

map of the Military Borderland in 1848 (Figure 4), were created and generously provided by Ms. Mirela Slukan, M.A. of the Croatian State Archives.

The book is augmented by two sound sources. Firstly, excerpts of several music examples discussed in the text are available on the internet address <http://www.lavsa.com/ief/>. I would like to express my thanks as the editor to Mr. Marko Pinterić, B.S. for making this possible. Croatian Radio deserves gratitude for providing most of the recordings. The copyright origin of the excerpts is specified in the List of Sound Recordings (Web) on page 204.

Secondly, thanks to Mr. Miroslav Lilić and Ms. Katarina Tustonjić of Croatia Records, the book is supplied with the CD *The Best of "Rock za Hrvatsku"* ["Rock for Croatia"], issued in 1992. This representative selection of the war-related rock songs includes several full-length examples mentioned in the book. The List of Sound Recordings (CD) on page 206 provides the data related to the songs.

I also express my gratitude to the readers, Dr. Nikša Gligo and Dr. Grozdana Marošević, for their constructive comments regarding the entire manuscript and to Dr. Dane Kusić for his comments on the introduction. Dr. Zorica Vitez, editor-in-chief, deserves gratitude for supporting the project from its inception, Ms. Nina H. Antoljak for her kindness and availability for language editing at almost all times and Ms. Olgica Tomik for the trouble she took in preparing the computer layout.

Each contributor to the book knew personally at least somebody who lost his or her life in the war. The pages in front of you are dedicated to the memory of all good people, known and unknown, whom the war prevented from reading them.

Svanibor Pettan

## MUSIC, POLITICS, AND WAR IN CROATIA IN THE 1990s: AN INTRODUCTION

Svanibor Pettan

Violence on the territories of what used to be Yugoslavia, that accompanied the end of the communist rule and the birth of new states, left many people, both insiders and outsiders, astonished. The Croatian ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin looked for an answer to the question on how it was possible that the (Croatian) ethnologists, those who study "culture", "symbols", and "people", failed to foresee the situation (1992a:81), while the British anthropologist Glenn Bowman stated that he had "not been able to demonstrate any 'rational' reason why the people accepted the logic of intercommunal hatred as more verisimilitudinous than their own experiences of cohabitation and co-operation" (1994:162). At least one musician proved to be successful in predicting the unfortunate events on the basis of the changed behavior of his concert audiences. This was Goran Bregović, leader of the most popular rock-band in Yugoslavia, *Bijelo Dugme* [White Button] from Sarajevo, who made it clear in an 1989 interview (Ramet 1994:138). Attempts he and some other individuals made to use music in a way to prevent the forthcoming violence were in vain. The *Hrvatski komorni orkestar* [Croatian Chamber Orchestra], for instance, gave several so-called Concerts of Peace and Hope from March to May 1991 in the turbulent regions of Croatia. By performing one piece related to Catholicism (Mozart's *Coronation Mass*) and one to Orthodox Christianity (Mokranjac's *Divine Service of St. John Chrystom*), the musicians pleaded for peaceful co-existence of the Croats and the Serbs (musicologist Eva Sedak 1997 pc). The potentials of music became further explored in the context of war, when many musicians in the region proved in various ways the correctness of the opinion that music can under

some circumstances be considered "a weapon" (Fela Anukulapo Kuti in Tchal-Gadjieff and Flori 1982 ff; Brenner 1992, Eckhard 1994).

In preparing this introduction I considered the interviews with individuals professionally involved in music, then with soldiers, displaced persons and refugees, and former prisoners of war; written sources with special emphasis on the Croatian newspapers and periodicals from the war years; and audio and video production created in the same period. Due to the specific circumstances I was in a position to get a much better idea about the music of the Croatian than of the Serbian side; thus the emphasis on the Croatian material and only occasional references to the Serbian material. Discussion of the selected aspects from the war period is preceded by some basic data related to music and politics prior to the war.

