modern Europe,"[124] criticizing them both for rejecting the Mediterranean states as historical actors themselves. They continue:

> "Far from the great narratives and globalizing representations that long dominated the academic world, local sociocultural histories and realities have caused the unity of this geographic region to explode into a multitude of individual microcosmos, linguistic and

[121] Kurth James, "A Tale of Four Countries Parallel Politics in Southern Europe, 1815-1990", in Kurth James, James Petras (eds.), *Mediterranean Paradoxes. The Politics and Social Structure of Southern Europe* (Providence – Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 28.
[122] Horden, Purcell, *The Corrupted Sea*, 486-487.
[123] Bouchard, Ferme, *Italy and the Mediterranean*, 27-28. See for example: Peristiany J.G. (ed.), *Mediterranean Family Structures* (London – New York – Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
[124] "…as the site of a certain 'primitive' state, of historical survivals and archaisms, a place where modernity is lacking or delayed, the site of cultural values that reflect its still traditional character (honour and shame complex, dichotomies associated with gender oppositions, vengeance related to family histories, patronage, evil eye, etc.)". Peressini Mauro, Hadj-Moussa Ratiba, "Introduction", in Peressini Mauro, Hadj-Moussa Ratiba, *The Mediterranean Reconsidered. Representations, Emergences, Recompositions* (Gatienau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005), 1-2.

ethnic allegiances, trajectories, histories and inventions, ideologies, strategies and political interests, alliances and oppositions. This diffracted reality also holds true for the actors, who do not fit neatly into pre-established general categories."[125]

Therefore, Katica Kulavkova suggests studying the Mediterranean not as a "region, a geo-politically recognizable space or a cultural and traditional complex," but as a chronotopos.[126] Mikhail Bakhtin defined a chronotopos as an "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships," inseparable from one another.[127] Kulakova claims that the Mediterranean chronotopos "signifies above all particular geographical, supranational and supra-religious identities, with sometimes discrete, and sometimes the apparent tendency towards periodical multiple hybridization and assimilation," hence having a value-free connotation. Furthermore, analysis of the Mediterranean, or better said the Mediterraneans, as a specific cultural area in time and place, offers analytical tools for research into "states and peoples with double and triple geopolitical and cultural backgrounds."[128] And while Italy is maybe the only country which branded itself as culturally mainly Mediterranean,[129] others have all been represented by multiple, often contested cultural spheres. In the case of France it is the relation between the Mediterranean, Western European and francophone area, while for Israel it is Mediterranean, Middle-Eastern and Hebrew, for Egypt: Mediterranean, Arabic and African, for Greece: Mediterranean, Balkan and Hellenistic, while for Yugoslavia it was the encounter between the Mediterranean, the Balkans and Central Europe.[130]

Hence, when the Mediterranean is not limited only to its discourse, and when it represents the complex network of identities existing in specific space and time, the research topic can evolve from narrow questions of modernity to the various meanings and expressions

[125] Peressini, Hadj-Moussa, "Introduction", 2-3.
[126] Kulavkova Katica, "The Mediterranean Chronotopos and its Differentia Specifica", in Kuran-Burçoğlu Nedret, Susan Gilson Miller, *Representations of the "Other/s" in the Mediterranean World and Their Impact on the Region* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 41.
[127] Bakhtin, Mikhail, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M.* (Austin: University Texas Press, 1981), 84.
[128] Kulavkova, "The Mediterranean Chronotopos and its Differentia Specifica", 49-50.
[129] Slater Martin, "Italy: Surviving into the 1980s", in Williams Allan (ed.), *Southern Europe Transformed. Political and Economic Change in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain* (London: Harper & Row Publishers Ltd, 1984), 62.
[130] Compare with King Russell, Berardo Cori, Adalberto Vallega, "Unity, Diversity and the Challenge of Sustainable Development: An Introduction to the Mediterranean", in King Russell, Paolo de Mas, Jan Mansvelt Beck, *Geography, Environment and Development in the Mediterranean* (Brighton-Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 1-3.

that modernity had in a Mediterranean country.[131] More specifically, how do the inhabitants of these areas represent, interpret and recreate their identities as people of the Mediterranean? Furthermore, what happens "when definitions do not necessarily convey the essence of the immensely complex set of realities, illusions, memories and hopes among the peoples we study?"[132] To paraphrase Gilles Boetsch and Jean-Noel Ferrie, if Yugoslavs did not define themselves as Mediterranean, then they were not, and finding Mediterranean traits in them would change nothing, and vice versa.[133]

## The Cold-War Mediterranean

These questions become especially important for the reinterpretation of the contemporary Mediterranean during the Cold-War era. The problem of the Mediterranean discourse in theory and historiography is most notable for its (non)applicability to the post-World War Two period. Globalization, industrialization and modernization, as the main processes of the contemporary world, also reached the Mediterranean area. Because of "intensive modern communication, and the speedy transfer of capital and information"[134] it is impossible to view the Mediterranean world in old terms, especially not as a unique cultural, social or political space.[135] As Horden and Purcell summarized, the major change the Mediterranean world experienced in the twentieth century "lies in the dimensions of change itself."[136] Although still perceived as the undeveloped poorer pole of the "proper" Europe, the Mediterranean found its expression in both rejection and acceptance, or better adaptation of political, social and cultural novelties.[137]

The episodes of "the short twentieth century", such as colonization and decolonization, the bipolarization of the world after World War Two and the Cold War, the creation of the

[131] Lasalle Yvonne M., "What, Where, and When is the Mediterranean? Locating a Concept through Its Sites of Production in Contemporary Spain", in Peressini Mauro, Hadj-Moussa Ratiba, *The Mediterranean Reconsidered. Representations, Emergences, Recompositions* (Gatienau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005), 200.
[132] Morris Ian, "Mediterraneanization", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2003), 37.
[133] Boetsch Gilles, Jean-Noel Ferrie, "Ancient Survivals, Comparatism, and Diffusion. Remarks on the Formation of the Mediterranean Cultural Area", in Peressini Mauro, Hadj-Moussa Ratiba, *The Mediterranean Reconsidered. Representations, Emergences, Recompositions* (Gatienau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005), 19.
[134] Švob-Đokić Nada, "The Decline or the Renaissance of the Mediterranean", in Cvjetičanin Biserka (ed.), *The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Intercultural Dialogue: Proceedings of the Conference The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Prospects for Intercultural Dialogue, Dubrovnik, 5. – 7. December 1997.* (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations: Europe House, 1999), 73.
[135] Horden, Purcell, *The Corrputing Sea,* 21.
[136] Horden, Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea,* 469-470.
[137] Chambers, *Mediterranean Crossings,* 12-13.

State of Israel and the Marshall Plan, deeply influenced and reshaped the Mediterranean space.[138] On the other hand, the Mediterranean has remained a challenging model for all the principal socio-political transformations of the contemporary world – "processes of decolonization, organized antifascist struggle and changes of a social nature,"[139] but also "border and territorial disputes, conflicts, subregional hegemonisms, ideological differences."[140] Turning towards the cultural homogenization of national identities, and impacted by different degrees of modernizing processes, each Mediterranean country developed a distinctive Mediterraneanity, somewhere expressed as a prevailing cultural trait, and somewhere as the amalgam of cultures.[141]

Military dictatorships in Portugal, Spain, Greece and Turkey, Yugoslavia's and Albania's alienation from the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, the largest communist parties of the Western world being situated in Mediterranean Italy and France, the Middle East crisis, and the decolonization of North African countries, made the Mediterranean world politically and ideologically, and consequently economically and socially, more different and disparate than ever before. This diversity resulted in multiple bilateral conflicts – France and Algeria or Tunisia, Spain and Morocco, Italy and Libya, Greece and Turkey, Israel and the Arab countries, thus reinforcing the instability of the Mediterranean basin that was already of special geostrategic interest to the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR.[142]

The position of the Mediterranean in the Cold War depended on the geostrategic interests of the two opposed powers. According to Ennio di Nolfo, two events that shaped the role of the Mediterranean in the Cold War were the Cuban missile crisis and the decolonization processes in North Africa, both of which resulted in a growing military presence in the Mediterranean basin as the contact zone between Western and Eastern forces.[143] The American

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[138] Tlili Ridha, "Culture et géopolitque en Méditerraneée", in Cvjetičanin Biserka (ed.), *The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Intercultural Dialogue: Proceedings of the Conference The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Prospects for Intercultural Dialogue, Dubrovnik, 5. – 7. December 1997.* (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations: Europe House, 1999), 67.

[139] Vukadinović Radovan, *Mediteran i evropska sigurnost i suradnja* (Zagreb: Fakultet političkih nauka, Institut za političke znanosti i novinarstvo, 1976), 5.

[140] Petković Ranko, *Nesvrstanost i Mediteran* (Zagreb: Fakultet političkih nauka, Institut za političke znanosti, 1984), 11.

[141] Lassalle, "What, Where, and When is the Mediterranean?", 183.

[142] di Nolfo Ennio, "The Cold War and the transformation of the Mediterranean, 1960-1975", in Leffler Melvyn P., Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War. Vol. 2. Crisis and Détente* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 243-244. Compare with Ridha, "Culture et géopolitque en Méditerraneée", 68; Bort Ebhard, "Granice ili posrednici. Srednja Europa, Sredozemlje i Srednji istok", *Erasmus: Časopis za kulturu demokracije*, Vol. 25 (1998), 7.

[143] di Nolfo, "The Cold War and the transformation of the Mediterranean", 241.

and Soviet fleet became a part of the everyday maritime life of the Mediterranean. However, even more important was the effort to attract allies to their military bloc, NATO or Warsaw Pact forces. Italy and France were members of NATO from 1949, and while France withdrew its Mediterranean fleet in 1959, as a part of the bigger independent force campaign, Italy was recognized as the partner most loyal to NATO and America. On the other hand, the Warsaw Pact officially had only one country on their side – Albania, but this was only the case up to the end of the 1950s when Albania distanced itself from the Eastern Bloc. Therefore, the USSR started to promote peaceful cooperation with non-European Mediterranean countries.[144] Nevertheless, the drive of both sides to attract Mediterranean countries did not have a greater impact in the long term on the major events of the Cold War. Moreover, the ideological battleground also did not fit into a perfect dichotomy of the détente, as Melita Richter Malabotta explained, "neither was Mediterranean communism 'perfect' nor was Mediterranean capitalism 'dehumanized'; both of these –isms had a human face, both experienced degeneration."[145] Therefore, the great communist idea had a large potential to develop in the Mediterranean world, but, beginning with the Adriatic, communism was done the Mediterranean way.[146]

Deviations in the application of conflicted ideologies in all Mediterranean countries made the area suited for the development of the "Third Way" in global politics. However, as noted before, some countries that were part of the opposed blocs moved at some point to either distance themselves from the bloc, or, as in the Italian case, to present strong internal opposition. For the rest, the non-aligned alternative became the logical option. As some historians, like Rinna Kulla, claim, the Non-Aligned Movement was rooted in the Mediterranean, conceived as a non-military alliance which in the 1960s overgrew into an international Mediterranean movement with Yugoslavia taking the leading role.[147]

According to the Yugoslav international relations expert Ranko Petković, the connection of the Mediterranean countries to the Non-Aligned Movement was logical and

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[144] Petković, *Nesvrstanost i Mediteran*, 3-4. See also: di Nolfo, "The Cold War and the transformation of the Mediterranean", 250-257; Vukadinović Radovan, *Mediteran između rata i mira* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1986), 6-7.

[145] Richter Malabotta Melita, "The Mediterranean: What are the Threats from the South?", in Cvjetičanin Biserka (ed.), *The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Intercultural Dialogue: Proceedings of the Conference The Mediterranean: Cultural Identity and Prospects for Intercultural Dialogue, Dubrovnik, 5. – 7. December 1997.* (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations: Europe House, 1999), 97.

[146] Riccardi Andrea, "Europa adriatica: rotte e percezini nella storia e nella cultura del mare comune", in Trinchese Stefano, Francesco Caccamo (eds.), *Rotte Adriatiche. Tra Italia, Balcani e Mediterraneo* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 20-21.

[147] Kullaa Rinna, *Non-alignment and its Origins in Cold War Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2012), xiv. Compare with: Rubinstein, "The evolution of Yugoslavia's Mediterranean policy", 528-529.

necessary given the historical and political circumstances. At the beginning, Petković emphasized that the first multilateral meetings of non-aligned countries were held in Yugoslavia as a Mediterranean country: the first meeting of Tito, Naser and Nehru occurred in 1956 in Tito's summer residence on the island of Brijuni. Second, and more importantly, the majority of Mediterranean countries were part of the Non-Aligned Movement, as was the Palestine Liberation Organization. Third, he stressed the fact that most of the "democratic and progressive parties" of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries actively supported the movement.[148] Furthermore, the Non-Aligned Movement strongly supported the successful "anticolonial revolution" and the independence of several Mediterranean countries, along with backing resistance to domination and hegemony. Finally, Petković concluded that only the platform of non-alignment offered a long-term policy for the resolution of the problems of the Mediterranean, because it was the only policy that promoted equality and collaboration, with the final goal of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and partnership.[149]

The idea that states should unite, or at least cooperate despite their ideological differences was growing after the beginning of the détente, not only because many European, and especially Mediterranean countries, recognized the potential dangers in a strict bloc division, but also because it became necessary to collaborate with ones own neighbours in order to increasingly follow globalizing economic and cultural trends. Partnership was especially invoked when it came to the economic aspects of cooperation. However, economic cooperation was not easy to achieve, largely as the result of political and ideological mechanisms. By the end of the 1960s, it became evident that some Mediterranean countries, namely Western European states like France and Italy, could be categorized as more economically developed countries, while the majority of Mediterranean countries were part of the developing world, including Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain, Turkey and Albania. The countries that were the part of the least developed world were the Mediterranean countries of the Middle East and North Africa, which brought another element of geostrategic division to the Mediterranean – that between the developed North and the undeveloped South. This economic distribution was disrupted by the discovery of oil in some of the underdeveloped countries like Libya, but Northern-Mediterranean superiority prevailed.[150]

[148] Compare with: Vukadinović, *Mediteran između rata i mira*, 194-195.
[149] Petković, *Mediteran i nesvrstani*, 1-2.
[150] Petković, *Mediteran i nesvrstani*, 53-54.

The focus on the northern parts of the Mediterranean was also the result of European policy that tried to tie the Mediterranean countries to wider economic flows. It was also the result of continuous disintegration in the Mediterranean area, and of the turn to the hinterland.[151] As a response, there were several attempts to persuade non-European Mediterranean countries to found special economic integrations with their African or Arab neighbours. For example, in 1961 the Casablanca Group of the "African progressive states" was created by Morocco, Algeria and the United Arab Republic, together with Ghana, Guinea and Mali, in order to form specific economic, political and cultural committees, but without any long-term success. Similarly, in 1964, Turkey formed the Regional Cooperation for Development with Pakistan and Iran, and it was supposed to cover trade, technical development, and culture, as well as finances, transport, tourism and communications, but it also failed.[152]

## Cultural practices in the post-war Mediterranean world

It seems that the only unifying elements of the post-war Mediterranean world were popular practices that were either the product of modernization or globalization, each of which was made manifest in the Mediterranean in the form of resistance or adjustment to international, usually Westernized, trends. Hence, as Ian Morris suggests, in the historical analysis it would be more appropriate to focus on a process, rather than a state, of the (re)creation of the Mediterranean. Thus, instead of Mediterraneanity, the term Mediterranization is likely more useful for understanding these changes.[153]

The only officially organized unifying element of the post-war Mediterranean space were the Mediterranean Games organized by the National Olympic Committees. The idea was initiated by the president of the Egyptian Olympic Committee, Muhammed Taher Pasha during the summer Olympic games in 1948, in order to promote friendship, cooperation and other Olympic spirit related principles in a divided Mediterranean world.[154] Although marginal in the sporting sphere, they symbolized the possibility for "smaller" nations to win a medal at least in one discipline, and so in the whole history of the Mediterranean Games, Andorra was

[151] Mileta Vlatko, *Suradnja mediteranskih zemalja na području ekonomije* (Zagreb: Fakultet političkih nauka, Institut za političke znanosti, 1984), 47-49.
[152] Petković, *Mediteran i nesvrstani*, 53-54.
[153] Morris Ian, „Mediterraneanization", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2003), 33.
[154] Šoškić Čedomir (ed.), *Olimpijski vekovnik. 100 godina Olimpijskog komiteta Srbije. Tom 1* (Belgrade: Službeni glas, 2010), 198.

the only country that never won a single medal.[155] The Mediterranean Games, thus, can be seen as a platform for the spread of non-alignment ideology through (sporting) cooperation and the promotion of friendship and partnership. As the archival material of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee demonstrates, the political and ideological relevance of the Mediterranean Games was used for the promotion of "peaceful active coexistence" which could, of course, ultimately succeed only in socialist conditions.[156]

Alongside sports events, like the Mediterranean Games, the development of mass tourism can be, thus, seen as the crucial element of the unification of the Mediterranean spaces, on the one hand, and on the other as the continuation of the popular image of the Mediterranean in the Western world. Not only did it contribute to economic growth, urbanization and infrastructure modernization,[157] tourism also served to disseminate consumer practices through the numerous encounters of local residents with mainly Western European visitors. As Valene Smith argues, "tourism is a powerful medium affecting culture change," which especially influences young people "in traditionally closed societies."[158] The Mediterranean encounters of foreigners and locals were manifest in various forms – economic, cultural or sexual exchange – all of which were partially rooted in the semi-Orientalized image of the Mediterranean people. Moreover, the tourist resorts of the Mediterranean resembled one another to the extent that the choice of destination was based on historical connections, tourist propaganda and cost effectiveness, while "the holiday package formula was the same – accommodation, a beach to sleep (and tan) on, cheap food and drink, and unsophisticated entertainment."[159]

The second factor crucial for the spread of consumerism and Westernized modernity was the development of mass media, which also contributed to the transmission of the Mediterranean image all over the world. Different forms of popular culture played a crucial

[155] International Committee of Mediterranean Games, http://www.cijm.org.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=97&lang=en, Accessed 24 May 2014.
[156] Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia, AJ), 832 Jugoslavenski olimpijski komitet, F-1 Plenarni sastanci i konferencija (1959-1963); F-3 Plenumi JOK-a (1966-67); F-38, F-39 Opšta prepiska (1951-1967); F-47, F-48 Međunarodna prepiska (1949.-1961.).
[157] Williams Allan M, "Introduction", in Williams Allan (ed.), *Southern Europe Transformed. Political and Economic Change in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain* (London: Harper & Row Publishers Ltd, 1984), 8.
[158] Smith Valene, "Introduction", in Smith Valene L. (ed.), *Hosts and Guests. The Anthropology of Tourism* (Basil Blackwall: Oxford 1978), 8.
[159] Jenner Paul, Christine Smith, *Tourism in the Mediterranean* (London – New York: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 1993), 10.

role in establishing a typical "Mediterranean" style in leisure and entertainment, either at the coast, in the hinterland or abroad.

In this way, the 1950s and 1960s can be seen as the formative years of the new Mediterranean phenomenon. The Adriatic Sea, as a crossroads in the post-war Mediterranean space can, thus, provide the best example through which to analyse changes to the Mediterranean world that took place. However, like the Mediterranean in general, communication in the Adriatic was strongly influenced by complicated historical relations.

Despite the fact that Winston Churchill in 1946 placed a metaphorical Iron Curtain "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," the Northern Adriatic developed into a kind of culturally transitional territory over the next two decades.[160] Along with the concept of the Mediterranean as being the crossroads of cultures and beliefs, the Mediterranean was supposed to serve, at least in theory, as a buffer zone, in which the countries involved were not willing to perform the tasks that superpowers intended them to perform. Here we had two opposing countries on the shores of the Adriatic that were the subjects of a contest for control over spheres of influence. On the one side lay NATO, with the United States taking a leading role, intensively engaged in Italian diplomacy, while on the opposing side the Soviet Union was trying to gain access to the Mediterranean ports.[161] Whereas Italy negotiated and used its status, Yugoslavia's choice to side with the Third World represented in the Non-Aligned Movement had allowed itself to create its policies more freely, as well as to influence and be subject to other influences outside of the two opposing blocs.

## 1.2. The Adriatic as a Mediterranean paradigm: Italo–Yugoslav relations

Historical traces of connections between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea stretch back to the times of ancient civilizations and cultural heritage present before the immigration of present-day national groups to the area. 800 km in length, and only 150 km wide, with mild currents and climate, the Adriatic naturally facilitated the encounters of the inhabitants of the two, not so distant shores. Given its specific geographical characteristics, it could be argued that the Adriatic is merely a giant canal of the Mediterranean, and not a sea in its own right. Situated exactly in the central Mediterranean, with the Apennine Peninsula on the one side

[160] Mihelj Sabina, "Drawing the East-West Border. Narratives of Modernity and Identity in the Northeastern Adriatic (1947-1954)", in Vowinckel Annette, Marcus M. Payk, Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 289.
[161] Abulafia David, "A globalized Mediterranean. 1900-2000", in Abulafia David (ed.), *The Mediterranean in History* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 295.

penetrating deeply into the sea and making the South closer to the North, and on the other the Balkan Peninsula as a crossroads between Eastern and Western cultures, as Fernand Braudel stated, the Adriatic "provides material for all the problems implied in a study of the Mediterranean as a whole."[162] He continued with the elaboration of geographical, political, economic and religious conditions which at the same time integrated and divided the cultures of the Adriatic and its hinterland.[163]

Bordering with the "Danubian-Balcanic space, a vast geographical space inhabited by ethnicities with profoundly different origins, history, language, culture and religion,"[164] the Adriatic reflects the Mediterranean narrative of inter-ethnic or –religious conflicts, but also of the mixed population and intercultural exchange. "The Adriatic was where I first felt the indefinable differentness of the Orient," wrote Robert D. Kaplan in the travel recollections of his Mediterranean trip in the 1970s.[165] It "was wild and especially somber, suggesting the enigma of Albania to the south and the Habsburg interiority of Trieste to the north."[166] On the (imaginary) cultural and social border between the East and West, but also between Central Europe and the Mediterranean Sea, the Adriatic became more homogeneous through its trade routes, economic exchanges and political culture, but also through sharing everyday practices and lifestyles.[167]

Nevertheless, it has to be noted, in this long history of the Adriatic, Venice played the main role, both as the city itself, "the meeting point of sea routes and the continental land routes that in spite of the Alps linked Central Europe with the Adriatic and the Levant,"[168] or as a symbol of a centurial cultural and economic link of the shores together with their people and hinterland.[169] These connections can be seen through the common duality noticeable throughout history, especially in the cultural interpenetration, nevertheless, usually working in terms of the West influencing and dominating the East. The Venetian rulers in the early modern period held demi-Oriental imperialist views on Dalmatian provinces, and according to Larry

[162] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World,* 125.
[163] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World,* 133.
[164] Tomaz Luigi, *In Adriatico nel Secondo Millenni: Dal Dogi Orseolo alla prima guerra mondiale* (Conselve: ThinkAdv, 2010), viii.
[165] Kaplan D. Robert, *Mediterranean Winter. The Pleasures of History and Landscape in Tunisia, Sicily, Dalmatia, and Greece* (New York: Random House, 2004), 152.
[166] Kaplan, *Mediterranean Winter*, 177.
[167] Trinchese Stefano, "Civiltà adriatica", in Trinchese Stefano, Francesco Caccamo (eds.), *Rotte Adriatiche. Tra Italia, Balcani e Mediterraneo* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 9.
[168] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World,* 127.
[169] Tomaz, *In Adriatico nel Secondo Millenni,* iv.

Wolff these views fitted perfectly in the mainstream "philosophical reconception of Europe, as divided between more and less civilized Western and Eastern domains."[170] However, these cultural influences only became politicized in the nineteenth century with the birth of national movements on both shores of the Adriatic. Previously, although the differences could be found mostly at the economic and social level, the Adriatic space was considered culturally unique, with "complementary productive systems, the closeness of the coasts and the similarities in lifestyle and ways of thinking."[171] This insight may be especially valid for the inhabitants of the urban and trade centres, which had mixed populations, yet while always preserving Venetian supremacy.

However, with the rise of nationalist movements in the nineteenth century, the interactions between different entities began to be interpreted as the battle for the right for the land and nation,[172] so the age-old coexistence was suddenly transformed into confrontation, which, at the advent of the twentieth century, escalated to the final stage of conflict– a war. The political struggle between Italian and Slavic elements on the eastern shore of the Adriatic in the period between World War One and the immediate aftermath of World War Two caused various cultural, social and especially ethnical changes, which revived and shaped Yugoslav self-identification as a maritime country. Therefore, in order to reclaim politically and culturally the territory of the Eastern Adriatic, Yugoslavia had to face and reconcile, or reinterpret its recent, highly contested history.

The end of World War One and the dissolution of empires led to the creation of a new political map of Europe, which for Italy meant the incorporation of some parts of the eastern shores of the Adriatic – the whole of the former Austrian Littoral, certain islands and the city of Zadar (Zara) and Rijeka (Fiume). A strong Italianiziation, followed by and coupled with the rise of fascism, led to the first exodus during which thousands of ethnic Slavs fled to the neighbouring Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[173]

The main characteristics of fascism on the eastern coast of the Adriatic was the negation and destruction of everything of Slavic descent. The use of the Croatian and Slovenian languages was forbidden in all public services, including schools, while the culmination of

[170] Cited in Ballinger, *History in Exile*, 20.
[171] Bucarelli Massimo, Luciano Monzali, "L'Italia e l'Europa adriatica: occasioni mancate e nuove opportunità. Una postilla conclusiva", in Botta Franco, Italo Garzia, Pasquale Guarganella (eds.), *La questione adriatica e l'allargamento dell'Unione europea* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007)
[172] Pavlović Vojislav G., "Preface", in: Pavlović Vojislav G. (ed.), *Italy's Balkan Strategies. 19th and 20th Century* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014), 8.
[173] From 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Ballinger, *History in Exile,* 20. See also: Garzia Italo, "Un'equazione a molte incognite: l'Italia e la Jugoslavia nel sistema politico internazionale", in Botta Franco, Italo Garzia (eds.), *Europa adriatica. Storia, relazioni, economia* (Rome – Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, 2004), 4-5.

forced Italianization occurred in 1927 with The Decree on Surnames that forbid "funny" surnames, meaning those of Slavic origin that were supposed to be returned to their "original" version.[174] After the outbreak of World War Two and the Roman Treaty of 1941 between fascist Italy and the Independent State of Croatia, which confirmed Italian rights over the whole of the Eastern Adriatic, local inhabitants started to organize an antifascist resistance. However, although the Partisan struggle was organized under the leadership of Yugoslav communist forces and Josip Broz Tito, the forces were composed of people of various political and ethnic background, including Italian antifascists. The end of the war and the establishment of the new, socialist Yugoslavia did not, however, bring an end to nationalist struggles.

Although Tito's Partisans independently freed all the territories of the Eastern Adriatic, similarly to the events at the end of the previous world war, international forces again interfered in the establishment of new governing bodies and borders. Thereby, in 1945 Istria was divided by the so-called Morgan line into Zone A, which was composed of the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia with their hinterlands, and the city of Pula under the provisional government of the Allies; and Zone B, which included the rest of the Istrian Peninsula, the city of Rijeka and the islands Cres and Lošinj.[175] The following two years were marked by anticipation among local residents of a union with their motherland, for some of whom this was Italy, while for others it was Yugoslavia. Protests and political meetings became a part of everyday life for the citizens of the two zones:

> "Some demanded justice for all the centuries spent in darkness, and bore as a pledge of redemption their casualties, and as a symbol the red star and Tito's name; others, who at the beginning acknowledged the victims of their rivals, together with their struggle which was in many ways a joint effort, nevertheless did not want the sides to change. Especially the Italian bourgeoisie could not accept socialist transformation coming from a marginal people who had always been considered inferior, in both civilisation and culture."[176]

The fear of reprisal among Italian citzens was growing, since the memory of the mass killings of Italian fascists that Yugoslav Partisans executed towards and after the end of World War Two and its immediate aftermath, was still vivid. Stimulated by these events, also known as as

[174] Buršić Herman, "Ljuska na valovima svjetskih događanja", in Bertoša Miroslav ed alt.., Pula. *Tri tisućljeća mita i stvarnosti*, (Pula: C.A.S.H., 2005) 238-243.
[175] Buršić, "Ljuska na valovima svjetskih događanja", 276.
[176] Ugussi Claudio, *Podijeljeni grad*, (Zagreb: Durieux, 2002), 95-96.

*foibe*, in which many civilians also perished, together with the inadequate, aggressive and discriminatory actions of some local authorities finally resulted in the emigration of the majority of Italian inhabitants.[177] However, not only did the class enemies of communism flee the country, but also the peasantry and workers who suffered from economic difficulties, or who feared the growing Yugoslav nationalism.[178] The first wave of emigration started immediately after the fall of fascism in 1943. These were mostly active participants in the fascist terror, such as local informers, agents, heads of military or police formations, members of the blackshirts, and also ordinary Italian soldiers who refused to return to their homes in Istria. The second and biggest wave, during which 92.8% of the post-war emigration occurred, happened between 1948 (The First Option Agreement) and 1951 (The Second Option Agreement), which resolved remaining requests for Italian citizenship up until the end of 1953. These were mostly people who were personally or commercially against communist rule, as well as peasants who had suffered through the short period of forced collectivization. In subsequent years, the last group of Italians emigrated either by repudiating their Yugoslav citizenship, or by illegally crossing the border, which was easier after the liberalization of border control in the 1960s. In total, approximately 250,000 Italians left their homes in Istria, while a small minority stayed.[179]

Besides the fear of repression and rejection of life under communist rule, the promise of better life conditions was an added motive for leaving the motherland. In addition, Italian propaganda contributed to the spread of panic among the Italian inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic. The instrumentalization of the exodus was conducted through official governmental channels, but also through the press, especially those papers based in Trieste, therefore feeding into international politics.[180] The problem of the areas with mixed population was thus presented as a clash between the "Communist East" and "Liberal West", and also served for internal political battles.[181]

Hence, the Istrian Peninsula became a proper Cold-War battlefield and a centre of heated international ideological, political and military debate. Nevertheless, centuries long

[177] Dukovski Darko, *Rat i mir istarski: model povijesne prijelomnice 1943. – 1955.* (Pula: C.A.S.H. Pula, 2001), 218.
[178] Monzali Luciano, "La questione jugoslava nella politica estera italiana dalla prima guerra mondiale ai trattati di Osimo (1914-75)", in Botta Franco, Italo Garzia (eds.), *Europa adriatica. Storia, relazioni, economia* (Rome-Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, 2004), 42.
[179] Dukovski, *Rat i mir istarski*, 219.
[180] Dukovski, *Rat i mir istarski*, 221. Compare to Spanò Roberto, "La stampa quotidiana in Italia e l'esodo istriano (1945-1954)", in Galeazzi Marco (ed.), *Roma – Belgrado. Gli anni della guerra fredda* (Ravenna: Longo Editore Ravenna, 1995), 173.
[181] Spanò, "La stampa quotidiana in Italia e l'esodo istriano (1945-1954)", 151.

historical multiculturality, although not always expressed in the form of coexistence and acceptance, marked cultural life in Istria deeply, and shaped a hybrid Istrian identity. The mixture of civilizations, of Italian romanticism and Slavic practicality, soon found its expression in building on a Yugoslav modernized, but not Americanized, socialist culture, with its centre in the former Habsburg resort of Opatija.

Building socialist solidarity

One of the uniting elements of the twentieth century Adriatic area was the Communist parties. Overcoming national and ethnic divisions, the Italian and Yugoslav Communists played an important role in the immediate post-war period. Starting with the instant acceptance of Yugoslav Partisans' takeover of the liberated fascist spaces of the Julian March, the head of the Italian Communist Party Palmiro Togliatti promoted close cooperation with Yugoslav comrades. Hence, the only public acknowledgement of Tito's forces liberating Trieste on 1 May 1945 came from Togliatti's note in the Party journal *L'Unità*:[182]

> "Workers of Trieste! At this moment, when we receive the news that Tito's troops have entered your city, we are sending to you, workers of Trieste, our fraternal greetings. Your duty is to welcome Tito's troops as liberators and collaborate with them as closely as possible in order to crush all German and fascist resistance, and to lead to the goal, as soon as possible, of the liberation of your city. Avoid at all costs becoming a victim of provocative elements interested in the dissemination of discord between the Italian people and democratic Yugoslavia. Italians and Yugoslavs today have a common task: to crush final German resistance and to once and for all finish with fascism. If we know how to work and fight together for this, if we alone know how to punish those responsible for crimes committed by fascism against Yugoslavia, we will, without a doubt, succeed in solving together all matters which are of interest to the two peoples with mutual respect of the two nationalities."[183]

In subsequent months Togliatti continued to insist on close cooperation with Tito's newly established government and encouraged bilateral agreements between the two countries

[182] Mišić Saša, "Yugoslav Communist and the Communist Party of Italy, 1945-1956", in Pavlović Vojislav G. (ed.), *Italy's Balkan Strategies. 19th and 20th Century* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014), 282.
[183] "Il Partito Comunista Italiano ai lavoratori di Trieste", *L'Unità*, 1 May 1945 (102).

invoking "Italo–Yugoslav friendship, military collaboration between the two peoples, and the will to redeem the legacy of fascism."[184]

The largest Italian organization in Yugoslavia, The Union of Italians from Istria and Rijeka (Fiume) was created under the supervision of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) during the war, in order to mobilize and include Italians in the armed struggle. After the war and the establishment of the new government, the Union had a task to contribute to the socialist education of the Italian speaking Yugoslav citizens. Therefore, the Italian minority was supposed to be educated to "fight hostile propaganda that arrives especially from their home country," but also to use them for its own propagandist goals by spreading information to other countries through "correspondence or mailing newspapers and brochures."[185] The statute of the Union stated that it would follow the general political line of the CPY, which meant:

> "reinforcing the brotherhood and unity of Italians, Croatians and other peoples of our country, which was already forged in blood during the joint National-Liberation Struggle, the development of new Yugoslav socialist patriotism among the Italian minority, and a new attitude towards the community, state and work, which arises from the socialist character of our order."[186]

Similarly to other agitation and propaganda sections, the majority of the activities of the Union focused on culture and education, organizing high culture events like theatre and opera, publishing newspapers and periodicals, acquiring books in Italian and translating books by the main Yugoslav communists like Tito, Edvard Kardelj, Milovan Đilas, Moša Pijade and Boris Kidrič.[187] Likewise, different fraternal post-war organizations in areas of mixed population, like the Triestine Slavic-Italian Anti-Fascist Union (SIAU), with separate Women and Youth branches, encouraged intense cultural exchanges of (antifascist) cultural workers and artists, which Yugoslav and Italian communists used for the reinforcement of the idea of coexistence and friendship in the disputed area.[188] Mass organizations, like amateur sport,

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[184] Galeazzi Marco, "Togliatti fra Tito e Stalin", in Galeazzi Marco (ed.), *Roma – Belgrado. Gli anni della guerra fredda* (Ravenna: Longo Editore Ravenna, 1995), 99-100.
[185] Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives, HDA), 1220.2.3.3.1.5., Komisija za agitaciju i propagandu – podaci o vanjskoj agitaciji, Centralnom komitetu KPJ Uprava propagande i agitacije (28.8.1949., Beograd).
[186] HDA, 1220.2.3.3.1.5., Pravilnik Unije talijana Istre i Rijeke.
[187] HDA, 1220.2.3.3.1.5, Izvještaj odjeljenja vanjske propagande Agitpropa CK KPH za 1949. godinu,
[188] See: Novak Bogdan C., *Trieste, 1941-1954: The Ethnic, Political, and Ideological Struggle* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 104; Rumici Guido, *Fratelli d'Istria: 1945-2000, italiani divisi* (Milano: Mursia, 2001), 32,; Sluga Glenda, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border. Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 75.

served as perfect partners, especially if they were under the direct influence of the CPI. One of those was the Italian Union for People's Sport, which was "oriented progressively," meaning that the leadership consisted of members of the Communist or Socialist Party, and as such, viewed the Yugoslav regime positively.[189]

However, it was the field of culture that proved to be the perfect ground for cooperation between the two national Communist parties, both for the spread of revolutionary progress, and for brotherhood between two countries in antagonistic relations until recently. For example, Italian representatives at cultural events during the youth work action of building the railway line Šamac–Sarajevo in 1947 included Giulio Einaudi, a "publisher from Torino and recognized antifascist," Arnaldo Mondadori, a "publisher and antifascist known as a progressive man," Gastone Rosi-Dorna, a "music critic from Rome, an antifascist, and one of the best young musicians that enjoyed certain benefits during fascism, but who is today a sympathizer of the Socialist Party," and many more.[190]

Similarly, the case of Laura Ferlan, a pianist from Trieste, is demonstrative. In 1947 the Ministry of Education of Slovenia informed the Committee for Culture and Arts of the Cabinet of the Federal's People Republic of Yugoslavia that Ferlan is forbidden to perform in Italy and the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) because she is a "daughter of one of the most active members of the Communist Party of the Julian March and the president of SIAU, and because she is also a member of SIAU and the United Trade Unions, and known for her progressive position."[191] The Committee agreed to organize a tour through the whole country no later than in January of 1948. Although there is no data on the further development of the Ferlan case, it illustrates the wider political agenda behind cultural events. The organization of the tour for a young artist from Trieste was a publicity coup for the FTT, allowing an artist's performance that had been prohibited by democratic authorities, and demonstrating that the Yugoslav leadership cared about the inhabitants of Trieste. It was obvious that Yugoslav Communists already represented national interests, which would be finally confirmed in the conflict with Stalin, as well as in the conflict with the other European Communist parties.[192]

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[189] AJ, 668 Savez organizacije fizičke kulture, F-92 UISP – Unione Italiana sport popolare (1969)
[190] AJ, 314 Komitet za kulturu i umetnost Vlade FNRJ (1946 – 1948), 5 Veze s Italijom, Predmet: Poziv na Omladinsku prugu (1947).
[191] AJ, 314, 5, Predmet: Laura Ferlan, pianistica – gostovanje u FNRJ (1947).
[192] Terzuolo Eric R., *Red Adriatic. The Communist Parties of Italy and Yugoslavia* (Boulder – London: Westview, 1985), 111.

Exclusion from the Cominform and the break with Stalin became the next disruptive element in the consolidation of Italo–Yugoslav relations, both internally and internationally, with the international aspect impacting both on the question of the cooperation of the two Communist parties, and finding a solution to the Trieste problem. More importantly, it was also noticed that Yugoslav Italians were becoming increasingly politically and ideologically connected, and dependent on the Italian Communist Party, which openly sided with Stalin.[193] It was understandable to some extent that Italian workers who moved to Yugoslavia after the war, and who were thus not native inhabitants, accepted the Cominform Resolution, being disappointed with the Yugoslav deviation from the hard-line of Stalinism. However, the Yugoslav Commission for Agitation and Propaganda was more concerned about the "Informbiro's centres in Italy and Trieste, which suddenly became interested in their compatriots in Yugoslavia," and who created espionage network cells in Istria and Rijeka in order to "collect data of an economic and political character, and at the same time spreading Informbiro propaganda, which is entirely in line with Italian irredentism."[194] According to Darko Bekić, Soviet and Communist experimenting with irredentist circles in Trieste was rationalized by the rapprochement between Tito and NATO which, according to *Pravda,* wanted to "keep Trieste as an Anglo-American military base."[195] A focus on the more global, Cold-War issues was in line with the internationalism that the CPI and Togliatti propagated.[196] Similarly to the immediate post-war period, up until the 1948 Resolution, when the political actions of Yugoslav and Italian Communist parties served the strengthening and spread of the global Communist movement,[197] after 1948 Togliatti chose to remain faithful to the USSR.

However, the change of attitude came with the ICP's turn to a national path to communism, reflecting mainly Gramsci's thought, but only after Khrushchev's secret speech of 1956.[198] As early as in March of that year, Togliatti started to publicly revise the ICP Cominformist politics in relation to Yugoslavia, now advertising the example of Yugoslavia as being the first country to gain national autonomy in its search for a different path towards

[193] HDA, 1220.2.3.3.1.5, Izvještaj o radu odjelenja za vanjsku agitaciju Agit-prop uprave pri CK KPH kroz mjesec juli-august 1949. g.
[194] HDA, 1220.2.3.3.1.5., Italijanska nacionalna manjina u NR Hrvatskoj (13.9.1951.).
[195] Bekić Darko, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1988), 271. See also: HDA, 1220.2.3.3.1.5., Pisanje o vanjsko-političkim temama. Izvještaj br. 30. (14. 7. 1950.).
[196] Galeazzi Marco, *Togliatti e Tito: Tra identità nazionale e internazionalismo* (Rome, Carocci, 2005), 109.
[197] Terzuolo, *Red Adriatic*, 96.
[198] For a more detailed history of the Italian Communist Party, see: Bellassai Sandro, *La morale comunista: pubblico e privato nella rappresentazione del PCI, 1947-1956* (Rome: Carocci, 2000); Ragusa Andrea, *Il gruppo dirigente comunista tra sviluppo e democrazia, 1956-1964: tre capitoli sul centro-sinistra: dalle carte della Direzione del PCI* (Manduria: Lacaita, 2004); Shore Cris, *Italian Communism: The Escape from Leninism: An Anthropological perspective* (London – Concord – Mass: Pluto Press, 1990).

communism,[199] with special attention paid to the idea of Yugoslav self-management.[200] For Italians, this was important so as to gain a legacy for their own national path that they more courageously started to demonstrate in the mid-1950s.[201] Although different from Titoist ideological innovations, the leader of the Italian Communists welcomed "every step that alienated Yugoslavia from the imperialist camp and converged on the camp of people who want independence and peace," wishing that Italy and Yugoslavia again start collaborating in the field of the "politics of *convivenza* and peace."[202] This was possible after the London Memorandum of 1954 had been signed, which solved the Trieste Question and calmed the tensions between two countries, which were intensively growing from 1953 onwards.[203]

## The Trieste crisis

The most northern point of the Mediterranean Sea, Trieste, which from the nineteenth century symbolized the multiculturality of the area, but which was also a site for contested Italian, Slavic and Habsburg power, became an open battlefield in the post-war era of confronted ideologies.[204] In the immediate aftermath of World War Two, or more accurately, with the liberation of Trieste on 1 May 1945, the city, similarly to Berlin, became a central point in the contest over influence between the Allies. Although liberated by Tito's Partisans, the question of the Julian March became an international problem, or as Massimo Bucarelli concluded, "the Adriatic version of the Iron Curtain."[205] The image of Trieste as a special national and cultural reference point in Yugoslavia would prevail even later, although in a completely different context – one of openness, cooperation and well-being. Although the political and social circumstances only a decade after the Trieste crisis would be significantly different, the specific position of Trieste in the Yugoslav imaginarium was certainly partially based in the shared cultural memory of Trieste as a part of "our Yugoslav" territory.

The Paris Peace Treaty was signed in 1947, and it defined the border between Italy and Yugoslavia, except for the area of Trieste, which became established as the Free Territory of

[199] Terzuolo, *Red Adriatic*, 175-176.
[200] "Togliatti u Beogradu", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 22 January 1964 (612).
[201] Terzuolo, *Red Adriatic*, 201.
[202] Galeazzi, *Togliatti e Tito*, 146.
[203] Terzuolo, *Red Adriatic*, 167.
[204] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border*, 1.
[205] Bucarelli Massimo, "A Belated Friendship: Italo-Yugoslav Relations (1947-1990)", in Pavlović Vojislav G. (ed.): *Italy's Balkan Strategies. 19th and 20th Century* (Belgrade, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014), 256.

Trieste (FTT), divided into Zone A and Zone B.[206] The FTT, although officially created in order to bring stability to the area and open the negotiations for the final resolution, in reality was a space for ideological struggle, involving not only Italy and Yugoslavia, but much more powerful Cold-War actors as well.[207]

Especially with the Tito–Stalin split of 1948, the relevance of Trieste's status in international affairs changed. On the one hand, the West was no longer so strongly interested in Trieste's strategic position, and tried to initiate more contact with the rebellious Yugoslavia, while on the other hand, the Soviet Union did not have any interest left in supporting the Yugoslav case. However, on the contrary it reinforced Soviet connections with the ICP in order to further the ideological battle on Italian soil.[208]

It did not take long before Yugoslav diplomats started to use the Yugoslav specific position, but the results were erratic, since Italy remained, maybe not the most important, but still a respectful NATO partner.[209] The diplomatic dispute grew increasingly tense when the Vatican openly started its anti-Yugoslav campaign in 1952. Responding to the Catholic Church during a speech in Smederevska Palanka, Tito addressed a broader Western public: "Do you want us to be allies or not? […] We won't be anybody's allies perforce. If one or the other does not want us for an ally, we have other options too."[210] Tito's unwillingness to relent, together with the start of a reconciliation with the USSR, brought with it the next round of a hostile relationship with the West, and especially with Italy.

Besides the official notes and public statements, the diplomatic war with Italy continued in the press, on both shores of the Adriatic. Such media "discussion" was not only based on practical facts concerning the FTT, but also on the claiming of cultural space. Hence, the most read weekly of the time, *Vjesnik u srijedu* published a series of articles Artists That Italy Appropriated From Us, in which the authors tried to recreate the cultural history of the Eastern Adriatic in order to diminish Italian interpretations of the renaissance period as a clash between "civilized Italians and Slavic barbarians."[211]

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[206] Rudolf Davorin, "Granice s Italijom u mirovnim ugovorima nakon Prvoga i Drugoga svjetskoga rata", *Adrias*, Vol. 15 (2008), 73.
[207] Novak, *Trieste, 1941-1954*, 280.
[208] Heuser Beatrice, *Western "Containment" Policies in the Cold War: the Yugoslav Case, 1948-53* (London – New York, Routledge, 1989), 101-102.
[209] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 447.
[210] Dimitrijević Bojan, Dragan Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza 1945-1954* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2009), 56.
[211] See "Naši umjetnici koje nam Italija otima", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 14 May 1952 (3); "(Umjetnici koje nam Talijani prisvajaju) Naš slavni neznanac", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 10 September 1952 (20).


FIGURE 1: "ALLIES: THERE, SO YOU DON'T SAY ONLY YOU BETRAYED YOUR ALLIES" (NIN, 11 OCTOBER 1953)


FIGURE 2: "DEGASPERIADA: TRIESTE – 'I AM AGAINST IT'; DALMATIA: - 'MAYBE I WOULDN'T BE…'" (NIN, 26 JULY 1953)


FIGURE 3: "ONE SMALL BOAT…" (NIN, 23 MARCH 1952)


FIGURE 4: "FOR THE CROSS AND TRIESTE AND …" (NIN, 21 DECEMBER 1952)

The discourse on Slavic barbarianism and Italian civility also continued in reports on the failures and alienation of modern Italian society, such as social inequality or morality. On the other hand, Italian newspapers also spent a significant amount of ink on the horrible living conditions and totalitarian regime practices in Yugoslavia.[212]

Tensions between the two countries continued to grow and overspill from the newspapers to the streets. Violent demonstrations across both countries, and especially in Trieste, resulted in international actors attempting to focus on finding a final solution to the Trieste crisis, which culminated in the autumn of 1953.[213] Since Yugoslav officials were openly refusing to find a compromise, the Allies decided in their direct negotiations with Italy to handover Zone A of the FTT to the Italians in September 1953.[214] The months of tensions,

[212] "Trst – siječnja 1953.", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 11 February 1953 (41); "Rimski don Juani i finska studentica", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 1 July 1953 (61); "Italija s površine", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 30 September 1953 (74).
[213] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 72-73.
[214] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 89.

alarming diplomatic crises between Italy and Yugoslavia, and the urgent need for a solution to the position of the FTT saw both sides calling for the intervention of troops.[215]

However, behind the public, often populist, statements, Yugoslav diplomacy engaged in intense secret negotiations with the West. Yugoslav diplomats were long aware that Yugoslavia was not internationally strong enough to claim the whole territory of the FTT.[216] Nevertheless, they managed to gain what they could from the negotiations. In April 1954, Yugoslavia agreed to hand over Trieste to Italy, but required another harbour nearby in order to connect the hinterland with the sea, paid for by the Allies. The United States offered ten million dollars to Yugoslavia to cover the costs of a new harbour in Koper, after which Yugoslav diplomats agreed to finalize negotiations over the FTT.[217] Finally, the London Memorandum was signed on 5 October 1954, which de facto solved the problem of the FTT being divided up between Italy and Yugoslavia, while the final agreement was only signed in 1975.[218]

## The Balkan Pact

The diplomatic conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia over the ethnically mixed territories on the one hand, and the geostrategic position of Yugoslavia after the break with Stalin on the other, led Yugoslav officials to seek out different options for Yugoslavia's foreign affair policy. The Southeast-European or, better said, the Balkan orientation, seemed an obvious choice because of shared geographical and cultural features. Some form of the unified Balkans should have served as a buffer zone between the contested East and West, while also offering a model for future coexistence between the different systems. It was the beginning of Yugoslav positioning as being an important actor in international affairs: "Peace in the world is not possible without peace in Southeastern Europe, and peace and stability in Southeastern Europe is not possible without the active role of Yugoslavia."[219] The institutionalization of political and military cooperation between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey hence represented the first attempt to move from "abstract wishes to the concrete political practice" of a partnership between countries from the opposite sides of the bipolar Cold-War world, i.e. NATO member states and a communist country.[220]

[215] Monzali, "La questione jugoslava nella politica estera italiana", 46.
[216] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 377-378.
[217] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 608.
[218] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza,* 163.
[219] "Jugoslavija na jugoistoku Evrope", *NIN*, 21 September 1952 (90).
[220] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 57.

The idea had already emerged in the late 1940s, with the re-establishing of a political relationship between Greece and Yugoslavia, after the consolidation of power in Greece after the civil war. Friendly and diplomatic exchanges between the two countries, soon accompanied by Turkey, were welcomed by Anglo-American military analysts, and consequently opposed by the USSR. The Soviets feared that Greece and Yugoslavia were preparing a "Mediterranean Pact" together with Turkey and Italy, and "aiming aggressively to the Soviet Bloc, towards which, under the command of the USA, they were conducting a vast number of provocations."[221] Although it was true that NATO leaders were considering including Yugoslavia in their defence zone on the Balkans/Mediterranean, it turned out that Italy was anything but welcoming towards the potential creation of a Balkan Pact.

Italy's dispute with NATO over the Balkan Pact, and Yugoslav's rapprochement with the Western Bloc, was only one element of their dissatisfaction with their position in the geopolitical sphere of influence consisting of Europe and the Mediterranean. Direct accusations of helping Yugoslavia resulted in the USA's slight withdrawal from activities in view of the creation of a Balkan Pact. The USA began to insist that the Pact should only be of a friendly nature, in no way a purely military alliance, at least until the border problem between Yugoslavia and Italy, as a member of NATO, was solved.[222] In this way, the Balkan Pact also became directly connected to the question of Trieste.

With the outbreak of the Trieste crisis in the autumn of 1953, the pressure reached unprecedented levels, as the thorny question of NATO involvement in the case of an armed conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia arose.[223] Even though by the end of 1953, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey had made all the steps necessary to finalize the agreement, the ongoing Italo–Yugoslav clash prevented the signing of the Pact.[224] According to Dimitrijević and Bogetić, the problem was a "completely different understanding of the key aspects of the future pact, its role in the case of aggression on some of the members, and its relationship with NATO."[225] Simplified, if tensions between Italy and Yugoslavia would escalate to the proportions of the outbreak of war, Greece and Turkey would have had to offer military help to Yugoslavia (if the Balkan Pact was formulated in accordance with Yugoslav preferences), or, in complete contrast, join forces with Italy as their NATO partners (as the Allies demanded). Finally, the pressure from the West, which was growing on a daily basis with the Trieste crisis,

[221] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 196.
[222] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 60.
[223] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 165.
[224] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 58.
[225] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 169.

led Yugoslav diplomats and Tito himself to make a compromise, and sign a milder version of the Pact on 9 August 1954, named the "Agreement on Alliance, Political Partnership and Mutual Help."[226]

Even though it did not achieve its planned military goal, it brought a political victory to Yugoslavia. It was the first example in recent history whereby countries with not only different, but opposed socio-political systems were able to develop a common security agenda and plan economic and cultural exchange on a regional level.[227] Tito's statement of the time that "cooperation is possible between countries that have the same interests, despite them not having the same internal system" would in subsequent years become one of the guiding principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, especially in the Mediterranean area.[228]

Once the problem of Trieste had been solved and better relations with the Western countries had been established, the Balkan Pact began to seem unnecessary. As early as in 1955 all three countries started to discretely abandon the ideas of the agreement. While the motives of the Greeks and Turks originated in their dispute over Cyprus, Yugoslavia had more practical ideas, namely focusing on policies of non-alignment and renewing contacts with its Western neighbour, Italy, thus resulting in the appropriation of a broader Mediterranean perspective.[229] Although Tito claimed that cooperation would continue at least on the economic or cultural level, soon all such initiatives were abandoned. Economic relations, with their promising trading possibilities through the potential creation of the Balkan Chamber of Commerce, ultimately became regulated through bilateral agreements with a vast number of countries, without any privileged regulations for members of the Pact. Similarly, actions in the cultural field, alongside the ideals of security and peace, particularly in regulating the use of nuclear energy, were left abandoned.[230]

The Balkan Pact, hence, became just a short episode in Cold-War geopolitical strategies. According to Mark Mazower, "the Balkans disappeared from the Western consciousness during the Cold War, and the Iron Curtain ran through Southeastern Europe, separating Greece from its communist neighbours," while the region was soon culturally and mentally re-established as a proper Mediterranean tourist resort, turning the local culture from "peasant [culture] into after-dinner entertainment."[231] Although Yugoslavia closely followed

[226] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 648.
[227] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 493.
[228] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 423.
[229] Rubinstein, "The evolution of Yugoslavia's Mediterranean policy", 533.
[230] Bekić, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu*, 736-737.
[231] Mazower Mark, *The Balkans* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000), 5.

this pattern as well, Yugoslav politicians used that experience for the creation of future Yugoslav foreign politics, which, as soon as they became noticeable, began to focus on establishing a close relationship with Italy in order to create a broader Mediterranean platform.