### "Wake up, Viceroy!" War is on the Way

The rivalry between the Serbs and the Croats, the two strongest national groups within the South Slav state formed in 1918 was reflected in the two mutually opposed concepts of power-sharing.<sup>1</sup> The Serbs saw centralized Yugoslavia as a guarantee of their domination, while the Croats' preference for a decentralized Yugoslavia was determined by the concern for their own interests which were challenged — by the Serbs — particularly in the period between the two world wars (comp. Kostrenčić and Protega 1959:38). During World War II both national bodies were divided: on the one hand there were (multi-ethnic) communist *partizani* [Partisans], on the other were anti-communist nationalists — Croatian *ustaše* [Ustashas] and Serbian *četnici* [Chetniks]. The Partisans favored a (multi-ethnic) proletarian Yugoslavia; the Ustashas favored an independent Croatian nation-state; and the Chetniks favored capitalist Yugoslavia under Serbian domination. The victorious Allies supported the winning Partisans who in turn established communist Yugoslavia, while the Ustashas who were collaborating with the Nazis during the entire war period and the Chetniks who collaborated with the Nazis occasionally continued to oppose the communists and their state from abroad. Neither of the three was "clean": in the regions where they were in a position to do so, the Partisans persecuted ideological opponents including the capitalists (bourgeoisie), nationalists and anti-communist clerics; the Ustashas persecuted communists, Serbs and those seen as enemies by the Nazis (Jews, Roma); while the Chetniks persecuted primarily communists, Croats and Muslims.

<sup>1</sup> The initial name of the state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, was changed into Yugoslavia in 1929.

The determination of the communist government to bring people within Yugoslavia onto common ground was evident in its attempts to minimize their specifics and mutual differences. As far as music was concerned, the government used to: direct music in schools and media in a way to promote *bratstvo i jedinstvo* [Brotherhood and Unity] among the diverse ethnic groups; stimulate folklore ensembles to perform programs with songs and dances from all the republics and provinces; restrict the performance of religious songs exclusively to places of worship; and forbid the performance of songs that did not match the proclaimed interpretation of history or emphasized the past of a constituent ethnic group outside the Yugoslav framework.<sup>2</sup>

Reactions to such policy largely differed and were also subjected to changes of political climate. Some people accepted the proposed rules, while others kept on expressing their dissatisfaction in various ways, also through songs. The ethnomusicologist Jerko Bezić (1997 pc) gives an example of a performance of politically provocative songs, which he observed during his fieldwork on the island of Sestrunj in the 1960s. Instead of the well-known lyrics praising Marshal Tito: *Druže Tito, ljubičice bijela, tebe voli omladina cijela* [Comrade Tito, white lily flower, all youth loves you], the islanders were singing to the same melody the text: *Druže Tito, ljubičice bijela, tebi neće glava ostat' cijela* [Comrade Tito, white lily flower, your head will not stay on your shoulders]. This fieldwork situation points to the fact that the principal Yugoslav authority, Tito, was not as generally beloved as one could have concluded according to the officially promoted songs, but also to those created and sung spontaneously.<sup>3</sup>

The process of liberalization following the constitutional changes in the 1970s and Tito's death in 1980, brought into the political arena several concepts about the future of the state. The emphasis on commonalities among the constituent groups was increasingly giving place to the expressions of their specifics. By the late 1980s, the national(ist) insignia, often with connotations related to the World War II period, were available at street stands in major cities throughout Yugoslavia. Music cassettes with

<sup>2</sup> The song *Lijepa naša (domovino)* [Our Beautiful (Homeland)], although from 1972 officially recognized as the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Croatia within Yugoslavia, was supposed to be performed only in conjunction with the Yugoslav national anthem *Hej Slaveni* [Hey, Slavs]. Performance of *Lijepa naša* together with other Croatian patriotic songs, even at private gatherings, could under certain circumstances be treated as a criminal offense and sanctioned with a 60-day prison term (comp. Rihtman-Auguštin 1992b:34). In the 1940s *Lijepa naša* was considered the Croatian national anthem by both the Croatian Partisans and Croatian Ustashas alike (comp. Tomašek 1990).

<sup>3</sup> See Bezić's text in this volume, pp. 94-95, 104.

songs emphasizing Croatianness and Serbianness (rather than Yugoslavianness), many of them forbidden for decades, suddenly became available. In Croatia, at least, many people interpreted this change as a sign of arriving democracy.

One of the first ensembles to perform and even record Croatian songs that had been forbidden for political reasons was the *Zlatni dukati tamburica* (plucked lute) ensemble.<sup>4</sup> After a concert in late 1989, the ensemble members were summoned by the police for an informal interview. Josip Ivanković, the ensemble leader, recalls it: "The inspector asked us if we knew that these songs were banned. 'No, where is it specified?' — I replied. 'It should have been specified in writing to be an argument'. But this was 'unwritten law' and everybody knew that these songs were not supposed to be performed. The police documented what we said, and if the political conditions would not have been changed so fast, I am positive we would be sentenced for the famous two-month prison terms." (1993 pc).

These changes were reflected in the splitting of the Yugoslav Communist League (January 1990); victory of the *HDZ* [Croatian Democratic Union] in the first multi-party elections in Croatia, with its leader, Dr. Franjo Tuđman, becoming president, followed by the referendum in which 94% of the voters chose independence from Yugoslavia (May 1991); the declaration of independence (June 1991), a full-scale armed insurrection by ethnic Serbs in some parts of Croatia, supported by the Yugoslav People's Army and volunteer units from Serbia and Montenegro (July 1991); international recognition of Croatia (January 1992); and its membership in the United Nations (May 1992; data from Dukić 1993:253-254).

The title of this section refers to one of the most popular Croatian patriotic songs *Ustani, bane* [Wake up, Viceroy]. In spite of the fact that the *ban* [viceroy] was a 19th century Croatian politician Josip Jelačić who fought the Hungarians (and not the Serbs), the song had strong symbolic meaning with Jelačić as a mythicized national leader and used to be on the top of the list of songs outlawed in Yugoslavia. Jelačić's statue, erected in 1866 on the main Zagreb square, was removed by the communists in 1947; political changes enabled in 1990 the return of the statue to the square. This statue features on the cover of the book.

<sup>4</sup>These were the songs from various periods in Croatia's history. The potentially most provoking songs were those related to World War II, as they had been sung by the Ustasas. The leader of the ensemble modified the lyrics in a way to exclude direct associations with the Ustasas. According to the representative of Croatia Records, Siniša Škarica, the cassette *Hrvatska pjesmarica* [Croatian Songbook] was in great demand and about fifty thousand copies were sold (1994 pc).



Figure 1: *Hrvatska pjesmarica*, video tape cover

### "Isn't What We Do Politics?!" Many Faces of Music in the War Time

Music serves a variety of functions in the political and war contexts and it appears to be difficult to classify these functions within the mutually exclusive categories (King Dunaway, in Lull 1987:40). The war in Croatia affirmed, in my opinion, the three basic functions: encouragement — of those fighting on the front lines and those hiding in shelters alike; provocation and sometimes humiliation directed towards those seen as enemies; and call for the involvement of those not directly endangered — including fellow citizens, the Diaspora and the political and military decision-makers abroad. Music was also considered a medium in which individuals and groups could express their perceptions of the war — on the one hand to spark the zeal for military commitment and to incite support for war efforts (cf. Lee Cooper 1992) through glorifying patriotism, heroic individuals, battles and military units; on the other to

mourn over the victims and devastation. Popular music held a central position in comparison to folk music and especially art music.

Statements expressed by the musicians confirm their consciousness about the potential and (mutually interwoven) functions of music in war time. In the words of Đuka Čaić, known for the song *Hrvatine* [Brave Croats], "Isn't what we do politics?... My bullet is my song. It hurts Chetniks..." (Homovec 1991b:31). Members of the *Montažstroj* ensemble commented on their music video *Croatia in Flames* as "We make Croatian agit-prop, Croatian pop-art... The melody expresses our emotions, and the lyrics are the emotional propaganda message" (Stojsavljević 1991:21). Davor Gobac, frontman of the band *Psihomodo Pop* said about his song *Hrvatska mora pobijediti* [Croatia Must Win]: "We recorded the true punk piece with which I hope to stimulate the blood of the guardsmen on the front lines to circulate faster, to upgrade their morals... People are removed from normal life, buried in trenches, their houses are destroyed and I have no motive at the moment to write a gentle love song... The video clip was made for those who fight rather than for those who sit at home and watch TV. I just hope that they have the opportunity to see it in the intervals between battles" (Muzaferija 1991:21).

Though felt to different extents in various parts of Croatia, it was the war that brought together musicians and musical genres that would otherwise hardly be considered compatible. The shared necessity to neutralize the threat made folk musicians, opera singers, and rappers perform on the same occasions, on the same stages, on the same records. This variety was reflected at several levels, from the micro-level of a single song (e.g. traditional singing in narrow intervals combined with a schlager in Divić 1992 ca, or a march combined with rap in Dreletronic 1992 tv) to a macro-level of various complex projects (e.g. audio and video recordings related to the 101st Brigade, with 32 songs in a range from *tamburica* music to schlager to hard rock; comp. *101. brigada za Hrvatsku* 1992 ca and vt, or various band-aid formations). Band-aids symbolized solidarity at the level from single settlements (e.g. Dubrovnik, Rijeka, Šibenik), to regions within Croatia (e.g. Istria and the Quarner, Slavonia), to the country as a whole, and even to an international extent (Bach 1992 ca), but also in regard to the other criteria such as professions (actresses, monks), musical genres (funk), and musical instruments (*tamburica* players, guitarists).