Rapid and sometimes dramatic changes in Yugoslav international relations in the first decade of the existence of the socialist Yugoslav country led to experimenting with different political and ideological options. Only when (international) problems directly threatening the system were solved, could Yugoslav officials focus on building the country, not only in a material, but also in a mental sense. Finally, the experience gained from these international disputes prepared ideological and theoretical grounds for internal social and cultural development. Therefore, opening up to other non-socialist regimes, establishing connections with various countries, and finding the most suitable international partner for political, economic and cultural cooperation all prepared Yugoslavia in creating its own specific identity in the Cold-War world. Here Italy, after most of the disputes had been settled, proved to be the best model and partner.

## Opening the borders and re-establishing a partnership

Cooperation with Italy in different fields was finally possible after signing the London Memorandum in 1954. Even though it only entailed a temporary settlement regarding the border,[232] the agreement helped to lessen the tensions between the two countries and provided an opportunity for the normalization of relations between the two countries, especially in the region of Trieste.[233] Cooperation between the two neighbours, which soon grew into a flourishing friendship, was manifest on all levels – political, economic, and cultural. Nevertheless, it was the liberalization of the border that had the biggest symbolic value, since "it was the legacy of a past which was intended to be forgotten, because it was linked to a policy of confrontation which was intended to be overcome."[234]

Both governments encouraged interactions and visits between the two peoples, and passed numerous laws to facilitate this. This was especially important for the border areas since the artificial division caused by different politics and ideologies had been unable to erase age-old connections and interactions between the inhabitants of the borderline area. The

[232] Monzali, "La questione jugoslava nella politica estera italiana", 47.
[233] Bucarelli, "A Belated Friendship: Italo-Yugoslav Relations (1947-1990)", 258.
[234] Garzia, "Un'equazione a molte incognite", 11.

normalization of local-border transactions of people and goods, therefore, became the first step towards the rapprochement of the two countries:

> "Often, in most of the cases, there is a relative, some people are employed there, somewhere a still invisible borderline has split a vineyard or a land, and there are even cases, like in Nova Gorica, where that line has split a house, so half of the tenants live in Yugoslavia, and half in Italy. Cities and places are inseparably connected with their hinterland by thousands of networks, and therefore for all those inhabitants the local-border agreement happened as something logical per se…"[235]

As the case of reports from the border by *Vjesnik u srijedu* in 1964 demonstrates, the official rhetoric changed, becoming diametrically opposite to that which had preceded it; only ten years earlier relations between the two peoples were presented in antagonistic terms, while now the reports were permeated by rhetoric of friendship and coexistence.

This sudden eradication of the memory of all disputes between the two Adriatic states was also visible in the treatment of the Italian national minority in Yugoslavia. In neglecting the episode of the Italian "exodus", Tito did not lose the chance to present Yugoslav Italians as "the bridge between two countries." At a reception for members of an Italian cultural club from Rijeka with the symbolic name *Fratellanza* (Brotherhood), Tito reflected on the mass-crossing of the border, claiming that it "is not harmful for either of the sides, but, on the contrary, it tremendously benefits both countries, especially because in that way people can meet each other."[236] He concluded with the statement that the Italo–Yugoslav border is "one of the most liberal in the world," which by that time had already become a leitmotif of high officials from both countries. In such a manner, the president of Italy Giuseppe Saragat used the very same words a year earlier in Trieste, adding that the relations between the two countries were an example of "good neighbourly relations."[237] Of course, the Italians who fled from Yugoslavia understood this new friendship as the final betrayal of their sacrifice and suffering.[238] On the other hand, the Yugoslav, mostly Slovenian, minority in Italy made use of the new political strategy for the amelioration of their status, in line with Yugoslav foreign policy.

Concerns over the status of the minorities in both countries were usually expressed via different cultural organizations, whose task was not only the preservation of national culture and customs in a foreign country, but also collaboration with homeland institutions. In any

[235] "Otvorena granica", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 26 August 1964 (643).
[236] Mišić Saša, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije u periodu od 1968. do 1975. godine* (doctoral dissertation, Belgrade 2012), 48-49.
[237] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije*, 55.
[238] Ballinger, *History in Exile*, 79.

case, given the re-established friendship between the two countries, the focus of foreign cultural policies broadened to include international cooperation. What was only possible before on the ideological level, i.e. between the two communist parties, was now encouraged on a national level. The report of the Federal Committee for International Cultural Relations in 1970 recommended that the "basic orientation of organizations and institutions in our country for cooperation with Italy should be directed towards finding those forms of cooperation which would suit us the most, and from which we could benefit the most."[239] Continuing in this vein, the whole range of already existing diverse cultural and educational bilateral programs and initiatives were listed, and they could be categorized into three groups. On the educational level, there was an extensive exchange of intellectuals and academics between the two countries, established on the basis of direct contacts between universities and departments. One step further was the creation of Yugoslav language courses at the universities of Rome, Florence and Milan.[240] These scholarly encounters, especially those that were promoting Yugoslav education, also served to create a new image of the country, one that had developed rapidly over a short period to the point where it could intellectually compete with the historically more privileged Western countries.

A similar policy was pursued in the field of the arts. Mutual visits by artists and institutions were no longer limited to the closed circles of national minorities, but were supposed to present to a wide audience the artistic achievements and trends from both sides of the Adriatic. Once more, and in this case even more evidently than previously, the discourse on "Italian imperialism and the usurpation of Slavic heritage" on one side, and Slavic barbarism and ignorance on the other, suddenly disappeared. Moreover, it was Yugoslavia who started to assert that

> "numerous actions in the fields of incidental music, fine arts, movies and others (like the visit of the Belgrade Opera to Venice and Palermo, the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra at the festival 'Due Mondi' in Spoleto, the Slovenian National Theatre in Rome, the Skopje Philharmonic Orchestra in Northern Italy, the Macedonian Folklore Ensemble in Cagliari, and many other group and solo visits), contributed largely to the fact that Yugoslavia is less and less perceived as an underdeveloped country with

[239] AJ, 130, Savezno izvršno vijeće, 609-1006, Međunarodni odnosi, Kulturno-prosvetna saradnja Jugoslavije sa susednim zemljama (Savezna komisija za kulturne veze s inozemstvom, 1970).
[240] AJ, 130, 609-1006, Međunarodni odnosi, Kulturno-prosvetna saradnja Jugoslavije sa susednim zemljama (Savezna komisija za kulturne veze s inozemstvom, 1970).

> Balkan primitivism, and more and more as a country that has a cultural tradition, resources and a high level of contemporary art,"

and since "Italy, because of its historical relevance, always represented a major cultural capital with numerous international events," it was important for Yugoslav artists to present their work in Italy, in order to be involved in "current global trends."[241]

The acceptance of Italy as a more developed and advanced country, not in hegemonic terms, but as a partner from which Yugoslavia could learn, was even more obvious in the field of mass media and popular culture. The exchanges of radio programmes, and later on television as well, was mostly a consequence of Yugoslav inexperience, but also shared cultural expectations and experiences of leisure and entertainment. Yugoslavs, as the following chapters will demonstrate in details, learned from Italians not only the skills, but also modes of national representation(s) and cultural homogenization that encompassed the broadest possible identity. As both countries shared common Adriatic geographical and cultural connections, it was only natural to construct national versions of popular culture on the basis of a newly discovered Italian Mediterranity.

Economic relations were, on the other hand, pursued on purely practical grounds. According to the historian Saša Mišić, the factors that shaped bilateral economic relations were "geographical links, a shared border, developed transportation network, a closeness of markets and the traditional complementarity of economic structures."[242] Thus, the economic necessity of the post-war recovery forced the two countries to cooperate as early as in the immediate post-war climate, regardless of political and ideological disagreements. Reaching its peak in the second half of the 1960s, Italy started very early on to develop an interest in the commercial exploitation of the Adriatic Sea, either through fishing agreements or preliminary searches for gas and oil.[243]

Other types of commercial deals were growing intensively as well, but were mostly limited to the exchange of a few types of products. Once again, the formalization of the partnership in the border area presented a ground for future agreements. The agreements of Trieste and Gorica regulated and facilitated the transport of goods in order to encourage the economic development of the cities with their natural hinterlands, now divided across two countries. The signing of the London Memorandum provided the formal foundations for future

[241] AJ, 130, 609-1006, Međunarodni odnosi, Kulturno-prosvetna saradnja Jugoslavije sa susednim zemljama (Savezna komisija za kulturne veze s inozemstvom, 1970)
[242] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 13.
[243] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 105.

economic and trade cooperation. Hence, as early as 1955, Italy became the most important trading partner for Yugoslavia, especially in exports.[244] Progressive relations were noticeable in all fields. By the end of the 1950s Yugoslavia and Italy signed "approximately eighty different agreements, conventions, protocols and records of mixed committees and boards from all domains of bilateral relations."[245] Of all of these deals, the one that gained the most publicity and became a symbol of successful cooperation was the beginning of cooperation in the automobile industry between Fiat from Torino, and Crvena Zastava from Kragujevac in 1954. This contract had even more international value, since it was the first business arrangement between a Western company and a socialist country after World War Two.[246]

However, although the collaboration remained tight, sporadic deviations were indicators of internal changes in the two national economies. Therefore, for example, the reduction of imports of Italian textiles in the 1960s was actually a sign of the development of the Yugoslav domestic textile industry.[247] On the other hand, the inability of the Yugoslav socialist economy to overcome a dependency on foreign support could also be detected in the nature of Italo–Yugoslav economic relations. The fact that even twenty years after the revolution Yugoslavia was neither able to satisfy by itself all material needs for its industry, nor able to cover all its expenses, meant that the country had to enter into long-term debt with Western countries. For its relations with Italy, as the most important economic partner, this meant that the disequilibrium in financial relations between the two countries – with it continually evident that Yugoslavia was in the red – had to be solved via additional financial support from Italy, mostly in the form of long-term loans.[248]

Engaged economic diplomacy at long last confirmed the friendship between the two countries on all levels. An article from *Vjesnik u srijedu* in 1958 titled A Letter to a Friend from Italy, stated that "relations between our two countries are one of the most encouraging examples that two countries, with different social and political systems, can cooperate fruitfully in the most diverse fields."[249] Statements like this in 1958 were maybe only one part of the reconciliation propaganda after the London Memorandum, but by the end of the 1960s they became policy, ultimately confirmed with bilateral visits by the highest-ranking officials of both countries at the end of the decade.

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[244] Dimitrijević, Bogetić, *Tršćanska kriza*, 173.
[245] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 12-13.
[246] Miljković Marko, "Kako se kalio 'fića': jugoslovenski radnici i italijanska tehnologija u Crvenoj zastavi, 1955. – 1962.", *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (2014).
[247] Capriati, "Gli scambi commericali tra Italia e Jugoslavia dal dopoguerra al 1991", 169.
[248] Monzali, "La questione jugoslava nella politica estera italiana", 50.
[249] "Pismo prijatelju iz Italije", *Vjesnik u srijedu,* 26 March 1958 (308).

Yugoslav officials were especially interested in political rapprochement with Italy, but this was happening much more slowly than in other fields. According to Mišić,

> "Yugoslavia had a special interest in nurturing good relations with Italy, as a country which was not only a neighbour, economically connected and familiar because of similar traditions and lifestyles, but also suitable as a natural orientation of Yugoslavia towards the 'free world.'"[250]

As early as in 1956 Yugoslavia started to prepare for the first official visit by an Italian high-ranking official, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gaetano Martino. Unlike the Yugoslav authorities, the Italian authorities were much more sceptical about the restoration of political contact because of "negative experiences from the recent past" such as *foibe* and exodus, considerable differences in socio-political systems, "Yugoslav oscillations in relations with the USSR and other 'Soviet' countries," and what was also suspicious, according to the ruling Christian Democracy party, was the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Italian left-wing parties, namely the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party.[251]

Accordingly, the next step in the development of political connections was possible from 1963, when Italy gained a new, centre left government, formed of Christian Democrats and Socialists, with the participation of the Italian Social-Democratic Party and the Italian Republican Party.[252] The new government, much closer to the Yugoslav political system, seemed positively disposed towards finally defining the border, therein removing the last obstacle to a sincere and fruitful partnership. The most effective figure in neutralizing controversies with Yugoslavia was Aldo Moro, leader of the Italian Christian Democrats, who served as Prime Minister (1963–1968), then as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1969–1972), and once again as Prime Minister (1974–1976), and was thus the signatory of the Treaty of Osimo in 1975.[253] Although he was the political figure that invested the most time in a political relationship with Yugoslavia, it was his partners in the end that broke the ice and officially visited their eastern neighbour for the first time after the war. The first one, as a kind of final test, was a visit by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a member of the Italian Socialist Party, Pietro Nenni, at the beginning of 1969. It was a good tactical choice since the Yugoslav media welcomed him as an "old socialist champion, antifascist and a friend of the Yugoslav State."[254] This first encounter contributed to the establishment of regular consultations between

[250] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 61.
[251] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 15.
[252] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 16.
[253] Garzia, "Un'equazione a molte incognite", 10-11.
[254] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 71.

the two foreign affair ministries, and a unique case of cooperation with a communist country on that level. This meeting would soon lead to deliberations over possible broader international, European, and especially Mediterranean common politics.

A successful decade in bilateral relationships on all levels, from cultural and sporting relationships to the economic and political, was crowned in 1970 with the visit of the president of Italy Giuseppe Saragat. This was the first visit at the highest state level, "the first of its kind in a more than fifty year long history of bilateral relations between the two Adriatic neighbours."[255] After twenty-five long years with their ups and downs in communication between the two Adriatic shores, it seemed that the Yugoslavs could finally breathe a sigh of relief and celebrate the success of their foreign policy by commending "the manifestation of fruitful cooperation between countries with different social systems," which "offers the possibility to expand present successful collaboration to new possibilities and new forms of partnership, but also to start addressing the remaining open questions of our interrelationships."[256] While Saragat's visit was significant for the Italo–Yugoslav relationship, Tito's visit to Italy in 1971 was definite proof in such international relationships that bilateral problems – which only fifteen years earlier almost ended in a bloody conflict – could be solved by dialogue, and more importantly, by cooperation.[257] Hence, Tito's visit could be viewed not only as the confirmation of successful bilateral politics, but also in the broader frame of Yugoslav relations with the Western world. In this way, Italy had secured its role as the spokesperson of the interests of the West and NATO.[258] The finalization of the long-term process of establishing friendly relations meant that Yugoslavia did not have to submit to bloc politics in the turbulent 1950s and 1960s, but obtained the status of being an equal partner in world politics, demonstrating its leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement, which by relating to connections with Italy had a Mediterranean component.

## A return to the Mediterranean

Yugoslavia insisted on sharing issues concerning the Mediterranean basin in its rapport with Italy from the beginning of their bilateral relations. However, Italy, on the one hand, had to balance between its NATO obligations, and generating its own foreign policy, while

[255] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 72.
[256] AJ, 130, 615-1013, Aktuelni problemi u našim odnosima sa susednim zemljama (Državni sekretarijat za inostrane poslove, 1969).
[257] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 148.
[258] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 4.

Yugoslavia was trying to establish itself as a crucial actor in the Mediterranean non-aligned world, advocating peaceful coexistence. In order to create a safe, co-existing Mediterranean, the Yugoslavs believed it would be necessary for American and Soviet fleets to withdraw from the region after the Middle-East crisis was resolved, and let the neighbouring countries contribute to the stability of the region. Italian socialists coming to power created an opportunity to finally coordinate the two foreign policies.[259]

Aldo Moro was particularly interested in establishing contacts with non-European Mediterranean countries, and especially those with "progressive regimes". Good relations with Yugoslavia would have helped Italian interests because of "the reputation and prestige that Yugoslavia had among African and Arab countries."[260] In developing dynamic diplomatic activities with Egypt and Libya – and visiting Morocco, Turkey and Iran – Moro tried to create a new role for Italy in international affairs, namely serving as a "bridge between Western Europe and communist or non-aligned countries."[261] However, both the obligations towards NATO and internal Italian affairs, which were more in favour of cultural traditions connecting Italy with its Western European associates, prevented Italy from completely pursuing a Yugoslav line. Both the visit of Nenni in 1969 and Saragat in 1970 were not satisfactory for the Yugoslav diplomats who, unlike their Italian colleagues, did not support a purely European form of cooperation, but rather a Mediterranean assembly in which each Mediterranean country would have its say.[262]

The Yugoslav turn to the Mediterranean was finally confirmed in 1973 when Stipe Šuvar stated that Yugoslav Mediterraneaness was the result of "the ever more universal life of people in an ever more united global community,"[263] but siding with a Mediterranean identity, and cooperating with neighbouring Mediterranean countries, involved a long process of different socio-political and geo-cultural strategies, always reflected in the bilateral relationship with its Adriatic neighbour. Everyday and popular cultural practices such as music and television, sports and tourism would demonstrate this in all its complexity.

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[259] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 65.
[260] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 66.
[261] Monzali, "La questione jugoslava nella politica estera italiana", 53-54.
[262] Mišić, *Politički odnosi Jugoslavije i Italije,* 66. See also: AJ, 130, 609-1006, Kulturno-prosvetna saradnja Jugoslavije sa susednim zemljama (Savezna komisija za kulturne veze s inozemstvom, 1970)
[263] Šuvar Stipe, "Paradoksalni ishod dihotomija u kulturi (nekoliko pripomena)", in Šuvar Stipe, *Svijet obmana* (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1986), 46. Compare with: Grubiša Damir, Stipe Šuvar (eds.), *Kulturna politika i razvitak kulture u Hrvatskoj: ("Crvena knjiga" i drugi dokumenti)* (Zagreb: Republički komitet za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu: Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1982), 227.

## 1.3. The Yugoslav Mediterranean as a culturally contested space

The existence of several cultural spheres in the Socialist Yugoslavia was the result of affiliations to different powers over the centuries, mixed with the more recent, late nineteenth and twentieth century Pan-Slavism and Pan-Yugoslavism. To mention just a few, the heritage of Byzantium, the Venetians, the Ottoman Empire and Habsburg Monarchy permanently shaped the identity of the mainly Slavic population, resulting in the coexistence and/or confrontation of opposing cultural practices. As a consequence, it became impossible to establish clear borders that would separate different cultures. The negotiations of cultural identities, or more precisely, the definition of an appropriate homogeneous identity, were typically artificially constructed by those in power, and it could be argued, by the scholarly community, which through the interpretation of the Yugoslav space, agitated for a certain ideology. The reality was of course much more complicated, and no matter how strong the pressure from above was in a chosen period, each established political power and system failed to create an all-unifying "national" identity.

The amalgam of cultures, which were mixing across the centuries, and a population from different ethnic backgrounds, became particularly visible at the advent of the creation of a specifically Yugoslav socialist culture from "strikingly different social and value systems and political cultures."[264] When simplified, three main cultural circles could be recognized – Pannonian or Central European, Dinaric or Balkan, and Mediterranean culture.[265] Although each of them developed its own set of values and meanings during socialist times, these concepts derived from ethnographic understandings of the Balkan Peninsula, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century, some of which continued even after the industrialization of the country and the modernization of everyday life. Thus, in order to understand the ascribed meanings of specific cultural circles, it is useful to look into their intellectual formation starting from the beginning of the twentieth century.

The most influential observer and researcher of the Balkan Peninsula, as the geographical territory on which Yugoslavia was situated, was the geographer and ethnologist Jovan Cvijić. In the 1910s and 1920s he developed his theory of a topology of Balkan cultural circles, together with the "psychological types" of the Balkans. By making direct observations, Cvijić defined four cultural areas; the zone of Byzantine culture in the East, Roman culture in

[264] Rusinow Dennison, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C. Hurst for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1977), xv.
[265] Ćaleta Joško, "The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia", *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 192.

the West, and a zone of "patriarchal culture" in between. The northern part of the Balkan Peninsula was, on the contrary, differentiated by stronger central and north-western European influences.[266] Although the different cultural areas developed as a direct consequence of geographical characteristics, according to Cvijić, some regions were more influenced by particular civilizations, while some historically dominant societies in the end did not have a deep impact on the mostly Slavic population. Migrations of Slavic elements over the peninsula, caused mostly by the Turkish invasion, and the socio-political engineering of foreign superpowers such as the Habsburg Monarchy, resulted in the dispersal of various cultures all over the Balkans, in this way creating a mixture of influences, traditions and beliefs.[267]

The Mediterranean influence, on the other hand, was noticeable not only throughout the whole Balkan littoral from Trieste to Constantinople, but also deeply in the hinterland of the Balkan Peninsula, if nothing else then at least through the traces of ancient Roman civilization.[268] The Adriatic variety, as Cvijić calls it, also included the Dinaric hinterland, which was characterized by the Mediterranean way of life, therein establishing the notion of a cultural and social dependency between the sea and its hinterland, later emphasized by Braudel as well.[269]

Similarly, after World War Two the ethnographer Milovan Gavazzi, steeped in the Yugoslav ethnographic tradition, continued the development of a human/geographical division of the Balkans. Reflecting on previous research conducted, he stated that despite natural obstacles, sometimes cultural elements reached other cultural areas. In 1956, Gavazzi specified eleven specific cultural zones in the area of Southeastern Europe. He claimed that the territory of Yugoslavia was at a juncture between four specific cultural zones, naming them Adriatic, Dinaric, Pannonian (or Danubian) and (East-)Alpine.[270] In this amalgam, the unique Dinaric area was the most prevalent, and included two "nations" (partially Serbs, partially Croats), three religions (Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic) and was spread over three Yugoslav republics (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, and continuing in north-eastern parts of Albania). Interestingly, three other areas were geographically marginal, but culturally quite

[266] Ćulibrk Svetozar, *Cvijićeva sociologija Balkana* (Belgrade: Institut društvenih nauka, Centar za sociološka istraživanja, 1982), 127-128.
[267] Cvijić Jovan, *The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1918), 470-471.
[268] Cvijić, *The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula*, 477-478.
[269] Baskar Bojan, "Made in Trieste. Geopolitical Fears of an Istrianist Discourse on the Mediterranean", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 123.
[270] Gavazzi Milovan, "Čvorište tradicijske kulture na sjeverozapadu Balkanskoga poluotoka", in Gavazzi Milovan, *Vrela i sudbine narodnih tradicija kroz prostore, vremena i ljude: etnološke studije i prilozi iz inozemnih izdanja* (Zagreb: Liber, 1978), 180.

influential. The northern borderline part, Pannonian or Danubian, represented a more Western European culture, but because it was mostly inhabited by Slavic inhabitants, it was important for understanding the transmission of foreign (Western) elements in rites. For similar reasons, the East Alpine area was included, as the western borderline of the common South Slavic traditional culture. And finally, the Adriatic zone was perceived as peripheral, but also a part of a broader understanding of the South as part of Mediterranean culture with all the anthropologically ascribed traditions.[271]

Therefore, building upon early geo-human and ethnographic research, by the time Socialist Yugoslavia was created, three main cultural concepts could be recognized, all vying for cultural superiority. The Dinaric (or Balkan) identity was rooted deeply in the traditions and collective identity of the inhabitants of rural parts of Yugoslavia, which continued to constitute the majority of the population. Moreover, Cvijić's observation that "Dinaric people believe there are no obstacles which cannot be overcome," and that they were willing to sacrifice and endure difficulties for freedom and ideals, fitted perfectly with the narrative of the People's Liberation War.[272] Nevertheless, when the Yugoslav leadership decided to turn to the promotion of the country as a modern and successful society, abandoning Balkan political cooperation, the cultural concept of Balkanism started to seem inferior and regressive.[273]

In the Socialist Yugoslavia, the term Balkan evoked primitivism, symbolized in the expression "almost five hundred years under the Turks."[274] Not only was this phrase used as a cultural insult by those coming from the more developed Yugoslav areas, but it was also used as an excuse for the failures of modernization and as an expression of self-Orientalization. In June 1964 Denison Rusinow wrote about his recent trip to Yugoslavia:

> "It is invoked to explain and excuse any and every instance of backwardness, incompetence, or stupidity. Sometimes one is offered a variation which is probably more honest, if equally exasperating and inadequate. On a recent visit to the garage where my car is serviced, I found the director screaming oaths at one of his skilled mechanics, who knows better but who had with utmost nonchalance inflicted some

[271] Gavazzi Milovan, "Areali tradicijske kulture jugoistočne Europe", in Gavazzi Milovan, *Vrela i sudbine narodnih tradicija kroz prostore, vremena i ljude: etnološke studije i prilozi iz inozemnih izdanja* (Zagreb: Liber, 1978), 184-194.
[272] Ćulibrk Svetozar, *Želje i strahovanja naroda Jugoslavije* (Belgrade: Institut društvenih nauka, 1965), 84-85.
[273] Mazower, *The Balkans*, 4.
[274] Halpern Joel M., "Yugoslavia: Modernization in an Ethnically Diverse State", in Vucinich S. Wayne (ed.), *Contemporary Yugoslavia. Twenty Years of Socialist Experiment* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 322.

apparently serious stupidity on the helpless insides of an aged Opel. Turning to me and trembling with impotent rage, the director cried, 'You see, we are still Balkan!'"[275]

Although Balkanism had a burden of "semi-Orientalism", as Maria Todorova described in her pioneering research *Imagining the Balkans*,[276] two other geo-cultural concepts were not far from it. Such in-betweenness was also to be found not only in the Mediterranean, which was also created as a civilizational and continental meeting point, but in the Central European cultural circle as well. Also recognized as a Pannonian or Danubian cultural area, in the Cold-War period it became doubly marked, as a relic of the Habsburg bourgeoisie, and as a part of the Eastern European Socialist Bloc, "characterized by patrimonial authority and delayed development."[277] While Cvijić had already recognized the influences of Central Europe on late eighteenth century Balkan societies, more comprehensive manifestations of this cultural impact could be noted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in German cultural hegemony during the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the outbreak of World War One.[278] For this reason, Pannonian cultural identity inevitably invoked the Habsburg heritage, monarchism and the bourgeoisie. These were symbolized, for example, in the Art Nouveau or Biedermeier styles.[279] Politically more important, (post-war) Central Europe was inseparably connected with the idea of Eastern Europe, which was dominated by the hegemonic Soviet Union.[280] Kundera's definition of an area "culturally in the West and politically in the East" demonstrated the tension between desires of the people and the political reality of the Eastern Bloc Central European states, which could not have worked with the Yugoslav concept of the politics of "Third Way."[281]

The Yugoslav Mediterranean, then, was not only close to the Balkans as geographically determined and culturally influenced,[282] but was both physical and mentally close to Central Europe as well. The long-living cultural memory of the meeting of "Mitteleuropa and the Mittelmeer" was visible in the surviving tradition of old Habsburg hotels and resorts in Opatija,

[275] Rusinow Dennison, "Insights and Attitudes", in *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights and Observations* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 42.
[276] Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans.*
[277] Kurth James, "A Tale of Two Peripheries: Southern Europe and Eastern Europe", in Kurth James, James Petras (eds.), *Mediterranean Paradoxes. The Politics and Social Structure of Southern Europe* (Providence – Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 225.
[278] Cvijić, *The Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula,* 478-479. Compare with Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe,* 15.
[279] Matvejević, *Il mediterraneo e l'Europa,* 129-130.
[280] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 15.
[281] Zorić Vladimir, "Discordia Concors: Central Europe in Post-Yugoslav Discourses", in Gorup Radmila (ed.), *After Yugoslavia: The Cultural Spaces of a Vanished Land* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 88.
[282] Čapo Žmegač Jasna, "Ethnology, Mediterranean Studies and Political Reticence in Croatia", *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 38.

or the impressive Art Nouveau architecture of Trieste and Rijeka.[283] Moreover, traces of the pre-war bourgeois culture highly influenced intellectual thought within Yugoslav cultural ideology. Finally, the mere geographical positioning of the Yugoslav State made the borders between the the Balkans, the Mediterranean and Central(-Eastern) Europe almost non-existent.

The Mediterranean cultural sphere, thus, appeared to be most suitable because its meaning was multiple and negotiable. Mixed cultural practices could also have been interpreted as a link between the two other opposing identities. In the Yugoslav case, the Mediterranean expressions were twofold. On the one hand there was a flavour of other cultural areas, of Balkan and Central European visible on each encounter with the coast.[284] For example, the aforementioned writer Robert Kaplan described his first visit to Dalmatia as a cultural hybrid "with Italian and Central European Habsburg influences, as well as the more unkempt features of the Turk and Slav."[285] At the other end of the spectrum, the "maritime influence" was expressed, directly or indirectly all the way throughout the deep continent.[286] In her autopsy of the Balkans, the philosopher Rada Iveković noted:

> "In summer, especially in the evening, cafe terraces and restaurant backyards of Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb smell of jasmine and sea, the latter also evoked in conversations. The evenings are always concluded with a song: melancholic songs of the South, of different Souths, Macedonian, Dalmatian, Bosnian…"[287]

The thought of the South, or *pensée de midi*, was deeply embedded in Mediterranean imagology. Iveković continues:

> "The South-and-the-sea, the Adriatic, defined the people to a certain extent more than the State or the regime. 'The homeland' is where all people can share a dream. […] In reality it may be unsustainable, but the sea waves represent a piece of happiness. The Mediterranean, the sun represents the dream of liberty in all senses."[288]

As the upcoming research chapters will elaborate, the dream of freedom and happiness was materialized in various shapes, sounds, tastes and colours.

Interestingly, Croatian ethnologists during the 1990s principally interpreted the Yugoslav geo-cultural spheres as part of a political projection that adopted the unity of Cvijić's

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[283] Matvejević, *Mediterranean*, 211.
[284] Vince Pallua Jelka, "Mediteranistika – novina u kurikulumu studija etnologije i kulturne antropologije", *Studia Ethnologica Croatica*, Vol. 18 (2006), 147.
[285] Kaplan, *Mediterranean Winter*, 167.
[286] Sbutega Antun, "Il Montenegro tra Adriatico e Balcani", in Trinchese Stefano, Francesco Caccamo (eds.), *Rotte Adriatiche. Tra Italia, Balcani e Mediterraneo* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 43.
[287] Iveković, *Autopsia dei Balcani. Saggio di psico-politica* (Milano: R. Cortina, 1999), 140.
[288] Iveković Rada, *Autopsia dei Balcani*, 119. Compare with: Perresini, Ratiba, "Introduction", 3.

"patriarchal cultural model and tribal-heroic-collectivistic mentality," at the same time entailing a rejection of the (Croatian) Mediterranean.[289] Even when ethnologists confirmed the acceptance of Yugoslav Mediterraneanity, they interpreted it as utilized for the "very well served unitary tendencies of the post-World War Two Yugoslav State," or as "semantically and politically subordinated" in the national (Croatian) sphere.[290] The focus of 1990s Croatian ethnological research was clearly a result of renewed nation building, in which belonging to Mediterranean culture became an important part of establishing a particular Croatian identity, separate from the Socialist Yugoslavia. In this process, ethnological work was used to prove that the Adriatic – as the largest part of the coast was on Croatian territory – was neglected during the socialist period.

However, Croatian ethnologists failed to interpret the claims of Savka Dabčević Kučar, one of the leaders of the 1971 Croatian Spring Movement, that "the central Yugoslav authorities constantly opposed the Adriatic orientation with the Danubian orientation, thus excluding Croatian economic interests,"[291] in the context of memories of the crackdown of the movement, and the nationalist and anti-communist wave of the post-Yugoslav era.[292] Although the internal political crisis of the late 1960s, which resulted in a rise in nationalist tendencies and the emergence of the movement, used geo-cultural identities as a part of a broader, mainly economic struggle, the research in the upcoming chapters will illustrate that the established cultural narrative of the Adriatic as "our" Yugoslav sea prevailed, even in times of political uncertainty.

Not only were Belgrade and Zagreb not "afraid of water", as the ethnologist Jonas Frykman suggests, but the political centres actually used it to promote "brotherhood and unity." Besides this, the Adriatic was not seen as the "margins of the civilized world where people were strange," as Frykman furthermore claims, but it was perceived as the most modern and welcoming Yugoslav territory. Although some Croatian political circles at the end of the 1960s, including those of Dabčević-Kučar, complained that the "Danubian orientation" was favoured in the development plans at the expense of the Adriatic area, this research will demonstrate that to the contrary, partially because of the investment in international mass tourism, the first

[289] Gulin Zrnić Valentina, "Prostor i mjesto u hrvatskoj etnologiji/kulturnoj antropologiji", in Čapo Jasna, Valentina Gulin Zrnić (eds.), *Mjesto nemjesto* (Zagreb – Ljubljana: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku – Inštitut za antropološke in prostorske študije ZRC SAZU, 2011), 94.
[290] Čapo Žmegač, "Ethnology, Mediterranean Studies and Political Reticence in Croatia", 41. Compare with: Frykman Jonas, "Culturalization of the Mediterranean Space", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 285.
[291] Rihtman-Auguštin Dunja, "A Croatian Controversy: Mediterranean – Danube – Balkans", *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 109.
[292] See: Dabčević Kučar Savka, *'71. Hrvatski snovi i stvarnost* (Zagreb: Interpublic, 1997), 196-197.

modernization and liberalization processes usually happened on the coast.[293] Finally, not only was the Adriatic culture not viewed as strange because it "was a mixture of occidentalism and orientalism," as Frykman concludes, but it was celebrated as distinctively non-aligned and Yugoslav.[294]

The Adriatic, unlike the eastern parts of Yugoslavia, represented the country in the best possible light. Probably the most important feature of the modern Mediterranean, as could be seen in Šuvar's later reflections, was an understanding of that cultural area as a symbol of proper and modern state organization, but also of openness and indulgence. The notion of civility associated with ancient civilizations, both deeply rooted in the Mediterranean culture, could be recognized as early as in Cvijić's observations of Slavic adaptations to a coastal lifestyle.[295] Similar conceptions were ascribed to the subsequent Venetian culture. The inherited coastal lifestyle entailed urbanity and the development of culture, as the Croatian etymologist Josip Skok stated.[296]

As Tvrtko Jakovina demonstrated in his research conducted in the American diplomatic archives, the modernity of Yugoslav coastal towns was exactly what impressed American diplomats and ambassadors. For example, in 1951 William A. Fowler, the first secretary of the US Embassy, stated that it was "striking to get off Montenegrin hills where the main transport was a donkey – a Montenegrin jeep – and reach the Adriatic, where Buicks and Mercedeses drove around happy Yugoslav tourists," while another diplomat four years later concluded that certain scenes shockingly reminded him of "bourgeois companionship somewhere on the French Riviera."[297] Despite the fact that the introduced Yugoslav Mediterraneanity did not fit in with Braudelian and anthropological narratives, as was argued before, the question of modern Mediterraneanism(s) can only be tackled from below. As all three research chapters will show, the Yugoslav Mediterranean was built upon ideological work on the creation of a specific Yugoslav culture, the promotion of Yugoslavia as a tourist destination, and a collective imaginary of the Adriatic as a shared space among all Yugoslav people.

[293] Vucinich Wayne S., "Nationalism and Communism", in Vucinich S. Wayne (ed.), *Contemporary Yugoslavia. Twenty Years of Socialist Experiment* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 263-264.
[294] Frykman, "Culturalization of the Mediterranean Space", 284-285.
[295] Matvejević, *Mediterranean*, 198-199.
[296] Skok Petar, *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran* (Split: Pomorska biblioteka Jadranske straže, 1934), 27-28.
[297] Jakovina Tvrtko, *Američki komunistički saveznik. Hrvati, Titova Jugoslavija i Sjedinjene Američke Države 1945. – 1955.* (Zagreb: Profil International, 2003), 418.

# 2. Popular Music and the Sounds of the Sea

## 2.1. Italian influences

According to Edward Larkey's theory of the creation of national styles of popular music, there are four stages to the nativization of foreign elements in a national style of music. The first stage is the consumption of the new musical culture that is still strongly separated from the domestic style of music. Following the winning over of audiences comes the second stage, which can be defined as the imitation of innovations by domestic musicians in order to maintain or gain a similar popularity. Since he worked on American influences on the development of Austropop, Larkey names the next step the de-anglicization of the imported music, but this can be applied to other important cases too, as the example of Italian influence will demonstrate. It is characteristic of this stage of the process that songs are performed in the national language, often incorporating local motifs. The last stage is the so-called re-ethnification of the new style and the struggle for its cultural legitimacy. Because of all the included elements, the new style in popular music can no longer be seen as foreign, but nevertheless, it still has to struggle for both recognition and valorization by interested parties – including official political institutions and audiences.[298]

This phenomenon can also be traced in the case of Italian influences on Yugoslav popular culture. Dean Vuletic states that in the 1950s and 1960s "the trends being set by Italian popular music – especially the sort featured at the Sanremo Music Festival that was founded in 1951, upon which Eurovision was modelled – were closely followed in Yugoslavia by artists, composers, lyricists and, of course, many fans."[299] This meant not only the passive reception of Italian popular music, but also its simulation and appropriation.

As Francesca Rolandi noted, Italian fun fairs, the so-called *lunaparks,* were one of the first disseminators of Italian popular music.[300] While in the early 1950s, the coastal inhabitants of Yugoslavia were familiar with Italian music because of radio transmissions, for other Yugoslavs, it was the *lunaparks* that, during that decade, brought Italian music to entertainment-hungry Yugoslav citizens. While the youth, as the biggest consumer of foreign

[298] Larkey Edward, "Austropop: Popular Music and National Identity in Austria", *Popular Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1992), 151-153.
[299] Vuletic Dean, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest", in Breda Luthar, Maruša Pušnik (eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington: New Academia Pub., 2010), 128.
[300] Rolandi Francesca, *Con ventiquattromila baci. L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Jugoslavia (1955-1965)* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2015), 101.

popular music, quickly learned all the hits and sang them on the streets, it was necessary to create official channels for the wider distribution of Italian music. Radio-stations incorporated Italian popular songs into their standard broadcasting, while the beginning of television broadcasting meant the transmission of programmes directly from Radiotelevisione Italiana (Italian Radio-television, RAI). The popularity of Italian music could be seen in the numerous titles of the specialized press, where Italian music stars and shows, like the Sanremo Festival and *Canzonissima*, were thoroughly discussed and analysed. In a country that had just started developing its entertainment industry, the Italian example not only filled a gap in the everyday needs of Yugoslav citizens, but it also shaped their taste, and expectations from domestic production.[301]

Alongside the records and music radio shows, the magazine *Metronom za vas* (Metronom for You) played an important role in the Italianization of Yugoslav popular culture. The magazine included sheet music from "television, movie, radio programmes and vinyl records for violin, guitar, accordion and singing," together with lyrics, and sometimes information on the singer of a particular song, and so, in practice, the targeted readers were performers and reproducers of popular music.[302] The high number of Italian compositions, sometimes including original language lyrics, and sometimes only a translation in one of the Yugoslav languages, affirms the existence of demand for Italian popular music. Some issues of *Metronom* were even specifically dedicated to Sanremo Festival songs, which were rapidly accepted and reproduced in Yugoslavia. As the Composer Dušan Jakšić recalled:

> "For years we listened to 'Sanremo', which was directly broadcast on the radio, and we would spend the same whole night, until the morning, writing adaptations and arrangements, so that we could have our own versions the very next day, broadcast together with the originals! We covered songs very professionally, we even had a translator for the Italian language who translated literally every single word of the song, and then we changed and adapted the text."[303]

The analysis of textual translations demonstrates an Italian influence at several levels. According to Milan Milojković, who analysed the Yugoslav covers of Italian songs in *Metronom*, in addition to typical translations of the lyrics, some of the covers illustrated

[301] "Hajka na zabavnu muziku", *Studio*, 54 (17-23 April 1965).
[302] See for example: *Metronom za vas*, 59 (1962).
[303] Luković Petar, *Bolja prošlost: Prizori iz muzičkog života Jugoslavije 1940-1989* (Belgrade: Mladost, 1989), 64.

complex "internationalisms," which, when appropriated into the language of everyday life, became widely accepted expressions. Milojković offered two interesting examples:

> "This is the case with the song *Si, si, si*, originally composed and performed by Domenico Modugno. Lyrics combine Italian and English common phrases used by a man while flirting with a foreign girl ('Si, si, si, yes, yes, yes, veni qui, come to me'). Yugoslav cover was recorded by Dragan Toković, and in his version of this Italo-English romance, words were changed into just plain love paroles, but refrain 'Si, si, si' was kept, with the rest translated as 'da, da, da'. Similar procedure can be noticed in the case of *Ciao* by Catarina Valente, covered by Nada Knežević under the same title, but in Serbo-Croatian orthography as *Ćao*. It seems that this Italian salute was accepted (and kept until today) in everyday use in Yugoslavia during this period of popularity of Apennines' music."[304]

A familiarity with certain Italian language expressions and their viability in Yugoslavia is further visible in their usage in the popular press, usually in the titles of articles connected with popular music. Not only the terms *kantautor* (from Italian *cantautore*, meaning singer-songwriter) and *urlatori*,[305] but also other common Italian words became part of the Yugoslav vocabulary, usually learned from Italian songs. Moreover, Milojković also identified the further naturalization of Italian culture and language in Yugoslav versions. The untranslatability of some words and concepts, such as the example of *Abbronzatissima* by Eduardo Vianello demonstrates, shows that the lyrics did not play the most important role, but it was rather the atmosphere, the melody, and the *Italianness* that was attractive. While in *Abbronzatissima*, the word itself was not translated because of the rhythm, it also brought with it an additional exoticism inherent in the Italian word, which combined motifs of the summer and the sea.[306]

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[304] Milojković Milan, "Italian Songs Published in Magazin Metronome za vas (Metronom for You) and on Records Released by Yugoslav Labels", *TheMA: Open Access Research Journal for Theatre, Music, Arts*, IV/1-2 (2015), 5. Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2015/1-2/milojkovic. Accessed on 12 June 2016.

[305] *Urlatori* was the term used in Italian popular music in the 1950s and 1960s for the interpreters of a specific style characterized by loud, unadorned, and unruly melodic singing. The closest English equivalent would be "shouters".

[306] *Devojka bronzane boje*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MN0WXUl1ORE. Accessed on 21 March 2016; *Abbronzatissima*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Zr5Z7KCZDU. Accessed on 21 March 2016.

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|---|---|---|---|
| *Abbronzatissima,*<br>*samo korak do mora*<br>*na užarenom pesku*<br>*tebe sreo sam ja* | *Abbronzatissima,*<br>*Only a step from the sea*<br>*On the red hot sand*<br>*That is where I met you* | *Abbronzatissima*<br>*Sotto i raggi del sole*<br>*Come è bello sognare*<br>*Abbracciato con te* | *Abbronzatissima*<br>*Under sunlight*<br>*How beautiful it is to dream*<br>*While embracing you* |
| *Abbronzatissima,*<br>*tamno bronzane puti*<br>*u bikiniju belom*<br>*divna bila si sva* | *Abbronzatissima,*<br>*Of dark bronze tan*<br>*In a white bikini*<br>*You were so adorable* | *Abbronzatissima*<br>*A due passi del mare*<br>*Come è dolce sentirti*<br>*Respirare con me* | *Abbronzatissima*<br>*Two steps from the sea*<br>*How sweet it is to hear you*<br>*Breathing with me* |
| *Svakog dana sam te gledao*<br>*svakog dana ti se divio*<br>*i zavoleo sam leto*<br>*i more i sunce i sve* | *I watched you every day*<br>*I admired you every day*<br>*And fell in love with summer*<br>*And sea and sun and everything* | *Sulle labbra tue dolcissime*<br>*Un profumo di salsedine*<br>*Sentirò per tutto il tempo*<br>*Di questa estate d'amor* | *On your sweet sweet lips*<br>*The odour of saltiness*<br>*I will feel it all the time*<br>*This summer of love* |
| *Mada stalno sam te viđao*<br>*Tvoje ime nisam saznao*<br>*I odlučio sam to*<br>*udno ime da ti dam* | *Although I was seeing you all the time*<br>*I never found out your name*<br>*So I decided*<br>*To give you this weird name* | *Quando il viso tuo nerissimo*<br>*Tornerà di nuovo pallido*<br>*Questi giorni in riva al mar*<br>*Non potrò dimenticar* | *When your dark dark face*<br>*Turns pale again*<br>*These days at the beach, at the sea*<br>*I will never forget* |
| *Abbronzatissima*<br>*Zbog te bronzane puti*<br>*I zbog tvoje lepote*<br>*Tako nazvah te ja* | *Abbronzatissima*<br>*Because of your bronze tan*<br>*And because of your beauty*<br>*This is what I named you.* | | |

As seen from the comparison between the original and the Yugoslav version, while the main motif of the composition stayed the same, the Yugoslav version not only leaves *abbronzatissima* untranslated, it also builds the whole atmosphere around her mysterious exotic beauty. Similarly, in other examples, like the Italo-English songs *I sing amore* or *Buonasera signorina*, or the Italo-style German song *Casanova baciami,* it was the idea of Italy and its imagined characteristics which mattered, and which brought popularity.[307]

All the Yugoslav singers on their path to stardom began with an interpretation of the Italian songs, either in the original, or more often, translated into some of the Yugoslav

[307] Milojković, "Italian Songs Published in Magazin Metronome za vas", 6.

languages. For example, Đorđe Marjanović covered Domenico Modugno and Gigi Cichellero, Emir Altić sang an unforgettable version of Adriano Celentano's *Ventiquattromila baci*, while Beti Jurković interpreted Rita Pavone's successful hit *La partita di pallone*.[308] Although this practice persisted even into the late 1960s, the critics of Italianization and imitation became increasingly louder. Thus, the popular composer Nikica Kalogjera criticized Yugoslav singers for singing too many foreign melodies:

> "in their case, it is actually about cutting corners, and a wish for instant popularity. If a singer is satisfied 'with basking in reflected glory', then you should seriously question his talent and quality. It is certain that, apart from a very small number of exceptions, the second performance is always inferior to the original."[309]

Furthermore, singers were also "accused" of lacking Yugoslav identity, and of being a cheap copy of their Italian colleagues. This was also recognized on the international level, with the foreign press regularly describing Yugoslav singers as "obvious footmen of Italian canzona" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1964), "without original potential and independent spirit" (*Le Figaro*, 1963), or "falling into boring melodies a la italiana" (*Pop Music*, 1963).[310]

However, on the other hand, Yugoslav singers were usually proud to assert that their idols were Italian singers such as Domenico Modugno, Mina, Milva and Claudio Villa.[311] For example, Marko Novosel claimed that he decided to become a singer after he had heard Luciano Tajoli performing,[312] while Drago Diklić stressed that, as the first Yugoslav singer who had his own backing band, he formed it under the influence of Pepino di Caprio and Adriano Celentano, who were the initiators of the trend.[313] The influence was even stronger on performers coming from a Mediterranean background. Tereza Kesovija, famous for her Southern and Mediterranean character, which marked her career, was recognized as one of the rare singers who had natural "optimism and talent". She began her career performing Southern Italian songs, and established herself because of her latin emotion.[314] Kesovija herself confirmed that she enjoyed interpreting emotional compositions, and that she was most

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[308] Rolandi Francesca, *Con ventiquattromila baci: L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Yugoslavia (1955-1965)* (doctoral dissertation, Turin 2012), 149.
[309] "Zabavna muzika – primjenjena umjetnost", *Ritam*, 59 (1 March 1965)
[310] "Nije baš zvezda sve što sija", *Ritam*, 55 (1 January 1965); "Pod lupom strane kritike", *Ritam*, 27 (1 November 1963).
[311] Dukić Ivan, "'Studio' i 'Plavi vjesnik' – pogled na istraživanja prodora i utjecaja zapadne popularne kulture u Hrvatsku (1963.-1965.)", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, Vol. 29 (1996), 337.
[312] "Krivac je Lučano Tajoli", *Ritam*, 12 (15 March 1963).
[313] "Stopama Celentana?", *Studio*, 13 (26 June – 2 July 1964).
[314] Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 115.

comfortable with the "Italian style of interpretation."[315] In one of her later interviews, she described the beginning of her career:

> "In our minds we were comparing ourselves with some stars in Italy, who were singing at Sanremo, whom everyone listens to, and who everyone admires. I was imagining myself as Milva who was my idol, and I believed that one day I would become like her, so I started to imitate her. […] Luckily, I found my own way very soon, and got rid of Milva, Mina and all those singers."[316]

However, Italian influences persisted on several levels, from inspiration for the creation of a national style of music, to the numerous music festivals based on Italian examples. More subtly, Italianization was also recognizable through the prevalence of a Mediterranean style of performativity. The development of Yugoslav Mediterraneaness and its appropriation in popular culture was, nonetheless, possible only after the ideological acceptance of mass culture and entertainment.

## 2.2. Ideological acceptance of *zabavna* music

In socialist regimes, new forms of popular music became influential and powerful when the regime accepted them as a demonstration of the liberalization of cultural and everyday life, as well as being the means through which to disseminate ideas to the wider public. Moreover, the institutionalization of the national genre of popular music allowed the Party or the State to control the importation of Western cultural goods. On the other hand, the audience received access to lighter forms of entertainment. In Yugoslavia, these were slowly accepted throughout the 1950s, while a liberalized cultural policy increased the influx of Western music. While musicians and composers copied foreign popular songs, performing them in their original language or translated, structures close to official Yugoslav policy worked on the creation of a Yugoslav national style of popular music. Although Edvard Kardelj had already stated in 1949 that "people cannot only live with symphonies, they have to have some other kind of music that will entertain them,"[317] the next two decades were characterized by "confusing opinions" as regards the dissemination of cultural goods to the masses.[318]

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[315] "Tereza Kesovija", *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije*, 39 (1961).
[316] Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 153.
[317] Gabrič Aleš, *Socialistična kulturna revolucija: slovenska kulturna politika 1953-1962* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1995), 103.
[318] Vuletic Dean, "Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 36, No. 5 (2008), 872.

The debate over the importance of entertainment in everyday life was possible after 1948, but the attempt to educate and cultivate the prevailing peasant population lasted throughout the whole of the 1950s, until the final acceptance of lighter genres of culture, led by popular music. However, most Party members at first only accepted liberalization as necessary, while actually continuing trying to build the New Socialist Man. Cultural and cooperative centres were usually the first point of contact with cultural artefacts, especially for the inhabitants of small towns and villages.[319] Agitprop content was slowly abandoned because it lacked artistic and educational character.[320]

In the field of music, different unions were supposed to create new policy based on quality and planned repertoire. In 1950, the Association of Yugoslav Musical Artists (AYMA) and the Association of Yugoslav Composers (AYC) were founded. The aims of these societies were "ideological work regarding the development of musicians – artists, and guidance for the work of composers and reproductive artists," "cooperation with the people's government (the Committee for Cultural, Artistic and Interior Institutions) on all affairs connected with the improvement of musical art, and the rise of musical culture such as through the foundation of artistic institutions, and the definition of their new scopes, the foundation of musical schools, the distribution of scholarships, awards and similar," and "selection and criticism of the repertoire of theatres, radio-stations, concert halls and public musical life in general."[321] Radio-stations, as one of the biggest disseminators of music, had similar goals that were defined by the Radio-Broadcasting Act.[322]

Specific importance was attached to the listeners' educational level, i.e., to preparing "common" people to recognize, value and enjoy opera, symphonies and other forms of classical music. In the first phase of the regime, when the programme was strictly prescribed, the organizers of cultural life did not place so much attention on public perceptions. They believed that simple exposure to higher culture would be enough to satisfy people's need for culture, but as soon as other types of culture appeared, the audience turned to them because they were easier to approach and understand.