Patriotic songs proved to be a tool able to arouse sentiments, particularly within the Diaspora, and concerts given by Croatian singers for the emigrants in Australia, Canada, Germany, the United States, and elsewhere resulted in considerable donations. Most Croatian musicians used to express pride in the media for being in a position to engage in the

war with the weapon they knew best and consequently earn money for humanitarian purposes (e.g. Tomislav Ivčić, author and performer of the song *Stop the War in Croatia*, donated — in his own words — a million German Marks, in Pribić 1992:18).<sup>5</sup> At the same time, it was almost impossible to prosper on the music scene for those not willing — for whatever reason — to perform war-related songs, which were not all calls for peace. The popular Croatian singer Tereza Kesovija once said: "You cannot prosper since you do not sing 'forward, guards and chase the gang'. I know that it should be chased, but I do not want to sing such a song. And that's why there is no work for me" (in Knapić 1993:14). From time to time, journalists used to question "the patriotic feeling" of the musicians involved with patriotic songs and pointed to their personal economic gain in performing such repertoire.

Concerns of the musicians involved with art music were quite different. Large ensembles faced fear of temporary closing down of their activities for the lack of money. In late September 1991, when the full-scale war was already going on, the HRT's Symphony Orchestra gave a concert in the Eastern Croatian city of Osijek which was under permanent attack. According to one of the initiators, then the director of the musical program at Croatian Radio, Eva Sedak, the aims of the concert were: to show solidarity with the inhabitants of Osijek; to prove that the existence of such a large art music ensemble makes sense even in hard times; and to demonstrate that the aggressors would stop shelling Osijek when their misdeeds, which they did not want to admit, were witnessed by the outside world. Direct broadcast of the concert was offered to the European TV network, but no station in Europe accepted the offer.<sup>6</sup> The concert took place in the Osijek Cathedral, which was filled in five minutes with people

<sup>5</sup> Those musicians who sang against the war in Croatia had a hard time understanding why their counterparts in Serbia showed reluctance in using music with the same aim. In the words of Jura Stublić, a pop musician, "People of my stock, the rockers, those from the Serbian side have failed. I haven't noticed that anybody in Belgrade created an anti-war song" (Glavan 1992:27). Though in fact there were a few Serbian musicians who sang against the war and for whom Stublić may have not known in early 1992 due to the war and media blockade (e.g. Đorđe Balašević, *Ekaterina Velika*), most of them had difficulty understanding the political involvement of Croatian musicians (Vurušić 1991:11). In a 1994 interview the Belgrade rocker Momčilo Bajagić expressed his position in 1991 as follows: After a concert in Zagreb in May 1991 "I made a long pause and haven't produced a record for three years. I was unable to make it because of the situation, of the disappointment with events. I was feeling bad for a long time" (Pukanić 1994:24). The Serbian folk-pop singer Lepa Brena claimed in a 1994 interview that "the war-related euphoria enabled politics to use show business to reach its goals" and that "I am positive that nobody ever could force me to become part of it" (Garmaz 1994:23).

<sup>6</sup> Acceptance would mean to support the Croatian side months prior to the international recognition of Croatia as an independent state and to share responsibility in the case of a massacre.

from the nearby shelter. That day the shelling took place early in the morning and a half hour after the concert; the event itself ended undisturbed (Sedak 1997 pc).