Nevertheless, a survey from 1957 clearly demonstrated that the most listened to genres on the radio were folk, "dancing", and light music, while classical genres were the least

[319] Janjetović Zoran, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* (Belgrade: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 31.
[320] AJ, 475 Savez udruženja muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije, 2, Drugi (1953.) i Treći (1957.) kongres Saveza udruženja muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije.
[321] AJ, 475, 1 Osnivački kongres Saveza muzičkih umetnika Jugoslavije (25. 4. 1950.), Zadaci koji se postavljaju pred Savez kompozitora i reproduktivnih umetnika Jugoslavija.
[322] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 67.

popular, lagging behind all discussion based and music programmes.[323] Among them, opera and operetta were the most listened to (considered as appropriate light genre by some Yugoslav composers), while solo, symphonic and chamber music gained the least public attention. Audiences for live performances were similar. The performers of folk music were most popular in the periphery and in taverns, while jazz and *schlagers*[324] were more popular in the larger cities. Data exists from as early as 1947 when the Committee for Culture and the Arts (CCA) suggested "raising the level of performance among *kafana*[325] musicians, as well as the correction and broadening of their repertoire," which meant, "good and healthy compositions, primarily from folk music and actual mass compositions."[326]

However, folk music in socialism played an ambiguous political role. On the one hand, it represented the real people's music, generated from below. Especially after the socialist ideologues accepted national heritage as a part of their ideology, folk music became appreciated and used for political purposes.[327] Some of them, nevertheless, were worried that folk music could also be seen as a relic from the past, representing a rural heritage carrying a negative connotation, because it "encouraged a cult of the old village."[328] On the other hand, Yugoslav cultural workers, who were always trying to differentiate themselves from their eastern neighbours, from the very beginning demonstrated a certain distance from an uncritical political and ideological acceptance of folk music. Hence, folk music was found to be ideologically problematic partially because it was associated with national romanticism, which "takes its cue from pre-existing primitivism, and occurs as a conceptual expression of fear of a breakthrough by contemporary socialist, social and economic relations."[329] Especially in the 1950s and 1960s, in the time of modernization, industrialization and urbanization, an "uncritical attitude towards everything '*narodno*', as something doubtlessly pure and

[323] AJ, 475, 3. 4. (1961) i 5. (1965). Struktura muzičkog programa radija i televizije.
[324] *Schlager*, in Croatian *šlager*, has a broader meaning than the German version of the popular music genre, and means all national versions of light music.
[325] *Kafana* is a term that refers in the South Slavic languages to a separate kind of local bistro, which mainly serves alcoholic liquors and coffee (and light snacks). According to Ana Hofman, "offering a specific kind of sociability, the *kafana* has been a place where people can drink alcoholic beverages, eat, listen to the music, dance and have a good time in the company of friends. (…) Live music is one of the most important elements, which marked the specific mode of entertainment taking place in the *kafana*", which was mainly a specific type of *narodna* music in the post-war period. See: Hofman Ana, "Kafana Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 47, No. 1.
[326] AJ, 314 Komitet za kulturu i umetnost Vlade FNRJ (1946 – 1948), 14-58 Muzička umetnost, Odeljenje za kulturu i umetnost, Izvršni odbor N. O. grada Beograda - Komitetu za kulturu i umetnost Vlade FNRJ (1947).
[327] Siefert Marsha, "Re-Mastering the Past: Musical Heritage, Sound Recording, and the Nation in Hungary and Russia", in Szegedy-Maszak Marianne (ed.), *National Heritage – National Cannon, Vol. 11* (Budapest: Collegium Budapest, Collegium Budapest workshop series, 2001), 257.
[328] Edmunds Neil, *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement* (Oxford – New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 16.
[329] AJ, 507/VIII CK SKJ Ideološka komisija, VI/2-c-3-2, Razvitak i problemi kulturno-masovne delatnosti (1958).

doubtlessly 'ours'," such as folk music and games in *opanci*,[330] and folk costumes, or gypsy "folk music" in the *kafana* and at events was judged inappropriate.[331] Even when folk music served as a matrix for new genres that combined traditional and modern elements (sometimes in the form of instruments or rhythms, or in the form of lyrics and motifs, which later served for the creation of newly composed folk music), it was never completely accepted in the official cultural discourse.

In this way, *zabavna* (entertainment)[332] and newly composed *narodna* (folk)[333] music can be seen as different poles within Yugoslav popular music, especially as both were products of traditional forms and modern technology.[334] Consequently, *zabavna* and *narodna* music worked as two competing genres for the final affirmation of the representative genre of Yugoslav popular music. It is hard to evaluate which was more successful because of the decentralized music industry and the implementation of self-management. Catherine Baker claims that "the networks and taste cultures that developed while Yugoslavia functioned as one state were not separated by its fragmentation, although they were shaped by the policies and discourses thought necessary to establish the successors as culturally sovereign entities."[335]

However, programming policies, market research and concert attendance figures offer interesting data. When it comes to concerts and vinyl records, *narodna* music production had a slight advantage,[336] but it can be concluded that both genres were extremely popular among general audiences. Nevertheless, radio and television broadcasting policies demonstrate that the difference can be interpreted as a result of Yugoslav cultural policy. Self-management in the mass media gave rise to regional programming, which in the case of radio and television meant six different networks and studios with locally produced content that was supplemented by a joint programme to which everyone contributed.[337] The survey from 1963 and 1964 indicated the differences in the various republic centres. *Zabavna* music was the most

[330] *Opanak* is a kind of traditional peasant footwear in the Balkans.
[331] AJ, 507/VIII, VI/2-c-3-2, Razvitak i problemi kulturno-masovne delatnosti (1958).
[332] According to Catherine Baker, "'popular music' is not a common term in Croatian: its best equivalent might be *zabavna glazba* ('[light] entertainment music' or perhaps, in its heyday, 'easy listening'), although this tends to connote the particular musical style of televised festivals". Baker Catherine, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 2.
[333] Meaning newly composed folk music. It is a combination of folk traditions in a modernized arrangement. Usually perceived as kitschy, primitive and vulgar. For more see: Rasmussen Ljerka V., *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
[334] Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland,* 2.
[335] Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland*, 214.
[336] AJ, 475, 3 Kongres SMUJ (4. iz 1961. i 5. iz 1965.), Aktuelni problemi muzičkog života u našem društvu. Referat Upravnog odbora Saveza MUJ podnet IV redovnom Kongresu; Osvrt na anketu SMUJ-a o muzičkom životu.
[337] Robinson Gertrude Joch, *Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 207.

represented genre, covering almost half of the music channels and stations, varying from 40 percent on Radio Belgrade to 64 percent on Radio Ljubljana.[338] On the other hand, *narodna* music was the least played, and a similar situation could be found in television, where classical music took up 44 percent of musical programmes, *zabavna* 41 percent, while *narodna* was alotted only 15 percent of airtime.[339] This was the result of official policy, which was slowly becoming aware of the necessity of entertainment and leisure, and finding *zabavna* music more appropriate for accomplishing this ideological mission. According to the musicologist Tatjana Marković, these two genres upheld highly recognizable connotations, ascribing *zabavna* music a "positive, modern, urban and international" meaning, "while the neo-traditional narodna is dismissed as a 'degeneration of genuine folklore' and kitsch."[340] Finally, *zabavna* music was accepted as a kind of symbol of modernity and liberalization, and as ideologically appropriate for Yugoslav society.[341]

Yet, in the latter years of the 1950s, Kardelj continued to warn that "Yugoslavia's citizens were singing foreign songs too much because they did not have homegrown alternatives in popular music."[342] Although the Committee for Culture and the Arts suggested in as early as 1948 that a Yugoslav type of light music be created, "just as there is a special type of Italian, German or French light music,"[343] because of the elitism of professional musicians and composers, but also because of the still unclear policy of the "democratization" of music, only in the mid-1950s did *zabavna* music become established as a national genre.

In the beginning, the creation of a national style of popular music was considered a necessary evil, and Yugoslav *zabavna* music was split between two different understandings of where its roots should be drawn from.[344] While Western music, such as jazz, was considered unsuitable for a proletarian audience with its "primitive, monotonous rhythms" and "pornographic lyrics,"[345] religious music did not fit in with communist ideology. Urban romance was criticized because its melodies "act in a debilitating way on the listener via their use of lush, static harmonies, […] and interminable suspensions," while their lyrics were

[338] AJ, 475, 3, Struktura muzičkog programa radija i televizije. See also: Ćaleta Joško, "The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 150.
[339] AJ, 475, 3, Struktura muzičkog programa radija i televizije.
[340] Marković Tatjana, "Editorial: Mediterranean, Our Own: (Post-)Yugoslav Pop Music", *TheMA: Open Access Research Journal for Theatre, Music, Arts*, IV/1-2 (2015), 2-3., Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2015/1-2/markovic. Accessed on 12 June 2016.
[341] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 113.
[342] Vuletic, "Generation Number One", 869.
[343] AJ, 314, 14, Poročilo komisije za presojo domače lahke glasbe (12. 2. 1948).
[344] "Hajka na zabavnu muziku", *Studio*, 54 (17-23 April 1965).
[345] Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement*, 23.

"propaganda for prostitution."[346] Western popular music was also perceived as a capitalist weapon that tries to "corrupt youth and swindle people of their money."[347] On the other hand, purely Yugoslav popular music formats appropriate for rigid Communist ideology had their origins in the war period. Mass and choir songs reflected everyday experiences of the fight against the occupier, and had the task of "raising the consciousness of the masses, intensifying the belief in victory, and calling on new compatriots to join the rebellion."[348] Songs for the masses with a war theme remained popular even later, together with Partisan marching songs, Russian songs and traditional folk songs. Other genres were supposed to reflect socialist reality, as the composer Natko Devčić described in a report entitled Some Issues about Contemporary Music Critique in 1948, "which means reflecting the effort and fight of our people to build socialism, striving for brotherhood and peace among nations in the world, as well as the battle against the remains of fascism in the world, war agitators and their imperialistic employers wherever they are."[349]

In practice it meant the application of socialist realist symbols and themes. Most of the composers were not as enthusiastic as their colleague Devčić. Petar Vujić later recalled that the use of socialist realist topics was "suggested" to composers for lighter sung genres, written by untalented but ideologically suitable poets.[350] For example, Darko Kraljić was supposed to compose a song with lyrics about "a tractor that happily plows away, while the sun is even more happily shining" or "about happy people digging a field—and delighting in it!"[351] Most of the composers obeyed agitprop directions because otherwise they would be excluded from musical production and performance.[352]

It is hard to believe that someone who spent a whole day working with a machine or using a tractor would enjoy listening to the songs that would remind them of their hard working day. Nikica Kalogjera openly claimed that:

> "our people work during the day, and when they return home in the afternoon they do not want to stress themselves, they do not want to listen, nor to sing songs that solve

[346] Edmunds, *The Soviet Proletarian Music Movement*, 20.
[347] Vuletic Dean, "The Socialist Star: Yugoslavia, Cold War Politics and the Eurovision Song Contest", in Ivan Raykoff, Robert Dean Tobin (eds.), *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest* (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 85.
[348] Andreis Josip, Dragotin Cvetko, Stana Đurić-Klain, *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1962), 253.
[349] AJ, 314, 2, Natko Devčić, Referat O nekim pitanjima suvremene muzičke kritike, Međunarodni kongres kompozitora u Pragu (1948.).
[350] Luković, *Bolja prošlost,* 41.
[351] Vuletic, "Generation Number One", 865.
[352] Vuletic, "The Socialist Star", 85.

cosmic problems. They want a really entertaining (*zabavna*), unpretentious melody, so they can memorize it easily and sing it, and at the same time relax."[353]

Similarly, one of the first music stars of Yugoslavia, Đorđe Marjanović, later recalled his beginnings in the 1950s:

> "People wanted entertainment, fun, and they turned to intimate emotions: dancing with a girl or a romantic whisper could not be followed by those [revolutionary] songs. Something for a tender cuddle was needed, for a smooth sway in the rhythm, for a touch, a whisper."[354]

On the other hand, there was the example of Tito who, during an informal discussion with delegates of the Congress of Musicians in 1953, spoke against jazz music because "it does not suit our character and our reality," clearly demonstrating how far Yugoslav ideologues were from understanding the everyday needs of those that they ostensibly represented.[355] Tito continued his address with an explanation that "music has to be diverse – sometimes we like to listen to serious music, another time something more cheerful, sometimes classical music, and sometimes folk songs – but, when we create music, we have to base it on the present reality, which is heroic and optimistic."[356] The goal of representing the Yugoslav reality as unyieldingly optimistic remained the main preoccupation of Yugoslav popular music creators. However, they did so without direct or substantial intervention by officials, thanks to the ongoing liberalization and democratization of culture, as well as to an openness to Western influences.

Finally, in the mid-1950s *zabavna* music was definitively established as a national genre. The radio orchestras played an important role in its founding, but actually the creation of various festivals was a sign of the true acceptance of the light music genre. The Opatija Festival was especially important, considered an all-Yugoslav musical celebration where all republics and ethnicities, including minorities, were represented. Soft-power potential of popular culture was proved to be true in the foreign policies of Yugoslavia from the mid-1960s, when performers of popular music, mainly of the *zabavna* music genre, became part of the official ideological programme of Yugoslavia's self-promotion as being a liberal socialist regime both in the East and in the West. In this way, *zabavna* music demonstrated "the pulse of contemporary times."[357] Furthermore, the popularity of festivals in Split and Opatija,

[353] "Zabavna muzika – primjenjena umjetnost", *Ritam*, 59, (1 March 1965).
[354] Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 81.
[355] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 123.
[356] Bekić Darko, *Jugoslavija u Hladnom ratu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1988), 505.
[357] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 127.

reflected "a common cultural discovery of the sea."[358] Specifically, it meant "housing problems, tourism and vacations on the Adriatic coast, light industry and consumer goods, retail trade and the satisfaction of consumers."[359]

## 2.3. Popular music and festivals

During the 1950s and 1960s, the *zabavna* music festivals were the most powerful medium for the "presentation, production, and definition of Yugoslav popular music."[360] The festivals offered an opportunity for domestic composers to showcase their vision of a Yugoslav version of the popular music genre. Although in the early years they imitated their Western neighbours, and especially Italians because of the success of the Sanremo Festival, these festivals helped to create a recognized and specific *zabavna* music production style.[361] Finally, they also served to encourage overall social development because of the promotion of the festivals as supranational cultural manifestations across the whole of Yugoslavia.[362] Festivals served ideology through their promotion of the idea of "brotherhood and unity," which was the official Yugoslav policy of inter-ethnic relations, promoting similarities and interdependence between Yugoslavia's nations and national minorities.

Starting with the Zagreb Festival in 1954, music festivals began to spread throughout the country, including to Belgrade, Sarajevo, Bled and even Skopje in the late 1960s. However, Croatia was the major contributor of all the federal republics in shaping *zabavna* music on the festival front, not just because of the number of festivals, but also because – at least in the 1950s and early 1960s – most of the *zabavna* music singers were from Croatia, and especially from the Adriatic coast.[363] The success of the Opatija Festival encouraged the foundation of many other festivals, often with more specific styles of music.[364] The Adriatic Melodies (also known as the Split Festival) was distinguished by its Mediterranean image and Dalmatian style of popular songs, and in 1967 it became international in character, with popular performers

[358] Vuletic, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", 127.
[359] Duda Igor, "Svakodnevica pedesetih: od nestašice do privrednog čuda", in Krešimir Bagić (ed.), *Način u jeziku / Književnost i kultura pedesetih: Zbornik radova 36. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* (Zagreb: Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2008), 70.
[360] Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 41.
[361] Vrdoljak Dražen, "Zabavna glazba", in *Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1984), 25.
[362] Škrbić Alempijević Nevena, Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić, "Croatian Coastal Festivals and the Construction of the Mediterranean", *Studia Ethnologica Croatica*, Vol. 22 (2010), 319.
[363] Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 42.
[364] Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 64-65.

from all over Europe.[365] Smaller regional festivals with an emphasis on a regional type of popular music with folk and traditional elements were founded in Istria (the Melodies of Istria and Kvarner), Krapina (the Festival of Kajkavian song), and Požega (the Slavonija Festival).[366]

The production of *zabavna* music was developed mainly in Croatia precisely because of its Mediterranean identity, while the multiple music festivals along the coast were followed by millions of listeners and viewers across the whole of Yugoslavia. Thus, compositions created for those festivals can be considered "soundtracks of the period," which "reflected major cultural, economic and social developments in Yugoslavia that took place in the early post-war decades along its coastline."[367] According to Dean Vuletic, "the symbolism of the Adriatic was so pervasive that the sea, summer and other maritime motifs were staples of Yugoslav popular music: in the first years of the Opatija Festival, many of the songs performed tapped into Yugoslavia's discovery of the Adriatic as its new cultural and leisure centrepoint, by focusing on the themes of sun, sea and summer—all essentially accompanied, of course, with love."[368]

Influences from Italy, and from its Sanremo Festival, were evident, but cannot be ascribed to pure imitation and copy. The organizers of the Yugoslav festivals deliberately looked to their Western neighbours who were more experienced and more successful in festival organization. These festivals did not only serve to present new compositions, but also to promote the cultural and economic progress of the country.[369] Italians, as previously ellaborated, were valued highly on the European entertainment industry scale, and familiarity with the country's popular music products made it easier for Yugoslavs to compare their progress in the field of entertainment.[370]

However, once the genre of light music had become established and recognized, Yugoslavia also started to experiment with various novelties in order to make the whole festival system ideologically acceptable. While pure organizational concerns could be directly copied from the Sanremo Festival, such as the format of the festival, propaganda activities or the distribution of records after the festival, the organizers of Yugoslav festivals found a way of developing additional features, specific to the Yugoslav political system. As the example of

[365] Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music*, 41; Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 114.
[366] Vrdoljak, "Zabavna glazba", 26.
[367] Vuletic: "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", 127-128.
[368] Vuletic Dean, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music* (doctoral dissertation, New York 2009, 220-221.
[369] "Domenico nedostižni", *Studio*, 96 (5-11 February 1966).
[370] AJ, 646 Poslovna zajednica radiodifuznih OUR-a „Jugoslovenska radio-televizija", F-1, Zapisnik sa X sednice Odbora Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije održane 10 i 11 jula 1956 na Paliću.

the Opatija Festival demonstrates, unlike the Sanremo Festival, in the case of Opatija the audience (both those present on the spot, and radio listeners and television viewers) also took part in the voting and awards for the best festival compositions. The festival director, Josip Stojanović, emphasized this "improvement" to the Sanremo voting model as a consequence of the democratization of culture, thus sharing a belief in the ideological superiority of the Yugoslav system over the Italian capitalist system.[371]

While these internal organizational and practical differences played an important role in the creation of Yugoslav popular music, from an outsider's perspective – meaning both foreigners, and also ordinary Yugoslav consumers of popular music who did not bother in everyday life with the entire ideological complexity behind it – Yugoslav music was defined by its Mediterranean (or at least Adriatic) characteristics. These were not only exemplified by similarities in style and performance, but also by the mentality and approach taken to the whole *festivalomania*. For instance, the Swedish magazine *Svenska Dabladet*, reporting from the Opatija Festival, stated that "mainly Italians and Yugoslavs have festivals of popular melodies that they take way too seriously,"[372] implying that only impulsive and passionate Southern Europeans would put so much effort and thought into something like light entertainment. However, for the Yugoslavs it was not only a question of ascribed temperament, but also an important one of politics and identity in a world divided between socialist and capitalist blocs.

## The Opatija Festival

Although the Zagreb Festival had existed since 1954, four years later Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion[373] decided to organize a new festival, in the small Adriatic tourist town of Opatija, a popular resort from the Austro-Hungarian period onwards. Opatija, "which sprung 60 years ago in the forest of laurels, bamboo and palms" with its "exuberant Mediterranean flora, charming promenades and cheerful people on vacations" under the "warm Mediterranean sun", was "the most suitable and natural" environment for a festival of Yugoslav *zabavna* music, nurturing those dreams through its sounds and images.[374]

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[371] "A ritmo di beguines, calipso e mambo le 'Allegre Melodie 1958'", *La voce del popolo*, 14 September 1958; "Diskrecije i indiskrecije uoči 'Opatije'", *Studio*, 27 (2-8 October 1964).
[372] "Pod lupom strane kritike", *Ritam*, 27 (1 November 1963).
[373] Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion was renamed in the Yugoslav Radio Television (JRT) after the decentralization of programming. According to Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media,* 18.
[374] "Proglašene su nagrade za najbolju popularnu pjesmu", *Jugoslavenski radio: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije*, 40 (1958); "Zabavne melodije Opatija 59", *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 39 (1959); "Završen je festival 'Opatija 60'", *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 42 (1960).


FIGURE 5: THE COVER OF THE LP RECORD OPATIJA 1959 (JUGOTON, LPY – 57)


FIGURE 6: THE COVER OF THE EP RECORD OPATIJA 63 (PGP – RTB, EP 50912)

The Association of Yugoslav Composers and Yugoslav Radio-Diffusion aimed to promote and improve domestic production of the light music genre, designed to replace foreign musical forms. Furthermore, it also had to demonstrate that *zabavna* music had become culturally accepted genre in the proclaimed democratization of music.[375] In 1958, just before the first edition of the festival, the festival director Josip Stojanović explained:

> "The festival has another meaning for us working on the radio; we want to find out the tastes of the radio listeners, we want to find out which genres listeners from different parts of the country like. The votes analysis will tell us that. It is our serious attempt to get closer to our public."[376]

The huge importance of the Opatija Festival for the ideological work of radio and television broadcasting could also be seen in the effort that Yugoslav television had put into the organization of the first live-broadcasting outside the television centre, with just three cameras only two years after the establishment of the first television centre in Zagreb.[377] The extensive coverage of the event by all media, from local and state newspapers, and weeklies to the television centres was also a demonstration of the attention paid to the needs of the audience, which required a modern form of entertainment.

Furthermore, their aim was to create a supranational festival on a pan-Yugoslav level, a festival at which all the Yugoslav republics would be represented, and which should foster the development of a distinguished, shared Yugoslav national style. This was clearly stated at the regular meetings of the organizing committee, as well as among the cultural workers when reflecting on the success of the Opatija Festival. The majority of performers stressed the

[375] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 126.
[376] "A ritmo di beguines, calipso e mambo le 'Allegre melodie 1958'", *La voce del popolo*, 14 September 1958.
[377] "Stasera il via al Primo Festival", *La voce del popolo*, 18 September 1958.

supranational Yugoslavness of the festival, especially in comparison with other festivals, on numerous occasions. This supranationality was not only reflected in the variety of nationalities and languages represented, so that even songs in Albanian, as a minority language, were discussed as a possibility,[378] but also because unlike other festivals, it was set "on neutral ground," neither in Belgrade, nor Zagreb, but Opatija.[379]

The town, a well-known tourist centre, could also serve as the perfect platform to verify the diversity of public taste. During the first three years of the festival, the official weekly publication of JRT *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije* (Radio-Television: the Magazine of Yugoslav Broadcasting and Television) constantly reported that the "Opatija" award, bestowed by the audience in the "Kvarner" hall, was voted for by "the biggest international jury in our country," since "around half of them are inhabitants of Opatija and Rijeka, so there are lots of our [Yugoslav] people on vacation," and "one quarter of the jury were foreigners, also on vacation in Opatija."[380]

Tourism was becoming increasingly important, and so after the first two editions, the festival was moved from September to October in order to avoid peak tourist season, and to be able to offer more hotel accommodation for visitors to the festival on the one hand, but also because most of the musicians were busy performing their gigs in summer resorts all over the Adriatic coast during the summer season.[381] Therefore, according to Vuletic, "the Opatija Festival additionally reflected the development of the Adriatic as a centre for Yugoslav cultural production, capitalizing on its proximity to the West, the infrastructure provided by its tourism industry, and the inspiring beauty of the area that was a source of Yugoslav patriotic pride."[382]

Application forms for this competition explicitly described the *zabavna* music genre, implying that it was the most popular form among the population, continuing: "It is also required that the melody is followed by a full text in which simple scenes from everyday life have to be described. The authors of lyrics should try to avoid the usual sentimentality…"[383]

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[378] AJ, 646, F-71 Programski odbor za radio, Zapisnik sa zajedničke sednice Muzičke komisije i Komisije za muzičku produkciju, održane u Zagrebu 27. marta 1970 godine.
[379] "Veliki rat", *Studio*, 58 (15-21 May 1965).
[380] "Proglašene su nagrade za najbolju popularnu pjesmu", *Jugoslavenski radio: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije*, 40 (1958); "Zabavne melodije Opatija 59", *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 39 (1959).
[381] AJ, 646, F-71, Zaključci sa sastanka Muzičke komisije Jugoslovenske radiotelevizije održanog 10, 11 i 12 septembra 1959 godine u Opatiji. See also: AJ, 646, F-71, Zapisnik sa sednice Muzičke komisije JRT, održane 10 decembra 1960. u Zagrebu; "Rađa se nova Opatija", *Ritam*, 20 (1963).
[382] Vuletic, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music*, 219.
[383] Pelaić Goran, "Kulturna baština bez baštinika: osvrt na hrvatsku zabavnu glazbu", in *Croatian Musician Almanac*, http://www.croatianpopmusic.com/povijest%20kulturna%20bastina%20bez%20bastinika.htm. Accessed on 22 May 2013.

The organizers stressed that if the text were found to be "unacceptable", the composition would not be considered for the festival even if the music was acceptable. A good melody meant "our [Yugoslav] expression […] without a reliance on foreign models," with "possible usage of ethno motifs, but not necessarily."[384] The director of the Summer Stage in Opatija, Veljko Milošić continued in the same tone, stressing in an interview advertising the festival that the melody should be, above all, simple and catchy.[385]

Although the organizers expressed satisfaction with the accepted compositions at the first edition of 1958, as well as with the lyrics, musical experts and press reporters for the most part did not share the same enthusiasm. Recognized composers, namely members of the Association of Yugoslav Composers and members of the festival jury, including Slavko Zlatić and Ferdo Pomykalo, were critical, claiming that competing compositions still had too many foreign elements. However, they also shared enthusiasm for future events that would, in the long term, finally contribute to the improved quality of Yugoslav *zabavna* music.[386] On the other hand, journalists and critics were harsher towards the performed compositions. Reasonable comment came from a journalist for *Vjesnik u srijedu*, who observed that "of all the eighteen compositions that the jury unanimously chose, there was not even one that looks for 'our expression' […], but [they] depend on foreign dance patterns," detecting five beguines, three calypsos, three foxtrots, two rumbas, two slowfoxes, two waltzes and one tango.[387]

Criticisms of song selection, together with the choice of winner, was influenced by an orthodox ideological understanding of what entertainment should be, and how the national style of popular music should be shaped. Hence, the newspapers *Borba* and *Politika*, as representatives of official policy, had a different conception of what constituted a national musical style, advocating folk elements and lyrics that would depict an optimistic Yugoslav reality. Artistic circles actively involved in the creation of *zabavna* music and the Opatija Festival, on the other hand, claimed that Yugoslav popular music should reflect "the pulse of contemporary times."[388]

In the end, it seemed that those who advocated modern sounds and themes won. The song *Mala djevojčica* (Little girl) won first place twice and second place once from six different

[384] "Koščica šipak pun", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 1 October 1958.
[385] "Zabavne melodije 1958.", *Novi list*, 14 September 1958.
[386] "Opatijski festival utjecat će na poboljšanje kvalitete domaće zabavne muzike", *Novi list*, 22 September 1958.
[387] "Koščica šipak pun", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 1 October 1958.
[388] Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale*, 127.

juries, made up of both experts and the public, which finally made it the absolute festival winner.[389]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Moja mala djevojčica* | *My little girl* |
| *Puna je velikih želja* | *Is full of big wishes* |
| *Baš kao šipak pun koštica* | *Just like a pomegranate full of seeds* |
| *Tako je puna veselja* | *She is so full of joy* |
| | |
| *Tata kupi mi auto* | *Daddy buy me a car* |
| *Bicikl i romobil* | *A bicycle and a scooter* |
| *Kupi mi medu i zeku* | *Buy me a teddy bear and a bunny* |
| *Kolica "Jugovinil"* | *A "Jugovinil" pushchair* |
| | |
| *Tata kupi kolača* | *Daddy buy me cakes* |
| *bombona i narandže dv'je* | *Candies and two oranges* |
| *bar jednu malenu bebu* | *At least one little doll* |
| *Velim ti da je to sve* | *I am telling you that's all* |
| | |
| *Moja mala djevojčica* | *My little girl* |
| *Voli i šetnje i priče* | *Loves walks and stories* |
| *Ali u gradu pred izlogom* | *But downtown in front of a shop-window* |
| *Satima stoji i viče* | *For hours she stands and shouts* |
| | |
| *Tata kupi mi…* | *Daddy buy me a…* |

According to Igor Duda, the success of *Mala djevojčica* has to be interpreted in the context of 1958, which he positions as the year of the creation of consumer society in Yugoslav socialism. First, Yugoslavia was passing through an economic "golden age", also known as the Yugoslav economic miracle. Without this economic basis, an orientation towards consumerism would not be possible. A political acknowledgement of this new lifestyle came in the earlier introduced new programme of the LCY. It predicted a "more comfortable everyday life," the ownership of "different consumer articles," "better provision of goods to consumers," and the provision of "relaxation and entertainment."[390] The new political idea could be defined as focusing on the happiness of the individual. Only in a consumerist oriented society could a

[389] "Okrećem listove kalendara: Primo premio della Radiodiffusione", *La voce del popolo*, 22 September 1958. *Mala djevojčica*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q5n0hos_f94. Accessed on 16 May 2015.
[390] Duda Igor, *Pronađeno blagostanje: svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 18.

song titled *Mala djevojčica*, also popularly known as *Tata kupi mi auto* (Daddy, buy me a car), win the first Opatija Festival. Duda claims that "no matter how nice a melody could be, or how attractive the singers were, in the society that does not recognize consumerism, or in which the Party or the State forbid consumerism, the song called *Daddy, buy me a car* could not become popular."[391]

The confirmation came from Ivo Robić, who emphasized the importance of the lyrics for Yugoslav society: "[In 1958] the development of our country began. Do you know what a car meant at that time? The shop windows started to be decorated, everything started to become better: starting from nothing – we came this far."[392] However, in Robić's case "coming this far" meant arriving in Opatija in his own car, which was a sign of luxury of which the majority of the population could only dream.[393] Ironically, and disappointingly for all the critics, this was exactly the topic of the hit song from the following year. Although not winning the festival, the song *Autobus Calypso* became the most popular song of the year 1959.[394]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Požuri, jer autobus već trubi* | *Hurry up, because the bus is already honking* |
| *Ni časak ne čeka on to znaš* | *It won't even wait for a moment, you know* |
| *Ajd' skoči i vrijeme sad ne gubi* | *C'mon jump in and don't waste time* |
| *zar mora propast' svaki vikend naš* | *Does our every weekend have to be ruined* |
| | |
| *Do mora će ravno nas odvesti* | *It will take us directly to the sea* |
| *U divan i palma puni kraj* | *To adorable, palm lined places* |
| *uz prozor ću odmah lijepo sjesti* | *I will sit immediately next to the window* |
| *No prije brzo poljubac još daj* | *But first just give me a quick kiss* |
| | |
| *Hej, autobus calypso to je ljetni hobi moj* | *Hey, autobus calypso, it is my summer hobby* |
| *bar dok nemam još mali auto svoj* | *At least while I don't have my own car* |
| *Ubaci vikend šator, naše kišobrane s njim* | *Throw in our weekend tent, and umbrellas too* |
| *za tim torbu s provijantom svim* | *And after the bag with all our supplies* |
| | |
| *Požuri, jer autobus već trubi* | *Hurry up, because the bus is already honking* |
| *i kupi još cigareta par* | *And buy a few more cigarettes* |
| *tad vrijeme ne gubi, on ne čeka* | *But don't waste any time, because the bus won't wait* |
| *putovat' s tobom to je strašna stvar* | *Travelling with you is a disastrous thing* |

[391] Duda Igor, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkoga društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005) 60.
[392] Luković, *Bolja prošlost*, 59.
[393] Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 61.
[394] *Autobus Calypso*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sjIsSXXZWRU. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Stoj, stoj, stoj, stoj* | *Wait, wait, wait, wait,* |
| *bez nas će ostat šumica daleka* | *The distant coppices will remain without us.* |
| *Aj joj aj jaj* | *O-o-o-ouch, o-o-o-ouch* |
| *Gle ode, ode autobus nam taj* | *Look, there goes our autobus,* |
| *ode, ode s njim i vikend moj* | *There goes with it my weekend as well,* |
| *to je aj jaj jaj, tu je kraj* | *That is o-o-o-ouch the end…* |

The critics again displayed disappointment in the choice of motifs used to represent the everyday life of Yugoslav people:

> "We are obviously progressing in the sector of light music, not even a year has passed, since we begged Daddy to buy us a car, and now we already have a bus which is honking. However, it has to be understood, that the bus is only a replacement for a real car, because the song says: 'Hey, autobus calypso, it is my summer hobby, at least while I don't have my own little car.'"[395]

The rising consumerism and changes within Yugoslav society that came with the development of tourism were not a problem per se, but the expression without any aspiration to lyrical poetics seemed too banal. Therefore, the famous satirist Serafim continued his rant against the themes of the songs:

> "Following the press, and through it our drive for growth, and the further establishment of our tourism, in our second festival we have light melody songs like 'Autobus calypso', 'Canoes', 'A verse in the sand', and similar. […] Next year, we will surely have one 'Adriatic-highway-mambo,' one samba from the highway-section 'Dimir-Kapija-Đevđelila, o la, la, cha, cha, cha."[396]

And once again, what critics experienced as irony, the song-writers found to be a valuable inspiration from everyday life, and so the upcoming festival of 1960 did indeed have a song called *Magistrala* (Highway), celebrating the new, as yet unfinished Adriatic highway which connected cities along the whole of the Adriatic coast.[397] Criticism of the inspiration for the lyrics continued, predicting that future Opatija festivals would probably produce songs about "peanut or ice-cream vendors, or even lotteries and corn on the cob, so that in the end our musical creativity will elaborate the life of all our working people."[398]

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[395] "Požuri, autobus već trubi!", *Vjesnik*, 14 September 1959.
[396] "O-PA 59!", *Borba*, 15 September 1959.
[397] *Magistrala*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7LzHou01FA. Accessed on 16 May 2015.
[398] "Ode 'fića', dođe motorin (Prozaične zabilješke uz festival 'Opatija 60')", *Borba*, 11 October 1960.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Uz more na put, uz more na put* | *By the sea on a journey, by the sea on a journey* |
| *Opatija, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik i Split* | *Opatija, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik and Split* |
| *Uz more na put, uz more na put* | *By the sea on a journey, by the sea on a journey* |
| *Da vidimo lijepi stari Dubrovnik* | *To see beautiful old Dubrovnik* |
| | |
| *Visoke palme i limun žut* | *High palm trees and yellow lemons* |
| *Uz naš put, uz naš Jadran vječno plavi* | *By our route, next to the eternally blue Adriatic* |
| *Za nas je svaki dan radostan i zanosan* | *For us every day is joyful and spectacular* |
| | |
| *Uz more na put, uz more na put* | *By the sea on a journey, by the sea on a journey* |
| *Uz Jadran već magistrala vodi nas* | *Alongside the Adriatic the highway is taking us* |
| *A koji je naš od svih ljepših grad* | *And which is our most beautiful city* |
| *Ja mislim da najljepši je ovaj u kom evo vama pjevam sad* | *I think the most beautiful is the one in which I am singing to you now* |

Nevertheless, the preoccupation with melody was even bigger, and criticism was even harsher. The main objection was that Yugoslav light music is too serious and boring. For example, the music critic Andrija Tomaček, disgusted by the low quality of songs at the 1959 Opatija Festival stated that "if domestic festivals of *zabavna* music continue in this manner, I will have to go to the monastery."[399] Others, like the aforementioned Serafim, mocked the modernity of the melodies, comparing them with nineteenth and early twentieth century music.[400] The turning point was definitely the 1962 Festival, which was also the fifth anniversary of the Festival, and therefore a sort of miniature jubilee, during which the previous successes and failures ought to have been discussed. However, from the 256 applications that year, the jury chose eighteen compositions of which "by nature seven were disappointed and sad, six sentimental and dull, two semi-happy or semi-sad, only two without a romantic text, and one attempt at parody (but still with the mandatory ending: 'Also the love of my Ana will cease as well')." This was either the result of a long-term failure by the organizers, or a warning sign of "the reality that these compositions are reflecting."[401]

[399] "Rijeke mirno teku", *Vjesnik*, 14 September 1959.
[400] "Jugoslavenski San Remo", *Borba*, 23 September 1958., "O-PA 59!", *Borba*, September 1959.
[401] "Opatija 62.", *Borba*, 10 October 1962.

The example of the 1962 Opatija Festival clearly demonstrated two failures, or better said, preoccupations that troubled cultural workers and artists when it came to the development of entertainment in Yugoslavia. The first one was the democratization of culture, therefore accepting light forms as necessary for the everyday well-being of ordinary Yugoslav citizens. "Boring, pseudoserious, pessimistic, defeatist and *kavana*-style disappointed" were usual pejorative epithets used in descriptions of the new compositions.[402] Following Šuvar's recommendations about avoiding superficial pseudo-intellectual practices, which were seen as the leftovers of old petit-bourgeois culture, songs were supposed to avoid "melancholic, cheap-romantic lyricism, as well as lethargic moods with very little positive vital feeling."[403] These negative and apathetic tendencies could not correspond to the progress and modernization of the new society, but had to be in line with the Programme of 1958, meaning the entertainment was supposed to be "eventful, diverse, spirited, therefore – wider, human. Humane."[404]

Nevertheless, the jubilee also showed that the maritime thematic had become established as the mainstream approach in Yugoslav *zabavna* music. This process reached its culmination when Mario Nardelli, a recognized composer, received the Golden Anchor award for his contribution to the establishment of national popular music. According to the jury,

> "it is a reward to the author, who at the Opatija festivals managed to best express the maritime thematic, while he dedicated the majority of his work for the Opatija and other shows to the sea and to life beside the sea; at the same time being the author of his songs in entirety, while the musical expression of his whole artistic creation is inspired and based on the melodies of the Adriatic shore."[405]

Maybe even more symbolically, the same award was given to Ivo Robić two years later, who not only sang about and composed passionately on the topic of the Adriatic, but completely appropriated the maritime lifestyle, even though he was born and raised in the continental town of Bjelovar.[406] For an interview in 1962 he stated: "My most common inspiration is the Adriatic. I love sea, fishermen, and sails. I feel like I grew up and always lived by the shore. And always when I am down there, I walk or row, and for me that is the best inspiration for melodies…"[407]

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[402] "Opatija 62.", *Borba*, 10 October 1962.
[403] "Poezija koja to nije", *Novi list*, 14 October 1962.
[404] "Muzika kao zabava", *Novi list*, September 1959.
[405] HDA, 2013, 2.1., KUL 464, "Opatija pomalo gubi dah", *Studio*, 30. March -5 April 1985.
[406] "'Zlatno sidro' za Robića", *Studio*, 31 (6-12 November 1964). See also Vuletic, *Yugoslav Communism and the Power of Popular Music*, 262.
[407] "Život sa melodijama", *Ritam*, 6 (15 June 1962).

Other performers were perhaps not that explicit, but as they gained experience, most of them established their own personal style that perfectly fitted in with the Opatija atmosphere. Journalists increasingly recognized "passion" and "fervour" during the performances of specific singers, most notably in the case of Tereza Kesovija.[408] After her performance of the composition *Stani* (Stop), the press described the audience as astonished, because "together with her extraordinary voice, with Tereza her whole face, her eyes, hand and every nerve were singing."[409] The visiting Polish journalist from *Kultura* was also impressed by her performance and wrote that "she was in an ecstasy, embodying a range of emotions, so her creation of that successful song gave the composition *Stani* a specifically dramatic note."[410]

However, Italian composers and artists, who were supposedly authorities in the domain of popular music, were not that impressed with Yugoslav progress in the field of entertainment. For example, the composer and winner of the 1957 Sanremo Festival, Virgilio Panzuti, claimed that the songs were "too 'Yugoslav,'" which would not help with the exportation of Yugoslav cultural products, or with their success on the international level.[411] Others, like the former singer Gianni Chiariun, complained of an excessive Italian influence, which would prevent the recognition of Yugoslav music as something specific and innovative.[412] Nevertheless, the biggest problems seemed to be the general tone of the Yugoslav compositions, which, apparently, did not correspond to the image that Yugoslavia was building in the world. As Panzuti noticed, "you are so kind and joyful a nation, so I cannot understand why your light music is so sad."[413]

On the other hand, the editor in chief of music programming for Czechoslovakian radio, Jiří Štilec, stated after the 1962 finals: "It is really hard to express the feeling of a person who for the first time visits Opatija and its music festival. The poetry of the sea and nature melts with the whole festival into something so magnificent and unique that all words fail me."[414] Similarly, the Macedonian singer Zoran Georgiev stated after his first visit to Opatija: "The impression is 'appalling'! For us in Macedonia the sea is so distant, and the sea is so vast and

[408] "Pod lupom strane kritike", *Ritam*, 27 (1 November 1963).
[409] "Lado 1964.", *Studio*, 29 (15-22 October 1964).
[410] "Svetske klase u Opatiji", *Ritam*, 51 (1 November 1964).
[411] "Zanimanje u Italiji za pjesme s Opatijskog festival", *Jugoslavenski radio: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije*, 43 (1958); "In lizza anche 5 o 6 rock lenti: piaceranno al pubblico", *La voce del popolo*, 9 September 1959, "Ieri seconda serata del III Festival della canzone", *La voce del popolo*, 8 October 1960.
[412] "'Mirno teku rijeke' fa la parte del leone nella serata conclusiva", *La voce del popolo*, 13 September 1959.
[413] "Opatija 62.", *Borba*, 10 October 1962.
[414] "Opatija – očima inozemnih gostiju", *Jugoslavenska radio-televizija: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 43 (1962).

so blue."[415] Maybe Italians were not so easily impressed by the scenery and the atmosphere of Opatija, since they already had it at home, while for the others – to whom the sea was an object of desire – Opatija could offer the imagined idea of the Mediterranean.

This preoccupation with the representation and choice of maritime motifs became evident when Yugoslavia began to actively participate in the Eurovision Song Contest in 1961. The debate was no longer confined to an internal discussion of entertainment, but also had a broader significance for representations of Yugoslavia in international (cultural) circles. As a non-aligned country, with a reformed understanding of socialist society, Yugoslav cultural workers had to find an appropriate way to represent the success of the liberalization and democratization of the country. Thus, light music genres had to embody the general mood of Yugoslav citizens.

## The Eurovision Song Contest

The Eurovision Song Contest was created in 1956 to promote cultural cooperation among Western European countries, which were at that time also beginning to initiate a more important political partnership. In this ideological context, according to Francesca Rolandi, the participation of Yugoslavia, as the only socialist country, could be seen as yet another sign of Yugoslavia's (cultural) alignment with the Western world.[416] The question of international representation thus came to be hugely important in shaping the Yugoslav popular music style. Leading scholars in the field, such as Rolandi or Dean Vuletic, agree that Yugoslavia appropriated a Mediterranean identity, mostly manifest in maritime motifs, which of course also had an economic-propaganda related aim, namely to promote Yugoslavia as a tourist destination. Similarly, Gad Yair and Daniel Maman's study of the Eurovision Song Contest shows that Yugoslavia was included in the Mediterranean voting bloc together with Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, and Monaco, because they all shared "common experiences of sea and history, which helped to create similar cultural tastes for music, dance and sexuality."[417] However, the debates occasioned by the selection of the Yugoslav representative to the Eurovision Song Contest demonstrate the complex development of Yugoslav music and its adoption of Mediterranean motifs.

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[415] "Riječ imaju: Robić, Kuntarić, Georgiev", *Novi list*, 6 October 1962.
[416] Rolandi Francesca, *Con ventiquattromila baci: L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Yugoslavia (1955–1965)* (doctoral dissertation: Turin, 2012), 160.
[417] Vuletic, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", 133. Compare with: Yair Gad, Daniel Maman, "The Persistent Structure of Hegemony in the Eurovision Song Contest", *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 39 (1996), 310-325.

At first, the Opatija Festival, as the most popular and pan-Yugoslav music festival, served to showcase the Yugoslav representative chosen for the Eurovision Song Contest since 1961, when Yugoslavia made its debut.[418] Only two years later, Yugoslav Radio-Television decided to make the selection more democratic by offering equal opportunities to all republics and nationalities. Henceforth, the television centre in each republic could choose two entries for the finals, which were held each year in a different republic capital.[419] The result was more diversity in the nationality of composers and performers, as well as in the language of the songs, so that during the 1960s virtually all parts of Yugoslavia were represented at some point. However, on the other hand, the so-called "republican key" – offering equal chances to everyone – most frequently resulted in the poor quality of compositions, as well as stimulating internal conflicts between republican television centres.[420]

Since success was not guaranteed even in the later years, sporadic ideas to link Opatija (or some other festival) into the Eurovision selection process, or even to simply send the winner of a festival directly to the Eurovision Song Contest, were born.[421] And once again, inspiration was sought on the other shore of the Adriatic. The Yugoslav media reported on Italian preparations for Eurovision, claiming that the choice of connecting Sanremo with it reaped better results and brought commercial success.[422] On the other hand, however, they also traced certain similarities, reporting that "the atmosphere of the Eurovision competition does not fit temperamental Italians," and "we can connect with them."[423] The Yugoslav Mediterranean temperament was also reconfirmed by taking this light competition "way too seriously and tragically."[424] All this made it difficult for the public as well as for the experts to support the choice of "representative" compositions for the Eurovision Song Contest.

The main problem seemed to be the general tone of Yugoslav compositions, which apparently did not correspond to the image that Yugoslavia was building in the world. Compositions like the 1961 *Neke davne zvezde* (Some Bygone Stars), the 1962 *Ne pali svetla u sumrak* (Don't Turn the Lights on at Twilight), the 1966 *Brez besed* (Without Words), or the

[418] Vuletic, "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", 125.
[419] "Traži se pesma za Kopenhagen", *Ritam,* 28 (15 November 1963).
[420] See for example: HDA, 2031 Vjesnik, 2.1. Vjesnikova novinska arhiva, KUL 459, "Ide u Napulj da umre?", *Vjesnik*, 14 February 1965; "Borba za pasoš", *Studio,* 44 (13-19 February 1965); "'Čežnja' izaziva strepnju", *Studio,* 46 (20-26 February 1965); "Kuvertom do 'Pjesme Eurovizije'", *Studio,* 348 (5-11 December 1970).
[421] "Jugoslavija četvrta na natjecanju zabavne muzike u Luxemburgu", *Radiotelevizija: časopis Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije i televizije,* 13 (1962); AJ, 646, F-71, Zapisnik sa sastanka Muzičke komisije JRT održanog 29 i 30 juna (1960) u Beogradu; Zapisnik sa sednice Muzičke komisije održane 17. novembra 1962 godine u Ljubljani.
[422] "Čemu nas uči San Remo", *TV novosti,* 55 (15-21 January 1966); AJ, 2031, 2.1., KUL 459, "Ide u Napulj da umre?", *Vjesnik*, 14 February 1965.; "Mnogo i ništa", *TV novosti,* 61 (25 February – 4 March 1966).
[423] "Finale 'Eurovizija 66'", *Studio,* 101 (12-18 March 1966).
[424] "Finale 'Eurovizija 66'", *Studio,* 101 (12-18 March 1966). Compare with: "Pouka", *Ritam,* 13 (1963).

1967 *Vse rože sveta* (All the Flowers of This World) had sad and romantic motifs, followed by melancholic melodies written in the style of a waltz or some other traditional rhythm. The other option was pseudo-intellectual and hermetic poetry, like the 1964 *Život je sklopio krug* (Life Has Come Full Circle), yet with the same monotonous melody.[425]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tu više nema bijega* | *There is no escape anymore* |
| *Svijet je zatvorio krug* | *The world has closed the circle* |
| *Pa neka i biljka i ptica* | *So may the plant and the bird* |
| *Budu kao čovjek, drug* | *Be like a human, like a friend* |
| | |
| *I grana već da postanem* | *And if I became a branch* |
| *Moje bi lišće mislilo* | *My leaves would ponder* |
| *O ne bi se samo u jesen* | *Oh, and the red gold would not* |
| *Crveno zlato lilo* | *Teem only in the autumn* |
| | |
| *U kamen da se pretvorim* | *If I turned into stone* |
| *Već ne bi naš'o zaborav* | *I would not be forgotten* |
| *Bio bi na obali jedini* | *I would be the only one on the shore* |
| *Kamen zamišljen i plav* | *A thinking, blue stone* |
| | |
| *Tu više nema bijega* | *There is no escape anymore* |
| *Život je sklopio krug* | *Life has come full circle* |
| *Pa neka i brijeg i suton* | *So may the hill and the dusk* |
| *Budu kao čovjek, drug* | *Be like a human, like a friend* |

Although written by the recognized Yugoslav poet Stevo Rajičković, the text was highly criticized for its incomprehensibility, and once again it was confirmed that *zabavna* music needed a different approach, and a language that could reach the masses. One critic from *Studio* stressed that:

> "our TV-viewers and listeners had a chance to hear the song twice in the Yugoslav finals, and once again at the Eurovision competition. Many of them could also hear it on the different radioshows of our radio-stations. Yet, I am not sure if from a minimum three million people who have heard the song at least three times – including the arranger, and the conductor, and the announcer, and Sabahudin Kurt, and Pero Zlatar (who was following our caravan to Copenhagen as a reporter), I repeat: I do not know

[425] *Život je sklopio krug*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6A9BH2Za1d0. Accessed on 16 May 2015. Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1964yu. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

whether from those three million people, fifty could be found who would know what that song was about."[426]

Dissatisfaction with the chosen representatives came not only from the experts but also from the public, who followed the song selection with great interest. The outburst of public booing in 1966 after the proclamation of the winning composition *Brez besed* marked the culmination of media and public criticism.[427] The interested public was discouraged by a poor performance at the Eurovision Song Contest, which did not increase Yugoslavia's prominence among its richer and more developed Western neighbours, nor did it bring something new and previously unheard to European listeners.[428] The two attempts at maritime motifs, the 1963 *Brodovi* (Ships) and the 1965 *Čežnja* (Longing), both performed by the Dalmatian Vice Vukov, also failed, which was unsurprising, since the idea of the sea was used only to create a melancholic and nostalgic atmosphere that was diametrically opposed to the images in the minds of European visitors to the Adriatic.[429]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Šumi, šumi more pjenom bijelom dok nemirni val* | *The sea rustles with white foam while the wave* |
| *Donosi svaki put odjeke sjećanja* | *Brings every echo of memories* |
| *Odjeke maštanja na ovaj žal, tihi žal* | *Echoes of fantasy to this quiet shore* |
| | |
| *Tiho šumi, šumi more kao nekad u danima sna* | *The sea silently rustles like in the dream days* |
| *Kad smo na pješčanom tlu umorni zaspali* | *When we fell asleep on the warm sand* |
| *Zaspali tu, tu na tlu vreloga juga* | *Fell asleep on the ground of the hot south* |
| | |
| *Oh, pričaj, more, pričaj meni ti* | *Oh, speak, sea, speak to me* |
| *O svitanju jutra moje čežnje za njom* | *On the dawn of the morning of my longing for her* |
| | |
| *Tiho šumi, šumi more ko da želi da ispriča sad* | *The sea rustles quietly as if it wants to speak* |
| *Šapatom ćutanja sve o jednoj ljubavi* | *With the whisper of silence about a love* |
| *Rođenoj tu, tu na tlu vreloga juga* | *Born here on the ground of the hot south* |
| | |
| *Oh, pričaj, more, pričaj meni ti* | *Oh, speak, sea, speak to me* |
| *O svitanju jutra moje čežnje za njom* | *On the dawn of the morning of my longing for her* |
| *Moje duboke čežnje za njom* | *My deep longing for her* |

[426] "Da bi izvesne stvari bile jasnije", *Studio*, 45 (13-19 February 1965).
[427] "Ozbiljni problem zabavne muzike", *Studio*, 96 (5–11 February 1966); "Između zvižduka i tradicije", *Studio*, 95 (29 January – 4 February 1966); "Bez reči", *TV novosti*, 57 (29 January – 4 February 1966).
[428] "Novi brodolom", *Ritam*, 61 (1 April 1965).
[429] *Brodovi*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlW4_Z7R4Do. Accessed on 16 May 2015. Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1963yu. Accessed on 16 May 2015. *Čežnja*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciuR6APZfTc. Accessed on 16 May 2015. Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1965yu. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

This misplaced melancholy was especially responsible for the 1963 failure of the song *Brodovi* by Mario Nardelli, who also wrote the lyrics.

| | |
|---|---|
| *U mome kraju, brodovi su ljudi* | *In my neighbourhood, ships are people,* |
| *Oni plaču, smiju se i vole* | *They cry, smile and love.* |
| *U mome kraju, brodovi su svečanost* | *In my neighbourhood, ships are a celebration* |
| *I najdraže igračke nestašnih dječaka* | *And the dearest toys of menacing boys.* |
| | |
| *Brodovi* | *Ships* |
| *Bez vas, tužne su luke sve* | *Without you, all ports are sad* |
| *Bez vas, puste su rive te* | *Without you, rivieras are deserted* |
| *Bez vas, galebi mru* | *Without you, seagulls die* |
| *Dok Mjesec kosi noć* | *While the moon cuts the night* |
| *Na pramcu stiha svog* | *On the stem of my verse* |
| *Ja palim sreće žar* | *I ignite the fire of luck* |
| *Za puteve vaše* | *For your journeys* |
| | |
| *Brodovi* | *Ships* |
| *Na vas čekaju ljubavi* | *Loves await you* |
| *Na vas čekaju prozori* | *Windows await you* |
| *Bez vas, gitare mru* | *Without you, guitars die* |
| *Dok zora pali dan* | *While dawn ignites the day* |
| *Na jarbol stiha svog* | *On the mast of my verse* |
| *Ja dižem pjesmu tu* | *I raise this song* |
| *Za povratke vaše* | *For your returns* |
| *Dok zora pali dan* | *While dawn ignites the day* |
| | |
| *Na jarbol stiha svog* | *On the mast of my verse* |
| *Ja dižem pjesmu tu* | *I raise this song* |
| *Za povratke vaše* | *For your return* |
| *O, igračke drage* | *Oh, dear toys* |
| *Iz djetinjstva mog* | *From my childhood* |

He was criticized for completely misjudging the style and the idea behind the maritime motifs:

> "Nardelli's quasi-poetry and quasi-philosophy in the texts of his compositions only hinder and do not improve the quality of the compositions. The moment has finally come to do away with the declamatory trifles before and during the melody! This is not an exception, nor a custom – but it has turned into a bad, primitive mannerism, which is perilously close to kitsch. All those 'red roses of a day', 'guitars, which die', 'on the prow of a verse', and so on, belong in a collection of pseudo-poetry and grandiloquence without purpose; in an international competition they appear simply ridiculous and shamefully out of place."[430]

All these problems and questions explain why, after all the failures, the group Dubrovački trubaduri (The Troubadours of Dubrovnik) were welcomed as long-awaited saviours. They were not a copy of some internationally successful equivalent, and they escaped the trap of relying too much on Italian influences. Hence, "they were neither *urlatori*, nor 'folklorists'", but they made skilful use of "folk music and rhythms only as a basis for the superstructure, which is not only solid but also nice."[431] The simplicity and cheerfulness of their performances, together with the high quality of their melodies and their musically proficient performers, all guaranteed that Yugoslavia had at last found perfect representatives of the nation and its musical legacies. The distinguished composer Pero Gotovac's wish in 1966 that Dubrovački trubaduri should represent Yugoslav popular music in the world, came true in 1968, when the Troubadours were chosen to represent Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest with their composition *Jedan dan* (One Day).[432]

The group formed in 1961 as a beat vocal-instrumental sextet performing a mixture of pop and folk music. Playing and singing their own compositions on the streets of Dubrovnik every summer evening, they brought fresh spirit to entertainment. By preserving traditional Dalmatian melodies and polyphonic singing, as well as traditional Mediterranean instruments like the mandolin, but in modern arrangements, they showed that it was possible to combine the best of old and new values. Although their fame was largely restricted to local circles, their quality and originality soon attracted the attention of the media. While the lyrics were typically romantic, with a strong Mediterranean flavour, they were recognized as refreshing and non-pretentious, basically the polar opposite of the usual festival performances.[433] However, like

[430] "Kraj jedne iluzije", *Ritam*, 13 (1 April 1963).
[431] "Trubaduri u Londonu", *Studio*, 209 (6–12 April 1968).
[432] "Trubaduri u Londonu", *Studio*, 209 (6–12 April, 1968).
[433] "Trubaduri na ploči", *Studio*, 96 (5–11 February 1966).

other popular singers or groups, they still needed a striking festival performance to gain the whole nation's recognition. This happened in 1967 at the Split Festival, where they performed *Luda mladost* (Crazy Youth), a catchy tune about the happy-go-lucky youth of Dubrovnik and the troubadours who serenade beneath the windows of their loved ones.[434]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ulicama moga grada* | *Through the streets of my city* |
| *trubaduri pjevaju* | *Troubadours are singing* |
| *mandoline i gitare* | *Mandolins and guitars* |
| *pod prozorom sviraju* | *Are playing under the window.* |
| | |
| *K'o u ono davno vrijeme* | *Just like once upon a time* |
| *ljubav vječna još je mit* | *Eternal love is still a myth* |
| *ali sad smo s dužom kosom* | *But now our hair is longer* |
| *i plešemo samo 'beat'* | *And we only dance to the beat* |
| | |
| *Svud je radost i veselje* | *Happiness and joy are everywhere* |
| *"Luda mladost baš ste vi"* | *"You're such a crazy youth"* |
| *govore nam naši stari* | *That's what the elders tell us* |
| *ko da nijesu ljubili* | *Like they didn't love at all* |
| | |
| *Veseli smo jer smo mladi* | *We are happy because we're young* |
| *za nas lud je sav taj svijet* | *This whole world is crazy to us* |
| *na rakete samo misli* | *It only thinks about rockets* |
| *i svemirski neki let* | *And some space flight* |

Dressed in typical renaissance outfits, and with musical motifs performed by mandolins, Dubrovački trubaduri confirmed a deep-rooted Mediterranean identity and the long tradition of high culture in a Yugoslav setting. As the journalist Igor Mandić explained, the group was so successful because they combined a contemporary international style of light music with domestic and local sensations:

> "As a group of musicians coming from the South, Dubrovački trubaduri introduced into our milieu, into our everyday ('light') music and culture, parts of myths from every Mediterranean shore, and particularly from our domestic, Croatian, Adriatic coast. Briefly put, these are the definitive elements of their musical style (the colouring of

[434] "Debi 'Trubadura'", *Studio*, 174 (5–11 August 1967). *Luda mladost*, http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xmedsu_dubrovacki-trubaduri-luda-mladost-1968_music. Accessed on 24 October 2015. Translation by: http://lyricstranslate.com/it/luda-mladost-crazy-youth.html. Accessed on 24 October 2015.

their 'romantic' costumes, the atmosphere of Dalmatian *klapa*,[435] Southern spontaneity and openness, a distinct local tone…), along with other aspects of their composing and performing techniques (their attachment to Dalmatian/coastal melodies, with the intonation of old Croatian poetry, romantic sentimentality, and optimism in lyrics…)."[436]

This perception of Dubrovački trubaduri was widely shared on the cover pages and in reports in periodicals, in radio and television performances, and in their appearances at festivals and live tours.

The connection of Dubrovački trubaduri with the renaissance tradition of Dubrovnik was complex. Along with the romantic image of the time, mostly linked with the name of the group and the motifs and style of their music, the cultural legacy of Dubrovnik also served as an additional and recognizable feature on the cultural-ideological level. The renaissance period of Dubrovnik was a commonplace of Yugoslav cultural history, and was especially valued as a culmination of Yugoslav national culture and literature, demonstrating that the Slavic peoples on the eastern shores of the Adriatic were capable of producing high culture of the same quality as their Western neighbours. Additionally, the historical importance of the Republic of Dubrovnik,[437] both as the only independent and prosperous (Yugo-)Slavic territory of the early modern period, and as a borderland of different cultures and a transit centre "between the East and West, the Balkan hinterland and the Mediterranean,"[438] perfectly served the Yugoslav ideological narrative, in which the name of the playwright Marin Držić was seen as a central cultural figure. In his numerous comedies, Držić contrasted rapacious and lying noblemen with a vivid and artful plebeian youth. As the writer Miroslav Krleža wrote in 1948 with regard to the 400th anniversary of Držić's drama *Tirena*, Držić created "for the first time a folk-hued, poetic portrait of the locals, who speak a straightforward, no-frills language rendered in a playful and celebratory countryman's argot."[439] Traces of Držić's "Mediterranean laughing away of the environment's bad traits,"[440] could also be found in the image that Dubrovački

[435] *Klapa* music is a form of traditional a cappella singing in Dalmatia, Croatia. The word *klapa* translates as "a group of friends" and traces its roots to littoral church singing.
[436] Mandić Igor, *Mitologija svakidašnjeg života* (Rijeka: Otokar Keršovani, 1976), 26-27.
[437] Known also as the Republic of Ragusa, after the Italian and Latin name for the city – Ragusa.
[438] For an interpretation of the Republic of Dubrovnik and its cultural legacy in the Yugoslav period see: Koren Snježana, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012), 251, 281-283; Foretić Miljenko, *Historiografija i literatura o Dubrovniku – Dubrovačkoj Republici od 1975. do 1985. godine* (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2012), 74, 81.
[439] Goldstein Slavko et al., *Povijest hrvatske književnosti, Vol. 3*. (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1974), 125.
[440] "Vječni mladi Držić", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 783 (3 May 1967).

trubaduri tried to create for themselves as joyful and idle youths, but still with strong moral values.

Their Mediterraneanity also worked on a tourist level, and so foreign visitors, who by the end of the 1960s became regular guests on the Yugoslav side of the Adriatic in the summer months, were easily charmed by their appearance and performance. As *Studio* magazine reported in 1966, plenty of tourists

> "come every evening to 'Jadran' to see them and hear them, and, for some of the girls, even to dance with them on the stage. As souvenirs, girls take a few records from 'Jadran', and from afar, somewhere in Scandinavia or the United States, they are listening to 'the Trubadours' and looking at them on the covers, dressed in their original troubadour costumes."[441]

This specific outfit was just the final touch to the devotion that the group put into their performances, which, nevertheless, remained light-hearted.

All these elements – the fusion of old and new traditions and motifs, a light-hearted but respectful appearance, and tourist appeal – made Dubrovački trubaduri potentially perfect candidates for a template of a Yugoslav national style of popular music and its representation in the world. Their work was finally officially recognized in 1968 when their song *Jedan dan* (One Day) was chosen as the Yugoslav entry for the Eurovision Song Contest.[442]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Jedan dan, samo jedan dan* | *One day, just one day* |
| *Onaj pravi presudan čudan dan* | *That real, crucial and odd day* |
| *Jedan dan, samo jedan dan* | *One day, just one day* |
| *Pa da bude sav život radostan* | *So life may be happy* |
| | |
| *Dani svi, svi k'o jedan dan* | *All the days, like one day* |
| *Proć' će dobro, znam* | *Are going away, I know* |
| *A ljubav moja neće* | *But my love won't* |
| *Za nju živim, za nju dajem sve* | *I live for her, I give everything to her.* |
| | |
| *Jedan dan, onaj pravi dan* | *One day, that real day* |
| *To je život, pun život nije san* | *That's life, rich life is not a dream* |
| *Jedan dan, onaj pravi dan* | *One day, that real day* |
| *To je mladost, ljubav, radost, stvaran san* | *That's youth, love, happiness, a real dream* |

[441] "Dubrovački trubaduri", *Studio*, 120 (23–29 July 1966).
[442] *Jedan dan*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjBLXBBuGcg. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

In contrast to previous years, the atmosphere surrounding the decision was extremely positive, and for the first time the audience fully agreed with the choice of the expert jury. The media also resounded with positive expectations of the group. Varteks Baronijan from TV Belgrade emphasized that the chosen song was a "good combination of something of our own: light, baroque, and refreshing and adolescent"; while his colleague from TV Sarajevo, Esad Arnautalić, added that the song was "nice, melodic, and easy to remember, while its rhythm is modern."[443] In addition, the leader of the group, Đelo Jusić, was positive that for the first time Yugoslav performers would have an additional advantage because, performing in their traditional outfits, the group would be recognized by their international summer tourist audience, who would therefore vote for them. Immediately before their departure for London, in an interview for *Plavi vjesnik* Đelo affirmed that the Troubadours were

> "aware that in London they have to generate the best propaganda both for our popular music and for our tourism. This is why we have carefully perused everything: from music to our troubadour costumes. And for the tourist propaganda we are also taking with us two girls in the folk costumes of Konavle."[444]

The performance of the Troubadours at the Eurovision Song Contest was, hence, a completely new approach to the country's representation. Tourist potential was more than explicit in the images that the Dubrovački trubaduri brought to London. Although it seemed that tourism workers in Yugoslavia took this opportunity for tourist propaganda seriously, the immediate report from *Vjesnik u srijedu* demonstrated their ineptitude and amateurism:

> "Our tourism workers were full of promises, tons of propaganda material, receptions in London for tourist and record companies, and girls in the folk costumes of Konavle who would constantly follow the 'Troubadours' in London […] But nothing has been done. Instead of six girls from Konavle, at the London airport the 'Troubadours' were welcomed only by correspondents from our press, radio and television. All the kettledrums of our tourist promises were reduced to several hundreds of leaflets that were foisted on the Radio-Dubrovnik reporter Baldo Čupić, which he dispensed in the Royal Albert Hall and at the reception in our tourist branch office."[445]

The failure of the tourist organization was partially ascribed to financial problems, but mostly to the incompetence of the tourism officials. Another problem for the promotion of tourism

[443] "Nek vam je dobar vjetar u krmu", *Studio*, 204 (2–8 March 1968).
[444] *Muzičke legende: Dubrovački trubaduri. Part 3: Od Straduna do Londona,* http://www.yugopapir.com/2012/11/muzicke-legende-dubrovacki-trubaduri-3.html.Accessed on 24 October 2015.
[445] "London (ni)je Stradun", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 832 (10 April 1968).

were the rules of the contest, which did not allow group performances, and so Dubrovački trubaduri performed officially as a vocal duo of Luciano Capurso and Hamo Hajdarhodžić with an accompanying trio, and so "we lost out on the satisfaction of hearing the announcer say in front of two hundred million Europeans: 'Dubrovnik'."[446]


FIGURE 7: "THE TRUBADOURS IN LONDON" (STUDIO, 209 (1968))


FIGURE 8: DUBROVAČKI TRUBADURI IN THEIR TRADITIONAL OUTFIT AT THE 1968 OPATIJA FESTIVAL (STUDIO, 235 (1968))

The group also violated general standards for performances at the Eurovision Song Contest. Most of the singers remained faithful to traditional styles of performance, with the few exceptions of minimal choreography – as with Cliff Richard from the United Kingdom or Wenche Myhre from Germany – or the use of special instruments, as with Monaco's Line & Willy, who made use of the traditional sound of the accordion.[447] In contrast, the appearance of Dubrovački trubaduri on stage, dressed in their best traditional troubadour outfits, and accompanied by the mandolin and flute, visually grabbed the audience's attention. In addition, "the next surprise was the arrangement, a sort of synthesis between 'beat' and renaissance music," all accompanied by cheerful choreography.[448] It seemed like the optimal choice for the biggest Eurovision Song Contest so far – telecast to more than two hundred million people from twenty-three countries, including all the members of Eurovision and Intervision, as well as Tunisia – and all transmitted in colour. Dubrovački trubaduri seemed truly effective, and even the British singer star Sandie Shaw, the winner of the previous Eurovision Contest, predicted that the Dubrovački trubaduri would succeed her.

[446] "'Trubaduri' u klubu razočaranih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 833 (17 April 1968).
[447] *Eurovision Song Contest 1968 (Full Show)*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q76LLSIwOic. Accessed on 25 October 2015.
[448] "London (ni)je Stradun", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 832 (10 June 1968).

However, all this innovation, along with a light, catchy tune and lyrics about "youth, love, and happiness," did not help Yugoslavia to reach the top of European popular music, and the Troubadours ended up in seventh place in the final ranking. The disappointment in Yugoslav circles was obvious. Unlike previous years, when the failure was attributed to their own mistakes and wrong choices, this time the fury was directed at the structures of the Eurovision Song Contest, or more precisely, to lobbying for votes and the regional and political groupings of certain countries. From the very sober observation that "it would be illusory to expect from a competition that is actually a conglomerate of Anglo-Saxon, Romance-speaking and Slavic-speaking popular music tastes and fashions to be homogeneous and high quality," or emphasizing the unfair position of smaller countries since "almost all the winning melodies so far were either in English or French," to finally direct accusations of the higher (political) interests of some countries by stating that "the voting machinery of the Romance-speaking countries, Scandinavia, and Benelux 'moulded' the festival list, caring more about neighbourly relations than about the quality of compositions," Yugoslav media and cultural workers assumed a unified and defeatist attitude that would continue to haunt them in subsequent years.[449]

Although the disappointment was evident in the media, the Troubadours' big break marked a new stream in Yugoslav popular music. The performance of Dubrovački trubaduri set a high standard for future Yugoslav compositions for the Eurovision Song Contest, which was confirmed at the next Eurovision, when Yugoslav Radio-Television decided to send a vocal group called Ivan and 3M, with another light and catchy tune called *Pozdrav svijetu* (Greetings to the World), based on simple greetings to various countries in several languages.

Finally, the Troubadours' appearance at the 1968 Eurovision Song Contest marked the beginning of their international career, which in the long term also helped to promote Yugoslavia on a cultural and tourist level. The song *Jedan dan* was recorded and sold in almost twenty different countries, which was the first big break for Yugoslav popular music on the international music scene.[450] Dubrovački trubaduri also started touring Europe and the USA, joining other Yugoslav singers in promoting the country in both the Eastern and the Western Bloc. However, always dressed in their traditional outfits, they not only popularized Yugoslav popular music, but also aroused curiosity and interest in Yugoslav culture and tourism. Hence,

[449] "London (ni)je Stradun", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 832 (10 April 1968); "'Trubaduri' u klubu razočaranih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 833 (17 April 1968); "Milijun ploča", *Studio*, 372 (22–28 May 1971).
[450] "Dubrovački trubaduri pred raspadom?", *Studio*, 430 (1–7 July 1972).

the special particularity of Yugoslavia between the two blocs was accompanied with the idea of the Yugoslav "romantic southern myth."

The success of the specific Mediterranean style of Yugoslav popular music was finally evident at the end of the 1960s with the triumph of the Troubadours, but the foundations were made at the Split Festival also known as the Adriatic Melodies. For most Yugoslav citizens, the Dalmatian style of *zabavna* music echoed memories of summer holidays at the Adriatic Sea, while for the rest, who could not afford such holidays, it was a long-sought-after dream that was nourished with images or sounds from the media.

## The Adriatic Melodies

Where the Opatija Festival and the Eurovision Song Contest failed, the Split Festival succeeded. From its origins as a small local festival organized by the Tourist Board of Split and the Cultural Committee of the City of Split, by the end of the decade it grew to be the most successful festival in Yugoslavia, launching several hit songs every year, and gaining international recognition. It all started in 1960 with the fashion show *More – Revija – Split* (Sea – Show – Split), whose musical section split off two years later to become the festival known as the Adriatic Melodies. The idea behind it was to "encourage the creation of popular Adriatic songs, with a specific Dalmatian melody and motifs expressed in modern forms and rhythms,"[451] which resulted in the codification of a "new Dalmatian musical tradition, which fused the influences of Italian *canzone*, a Mediterranean atmosphere, and elements of local traditions with a modern twist."[452] The festival was immediately met with unanimous approval from both the critics and the public. With its originality and specific thematic, it stood out from the "more or less toneless uniformity of our *zabavna* music festivals."[453] Although the initial aim had been to broaden the appeal of the genre to tourists, it soon became the main reference point for achievements in theoretical and practical work on Yugoslav popular music, thus overshadowing other music festivals. Statements that certain compositions "from Split have more value than at least two thirds of last year's compositions at the Opatija Festival," were repeated throughout the years that followed, usually referring to the specificity of the musical style and the cheerfulness of the compositions.[454]

[451] "Melodije Jadrana 63", *Ritam*, 17 (1 June 1963).
[452] Rolandi, *Con ventiquattromila baci*, 157.
[453] "Nima Splita do Splita!", *Studio*, 72 (21-27 August 1965).
[454] "More, more", *Ritam*, 38 (1 April 1964).

Similarly to the Opatija Festival, the Adriatic Melodies was held at the peak of the tourist season in Split and thus, was marked by a mixture of a domestic and tourist audience. While Opatija had a reputation of being fashionable and to a certain extent bourgeois, as represented in the more restrained and classy style of performance at the festival, Split offered a more cheerful and relaxed atmosphere. Moreover, the further development of tourism on the Yugoslav coast shifted the focus from specific tourist centres to the whole region, as represented in the Dalmatian lifestyle. Finally, this turn to the Adriatic coast in general helped with mapping the sea as an all-Yugoslav shared space, and not only as a limited space defined as the Croatian shore.

Hence, the award distribution of 1966 illustrated the different aesthetic and ideological expectations of the audience and the jury, but at the same time it showed certain similarities in a conception of what exactly the Yugoslav Adriatic represented. Thus, although local in geographical terms

> "all 1380 listeners at the summer cinema 'Bačvice' were representatives of Yugoslavia. Thereby they demonstrated that for them the Adriatic Sea is not only Kaštela Bay, or at best it does not only spread from Pula to Dubrovnik. It really starts at Koper, and ends at Ulcinj. Because they voted – 316 times for the composition *Bokeljska noć* (The Night of Boka)."[455]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nek stoje gradovi ovi* | *Let these cities stand* |
| *Na rubu mora sinja* | *On the edge of the blue sea* |
| *I do njih se radosno plovi* | *And you can sail to them* |
| *Od Kopra do Ulcinja* | *From Koper to Ulcinj* |
| | |
| *O gradovi pokraj mora* | *Oh, cities by the sea,* |
| *Sjećanja, tajne i snovi* | *Memories, secrets and dreams* |
| *O gradovi između neba i mora* | *Oh, cities between the sky and sea* |
| *I susreti uvijek novi* | *And encounters always new* |
| | |
| *Stari gradovi, nove priče* | *Old cities, new stories* |
| *Za srce i za oči* | *For the heart and eyes* |
| *U krošnjama zrikavac zriče* | *From the treetops you can hear crickets* |
| *A sunce svud ljubav toči* | *While the sun spills love all around* |

[455] "Festival se zvižduće", *TV novosti*, 86 (20-26 August 1966).

The idea that both Koper in Slovenia, and Ulcinj and Boka Kotorska in Montenegro should be included in the imaginary of the Adriatic coast, and not just the usual suspects such as the Croatian towns of Opatija, Split and Dubrovnik, was also confirmed by the first award for the lyrics to the song *Gradovi pokraj mora* (Cities by the Sea).[456] In the same time, the projection of the coastal towns as places of eternal sunshine, accidental (romantic) encounters, and sweet nostalgia can be found in the majority of lyrics of the compositions at the Adriatic Melodies. The demand that the lyrics should be thematically connected to "the sea, places and cities, customs and themes connected with maritime life," could have resulted in another superficial and frivolous collection of popular songs, typical for other festivals. However, for some reason, most of the texts written for the Split Festival were recognized as successful and of value.[457] *Ritam*, the only specialized magazine in popular and jazz music, reported in 1964:

> "Most of them are charming rhymes that 'chit-chat' about difficult Dalmatian *fjaka* (the specific condition of relaxing under bright sunlight), chatter by the sea, about the amazement of passers-by at the moment 'when Ana goes by the *riviera*', then about the beauty of a bather, then about olives."[458]

Although it is hard to imagine that listing forty different types of fish that should be grilled,[459] or describing workers taking a break for a *marenda*[460] fitted into the ideal text, it seems that the positive image of the Mediterranean way of life was already widespread and accepted throughout Yugoslavia. According to the sociolinguist Ivo Žanić, the Adriatic Melodies, which emerged from tourist activities, were the best platform to

> "thematize not only local patriotic and pastoral motifs, but also as a preview of all the new values of the normative system relevant for the whole country (gender relations, contacts between us and them, i.e. locals and tourists, linguistic and cultural differences, consumer culture, the attitude towards the traditional and modern etc.)."[461]

For the majority of Yugoslav citizens, the Dalmatian style of *zabavna* music reminded them of summer holidays at the Adriatic Sea, a regular occurrence for most of them, while for

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[456] *Gradovi pokraj mora*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7y5aR7ISMpA. Accessed on 2 May 2016.
[457] "Vlatković x2 to je bio Split", *Ritam*, 23 (1 September 1963).
[458] "More, ribe i dueti", *Ritam*, 47 (1 September 1964).
[459] *Uz gradele* (By the Grill), performed in 1964. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QRJy04RKIDA. Accessed on 16 May 2015.
[460] *Marenda* is a typical light meal in Southern Europe, eaten between breakfast and lunch during the work break. In Yugoslavia, the term was of dialectal origin, and thus used only in the coastal area. *Marenda*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SgGeiEwLMj4. Accessed on 16 May 2015.
[461] Žanić Ivo, "Kome se dijalekt opire – konzervativizmu ili modernizmu? Festivali zabavne glazbe i sociokulturna lingvistika suvremene Hrvatske", Pišković Tatjana, Vuković Tvrtko (eds.), *Otpor. Subverzivne prakse u hrvatskome jeziku, književnosti i kulturi. Zbornik radova 42. seminara Zagrebačke slavističke škole* (Zagreb : Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Zagrebačka slavistička škola, 2014), 214-215.

the rest it embodied a much longed-for dream, which was substituted through the images, or sounds, from the media. The Split Festival offered even more, not only the musicians' impressions, but also a flavour of the sea in the words and sounds of the compositions, which could, thanks to the spread of mass media, enter every Yugoslav home. As *Studio* reported:

> "The Split Festival from the very beginning showed that interest in the ancient Dalmatian song had not perished, which with irresistible charm and exuberant Mediterranean temper, sings about our coast, ports and bays, about our sea and the people who live and breathe it, sharing with it all their joy and sorrow. Melodies written in a typically Dalmatian melodic manner gained extraordinary popularity: 'More, moje Jadransko more' [Sea, My Adriatic Sea], 'Sedam galebova' [Seven Seagulls], 'Ja ti *pivam* serenadu' [I Am Singing You a Serenade], and particularly '*Maškare*' [Carnival] – were sung as early as the day after the festival along our shore from Koper to Ulcinj. Their success was followed in subsequent years by the melodies 'Veslaj, veslaj' [Row, Row], 'Dalmatinke male [Little Dalmatian Girls], 'Balada o *tovaru*' [A Ballad about a Mule], 'Vraćam se Splite tebi' [I Am Returning to You, Split], 'Kuća pored mora' [House by the Sea] and '*Nima* Splita do Splita' [There's no Place Like Split]. All these melodies are a standard part of the repertoire of all Yugoslav radio-stations and TV studios, published on LPs and breaking sales records, and even today they are sung on the streets of our Dalmatian places by the 's*vića*' [candle], in *betule* [taverns], at our *rivieras*."[462]

The titles of songs already indicated that the Adriatic Melodies did not only bring motifs and the maritime atmosphere, but also a different type of language.[463] The Dalmatian dialect, thanks to the popularity of records, which were achieving unprecedented sales, was therefore entering homes throughout the whole of Yugoslavia, becoming parts of everyday life to the majority of Yugoslav citizens, at least in terms of recognition, if not understanding.[464] On occasion magazines published translations of "less familiar words" for the audience, as the example of the lyrics of *Šentada na rivi* published in *Studio* demonstrates:

> "Reading the text of the composition we present you with today, some of the readers will have problems with unfamiliar words in the Dalmatian dialect. Therefore we offer you explanations for words which are rarely in use: šentada – bench, riva – shore,

[462] "Šarm dalmatinskog melosa", *Studio,* 70 (7-13 August 1965)
[463] All words in dialect are marked in Italic.
[464] "Šarm dalmatinskog melosa", *Studio,* 70 (7-13 August 1965).

kontrade – narrow town streets, kotula – female skirt, drčat – shiver, gremo – let's go."[465]

However, while some words had to be translated in order for the listener to understand the meaning, other linguistic dialectal specificities soon became a part of the *zabavna* musical vocabulary across Yugoslavia. The fact that the aforementioned review from *Ritam*, published in Belgrade in the Serbian language, used Dalmatian dialectal expressions such as *ćakula* (chit-chat), *fjaka* or the whole motive "kad rivom *projde* Ana" (when Ana goes by the *riviera*) proves that the Dalmatian *koiné* was familiar enough to be used in the media without further explanation.[466] As Žanić explained, the success of certain compositions "shares the positive perception of its characteristics, makes even non-native speakers used to it, and reinforces the inherent connections between the language, geographical area and its culture."[467]

The Mediterranean culture was also promoted on location. The sociologist Ana Petrov located the institution of stereotypical Dalmatian male performers "who were dressed casually, in accordance with the identity of the vagabond or Mediterranean lover they were singing about."[468] Their popularity would reach its peak in the 1970s, especially with the appearance of singers such as Mišo Kovač, one of the first real Yugoslav superstars. Furthermore, the aforementioned Mediterranean Tereza Kesovija, who also came to be known as "the first lady of the Adriatic Melodies," demonstrated the best of her talent in Split, which was finally fully actualized when performing Dalmatian compositions that fitted her temperament. After all, similarly to Ivo Robić, Kesovija usually stressed that she adored performing in front of the Split audience because they shared her emotions: "That is the real audience! The people of Split know how to cheer, how to create an atmosphere, how to carry a singer away with their emotions."[469]

Finally, the scenery in Split was the last touch required to create a typical Mediterranean atmosphere. Staged on the Prokurative square, it was supposed to recreate the image of a Mediterranean town with a long history and culture, but in the end it failed to offer the

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[465] "Svirajte s nama", *Studio*, 139 (3-9 December 1966)

[466] Žanić Ivo, "Kako govori more? Jezična konstrukcija Dalmacije u hrvatskoj zabavnoj glazbi", in Pon Leonard, Vladimir Karabalić, Sanja Cimer (eds.), *Aktualna istraživanja u primijenjenoj lingvistici. Zbornik radova s 25. međunarodnog skupa HDPL-a održanog 12-14. svibnja 2011. u Osijeku* (Osijek: Hrvatsko drutvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 2012), 188.

[467] Žanić, "Kako govori more?", 193.

[468] Petrov Ana, "'My Beautiful Dalmatian Song': (Re)Connecting Serbia and Dalmatia at Concerts of Dalmatian Performers in Belgrade", *TheMA: Open Access Research Journal for Theatre, Music, Arts*, IV/1-2 (2015), 4-5. Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2015/1-2/petrov. Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2015/1-2/petrov. Accessed on 12 June 2016.

[469] "Kome najduži pljesak?", *Studio*, 118 (9-15 July 1966). See also: "Bijeg od anonimnosti", *Studio*, 20 (14-20 August 1964).

landscape that everyone – especially distant television spectators – expected: a view of the Adriatic Sea. Complaints could be read in media reports, especially when the festival became one of the regular tourist exports:

> "This year's location of the festival, framed by the arcades of 'prokurative', could not at all evoke the ambience of the city by the sea, which should be one of the cards used, especially when you bear in mind that the final performance was watched by several million Intervision viewers."[470]

The media transmission of the Adriatic Melodies to the Eastern Bloc was simply another way of performing superiority in the cultural and social sphere. The organizers, nevertheless, had another plan to attract Westerners, and to finally become an equal member of the European entertainment scene.

Once it had been proven that the Split Festival was the most successful Yugoslav music festival, and that it could serve to promote the country, not only culturally but also for tourist purposes, the organizers decided to make it international. The idea was that only the performers of compositions would be foreigners, while the composers would remain local, writing their compositions in an accepted Dalmatian style. In this way, the festival would gain international interest, especially if it attracted famous singers, while retaining the specific Dalmatian/Mediterranean style, which silenced the sceptics who were afraid that the festival would be transformed into a mainstream entertainment event.[471] During the eight years of this new concept, after which the festival returned to its national framework, a whole range of European celebrities performed, including the Spanish singer Betina and the British bands the Shadows and the Lords.[472]

Of course, as pioneers of the light genre, Italian performers were especially welcomed at the festival. The appearances of Domenico Modugno, Claudio Villa and Milva were supposed to attract the attention of European media, but also help with the dissemination of Yugoslav music, once it had been recorded and exported to the international market.[473] Since the songs were performed in two languages, a native singer would sing the Yugoslav version, while a foreigner would sing it in their own language. There was a strong possibility that the foreign version would gain success in the native country of the performer, in so doing disseminating Yugoslav sounds.

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[470] HDA, 2031, 2.1., KUL 465, "Pobjeđuje uhu najbliže",*Večernji list*, 7 August 1967, "Festivalske ćakule", *Studio,* 227 (10-16 August 1968), "Prodor u svijet", *Studio,* 172 (22-28 July 1967).
[471] "Split – još poznatiji", *Studio,* 175 (12-19 August).
[472] "Nastavak započetog", *Studio,* 226 (3-9 August 1968)
[473] Rolandi, *Con ventiquattromila baci,* 157.

The 1969 Adriatic Melodies winning composition *Nono, moj dobri nono* (Grandpa, My Dear Grandpa), and in the Italian version *Il tuo mondo* (Your World), by Nikica Kalodjera, performed by Tereza Kesovija alongside Claudio Villa demonstrates the success of the Dalmatian style of *zabavna* music on several levels.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Toliko prelipi priča pričat si zna* | *You used to tell so many beautiful stories* |
| *tu san upoznala svit, a bila san mala* | *That's where I met the world, and I was so little* |
| *i ne znan da l' san rekla ti fala* | *And I don't even know if I thanked you* |
| *za tajne ča san otkrila ja* | *For all the secrets I had discovered* |
| | |
| *O, nono, nono, nono, dobri moj nono* | *Oh, grandpa, grandpa, grandpa, my dear grandpa* |
| *sve manje ljudi znan ča nalik su na te* | *I meet less and less people that are like you* |
| *o, nono, nono, nono, dobri moj nono* | *Oh, grandpa, grandpa, grandpa, my dear grandpa* |
| *al' sriće o kojoj si priča i ljubavi za te* | *But happiness you told me about, just like love for you* |
| *uvik, znaj, bit će u srcu mom* | *Will always be in my heart, know it* |
| | |
| *Reka si, sićan se dobro i glasa tvog* | *You said, I remember your voice so well* |
| *"Život je spleten od tuge i od veselja* | *"Life is plaited out of sadness and joy* |
| *i pamti, uvik puni smo želja* | *And remember, we're always full of wishes* |
| *al' malo se ostvari od tog"* | *But just a few out of those come true"* |

Similarly to the early days of *zabavna* music, though directly inversely in this case, lyrics were not literally translated, but the main idea was adjusted to the linguistic and aesthetical capacity of different languages.[474] Although the text differs in the two versions, the general atmosphere of sweet melancholy and nostalgia remained the same, as a regular part of the repertoire in the maritime motif. Nevertheless, the melody was written in typical Dalmatian harmony, which required a temperamental and emotional performance in notable contrast with the previous, "Eurovision-style" melancholic performances. According to Kalogjera, he wrote the song with Kesovija in mind as a performer because she was "ingrained in the Mediterranean." However, the choice of Claudio Villa was purely commercial. As Kalogjera confirmed in the interview for *Studio*, "there is no doubt that all the newspapers in Italy will write about his victory, and if he makes a record out of it, it will be a further success, because we do not even have to

[474] *Nono, dobri moj nono* (Granpa, My Dear Granpa), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94SOHR_vVk8, accessed on 28 April 2016. *Il tuo mondo* (Your World), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VQ1_Ft9Elp0, accessed on 28 April 2016.

discuss the sale numbers of his records," and "that is what we call the breakthrough of our *zabavna* music outside of Yugoslavia."[475]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tu mi ricordi di te* | *You remind me of you* |
| *di un mondo che fu* | *Of a world that once existed* |
| *di un vecchio mondo che ormai* | *Of an old world which now* |
| *non può ritornare* | *Cannot return* |
| *eppure mi è rimasto nel cuore* | *Yet, in my heart there is still* |
| *l'amore che io avevo per te* | *The love I had for you* |
| | |
| *Vorrei tornare indietro per un momento* | *I would like to go back for a moment* |
| *ma il tempo non si ferma, corre lontano* | *But time doesn't stop, it runs away* |
| *io stringo forte a me la piccola mano* | *I hold tight the little hand* |
| *che un giorno mi accarezzava* | *That used to caress me* |
| *e da quel giorno i miei ricordi li dedico a te* | *And from that day I dedicate all my memories to you* |
| | |
| *Ero un bambino, ma tu* | *I was a child, but you* |
| *m'insegnavi a capire* | *Were teaching me to understand* |
| *tutte le cose che tu* | *All the things that you* |
| *sapevi da sempre* | *Always knew* |
| *l'amore, l'amicizia e il dolore* | *Love, friendship and pain* |
| *ricordo, le ho imparate da te* | *I remember, I've learned them from you* |

Claudio Villa, indeed, performed the song at the popular Italian music television contest *Canzonissima* at the end of 1969, and as one of the biggest attractions of the show, ensured a certain popularity for the composition, but not a complete breakthrough of Yugoslav popular music.

While the participation of Italian stars like Villa or Milva can be ascribed to a very practical commercial and marketing agenda, the visit of Sergio Endrigo in 1970 had an additional political meaning. Endrigo appeared on the Italian music scene in the 1960s, both as a song-writer and as a performer. His style of music was close to the so-called Genoese-school of Italian singer-songwriters like Luigi Tenco and Fabrizio de Andre, thus being closer to the chanson than to the typical Italian *canzone*. However, being a member of the Italian Communist Party made him an attractive invite to the other shore of the Adriatic. His work was familiar to the Yugoslav public, like that of any other Italian musician. He was a guest on radio and

[475] "Sam sebi konkurencija", *Studio*, 281 (23-29 August 1969).

television shows, like *Crno na bijelom* (Black on White) at TV Zagreb where he performed his successful songs like *Io che amo solo te* (I love Only You) and *Ti amo* (I Love You). In addition, the press informed fans about the details of his life.[476]

Of particular interest was the detail that he was born in the Istrian town of Pula, which he left as a fourteen year old boy in 1947 together with thousands of his compatriots in search of a new life in Italy. However, the media universally avoided referencing the reason behind his move, focusing only on the fact that Pula was his birthplace, which, according to the press, made him deeply connected with the region, and only somewhat a foreigner.[477] Endrigo reconfirmed his attachment to his home region, but also to Yugoslavia and its audience in numerous interviews: "I gladly come to Yugoslavia. After all, blood is thicker than water. I was born in Pula."[478] The fact that he also remained very attached to his native town is evident in the very intimate composition he wrote in 1969, only a year before his performance at the Split Festival. Simply titled *1947*, in Italian public memory it immediately evoked the events known as *esodo*.[479]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Da quella volta non l'ho rivista più* | *From that time I didn't see her again* |
| *Cosa sarà della mia città* | *What will happen to my city* |
| *Ho visto il mondo e mi domando se* | *I've seen the world and I am asking myself* |
| *Sarei lo stesso se fossi ancora là* | *If I would be the same, if I would still be there* |
| | |
| *Non so perché stasera penso a te* | *I don't know why tonight I think of you* |
| *Strada fiorita della gioventù* | *The blooming street of my youth* |
| *Come vorrei essere un albero che sa* | *How I would like to be a tree that knows* |
| *Dove nasce e dove morirà* | *Where it's born and where it is going to die* |
| | |
| *È troppo tardi per ritornare ormai* | *It is too late to return now* |
| *Nessuno più mi riconoscerà* | *No one would recognize me anymore* |
| *La sera è un sogno che non si avvera mai* | *The night is a dream, which never comes true* |
| *Essere un altro e invece sono io* | *To be someone else, but instead it is me* |
| | |
| *Da quella volta non ti ho trovato più* | *From that time I didn't find you again* |
| *Strada fiorita della gioventù* | *The blooming street of my youth* |
| *Come vorrei essere un albero che sa* | *How I would like to be a tree that knows* |
| *Dove nasce e dove morirà* | *Where it's born and where it is going to die* |

[476] "Sergio Endrigo", *Studio*, 50 (20-26 March 1965), "Usred vrućeg lita festival iz Splita", 331 (8-14 August 1970), "Put u vrhove Serđa", *Ritam*, 27 (1 November 1963).
[477] "Lice s fotografije: Sergio Endrigo", *Studio*, 60 (29 May - 4 June 1965).
[478] "Celenatno show", *Studio*, 309 (7-13 March 1970).
[479] *1947*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eiE98Bie9dM. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

Although nostalgia can be read in every verse, as a person with a clear left-wing political position, Endrigo refused to be part of nationalist reflections on the Italian *esodo*. As he explained, for him leaving Pula was a deeply personal experience:

> "1947 is my story, the story of my family dislodged from Pula, from Istria, and even though I did not suffer a lot, because for me who was only fourteen years old, leaving was a bit adventurous. But for my mother it was really shocking to leave the house, friends, the environment, the road that she was travelling along every day, so suddenly. It was really suffering for the grownups. And so I sang it thinking not so much of me, but of them, the adults."[480]

Moreover, as the journalist Ciro Dansotti claimed, his subtle Mediterranean melancholy and his retrospective poetry was exactly the result of the coexistence of the "two races" of the Istrian Peninsula.[481] On the other hand, Endrigo never tried to avoid political engagements in his poetry, always focusing on the reality that Italians lived through, yet avoiding direct confrontation with the complicated past.

However, his performance at the Split Festival in 1970 was completely depoliticized.[482] He was welcomed as an internationally recognized artist, and as a great friend of the Socialist Yugoslavia. His acquiescence in the collective oblivion, but also in the newly established political cohabitation between the two neighbouring states, was also symbolized in the decision made to perform in the Croatian language. By choosing to sing in what was for him a non-native language with which he was still partly familiar, Sergio Endrigo offered a touching and symbolic performance. The composition *Kud plovi ovaj brod* (Where Is This Boat Sailing) performed by the Yugoslav singer Radojka Šverko sounded like another ordinary love song, but coming from Endrigo's mouth, it was imbued with additional meaning, similar to *1947*.[483]

In the end, the song won the top award of the festival. Endrigo enjoyed his short stay with his colleagues from Yugoslavia and Europe, and the media universally expressed their satisfaction with the current stream of Yugoslav popular music, but not a single word was written about the return of Endrigo to the country which was, simultaneously, his and not his, nor about the possible implicit meanings his performance could have had. Similar to other demonstrated cases, the symbolic significance of certain performances served as the final

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[480] Ceri Luciano, "Sergio Endrigo, le sue canzoni... e altro", in Fasoli Doriano, Crippa Stefano (eds.), *Sergio Endrigo. La voce dell'uomo* (Rome: Edizioni Associate, 2002), 66.
[481] Crippa Stefano, "Introduzione", in Fasoli Doriano, Crippa Stefano (eds.), *Sergio Endrigo. La voce dell'uomo* (Rome: Edizioni Associate, 2002), 17.
[482] "Nima Splita do Splita", *Studio*, 330 (1-7 August 1970).
[483] *Kud plovi ovaj brod*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HY0BtjYI0ls. Accessed on 16 May 2015.

reconfirmation of wider political and social processes, especially the Italo–Yugoslav rapprochement after the London Memorandum, and manifestations of good neighbourly relations. Tacit agreement on overcoming the past entailed opening up possibilities for a brighter future, for the exploration of new approaches and ideas in the society and culture, and it seemed that the sea they were sharing served as the perfect basis for a new shared Mediterranean harmony.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kud plovi ovaj brod* | *Where is this boat sailing* |
| *kud ljude odnosi* | *Which takes people away* |
| *i da li i'ko zna* | *And does anyone know* |
| *što more sprema* | *What the sea is preparing* |
| | |
| *Kud vodi ovaj put* | *Where is this journey leading* |
| *kojim smo krenuli* | *That we took* |
| *od svega samo znam* | *The only thing I know* |
| *povratka nema* | *There is no return /* |
| | |
| *Na moru ljubavi* | *At the sea of love* |
| *i na pučini sna* | *And at the offing of dreams* |
| *u plavom beskraju* | *At the blue infinity* |
| *uvijek ostat ću ja* | *I will always stay* |
| | |
| *Kud plovi ovaj brod* | *Where is this boat sailing to* |
| *što srce odnosi* | *Which takes the heart away* |
| *taj put je tako dug* | *The journey is so long* |
| *al' luka nema* | *But there are no ports* |

Finally, this was again confirmed in entertainment and popular music related practices. Shows such as the International Juke Box in the multicultural town of Koper, on the very border of Yugoslavia and Italy, where various singers from Italy and Yugoslavia performed together on the summer stage, became ever more numerous and diverse, soon losing any ideological implications.[484] While this particular show served as a promotional event for the new line of Fiat cars, the majority of events located in coastal sites had a tourist agenda.

[484] "Sve protiv pjesme", *Studio,* 69 (31 July - 6 August 1965).

## 2.4. Music and tourism

Opatija, as the main tourist and entertainment centre, and also due to its proximity to Italy, was the best option for the organization of music spectacles. As the Plan of Shows for 1963 at the Opatija Summer Stage demonstrates, the summer months offered the best entertainment from both sides of the Adriatic shore. Music events included Sanremo–Opatija: the Parade of Festival Singers of *Zabavna* Music; Singers of the Mediterranean: the Parade of Singers from the Mediterranean countries; and Marino Marini: Italian Vocal-Instrumental Quartet.[485] Moreover, as the central entertainment point, Opatija's Summer Stage organization offered up its expertise to other, nearby tourist locations, so these spectacles travelled along the Istrian coast – Pula, Koper, Portorož, and even visited the inland capital of Slovenia – Ljubljana.

The capitals of the republics too, especially Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade as the most Westernized, although not on the coast, participated in the tourist boom, as can also be observed in the entertainment offering.[486] Hence, the organizers of Zagreb Summer Evenings in 1964 invited "the elite of European and world aces of *zabavna* music," announcing Gigliola Cinquetti, the winner of the Sanremo Festival and Eurovision Song Contest, Adriano Celentano, Milva, Arturo Testa, together with other international and domestic stars. Of the Yugoslav selection, Ivo Robić received special treatment in having his own all-night show, thus bringing the spirit of the Adriatic to inland spectators who did not spend their summer on the beach. Similarly, Belgrade Entertains You, albeit with a much less international flavour, brought light entertainment, music and humour to citizens of the capital.[487]

Alongside the summer season, New Year's Eve was the other main point for the organization of major music-entertainment programmes. During the 1960s it became popular to hire popular singers and performers for the evening programs in hotels and restaurants, so they "would attract guests, creating a light-hearted New Year's mood, in that way having a successful commercial effect."[488] Although the practice was widespread throughout Yugoslav cities, the best and most popular singers were appointed in coastal towns, confirming them once again as centres of entertainment. Smaller and peripheral coastal places were hiring "unaffirmed singers," while recognized names signed contracts with the biggest hotels, such as

[485] Državni arhiv u Rijeci (The State Archives in Rijeka, DARI), 732 (PO-35) Ljetna pozornica, Pozornica Opatija. Plan priredbi za 1963. godinu.
[486] AJ, 746 Turistički savez Jugoslavije, K-1 Skupština, Izveštaj Upravnog odbora TSJ podnet Drugoj redovnoj godišnjoj skupštini (20.9.1955., Ohrid).
[487] "Zagrebačko ljeto na televiziji", *Studio*, 12 (19-25 June 1964).
[488] "Drpni što više možeš", *Studio*, 90 (25-31 December 1965).

Mišo Kovač and Arsen Dedić who performed in Hotel Marjan in Split, Ivo Robić and Gabi Novak who performed in Opatija's famous Hotel Kvarner, while other hotels in Opatija offered their guests first-class performers such as Elvira Voća, Lado Leskovar, or Beti Jurković.[489]

Finally, summer resorts, with the advancement of tourism and prolongation of the tourist season throughout the year, brought numerous innovative entertainment practices which finally confirmed the interconnectedness of *zabavna* music and maritime tourism. As tourist prospectuses from the edition *Winter in Yugoslavia* claimed

> "thanks to good climatic conditions, almost the whole of the Adriatic region, protected from cold north and east winds by a number of mountain ranges stretching almost parallel to the sea coast even during the winter, forms a sunny oasis adorned by rich foliage; and the larger resorts and climatic places, which are prepared for visitors throughout the year, are specially recommended for a winter stay."[490]

Dubrovnik, Split, Hvar and Opatija were named as key cities. These conditions made coastal tourist resorts popular throughout the whole year, and so tourist workers put additional effort into providing an entertaining programme for their domestic and international visitors. In such a manner, the Hotel Adriatic in Umag prolonged the season for the entire year, offering performances of domestic and international interpreters of *zabavna* music, singling out the winner of the Sanremo Festival Sergio Endrigo as a special guest of the season.[491] Similarly, the Hotel Adriatic in Opatija organized highly attended music events throughout the whole season, demonstrating there is no such thing as "off-season" anymore.[492] Naturally, Opatija excelled in terms of the quality and popularity of the events, owing to its good infrastructure and international contacts, and so the biggest names of the Yugoslav and international, mainly Italian, scene became regular performers in hotels even during the winter months.[493]

Still, the question of the ratio between international and domestic performers, and moreover, the repertoire became important with the boom of international tourism. From one point of view, it was important to offer foreign visitors some form of entertainment that would be familiar to them. Therefore, some hotel managers specified conditions regarding

[489] "Pošto je nova", *Studio*, 192 (9-15 December 1967), "Tko pjeva?", *Studio*, 142 (24-30 December 1966).
[490] AJ, 746, K-93, Brošura "Winter in Yugoslavia" (1961); Brošure "The winter in Yugoslavia – the most inexepensive sun in the world" (1968).
[491] "Turizam i zabava", *Studio*, 212 (27 April - 3 May 1968).
[492] "'Adriatik' protiv – mrtve sezone", *Ritam*, 59 (1 March 1965).
[493] "U Opatiju stiže i karavana pjevača", *Studio*, 108 (30 April - 6 May 1966), "Gramoteka Studija", *Studio*, 58 (15-21 May 1965).

performers' engagements, namely demanding that the better part of the repertoire should be made up of English and Italian songs.[494]

However, on the other hand, some cultural workers found tourism to be another means to promote Yugoslav *zabavna* music abroad. This stream received support from foreign tourists who themselves demanded a taste of local forms of entertainment, both in the shape of folk or contemporary popular music. The need for "typical local music in smaller coastal taverns, which would provide guests with inexpensive entertainment and create a more intimate, cheerful local atmosphere,"[495] was accompanied by popular music sounds in bigger tourist centres, and their most popular hotels and restaurants. The press reported on the "contemporary demanding tourist," who wanted to discover both Yugoslav traditional and popular culture. For example, three English tourists left a disappointed letter at a hotel in Dubrovnik, complaining that all orchestras performed "beat" music, thus completely neglecting Yugoslav popular songs:

> "We visited the Adriatic Melodies in Split. It appears to us that it is a manifestation of your specific melodies, and we loved the melodies we heard there. Why do none of your orchestras perform them? […] Your ensembles are trying hard to evoke music we already have enough of at home. We do not expect that from you."[496]

Similarly, *Ritam* reported that on one dancing terrace in Dubrovnik, after being annoyed by performance of foreign *schlagers*, "three young Germans approached the orchestra and said to the head: – Herr Kapellmeister, bitte, G-o-l-u-b-o-v-i!"[497] While Ivo Robić and his repertoire were quite familiar to the German public, other popular Yugoslav singers, although relatively unknown in international circles, also guaranteed high quality entertainment.

Accordingly, the Association of Performers of *Zabavna* and *Narodna* Music – *Estrada*, took over the management of the interaction between tourist subjects and artists. The association guaranteed the quality and professionalism of performers, so in 1965 they organized a performance of 150 ensembles and orchestras along the coast. But, at the same time, lots of smaller and peripheral restaurants continued to hire "unauthorized" bands, which were usually cheaper, but of very dubious quality and unreliable.[498] A public campaign to

[494] HDA, 2031, 2.1., KUL 459, "Što učiniti da se naša zabavna muzika posredstvom turizma šire plasira?", *Vjesnik*, 1 July 1969.
[495] AJ, 580 Savezni komitet za turizam, F-31, Ekonomski položaj komuna na turističkim područjima. Materijali za savetovanje (Split, 16.-17. april 1964., Stalna konferencija gradova Jugoslavije), Organizacija kulturno-zabavnog života na području opštine Koper.
[496] "Zabava za dvadeset milijuna", *Studio*, 147 (28 January - 3 February 1967).
[497] "'Čisti' se jadranska obala", *Ritam*, 67 (1 July 1965).
[498] "Uvozili smo orkestre", *Studio*, 148 (4-10 February 1966); "'Čisti' se jadranska obala", *Ritam*, 67 (1 July 1965).

cooperate with *Estrada* in order to offer the best of entertainment to foreigners so as to increase the tourist rating in international circles, especially in comparison with other Mediterranean countries, resulted in some success. Even though there was no legal requirement for hotel and restaurant managers to cooperate with the association, examples of scam arrangements served as a warning to those who wanted to look for the simplest and cheapest way out. The scandal of the fake advertisement of music events in the Hotel Imperijal on Rab and the Hotel Jadran in Tučepi in 1964 was thus bigger, since it involved recognized musicians and performers like Nikica Kalogjera, Gabi Novak, Beti Jurković and Ivica Šerfezi.[499] The announced and highly advertised "event" in both cities was cancelled at the last minute, leaving thousands of guests bitter and disappointed. Although the organizer's identity was never revealed, it was a lesson to all hotel and restaurant managers, as well as performers, whose reputation could be easily compromised, to organize events through official channels. The cost of the international representation of Yugoslavia through tourism was too high to be degraded because of the improvidences of tourist workers.

The majority of famous music names therefore did not want to risk their reputation and salary, and so they stayed faithful to mainstream places and the big hotels of tourist centres like Opatija, Split, Makarska and Dubrovnik. Nevertheless, the need for variety meant that most of them toured along the coast, bringing diversity to the local scene. In the summer months the Adriatic was becoming "the Eldorado of *zabavna* music": "Singers cruise along the coast from one engagement to another. Like arrest warrants, posters with pictures are plastered everywhere."[500] In order to simplify organization, but also to avoid any flows and mistakes, tourist organizations created "music caravans" travelling along the coast, visiting both small and big coastal towns, sometimes with a single performer, but more often with a group of popular singers.[501] Probably inspired by the successful Italian "festival-tour" show *Cantagiro*,[502] in 1967 the Belgrade newspaper *Expres Politika* organized a Yugoslav version of the travelling festival called Song of the Summer 1967.[503] The festival stopped at all major summer resorts, starting from Ulcinj, Bar and Budva in Montenegro, through to Dubrovnik, Makarska, Hvar, Split, Šibenik, Crikvenica, Rijeka and Pula in Croatia, reaching the Slovenian

[499] "Skandal na Jadranu", *Studio*, 18 (31 July – 6 August 1964).
[500] "Zakopane ratne sjekire", *Studio*, 279 (9-15 August 1969); "'Studio' javlja tko je gdje", *Studio*, 279 (9-15 August 1969).
[501] "Susreti na magistrali", *Studio*, 176 (19-25 August 1967); "Stopama Celentana?", *Studio*, 13 (26 June - 2 July 1964); "Pod nebeskim reflektorom", *Studio*, 275 (12-18 July 1969).
[502] Grasso Aldo, *Storia della televisione italiana* (Milano: Garzanti, 2000), 116.
[503] "Pjesme ljeta", *Studio*, 168 (24-30 June 1967).

coast and Portorož. Additional stops in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade reflected the development of international tourism in the centres of the republics.

Finally, the international cultural and tourist importance of Yugoslav performers was confirmed in their participation on the boat tours across the Adriatic, and in the international travels of the Yugoslav sea shipping company Jadrolinija. Alongside the best possible caterer and cooking crew appointed to serve on the international cruise route, the best performers, or at least compositions, made up part of the evening entertainment programme. The cruise ship Jadran, travelling from Split along the Mediterranean coast, up as far as the Pyrenees, employed a band named Estrada, which could interpret over 3000 compositions. Although the repertoire was international, during the cruise hits from the Adriatic Melodies like *Maškare, Veslaj, veslaj* and *Vratio se Šime* (Šime Returned Home) became the most popular.[504] Similarly to the Dubrovački trubaduri after their Eurovision performance, Yugoslav melodies managed to reach international audiences through tourist practices, offering a Mediterranean flavour to its socialist exceptionalism.

[504] "Ploveći orkestar", *Studio*, 12 (19-25 June 1964); HDA, 1599 Savjet za kulturu i nauku NRH (1956-1961), 106 Udruženje operno-simfonijskih muzičara Hrvatske, Savjetu za nauku i kulturu NR Hrvatske, 15. 1. 1958.