One of the publicly exposed issues within the domain of folk music was related to the "Croatianness" of certain musical instruments. The intensified promotion of the *tamburica* plucked lute into the Croatian national instrument was followed by the characteristic statements in newspapers, such as "My mission... will be over when each school will have a *tamburica* orchestra of its own" (HTV editor Branko Uvodić, in Radović 1996:23) or "I live for the day... when [*tamburica*] will become an 'academic' instrument... equal to piano, violin, violoncello and other recognized instruments" (producer Darko Dervišević, in Mikac 1997:22). *Tamburica* musicians increasingly explored the limits of the instrument and performed various kinds of music, from medieval to classical and romantic, to rock'n'roll. Disorder within the huge production of *tamburica* music led one of its proponents to suggest categorization into four basic compartments: folk music, composed music in folk style, orchestral *tamburica* music and popular *tamburica* music (Šima Jovanovac, in Morić 1996:22). In the course of the 1990s the *gusle* bowed lute and the *harmonika* accordion were increasingly being experienced as "Serbian" counterparts to the "Croatian" *tamburica*. Fortunately, intense public exposure of at least one *guslar* (singer of epic songs to the *gusle* accompaniment), Mile Krajina, amplified the fact that it goes for a cross-ethnic tradition,<sup>7</sup> while at least one pop singer, Zlatko Pejaković, repeatedly attacked the (mis)conception of the accordion as a Serbian musical symbol (in Pacek 1996:31).

The most often used folk music forms were the *bećarac*, characteristic to flat Pannonian Croatia, and *ganga*, characteristic to mountainous Dinaric Croatia. They both provided familiar musical frameworks for the new lyrics. These two, musically entirely different molds, accommodated the common decasyllabic textual motives such as e.g. *Što srušiste zida u Berlinu, Hrvati će staviti ga na Drinu* [Why have you destroyed the Berlin-wall, the Croats would raise it in the Drina river]; Divić 1992 ca and *Bojni otrov* pca.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to their principal role of providing the news, the war-time radio and TV served as communication links, in the first case between the hosts and listeners/watchers, in the second between soldiers on the front lines and their relatives and friends in shelters. Telephone

<sup>7</sup> Political implications related to the *gusle* are well-elaborated in Žanić (1998).

<sup>8</sup> The Drina marks Serbia's western border — in the 1990s towards Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the World War II period towards the NDH.

connections were used for selecting the songs or video-clips and sending greetings to loved ones. War-related songs of both domestic and foreign origin were in demand, but entertaining, apolitical songs such as Kaoma's *Lambada* and the Gypsy Kings' *Baila me* were also popular. While the video clips were shown, watchers were in a position to read greetings on the screen, for instance "To the 101st brigade in the area of Nova Gradiška and especially to Majek, many kisses and wishes for fast return home, his sons..., wife... and Grandma" (Marošević 1991 vt).

In a different sense, music served as a communication link between the enemies, too. A song produced by the opposite side under such circumstances stimulated musical response. As an example, the somewhat nostalgic Jura Stublić's pop song *E moj družo beogradski* [Oh, my Belgrade Comrade; Rock za Hrvatsku 1992 cd] received sarcastic response based on the same tune from the Belgrade rocker Bora Đorđević entitled *E moj družo zagrebački* [Oh, my Zagreb Comrade; Bora Čorba i prijatelji 199? cd]. Another example refers to the borrowing by some anonymous Croatian musicians of the melody from the popular early 1980s Serbian film *Ko to tamo peva* [Who's that Singing Over There] that ended with the bombardment of Belgrade in the beginning of World War II. The Croatian version was known as *Past će bomba na Beograd* [The Bombs Will Fall on Belgrade; *Nikad više Beograda — pca*]. The text says "there will be no more Belgrade. Dear mother, I would like to toast to it...". Lyrics of another song, a Serbian one, claims that all people between Moscow and Trieste would soon be making the sign of the cross in the Orthodox Christian manner with three fingers (1992 ra). This Greater Serbian provocation received resolute musical response from the Croatian side: "You wanted to reach Trieste, Serb. Fuck your three fingers" (*Bojni otrov — pca*) and "We'll break all your fingers and not only those three" (*Bojna HOS-a — pca*). Interviews with the soldiers from the war period confirm that this kind of songs was used on the front lines with the intention to provoke the enemy.

One of the specific and quite common roles of music within the war context was its use as a tool for humiliating and maltreating prisoners. Unlike prisoners from the World War I period who willingly sang folk songs to the researchers at recording sessions (ethnomusicologist Susanne Ziegler, 1996 pc) and World War II prisoners who — despite the brutality and inhuman conditions — were in some cases musically active (Kalisch 1985, Eberst 1985),<sup>9</sup> no single source to which I had access confirmed that

<sup>9</sup> According to the memoirs of several Partisan prisoners from the World War II period, circumstances sometimes allowed them to organize courses, work on theater performances, and compose and perform music of their own choice (comp. in Ebert 1985).