# 3. Television and the Spread of Maritime Images

## 3.1. Television programming: Yugoslav vs. republican

Popular culture finally found its perfect medium with the advent of television broadcasting in Yugoslavia. Similarly to other popular culture and mass media phenomena, the process of establishing a specific national style was complicated by various domestic and international factors. The need to balance the particular requests and preferences of different republics with the broader idea of what Yugoslav television should be, while nevertheless never pleading for a unitary policy, was clearly visible in the development of the complex structure of Yugoslav Radio-Television (JRT).

In 1952 the main broadcasting institutions, radio-stations from republican capitals like Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, created the voluntary association Yugoslav Radio-Television, which with the 1955 Basic Law on Broadcasting Institutions became obligatory for all radio and television centres.[505] However, the different economic and operating possibilities of the media centres immediately resulted in the uneven development of innovative broadcasting and programming practices. Because of its continuing cultural tradition and connections with Western circles, Radio Zagreb was a leader in the improvement and creation of new broadcast forms. Unsurprisingly, in the mid-1950s the workers at Radio Zagreb started preparing the ground for the first television broadcast. On the thirtieth anniversary of Radio Zagreb, on 15 May 1956, the transmitter at the Sljeme near Zagreb sent its first signals to the rare owners of television sets.[506] Two years later, an experimental channel, mainly consisting of Italian and Austrian television programmes, was broadened to include joint programmes from television studios in Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana.[507] Symbolically, the Yugoslav television programme, hence, began on the Day of the Republic, 29 November 1958.[508]

Television was supposed to bring to every single home, to every last remote village, "theatre, and opera, and movies, and children's theatre, and art exhibitions, and concerts, …" in that way, "contributing to the collective approach of our people and their collective

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[505] *Jugoslavenska Radiotelevizija Yearbook 1968* (Belgrade: Jugoslavenska radiotelevizija and Yugoslav Institute of Journalism, 1968), 38. For organization of JRT see also: Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia, AJ), 646 Poslovna zajednica radiodifuznih OUR-a "Jugoslovenska radio-televizija", F-1, Zapisnik sa sastanka Inicijativnog Odbor za osnivanje Udruženja radiostanica u FNRJ održan na dan 30 oktobra o.g.
[506] Vončina Nikola, *TV osvaja Hrvatsku: prilozi za povijest radija i televizije u Hrvatskoj III.: (1954.-1958.)* (Zagreb: Hrvatski radio, 1999), 134.
[507] Vončina Nikola, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964. Prilozi za povijest radija i televizije u Hrvatskoj IV.* (Zagreb: Treći program hrvatskog radija, 2001.) 13.
[508] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 19.

familiarizing with acquisitions in the cultural, scientific and economic field."[509] The idea that cultural narrowness could be overcome by a diverse culture with high standards was combined with the need to satisfy heterogeneous audiences. As various surveys demonstrated, expectations from television programmes, especially in the field of culture and entertainment, varied from one social group to another, as they did from one region to another. Therefore, the role of television was to "offer cultural recreation to as many viewers as possible, at the same time not neglecting works of special artistic value," in that way "expanding the horizons of viewers and educating their aesthetic taste."[510] According to the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, that task was "delicate because the audience was diverse in educational level, and drastically differentiated."[511]

However, early television audience research confirmed that viewers' tastes and interests corresponded to expectations from other, older media, such as the press and radio. Robinson's research showed that in radio-broadcasting, the "favorite shows are folk and light music hours based on written or phone-in audience requests, or satirical programmes, sports, and the half-hour of adverts," and it was easy to expect that similar findings would be found for the new medium of television.[512] In 1965, the Yugoslav radio and television audience was extensively analysed via a questionnaire titled The Mass Study. The survey gave a clear answer to the purpose of television as a media, i.e. whether the audience perceived it primarily as a source of entertainment, information or education. A bit more than half of those asked, 51.3 %, replied that television was "primarily a medium for entertainment." Across occupations, the numbers agreeing with that statement were: 75.6 % of workers, 69.3 % of housewives, 66.6 % of artisans, 63.5 % of students, 42.6 % of civil servants, 18.4 % of university professors, 15.4 % of journalists, and 9.4 % of writers. Unsurprisingly, a high number of journalists (42.3 %), civil servants (29.8 %) and university professors believed that television was "primarily a medium for informing," while only 16.7 % of artisans and 12.2 % of workers shared their views, which altogether constituted only 20.3 % of those asked.[513] However, keeping in mind that at the time around two thirds of television subscribers were civil servants and workers, while pensioners and housewives were the biggest consumers of television content, it could be

[509] AJ, 130, 566-942, Stanje i problemi razvitka televizije u Jugoslaviji (Beograd, mart 1964, JRT)
[510] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.
[511] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.
[512] Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 211.
[513] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 152-153.

concluded that the entertainment component was the most preferred.[514] Hence, similarly to other popular culture practices, especially those labelled as entertaining, television was perceived differently by various social groups, but as above survey demonstrates, there was still a major consensus about the necessity of entertainment.

Once again, an ideological failure to understand the needs of the contemporary socialist (wo)man was reconfirmed in higher level discussions about the form and content of television entertainment. According to the media historian Sabina Mihelj, "viewers' preferences were often at odds with the cultural ideals espoused by television professionals and political elites."[515] As was stated in the document Television and Culture from the meeting of the Committee of the PSKJ for Culture in 1970, "cultural programmes on television are not and cannot be just their own affair," and so media workers should have worked closely with cultural ideologues in order to "secure conditions […] for cooperation which will enable them to, through television, express everything that is significant and progressive in our cultural life."[516]

The position of television as a multi-layered and poly-functional medium was complicated in a self-managing society built on the principles of the 1958 renewed Party Programme, which predicted the personal happiness of every single member of the socialist society. Nevertheless, as proved in numerous other cases, and especially reconfirmed in the case of mass and popular culture, ideologues often did not have trust in ordinary citizens to choose what was appropriate for them, or at least they would not allow "demands" and "wishes" to dictate cultural activities in their entirety.[517] The speech of the former Minister of Science and Culture in the Government of Socialist Croatia, Miloš Žanko, during a meeting of the Ideologocial Commission of the Central Committee of the LCC in 1964 can serve as a good example of ideological scepticism towards the taste and desires of ordinary people:

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[514] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Radio i televizija. Perspektivni razvoj i osiguranje materijalne osnove (Socijalistička republika Hrvatska. Republički zavod za planiranje: Zagreb, svibanj 1964.)

[515] Mihelj Sabina, "Television Entertainment in Socialist Eastern Europe. Between Cold War Politics and Global Developments", in Imre Aniko, Timothy Havens, Katalin Lustyk, *Popular Television in Eastern Europe During and Since Socialism* (New York: Routledge 2013), 28.

[516] AJ, 507/VIII, Ideološka komisija Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Jugoslavije (IKCKSKJ), (K-43) II/2-b-248-2, Televizija i kultura (Maj 1970.) – materijal za sjednicu Komisije PSKJ za kulturu održane 3. 6. 1970.

[517] AJ, 507/VIII, (K-43) II/2-b-248-2, Televizija i kultura (Maj 1970.) – materijal za sjednicu Komisije PSKJ za kulturu održane 3. 6. 1970. However, one has to keep in mind that, as Andreas Fickers and Jonathan Bignell concluded, "the resistance to 'light' entertainment and popular formats of mass entertainment is deeply rooted in European intellectual history, and the debates about commercial television represent just one facet of this recurring discourse about 'consumption versus culture'", coming "both from the conservative and the leftist intellectual tradition." Bignell Jonathan, Andreas Fickers (eds.), *A Eurovision Television History* (Malden – Oxford – Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), Fickers, Bignell, "Conclusion: Reflections on Doing European Television History", 235.

> "We could discuss them as well, because this is a problem which occurs, and the question is do we really need surveys that report on the desires and tastes of the audience – those surveys can be an annex, or they can be used for a certain scientific and professional approach, so we can be clear on the wishes and tastes of the audience, but they cannot serve for the simple propagation of the audience's wishes for the programme; those wishes have to be thoroughly socio-politically considered, so we can identify what results from our backwardness, and what is actually the result of our aspirations. […] The question is whether those needs are created by the offering, or whether that which has already been offered creates new needs that did not exist before. In other words, in its own way, the programme creates wishes, a certain style of our programmes creates wishes."[518]

The president of the Central Committee of the LCC Savka Dabčević similarly concluded that the Ideological Commission has a moral obligation, not to prescribe the content, but to create the conditions for the development of high quality entertainment, independent of pressure coming from the masses. This compromising policy was in line with Kardelj's theoretical observations on the role of communists as providers of opportunities for people to become active cultural creators, without judging artistic and cultural trends.[519] As the media scholar Aniko Imre concluded, "socialist entertainment thus occupied a precarious place, carefully navigated by Party authorities: it had to be democratic, addressing all citizens of the State; but it also had to adhere to the standards and values of Eurocentric taste and education. In both imported and domestically produced programs, it had to avoid genres that would create too much excitement about the West or were perceived as in low taste."[520]

Similarly to other popular and mass culture practices, the main ideological confusion came from the non-existence of a central apparatus prescribing rules and obligations on both the republican and Yugoslav level. Thus, JRT representatives requested the formation of a body on the federal level for questions of television and radio-broadcasting. The potential committee would be constituted of delegates from radio-stations, cultural workers, but also of scholars and representatives of technical support in order to comprehend all "questions of policies,

[518] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Stenografski zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH i Ideološke komisije glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza održanog 25. maja 1964. god.
[519] Kardelj Edvard, *O nauci, kritici i kulturi: izbor tekstova* (Subotica: Minerva, 1981), 174.
[520] Imre Aniko, "Adventures in Early Socialist Television Edutainment", in Imre Aniko, Timothy Havens, Katalin Lustyk, *Popular Television in Eastern Europe During and Since Socialism* (New York: Routledge 2013), 47.

development and improvement in the field."[521] Basic programming predicted that TV Belgrade would produce 40 percent of the programmes, while TV Ljubljana and TV Zagreb 30 percent each.[522] Soon, the uneven distribution of broadcasting and the production of separate programmes at the republic level became the central point of future discussions on programming at the ideological level as well.

In afformentioned 1964 meeting of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the LCC with the Ideological Commission of the Main Board of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, the journalist and politician Ivo Bojanić opened up the question of joint programming, requesting the formation of "a coordinating body that would deal with problems concerning the refinement of programmes" from different television centres.[523] Neta Slamnik continued by suggesting that Yugoslav programming should not be

> "an aggregate of different programmes, and we should not have joint programming just because we are a multinational country, but there should be a normal path of development of every television channel. It has to reflect all the specificities of every country's development, and so our television should also reflect it."[524]

In practice it meant that the joint programming was confirmed by the Programming Commission, which was constituted of representatives of all television centres:

> "It defines the principles and the schedule of the programme scheme, while the choice of topics and the quality of their implementation is the task of each station by itself, in this way presenting its perception, and its national expression."[525]

Therefore, each television centre could create its own programme, representing a republic on the Yugoslav scale, but "meeting the understandings, wishes, strivings and possibilities of other Yugoslav radio and television programmes."[526] The other possibility was to make use of the development of the material and technical basis of Yugoslav television, and to solve the national-republic dilemma by introducing two channels. In this scenario, the first channel

[521] AJ, 130 Savezno izvršno vijeće, 566-942 Javno informisanje, Informacija o sastanku potpredsednika SIV-a druga Čolakovića po pitanju daljeg rada na uvođenju televizije dana 10. 1. 1957. god.
[522] Vučetić Radina, *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 381.
[523] HDA, 1220 Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske (CKSKH), 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834 Stenografski zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH i Ideološke komisije glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza održanog 25. maja 1964. god.
[524] HDA, 1220 CKSKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Stenografski zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH i Ideološke komisije glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza održanog 25. maja 1964. god.
[525] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.
[526] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.

would be "all-Yugoslav", made by all existing television centres, which would "be created on the basis of realized experiences and endorsed principles." The second channel would be republic, not by character, but by location, and so it would also use chosen television shows from other Yugoslav television studios that the host studio could not produce on its own.[527]

The new 1965 Basic Law on Broadcasting Institutions liberalized and reduced the obligatory cohesion between television centres. As Gertrude Robinson later observed in her work on the Yugoslav media:

> "Programming in Yugoslavia is strictly a regional matter, with each republic more or less 'doing its own thing'. This is in line with the new kind of grass-roots democracy based on self-management principle introduced in the 1950s. In broadcasting, complete local autonomy is tempered by the economics of programming. Consequently, the radio-stations, which have formed six networks, and the six television studios, supplement locally produced content with a common program to which everyone contributes. Only the press operates primarily on a single paper principle, covering mostly local and regional events."[528]

The independence and equality enforced without central national programming or a pyramidal hierarchy, again distanced Yugoslavia from other communist countries, and made Yugoslav Radio-Television similar to its Western counterparts, evoking the concept of a trade association more than state-controlled media.[529]

Although the JRT Yearbook of 1968 proclaimed that regional programmes remained "the basis of television's future growth in Yugoslavia," the statistics demonstrated that local programming was mostly driven by linguistic needs, and so TV Ljubljana broadcast only 14.1 %, and TV Skopje 16 % of the joint programme.[530] At the same time, in the Serbo/Croatian speaking republics between eighty and a hundred percent of the joint programme was transmitted. However, the television centres in Zagreb and Belgrade, besides the one in Ljubljana, produced the majority of joint programming in the first place. This covered "news and the broadcasting of political and other current events," including central TV news, which

[527] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Radio i televizija. Perspektivni razvoj i osiguranje materijalne osnove (Socijalistička republika Hrvatska. Republički zavod za planiranje: Zagreb, svibanj 1964.), 34-35. Compare with "Jugoslavenski TV-program", *Studio*, 78 (2-8 October 1965).
[528] Robinson Gertrude Joch, *Tito's Maverick Media: The Politics of Mass Communications in Yugoslavia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 207.
[529] Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 50.
[530] *JRT Yearbook*, 52.

was transmitted each day from different television studios, and "current themes and commentary," educational and cultural programmes, as well as entertainment.[531]

Although all television centres rejected the idea of specializing in a certain television genre, as a statement of dismissal of the unitary Yugoslav programme, the implementation of self-management and the ambition to gain a larger viewership implicitly brought with it the creation of a specific style to different studios.[532] The joint programming was therefore made up of the "best achievements" from different TV studios, keeping in mind "different and specific cultural traditions" from all centres, as well as "different and special national styles and expressions, which undoubtedly affects the taste and the interpretation."[533] The development of distinguishing styles was especially visible in the case of television entertainment, as the most creative and innovative television genre.

At the very beginning of the joint experimental programming, in 1958, the idea of a clear distribution of entertainment genres existed at the television centres, and so in following good tradition, TV Belgrade would produce comedy programmes, TV Zagreb would work on television dramas, while TV Ljubljana would focus on *zabavna* music shows, as the most linguistically neutral.[534] However, once genre specialization had been rejected in programming and on the ideological level, all television studios started producing various cultural-entertainment programmes. Several slots in the grid of joint programming were dedicated to various cultural-entertainment shows, mostly during the weekend, since non-working days were the most appropriate for leisure and entertainment.[535] Therefore, the prime-time on a Saturday evening was reserved for Entertainment Programme while on Sunday evenings JRT broadcast a Music Revue.[536] During the first few years, all television studios experimented with various entertainment genres, yet because of their inexperience, none managed to create a show that would be worth making for more than few episodes or the whole season.

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[531] Rusinow Dennison, *The Yugoslav Experiment 1948-1974* (London: C. Hurst for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1977), 142. See also: AJ, 130 Savezno izvršno vijeće, 566-942 Javno informisanje, Izveštaj o reviziji Plana i investicionog programa izgradnje televizije u FNRJ koji je podnela Jugoslovenska radiodifuzija (26. 2. 1958.); Stanje i problemi razvitka televizije u Jugoslaviji (Beograd, mart 1964, JRT).
[532] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 22.
[533] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, O programima RTV Zagreb.
[534] Cilenšek Rado, "Pustolovščina, plod truda mnogih", in Cilenšek Rado et alt., *Televizija prihaja: spominski zbornik o začetkih televizije na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: RTV Slovenija, 1993), 86.
[535] For more on television scheduling and the so-called grid, see: Bourdon Jerome, Juan Carlos Ibanez, Catherine Johnson, Eggo Muller, "Searching for an Identity for Television: Programmes, Genres, Formats", in Bignell Jonathan, Andreas Fickers (eds.), *A Eurovision Television History* (Malden – Oxford – Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 102-103.
[536] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 26.

Soon the relation between TV studios turned from cooperative to competitive, fighting for larger viewership at the federal level. According to the television historian Nikola Vončina, the competitiveness between the studios was expressed in the diversity of shows each studio was preparing, usually basing them on republic traditions and expectations.[537] The example of the data for 1963 demonstrates that TV Belgrade prepared 82 hours of light entertainment shows, TV Zagreb 78, and TV Ljubljana 32 hours, which altogether made up 10.2 % of the joint programming.[538] Finally, the implementation of self-management on all levels, including at cultural and media institutions, "redefined the goals, responsibilities, financing, and management of radio and television," so "in order to compete for and satisfy diverse audience interests," television studios focused on innovative new genres like quizzes, satirical shows and *zabavna* music shows.[539]

Although unlike the majority of socialist countries, Yugoslavia did not reject the West and its culture, the fear was present that Western popular culture would prove to be too seductive to Yugoslav audiences, and therefore negatively influence the development of specifically Yugoslav and socialist forms of entertainment. Vončina spotted several occasions on which the television management was accused of being too influenced by Western, but more troubling "bourgeois" models and "petit-bourgeois tastelessness."[540] These problems were also discussed on local levels, usually as a part of broader cultural politics. At the 1964 City Committee of Zagreb meeting, the Committee concluded:

> "Too often we watch false life and cheap (in terms of quality, not spent funds) and shallow entertainment on television screens, which we could, without remorse, label as 'import'. Certainly, we are not against entertainment shows, we know they cannot always be at a high level, because the conditions (space, staff and funds) in which Studio Zagreb works are more than bad."[541]

The problem of conditions surrounding the creation of quality programmes, including entertainment, became crucial for cultural and media workers. If worried ideologues wanted a higher level of content and forms, they had to focus on the material basis that would enable them. But not only that, the technical conditions could not fully foster creativity and artistic aspirations for new, so far non-existent genres. Hence, Yugoslav television managers justified

[537] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 22.
[538] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.
[539] Robinson, *Tito's Maverick Media*, 51.
[540] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 32.
[541] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 755, Aktualna pitanja naše kulturne politike i zadaci SK, Gradski komitet SKH, Zagreb, maj 1964.

their sometimes poor, sometimes imitated, programmes, with the lack of tradition in Yugoslav entertainment history, "while in other countries televisions could build up their programming on the solid traditions of already developed cinema, the experiences of large revues, cabaret and variety shows."[542]

Therefore, in a certain sense, television was a vanguard in the creation of new genres of mass and popular entertainment. Yugoslav television also tried to base its first attempts to create a specific television entertainment show on already existing music-scene related genres like cabaret or circus, with varying success in originality and quality. Additionally, unlike theatre or cinema, television had to mass produce its content. This required a "notable number of professional and specialized writers and performers, with a large potential and the multiple competences of – directors, choreographers and so on."[543] Since the majority of Yugoslav television workers were unexperienced, while those who actually did have some knowledge about television entertainment were small in number, once again, Yugoslavia had to look to its overseas neighbour – Italy.

## 3.2. RAI: Italian programmes in Yugoslavia

Similarly to the case of popular music, Italian media influences had a tradition that had lasted longer than official cooperation between the two respective broadcasting networks. This was especially the case along the Adriatic coast in the late 1940s and early 1950s, where Italian radio-stations were popular, not only because of their content, but also because the reception of signals from Yugoslavia was so bad that the inhabitants of coastal places did not really have any choice but to listen to Italian broadcasts.[544] Likewise, the rare owners of television sets were compelled to catch Italian signals in the period before the beginning of Yugoslav broadcasting – in 1956 in Croatia, or 1958 on the Yugoslav level.[545] However, since political and cultural connections were finally re-established a few years earlier with the London Memorandum, not only was it the case that Yugoslav officials and media workers did not mind

[542] AJ, 130, 566-942, Stanje i problemi razvitka televizije u Jugoslaviji (Beograd, mart 1964, JRT). Compare with: Mellencamp Patricia, "Situation Comedy, Feminism, and Freud. Discourses of Gracie and Lucy", in Bignell Jonathan, Andreas Fickers (eds.), *A Eurovision Television History* (Malden – Oxford – Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 80; Fickers, Bignell, "Conclusion: Reflections on Doing European Television History", 234.
[543] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, O programima RTV Zagreb.
[544] Vončina Nikola, *Dvanaest prevratnih godina: 1941. – 1953.: prilozi za povijest radija u Hrvatskoj II.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski radio, 1997), 246.
[545] AJ, 646, F-1, Stenografske beleške sa sastanka pretstavnika Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije održano 10. 1. 1957. g. u Beogradu. See also: Janjetović, Zoran, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* (Belgrade: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 70.

Italian interference in the Yugoslav media space, but they actually adopted it as part of official practice during the period of "experimental programming". Strong signals from Italian transmitters guaranteed that in the first few years Studio Zagreb, which emerged from Radio Zagreb, could broadcast Italian programmes, together with Austrian onces, during the empty slots in Yugoslav programming.[546] As the president of Radio Zagreb, Zlatko Sinobad, reported at the meeting of representatives of Yugoslav Radio-Broadcasting in 1957, the television station in Zagreb did not only use its Italian connection for the transmission of Italian programmes, but also for European Broadcasting Union programmes in general, and all of that for free.[547]

While the acceptance of Italian entertainment content could be justified within the wider ideological consent with Western commercialized popular culture present, serious political programmes were found more politically questionable, despite the proclaimed rapprochement between the two countries. Central television news was particularly problematic because the RAI, managed by the Christian Democrats, could at any moment spread "anti-communist propaganda."[548] Hence, in the first few years, foreign channels were broadcast after the daily news slot, so that the problem was delicately avoided.[549] Later, with consent gained for decentralized television programming, Slovenian and Croatian television centres established their own connections with the RAI, and included news as a part of the programmes exchanged. Although there existed a certain worry from the authorities that Western propaganda could threaten the regime, the director of TV Ljubljana France Perovšek believed that "the Yugoslav television viewers have enough sense to receive foreign information, and they have the right to be informed, and a social system that does not respect these facts is not worth existing."[550]

Ideological liberalization could be noticed on an everyday level in multiple practices. If, with the opening of the borders in the mid-1960s, people could freely circulate between the West and the East, there could not be obstacles for information as well. Therefore, if the ideologues wanted to make citizens believe in the openness and democratization of the regime, they could not support censorship or restrict information from abroad. In this way, the approval

[546] Vončina Nikola, *TV osvaja Hrvatsku*, 134.
[547] AJ, 646, F-1, Stenografske beleške sa sastanka pretstavnika Jugoslovenske radiodifuzije održano 10. 1. 1957. g. u Beogradu.
[548] Pohar Lado, "Začetki radia in televizije v svetu in pri nas", in Cilenšek Rado et alt., *Televizija prihaja: spominski zbornik o začetkih televizije na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: RTV Slovenija, 1993), 15.
[549] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 21.
[550] Pušnik Maruša, Gregor Starc, "An entertaining (r)evolution: the rise of television in socialist Slovenia", *Media Culture & Society*, Vol. 30, No. 6 (2008), 782-783. Compare with: Imre, "Adventures in Early Socialist Television Edutainment", 46-47.

of transmissions of all foreign television programmes was another sign of the liberalization of the cultural and media sphere in Yugoslavia. Finally, in 1963 for example, Yugoslav Radio-Television broadcast 170 hours of foreign programmes, of which 31 hours were from Eurovision, two hours were from Intervision, and 37 hours solely from the RAI.[551]

Italian television programmes were naturally most popular on the coast, where because of bad signals from Yugoslav television studios, they were sometimes the only possibility for coastal inhabitants. Hence, as early as in 1957 the Board of Directors of Yugoslav Radio-Broadcasting discussed the possibility of a special network of transmitters along the coast, also because of its tourist importance.[552] However, not everyone on the Board agreed with the prioritization of coastal places, which were already privileged on multiple levels, as well as in the field of entertainment offerings. Similarly to the debate about the democratization of music and the distribution of cultural artefacts in less developed parts of Yugoslavia like Macedonia or Kosovo, in the late 1950s, during which Croatia and Slovenia were already experiencing rapid modernization, there was a pressure on the ideological level to focus more on the southeastern parts of the country. Consequently, intense testing and the establishment of connections in 1959 led to the first television programme broadcast in the Macedonian cities of Bitola and Prilep. The programme was, obviously, Italian.[553] Yugoslav programmes reached Macedonia later, with the expansion of the transmission network, while a television studio was established in Skopje in 1964, finally offering a programme in the Macedonian language.

Another stage in Yugo–Italian television cooperation commenced in the mid-1960s when Yugoslav Radio-Television decided to introduce a second channel. While the debate on the nature of the future second channel was mostly focused around ratios of local to regional programming, there was an additional agenda to it – the ratio of domestic to foreign programmes. A document named The State and Problems of Television Development in Yugoslavia produced by JRT for discussion at the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia in 1964 therefore suggested alternating between two channels could also "retain viewers' interest in our television," in a time when the majority of the country was receiving direct signals from abroad.[554] Nevertheless, technical and economic issues once again forced Yugoslav television operatives to turn to their Italian colleagues. On the fortieth anniversary of Radio Zagreb and

[551] AJ 130, 566-942, Stanje i problemi razvitka televizije u Jugoslaviji (Beograd, mart 1964, JRT).
[552] AJ, 646, F-1, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Upravnog odbora Radiodifuzije Jugoslavije održane 29. januara 1957 godine u Beogradu.
[553] "Italijanski TV program moguće je prenositi u Skopju", *Radiotelevizija: Časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 27 (1959); "Odličan prijem italijanske televizije na Pelisteru", *Radiotelevizija: časopis jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 29 (1959).
[554] AJ, 130, 566-942, Stanje i problemi razvitka televizije u Jugoslaviji (Beograd, mart 1964, JRT).

tenth anniversary of the first television broadcast, on 15 May 1966, TV Zagreb, as a pioneer of Yugoslav television broadcasting, started broadcasting a second channel, which "since the opportunities in the studio are limited, will mostly be showing the second channel of Italian television."[555] Even later, when JRT finally started producing enough domestic programmes for two channels, Italian television shows were still occasionally transmitted and reported on in the media for interested Yugoslav audiences.[556]

The popularity of Italian programmes did not only result from a lack of Yugoslav production, but also from the status that Italian television had in the European entertainment industry. As *Studio* brought in a reportage about RAI in its very first issue, "although it is not the oldest in Europe, today there is a public consensus that most of their shows reached the highest level, and an enviable quality."[557] On the one hand, large investments, and on the other, a focus on entertaining content functioning as a national uniting policy in the face of political diversity, made RAI masters of entertainment production.[558] Starting with quiz/game shows like *Lascia o radoppia* (Leave It Or Double It) hosted by the Italo-American Mike Bongiorno, which "gained such popularity that on a Saturday evening you could almost not encounter a single person on streets,"[559] or *Campanile sera* (The Evening Bell), "doubtlessly the most peculiar invention of the RAI," where instead of individuals, groups of representatives of a village or a city competed;[560] through to *Carosello* (The Carousel), an advertising show that still "affirmed true stylistic research and a narrative methodology,"[561] finally through to numerous music shows such as *Il Musichiere*, *Studio 1* and *Canzonissima*.[562]

Unsurprisingly, all these shows gained huge popularity in Yugoslavia, offering Yugoslav audiences something unseen and thrilling, all packed in a popular and familiar Italian style. The press dedicated to television programming regularly singled out recommendations for the popular "entertaining-music shows, which Italians know how to make."[563] Italian shows gained such popularity that their actors – presenters and musicians – became parts of the everyday life of Yugoslav citizens. Similarly to the singers and performers at the Sanremo

[555] Arhiv Hrvatske Radio-televizije (Archives of Croatian Radio-Television, AHRT), U-VI-24/9, "Drugi program TV Zagreb", *Vjesnik*, 14 April 1966.
[556] "Upozoravamo vas", *Studio*, 233 (21-27 September 1968).
[557] "30 sekunda – 2 milijuna", *Studio*, 1 (3-10 April 1964)
[558] "Najbogatija TV Evrope", *Studio*, 105 (9-15 April 1966)
[559] "30 sekunda – 2 milijuna", *Studio*, 1 (3-10 April 1964)
[560] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 82-83.
[561] Grasso, *La storia della televisione italiana*, xvii.
[562] Vončina, *TV osvaja Hrvatsku*, 241; "30 sekunda – 2 milijuna", *Studio*, 1 (3-10 April 1964).
[563] "Muzičko-zabavna emisija", *Studio*, 94 (22-28 January 1966). Compare with: "Novi show: pedeset interpretatora", *Studio*, 25 (18-24 September 1964); "Na II programu: 'Cantagiro' u 3 grupe", *Studio*, 121 (30 July – 5 August 1966); "Zabavno-muzička emisija", *Studio*, 228 (17-23 August 1968).

Festival, names such as Mike Bongiorno, or singers like Gianni Morandi and Rita Pavone, who gained popularity through their numerous performances on television shows, did not require a specific and dedicated passion for Italian entertainment, but were part of the shared general knowledge of all Yugoslav citizens, who were participating at least a little in popular culture practices.

Again, the fascination with Italy, combined with the inexperience of television workers, became useful in striving to produce distinguished Yugoslav television entertainment. Beginning with television drama and fiction series for children, the creators of Yugoslav programmes almost literally copied Italian equivalents, thus not only being inspired by form or content alone, but rather taking complete technical and artistic solutions for specific genres. Therefore, TV Zagreb's television series for children, *Stoljetna eskadra* (Centuries-Old Squadron), was a clear copy of RAI's adaptation of R. L. Stevenson's book *Treasure Island*.[564] Obvious similarities could be found in domestically produced quizzes and game shows, and so television critics easily detected that TV Ljubljana's show *Takmičite se s nama* (Compete with us), as well as the popular TV Belgrade show *Da ili ne* (Yes or no), were inspired by *Campanille sera*, so that even "all rounds were almost the same."[565] Moreover, traces of "mega-shows" like *Canzonissima*, *Studio uno* or *Il Musichiere* could be found in all early attempts to make a domestic music television show.

In the beginning, television critics were usually mild in their criticism, keeping in mind the financial capacity of JRT, as well as the non-existence of drama tradition appropriate for the medium of television. Nevertheless, they still dared to question whether a clear imitation of Italian shows was a good stimulus for the development of domestic production. This was exactly what the president of the JRT Board of Directors Ivo Bojanić proudly asserted in 1967 at a meeting with a delegation from Italian television.[566] However, expectedly, the Commission for the Ideological Work of the Central Committee of the LCY thought that Yugoslav television programmes had to be analysed, and if necessary, changes made to the television staff, in order to "successfully liberate ourselves from the spirit of the imitation of Western television stations, as well from highlighted petit-bourgeois tastes."[567] The problem was especially evident in light

[564] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 82-83.
[565] "Sezona kviza", *Ritam*, 51 (1 November 1964). See also: AHRT, U-VI-24/9, "Sedam dana televizije", *Vjesnik*, 12 October 1966; Vončina Nikola, *Najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971. Prilozi za povijest radija i televizije u Hrvatskoj V.* (Zagreb: Hrvatska radiotelevizija, 2003), 149.
[566] "RAI-JRT", *Studio*, 160 (29 April – 5 May 1967).
[567] AJ, 507/VIII CK SKJ, (K-10) II/2-b-166-2, Zapisnik sa sastanka Komisije za Ideološki rad CK SKJ, koji je održan 1. juna 1962.

entertainment shows that were "in the initial phase of establishing their own physiognomy and independent style."[568]

The viewers were, nevertheless, more or less consciously, comparing Italian and Yugoslav programmes, desiring the latter to reach the quality of the shows they had got used to watching on RAI. The audience usually complained about the low quality of production in comparison to Italian shows, while some, such as the painter Edo Murtić, believed that Yugoslav television as a non-commercial tool for socialist education, should hold itself to higher standards in both informative/educational and entertainment programmes.[569] Of special interest, and of value to Yugoslav cultural ideologues and programme makers, were opinion polls from the coast, where watching Italian programmes had been the only possibility for a long time. Objections to Yugoslav programmes usually came from the lack of an offering available on RAI, such as family and child related content. Moreover, the quality of Yugoslav programmes remained unsatisfactory after the experimental phase was finally over, and so viewers complained,

> "because there are no photos in the news, because of blank pauses, because of pauses only filled with photos without a single word of written text (they could explain which city they are showing, which river…), then because of programme changes, especially when they do not announce that the transmitter at the Učka mountain will be switched off the whole day, because of a late start of the programme (because people have to wake up early), because of unclear text in serial movies, because there are no apologies during the interruptions, because of apologies during interruptions, which do not explain what happened…"[570]

Nevertheless, the majority of the viewers interviewed displayed a positive attitude towards JRT's striving to create domestic programmes, and especially entertainment that reflected Yugoslav reality.

Domestically produced television entertainment shows, however, were gaining ever more popularity, with the rise in quality and experience of the television producers. The first television shows produced by TV Zagreb varied in quality, but they contributed to the acceptance of, and interest in domestic shows as equivalents of Italian entertainment programmes.[571] The success was additionally motivating, keeping in mind that the yearly

[568] AJ, 507/VIII CK SKJ, (K-10) II/2-b-166-6, O nekim vidovima stranog uticaja u našoj zemlji (Izvod iz materijala i zapisnika Komisije za ideološki rad CK SKJ).
[569] "A emisije iz kulture?", *Studio,* 18 (31 July-6 August 1964).
[570] "Istra gleda (i komentira) JRT", *Studio,* 2 (10-17 April 1964).
[571] Vončina, *TV osvaja Hrvatsku*, 241.

budget of Yugoslav television studios was smaller than the sum that Italian television payed for the production of only one episode of the most successful shows like *Canzonissima*.[572] Finally, building on the successs of the *zabavna* music genre, and the tourist and cultural discovery of the Adriatic, Yugoslav television became able to produce its own specifically Yugoslav entertainment television.

## 3.3. Music television shows

The practice established during the experimental phase of joint programming included entertainment shows on weekend evenings. The description in the television grid, Entertainment Programme and Music Revue was vague enough to include a wide range of shows, which were mostly amateurishly produced at first, as a combination of different entertainment genres like vaudeville, cabaret, circus, light music and folklore, generically named *Pjesma, smijeh, ljubav* (Song, Laughter, Love) or *Predstavljamo Vam* (We Present You…). Testing different televisual entertainment genres led to an instability in programme production, and so most of the shows broadcast in the first few years disappeared after only a few episodes, and never really fully came to life on air.[573]

One of the first shows that survived for a full season was TV Zagreb's 1960 production named *Improvizacije* (Improvisations), which was also one of the first programmes that experimented with the visual potential of *zabavna* music. At the same time, the show *Improvizacije* can also serve as a good example demonstrating the types of difficulties that producers of music television shows faced. A critic from *Večernji list*, for example, called *Improvizacije* "a premature baby of operetta and musical revue."[574] The problem of the non-applicability of the already existing entertainment genres, coming from different forms of theatre, radio and cinema, was recognized by television workers as well. The official monthly publication of TV Zagreb, the *Bilten Radio-televizije Zagreb* (The Bulletin of Radio-Television Zagreb) dedicated numerous articles to this problem. In an article from 1962 named On Some Misunderstandings About TV Entertainment and TV Entertainers, similarly to television critics from regular newspapers, the biggest obstacle to high quality television entertainment was detected in the lack of tradition and innovativeness:

[572] "Kanconisima – muzička referendum italijanske televizije", *Ritam*, 5 (1962). See also: "Financijska TV-zavjesa", *Studio*, 14 (3-9 July 1964).
[573] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 41.
[574] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 79.

"The situation is even more complicated because the light drama genres, *estrada* and musical comedy are quite underdeveloped (or do not exist at all) in our theatre and cinema […]. However, the absence and poverty of scenic entertainment was not fully perceived until the advent of television. […] When we claim that entertaining-scenic material was inadequately presented on television, then we have to keep in mind the following: authors wrote texts that were more suitable for staging in a theatre or on the radio, the actors were acting as if they were in a theatre, the singers sang like at concerts, the choreographers were preparing ballet as for theatre plays, the scenographers set up theatre scenography, and so on, while television directors, also insecure in their work, tried to cram all that into the narrow space of the telescreen."[575]

The chief editor of the entertainment section Aleksandar Bjelousov also agreed that the lack of entertaining content written specifically for television was the biggest obstacle to the creation of specifically Yugoslav entertainment programmes, namely those that ought to no longer rely on traditional forms or foreign examples.[576] An ideological approach, once again, brought additional requests to entertaining television formats, demanding stronger principles in order to avoid "the same weaknesses from which our *zabavna* music life suffers in general (superficiality, kitsch, formalisms, emptiness)."[577]

At the same time, nevertheless, some ideological and cultural workers, like Anica Magašić, the director of the Museum of the Revolution of the Peoples of Croatia, who despite the low quality of the content praised the effort and success of the entertainment programme for acting in a unitary fashion despite the different cultural expectations across the country, claiming that the "entertainment programme is all-Yugoslav, and we can sing and dance to everything."[578] The performers were viewed as Yugoslavs, and not as specifically Slovenian or Croatian or Serbian. In this way, the entertainment programme could work as a combination of productions from all television centres since *zabavna* music, as the core of the programme, was considered a shared cultural, artistic and entertaining value, free from nationalisms.

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[575] "O nekim nesporazumima oko TV zabave i TV zabavljača", *Bilten Radio-televizije Zagreb*, 9-10 (1962).
[576] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 69. See also: HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I 8.74, 834, Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima.
[577] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834 O programima RTV Zagreb. See also: HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 755, Stenografski zapisnik proširenog sastanka Gradskog komiteta SKH, Zagreb, održan 18. maja 1964. godine
[578] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Stenografski zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH i Ideološke komisije glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza održanog 25. maja 1964. god.

The few rare examples of music television shows preserved in the internal archives of TV Zagreb (today Croatian Radio-Television) demonstrate representations of Yugoslav togetherness on several levels.[579] Music television shows, based on Italian examples and simply much less glamorous and expensive, were soon standardized by a quick interchange of music, dance and sketches. Furthermore, musical sections were usually prepared as a sort of a potpourri of successful hits, in which singers were alternating, yet without ever really disappearing from the scene, instead joining the rest of performers in the background, sometimes as dancers, sometimes as backing vocals. Since the line-up of singers was usually from a mixed background, both of styles and nationality, their joyful artistic cooperation could have been seen as a true manifestation of "brotherhood and unity."[580]

Ideological agreement concerning the potential of entertainment programmes positively incited television workers and producers of music television shows, and together with their growing experience, by the mid-1960s Yugoslav Radio-Television broadcast numerous shows which easily became popular with their audience. For example, the JRT Yearbook of 1968 included the full list of the most popular shows, demonstrating the variety of productions in style and form. Music shows included serial music shows like *TV Magazine* (TV Zagreb) and *Meeting Your Wishes* (TV Belgrade), and the one-off special shows *An Evening at Skadarlija* (TV Belgrade) and *In the Song of the Siren* (TV Zagreb). The television screenings of *zabavna* music festivals were especially popular, such as the show *Nothing Like Split* (TV Zagreb) in the aftermath of the Adriatic Melodies, or local festivals like Krapina 1967 (TV Zagreb) and the *First Accordion* (TV Belgrade). In addition, international music competitions had a specific place in the annual schedule, including the Eurovision Song Contest (TV Ljubljana) and Golden Key Note (TV Zagreb). During the summer, understood as a holiday period dedicated to relaxation and leisure, Yugoslav television offered additional entertainment shows like *Sunny Caravan* (TV Belgrade), *Song of Summer* (TV Belgrade), and maritime-themed shows produced by TV Zagreb – *In the Sing of the Siren* and *On Land and Sea*.

Finally, in order to display its cosmpolitanism, and yet also to fill in gaps in the programming schedules, JRT screened numerous foreign music shows from both sides of the

[579] Most of the material from the early programming of JRT, including RTV Zagreb, was transmitted directly, or was overwritten across the decades. For research purposes, I collected examples of the music shows *Na licu mjesta, Na kraju ljeta, TV magazin* and the New Year's Eve show, which could serve as representative examples of the production of Yugoslav music entertainment television shows.

[580] Informacijsko-dokumentacijsko-komunikacijska služba Hrvatske radio-televizije (INDOK HRT, Information-documentation-communication service of Croatian Radio-Television), IMX-25215, *Na licu mjesta*, 31. 12. 1963.; IMX-25358, *Na kraju ljeta*, 1. 1. 1968.; IMX-25218, *TV Magazin*, 21. 11. 1967.; IMX-28175, *TV Magazin*, 1. 1. 1968.; IMX-32973, *TV Magazin, ulomak*, 1. 1. 1969.

Iron Curtain, such as *French Songs at the Arc de Triomphe* (TV Belgrade), the West-German *Studio Europe* and *Grand Gala de Disque*, as well as *Budapest, You Are Wonderful* (TV Zagreb), *Guests from Bulgaria* (TV Belgrade) and *Semaphore from Czechoslovakia* (TV Zagreb).[581] The list was exhaustive and it included music and entertainment programmes, transmissions of popular music festivals, international programmes from both the East and West, folklore and jazz music, as well as conventional music television shows in an Italian style. In all this diversity, interestingly, the motif of summer played an outstanding role, together with related concepts such as sun and the sea.

As the 1968 programming schedule example illustratrated, television centres regularly transmitted numerous popular music festivals, either live or recorded, both from the domestically produced (Opatija Festival, The Adriatic Melodies, Belgrade Spring, Showcase for the Yugoslav Representative at the Eurovision Song Contest), as well as famous international festivals such as the Sanremo Festival and Eurovision Song Contest.[582] With the growth of production of JRT, however, television centres only started broadcasting on the final evenings of some festivals, which some critics found problematic since they were "the most watched television spectacles," so that "millions of Yugoslavs should have the possibility to watch whatever entertains them," especially because, in the end, "it is better to watch domestic festivals than the foreign 'Studio Uno.'"[583] Not only festivals, hence, served as an additional form of entertainment show competing with popular and higher quality Italian shows, but they also served to fulfil larger Yugoslav ambitions – demonstrating the success of Yugoslavia to the outside world.

While participation in and the broadcasting of the Eurovision Song Contest and the Intervision equivalent The Golden Key of Bratislava served as a platform to demonstrate to Yugoslav citizens how representative their country was in comparison with their Western and Eastern counterparts, the transmission of Yugoslav festivals on the Eurovision and Intervision channels served as pure propaganda to foreigners, not only in a cultural and artistic way, but also on the ideological level. By broadcasting numerous popular Yugoslav festivals in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the GDR or the USSR, as well as occasionally in Great Britain, and even Japan, Yugoslavia had an opportunity to show how liberal and democratic

[581] *JRT Yearbook*, 186-187.
[582] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 157-158. See also: "Note i snijeg", *Studio*, 198 (20-26 January 1968); "TV-koktel s ledom", *Studio*, 18 (31 July - 6 August 1964).
[583] "TV i 'Zagreb 66'", *Studio*, 104 (2-8 April 1966).

the country was, how happy its citizens were and how it had managed to secure entertainment in socialist everyday life without censorship.[584]

This was especially the case with the Adriatic Melodies, as the most successful and most popular Yugoslav music festival, which additionally served perfectly for tourist propaganda. Although not visible on the screen, the sea could be felt in the atmosphere and songs, and in the visual intermezzos of everyday life in Split during the festival, thus demonstrating the dream of the socialist Mediterranean lifestyle in its full glory.

Similarly, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, the music event International Juke Box in Koper in 1965, also described as a "transadriatic fraternization of our and Italian *zabavna* music," was recognized as a refreshing visual spectacle of Yugoslav television:

> "The skilful play of the camera on the facade of the old palace and on the faces of the audience, the rotation of roles and frames, the spontaneously fast pace of sequencing acts, the humorous and easy-going announcing of the Italian *signore di mezza eta* ('middle-aged sir') who we remember from the revue 'Studio Uno' – his entertaining appearance even to those who could not follow Italian – all this created a pleasant experience."[585]

The director of the spectacle was Anton Marti, a director who during the 1960s would become recognized as the most successful director of Yugoslav television entertainment and music shows, his talent being fully expressed in the outdoor shootings, thus recreating a vivid Mediterranean atmosphere once again.

Anton Marti's talent for music television shows was easily recognized. For example, his show *Na kraju ljeta* (At the End of Summer) was extremely successful, not only with the audience, but also among critics who demanded an "artistic" approach to the entertainment genre. The television critic Žika Bogdanović wrote in *Borba*:

> "Nothing is happening without a reason. He [Marti] would, for instance, use an extreme close-up shot of Tereza Kesovija because of her expressive eyes, Lola Novaković cools herself with a fan so the audience can wonder if she got it from the tour in Japan, and if [Marti] places the semi-profile of Beti Jurković in one corner of the screen, he makes it match with the decorative line on the other side."[586]

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[584] See examples: "Veza preko granica", *Studio*, 7 (15-21 May 1964); "Sve o prijenosu 'Opatije 64'", *Studio*, 27 (2-8 October 1964); "Melodije Jadrana", *Studio*, 20 (14-20 August 1964).
[585] "Renesansa festivala?", *TV Novosti*, (21-27 August 1965).
[586] Vončina, *Najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971*, (Zagreb: Hrvatska radiotelevizija, 2003), 235.

Indeed, Marti was an expert in television directing and his new show imported interesting innovations in the visual expression of musical performance, but his specific approach to each performer could also be interpreted as a sign of the individual profile that was ascribed to a popular music star. Similarly, in the show *Videofon* he managed to "make portraits of all the important composers, vocal and instrumental performers and groups," not only from *estrada*, but also from abroad, giving the upper hand, as always, to famous Italian stars.[587]

Here, Marti had a big advantage. Born in the Istrian town of Labin, he moved to Trieste during his schooling, and later graduated in acting in Rome. He returned to Yugoslavia only in 1956 upon the invitation of Slovenian and Croatian television workers.[588] Fluent in Italian and an expert in Italian popular culture and entertainment, it was quite easy for him to bring Italian guests onto Yugoslav shows. This advantage was especially visible in the summer when the majority of Yugoslav singers were touring along the Adriatic. Thanks to his contacts and language skills, he used every opportunity to record Italian singers and then would only use the recordings during the summer months. Only in 1964 did he manage to record and broadcast performances of Pino Donaggio, Gianni Meccia, Mirando Martino, Milva and Arturo Testa.[589] Similarly, in the upcoming years, diverse television shows produced by TV Zagreb, such as *Ljetni intermezzo* (Summer Intermezzo) or *Tražimo naslov* (Searching for a Title), hosted the most popular Italian performers.[590] The connection with Italy was obvious in other cases of successful television directors or writers as well, such as Mario Bogliuni (also from Istria), Igor Michielli or Mario Fanelli (born in Italy). Together with Marti, they all resonated in terms of their Italian heritage, and moreover, were capable of getting the best Italian influences and experiments for the Yugoslav context.

While the forms of certain television shows were simply a combination of the best melodies from the festivals, like the television show *S naših festivala* (From Our Festivals), the Yugoslav directors and creators of television shows tried to find an innovative way of producing visual music shows.[591] The first big success came with the show *Na licu mjesta* (On the Spot), which like most Yugoslav television shows, was still searching for a more specific format, and was made of a mosaic structure of different performative music acts, singing and dancing. The only available example of the show, from 1963, includes a potpourri of popular

[587] Vončina, *Najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971*, 190.
[588] "Reakcije njet!", *Studio*, 201 (10-16 February 1968).
[589] "Leto je sigurno", *Ritam*, 43 (1 July 1964).
[590] "TV-revija pjevača", *Studio*, 65 (3-9 July 1965); "Traži se naslov", *Studio*, 42 (23-29 January 1965); "Fotoreportaža", *Studio*, 132 (15-21 October 1966).
[591] "Još jednom sa festival", *Studio*, 138 (26 November – 2 December 1966).

songs sung by Ivo Robić, Tereza Kesovija, Gabi Novak and 4M, a modern ballet performance by the members of the Ballet Troupes of the Belgrade Theatre, traditional Roma music performed by Esma Redžepova, humorous intermissions and, finally, scenes from the Little Floramey, a popular interwar operetta from Split.[592] Hence, conceived as being a "little bit of everything for all tastes" show, it could easily gain the interest of the broadest publics, as well as nurturing the idea of modern entertainment in traditional and folk preferring areas of Yugoslavia.

It is not surprising, then, that *Na licu mjesta* was also the first Yugoslav programme broadcast in the USA, thanks to the television company Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The show was announced as a programme that would demonstrate that "the world of music and dance knows no borders and is equally a property of all the people on this planet."[593] In the show, Yugoslavia was represented by Ivo Robić, Gabi Novak, Tereza Kesovija and 4M, i.e. the most successful and distinct singers with a modern identity and a strong Mediterranean flavour.

However, the Mediterranean imaginary was neither forcefully implemented nor planned, but was more of a side-effect of the entertainment and music production, as already discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, while the majority of performances were followed by random visual effects, numerous performances with a maritime thematic were almost regularly followed by footage of Mediterranean motifs. For example, Nela Repec, announced as a winner of the Voice of the Adriatic Award, while performing *Golubovi* (Pigeons) was accompanied by footage of streets and standard motifs of Dubrovnik, including palm trees and the sea.

FIGURES 9 AND 10: NELA REPEC PERFORMING GOLUBOVI IN NA LICU MJESTA (INDOK HRT, IMX-25214)

[592] INDOK HRT, IMX-25214, *Na licu mjesta*, 31. 12. 1963.
[593] "On the spot", *Studio*, 13 (26 June – 2 July 1964).

The operetta *Mala Floramey*, on the other hand, by default set in the Mediterranean setting of Split and Marseille, represented all the clichés of the idyllic coastal life. On *Na licu mjesta* the act was announced as a representation of "lively Southern temper, healthy humour and the rich colouring of Dalmatian melodies," which was still a popular part of the repertoires of all Yugoslav theatres.[594] For the show, the director selected the re-enactment with full scenography during the most vivid scenes like the carnival and a pastoral and nostalgic performance of a track named *Daleko m'e biser mora* (Far from Me Is the Sea Pearl).[595]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Daleko m'e biser mora* | *Far from me is the sea pearl* |
| *Daleko m'e moj Split* | *Far from me is my Split* |
| *U njen tila bi bit, prez njeg ja ću umrit* | *In Split I would like to be, without it I will die* |
| *Neka su mu tisne kale, kroz nje tila bi proć* | *May his streets be narrow, I would like to pass through them* |
| *Kroz nje na rivu doć za vidit splitsku noć* | *Come through them to the boardwalk to see the Split night* |
| *Sto koluri daje nebo, more, Split* | *A hundred colours the skies, the sea, Split shine out* |
| *a uz more lipa mladost udri u smij* | *and by the sea beautiful youth bursts into laughter* |
| *Neka su mu tisne kale, kroz nje tila bi proć* | *May his streets be narrow, I would like to pass through them* |
| *Kroz nje na rivu doć za vidit moj Split* | *Come through them to see my Split* |

FIGURE 11 AND 12: SCENES FROM MALA FLORAMEY IN NA LICU MJESTA (INDOK HRT, IMX-25214)

Finally, the majority of the outstanding music television shows were produced by TV Zagreb, and hence reflected the trends established by *zabavna* music. As previously mentioned, broadly speaking, TV Ljubljana earned several successes with their quiz and game show

[594] INDOK HRT, IMX-25214, *Na licu mjesta*, 31. 12. 1963.
[595] Translation by http://lyricstranslate.com/en/daleko-me-biser-mora-far-me-sea-pearl.html. Accessed on 14 June 2016.

production, while until the end of the 1960s TV Belgrade was the only station producing humorous and satirical television drama, while TV Zagreb focused on musical television shows.[596] This separation of genres became evident to cultural ideologues and television workers, but also the audience demonstrated a similar understanding of Yugoslav joint programming. Although failing in its primary mission to avoid the specialization of television centres, the fact that each television studio managed to create specific programmes of high quality in the end brought about the unifying of cultural and aesthetic tastes. Therefore, while more or less all the television studios were preparing their own music shows, according to several audience surveys, only the best ones from TV Zagreb succeeded throughout the whole of Yugoslavia.

For example, on Wednesday, 4 December 1963 in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the most watched programme was TV Journal (55 %), followed by 53.6 % watching the aforementioned *Na licu mjesta*.[597] Similarly, a poll in SR Croatia for Sunday, 28 May 1967 showed that TV Journal was watched by 46.5 %, while the music show *TV Magazin* (TV Magazine) had a total audience share of 51 %.[598] Comparing exclusively entertainment programmes, Yugoslav Radio-Television in 1961 conducted a survey that positioned *TV Magazin* as the most popular and successful programme in Yugoslavia with 38.18 %, while TV Belgrade's *Servisna stanica* (Service Station), a popular humorous series, was selected by 24.16 % of viewers.[599] According to Vončina, *TV Magazin* thus managed to overcome the faith of other television projects, and so it became one of the longest-running and successful shows that TV Zagreb produced, whereby "96.2 % of examined owners of television sets watched *TV Magazin* on a regular basis."[600]

The success of *TV Magazin* was a combination of Marti's creative work and incorporation of Italian influences, all wrapped in the atmosphere and expectation that *zabavna* music had already established in Yugoslav entertainment. Throughout the 1960s, *TV Magazin* changed its duration and frequency, structure and format, but remained faithful to the idea of portraying the popular music culture of Yugoslavia in the most modern way. The first show was broadcast on 7 December 1960, and immediately attracted the attention of television critics, who predicted a long and bright future to the new programme.[601] Following a recipe of

[596] "Programska politika TV u 1967. godini", *Bilten Radio televizije Beograd*, 57 (1965). Compare with: "I korist i – danguba", *Studio*, 8 (22-28 May 1964).
[597] "Rezultati ispitivanja gledanosti TV programa", *Bilten Radio televizije Beograd*, 47-48 (1965).
[598] *JRT Yearbook 1968*, 226.
[599] AJ, 646, F-1, Bilten RTV, 2, February 1961.
[600] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 120.
[601] "TV Magazin", *Radiotelevizija: Časopis Jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 51 (1960).

mosaic content, as with similar television shows, it combined "portraits of a popular singer or composer, a debut of young singers, musical parody, old schlagers, 'beat block' and ballet," with a spoken section consisting of satirical acts and humorous announcements.[602]

Unlike other television shows, *TV Magazin* managed to satisfy the expected standards of television production. According to the *Studio* critic, the reason why "millions of Yugoslavs" were watching it was simple:

> "episodes are indeed entertaining, inventive and easy-going, while viewers of all ages can find something for themselves in the content. One could not ask for more, even from an audience making the highest demands in the world."

He continued:

> "For a long time we suffered from a complex whereby we were not capable of creating a so-called 'TV-show', but *TV Magazin* eliminated that complex because the majority of performers, so far, have proven to be multi-skilled. Singers act and dance, actors sing, and composers do the announcements. One of the merits of this series is definitely the fact that the show does not rely too much on strict rubrics, and there is space to vary the programme forms. Of the permanent features, the best is the one where Nikica Kalodjera presents certain vocal soloists. We should not be bothered with intimacy and relaxed dialogues between members of the *zabavna* music world, because this is how it works in all TV shows all over the world. When we finally add to all this praise very successful old schlagers and good direction, and lots of attractive solutions, we must once again claim that *TV Magazin* really does offer us a good 'contingent' of entertainment. Even though the crew does not have remarkable technical possibilities, such as exist in 'Studio Uno,' we have still managed to create an entertainment show of high quality."[603]

It seems that the viewers agreed with the critics, as sporadic audience surveys, conducted either by JRT or the press, demonstrated that *TV Magazin* occupied the leading position in all entertainment show polls during the 1960s.[604] Official recognition was also confirmed in Yugoslav Radio-Television's annual publication, in which *TV Magazin* was described as a series that "has maintained its professional range, without any significant variations in quality, and its director, Anton Marti, is untiring in his search for new modes of

[602] ARHT, *Godišnjak RTV Zagreb 1967* (gl. Ur. Vlado Škarica) (Zagreb: RTV Zagreb 1968), 630.
[603] "TV-magazin", *Studio*, 112 (28 May – 3 June 1966). See also: ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Oproštaj do jeseni", *Večernji list*, 15 June 1968.
[604] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 119; ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Pobjednik – TV magazine", *Vjesnik*, 24 June 1967.

television expression."[605] Finally, at the Yugoslav Festival of Television on Bled in 1970, *TV Magazin* was awarded the title of the best entertainment show of JRT's joint programming.[606] The success was even more indisputable when compared with similar shows abroad, where in Italy and France their budget was five to ten times bigger, while the difference in quality was becoming smaller and smaller.[607]

Television shows discover the Adriatic

The unique position of the quality of *TV Magazin*, as expressed by both the audience and the experts, encouraged the Programming Committee of JRT to include *TV Magazin* in their standard joint programming scheme. Moreover, *TV Magazin* became one of the mediums for the international promotion of Yugoslavia. The main New Year's Eve show of JRT in 1967 was entrusted to the team of *TV Magazin*, and it also included "New Year's Eve Congratulations" that were sent to eighteen different national television stations.[608] *TV Magazin* was also part of a broader Eurovision and Intervision programme exchange, in so doing reconfirming the trust the Programming Committee had in the authors to prepare specific and recognizable Yugoslav programmes. Besides ideological and cultural propaganda, similar to other light entertainment cases, this international cooperation had a tourist agenda once again, and so the episodes that were screened on foreign television stations were usually shot in outside, attractive locations, especially on the coast.[609]

Only when the technical conditions of JRT permitted the simple production of programmes outside of regular studios, did the television directors, led by Marti, start to experiment with outdoor shootings and ambient locations. In the summer months, this naturally meant a visit to coastal summer resorts. Of these, Opatija, as the centre of entertainment, had an important role once again, and so the summer studio of TV Zagreb was located there. Furthermore, as part of a shared Yugoslav imaginary, developed through a decade of the promotion of *zabavna* music festivals and summer holidays, Opatija served as the perfect setting for the recreation of idyllic life, as a sort of Yugoslav *dolce vita*. Therefore, the special 1966 summer episode of *TV Magazin* was all set outdoors in Opatija, with various changing backdrops. These included beach scenes, with the repetitive motif of a child sliding into the sea

[605] *JRT Yearbook 1968*, 169.
[606] Vončina, *Najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971*, 189.
[607] "Začarani krugovi Antona Martija", *Start*, 25 March 1970 (31).
[608] "TV non-stop u 1967. godini", *Studio*, 141 (17-23 December 1966); "Reditelji – pevaju, direktori – čestitaju", *TV novosti*, 101 (24-30 December 1966).
[609] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "TV-magazin za Interviziju", *Večernji list*, 9. 6. 1967.

as an ultimate symbol of idleness, to romantic evenings under the palm trees and the sounds of crickets. Panoramic shots of streets and of the sea by Opatija were incorporated in the choice of songs and performers.[610]


FIGURES 13-18: SCENES FROM TV MAGAZIN SHOT IN OPATIJA IN 1966 (INDOK HRT, IMX-25218)

Although no other examples have been preserved in the Croatian Radio-Television archives, reports from periodicals, and television programme announcements demonstrate that similar special editions were practiced in the upcoming years as well. For example, in September 1969 *TV Magazin*, with the specific title *Svi na more* (All Go to the Sea), prepared

[610] INDOK HRT, IMX-25218, *TV Magazin.*

a kind of post-seasonal "souvenir" show, "so everyone who had just returned home from their holidays would have an opportunity to see the place they visited and evoke memories of their holidays."[611] The authorial team visited numerous coastal locations and recorded popular performers in the maritime ambient, including the "popular traditional melodies of Dalmatia, which will be perfectly incorporated into the atmosphere of this beautiful part of our country."[612]

Similarly, JRT used festivals, mainly the Adriatic Melodies to create additional entertainment programmes, such as *Anatomija jednog festivala* (The Anatomy of a Festival) or *Nima Splita do Splita* (There's No Place Like Split), combining music content with backstage footage from the festival. In so doing, the viewers could see "what was happening before, during and after the festival, and everything that was going on on the streets of Split. In short, how Split lived during the festival."[613] The throwbacks to summer were especially popular during the winter period, bringing "sun and the sea" on cold winter days as a nostalgic reminder of leisure and an easy-going life.[614]

The exploitation of coastal images was not only limited to the creation of (musical) entertainment, it also had a real commercial turn. The Department of Economic Advertising of Yugoslav Television very early on discovered that the tourist development of the Adriatic had marketing potential. Taking after popular marketing shows on foreign television, where advertisements were packed into the format of an entertaining show, in 1959 JRT created its first successful programme of that kind. The director of the show titled *Ol na moru ol na kraju* (Either at Sea, or on the Shore) was Anton Marti, then still at the beginning of his television career, but already prepared to prove his talent. The show's purpose was to advertise the new swimsuits of the knitwear company Nada Dimić, yet it offered much more. While professional models showcased the new summer collection, a crew of singers, actors and dancers were in charge of creating a holiday atmosphere by the Adriatic Sea. This format was seen as successful because it was "unusually interesting despite its marketing character, and it managed to attract a diverse audience."[615]

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[611] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Svi na more!", *Expres politika*, 13 June 1969; See also: "Svi na more", *Studio*, 284 (13-19 September 1969); "'TV-magazin' po moru i po kraju", *Studio,* 278 (2-8 August 1969); "Postirsko frajanje i na TV", *Studio,* 280 (16-22 August 1969).
[612] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Svi na more!", *Expres politika*, 13 September 1969.
[613] "Slike i ćakule", *Studio*, 282 (29 August - 5 September 1969).
[614] "Usred zime malo lita", *Studio,* 144 (7-13 January 1966). See also: "Melodije ljeta", *Studio,* 25 (18-24 September 1964); Vončina, *Najgledanije emisije 1964-1971*, 157-158.
[615] Vončina Nikola, *RTV Zagreb: 1959. – 1964.: prilozi za povijest radija u Hrvatskoj IV.* (Zagreb, Hrvatski radio, 2001). 43-44.

High audience figures were not only necessary for rating the success of a television show. Television viewers watching *Ol na moru ol na kraju* could vote for the most popular model of swimsuit, therein helping Nada Dimić to decide on which swimsuits to start mass-producing. Hence, television enabled broader direct participation in decision-making, which was seen as a good example of democratic and self-managing practice.[616]

The success of the show demonstrated that tourism had a potential for television programming that could be informative, entertaining and commercial at the same time. In 1963 TV Zagreb used the popular radio show *Mikrofon je vaš* (The Microphone Is Yours) to make a series of tourist propaganda pitches before the beginning of the summer season. By visiting different tourist resorts across the Adriatic and organizing entertainment shows, it contributed to the creation of high quality leisure on location, and advertise resorts for potential holidays for the rest of the country.[617] Despite the success of these types of shows, some programme directors argued against tourism propaganda in the joint schedules of Yugoslav television because it favoured one part of the country, that of the Adriatic, over the rest. Even though cultural workers from Croatia argued that tourism was a question of federal interest, and that not only Croatia and Slovenia were the biggest benefitors from it, from 1964 various tourism shows were broadcast only at republic level, mainly in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.[618]

Over the upcoming years, TV Zagreb broadcast a show called *Turizam* (Tourism) on a regular basis, which established itself as a serious informative programme, even outside of the tourist season. Next to practical information on where, when and why to go on holidays, *Turizam* also talked about the organizational and economic issues of Yugoslav tourism, often stressing problems and criticizing officials on all levels.[619] Perhaps because of its high quality, or because of the important issues it was raising, or maybe because the JRT internal conflict was settled for a moment, from 1967 *Turizam* became a standard part of the joint programming.[620]

Finally, the emergence of another television programme, called *Na moru i na kraju* (At the Sea, on the Shore), which took its name from a popular radio show for sailors, explicitly

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[616] "TV-gledaoci izabrali model kupaćeg kostima 'Jadran 1960'", *Radiotelevizija: časopis jugoslavenske radiodifuzije i televizije*, 32 (1959).
[617] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, O programima RTV Zagreb
[618] HDA, 1220 CK SKH, 2.4. Dokumentacija D, Katalog I, 8.74, 834, Stenografski zapisnik sa zajedničkog sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH i Ideološke komisije glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza održanog 25. maja 1964. god.; "Okrnjena turistička emisija", *Studio*, 14 (3-9 July 1964).
[619] "Turistička emisija zimi", *Studio*, 28 (9-14 October 1964); "Turistički bilten", *Studio*, 61 (5-11 June 1965); "Turizam", *Studio*, 61 (5-11 June 1965); "Evo i turizma", *Studio*, 117 (2-8 July 1966).
[620] "TV i turizam", *Studio*, 145 (14-20 January 1967).

confirmed the political and cultural position of the Adriatic Sea in Yugoslavia. The goal of the show was therefore to create an additional cultural connection between the shore and the hinterland.[621] As the programme director Branko Knezoci confirmed, the motivation came from the need to "promote the Adriatic to millions of TV-viewers across the country," not only as a tourist destination, but as a shared good. Knezoci stressed that it was necessary to determine that the sea was the common good of everyone in the country, and therefore everyone could benefit from it, not just the coastal inhabitants. To achieve an all-Yugoslav character, *Na moru i na kraju* wanted to thematize not only current tourist problems, but also cultural, historical, geographical and similar topics that would reflect "our millennial presence by the sea and our maritime tradition."[622]

When in 1964 the influential television critic Mira Boglić complained there is nothing else to watch on television except "infinite scenes from beaches," with every single sport, entertainment and cultural event being broadcast,[623] she was one of a few dissonant voices on the symbiosis of maritime and entertainment elements as the best choice for Yugoslav television programming. Even though some critics argued against the prioritization of the Adriatic area for political reasons, and this escalated in 1970 with the emergence of the Croatian Spring Movement, others had in mind the ideological role of television, which could not be reduced to entertainment and leisure. Yet, the popularity of these shows among Yugoslav audiences, slightly oscillating between different social classes, gender, age and ethnicity, remained unimpaired, which only confirmed the cultural status that the Adriatic had in a shared Yugoslav imaginary.

## 3.4. Naše malo misto (Our Small Town)

Current research on early television demonstrates that the need to create a good genre of television programme was a priority for the majority of European countries. The media scholar Knut Hickethier stressed that television workers focused on TV drama and series because they could make claims over the national cultural space, as well as offer entertainment as a prime-time television programme event, yet while always trying to satisfy aesthetic criteria.[624] Similar to televised music-entertainment, the creation of original Yugoslav TV

[621] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "I na moru i na kraju", *Studio*, 12-18 September 1970.
[622] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "More – stalni gost na TV ekranima", *Vjesnik*, 16 September 1970.
[623] "Tužno ljetovanje malog ekrana?", *Studio*, 22 (28 August – 3 September 1964).
[624] Hickethier Knut, "Early TV: Imagining and Realising Television", in Bignell Jonathan, Andreas Fickers (eds.): *A European Television History* (Malden, MA – Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 159.

dramas and series was demanding because of the poor variety of traditions in entertainment, and a lack of staff specialized for the creation of new specific televised formats. Therefore, the beginnings of the domestic production of television dramas were defined by television adaptations of classic and new literary works. Although spreading Yugoslav written culture to the masses – and especially to the illiterate and uneducated ones in remote parts of the country – was seen as an important ideological success in using television for educational purposes, these programmes were often criticized for being undynamic, boring and unsuitable for the television format.

Yugoslav TV comedy series, on the other hand, were a bit more successful, owing mostly to a satirical tradition in Belgrade cultural circles.[625] Hence, one of the first television series produced by TV Belgrade in 1959, *Servisna stanica* (Service Station), gained a notable success, built on the comic talent of Miodrag Petrović Čkalja and Mija Aleksić in leading roles. According to audience polls on the "popularity and success of specific entertainment programmes," *Servisna stanica* was the second most popular television programme of 1960 with 24.16 % of votes, with only *TV Magazin* ahead of it with 38.18 %.[626] The primacy of TV Belgrade in the creation of domestic comedies was confirmed in the upcoming years during which it produced several other successful shows such as *Ogledalo građanina Pokornog* (A Mirror of the Citizen Obedient, 1964),[627] *Licem u Naličje* (Facing the Background, 1965) or *Maksim našeg doba* (Maksim of Our Time, 1968), all with Čkalja or Aleksić in leading roles. They were all based on the simple everyday anecdotes of common people, sometimes softly ridiculing the bureaucratic and economic issues of Yugoslav reality. As the media scholar Sabina Mihelj noticed, "humor was perceived as a cultural form that had the potential to address contemporary realities in a critical as well as an entertaining manner," and so Yugoslav television comedies of the 1960s "focused on 'engaged humor' and on the ability of humorous programs to unmask the mechanisms of contemporary social problems."[628]

TV Zagreb, on the other hand, turned to more serious and demanding (in terms of production) television dramas. Focusing on the adaptation of historical novels for television, it produced a few high quality series, such as *Čuvaj se senjske ruke* (Beware of the Hand from

[625] Vončina Nikola, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 22.
[626] Vončina, *RTV Zagreb 1959. – 1964.*, 120.
[627] The main character of the series was named Cule Pokorni, a simple-minded naïve economist. His surname, which can be translated as Obedient, therefore symbolized his character, satirically mocking the ideological presuppositions.
[628] Mihelj Sabina, "The politics of privatization. Television entertainment and the Yugoslav Sixties", in Gorusch Anne E., Diane P. Koenker (eds.), *The Socialist Sixties. Crossing Borders in the Second World* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 256-257.

Senj, 1964) and *Družina Sinjega galeba* (The Fellowship of the Gray Seagull, 1969), but never succeeding in appeal to the masses as Serbian comedy did. As the competition between TV studios grew during the 1960s, being able to make a successful television comedy series became an imperative for TV Zagreb workers. Finally, in 1969, only a year after a report on the work of TV Zagreb stating that it was time for "authored television in which the author and director have a bigger say in production,"[629] were there attempts to create an environment for new writers and a modern multimedia approach.

At this time, Miljenko Smoje (a writer) and Danijel Marušić (a director) started to create a new and different comedy series. The appearance of *Naše malo misto* (Our Small Town) in 1970 and its immediate success throughout the whole country, finally brought a long-awaited success to TV Zagreb. More importantly, it gained an unprecedented cultural significance, and could therefore be seen as another aspect of the accepted Mediterranization of the Yugoslav (popular-)cultural sphere.

The story is set in an unnamed coastal "small town" in Dalmatia, and it follows the lives of local characters in the period from 1936 until 1970. Each episode is narrated by the local postman, a town chronicler, who sets the time period and gives an introduction and context for the events that follow. The main character is Luiđi, a doctor and the town's intellectual who entertains himself in his spare time by playing bocci,[630] walking his dog Belina, flirting with women much younger than himself, and reading Dante's *Divine Comedy* in the Italian original. He lives with his unmarried partner, Bepina, a middle-aged conventional bourgeois woman whose main preoccupation is to take care of Luiđi's daily needs, and to try and convince him to eventually marry her. The couple is juxtaposed with the characters of Roko, a young and charming waiter, and Anđa, a girl from the Dalmatian Hinterland of lower social status, both of whom joined the Partisans during the World War Two, and consequently climbed the social and economic ladder after the revolution. Hence, Roko becomes a hotel manager and a bearer of modernization and economic liberalization in the town, while his present wife Anđa comes to symbolize a modern and fashionable socialist woman. Besides them, the series' characters include the local barber and shoemaker as representatives of the revolutionary proletariat, who after the war become the leading political figures of the town, a

[629] *Jugoslavenska Radiotelevizija Yearbook 1968,* 169.
[630] Bocce (Anglicized bocci), similar to pétanque or boulet, is a game popular in mostly Mediterranean countries, Italy and Yugoslavia especially. Its objective is to throw or roll heavy balls as close as possible to a smaller target ball (the jack). The game is usually played outside, so public open spaces are very popular as a setting for the game.

pre-war municipal prefect as a member of the old bourgeoisie, a local priest, American returnees, and an eccentric poet called Servantes.

The introductory song, performed by the actor Boris Dvornik (in *Naše malo misto* in the role of Roko Prč), in a very concise way told the audience what they could expect from the first attempt of TV Zagreb to create an original, humorous television series:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Svako naše malo smišno misto jema svoje stvari* | *Every our small funny town has its own things* |
| *jema porte, jema pjace, jema kale i šporke kantune* | *It has its gates, squares, streets and dirty corners* |
| *Svako ovo naše malo smišno misto jema svoje brige* | *Every our small funny town has its own worries* |
| *svoje snove, lipe želje, one stvari i svoje gafijole* | *Its dreams, nice wishes, those things and its problems* |
| | |
| *Svako naše malo misto* | *Every our small town* |
| *u duši je uvik čisto* | *Is always pure in its heart* |
| *jer sve ča mu na um sine* | *Because everything that comes to its mind* |
| *čini da mu vrime mine* | *Does it only to pass the time.* |
| *A ako se i dogodi da nikoga zlo pogodi* | *And even if someone gets afflicted* |
| *a moj bože, ča se može* | *Gee! What can you do* |
| *moglo je i svrsit gore* | *It could always be worse* |
| | |
| *Svako naše malo smišno misto ka da je od cakla* | *Every our small funny town seems like it's made of glass* |
| *sve se vidi, sve se čuje, svi se znaju, sakrit se ne može* | *You can see everything, hear everything, everyone knows each other, you cannot hide* |

Each episode revolves around a specific event, but the real value of the series was in its humorous portrayal of the everyday worries and interpersonal relationships of characters. According to Igor Duda, "the constant clash between proclaimed ideals and human nature was the leitmotif for the creator of Malo misto."[631] In his analysis of the series, Duda concludes that "due to the characters, their social backgrounds, political affiliations and occupations, Malo misto represents a typical micro-locality of Yugoslav socialism, tackling the contradictions emerging from the discrepancy between theory and practice," and hence "serving as a point of critique and (self-)reflection."[632] However, Sabina Mihelj, while agreeing on the ideological deviation of promoted lifestyles in the series, claims that "despite its mildly mocking portrayals

[631] Duda Igor, "When capitalism and socialism get along best: tourism, consumer culture and the idea of progress in Malo misto", in Rory Archer, Igor Duda and Paul Stubbs (eds.), *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism* (New York – London, Routledge 2016), 175.
[632] Duda, "When capitalism and socialism get along best", 174-175; 181.

of communist officials, and regardless of its insistence on ideals of life that were somewhat at odds with official values, Our Small Town could easily be read as a defence and even celebration of the socialist Yugoslav way of life, with all its deficiencies."[633]

The slow-paced life of Malo misto, according to Mihelj, was in strong contrast with the Western, capitalist way of life. Hence, the focus on leisure and pleasure was used to demonstrate the superiority of the Yugoslav socialist regime which, despite its flaws, offered a good life to its citizens. As a consequence, moderate hedonism was celebrated, and there was no better environment for it than a typical Mediterranean idyll. *Naše malo misto* represented this on a very basic visual level. In all thirteen episodes of the series, except for the last one, it is always sunny in Malo misto. Although the constant sunshine corresponded to the reality of some coastal towns in Dalmatia,[634] on screen it produced an easy-going atmosphere for leisure activities performed outdoors. The contrast is especially visible with the rain and wind in the last episode dedicated to the tragic event of Bepina's death. Therefore, sunshine was also a symbol of life, joy and freedom.

Numerous so-called genre scenes of playing bocci, cards or chess, drinking wine in the shadows, strutting down and chit-chatting on the *riviera* – all accompanied by the soundtrack of crickets chirping, and traditional and contemporary popular melodies, including those from the *zabavna* music festivals – sometimes lasted for several minutes without any significant contribution to the plot.[635] The first episode, titled *Avijatičar* (The Aviator), set the example for the rest of the series. The opening and closing scenes, as described in the book *Kronika o našem malom mistu* (A Chronical about Our Small Town), originally published in 1971 following the success of the series, determined the tone of *Naše malo misto*:

> "In front of the tavern, under the grape arbour, at two or three tables where chess and briscola[636] are being played. Focused, as they are about to solve the world's biggest problems, the teacher and the municipal secretary are playing chess, while the priest is observing the game from the side leaning on a stick. Around them clamour, laughter, a multitude sitting around on boulders and timbers, watching bocci, cheering for the

[633] Mihelj, "The politics of privatization", 262.
[634] For example, the island of Hvar, where the second season of *Naše malo misto* was filmed "has more sunny days per year than Palermo, Nice and other similar towns", so "even in the coldest winter months – in January and February – when nearly the whole Europe is struck by heavy rains and snow, the weather in Hvar is sunny, the temperature moderate and relatively high, even reaching twenty degrees celsius". AJ, 746 Turistički savez Jugoslavije, K-93, Brošura "Winter in Yugoslavia" (1961).
[635] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Smoje: obećanje", *Telegram*, 27 February 1970.
[636] Briscola is a Mediterranean trick-taking card game for two to six players played with a standard Italian 40-card deck.

doctor, who is at this moment bent over, has loosened his belt and has started measuring the distance to the jack."[637]

…

"The municipal prefect was sitting, as always, at his table, drowning himself in glasses of wine. The doctor, as usual, played bocci, running around, making precise shots, giving advice, yelling, swearing, all at the same time. Belina was eating her meal lying under the table; she could barely move her tail in the heat. The secretary was playing chess. The priest was, praised be the Lord, observing and interfering in the game. Everything, but everything was the same as always."[638]

Although Malo misto, like the whole country, underwent a fast modernization that changed everyday life, social and cultural relations on an unprecedented scale, the focus on the unchanged Mediterranean spirit, in a proper Braudelian *long-durée* sense, reflected the construction of the cultural and mental image of the Adriatic. This was manifest in the "sunny colouring" of filmed interiors and exteriors.[639] According to the Federal Committee for Tourism, the symbol of small Mediterranean towns was narrow and winding streets and small squares, which "create a profound and warm atmosphere of intimacy, and stimulate the imagination."[640] Hence, the imaginary Malo misto could not be set in an industrial coastal town with its chimneys, harbour cranes and big ships, as was the case with the first season filmed in Vranjic, and so Stari Grad on the Island of Hvar seemed the best choice for the second season, with its "Mediterranean environment, picturesqueness, peace and quiet."[641]

The untouched Mediterranean scenery was imaginatively supported with the preservation of habits and behaviour. In his detailed overview of the series, the movie critic Bogdan Tirnanić described *Naše malo misto* as the "defence of human constancy":

"Our Small Town is the deconstruction of the very existing life from a position of vitality of the Mediterranean temper which, in the long historical period before and after the war, in two completely different social structures, manages to adjust the variability of life circumstances to its own invariability, to its specific structure which rises above all meteorological, political, sociological, social or any other given facts."[642]

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[637] Smoje Miljenko, *Kronika o našem malom mistu* (Split: Marjan tisak – Slobodna dalmacija, 2004), 9.
[638] Smoje, *Kronika o našem malo mistu*, 30.
[639] "Građanin Iks", *Studio*, 27 March 1971, quoted in Vončina Nikola, *Hrvatske TV drame i serije (1956-1971*) (Matica hrvatska: Zagreb, 2011), 61.
[640] AJ, 130 Savezno izvršno vijeće, 747-1205 Turizam i ugostiteljstvo, Mogućnost razvoja turizma u Jugoslaviji. Materijal grupe eksperata Ujedinjenih nacija (Beograd, jun 1965, Savezni komitet za turizam).
[641] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Još bolje", *Studio*, 19-25 September 1970; "Novo malo misto: Stari Grad", *Studio*, 325 (27 June - 3 July 1970).
[642] "Povratak u Malo misto", *NIN*, 7 March 1971, quoted in Vončina, *Hrvatske TV drame i serije*, 554.

Although the debates over the modern versus traditional in popular culture, as previously argued, highly prioritized the former, the case of *Naše malo misto* shows that there was a place for the partial rejection of modernization and progress. Here, the image of Malo misto was constructed as the polar opposite of the hectic and alienating capitalist way of life.[643] According to the sociologist Milly Buonanno, the cultural significance of televisual stories is that "without faithfully mirroring reality, and without actually distorting it, [they] select, refashion, discuss and comment on issues and problems of our personal and social life."[644] Following that line, it could be argued that *Naše malo misto* affirmed the ideological premise that Westernization and commercialization did not necessarily mean buying into capitalist propaganda, and that it was possible to preserve the ideals of a good and modest socialist life. As Mira Boglić, who was otherwise highly critical towards the series, noted in an article she published in *Vjesnik*, while everything was changing, "only Luiđi and Bepina stayed the same, with their honesty and their little pleasures."[645]

Such an apologetic approach towards the virtues and flaws of Yugoslav society could find its expression in a small coastal town because the (Yugoslav) Mediterranean was already constructed as a cultural space of happy-go-lucky well-being and leisure. Smoje was highly aware of this as the example of a meta-reference at the beginning of the second season in 1971 demonstrates:

> The Postman: "They say, the narrative is slow, there is no real action. Go to hell! When we had something big going on in our small town. Whoever wanted some action, went to the States, or nowadays to Germany to work![646] We were always more all talk, than action. We try to work as little, and live as best we can. And if we really have to work, we do it slowly."[647]

Therefore, the "laziness" here was seen more as a benevolent act of hedonism and living a good life, than as a non-socialist activity.[648] This affirmation could only be accepted in the humorous atmosphere of Mediterranean eternal sunshine, which for the majority of television viewers symbolized their (longed-for) summer holidays. Belgrade's daily *Večernje novosti* endorsed *Naše malo misto* precisely because it "has all the chances of being identical to the

[643] Mihelj, "The politics of privatization", 262.
[644] Buonanno Milly, *The Age of Television: Experiences and Theories* (Chicago – Bristol: Intellect, 2007), 72.
[645] "Turistička farsa", *Vjesnik*, 15 March 1971, quoted in Vončina, *Hrvatske TV drame i serije*, 558.
[646] There is also a wordplay here since the both the radnja (plot/action) and raditi (to work) have the same etymological root in Croatian.
[647] "Šporka posla", *Naše malo misto*, d. Danijel Marušić, Televizija Zagreb, Zagreb 1970-1971.
[648] Vončina, *Hrvatske TV drame i serije*, 563-564.

projection of continental people of coastal life when they visit it."[649] The popularity of the series across all of Yugoslavia confirmed a longing for the sea as a common cultural praxis. The cultural critic Igor Mandić ascribed it, as in the case of the success of Dubrovački trubaduri, to the cultural conquest of the "South", which became a commonplace of Yugoslav mass taste.[650] According to the available data, more than half of the Croatian population watched the series, while it was also very popular in other Yugoslav republics, including regions that spoke different language such as Macedonia and the Yugoslav minority in Trieste.[651]

Thus, while Smoje in his humorous manner concluded that his series was popular because of the images of sun and sea, which in so doing created free tourist propaganda,[652] the previously quoted article from *Večernje novosti* confirmed that for the majority of viewers, *Naše malo misto* offered a substitute for their holiday needs:

> "All of us, or at least the majority, cannot wait for that day when we can board trains, buses, planes and go on a search for that kind of nook in which one can enjoy that sun, language, customs, and way of life. This is the reason why *Naše malo misto* exists: it coincides with our desire that the coast really would be like that, that it would keep its originality, colours, atmosphere. We would love 'small towns' to preserve their specificities, and what we find to be the privilege of people from the coast would not be unattainable – to at least uncover for those few days when we are there."[653]

In his influential work *Television Culture*, the cultural theorist John Fiske introduced the pluralization of "audiences," with polysemy as the essential characteristic of television. He claims that "a program provides a potential of meanings which may be realized, or made into actually experienced meanings, by socially situated viewers in the process of reading."[654] In his analysis, "reading" "is a social practice, is ideological, and is the means by which sociocultural experience, the text in question, and its intertextual relationships, are brought together in a productive moment of interaction."[655] "Readers", thus, is more suitable term for audiences than "viewers", because they are producing different meanings of a cultural text, i.e. a television show. In the case of *Naše malo misto*, readers could be divided into at least two categories. The first, discussed beforehand, were the "Yugoslav audiences," from various parts

[649] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Navijači 'Malog mista'", *Večernje novosti,* 3 March 1970.
[650] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Veliki nesporazumi oko 'Malog mista'", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 8 April 1970.
[651] Vončina Nikola, *Najgledanije emisije 1964.-1971.*, 241; ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Publika prihvatila novu seriju 'Moje malo misto'", *Politika*, 6 March 1970.
[652] "Naš svit van je takav", *Start*, 25. March 1970. (31)
[653] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Navijači 'Malog mista'", *Večernje novosti*, 3 March 1970.
[654] Fiske John, *Television Culture* (London – New York: Routledge, 1995), 16.
[655] Fiske, *Television Culture*, 17.

of the country, who (re)produced the image of the sunny Adriatic, built on their real and imaginary experience. On the other hand, there were "local audiences", i.e. the real inhabitants of Dalmatian small towns, who were "simultaneously self-implicated in, and self-extricated from, the text."[656]

The position of locals was reflected both by the critical, usually elitist, point of view, and by the experiences of ordinary viewers. A local newspaper from Split, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, almost completely ignored *Naše malo misto*, which was in quite a contrast with the rest of the Yugoslav press, when even *Borba* and *Komunist*, as representatives of serious political and ideological journalism, dedicated space for reflection on the major success of this television series. The main complaint was that *Naše malo misto* was outrageously offensive in its depiction of Dalmatia and the lives of its inhabitants.[657] For example Živko Jelinčić, the respected literary critic, claimed that "one whole region was represented as a bunch of idiots" or a "reserve of clowns," while the journalist and critic Miro Modrinić "felt nauseous from that fake and primitive representation of people and events." Modrinić continued by stating that in *Naše malo misto* "people were turned into fools, life into circus," and moreover, he added, "not to mention all those improper swearwords and lascivious scenes that the author enforces."[658]

On the other hand, the empty Dalmatian streets during the broadcast of *Naše malo misto* proved the high interest in the series. In order to get an idea of the real atmosphere of Dalmatian small towns, and compare the events in the series with real-life, ordinary people in Dalmatia gained the opportunity to present their opinions. *Vjesnik u srijedu* reported that many of "our small towns" euphorically competed to host the production of the second season of the series, so that their place would become the symbol of the series.[659] *Studio*, moreover, interviewed several inhabitants of Stari Grad on Hvar island, where the second season was filmed. Two pensioners, Jerko and Franjo, "caught in their usual promenade along the *riviera*," discussed if and how realistically the series represented their everyday life: "Smoje fantastically captured the physiognomy and life of a small town," concluding "it is the first good series about us, Dalmatians, and that is why the people love it."[660] The article was concluded with the two pensioners joyfully telling the reporter "a juicy joke," which proved that a crude sense of humour was embedded in Dalmatian culture.

[656] Fiske, *Television Culture*, 175.
[657] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "'Malo misto' pod sumnjom", *NIN*, 12 April 1970.
[658] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "'Malo misto' pod lupom", *Večernji list*, 27 March 1970.
[659] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Naše malo misto II", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 26 August 1970.
[660] "Malo misto o malom mistu", *Studio*, 314 (11-17 April 1970).

Smoje repeatedly emphasized that swearing was a traditional part of Dalmatian folk and premodern comediography.[661] Criticism from a moralistic point of view over the usage of inappropriate language, especially in a popular prime-time television series broadcast, was counterposed with accusations of petit-bourgeois puritanism, and fear of the bitter-sweet laughter, which in a Mediterranean humorous tradition also played a social role of denouncement and critique.[662] The television critic Danko Oblak also noticed that some serious and politically provocative topics were more affirmatively accepted by cultural workers and viewers because of the setting in a "Mediterranean atmosphere," which because of its specific cultural position was viewed more benevolently.[663] Even *Komunist* reported that the real value of the return of traditional Dalmatian humour was that at the same time it was pristinely folk and urbanized, and hence one could say "the people's", a humour that commented on past and current political and "historical" events with a new humanized approach, and which finally because of its simple language created a more intimate form of communication with the audience.[664]

However, it was questionable whether real communication with an all-Yugoslav audience was possible in a series whose language was in a Dalmatian dialect. Surely by the end of the 1960s, the masses had experienced *zabavna* music, which with the Adriatic Melodies had taken a dialectal turn. But it was one thing to rely on the common, often repeated tropes of simple popular music lyrics, and another to expect the viewers to concentrate enough to follow one-hour episodes in a semi-foreign language. The director of *Naše malo misto* reassured the public that the events and the plot of the series were so universal that the language should not present an obstacle for understanding the humour, while numerous press reports and the high audience figures confirmed that the Dalmatian dialect was not seen as foreign as it might have seemed.[665] As was demonstrated earlier in chapter two, the Dalmatian *koiné* occupied a specific position in Yugoslav sociolinguistic territory, sharing a highly positive and prestigious connotation.

In her excellent study on popular sitcoms in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, the historian Christina von Hodenberg concludes that "they offer points of identification and become part of private and public discussions as well as

[661] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Bidan moj likar Luiđi", *Vjesnik,* 6 March 1970.
[662] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Malo misto iz dobrodušna prikrajka", *Telegram,* 6 March 1970.
[663] Unknown title, "Večernji list", 3 March 1971, quoted in Vončina, *Hrvatske TV drame i serije,* 552.
[664] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "Veliko gledalište za malo misto", *Komunist,* 16 April 1970.
[665] ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "'Naše malo misto' od februara", *Politika,* 16 December1969; ARHT, U-VI-24/9, "'Malo misto' pod lupom", *Večernji list,* 27 March 1970.

symbols of nationwide reach."[666] In order to analyse social impact, she applies four different concepts: *reach*, *standing*, *framing* and *agenda setting*. Following the analysis of *Naše malo misto*, it could be conluded that the series influenced Yugoslav society on all four levels. Despite the tradition of local humour and specific dialectal expression, *Naše malo misto* gained an audience from all over the country, offering them a new type of entertainment. According to von Hodenberg, a sitcom can be viewed as socially influential especially when its reception includes "groups of viewers that had been far from the centre of cultural change in the pre-television era."[667] Although *Naše malo misto* was not the first television programme, nor the first comedy series that *reached* audiences outside of centres like Belgrade and Zagreb, it brought them images and sounds from parts of the country from which they were geographically, even economically, excluded. This is why the show's *standings* prove that "all actors in society believe in its impact." *Naše malo misto* was probably the first Yugoslav television series which received almost unanimous positive criticism, both from critics and viewers, while the televised coastal way of life was confirmed as a "long-lasting national symbol."[668] Finally, the way different audiences negotiated the meanings of *Naše malo misto*, either as a real-life experience, or as the imagined Mediterranean, provided "viewers with narratives and *frames* into which they can insert their own personal experiences and memories."[669] At the same time, it "raised awareness of particular issues by introducing new topics or reintroducing old topics to public and political debate."[670] Hence, the *agenda setting* proved Yugoslav ideological commitments to having socially aware televisual entertainment.

Although one could argue that the mocking of communist officials and of the deviancies of Yugoslav socialist system did not reflect the demands of cultural ideology, there is no evidence of serious concerns over *Naše malo misto*'s political or ideological agenda. It is highly unlikely that Yugoslav society was mature or liberal enough to directly criticize itself – which would be proven in the advent of the Croatian Spring, happening almost simultaneously alongside the broadcast of *Naše malo misto* – but to be able to laugh at oneself could be seen as another way of expressing Yugoslav ideological superiority towards the rest of the world. In this way, "the text smelling like the sea and tasting like salt, inspired by our Mediterranean spirit and flavoured with measured humour," materialized in the vivid Dalmatian Čakavian

[666] von Hodenberg Christina, *Television's Moment: Sitcom Audiences and the Sixties Cultural Revolution* (New York: Berghahn Books,2017), 8.
[667] Von Hodenberg, *Television's Moment*, 8.
[668] Von Hodenberg, *Television's Moment*, 8. See also: Vončina, *Najgledanije emisije 1964. – 1971.*, 249.
[669] Von Hodenberg, *Television's Moment*, 8.
[670] Von Hodenberg, *Television's Moment*, 8.

expression with all its sociolingustic variables, proved to be ideal for the expression of Yugoslav exceptionalism.[671]

[671] "Komedija s okusom mora", *Studio*, 307 (21-27 February 1970).

# 4. Love, Fashion and the Sea

## 4.1. Screening the Yugoslav *dolce vita*

The opening scene of the first Yugoslav music comedy from 1960, *Ljubav i moda* (Love and Fashion)[672] is set on a sunny day in the summer of 1960. A young girl, dressed in a trendy checked red dress, drives a Vespa through the busy streets of Belgrade. The song in the background, performed by the Yugoslav singer Gabi Novak, sets the mood of the movie:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Jedna mala dama* | *One young lady* |
| *Šeta uvijek sama* | *Always walks around alone* |
| *Šta je to, šta je to?* | *Why is that? Why is that?* |
| | |
| *Zašto šeta sama* | *Why does she walk alone* |
| *Kad je lepa dama* | *When she is a pretty lady?* |
| *Šta je to, šta je to?* | *Why is that? Why is that?* |
| | |
| *Ljubav malu mori* | *She is tormented by love* |
| *Hoće da izgori* | *She wants to burst out* |
| *Šta je to, šta je to?* | *Why is that? Why is that?* |
| | |
| *Dečko taj se krije* | *The boy is hiding* |
| *Rodio se nije* | *He cannot be found* |
| *Šta je to, šta je to?!* | *Why is that? Why is that?!* |

In the next scene, a girl named Sonja (performed by Beba Lončar) almost bumps into the artist/designer Bora (performed by Dušan Bulajić) with her moped. After a heated argument, the romantic plot is set. Combining romance, comedy and musical formats, the plot is very simple. The story is centred around a conflict between two clothing companies, Jugošik (Yugo-Chic), for which Bora prepares new designs, and Jugomoda (Yugo-Fashion), and the organization of a fashion show by the former company, and finally a fundraising campaign for the summer vacation of participants of a youth aero-club, of which Sonja is a member. Jumbled plotlines come together when young people from the aero-club participate in the Jugošik fashion show as models, in exchange for funds needed for their vacation. In the end, Sonja serves as an inspiration for the new collection designed by Bora. The romantic finale, in a

[672] *Ljubav i moda*, d. Ljubomir Radičević, Avala film, Belgrade 1960.

grandiose dolce-vita style, reaches a climax with the passionate kiss of the movie's heroes in a fountain.

FIGURE 19: "FOUNTAIN KISS": LJUBAV I MODA AND LA DOLCE VITA

Both protagonists of the movie, Beba Lončar and Dušan Bulajić, became role-models for the Yugoslav youth. Seventeen years old when filming, Beba Lončar becomes a movie star and a role model to girls throughout Yugoslavia, thanks to her leading role as Sonja. The ethnologist Miroslava Malešević noted: "that image of the young, beautiful, independent, modern, urban girl Sonja completely changed the existing stereotype, and practically over a few years became the ideal of the woman of the new era."[673] Her movie partner, Dušan Bulajić, performing the role of the artist/designer Bora, was also dressed fashionably, together with sunglasses and a haircut resembling Marcello Mastroianni from Fellini's movie *La Dolce Vita,* filmed the very same year.

FIGURE 20: DUŠAN BULAJIĆ AS BORA, AND MARCELLO MASTROIANNI AS MARCELLO RUBINI

[673] Malešević Miroslava, "Iskušenja socijalističkog raja – refleksije konzumerističkog društva u jugoslovenskom filmu 60-ih godina XX veka", *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU,* Vol. 57, No. 2 (2012), 114.

Even the official poster for the movie clearly evoked the success of Italian cinematography. The composition of both posters is strikingly similar – a big portrait of male characters in the background and a sexualized image of a woman at the fore – where even the font of the titles was similar. The poster of *Ljubav i moda* had a comic twist though, and instead of a protagonist, the background was filled with photos of Miodrag Petrović Čkalja and Mija Aleksić, a popular comedy duo famous for their television show *Servisna stanica*. In the movie, they played the roles of commercial and general directors of the Jugošik company. Similarly, instead of an attractive photo of Beba Lončar, the poster was made of an image of a blonde pin-up model, non-existent as a character in the movie. In this way, the image of Sonja as an independent young woman, a role model for a new socialist generation, was not contaminated by hypersexualization, but at the same time a fantasy figure of a pin-up model offered a glance into a Hollywoodized dream-world.[674]

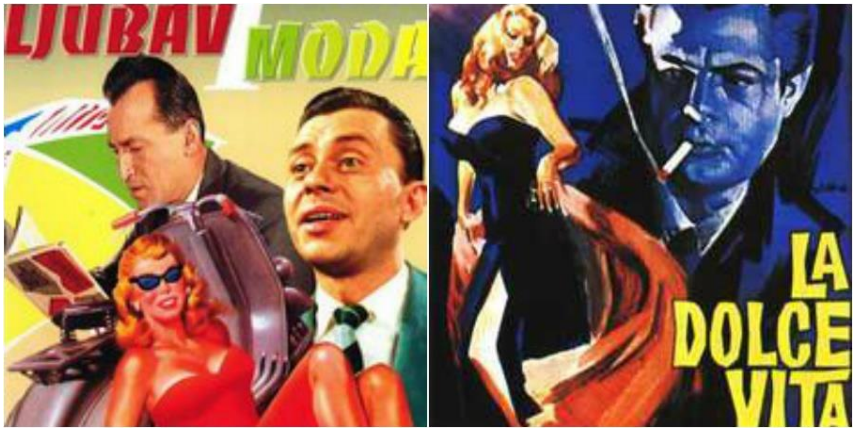


FIGURE 21: POSTERS FOR LJUBAV I MODA AND LA DOLCE VITA

Finally, the poster of *Ljubav i moda* also included an image of a Vespa, a symbol of Italian modernity, and female emancipation. According to the sociologist Dick Hebdige, the appearance of a moped symbolized "the freedom enjoyed by 'modern' young Italian women and vice versa (i.e. look at all the places 'she' can visit, all the things 'she' can do)."[675] Although both being Italian mopeds, Vespa and Lambretta were promoted by famous Italian actresses, the most memorable image of female "mobile" emancipation was that of Audrey Hepburn in the movie *Roman Holiday*. In *Ljubav i moda* the reference to the famous Vespa scene was more than obvious, starting with the opening scene where Beba Lončar was cruising down the centre of Belgrade on her moped, to the flying scene in which she gave a ride to her love interest, the designer Bora. However, unlike the character of Audrey Hepburn who, fitting in with gender

[674] Compare with Gundle, *Bellissima: Feminine beauty and the idea of Italy* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2007), 110-111.
[675] Hebdige Dick, *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things* (New York – London: Routledge 1998), 99.

and class stereotypes, charmingly but helplessly gave a ride to Gregory Peck on a Vespa, the Yugoslav woman was strong and independent. Not only did she confidently drive her moped alone on a daily basis, but in *Ljubav i moda* Sonja also bravely navigated her glider through the sky with a scared Bora in the back seat. Once again, foreign inspirations were subverted to fit socialist commitments to gender equality, however, while still relying on general tropes of love, romance and physical attractiveness.

FIGURE 22: BEBA LONČAR AS SONJA DRIVING A MOPED, AUDREY HEPBURN AND GREGORY PECK ON A VESPA IN ROMAN HOLIDAY, AND SONJA AND BORA ON A GLIDER

It could be argued that the movie *Ljubav i moda* was a projection of the Yugoslav socialist *dolce vita*. The weak storyline was therefore only a backdrop for an entertaining video promoting modern and urban lifestyles; images of modernized and urbanized Belgrade, and the youth eagerly following popular music and Western fashion trends, combined with musical performances by the most popular Yugoslav singers, such as Gabi Novak or Ivo Robić. As the writer Aleksandar Hemon noted: "There are no traces of the working class; here (attractive) young women, instead of serving in the kitchen, ride Vespas and gliders, and they are experts in thermal physics; here youth is united in fashion and popular *non-narodna* music, and not in labour actions…"[676]

Filming locations where chosen accordingly. Although the widespread myth that the producers used almost all the available personal vehicles of the time in Belgrade in order to create busy traffic scenes in the opening scene cannot be confirmed, the art historian Branislav Dimitrijević detected other fictional "modernizing" elements. The base of the aero-club in the movie was placed in front of the Palace of the Federal Executive Council, in order to showcase the newly built modern governmental seat, while the airport, which in the movie served as a symbol of Yugoslav openness and as a connection with the world, was officially opened only

[676] Hemon Aleksandar, "Ljubav i moda", Radio Sarajevo, http://www.radiosarajevo.ba/kolumne/aleksandar-hemon/ljubav-i-moda/239784, 25 January 2017. Accessed on 13 August 2018.

two years later, in 1962.[677] Although "the youth dressed according to the latest fashion fads, the dances, glamour, aeroplanes, airports, international travel […] had little to do with the social reality of the period," and the movie rather projected the – now ideologically acceptable – desired future, which was supposed to be actualized in a modern and urban environment, and by embracing Westernized popular culture.[678]

As a first movie in the Yugoslav genre of "pink neorealism," avoiding until then the usual Partisan and workers' themes, it suddenly accomplished huge cinematographic success, but at the same time it was also highly criticized, and marked as kitsch illustrating the "deformation of contemporary life," as "something alien to our reality."[679] Following up, in the article Love and Fashion, or Marjan's [Vajda] Fashion, written by Dejan Đurković for *Student* (later a movie director himself), the movie was attacked, together with Marijan Vajda's 1960 comedy *Zajednički stan* (The Communal Flat for avoiding contemporary topics and promoting instead a fake ("better") reality, nourishing false hopes and decadent capitalist ideas.[680]

As discussed before, the "decadent capitalist ideas" were arriving through different Western channels – American movies and music, Western European tourists – but mostly via Yugoslavia's closest neighbour – Italy. Once again, in Yugoslavia the Italian world-famous (fashion) style was recognized as inspirational for the rising Yugoslav fashion industry. In *Ljubav i moda*, the Jugomoda company was inspired by Italian sketches for its new collection. As the historian Francesca Rolandi concludes, the movie proved not only, "that Italy was regarded as a fashion 'Mecca', but also how close business relations established between the two countries co-existed and likely inspired the introduction of new commercial practices in Yugoslavia."[681] These new commercial practices can be traced, again, from the consumption and clear imitation of Italian products, to the development of specific Yugoslav fashion and lifestyles, which had as a consequence further liberalization in the cultural and social spheres.

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[677] Dimitrijević Branislav, *Potrošeni socijalizam. Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950-1974) (*Belgrade: Peščanik 2016), 107.
[678] Malešević, "Iskušenje socijalističkog raja", 115.
[679] Ćirić Sonja, "Ružičasti talas", *Vreme*, http://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/520/32.html, 25 January 2017. Accessed on 13 August 2018.
[680] Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam*, 118.
[681] Rolandi Francesca, "Yugoslavia Looking Westward: Transnational Consumer Contact with Italy During the 1960s", in Dijana Jelača, Maša Kolanović, Danijela Lugarić (eds.), *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia: (Post)Socialism and its Others* (London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2017), 194.

## 4.2. Italian lifestyle as a celebration of the Mediterranean modernity

Yugoslav efforts to construct their own version of modern lifestyles were somewhat predictably grounded in the projection of the Italian *dolce vita*, mixed with the Hollywood exoticization of Italian beauty. As Stephen Gundle argues, famous actresses like Silvana Mangano and Gina Lollobrigida became symbols of Italian Mediterranean specificity, used for the promotion of certain sets of values at home and the establishment of Italian culture abroad. The idea of "a healthy and robust girl of the people of typical Italian appearance" instead of "an American-type cover girl" left its legacy in the tradition of neorealist cinematography.[682] For Italians they were "tough and enterprising", but also "deeply conventional in their attachment to family,"[683] which perfectly fitted into the schema of the ruling Christian Democracy''s conception of conservative modernity. The communists, on the other hand, associated them with their working class origin and humility. Moreover, actresses like Lollobrigida or Sophia Loren rapidly gained international success and recognition. Next to the standardized Hollywood beauty, they appeared natural and spontaneous, "passionate, a little wild and quite traditional."[684] Although Italian celebrities started to embrace the demonstration of the sexual, they kept a strong natural appearance that symbolized, and simultaneously, mystified the Mediterranean identity. Nevertheless, the American (and Western) fascination with the exotic beauty of Italian actresses was rooted deeper in the imaginary of Italy. For foreigners Italian "charm" presented "an enticing image mixing beauty, sexuality, theatricality, wealth (in the form of heritage), and leisure," which was yet to be discovered with the advent of mass tourism.[685]

Yugoslavs, on the other hand, did not find Italian women "exotic" or extraordinary, partially because the Mediterranean (beauty) was close and familiar, but also because, as previous examples have shown, Italian culture has always been admired by Yugoslavs. Therefore, as the article The Letter from Italy, published in 1958 in the popular magazine for women *Praktična žena* (Efficient Woman) described, for Yugoslavs the Italian sense of beauty rose from "the colours and beauties of their land" and their ability to build their fashion sense on it.[686] Yugoslav popular press and fashion booklets were often stressing not only the beauty, but also the elegance and taste not just of Italian women, but also of Italian men. For example,

[682] Gundle Stephen, *Between Hollywood and Moscow: the Italian Communists and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1943-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 68.
[683] Gundle, *Bellissima,* xviii.
[684] Gundle, *Belissima,* xvi.
[685] Gundle, "Hollywood Glamour…", 352.
[686] "Pismo iz Italije", *Praktična žena,* 58 (1958).

one of the most famous and successful Yugoslav fashion designers Žuži Jelinek claimed that "Italy is the country of the best dressed women, and there is no other place in Europe, or in the USA, where on the street one can see so many beautiful, and so tastefully and well-dressed women like in Italy."[687] Similarly, The Letter from Italy claimed Italian women were one of the best looking and definitely the most elegant in Europe, which would not be possible without the vast choice of fabric, clothes and accessories.[688]

According to the media scholar Jacqueline Reich, the rise of Italian fashion industry resulted from economic and cultural changes that Italy underwent in the 1950s. However, the memory of the harsh post-war poverty and scarcity directed Italian fashion designers towards more democratic approach to clothing. Therefore, by learning from the best *haute-couture* French designers in combination with the usage of traditionally high quality fabrics, and using cheap labour and building on a cross-class style, Italian fashion designers soon became famous for their elegant, yet simple clothes.[689] The concept of the *bella figura*, "reflecting a taste for public display of self-worth through appearance, regardless of class or gender," transformed into new *dolce-vita* style, which in the 1950s and 1960s became "the new ideology of informality, leisure and pleasure," and which finally branded Italy internationally.[690]

The international success of Italian fashion was following the pattern established by Italian popular music and, consequently, the establishment of Italy as the world-recognized centre of entertainment. Italian designers therefore did not only present their work on international fashion shows and competitions, or by publicity received through Italian films and celebrities (by wearing their models), but also through glamorous and entertaining television shows broadcasted for masses at home and abroad. The Sanremo Festival was especially susceptible for marketing exploitation. To combine music and fashion shows was nothing new nor innovative, but being broadcasted to millions of viewers around the world, the Sanremo served as a perfect platform to demonstrate the new models of the season. Therefore, time slots before and after music performances were filled by fashion shows of the Italian most famous clothing companies, followed by humoristic commentary by the television star Mike Bongiorno.[691]

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[687] Jelinek Žuži, *Tajna dobro odjevene žene. Pravila privlačnosti i dobrog ukusa* (Zagreb: Novinarsko izdavačko poduzeće, 1961), 120.
[688] "Pismo iz Italije", *Praktična žena*, 58 (1958).
[689] Reich Jacqueline, "Undressing the Latin Lover. Marcello Mastroianni, Fashion, and La dolce vita", in Bruzzi Stella, Church Gibson Pamela (eds.), *Fashion Cultures. Theories, Explorations and Analysis* (London – New York: Routledge, 2000), 214-215.
[690] Reich, "Undressing the Latin Lover", 215.
[691] "Ljubav i moda", *Svijet*, 4 (1965).