the prisoners from the 1990s war in Croatia were ever in such a position. The initiative and time for singing, as well as the selection of songs, were determined exclusively by those who were in control of the prisoners. As long as the principal aim, officially proclaimed in Belgrade, was to keep Yugoslavia together, the prisoners were forced to sing such songs that would make them feel as secessionist perpetrators. The matching evidence from several detention camps indicated that the days used to start and end with singing of the Yugoslav national anthem *Hej Slaveni*. "Reservists were walking in front of us checking the singing, and they beat everyone who did not sing loud enough... After 49 minutes of singing and being beaten we once again Loudly and Nicely sang the anthem and consequently were permitted to lie on the cold concrete of the stable" (Plavšić 1994:38). The last verse of the anthem that says "Damned the one who betrays his homeland" had to be particularly emphasized (Mesić 1992:38, Plavšić 1994:38).

More humiliating practice was linked to the enforced listening to and performing of nationalist songs. Stipe Šošić, a priest, described his experience in the Keraterm detention camp in Bosnia-Herzegovina as follows: "And again, at about 4 a.m. that [guard] entered our hall. He ordered us to stand up, to raise our hands with three fingers ahead and to sing Chetnik songs... We had to wait for sunrise in such a position; those who sat or collapsed from exhaustion were taken out and never came back" (Šošić 1994:41). In the camp of Omarska prisoners were forced "to sing Chetnik songs and to revile Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović" (ibid, 84). The international human rights organizations confirmed this kind of practice (Beader and Tuzlak 1993:210; Beader and Janković 1993:36) and also the use of music as a background for torture (Beader and Tuzlak 1993:276).

### **"Europe, You Can Stop The War" or "Even Down To Serbia Our Hand Will Fall" The War Repertoire**

The opinion that the song *Stop the War in Croatia*, first broadcasted on August 12, 1991, initiated the fashion of patriotic songs, is widely shared in Croatia. In the months to follow it was literally hard to find a recording artist in the field of popular, folk or art music who did not take part in it, either by producing his/her own song or by participating in any of the earlier mentioned band-aids. By the end of 1991, one of Croatia's major record companies, Orfej, was in position to issue two video tapes named *Za*

*slobodu* [For Freedom] with some forty war-related songs.<sup>10</sup> Public demand for such songs lasted until mid-1993 (representatives of Croatian record companies 1994 pc).<sup>11</sup> Although the war was not felt to be over yet since a part of Croatia, then known as the (self-proclaimed) Republika Srpska Krajina, was under firm Serbian control and the presence of the UN peace-keeping forces seemed to maintain the status quo, there was no fighting going on and consequently there was no need for music to encourage, provoke or call for help. The 1995 military actions *Bljesak* [Flash] and *Oluja* [Storm], which enabled Croatia to regain control over much of its territory, brought the war songs back to the public, however for a limited period of time only.

How can the rich and multifarious war repertoire be classified? Aside from the classification I proposed several years ago which considered all kinds of music in regard to time and place of origin, genre, lyrics, the way of life of music, and its relationship to political power structures (Pettan 1994), this text focuses on commercial recordings and considers one criterion only: the relationship of music to political power structures.

The entire war-related repertoire available on commercial recordings can be divided into two quite consistent categories which I would name "official" and "alternative". The former was characterized by: the origin in registered (in most cases state-owned) companies; availability in regular stores; quality of music and performance within the expected range; refinement in verbal expressions and visual motives; and professional technical quality of the recordings. The latter category had the following characteristics: unknown origin (no indication of producers, authors and performers on the cassette covers); availability limited to street sellers; lack of standards in regard to the quality of music and performance; in several cases lascivious and/or politically problematical lyrics and visual motives; non-standardized technical quality of the recordings. The former shared political views with the Croatian government and was regularly broadcasted in the state media, while the latter shared political views with the radicals and had no access to the state-sponsored media. The former conformed to the rules of a state governed by law with consequences in paying taxes and receiving royalties, while the latter existed outside the

<sup>10</sup> These video tapes were aimed to reach people primarily outside of Croatia and to transmit Croatia's call for help in stopping the war. The space between the songs was used for the peace-calling messages in the English language, some of them expressed by the well-known individuals, themselves non-Croatians (e.g. the actor Martin Sheen, the tennis players Pete Sampras and Boris Becker).

<sup>11</sup> The largest record company in Croatia at that time, Croatia Records (successor to the leading Yugoslavia's record company Jugoton) issued *The best of* CD volumes of war-related music (*Pjesma za Hrvatsku* and *Rock za Hrvatsku*) as early as in 1992.

system; those who arranged their appearance on the market were known as *pirati* [pirates].<sup>12</sup> Somewhere between these two poles were small record companies governed exclusively by market laws and able to accept musical projects which the major companies may have had considered inappropriate (Balić 1995:12).

The "official" repertoire included primarily new songs, but also those songs which were created and/or sung at various times in history when Croatia's interests were challenged.<sup>13</sup> The only songs almost completely absent from the "official" repertoire were those created in the World War II period (or if they appeared, it was in modified form). In my opinion, there were two reasons for this: firstly, the Partisan songs were experienced as related to the communist past shared with those seen as aggressors in the 1990s; secondly, the performance of the Ustasha songs would confirm the propaganda intention of the aggressors aimed at portraying modern Croatia as a continuation of the 1940s Ustasha state. To the contrary, the "alternative" repertoire was shaped around the old songs, primarily those associated with the Ustashes from the World War II period and therefore forbidden in ex-Yugoslavia; the practice of combining new lyrics and familiar musical frameworks was also quite common.

The fact that Croatia was confronted by a respectable military power inspired a wide range of musicians' approaches to the theme. Within the "official" domain the emphasis was, on the one hand, on songs calling for peace and, on the other, on encouraging songs, while the "alternative" domain was dominated by provocative and encouraging songs. Comparative analysis of the lyrics within the two repertoires points to some common motives such as God, mother, home — which often equals homeland, and determination to give one's own life for freedom. The fighting itself was portrayed as unavoidable defense of *Croatia in Flames* where the Croats live *Od stoljeća sedmog* [From the 7th Century], and in which *pravda je na našoj strani* [justice is on our side; in *Kreni gardo*, Forward, Guards]. The aim was clear: *Hrvatska mora pobijediti* [Croatia Must Win] and *Hrvatska mora biti slobodna* [Croatia Must be Free].<sup>14</sup> As far as the "official" repertoire was concerned, these thoughts were

<sup>12</sup> *Pirati* were actually selling three types of recordings: illegal copies of the "official" cassettes (for prices lower than in regular stores); their own selections of popular songs from various sources; and the "alternative" repertoire. In this context, I am interested in the "alternative" repertoire only.

<sup>13</sup> Those were the times of drives for an increase of Croatia's autonomy within multinational states, for instance within the Habsburg empire (The Croatian National Movement, 1830-1848) and Yugoslavia (The Croatian Spring, 1971), as well as at the times of major conflicts.

<sup>14</sup> Quotes from some popular "official" songs.

expressed in either Croatian or English; some songs were recorded in Croatian and English versions (e.g. the Croatian Band Aid's *Moja domovina* and *My Homeland*), yet others combined Croatian and English sections of the text (e.g. *Sloboda i mir*, Freedom and Peace). The "alternative" repertoire was entirely in Croatian.

Both repertoires contained songs dealing with Croatian historical persons, from the first Croatian king Tomislav in the 10th century to the victims of the war in 1990s (e.g. the policeman Josip Jović, the cameraman Gordan Lederer) or, as far as the "alternative" repertoire was concerned, to the Ustashes from the World War II period (most often mentioned are Jure and Boban;<sup>15</sup> *Evo zore, evo dana* — pca). The "official" songs rarely indicated the enemies by their individual or group names; the "alternative" songs hardly ever forgot to name and to ridicule them. The most often addressed individual among the enemies was Slobodan Milošević, the president of Serbia at the time.

Several well-known war-related songs from abroad received attention, as well. Aside from Pete Seeger's *Where Have All the Flowers Gone* (in Croatian *Iznad polja makova*, Above the Poppy Fields) and Dire Straits' *Brothers in Arms* (in Croatian *U oružju brat* with the same meaning), I will concentrate on Norbert Schultze's *Lili Marlen* (in Croatian *Čekam te*, I am waiting for you) and present its "official" and "alternative" versions. The "official" version became known in adaptation and interpretation of seven Zagreb actresses. Starting as a gentle and intimate farewell between the man who has to go to the front and the woman who promises to wait for his return, the song gradually, from the first to the eighth verse, becomes less and less intimate and more general, and, towards the end, projects a better future for Croatia once it achieves freedom. In comparison to this refined, well arranged and produced version, often broadcasted on radio and television (the first and last verses are provided in Example 1), its "alternative" counterpart, performed by an anonymous male with limited musical skills, and characterized by poor arrangement, production and sound quality, had no chance to enter the state-sponsored media (both its verses are provided in Example 2). The latter, "male version", is probably a response to the former, "female version", a kind of parody of it.