However, Italo-Mediterranean appeal and glamour were not the sole factors for the international success of Italian fashion. Especially for Yugoslavs, the notions of "simple, but elegant" and "natural femininity" fitted well with the proclaimed ideology, but also played to the limited strengths of the Yugoslav underdeveloped clothing industry. Therefore, Yugoslav fashion magazines often emphasized that not only did Italian fashion designers created beautiful and elegant clothes, but they also "skilfully and with lots of imagination apply decorative details, such as pleats and patches, always finding some new outlines, which turn even the simplest cotton dress into a fashionable creation."[692] The creativity of turning clothes into something more stylish and fashionable with simple decorations and accessories was exactly what Yugoslavs were trying to learn from Italians, not only because of their admiration for Italian design, but also because it was practical in much poorer Yugoslav conditions. Finally, when Italians introduced the usage of new, artificial materials, such as nylon fabric in everyday garments, the idea that this type of clothing "can be easily preserved, because it does not have to be ironed" found its additional ideological applicability in the world of Yugoslav working women.[693]

The appeal of Italian fashion, both for men and women, on the European level was hence a mixture of the recognizable style, inherited from the traditional Italian sense for craftsmanship and beauty, and a class approach, offering for the first time to the working and lower classes the possibility to dress modernly and trendily at an affordable price. As the fashion scholar Iva Jestratijević noetd, in the 1950s Britain, but soon after abroad as well, the mod subculture appropriated "Italian suits, scooters […] which marked the members [of mods] who were largely of a lower middle-class background," and which in its essence celebrated the new consumer society.[694]

Finally, the rise of consumerism brought with it the democratization of fashion, which could be explained through "trickle across" theory. Thanks to development of the mass market, new fashion fads were adopted "by consumers across socio-economic groups [almost] simultaneously," through manufacturing and merchandising strategies, mainly because of the involvement of the mass media.[695] Thus, the new fashion erased, at least on a psychological level, the class division, since "all individuals are equally entitled, it is felt, so far as their

[692] "Modne zanimljivosti u svetu: Italija", *Praktična žena*, 56 (1958).
[693] "Nove tkanine za savremenu ženu", *Praktična žena*, 29 (1957).
[694] Jestratijević Iva, *Studija mode. Znaci i značenja odevne prakse* (Belgrade: Orion art 2011), 165.
[695] Partington Angela, "Popular Fashion and Working-Class Affluence", in Barnard Malcolm (ed.), *Fashion Theory. A Reader* (London – New York: Routledge, 2007), 223.

pockets permit, to the insignia of fashion."[696] Although in the Western countries, the spread of mass-produced fashion was closely connected to the success of capitalism, and therefore criticized in Marxist circles, Yugoslavia, once again, decided to benefit from the changes in garment production and adopted the Italian styles of clothing.

## 4.3. Creating socialist modernity through good taste

Similarly to other popular culture practices, ideas of beauty and decoration were not straightforwardly discussed on the ideological level. As Jukka Gronow and Sergei Zhuravlev argue, as "fashion is, by definition, neither functional nor strictly useful […], it was alien to socialism."[697] However, practical solutions on an everyday level demonstrate that the rejection of Western fashion was primarily a product of early Bolshevik ideology. The majority of socialist countries, Yugoslavia included, claimed that "functional, simple, and classless socialist dress would derive from serious scientific and technical research."[698] Nevertheless, the competition with the West and the rise of consumer practices, all in an effort to improve the prosperity of the people, brought about a shift in thinking around socialist fashion. Although it was only in 1964 that the Supreme Council of the USSR welcomed the idea that "working people want to acquire clothes and shoes that have an up-to-date style and beautiful colour and that correspond to the season and to fashion,"[699] socialist designers all over the Eastern Bloc had started experimenting with "Westernized" and "bourgeois" fashion ideas by the end of the 1950s.

Here, the role of fashion magazines was important, both for spreading images of modern and fashionable models, and cultivating the taste of the masses, primarily women as the principal consumers. The notion of having "good taste" meant mostly to dress modern, but with a "sense of measure." According to fashion historian Djurdja Bartlett, "socialist good taste was the result of the merger of proletarian style with petit-bourgeois 'good taste' […] produced through the hybridization of their mutual characteristics, like modesty, blandness,

[696] Sapir Edward, "Fashion", in Barnard Malcolm (ed.), *Fashion Theory. A Reader* (London – New York: Routledge, 2007), 43.
[697] Gronow Jukka, Sergei Zhuravlev, "Soviet Luxuries from Champagne to Private Cars", in Crowley David, Susan E. Reid (eds.), *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern Univesity Press, 2010), 131.
[698] Bartlett Djurdja, "Let Them Wear Beige: The Petit-Bourgeois World of Official Socialist Dress", *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2004), 128.
[699] Zakharova Larissa, "Dior in Moscow: A Taste for Luxury in Soviet Fashion Under Khruschev", in Crowley David, Susan E. Reid (eds.), *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern Univesity Press, 2010), 96.

appropriateness, and comfort."[700] Socialist "good taste" meant, above all, the avoidance of extravagance and eccentricity, while socialist fashion differed from its bourgeois equivalent by being rational and functional. Western fashion had often been marked as "privileged, unpractical, irrational, irresponsible, impossible, too expensive, socially restrictive, decadent, and therefore ugly."[701] Socialist fashion had to be the opposite, so its main premise was functionality before aesthetics. Fashion discussions usually consisted of epithets such as "simple", "tasteful", "cheap", "accessible" and "practical", but at the same time "modern" and "beautiful."[702]

Consequently, blindly following fashion trends was considered capricious and a sign of extravagance. To wear something extravagant meant "to set oneself apart", which did not correspond with the "ideals, aspirations, and interests by which the whole society lives."[703] Hence, in theory, socialist fashion ideology should have followed the "functional" clothing principle, by focusing on a purpose (at home, at work, etc.), rather than "elite" principle, which centred on different types of luxurious dressing, such as morning or cocktail dresses. As Larissa Zakharova demonstrated on the case of Soviet luxurious fashion, socialist ideology believed in the clear distinction between the two worlds, socialist and bourgeois, functional and elitist, or in Barthes' terms "popular" and "aristocratic" clothing principles.[704]

However, the socialist reality, like in all other spheres, was far more complicated. As a country which appropriated Western and capitalistic solutions the fastest and the most eagerly, the case of Yugoslavia again illustrates the complicated nature of applying socialist ideology to practice, especially in spheres of popular practices and everyday life, entertainment and leisure. The example of the first Yugoslav socialist etiquette book from 1963 illustrates that the two concepts of clothing principles could easily be merged together in a new socialist style. The division between the purpose of clothes was evident, but the category of "leisure" or "going out" was subsequently divided by the time of the day, which corresponded to "elitist" or "aristocratic" principles.[705] Furthermore, the acceptance of a glamorous evening dress, with all associated accessories like fur, jewellery and gloves indicated the specific ideological position of Yugoslav socialism.

Yugoslav socialist society, where consumerism and individualism were widely practiced, had to develop the appropriate model for this sphere of everyday life as well. In that

[700] Bartlett, "Let Them Wear Beige", 140.
[701] Bartlett, "Let Them Wear Beige", 137.
[702] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda", *Praktična žena*, 135 (1961).
[703] Zakharova, "Dior in Moscow", 99-100.
[704] Zakharova, "Dior in Moscow", 102.
[705] Bartlett, "Let Them Wear Beige", 147.

way, modern clothing was supposed to reflect cultural, social and economic progress and to add to the "aestheticisation of everyday life."[706] Nevertheless, the experiments with more glamorous fashion choices were encouraged only to the point where they did not confront the "good taste."

To cultivate "good taste" in socialism, unlike in capitalist countries, was not supposed to be related to social, but rather to cultural capital. Fashion magazines repeatedly noticed "it is not unusual that someone who has lots of money is poorly dressed because of their lack of taste," and vice versa.[707] The "democratization" of fashion was partially a result of changing gender and social relations. New socialist womanhood was a mixture of newly established petit-bourgeois taste and female emancipation. With the rise of consumerism and the liberalization of everyday life, working women were no longer expected to perform masculine labour, but were supposed to be respected for their contribution to society, and therefore deserved leisure and pleasure, symbolized in clothing and accessories.[708] Their fashion choices, therefore, had to reflect the position of a modern woman in socialist society – femininity, elegance and simplicity.[709]

Particular emphasis was placed on women from rural areas, who, it was argued, also deserved to participate in the modernization of society and emancipatory changes in women's lives. Once again, an educational-cultivating approach prevailed. Women and fashion magazines educated readers on what clothes to wear and how and where to wear them, how to take care of hygiene and cleanness etc., in order to shape the taste of "the broadest masses of the people, those who, because of the sudden industry growth, moved from a village to a city." Therefore, Yugoslav fashion could only be conceived of as an "unavoidable consequence of needs and conditions in which we live."[710] In the 1961 handbook *The Secret of a Well-Dressed Woman*, the aforementioned fashion designer Žuži Jelinek offered practical fashion tips for a modern Yugoslav woman, emphasizing "there is no reason why women from rural areas could not dress as modern as those from the city."[711] Consequently, the idea that sometimes it was necessary to enforce some cultural resolutions found its reflection in fashion industry:

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[706] Gronow, Zhuravlev, "Soviet Luxuries from Champagne to Private Cars", 131; McLaughlin Noel, "Rock, Fashion and Performativity", in Stella Bruzzi, Pamela Church Gibson (eds.), *Fashion Cultures. Theories, Explorations and Analysis* (London – New York: Routledge, 2000), 264.
[707] "Moderno i ukusno", *Svijet*, 9 (1953).
[708] Fidelis Malgorzata, "Are you a Modern Girl? Consumer Culture and Young Women in 1960s Poland", in Penn Shana, Jill Massino (eds.), *Gender Politics and Everyday Life in State Socialist Eastern and Central Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 172; Jelinek, "Tajna dobro odjevene žene", 74-75.
[709] "Novi modeli tvornice 'Vesna'", *Svijet*, 3 (1959).
[710] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda", *Praktična žena*, 135 (1961); "Postoji li jugoslavenska moda?", *Svijet*, 13, (1967).
[711] Jelinek, "Tajna dobro odjevene žene", 138.

> "I was invited to a big fabric factory to give my opinion on colours, patterns and quality of their products. I was surprised when I saw high quality fabric made of pure wool for coats and skirt suits in tasteless colours. I was especially disappointed with the conspicuously orange colour which was produced for countryside. When I asked why they are producing such an ugly colour, they replied that 'the countryside demands it'. […] I advised them not to produce that ugly colour anymore because the countryside can conform to nice, tasteful colours. If fabrics in ugly orange colour would not be produced anymore, they will have to choose the nice beige colour, and they will slowly get accustomed to it. After a while, customers will chasten their taste and wonder how they could wear something so ugly before."[712]

Once when the taste was cultivated, and the idea of the modern was brought to "every remote village", the practical problems of the Yugoslav fashion industry started to reappear, especially in smaller places. For example, women from Delnice, a small town in the Western Croatian highland, complained it was hard to dress "tastefully and cheap" because of lack of clothing stores.[713] Similarly, women from Bosnian town Tuzla, burdened by the Ottoman cultural legacy, were still "forced" to wear *dimije,* traditional Turkish baggy trousers gathered in tightly at the ankle, because in order to dress modern they had to travel all the way to Belgrade.[714] Similar reports from other places around Yugoslavia demonstrated that the majority of women had to rely on their own skills and creativity in order to dress fashionably.

In that context, the focus on avoiding exaggeration, as "the worst thing a woman could do for her looks," was not disapproved only because of aesthetic, functional and ideological reasons, but also because of largely practical issues.[715] Undeveloped mass production of clothing, ready-to-wear clothes and the knitwear industry forced women to creatively use the minimal clothing resources at their disposition, in order to look as much as possible like the images from fashion magazines, which were regularly publishing photos of creations of Italian and French fashion houses.[716] Hence, popular fashion discourse was created on the basis of the shortage economy, which was in reality much closer to the experience of Eastern European countries than of the ones Yugoslavs unrealistically sought to replicate. As Djurdja Bartlett concludes, in socialist countries "women used a whole range of unofficial channels, from self-made clothes to the black market, private fashion salons and networks of connections to obtain

[712] Jelinek, *Tajna dobro odjevene žene*, 139.
[713] "Moda na ulicama naših gradova", *Svijet,* 3 (1966).
[714] "Moda na ulicama naših gradova", *Svijet,* 6 (1966).
[715] "Večeri ritma", *Praktična žena,* 31 (1957).
[716] Vučetić Radina, *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012), 338.

desired clothes in their everyday life."[717] Hence, how to "always look modern, without changing your wardrobe too often," or how to complement the basics of one model with the usage of different "accessories", such as belts, brooches, hats and similar, or finally, how to sew and retailor clothing at home, were typical problems that represented the reality of Yugoslav fashion as well.[718]

The development of the ready-to-wear and textile industries during the 1960s, together with the opening of department stores, broadened the range of clothing available, although this was still limited to larger urban areas. Fashion magazines were reporting on the variety and quality of new materials, colours and patterns, as well as modern and fashionable designs, in line with international trends. The fashion magazine *Svijet*, for example, in 1959 reported that "the majority of ready-to-wear garment factories produce trendy clothes […] in various sizes,"[719] while *Praktična žena* three years later claimed that there "were never so many diverse, affordable and attractive fabrics in our shop windows."[720] Additionally, experiments with artificial fibre were especially welcomed by working women since the clothes made of it was easier to wash, clean and dry.[721] At the same time, however, fashion magazines also reported complaints by customers that the most fashionable clothes and textiles were too expensive, while ordinary shops were usually selling outdated and ugly clothes.[722] They also stressed out the lack of diversity, so "the store across the street sells exactly the same dresses and coats."[723]

How was it possible that fashion magazines simultaneously published praise for the development of Yugoslav fashion industry and complaints of its consumers? The existing disproportion between desires and needs on the one side and capacity and cost effectiveness on the other, was closed in a circle between the different priorities of creators, manufacturers, distributors and finally consumers. Hence, since designers mostly presented their work at fashion events, they were more focused on the demonstration of designing and artistic skills than on practical aspects. Presented exhibits could usually not be found in ordinary shops, they were too expensive,[724] or were made from foreign, usually Italian fabric.[725] Clothing companies refused to produce models which could not be distributed, so "many beautiful and modern textile designs, coats, dresses and skirt suits, […] fashionable purses and shoes, and so on, do

[717] Bartlett, "Let Them Wear Beige", 129.
[718] Jelinek, *Tajna dobro odjevene žene,* 6; "Leto 1958", *Praktična žena*, special issue (1958); "Moda na našim ulicama", *Svijet,* 1 (1966).
[719] "Jednostavna elegancija", *Svijet,* 10 (1959).
[720] "Razgovori o modi", *Praktična žena*, 153 (1962).
[721] "Umjetne novosti", *Svijet,* 2 (1958).
[722] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda 3", *Praktična žena,* 137 (1961).
[723] "U modi su modne revije", *Vjesnik u srijedu,* 16 January 1963 (559).
[724] "Dvije modne revije", *Svijet*, 6 (1958).
[725] "XX Zanatska modna revija", *Svijet,* 5 (1962).

not reach window-shops and shop counters, while we are still selling kilometres of same or outdated fabric."[726] Vendors justified their rejection of renewing their collections with a supply-demand imbalance. They were counter-attacking complaints against them with claims that "consumers might be delighted with new and fashionable [models] as viewers at fashion shows, […] but they are buying only classic things because they are afraid of standing out in their milieu."[727] In order to solve the dispute and discover who was preventing the modernization, consumers themselves had to find a way to express their opinions, needs and desires.

Yugoslavia, as a self-managing country, ideologically built on the 1958 Programme, and with proclaimed democratization of all spheres of life, put a special ideological emphasis on satisfying the everyday needs of its citizens. As the chapters on music and television demonstrated, changes were usually delivered through a combination of the educational approach of creators of a specific (popular) cultural phenomenon, and the actual needs of consumers, surveyed through different modes of public-opinion research or their direct participation. The field of fashion would not be any different. Hence, alongside the occasional opinion surveys in fashion magazines where ordinary women could express their feelings about the state of Yugoslav fashion and the stock on sale in stores, they were also invited to participate at fashion shows, as a sort of a public jury. Similarly to music festivals, discussed in the second chapter, where the audience's award was an indicator of what the public wanted to listen to, organized questionnaires at fashion shows were supposed to inform clothing factories what the potential customers thought of their products and what should they focus on in the future.[728]

A fashion show could not, hence, be an end in itself, but a trial for a real market. In order to be successful, a fashion show had to showcase designs which were affordable and practical, but also tasteful and modern, which were not just a fad of one season, and could be found in stores across the country.[729] For that reason, the Centre for Contemporary Dressing was established in Belgrade. Unlike Houses of Clothing Design in the Soviet Union which were officially a part of the system of industrial production of clothes,[730] the Centre for Contemporary Dressing was tasked with representing "an average citizen" and their needs to clothing companies. According to *Svijet*, the Centre "organizes exhibitions and seminars for factory 'fashion cadre', publishes fashion bulletins and creates its own models," in that way "representing the taste of consumers, affecting directly factory production."[731]

[726] "Izlog ili izložba", *Svijet*, 3 (1966).
[727] "U očekivanju finala", *Svijet*, 17 (1970).
[728] "Revija", *Svijet*, 10 (1955).
[729] "Dvije modne revije", *Svijet*, 6 (1958); "XVII Zanatska modna revija", *Svijet*, 11 (1960).
[730] Zakharova, "Dior in Moscow", 98.
[731] "Prosjek zadovoljava – prosječno", *Svijet*, 5 (1965).

The majority of fashion shows were organized by state-sponsored organizations like the Centre for Contemporary Dressing and the Chamber of Crafts of Zagreb, or specific clothing companies. Their common characteristic was their location in the main Yugoslav cities – Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana. And since the problem of supply and lack of choice was especially serious in smaller places, the show Mode-Fest (Fashion Festival), an all-Yugoslav fashion caravan was particularly welcome. The need for a dialogue, "a subtle, light and entertaining way of finding compromise between commerce and audience, fashion items and customers," combined with the inclusion of different parts, and consequently cultural and aesthetic traditions, of the country, were supposed to represent the most democratic method of defining Yugoslav fashion.[732]

The idea that fashion had to be defined as specifically Yugoslav stemmed from the belief in the exceptionality of Yugoslavia, as well as from possible economic exploitation of Yugoslav fashion in international circles. Progress on the technical and artistic levels enabled the change of focus from the production of clothes in Yugoslavia to the definition of a specific Yugoslav style. Again, the question of folklore, as genuine and unique cultural heritage, was seen as relevant. When in 1961 the Centre for Contemporary Dressing organized a fashion show called Folklore and Fashion, it was warmly welcomed as a first step towards a creation of a specific Yugoslav fashion.[733] This event inspired a series of talks titled Does Yugoslav Fashion Exist, by *Praktična žena*, discussing current fashion issues with fashion designers, vendors and consumers. The editorial foreword in the topic noted that elements of Yugoslav folk costumes, "no matter how much they contained the patina of a bygone era, they can, in the imagination and the hands of a brave and inventive designer obtain not only national, but also a contemporary quality."[734] Some fashion designers agreed with this, advocating the stylization of folk costumes and usage of folk motifs "that could be transformed into a modern form, either in fabric, article of clothing or a detail."[735]

The question of folklore, as the debate about *zabavna* and *narodna* music showed, was a complicated one. From one point, it was the only true Yugoslav trait and it represented the richness and diversity of Yugoslav culture. On the other hand, however, it did not represent the progress of Yugoslav socialism and the role Yugoslavia (thought itself to have) had in international politics. The critics of folk elements as a basis of Yugoslav fashion argued that they would not fit with socialist good taste which advocated avoiding exaggeration and

[732] "Modna ruta duga tisuće kilometara", *Svijet*, 15 (1970).
[733] "Prvi korak u stvaranju jugoslovenske mode", *Praktična žena*, 133 (1961).
[734] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda", *Praktična žena*, 135 (1961).
[735] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda", *Praktična žena*, 135 (1961).

extravagance. To back the argument, they claimed Yugoslav working women "preferred simple and classical style without eccentric ornaments", and according to some fashion designers, folk motifs were too intense for everyday clothes.[736]

Moreover, some thought that wider Western trends simply had to be accepted as Yugoslav reality. They argued Yugoslavia was too small to impose its own fashion trends on the global market, particularly as fashion was becoming increasingly international. Žuži Jelinek claimed that it would be wrong to reject international fashion trends, because they were already a part of Yugoslav culture. Yugoslav women for more than a decade, since the early 1950s consumed French and Italian fashion on a passive level: the first Yugoslav fashion magazines were based on the reproduction of models from French and Italian magazines, also incorporating tailoring diagrams which readers could use to create fashionable models at home.

This is why some experts claimed Yugoslav fashion should "get inspired with the spirit of famous fashion centres, primarily Paris and Rome, and adjust it to our conditions."[737] Italian fashion was supposed to come in for special attention because Italians "are very similar to us in mentality", they developed their fashion industry "under similar conditions," while their style "is very functional," and therefore suitable to socialist good taste.[738] Also, Italians proved it was possible to learn from others and add their specific national flavour in order to create recognizable national style.

Žuži Jelinek was probably one of the most active supporters of "international approach" to Yugoslav fashion. Her creations were praised because she supported "the idea of good taste, simplicity and functionality," but still followed the trends from the West. She was also one of the first internationally recognized Yugoslav fashion designers. Already in 1959, she held a critically acclaimed fashion show in New York, which was celebrated in the media as a national success.[739] The international positioning of Yugoslav fashion had wider political and economic implication. Placing Yugoslav (fashion) products in line with much richer countries whose industries had a longer tradition, was another example of Yugoslavia exercising soft power in the competition with the both West and the East.

Again, like in the cases of popular music and television entertainment, Yugoslavia tried to prove that it was possible to nourish modern and liberal lifestyles, usually ascribed to capitalist countries, without giving up on socialist principles. In that context, the information

[736] "Postoji li jugoslavenska moda?", *Svijet,* 13 (1967).
[737] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda", *Praktična žena,* 135 (1961).
[738] "Postoji li jugoslovenska moda 2", *Praktična žena,* 136 (1961).
[739] "Modna revija Žuži Jelinek u New Yorku", *Svijet*, 7 (1959).

that Soviet women in Moscow were queuing to buy Yugoslav shoes instead of Italian ones,[740] or that the clothing factory Kamensko exported their suits to West Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, United States and the Soviet Union, brought additional value to fashion export beyond the purely economic aspect.[741] As Patrick Hyder Patterson noticed, Yugoslavs were proud of their "internationalism", "they loved the fact that their largely unhampered ability to participate in that international style, something unique among the people of communist societies, was one of the things that made them special – one of the things that made them Yugoslavs."[742]

Finally, the question was simple, as *Svijet* posed it again in 1967 in another series of Does Yugoslav Fashion Exist: "Is the creation of a specific Yugoslav fashion necessary because of the rest of the world, or we are creating something acceptable for our woman, her lifestyle and financial status?"[743] This debate was supposed to give the final answer as to whether Yugoslavia wanted to differentiate itself from the rest of the international fashion trends, which would maybe bring it a world-recognized image; or wanted to satisfy basic needs of its citizens first, even if that meant ideologically failing to a certain extent.

The answer could have maybe been found already a few years earlier. The editorial of *Svijet* in 1964 organized a contest for the best Yugoslav dress design which had

> "to be of simple but original cut, to be elegant, practical and capable, with little alternations or with the addition of some details, to serve different purposes. It has to be produced from domestic fabric and for the domestic market, and executed in a solid and correct way. These criteria result from many letters by you, our readers, letters that daily arrive at our magazine. In them you ask us to suggest to you the type of clothes which would serve not only one occasion but be suitable almost for any time of the day, naturally, with slight changes."[744]

The winner was a navy-blue princess-line dress which, according to Djurdja Bartlett represented "the true style of socialist good taste, tamed Western fashion trends with the socialist concepts of practicality and modesty."[745]

Through their consuming habits and needs Yugoslav consumers, mainly women, demonstrated their embrace of Westernized fashion trends. As Paulina Bren notes in her research on consumption in state socialism, the desire for and possession of artefacts from the

[740] "Moskovski modni 'bum'", *Svijet*, 10 (1963).
[741] "Kako se oblače Jugoslaveni?", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 5 February 1964 (614).
[742] Patterson Patrick Hyder, *Bought & Sold. Living & Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).
[743] "Postoji li jugoslavenska moda?", *Svijet*, 13 (1967).
[744] "Nagrada koja čeka ime", *Svijet*, 17 (1964).
[745] Bartlett, "Let Them Wear Beige", 143.

"imagined West" did not mean the rejection of their loyalty to the socialist cause, but it symbolized "exercising agency through choices, strategies, and refusals."[746] For Yugoslav women particularly, it meant exercising emancipation, liberation and democratization in lifestyle choices. The results of the openness of the Yugoslav system to various influences, together with the liberalization and democratization of everyday cultural practices, could be clearly seen by the end of the 1960s when next to classical, petit-bourgeois style, symbolized in the notion of socialist good taste, Yugoslav streets were filled with women in jeans, mini-skirts, Op-Art, hippie style and space-age fashion.[747]

Finally, consumption was also made manifest on a much broader cultural level. As Iva Jestratijević argues, "fashion objects also have a symbolic dimension, so they function as signs as well."[748] Based on Saussure's semiology theory, fashion works on communicative level, so every artefact of clothing can be perceived as a culturally coded text. Therefore, drawings and photos of fashion models in magazines brought Westernized culture closer to ordinary people, but also enforced a creation of the image of Yugoslav well-being, or to follow Herbert Blumer's line, "a spirit of the time" of a nation.[749] Since proper fashion photography was practically non-existent in Yugoslavia until the end of the 1980s, Yugoslav fashion magazine reproduced photos from foreign media, usually without any reference to the source.[750]

Nevertheless, a significant trend can be noticed in the editorial choice of cover photos. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the covers of *Svijet* and *Praktična žena* usually consisted of a single female model presenting the fashion of the season with a monochromatic background. Shots in the exterior were extremely rare, which could be ascribed to the, probably illegal, reproduction of photos and photo editing. Still, issues from July and August in this period almost always displayed new summer models in a maritime environment.

According to Roland Barthes, in fashion photography, the background does not serve only as a décor, but also as an idea that needs to be presented through fashion artefacts themselves.[751] The images of sun and sea therefore were supposed to represent the idea of

[746] Bren Paulina, Mary Neuburger, "Introduction", in Bren Paulina, Mary Neuburger (eds.), *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6-7.
[747] Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 339-340.
[748] Jestratijević Iva, *Studija mode*, 16.
[749] Blumer Herbert, "Fashion. From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection", in Barnard Malcolm (ed.), *Fashion Theory. A Reader* (London – New York: Routledge, 2007), 239.
[750] Srnić Vesna, "Modna fotografija sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina u Hrvatskoj", *Život umjetnosti*, Vol. 41-42 (1987), 31.
[751] Barthes Roland, "Fashion Photography", *Fashion Theory. A Reader* (London – New York: Routledge, 2007), 517-518.

beauty and leisure, embodied in Westerness. More explicitly, articles promoting fashion fads of the summer were usually titled using simple tropes of the sea, summer, beach and sun.[752]

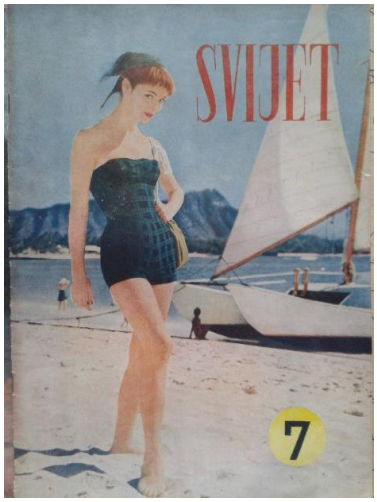


FIGURE 23: THE COVER OF SVIJET (ISSUE 7, 1955)

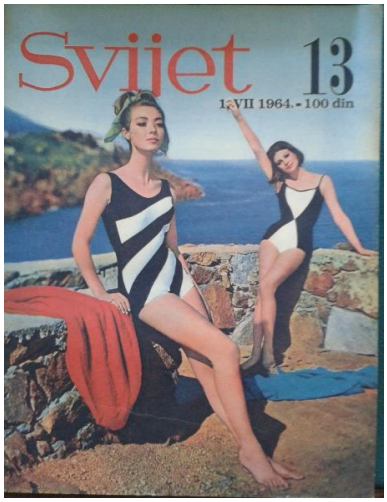


FIGURE 24: THE COVER OF SVIJET (ISSUE 13, 1964)

The Adriatic as a perfect background for the representation of summer models, with all its cultural connotations, was firstly discovered by Italians, who used Yugoslav cities of Dubrovnik, Split, Šibenik, Hvar and Zadar for the promotion of their fashion, exploiting the Mediterranean ambient.[753] Nonetheless, by the end of the 1960s Yugoslav media, although still lacking professional fashion photography, joined the cultural exploitation of the Adriatic.


FIGURE 25: SINGER TEREZA KESOVIJA ON THE COVER OF START (ISSUE 19, 1969)


FIGURE 26: MISS YUGOSLAVIA IVONA PUHIERA ON THE COVER OF START (ISSUE 10, 1969)

[752] "More, more", *Svijet*, 7, (1955); "Za ljeto i more", *Svijet*, 6 (1956); "Za plažu i more", *Svijet*, 7-8 (1958); "Za plažu, more i sunce", *Svijet*, 7 (1959), "Za plažu, odmor, more i sunce", *Svijet*, 7 (1960).
[753] "Talijanska moda na našoj obali", *Svijet*, 25 (1968).

Yugoslav popular stars, singers and actresses played an important role, as symbols of success and glamour, who from the late 1960s started promoting themselves as desirable sexual objects, nourished in the open environment of the liberal Adriatic.

## 4.4. Trieste, a shop-window to the world

To be truly international and have a choice to create one's own lifestyle could not be satisfied completely inside of the borders of Yugoslavia, especially in the period when the country was still building its light industry and cultural policy. Therefore, Yugoslav citizens turned to cross-border shopping tourism, a phenomenon which would by the end of the 1960s become a unique sort of typically Yugoslav consumerist myth.[754] The specific position of Yugoslavia as a non-aligned country, open politically and culturally to both the East and the West, enabled the liberalization of the border regime to the extent that visas were not necessary for travel to the majority of European countries by the mid-1960s. The legalization of possession of foreign currency, either in cash or on the private bank account, was another step towards making Yugoslavia open to international travel.[755] Encounters with other cultures did not mean just learning about others but also "bringing back new 'European' goods, new experiences of life as participants in the Western whirl of advertising and shopping, and new ideas about what their own national economy might be expected to offer consumers."[756]

Researchers agree that cross-border shopping tourism was an all-inclusive cultural activity in which majority of Yugoslavs participated, no matter their ethnic, socio-economic or cultural background.[757] The most popular were naturally neighbouring countries and cities close to the border. Austria and Italy, as the first and closest encounter with the West turned into shopping meccas for Yugoslav citizens, with Graz and Trieste being their centres. Other destinations included Klagenfurt in Austria, mostly for Croats and Slovenes, overseas cities like Ancona and Bari for the inhabitants of the southern Adriatic littoral, while the south of Yugoslavia tended towards Greece, so Thessaloniki became an important shopping point for Serbs and Macedonians. Additionally, cultural reasons made some Turkish cities ideal for the Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. Neighbouring socialist

[754] Patterson, *Bought & Sold*, 182-183.
[755] Mikula Maja, "Highway of Desire. Cross-Border Shopping in Former Yugoslavia, 1960s–1980s ", in Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 229.
[756] Patterson, *Bought & Sold*, 5.
[757] Mikula, "Highway of Desire", 225.

countries were not as popular destinations, but some Yugoslavs travelled there to buy specific goods of cheap price or good quality, like food in Hungary or crystal in Czechoslovakia.[758]

Trieste held a primary place in Yugoslav cross-border shopping tourism to the extent it was not at all seen as a (Mediterranean) city worthy of sightseeing, but as an "amusement park", "a place of a strong visual fascination", or most commonly "a window to the West."[759] As Wendy Bracewell noticed, the first travel guides to the Western European countries focused on shopping tips, and Trieste was the leading destination.[760] Fascination with Italy, its popular culture, entertainment and everyday fashionable products, usually consumed through mass media – music, television or popular press – finally materialized in its full glory in Trieste.

The choice of destination was primarily practical, as Trieste was the first Italian city in the immediate vicinity to Yugoslavia. However, as discussed in the first chapter, Trieste was also a contested city, which just several years before the first shopping expansion happened, was a potential conflict zone. It comes as no surprise that when in 1957, just four years after the Trieste crisis and three years after the signing of the London Memorandum, the Italian Consulate in Zagreb received more than two thousand visa requests for a single trip to Trieste on the Day of Republic, 29 November, the Italian authorities worried about a possible aggressive political act, and not a shopping day as it turned out.[761]

This duality of Trieste worked on several levels. For Yugoslavs, Trieste was something familiar, in the national imaginary still partially "theirs", but at the same time inevitably Italian with all its appealing and fashionable products. For Italians, it served to exhibit cultural and economic supremacy, but for locals also a way to meliorate their cultural and economic status, as citizens of a somewhat forgotten city on the easternmost edge of Italy. Finally, in high politics on the both sides Trieste became a point of meeting, not of division. The constant interactions between the two peoples, symbolized in a place such as Trieste had far reaching political consequences. Therefore, the Treaty of Osimo which was finally signed in 1975, just confirmed that Italo–Yugoslav border was one "of the most open border that ever existed between a capitalist and a socialist country," partially because of the established cultural and economic

[758] Patterson, *Bought & Sold,* 4-5; Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 337; Mikula, "Highway of Desire", 231.
[759] Duda Igor, *Pronađeno blagostanje: Svakodnevni život i potrošačka kultura u Hrvatskoj 1970-ih i 1980-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010), 70; Mikula, "Highway of Desire", 228.
[760] Bracewell Wendy, "Adventures in the Marketplace. Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s-1960s", in Gorsuch Anne E., Diane P. Koenker (eds.): *Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, (Ithaca: Cornwell University Press, 2006), 249.
[761] Rolandi Francesca, "'Trieste is Ours': when the Yugoslavs were Going Shopping in Italy", in Pavlović Vojislav G. (ed.), *Italy's Balkan Strategies. 19th and 20th Century* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014), 297.

relations in Trieste.[762] The notion that "here, [in Trieste] Socialism and Capitalism collaborated more honestly and completely than anywhere else," as the unnamed Yugoslav narrator claimed in video footage on Trieste, confirmed its symbolic importance.[763]

When Yugoslavia and Italy in 1956 signed the Agreement of Udine on the local-border trade, which allowed the inhabitants of areas around the border to cross it regularly without a visa or custom control, the benefit was mutual. Yugoslavs were buying goods unavailable at home, while Italians focused on meat and gas which were much cheaper on the eastern side of the border.[764] Exchanges of goods were also not unusual between the locals and visitors in Trieste. However, the images of unpresentable Yugoslav "tourists", selling homegrown vegetables and home-made rakija, overnight sleeping at the train station and buying cheap clothes of low quality were not the best propaganda for the young socialist country.[765]

In the early 1960s Yugoslav press frequently reported about the shame and naivety of Yugoslav shopping tourists, found usually around the Ponte Rosso square:

> "Situated next to the sea canal full of waste smelling of sewer, the square is also famous for mended tents under which one can find the goods and plenty visitors from Yugoslavia. Socks, travelling bags, scarfs, petticoats, children toys, male and female cardigans, padlocks, umbrellas, various fabrics… All that is piled up, dumped one over the other. It seems that even the vendors do not know what they can find in those piles. The prices are not written. […] It is mostly the stuff which is not regularly sold because of factory error. Or out of fashion clothes, which had been stashed for some time in dark repositories."[766]

Called a "flea market" by locals, Ponte Rosso did not specialize in second-hand goods and antiques, but in cheap clothes, soon sold exclusively for the Eastern European market. Hawkers from the whole of Italy temporarily moved to Trieste to profit from the newly discovered Yugoslav shopping heaven. They even learned basic words of Yugoslav languages, and accepted Yugoslav currency, while Yugoslavs continued buying.[767] Some of the clients were "dealers" as well, buying cheap and poor Italian products, smuggling them into the country and

[762] Richter Melabotta Melita, "How the 'Other's' Change", in Kuran-Burçoğlu Nedret, Susan Gilson Miller, *Representations of the "Other/s" in the Mediterranean World and Their Impact on the Region* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 257.
[763] *Trieste, Yugoslavia*, d. Alessio Bozzer, HRT – RAI, Zagreb – Rome 2017.
[764] "Talijanske svađe oko naše robe", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 6 July 1966 (740).
[765] "Apostoli na buvljoj pijaci", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 10 June 1959 (371).
[766] "Parada naivnih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 9 May 1962 (523).
[767] Rolandi, "Trieste is Ours", 294-295.

selling them back home in commission stores for much higher prices, hoping their "Italianness" would attract people.[768]

The Italian products which gained a cult status in Yugoslav world appropriately acquired new, domestic names. By that act, they were naturalized, but at the same time remained a status symbol. To have *traperice* or *farmerke* (jeans) of Italian origin, to own *šuškavac* (a polyester raincoat), *vijetnamka* or *komandosica* (US-military style jacket) or *kabanica s dva lica* (yellow and navy-blue reversible rain jacket) was a sign of social distinction, but also a generational marker.[769] Although Yugoslav women in Trieste claimed they were buying Italian skirts "because we do not produce this type in white colour," or Italian blankets "because ours do not have this lovely pattern," social critics in popular media ascribed it to snobbery which spread even to furthermost peripheries of Yugoslavia.[770]

Yugoslav designers agreed that the non-existence of particular patterns or colours of certain type of clothes was not the main reason for preferring Italian over domestic products. In the aforementioned discussion about the existence of a specific Yugoslav fashion, a fashion designer Jasna Novak complained that the clothing company Nada Dimić made "astonishing swimsuits", but no one was buying them, while all the imported Nina Ricci swimsuits were sold out immediately in Zagreb, even though they were more expensive.[771] The concern that Yugoslavs did not buy domestic production because they did not find it fashionable enough and of sufficiently high quality was proved with another symptomatic case. In the late 1950s, clothing company Varteks started producing polyester raincoats, from imported Italian synthetics, but no one wanted to buy them, so they were stored in factory repositories. Only several years later, when polyester raincoats became fashionable in Italy and Yugoslavs started to return from Trieste with *šuškavac* as an obligatory acquirement, Varteks shops finally managed to sell out of those they produced in the first place.[772]

A belief that Italian products were better, nicer, of higher quality, that there was a choice and a possibility to be different, drove Yugoslavs from all over the country to Trieste, some even travelling for two days and sleeping outdoors or at the train station. The example from *Naše malo misto*, which was discussed in the third chapter as a television series which reflected all crucial changes and wishes of modern Yugoslav society, also proves that shopping in Trieste

[768] "Parada naivnih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 9 May 1962 (523).
[769] Mikula, "Highway of Desire", 233-234; Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 337. Compare with: Stitzeil Judd, "Shopping, Sewing, Networking, Complaining: Consumer Culture and the Relationship between State and Society in the GDR", in Pence Katherine, Paul Betts (eds.), *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 264.
[770] "Parada naivnih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 9 May 1962 (523).
[771] "Postoji li jugoslavenska moda?", *Svijet*, 13 (1967).
[772] "Kako se oblače Jugoslaveni?", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 5 February 1964 (614).

was a class question and the expression of petty bourgeoisie. In the episode *Altroke Kalifornija*, situated in 1968, Anđa, as a socially aspiring women of lower social background, proudly stressed her wardrobe was exclusively bought in Italy because "in our shops you can only find rags."[773]

The next episode, *Veliko putovanje* (Grand Journey) furthermore showed the other source of national shame, smuggling goods across the border and tax avoidance.[774] Smoje's humour was drawn from everyday life, so it was easy to find the press also reporting comic elements of women seeming fat or pregnant because of numerous layers of new clothes they were wearing across the border, or changing clothes behind cars parked not far off the border. However, they also stressed the embarrassment those people brought not only upon themselves, but also on the whole country.[775] Socialist tourists abroad were seen as promotors of their country, and therefore their appearance and behaviour were on the frontline in the Cold-War battle for ideological superiority.[776]

The sense of national shame was not only a construct by the media, in order to prevent citizens ruining the image of Yugoslavia abroad, but reflected a real feeling shared by some Yugoslavs who gladly differentiated themselves from the first group, either on a class or cultural/ethnic level. Class difference was easier to spot, since wealthier Yugoslavs, or those who wanted to present themselves as such, avoided Ponte Rosso and shopped around Corso Italia or Via Carducci, or followed Jelinek's advice and went to Rinascente department store which had "very tasteful clothes of good quality, but were also more expensive."[777] A special status symbol was a Swiss watch Darwil, advertised in Yugoslav popular press as "high quality for low price." Therefore, the Darwil department store in the centre of Trieste, with the best choice of watches and gold jewellery, was the ultimate shopping destination for Yugoslavs who wanted to acquire international "cultural" capital.[778]

More significantly, Yugoslav contested cultural spheres, with their ascribed qualities and flaws, were particularly visible abroad, in the limited area of Trieste and extraordinary circumstances of shopping trips. As Eric Hobsbawm noticed, "in every country of Europe there were those who looked down across some frontier on barbarian neighbours [so] the usual

[773] Smoje, *Kronika o našem malom mistu*, 254.
[774] "Veliko putovanje", *Naše malo misto*, episode 13, 1970.
[775] "Parada naivnih", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 9 May 1962 (523).
[776] Gorsuch Anne E., "Time Travelers. Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe", in Anne E. Gorsuch, Diane P. Koenker (eds.): *Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca: Cornwell University Press, 2006), 222-223.
[777] Jelinek, *Tajna dobro odjevene žene*, 261-262; Mikula, "Highway of Desire", 237.
[778] "Pasoš za luk", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 3 June 1970 (944). See also: *Trieste, Yugoslavia*, 2017.

cultural-economic slope on our continent descends eastwards or towards the south-east,"[779] and Yugoslavia was not different. Hence, the population who was closer to Trieste, mostly Croatians and Slovenes felt ashamed of "their brothers from the South," since they encouraged the stereotype of a "dirty uneducated Yugoslav tourist-smuggler."[780] These "West-Northerners" also reinforced their closeness to Italian culture through regular consumption of cultural artefacts and physical experience, unlike the rest of Yugoslav visitors who travelled to Trieste only once or twice a year.

Following the nesting Orientalism argument by Milica Bakić-Hayden, because of the inferiority complex that Yugoslavs felt compared to the Italians in Trieste, they, in turn, behaved in a condescending manner towards citizens of Eastern Bloc countries.[781] The distinction between Yugoslavia and the rest of the socialist world was not manifest only in the possession of Westernized goods, fashionable style and liberty of movement, but also in a sense of superiority Yugoslavs could feel in mutual interactions. Finally, there was also financial profit from it. While some smuggled goods from Trieste and then resold them for triple price on the Eastern European market, others exploited the specific international position of Yugoslavia to promote domestic products as something with Western flavour.[782] Learning from Trieste vendors, Yugoslavs sold "raincoats, polyester female underwear, male shirts […] supplemented with Italian fountainpens or Austrian lighters," just to spice up the offer.[783] The benefits were mutual, citizens of Eastern Bloc countries could consume otherwise hardly accessible Western products, while Yugoslavia maintained its high status. Hence, it could be argued that by the end of the 1960s Yugoslavia started to play the role of Westernization in Eastern Europe, just as Italy had in Yugoslavia itself.

Finally, cross-border shopping in Trieste was more than the acquization of cultural capital. Once the domestic clothing industry had developed and fashion gained ideological approval, to participate in the act of shopping had a ludic component. According to the historian David Gilbert, "the effort and enjoyment spent in finding and choosing" a piece of clothing could be seen as the experience per se, outside of the real act of buying and possessing it, especially if it occurred in extraordinary condition such as "an expedition to the big city."[784]

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[779] Hobsbawm Eric, *On History* (London: Abacus 1998), 295.
[780] Rolandi, "Trieste is Ours", 303.
[781] Bakić-Hayden Milica, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 1995, 922. See also: Rolandi, "Trieste is Ours", 303-304.
[782] Rolandi, "Trieste is Ours", 299.
[783] "Invazija na istok", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 6 September 1967 (801).
[784] Gilbert David, "Urban Outfitting. The City and the Spaces of Fashion Culture", in Bruzzi Stella, Church Gibson Pamela (eds.), *Fashion Cultures. Theories, Explorations and Analysis* (London – New York: Routledge, 2000), 10-11.

Although by the end of the 1960s department stores in big Yugoslav cities offered pleasant and modern shopping experiences with a wide choice of goods, going to Trieste maintained its special status.[785] Maybe shoes in Trieste were more expensive and sometimes even of lower quality, but the choice was wider and, as a *Svijet* reporter evoked in her own memory, "they still please me with their fine cut outsole and a thin ribbon on the left side."[786] Unlike Yugoslav shops which were all selling clothes similar in style, cut and colour, Trieste boutiques offered Yugoslav women the possibility to differentiate themselves from their friends, peers and fellow citizens. The popular singer Gabi Novak confirmed that Italian shops were preferred because of their wider range, because even when Yugoslav shops offered trendy and fashionable clothes "what difference does it make, when they are all the same, so in one day I can meet a dozen of unknown 'sisters' who wear identical dresses or pullovers as me."[787] The need for differentiation was not just a luxury of popular stars, but it became everyday necessity for the majority.

To look modern, special and attractive was especially important at the other place of encounter between foreigners and locals – the beach. With the development of the mass tourism on the eastern side of the Adriatic, thousands of people from the Western and Eastern Bloc, visited Yugoslavia and mingled with Yugoslavs, both locals and those who travelled from all over Yugoslavia for summer holidays. Therefore, the beach was a place for the ultimate comparison between different political systems, and the success of their modernization and liberalization.

## 4.5. The Adriatic tourist gaze

"In the summer months, the Adriatic becomes a modern Babylon, a world in which everyone talks in their own language, behaves according to their own habits and customs, but unlike the real Babylon, here everyone somehow gets along."[788] When in 1958 *Vjesnik u srijedu* reported on the growing Adriatic encounters of the domestic population with foreigners, two significant positive traits of foreign tourists were singled out. The first one was their desire to familiarize themselves with the Yugoslav way of life and the admiration for the Adriatic coast, while the second one was their taste in clothing and possession of technology and equipment

[785] "Umjesto: 'Idem u Trst' – 'Idem u Ljubljanu'?", *Svijet*, 2 (1968); Rusinow Dennison, "The Supermarket Revolution" (1969), in *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights and Observations* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 36.
[786] "Talijanska moda u Dubrovniku", *Svijet*, 9 (1963). See: "Živjela mala razlika! ili: 'Potrošački turizam' i njegovo naličje", *Svijet*, 21 (1970).
[787] "Nemoderni noviteti", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 19 February 1964 (616).
[788] "Jadranski babilon", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 27 August 1958 (330).

for the beach. However, during the 1950s there were still many complaints about foreigners behaving as if they were "superior", and consequently Yugoslav petit-bourgeois elements endorsing "foreignmania" which was "insulting and humiliating."[789]

Žuži Jelinek also stressed that Yugoslav women too often believed women from the Western countries were better dressed, but she thought it was a result of shared feeling of material inferiority. In order to prove that the (socialist) good taste and moderation in dressing was the primary expression of fashion modernity, Jelinek examined various (Western) national styles which could be seen on the Adriatic coast during summer months. The Germans were, according to her, not dressing fashionably; even though they possessed trendy clothes, but lacked taste and love for fashion. The English were too modestly dressed, and their clothes were monochromatic, but of a visibly good quality. The French were, however, "modest, simple and tasteful" in their fashion choices, but expectedly Italians were the best dressed, extremely tasteful, even svelte.[790]

While in the 1950s colourful and fashionable shirts, dresses and swimsuits were the sign of being a foreign tourist from the West,[791] thanks to the growth of the domestic fashion industry and shopping trips to Trieste by the end of the 1960s differences between the two groups decreased to the point it became almost impossible to separate locals from tourists. The growth of mass tourism significantly influenced changes in the everyday life of Yugoslav citizens. In the beginning of the 1960s, SR Croatia, as the holder of almost 95 % of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, registered around twelve million overnights, of which only every fourth tourist was a foreigner, but by the end of the decade the number more than doubled and reached 28 million overnights, where foreign tourists made 61 %.[792] As the number of foreign tourists grew to the point that in 1966 for the first time they outnumbered the domestic ones, the popular summer resorts really became international "centres of fashion in Yugoslavia."[793] Although the most numerous were Germans from the Federal Republic, followed by Austrians,[794] Italians were seen as the most influential bearers of change because they shared "Mediterranean temperament."[795]

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[789] "Zagonetke domaćeg turizma", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 26 August 1953 (69).
[790] Jelinek, *Tajna dobro odjevene žene*, 121-122.
[791] "Tragom ljudi na dopustu", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 2 September 1953 (70).
[792] Duda Igor, "Dokono mnoštvo otkriva Hrvatsku. Engleski turistički vodiči kao izvor za povijest putovanja na istočnu jadransku obalu od 1958. do 1969.", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2003), 820.
[793] Duda Igor, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005) 119.
[794] Duda Igor, "Adriatic for All. Summer Holidays in Croatia", in Breda Luthar, Maruša Pušnik (eds.), *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing 2010), 304.
[795] "Moda na ulicama naših gradova", *Svijet*, 11 (1966).

Therefore, the repeated encounters and coexistence of local inhabitants and tourists, both domestic and foreign, contributed to cultural and conceptual shifts in Yugoslavness. Although Yugoslavs were already recognized as a joyful and optimistic people, mass tourism emphasized the hedonistic side. Celebrating leisure was a sign of progress and fulfilled needs of Yugoslav socialist citizens, but it was also a shared feature of Mediterranean societies. However, as Igor Duda confirmed in his research on the development of domestic mass tourism, turning workers into tourists was a long-term state project.[796] The legal regulation of paid annual leave, the development of social tourism, the construction of subsidized holiday centres for workers, transportation benefits and similar practical and infrastructural improvements were backed by the improvement of living conditions, the modernization of everyday life and changes of mentality. While the main purpose of socialist tourism was recreation and the physical and mental recuperation of workers, so they could be more productive and satisfied once returning to their work places, for Yugoslav ideologues mass tourism also served to offer a better life to its citizens, until then reserved only for the bourgeoisie. Hence, taking summer holidays at the beach in Yugoslavia, with the improvement of living standards and raising of lifestyle expectations, soon started to have more hedonistic purpose.

Finally, sounds and images of the maritime slow-paced easy-going life which were, thanks to mass media spread all over Yugoslavia, enabled Yugoslav citizens to emancipate themselves and liberalize the society even more. In that way, with the discovery of mass tourism, Yugoslavia joined the Mediterranean club of *dolce farniente* lifestyle, where everything is possible and allowed, including "relaxing, partying, sporting, celebrating, and romancing."[797] The most visible consequence of these changes was "freedom of behaviour and exaltation of the body."[798]

The exposed body and sunbathing became a fad with the arrival of the first wave of modern tourists in the Mediterranean of the 1920s. As Marc Boyer demonstrates in his research on the development of French mass tourism, "the exposure of a naked, or almost naked, body to the sun and the caress of the sea, was a new hedonism," and it culminated with the Club Med ideology.[799] Unlike pale skin, which was commonly understood as a marker of "delicacy,

[796] See Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*.
[797] Boissevain Jeremy, "Introduction", in Boissevain Jeremy (ed.), *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism* (Providence – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 6.
[798] Barbier Jacques, "Moroccan Tourism. Evolution and Cultural Adaptation", in Apostolopoulos Yorghos, Philippos Lokissas, Lila Leontidou (eds.), *Mediterranean Tourism. Facets of Socioeconomic Development and Cultural Change* (London – New York: Routledge, 2001), 227.
[799] Boyer Marc, "Tourism in the French Mediterranean. History and Transformation", in Apostolopoulos Yorghos, Philippos Lokissas, Lila Leontidou (eds.), *Mediterranean Tourism. Facets of Socioeconomic Development and Cultural Change* (London – New York: Routledge, 2001), 48-51.

idleness and seclusion," i.e. of upper classes and higher social status, with the (re)discovery of the Mediterranean, getting a tan began to be associated with spontaneity, connecting with the nature, and finally sexuality.[800] With the post-war development of mass tourism and greater availability of travel to all social classes, sunbathing became a widespread necessity and a reference to the Mediterranean summer (visit). For the locals, as well, it was something to be learned as a part of the new maritime culture which included leisure, swimming and, sunbathing.

The new beach culture was not accepted only through encounters with foreigners, but also through the popular press, which despite its light content preserved an educational tone. A series of articles in magazines like *Vikend* (dedicated to the culture of travel), *Arena, Vjesnik u srijedu*, and unavoidable female and fashion magazines *Praktična žena* and *Svijet,* during summer months consulted its readership on how to behave at the beach, what to bring, and the most importantly what to wear and how to look fabulous. Sunbathing was perceived not only as a trendy modern life craze, but also as a healthy practice. Therefore, doctors recommended moderate sun exposure, which, similarly to swimming and breathing the sea air recommendations a century ago, benefited general health, activated blood circulation and increased metabolism.[801]

Lovely bronze tan hence became the beauty imperative. This phenomenon united the idea of beauty (promoted through models on fashion magazines' covers), consumerism (by marketing campaigns for suntan lotions), even the belief in technological modernization (with predictions of a future innovation of a pill for suntanning), and finally – sexuality.[802] Celebrated in Edoardo Vianello/Đorđe Marjanović's hit song *Abbronzatissima* (see the second chapter), dark tones of skin evoked natural sensuality and untamed sexuality which was embedded in colonialist and Orientalist imaginary of Western Europeans.

## Galebovi – Yugoslav Mediterranean casanovas

In the third episode of *Naše malo misto, Prid neveru* (Before the Storm) all the protagonists can be seen on the beach enjoying the summer. Although set in 1940, all the recognizable tropes were present: a first encounter with swimming, sunbathing, the presentation

[800] Urry John, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Saga Publications Ltd, 1990), 35-36.
[801] "Voda, sunce, zrak i zemlja", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 16 June 1954 (116); "Za godišnjeg odmora", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 21 July 1954 (116), "U znaku ljeta", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 3 July 1957 (270).
[802] Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem*, 132; "Tablete za sunčanje", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 8 August 1956 (223).

of new fashion crazes such as the bikini, and latent sexual remarks.[803] While in the television series the persona of the young man Roko was visibly presented as strong and charming, in the written version, he was specifically described as "tall, strong, with a nice back, and all three women watched him with pleasure," as he jumped into the water. In addition, his skin was as shiny as bronze.[804] Roko was a perfect representative of Mediterranean masculinity – with a robust physical appearance, attractive "natural" darker skin and hair, and charming sexual appeal.

The advent of Mediterranean "Casanovas", i.e. latin lovers of the mass tourism era, fitted perfectly with the imaginary of the Mediterranean Other. Rooted in the patriarchal societies of Mediterranean countries on the one hand, and foreign expectations of semi-exotic natural sexuality on the other, romance tourism arose in summer resorts all over Southern Europe. In Italy these men were called *pappagalli* (parrots), in Greece *kamakia* (harpoons), and in Yugoslavia *galebovi* (seagulls); the Mediterranean Casanovas shared similar physical traits and seducing patterns. As their vernacular names suggested, they were very loud and chatty as parrots, gruelling and aggressive as seagulls, or used their charms as harpoons to catch women. A very direct and sometimes aggressive approach to foreign women was usually ascribed to a Mediterranean temperament, and adolescent need of affirmation among peers, but early on some critics also detected that the behaviour was also a result of a lack of sexual education and a patriarchal culture.[805] In most of the Mediterranean societies, religious conservativism prevailed when it came to romantic and sexual encounters, and so the invasion of foreign and different single women seemed like a perfect room for a manoeuvre; young men received tacit assent for their conquests, while the family honour of local girls remained untouched.[806]

Mediterranean casanovism was described as a summer romance, as giving up on social norms under the hot sun and beautiful beaches, and as the fulfilment of a female romantic dream of being seduced by a charming and passionate local Don Juan.[807] The widespread mythology of Don Juan "as a punctilious man of honor, interested only in the conquests which magnify his own stature and reputation", was therefore reinforced in the new imaginary of the modern Mediterranean.[808] However, as a Yugoslav example of *galebarenje* – the act of seduction by a

[803] "Prid neveru", *Naše malo misto*, d. Danijel Marušić, Televizija Zagreb, Zagreb 1970–1971.
[804] Smoje Miljenko, *Kronika o našem malom mistu* (Split: Slobodna Dalmacija – Marjan tisak, 2004), 63.
[805] "Samouki ljubavnici", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 3 September 1958 (331), "Jadranski donžuani", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 24 April 1968 (834).
[806] Pitt-Rivers Julian, *The fate of Shechem, or The politics of sex: essays in the anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 75.
[807] "Rimski don Juani i finska studentica", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 1 July 1953 (61); "Jadranski donžuani", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 24 April 1968 (834).
[808] Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem*, 25.

*galeb*, the sexual contract between locals and foreigners was multi-layered, and varied depending on the period. When in 1970 the popular magazine *Start* released a cover story on *galebovi*, they were introduced in historical perspective:

> "If you had asked ten years ago who the *galebovi* were, the reply would have been: 'We are well-built lads with bronze tan' (we 'sell' it as natural colour, but it is usually a result of spreading petroleum over our bodies and persistent sunbathing in recess). Alongside skin colour, muscles and curly hair, our seduction gear includes white teeth (for which we chew seaweed), swimming briefs, a small gondola for two, a short vessel, and a broad smile, which we disseminate along the Adriatic coast, from Koper to Ulcinj, in order to get a foreign woman dizzy enough to donate us jeans, a t-shirt or a *šuškavac* before she leaves. However, if you ask that question today, the answer is: a real '*galeb*' today is around thirty years old. He does not look much different to the '*galebovi*' from the French Riviera, Italian beaches or Greek islands. He has business in mind, not a *šuškavac* anymore, and therefore he treats his foreign ladies, sometimes even bearing the cost of their stay, only to cash in with interest in his 'package of services' – abroad."[809]

The financial benefit of being a *galeb* was widely reported on in the media, but it was treated mildly and benevolently, more as a demeaning and un-socialist behaviour, rather than as a criminal activity, unlike examples of female prostitution.[810] As the handful of research on similar sexual encounters in the Caribbean, Indonesia and Gambia demonstrate, the term prostitution is rarely used for the sexual engagements of female tourists with local men.[811] This is partially because both parties willingly participate in a patriarchal division of sexual roles, with men as hunters and women as a prey. In that way, men still remain in control of the act of seduction and the initiation of sexual interaction, therefore retaining their gendered sexual dominance.[812]

Unlike "sex tourism", which is usually ascribed to male tourists and is seen as exploitatory and morally dubious, according to some researchers, the term "romance tourism" is more suitable in describing female tourists' sex activities because "these liaisons are

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[809] "Avanture sezonskih kazanova", *Start,* 15 July 1970 (39).
[810] "Jadranski donžuani", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 24 April 1968 (834); "'Plavi Jadran' nije plav", *Vjesnik u srijedu,* 11 June 1958 (319).
[811] See for example: De Albuquerque Klaus, "Sex, beach boys and female tourists in the Caribbean", *Sexuality and Culture*, Vol. 2 (1998), 87-111; Brown Naomi, "Beach boys as cultural brokers in Bakua town, The Gambia", *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1992), 361-370; Cohen Erik, "Arab boys and tourist girls in a mixed Jewish-Arab community", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* Vol. 12 (1971), 217–233.
[812] Jeffreys Sheila, "Sex Tourism: Do Women Do It Too?", *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2003), 229.

constructed through a discourse of romance and long-term relationship, an emotional involvement usually not present in sex tourism."[813] Although romantic discourse is emphasized by both sides involved, there is a tacit agreement on the transaction, materialized in the practice of "gift giving" instead of cash payment.[814] Since in many cases there is a degree of mutual sentimental attachment, some researchers like Heide Dahles and Karin Bras find the term "romantic entrepreneurs" the most suitable.[815]

Accordingly, the perception of *galebarenje* as a romantic/sexual activity, rather than as a financial (illegal) transaction was reinforced by emphasizing the wishes and hopes of foreign female tourists. Women from the West and the North, hence, were reportedly choosing Mediterranean destinations to have fun and loosen up. In Yugoslavia, this popular belief was reinforced by media reports about female tourists disappointed because of the lack of romance and entertainment, to the extent that some "left Opatija early because they had walked for days alone, swam alone, gone to clubs and cafes alone where they sat alone, all because there was no one to invite them to dance, not to mention to invite them on a romantic walk in the moonlight."[816]

Foreign female tourists willingly participated in the reproduction of sexual discourse. When asked their opinion on local young men they usually stressed that Yugoslavs were "polite, but relentless wooers", "nice, but featherheaded", "communicative, but impatient", and above all "handsome". Mediterranean physical attractiveness was especially stereotyped by guests from Western and Northern Europe. Marion from the Netherlands described Yugoslav men as "well-built and sportive", Jeanne from Belgium thought they were "good-looking, tall, dark-skinned and healthy", while Haidi from Sweden praised their natural talent for singing, dancing and swimming.[817] When the Swedish family Skandin visited Yugoslavia in 1962, the daughter Ann-Marie confirmed the expectations of a free and spontaneous romanticism: "Your men are unforgettable. […] Two of them tried to convince me to run away with them by car, that is so romantic," adding that it would be impossible to experience this at home because "everyone is so mundanely polite!"[818]

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[813] Pruitt Deborah, Suzanne LaFont, "For love and money: Romance tourism in Jamaica", *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 22, No. 2 (1995), 423.
[814] Hall Michael C., Chris Ryan, *Sex Tourism: Marginal People and Liminalities* (London – New York: Routledge, 2008), 60.
[815] Dahles Heidi, Karin Bras, "Entrepreneurs in Romance. Tourism in Indonesia", *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol. 26 (1999), 281.
[816] "Tugovanka za papagalima", *Arena,* 8 August 1969 (450).
[817] "Strankinje i naši mladići", *Start,* 29. July 1970 (40).
[818] "Obitelj Skandin otkriva Jugoslaviju", *Vjesnik u srijedu,* 27 June 1962 (530).

As previously mentioned, the image of a strong and healthy natural and sexualized man was engrained in colonial mentality, and in the Mediterranean it found its expression through the semi-exoticization of male bodies. Similarly, Anna Agathangelou demonstrates that a fixation on darker skin, the so-called "white, but not quite" reproduces a racialized class division, in which whiteness bears the economic capital, while the sexual worker, in this case a Yugoslav man, represents the sexual capital.[819] In this way, extraordinary romantic encounters were covetted and nurtured through stereotypical representations.

At the other end of the spectrum, sexual Othering was directed at Western and Northern European women. As Yugoslav men were expected to be untamed athletic Mediterranean lovers, they also hoped for something different and exciting from their summer adventures. Unlike local girls, who were still expected to behave in accordance with traditional social norms, and to respect family honour, women from the opposite end of Europe represented sexual liberty and foreign northern beauty. Swedish women, hence, personified all the sexual fantasies of majority of Yugoslav men: slim, blonde, pale-skinned and green-eyed, they "brought liveliness, charm, youth and a breath of the distant north."[820] Their nonchalant sex appeal, as they confirmed themselves, was the result of southern fantasy and a typically Mediterranean need for exaggeration, yet also of female emancipation and sexual education.[821] In such a way, stereotypes and expectations were mutually encouraged and reproduced.

Nevertheless, the romantic and sexual aspects of tourism started changing with the advent of the sexual revolution on Yugoslav territory. Because of changes in gender relations, the liberalization of everyday life, better living standards and widespread consumerism, by the end of the 1960s the traditional *galebarenje* started to die out. While the older generations still appreciated small gifts and treats, the newer generations desired mainly flings and affairs.[822] Changes in global fashion, in which the youth of Yugoslavia fully participated, contributed to the transformation of the image of a *galeb*. Not only young men from all over Yugoslavia started to participate in summer romances during their holidays, but their unisex clothing changed the hypermasculine reception of a Mediterranean man. Thus, such representations were transformed into that of a fashionable man with a moustache, dark longer hair and sometimes

[819] Agathangelou Anna, *The Global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence, and Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States* (New York – Houndmills Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 4-5.
[820] "Švedske 'Lucije' u hotelima 'Solaris'", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 4 June 1969.
[821] "Švedske nimfe", *Start*, 4 June 1969 (10).
[822] "Galebovi lete za strankinjama", *Adam i Eva*, September 1972.

gold jewellery, which in Yugoslav public space was symbolized in the appearance of the singer Mišo Kovač.[823]

Finally, sexual liberalization also affected the Yugoslav female population. The change in attitudes towards sexual affairs and fashionable clothes made local girls sometimes undistinguishable from foreigners, and therefore attractive to *galebovi*, even during the summer months, which were until then reserved for tourist romances.[824] However, female and sexual emancipation empowered Yugoslav girls to experience their own romance tourism. Unlike their male compatriots, they preferred a similar mentality and a familiar appearance. Italian men, hence, seemed perfect as they shared similar physical and behavioural traits with the Yugoslavs, but they had cars and money.[825] This temporary mobility and cosmopolitanism for many Yugoslav women entailed experiencing freedom from the burden of the patriarchal expectations of their closed coastal communities.

## 4.6. The Mermaid of the Adriatic and beauty pageants

When in 1953 *Vjesnik u srijedu* reported on the Miss Europe Beauty Pageant, asserting that competing girls could expect

> "a life without prospects, temporarily in the spotlight due to fake fame, after which they had to go back to their everyday struggle for food, a job, a better salary with the constant fear of unemployment or the incapability of keeping up with competition in life-struggles in the capitalist world,"

it was almost impossible to imagine that only a decade later Yugoslavia would proudly participate in the Miss World Beauty Pageant as the first socialist country competing.[826] As all popular culture examples so far demonstrated, Yugoslavia was catching up with the West quite fast, and as a consequence of Westernization and liberalization, certain changes to society sometimes came unexpectedly.

Sensationalism in popular press reporting and the commercial exploitation of the female body was highly criticized in the aforementioned article Choosing a Miss Europe in Istanbul, yet both had found their expression in Yugoslav reality as early as by the end of the 1950s. While the first was mainly a result of a self-management commercial turn in publishing, the

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[823] Petrov Ana, "'My Beautiful Dalmatian Song': (Re)Connecting Serbia and Dalmatia at Concerts of Dalmatian Performers in Belgrade", Tatjana Marković (ed.) *Mediterranean, Our Own: (Post-)Yugoslav Pop Music, TheMA: Open Access Research Journal for Theatre, Music, Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 1-2 (2015), Permalink for this text: http://archive.thema-journal.eu/thema/2015/1-2/petrov. Accessed on 12 June 2016.
[824] "Tugovanka za papagalima", *Arena*, 8. August 1969 (450).
[825] "Avanture sezonskih kazanova", *Start*, 15 July 1970 (39).
[826] "Izbor 'Miss Evrope' u Istanbulu", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 30 December 1953 (87).

question of the liberation of the female body was a complex one. The debate on fashion had already showed that the only ideological concern of Yugoslav cultural workers was the discussion on (socialist) modesty and the creation of a distinguished Yugoslav style. Women's own agency and their personal choices were, on the other hand, rarely discussed.

It would be interesting at this point to make a comparison with Italy once again. Unlike in Yugoslavia, Italy continued the pre-war tradition of organizing beauty contests, so as early as in 1946 the Miss Italia Beauty Pageant had been re-established with a clear commercial aspect. However, as Stephen Gundle argues, beauty pageants also served the purpose of the national re-invention of Italianness, as symbolized in female beauty.[827] Here, the communists, although ideologically disapproving of commercial exploitation and the manipulation of women, saw an opportunity to present themselves as more open-minded and liberal than conservative Catholic forces. With political and electoral goals in mind, throughout the 1950s the Italian Communist Party had been organizing their own beauty contests, popularly named *Stellina* (starlet) dell'Unità and Miss Vie Nuove, and promoted through the official Party press. Much as they insisted on everyday clothing instead of evening gowns, and on the political and moral qualities of the contestants, the winner would usually be "the candidate who in the opinion of the jury is the most beautiful, and who has the most suitable characteristics to participate in the making of a film."[828] The fluctuating position of communists towards beauty contests demonstrated how a conflict between ideological postulates, such as class struggle against exploitation, and practical issues, such as everyday political goals and winning popularity votes, could result in the appropriation of capitalist acts, remaining all the more grounded in a patriarchal conception of gender and sexuality.

Similarly, all the Yugoslav inner contradictions in debates over beauty pageants were already occurring in other fields of social and cultural life. Hence, some criticized beauty pageants because they were (petit)-bourgeois leftovers from the pre-revolutionary period, and because they were demeaning to women who were usually assessed half-naked, only dressed in a bikini. To treat a woman, especially a young woman, as a commodity, was inherently anti-socialist. However, advocates of beauty contests claimed that allowing women to participate in them was an act of emancipation, of the "rejection of old and backward customs."[829] The concept of progress, a focal point of Yugoslav socialism, was hence used as a main counter-

[827] Gundle, *Bellissima*, 116.
[828] Gundle, *Bellissima*, 130.
[829] "Operete s veselim svršetkom", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 25 February 1959 (356).

argument, whether it was used to refer to female emancipation, or more often to the development of tourism.

Unsurprisingly, a shift towards the acceptance of this new form of entertainment first took place on the Adriatic coast. Tourism workers believed that the organization of local beauty pageants as a new form of tourist entertainment could be a turning point in the prosperity of Yugoslav tourism. The Adriatic Mermaids were, hence, supposed to offer something exciting and exotic to the tourism offering, while by avoiding the term "Miss" Yugoslav versions of the competitions were supposed to seem less commercial and anti-socialist.[830]

When in 1960 the Zadar Fair of Maritime Affairs, Fishing and Tourism tried to organize a sea-travelling Adriatic beauty pageant, the organizers faced all these contradictions. Despite good marketing and positive reactions from the local tourist board, the whole event failed because of a lack of response from local girls and the disaffection of citizens of some coastal towns like Split and Šibenik. *Vjesnik u srijedu* reported that many curious visitors left in the middle of a show, while in some places they even openly disturbed it by protesting and whistling. For the media, this was confirmation that beauty contests were not suitable for Yugoslavia, and "the fiasco of this and similar manifestations, which for several years tried to be forcefully implemented in our country, is showing what the widest popular masses think about them."[831]

It seemed that the people had spoken, but already during the next year *Vjesnik u srijedu* reported on a beauty contest at the Plava laguna tourist resort, this time without any criticism. Moreover, it was stressed that by repeating the contest every two weeks with new candidates, the organizers had tried to subvert a cult of exclusivity and "turned these kinds of contests into entertainment and friendship-building between young men and women from all over the world."[832] By the end of the 1960s, the majority of tourist resorts and hotels organized similar events, without any trouble.[833] Because local girls almost never participated, as they feared being shamed and disapproved of by their close family and the local community, these events fulfilled their function of being a closed tourist entertainment, and promoted Yugoslavia as a liberal and open-minded socialist country.

The cultural and social environment of the late 1960s demonstrated that Yugoslavia was fully participating in Western popular culture. Thus, after the acceptance of jazz and rock'n'roll,

[830] "Miss na jugoslavenski način", *Svijet*, 16 (1965).
[831] "Izložba ljepotica", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 17 August 1960 (433).
[832] "Missijada na Plavoj Laguni", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 19 July 1961 (481).
[833] "Teleksom i telefonom", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 2 September 1964 (644); "Ljepota je zanat", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 25 October 1967 (808); "Sirena iz Hamburga", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 26 August 1970 (956).

of the mini-skirt and hippie clothes, the normalization of travels abroad, and the appearance of the first signs of sexual revolution, no one was surprised when in 1966 the fashion magazine *Bazar* unpompously announced the organization of the Miss Yugoslavia Beauty Pageant, as a national competition for participation in the Miss World Contest. Even though it was promoted as a rather benign form of entertainment, Yugoslav participation in Miss World offered the possibility of challenging many political, social and cultural postulates. Having previous experience in the Eurovision Song Contest, as the first socialist country participating, Yugoslavia once again had the chance to promote itself as a liberal and modern socialist regime. Correspondingly, "the first socialist Miss World contestant" brought lots of international attention, which the Yugoslav press presented as an "extraordinary success for our country" and a "growing fondness for Yugoslavia" in international circles.[834]

Moreover, the Miss Yugoslavia Contest also offered a platform for the presentation of contemporary Yugoslav fashion, inspired by folk motifs, which similarly to the Dubrovački trubaduri in 1968, had to demonstrate a successful symbiosis of tradition and progress, as well as all the profusion of Yugoslav cultural heritage. Thus, for the first Yugoslav participation in the Miss World Contest, the fashion designer Aleksandar Joksimović prepared a trendy collection inspired by Kosovo folklore. When the first Miss Yugoslavia Nikica Marinović was acclaimed to be one of the five most elegant contestants, the award was perceived as international recognition of Joksimović's work.[835] The following year, Joksimović based the showcasing of Miss Yugoslavia on his acclaimed newest fashion collection Simonida, which was inspired by international trends.[836] The showcasing of Yugoslavia as part of the international fashion scene continued over the years that followed, but folklore remained a trump card in the campaign for success.

It was believed that Yugoslavia had a huge advantage at the contest in the section on national heritage because Yugoslav multiculturality offered a vast choice of inspiration. Therefore, every year, Miss Yugoslavia presented a folk costume from a different part of the country, displaying the richness of its culture. In 1966 Nikica Marinović wore a traditional dress from Šumadija (central Serbia); in 1967 Aleksandra Mandić wore a Montenegrin dress; in 1968 Ivona Puhiera showed up in traditional clothes from her Konavle region (Southern Dalmatia), while Radmila Živković was seen as most suitable for wearing a folk costume from Vranje

[834] "Naša lepotica zablistala u Londonu", *Bazar*, 1 December 1966 (42); "Naša devojka blista", *Bazar*, 9 November 1968 (99); "Koja će biti četvrta", *Bazar*, 15 March 1969 (108).
[835] "Aplauz Londona i Pariza", *Bazar*, 1 January 1967 (50).
[836] "Zna šta hoće a kupuje pantalone", *Bazar*, 28 October 1967 (72).

(Southern Serbia).[837] The fact that in some cases the dress did not match the background of the contestant only reinforced the idea of "brotherhood and unity", and the projection of unifying all-Yugoslav success.

For competing girls, the Miss Yugoslavia Contest offered them a chance to acquire trendy clothes, provided by sponsors, and also to emancipate themselves and gain life experience. Much of the majority of aspiring girls applied to the Miss Yugoslavia competition to gain some kind of material benefit, either in the shape of a financial price or in sponsored clothes they could keep after the contest,[838] while for some of them it was also an act of rebellion against a traditional and patriarchal understanding of women's role in society. When Miss Yugoslavia was established in 1966, the inrush of contestants was hardly expected, remembering experiences of local tourist beauty pageants. Just a year earlier, *Svijet* had reported that only foreigners competed in The Mermaid of the Adriatic Competition because locals did not approve of their daughters' participation. One disappointed girl complained to a journalist: "I wanted to, but when I told my mother, she went to church and prayed for me. Then she threatened she would break all my bones, and said that if I parade in a bikini in front of visitors, I do not have to return home anymore!"[839]

Similarly, in interviews for *Bazar*, some girls reported the struggle they had had against their fathers, even brothers, who were objecting to their wishes to participate in a beauty pageant, or who were carefully watching over them during the competition in order to preserve their morals.[840] When a young Muslim from Goražde appeared at the Miss Bosnia and Herzegovina contest in trendy trousers, without any objections from her family, the media reported on it as a significant cultural success, and as an important sign of progressive changes in provincial parts of Yugoslavia.[841]

The Yugoslav competition was organized under the license of the Miss World organization, funded in 1951 by Eric Morley as a commercial bikini contest. By the 1960s it had grown into an international spectacle followed on television by millions of viewers. The rules of the competition required girls to be unmarried, well-mannered, svelte, familiar with walking on a runway, and presentable in various types of clothing, including in a swimsuit.[842] The Yugoslav unwritten addition was, expectedly, for a Miss to be modest and natural, in

[837] "Londonska avantura", *Bazar*, 22 November 1969 (126).
[838] "Pobediće najlepša", *Bazar*, 15 April 1967 (58); "Prva lepotica – budući sopran", *Bazar*, 6 July 1968 (90); "Lepotice, za vas", *Bazar*, 29 March 1969 (109)
[839] "Miss na jugoslavenski način", *Svijet*, 16 (1965).
[840] "Jagoda, nova mis Dalmacije", *Bazar*, 16 September 1967 (69); "Lepotica sa Durmitora", *Bazar*, 29 August 1970 (146).
[841] "Mostarska Marija", *Bazar*, 24 June 1969 (115).
[842] "Dvadeset miliona TV gledalaca pratilo je izbor 'mis' u Londonu", *Bazar*, 1 May 1966 (34).

accordance with socialist good taste. Hence, Nikica Marinović was described as chaste and as charmingly little insecure, while after having been elected as the first runner up of Miss World 1966 she "remained modest, honest and natural."[843] In the years that followed, all Miss Yugoslavia winners were celebrated for their spontaneity and natural charm, which contrasted with the "fake smiles, prearranged answers and constant posing" of the other contestants.[844] The Yugoslav socialist specificities did not last long, and so when in the next year Czechoslovakia started participating as well, it became obvious that Yugoslavia had to offer something more than charming socialist modesty.[845]

Like Italians, Yugoslavs also rejected the standardized American beauty model, as promoted through Hollywood. And like Italians, Yugoslavs wanted competing girls to represent the spirit and cultural traits of the country. For a non-aligned country, on the border between the East and the West – not just ideologically, but also culturally – it was important to underline a hybrid cultural identity, which was a result of centuries of mixing of various ethnicities and races. Yugoslav beauty was therefore embodied in the mixture of "a Slavic charm with a hint of oriental features and contemporary cosmopolitanism."[846] Specific but undefinable Yugoslav beauty was also confirmed by one of the organizers of Miss World, Jean Berry, who when commenting on the Miss Yugoslavia 1969 winner Radmila Živković said: "It is obvious this girl is not from the Western world, but even less from Asia or Africa […] and that is her biggest advantage in Miss World."[847]

The real question was how to choose the best representative of something so complex as "typical" Yugoslav beauty, "from Maribor [in Slovenia] to Bitola [in Macedonia], from Pula [in Croatia] to Budva [in Montenegro]."[848] Who would better represent Yugoslav identity: a pale and black-haired Slovene girl, or a dark-skinned but green-eyed Macedonian, a slightly robust and dark-haired Montenegrin, or a sun-tanned and blue-eyed Dalmatian girl?[849] These problems of perfect representation reflected the interference of different cultural spheres on Yugoslav territory, but also the complexity of the Yugoslav federal structure. Hence, the internal decision to organize regional pre-selection events was supposed to give an opportunity to all Yugoslav republics to be equally represented in the Miss Yugoslavia Contest.

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[843] "Osvojila Dubrovčane", *Bazar*, 15 September 1966 (43); "Šta znači biti lepotica", *Bazar,* 29 April 1967).
[844] "Tri tamnokose", *Bazar*, 13 May 1967 (60); "Zašto Ivona nije bila peta", *Bazar,* 23 November 1968 (100).
[845] "Ekspresno ocenjivanje lepote", *Bazar,* 23 December 1967 (76).
[846] "U London ide Aleksandra", *Bazar*, 14 October 1967 (71); "Koja će biti četvrta", *Bazar,* 15 March 1969 (115).
[847] "A na balu", *Bazar,* 11 October 1969 (123).
[848] "Dubrovčanka putuje u London", *Bazar,* 15 October 1966 (145).
[849] "U London ide Aleksandra", *Bazar,* 14 October 1967 (71); "Makedonke kao Crnogorke", *Bazar,* 27 May 1967 (61); "Najlepša na Jadranu", *Bazar,* 12 September 1970 (47).

Reports from the first five years of the contest illustrate that the idea of decentralization was even manifest in the avoidance of capital cities as venues. For example, the first contest in 1966 was held in Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Portorož (Slovenia), Ohrid (Macedonia), Kragujevac (Serbia), Osijek (Croatia), Budva (Montenegro), Novi Sad (Vojvodina), and Dubrovnik (Croatia).[850] This example speaks to several key issues. The first is the question of entertainment. Bringing a beauty pageant of national importance to smaller places was meant to offer one of the trendiest entertainment shows to those Yugoslav citizens who could otherwise participate in similar events only through mass media. Beauty pageants, similar to fashion shows, were not only beauty contests, but also glamourous entertainment events with famous guests and music performances from the most popular Yugoslav stars of *zabavna* music. The organization of such a show in a smaller town was hence a demonstration of democratic and polycentric national policies.

Secondly, turning to coastal or lakeside places like Portorož or Ohrid could be ascribed to the development and promotion of tourism. Not only did tourist resorts provide the necessary facilities, but they also supplied audiences well-versed in the etiquette of these contests. Multiple fashion shows and local "Adriatic" beauty contests contributed to the liberalization of cultural and social expectations. Besides all that, it was another way to demonstrate to foreign tourists the openness and internationality of Yugoslav socialist regime. As *Bazar* reported, in places like Opatija, the programme of the beauty pageant was held in several languages, making the atmosphere welcoming for all visitors.[851]

Finally, from the example of the 1966 Miss Yugoslavia, it is evident that next to competitions in each republic, there were two additional ones – Miss Vojvodina and Miss Dalmatia. This could be motivated by compensation for the size of Serbia and Croatia as the two largest (and most influential) republics, but both Vojvodina and Dalmatia had additional cultural baggage. Although Vojvodina became recognized as the autonomous province only in 1974, the organizers stressed the distinguishing beauty of lowland women.[852] Moreover, as a region with highly mixed population and large Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian minorities, it opened a possibility for Yugoslavia to showcase its multiculturality, which was confirmed in 1969 when Hungarian Elizabeta Salma won the title of Miss Vojvodina.[853]

Miss Dalmatia, on the other hand, as the only proper regional competition, reflected the specific cultural position it held in Yugoslavia. Dalmatia was promoted as an always-sunny,

[850] "Dubrovčanka putuje u London", *Bazar*, 15 October 1966 (45).
[851] "Sa mamom na izbor lepotice", *Bazar*, 24 June 1967 (63).
[852] "Kao dve sestre", *Bazar*, 10 June 1967 (62).
[853] "Elizabete od Zrenjanina", *Bazar*, 5 July 1969 (116).

joyful and romantic destination through hundreds of popular songs, television shows and real-life stories from summer vacations. The sea also symbolized health and vitality which fitted well with the image of a physically and morally strong socialist woman. The expectation that the Miss Dalmatia contest would provide national beauties further increased after Dalmatian girls won the national competition two out of three times.[854] However, described as "tall, slim, shapely figured, tanned, blonde and with sea-coloured eyes," they did not necessarily represent the stereotypical expectations of Mediterranean beauty.[855]

Unlike in Italy where the triumph of the first blonde Miss Italia in 1961 caused "widespread shock" and confirmed the institutionalization of an American-style consumerist society,[856] the Yugoslav exercise in promoting a contrasting representation of beauty epitomized the diversity of national features and cultural hybridism. As numerous examples in this chapter illustrate, question of beauty and style were shaped by the need to find the right balance between the Yugoslav desire to follow international trends and become a part of Western (popular) culture on the one hand, and defining its own Yugoslavness on the other. Whether it was a question of folkloric accessories in Yugoslav fashion, or putting a strong emphasis on summer and maritime motifs in fashion magazines, or cultural and material capital aquired through shopping practices in the West, the problem of Yugoslav identity was literally exposed here – on the bodies of Yugoslav men and women.

Moreover, these bodies themselves became politicized, and this was the most evident at the beach where locals could compare their looks and behaviour with foreign visitors, and sometimes imitate them. The Adriatic coast could thus be seen as an ideological battelfield where different political systems could measure how liberal and open-minded their policies were. The problem of the free expression of sexuality was in particular suitable for ideological interpretations, especially in the Mediterranean context. Most of the Mediterranean societies, despite modernization processes, were still, in the 1950s and 1960s, characterized by conservativism and patriarchal structures, and Yugoslavia was no exception. However, the process of identitfying Yugoslavness mixed with socialist ideology led to the liberalization of traditional structures of society, as was demonstrated in the studies of the *galebovi* and Miss Yugoslavia. Both phenomena can be seen not only as results of liberalization processes and Yugoslav ideological positioning in the Cold-War world, but also as the expression of a search for harmony between its own Mediterraneaness and socialist Yugoslavism.

[854] "Još samo mis Hrvatske", *Bazar*, 13 September 1968 (121).
[855] "Najlepša na Jadranu", *Bazar*, 12 September 1970 (147).
[856] Gundle, *Bellissima*, 176.

# Conclusion

In the summer of 1969, a beauty care company Solea organized a marketing action, covered as an entertainment event, in which numerous famous singers, television hosts and actors travelled across the Adriatic on a yacht, bringing various entertainment programmes to a different town each day:

> "The concept of entertainment which was until now offered to tourists at the Adriatic was mainly restricted to a few concerts of *zabavna* music held in hotel halls or terraces. There were no other events which would attract those who cannot be satisfied only with sun, fresh air and sea. That is why the series of events, collectively named Across the Sunny Shore with Solea, deserves to be praised for creating one completely new and original form of tourist entertainment. It is a daylong show which will take place each day in a different town and which will appeal to everyone with its wide-ranging programme."[857]

The programme was based on several different events. In the afternoon a local beach would become a playground, offering various games such as darts, water-skiing, or bowling. In the evening, local *klapa* would perform traditional Dalmatian music on the yacht, slowly cruising close to the shore. Their performance was supposed to set a romantic ambience for the final event of the evening – the beauty contest Miss Solea, accompanied with the performance of the top performers of Yugoslav *zabavna* music: Tereza Kesovija, Vice Vukov, Kvartet 4M and many others. Similar to many locally organized tourist entertainment events, or television-organized advertisement shows such as *Ol na moru ol na kraju*, the Solea campaign exploited the success of Mediterranized popular culture genres for economic benefit.

The audio and visual images of the seaside that entered Yugoslav homes in prime-time coincided with the development of mass tourism. For some audiences the sounds and pictures evoked memories of summer holidays at the Adriatic, but for some it was just a longing. For the latter, it also represented the ideal of the promised socialist success of modern life. Hence, the coastal images transmitted through mass media fitted perfectly in the imagination of the Mediterranean, simultaneously familiar and exotic, modern but never fully adhering to the laws of dehumanized social interaction of the West.

Two things were crucial: the introduction of self-management and opening to the Western countries. The first caused the liberalization of the cultural sphere and the "democratization" of culture, but also introduced commercialism in the spread of cultural

[857] "Najveća turističko-zabavna priredba na Jadranu", *Vjesnik u srijedu*, 16 July 1969 (898).

goods. Openness to the West contributed to the further commercialization by the import of Western popular culture against which Yugoslav ideologues continued to struggle even later, during the 1970s and 1980s.[858] Therefore, the Yugoslav "schizophrenic years", as Tvrtko Jakovina names the first two decades of the Yugoslav socialist experiment, brought the negotiation of identities, implementing the most successful and appropriate components of Western and non-alignment ideology.[859]

Although the split with the Soviet Bloc happened as early as 1948, it took a full decade for Yugoslav ideologues to create a new way to socialism, embodied in the renewed Party Programme. The economic miracle, that could be recognized in the rapid growth of the index of industrial production enabled better living standard for Yugoslav citizens.[860] Improved living conditions, together with the spread of the mass media, transformed the everyday life of a single generation like never before in history. However, as Stipe Šuvar pointed out in his sociological study on Yugoslav society in 1970, enormous economic and cultural differences between various parts of the country still existed, especially visible in the comparison between urban and rural areas.

The development of mass tourism further increased internal economic differences within the Socialist Yugoslavia. All discussed issues, such as the centring of the main entertainment events in maritime tourist resorts or expanding the broadcasting network first towards the coast instead of the southern inland republics, show the privilege that the Adriatic area had not only on the cultural, but also the economic level. As Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor point out, "figures for tourism income on the Adriatic between 1961 and 1973 showed that the income of residents in the coastal municipalities was significantly higher than the Yugoslav average."[861] This is especially important in the context of the Croatian Spring Movement of 1970–1971, that had as its goal the broader economic and political independence of socialist Croatia within the federation. Although this thesis did not elaborate on the debate over the complexities of the Yugoslav internal economic system, nor the conflict between different political and ideological streams inside the Party, my research proves that Yugoslav

[858] Senjković Reana, *Izgubljeno u prijenosu: pop iskustvo soc kulture* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2008), 16.
[859] Jakovina Tvrtko, "Historical Success of Schizophrenic State", in Kolešnik Ljiljana (ed.), *Socialism and Modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950-1974* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2012), 38-39.
[860] Duda Igor, *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkoga društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005), 45-46.
[861] Taylor, Grandits, "Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia", in Taylor Karin, Hannes Grandits (eds.), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)* (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), 12.

official policies did not neglect the Adriatic and its broader hinterland within Yugoslavia, as was often claimed in contemporary Croatian etnography and historiography.

The scandal surrounding the singer Vice Vukov, who by the beginning of the 1970s, with the advent of the Croatian Spring Movement, openly started demonstrating strong Croatian nationalist feelings, and was consequently "ignored" by, i.e. expelled from, musical production under clear official instructions, can be interpreted as an exception. Zoran Janjetović argues that "popular culture in Socialist Yugoslavia was not, nor could be a training ground for expression of political discontent. Sporadic scandals in the cultural field that occasionally occurred usually happened in the sphere of 'high' culture," and the study of censorship in culture by Radina Vučetić confirms that.[862]

At the turn of the decade the majority of (popular) culture production remained produced and consumed in the Adriatic region. The success of the Adriatic Melodies and the television series *Naše malo misto* on an all-Yugoslav level in the late 1960s and early 1970s confirms the continuity of the building of the specific (cultural) position of the Adriatic area. Finally, this can be traced in the period that followed, not only in the fact that Dalmatian-style *zabavna* music reached its highest popularity rates in the 1970s, but also in TV Zagreb's production of another successful "Mediterranean" television series named *Velo misto* (The Big Town), clearly referring to the earlier success. The Yugoslav economic and cultural Mediterranean turn was crowned in 1979 when Split was chosen to host the Mediterranean Sport Games that, until the Sarajevo 1984 Winter Olympic Games, was the largest international sport event organized in Yugoslavia, whose impact deserves a special study. The fact that all this was happening during the so-called "Croatian silence", where most actions expressing Croatian identity or specific demands were self-censored, further confirm that the Adriatic was established as all-Yugoslav shared space.

"Such unifying forces", that Patrick Hyden Patterson identifies in consumer practices, but can here also serve for Yugoslav Mediterranized popular culture, "were a rarity in this society, where ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, and economic differences long hampered the development of pan-Yugoslav values, attitudes, customs, and identities."[863] The creation of unifying all-Yugoslav elements was further implemented through celebrity culture since the majority of Yugoslav celebrities publicly supported the regime, either through their engagement

[862] Janjetović Zoran, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji: 1945 - 1991* (Belgrade: Insititut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 51. See: Vučetić Radina, *Monopol na istinu: partija, kultura i cenzura u Srbiji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina XX. veka*, (Belgrade: Clio, 2016).
[863] Patterson Patrick Hyder, *Bought & Sold. Living & Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), xvii. Compare with Vučetić Radina, *Koka-kola socijalizam: Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2012). 40.

in state-sponsored events (or private parties at Tito's residence), or through expressions of loyalty and national pride in interviews. This was especially visible in the promotion of "brotherhood and unity" among them, either through appearances on all-Yugoslav celebrations such as the Opatija Festival, or by participating in regional popular culture forms regardless of ones own background. Moreover, Yugoslav celebrities were usually promoted as modest and down-to-earth, in accordance with the virtues of a socialist man. Therefore, singers and actors participated in the creation of the image of Yugoslav exceptionality, and of the socialist system where everyone is equal, so even celebrities share everyday experiences, happiness and the problems of regular Yugoslav citizens, although that did not necessarily correspond to the reality of economic divisions on the individual level.

Hence, the Yugoslav case demonstrates popular culture's function was twofold. For one part of the population it truly represented the actualization of their need for leisure and entertainment, for a modern and consumerist way of life. For them the scenes from the movie *Ljubav i moda*, or Roko's and Anđa's life on television screen were part of reality. On the other side of the spectrum, the rest of the population still awaited the modernization processes at the end of the 1960s. Nevertheless, the majority of them participated in Yugoslav modernity by consuming popular culture content through mass media, in that way sharing the collective modernized identity of being a Yugoslav.

This division between more and less developed Yugoslav regions and republics remained a problem until the break down of Socialist Yugoslavia at the beginning of the 1990s, and it was manifest in cultural policies as well. On the theoretical level, the issue of educating the masses and bringing them classic culture was contrasted with the ideological appropriation of some aspects of mass culture, as discussed throughout the thesis. In Yugoslavia, modernity became an imperative in the society divided on cultural, social, and economic level, and it was a measure of ones' *kulturnost*.[864] The cultural theorist Dean Duda concludes that

> "the popular field, both from the point of view of modernity and of socialism, should, with due caution, be accessed as a complex of plural social figures, considering the fact that it simultaneously covers several levels of meaning, including general accessibility or broad social distribution, discrimination in terms of value, social and economic

[864] *Kulturnost*, as in the Russian lanaguage, referred to the personal attributes of a "cultured" person. "Kul'turnost' was reflected in the way one spoke, ate, dressed, made love, and went to the bathroom. It was also reflected, of course, in one's taste in music, literature, and theater." Lebow Katherine, "Kontra Kultura: Leisure and Youthful Rebellion in Stalinist Poland", in Crowley David, Susan E. Reid (eds.), *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston: Northwestern Univesity Press, 2010), 74.

limitations, attractiveness and acceptance, presence in the media, consumption, and, of course, commercial interest."[865]

However, the acceptance of light entertainment (*zabavna*) culture never truly fitted with the socialist theoretical concept of mass culture, meaning the culture of, by and for masses, especially in the context of rural and undeveloped areas. As Patterson argues, "the images shown to the public as representations of the Yugoslav Dream" often ignored Yugoslavia's rural population.[866] While traditional, folk or *narodna* culture must have surely prevailed in larger parts of the society, the insistence on modern and urban cultural elements, both from the cultural ideologues and cultural workers, made the *zabavna* culture mainstream, at least through official channels.

Moreover, popular culture often contributed to the strengthening of the idea of Yugoslav exceptionality. The reality was more complex though. In a comparative perspective, especially valid for the period of the 1950s and early 1960s, Yugoslavia was much closer to other socialist regimes that developed various strategies to cope with a lack of goods to satisfy growing consumerist needs of their citizens.[867] As the example of the development of the Yugoslav fashion industry demonstrated, the expectations of Yugoslav (wo)men could not be satisfied with domestic production, both in quantity and quality, so they had to be fulfilled with (cultural) products from abroad. However, as Paulina Bren and Mary Neuberger point out, "for those who integrated artefacts of this 'imagined West' into their daily lives, it is not a foregone conclusion that the desire for and possession of such things undermined their belief (however vague) in socialism."[868] While media commentators warned that blindly following current fads was in its essence un-socialist, the often embarassing scenes from Trieste's Ponte Rosso market posed additional problems . The images of Yugoslav citizens hungry for Western products, sleeping on benches and at the train station, smuggling goods over the border, definitely did not fit with the projection of Yugoslav success the official discourse tried to create. Finally, social distinctions and the existance of classes between Yugoslav citizens were especially visible abroad, further confirming the division of the country on socio-economic and geo-cultural level between the north-west and the south-east.

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[865] Duda Dean, "Socialist Popular Culture as (Ambivalent) Modernity", in Kolešnik Ljiljana (ed.), *Socialism and Modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950-1974* (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 2012), 263.
[866] Patterson, *Bought & Sold,*, 272-273.
[867] Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam*, 19.
[868] Bren, Paulina, Mary Neuburger, "Introduction", in Paulina Bren, Mary Neuburger (eds.), *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

Hence, the question of the various *–izations* – Americanization, Westernization, Italianization – cannot simply be answered on the all-Yugoslav level. As recurrent references to Italy exposed, Italy itself had a complicated process of identity construction based on traditional Mediterranean cultural forms supplemented with Americanized popular culture, all with the goal to culturally homogenize the nation divided on the urban–rural and north–south level. The successful construction of a modern Italian identity, soon recognized internationally as well, served as the perfect role model and a starting point for the development of specific Yugoslav culture. However, not only that Yugoslav cultural workers almost immediately started to add local elements to the Italian model in order to give it Yugoslavized flavour, but the model itself was not applicable in multiethnic, decentralized, self-managing and non-aligned society.

Three case studies presented perfectly reflect crucial problems of popular culture in socialist society which strived to satisfy the needs of the masses without abandoning ideological postulates. At long last, Yugoslav cultural-entertainment developed according to material and conceptual possibilities. In that manner, *zabavna* music was the answer to the problematic role of folk culture in modernized society, television asserted the importance of entertainment in everyday life, while fashion insisted on good taste and socialist morality as a corrective to over-consumerist practices. In so doing, popular culture practices intertwined and supplemented each other, and together contributed to the cultural construction of Yugoslav socialism. Various forms of specifically Yugoslav popular culture, whether they were audio, visual or material, (re)presented, (re)produced and (re)created the image of Yugoslavia as a modern and liberal country with happy and satisfied citizens.

This image of Yugoslavia was not only built for cultural and identity bonding between the peoples from different Yugoslav republics, but also for the enhancment of the belief in the superiority of the Yugoslav regime, both to the East and the West. In such a construct of imaginary Yugoslavia, socialist (wo)men could realize their full potential and wishes without the repression of the socio-political system (like in the East), but they did not develop a need for extravagance and unnecessary luxury (like in the West). It was important to reinforce this belief through tourist practices, since, as the example of Trieste showed, the international representation of the country as a successful political model was not always as positive. Thus, the development of domestic and foreign tourism at the Adriatic had not only an economic purpose, but also played an important soft-power role in disseminating information on everyday life under the Yugoslav socialist experiment. The answer to Wendy Bracewells' question on balancing capitalist and socialist practices in Yugoslav tourism – "how could you sell yourself

without selling out?"[869] – seems clear: by creating a collective image of Yugoslavia as a modern socialist country, which was displayed, at least, on the beach. For this purpose, Dalmatia invoked "the Italianate culture of the towns, open to the sea and cosmopolitan in character, together with an everyday culture (cuisine, architecture, interior design, lifestyle, music) that is removed from the colder, darker Dinaric interior," while Istria was "more culturally and ethnically mixed [symbolizing] a kind of Mediterranean in microcosm."[870]

The Yugoslav way of life fitted perfectly with the Northern European projections of the Mediterranean and its people – "talkative, emotional, civilized, passionate, tanned."[871] The development of maritime tourism and the rising number of both domestic and foreign guests at the Adriatic underlined the growing importance of the sea, previously established in the 1950s and 1960s in Yugoslav imagology. The sea was seen as the source of health and beauty, but it was also perceived as a space of shared national pride and faith in well-being. As early as 1946, Tito announced that "every Yugoslav (young) citizen will have the opportunity to get to know the Adriatic Sea, its azure and its beauty […], and once you know the country, you will start loving it even more."[872] The importance of the coast was further officially acknowledged by the placement of presidential summer residence on the island of Brijuni, which gained the status of "Yugoslav summer capital." Moreover, the image of Tito, in his white admiral uniform at the prow of the Yugoslav navy training ship Galeb (Seagull) was promoted as a symbol of Yugoslav openness, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

Hence, it became evident through various socio-political and geo-cultural strategies that Yugoslavia chose to promote different identities, dependent on the occasion and the foreign connections it sought to cultivate. Although quickly abandoned, the Balkan Pact demonstrated the potential Balkan countries could have in international relations. For negotiations with the West, Yugoslav officials always stressed its modernity and liberal politics, pointing to differences vis-a-vis the rest of the socialist world. Finally, Yugoslavs loved to use its Mediterranean identity for international representations with neighbouring Mediterranean countries, and the non-aligned world. In the commemorative monograph *Tito and the Sea*,

[869] Bracewell Wendy, "Adventures in the Marketplace. Yugoslav Travel Writing and Tourism in the 1950s-1960s", in Anne E. Gorsuch, Diane P. Koenker (eds.), *Turizm. The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca: Cornwell University Press, 2006), 263.
[870] Samson Jim, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden – Boston: Brill 2013), 189-190.
[871] Frykman Jonas, „Culturalization of the Mediterranean Space", *Narodna umjetnost*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1999), 283.
[872] Broz Josip Tito, "Imamo prekrasnu obalu (Iz razgovora s omladincima Dubrovnika, 22. jula 1946.)", in Zdunić Drago, Milan Zinaić (eds.), *Tito i more* (Rijeka – Opatija – Zagreb: Otokar Keršovani – Spektar, 1983), 46.

published in 1983 to collect together all Tito's thoughts, writings and speeches about the Yugoslav connection with the sea, the opening page quotes Tito from an unknown source:

> "We should never neglect the fact that the Adriatic Sea is our natural tie with the world. Therefore we have to constantly and continually work on solving all remaining issues that will contribute to the faster development of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a maritime country."[873]

Yugoslav discovery of its own Mediterraneaness was thus the result of several factors – global politics manifest in Yugoslav engagement in the Non-Aligned Movement, economic benefit from foreign tourism and the development of the Adriatic as the centre of Yugoslav entertainment. As it is evident from the discussion on popular culture examples throughout the thesis, maritime motifs were often not deliberately chosen as the most representative for the construction of Yugoslav culture. Some were a simple side-effect of current political, economic and cultural policies, such as the advent of the all-Yugoslav *zabavna* music festival in Opatija, while others were resulting from the image of the Mediterranean lifestyle as carefree and slow-paced that was in contrast with the capitalist way of life, as in the case of the television series *Naše malo misto*.

However, the prevalence of Mediterranean motifs in popular culture did not imply the imposition of Mediterranean identity as a "common Yugoslav culture" or as a "unique synthesis of national cultures."[874] The contradictions of cultural patterns in the Yugoslav space remained the reality for the whole period of socialism. As Matvejević concluded in his speculations on Yugoslavism:

> "The questions of the plurality of cultural relations are posed in a multinational country on different levels. Because the degree of development was not the same in all parts of Yugoslavia, it would be really utopian to expect to establish, in each national culture, older and newer, with smaller or larger traditions, continual and even cooperation with other cultures in the same way, or that superficial and institutional cultural relations could suddenly become important, organic, comprehensive, exactly as we want or need them to be."[875]

It is no coincidence that Matvejević preoccupied himself with both the Mediterranean and with Yugoslavism. Both concepts shared hybridity and ambiguity, which enabled the inscription of

[873] Zdunić, Zinaić (eds.), *Tito i more*, 7.
[874] Milutinović Zoran, "What Common Yugoslav Culture Was, and How Everybody Benefited from It", in Gorup Radmila (ed.), *After Yugoslavia: The Cultural Spaces of a Vanished Land* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 77-78. Compare with: Matvejević Predrag, *Jugoslavenstvo danas. Pitanja kulture* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1984), 47.
[875] Matvejević, *Jugoslavenstvo danas*, 53.

many identity variants. The Yugoslav authorities benefited from it because they could avoid the imposition of just one prescribed national identity. Multiple cultural expressions, that could be grouped in three cultural spheres as discussed in the second chapter, did not only compete, but they also supplemented each other. Furthermore, because of the influence of mass media that enabled fast exchange of information between distant parts of the country, as well as because of internal migrations and travelling across the country, different cultural practices communicated with each other in that way creating a specific Yugoslav amalgam. As the example of Yugoslav hotel cuisine, which surely merits a deeper study, can demonstrate, hotels across the Adriatic did not purely promote Mediterranean cuisine, but offered either international food or "specialities of Yugoslav cuisine" – *sarma*, *musaka*, *ćevapčići*, *baklava* and so on.[876] Hence, some aspects of Balkan culture, represented in the Ottoman food legacy, were recognized as positive for incorporation into the Yugoslav tradition, as long as they embodied the richness of Yugoslav multiculturality. Similar to encounters of locals with domestic and foreign tourists, once different cultural practices reached the shore and met with international and local/Mediterranean cultural practices, they contributed to the creation of a specific Yugoslavness. Thus, it could be argued that not only Yugoslavia was Mediterranized, but also that the local Mediterranean, i.e. the Adriatic, was Yugoslavized.

Finally, Matvejević's claim that the Mediterranean "is inseparable from its discourse" of "sun and sea, scent and color, sandy beaches and islands of fortune, girls maturing young and widows shrouded in black, ports and ships and invitations au voyage, journeys and wrecks and tales thereof, oranges and olives and myrtle, palms and pines and cypresses, pomp and poverty, reality and illusion, life and dreams,"[877] has been proved both right and wrong. In order to position itself on the Mediterranean tourist destination map, Yugoslavia often reinforced traditional Mediterranean stereotypes. Yugoslav latin lovers, traditional *klapa* singing, playing *bocci*, or just chit-chatting at the *riviera* were the reality of coastal places, but through medialized images they also became shared Mediterranean tropes, that visitors expected to see, taste and feel.

On the other hand, the Adriatic – the Yugoslav Mediterranean – served also as a showcase for the economic, cultural and social success of Yugoslav socialism. This could be seen in modernization, urbanization and the liberalization of everyday practices, which

[876] Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), 580 Savezni komitet za turizam, F-9, Turističko-informativni priručnik za diplomatsko-konzularna i druga jugoslovenska predstavništva u inostranstvu (Turistički savez Jugoslavije, Beograd 1963).
[877] Matvejević, *Mediterranean. A Cultural Landscape (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)*, 12. Compare with: Clancy-Smith Julia A., *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, C. 1800-1900* (Berkley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 2011), 10.

happened sooner and faster on the coast, partially as a planned ideological investment, and partially as a reaction to the encounter with the West. Thus this research confirms the potential of popular culture to change meanings and interpretations of a society on a microlevel. Although recent intellectual thought on the Mediterranean, as it was demonstrated in the first chapter, started to accept multiple ways of expression of Mediterraneanity outside of pre-established cultural paradigms, only future comparative Mediterranean studies will confirm the hypothesis of popular culture as a force of positive and modern Mediterranization of national spaces.

Lastly, this study offers new possibilities for understanding Socialist Yugoslavia outside of the mainstream approach to the country "between the East and the West." As current historiographical trends point towards the global, future research on Socialist Yugoslavia, whether on its role in international relations, on internal intra-national dynamics, or social and cultural phenomena (in comparative perspective), should start to experiment with non-traditional geopolitical and geo-cultural paradigms. The Mediterranization of popular culture and everyday life can be just one of them.

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