Dan polako sviće, blijedi ova noć, iz zagrljaja moga na front ti moraš poć /  
Ali ma gdje bio s tobom je i mjesec naš i zvijezde sve, i znaj da čekam te //  
I srušene će kuće opet stajati i svako će se dijete opet smijati /  
I našu pjesmu čut će svi, jer Hrvatska to svi smo mi, nek ljubav pobijedi //

Example 1: *Čekam te*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Jure Francetić and Rafael Boban, commanders of a militarily effective Ustasha formation known as the *Crna legija* [Black Legion].

<sup>16</sup> The day slowly replaces the night, you have to leave me and go to the front line /

Dan se završava, počinje već noć, prek' Bosuta čedo pokušat će proć' /  
 Ali neka zna da čekam ga ja i moja strojnica i hrpa metaka. //  
 Dan polako sviće, blijedi ova noć, prek' Bosuta čedo nije mog'o proć' /  
 Zauvijek će mrtav ostat' tu, u tome hladnom Bosutu, a ja ću živjeti i Hrvatsku braniti.//

Example 2: *Čekam te*<sup>17</sup>

Different, sometimes mutually opposed approaches to the war in Croatia were nicely reflected in the two popular songs quoted in the title of this chapter. Namely, the part "Europe, you can stop the war" was taken from Tomislav Ivčić's song *Stop The War in Croatia* and the part "Even down in Serbia our hand will fall" from Marko Perković — Thompson's song *Bojna Čavoglave* [Čavoglave Battalion]. The latter can be considered "alternative" in a sense that it was initially recorded by a minor record company and that it took time for it to become a part of the "official" repertoire — i.e. re-issued by a major company and broadcasted by the state-sponsored media. Such an indirect path was determined by at least some of the following reasons: the "Eastern" features of the music; a guttural singing manner characteristic to the broader Balkan mountainous regions; aggressive lyrics; visual image lacking "Western" refinement; and possibly the connection of the author/performer with the radical right-wing party. In the words of Thompson himself, "The editors in Zagreb may find problematic the expressions such as 'the bandits, Chetniks all', 'even down in Serbia, our hand will fall', 'za dom — spremni' [Prepared — for (defense of) home(land)].<sup>18</sup> I don't know what it may mean to some people. We are simple guys who remained in our village, we defended our houses and the enemy was stopped at Čavoglave" (Marković 1992:21).

Different approaches to the war expressed in these two songs were matched by different responses on the part of the audiences. Those who appreciated Ivčić's "cosmopolitanism" and "urban refinement" disliked Thompson's "nationalism" and "rural connotation", while those who thought of Ivčić's song as "maudlin" glorified the "situational authenticity"

Wherever you are, our moon and stars will be with you and remember that I am waiting for you.//

And the destroyed houses will be built again, and every child will laugh again /  
 And our song will be heard everywhere, because Croatia — that is all of us, let love be the winner.//

<sup>17</sup> The day ends up, the night begins, Chedo (Chetnik) will try to pass the Bosut river /  
 But he should know that I am waiting for him, together with my machine-gun and bullets.//

The day slowly replaces the night, Chedo was unable to pass Bosut /  
 He will stay dead in the cold Bosut forever, while I will live and defend my Croatia.//

<sup>18</sup> A phrase with strong association to the NDH.

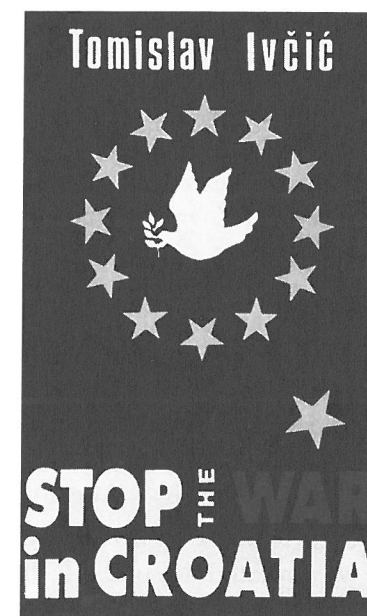


Figure 2: *Stop the War in Croatia*, cassette cover



Figure 3: *Bojna Čavoglave*, cassette cover



of Thompson's song. Nevertheless, the songs served different, but almost equally important roles within the context of Croatia's defense.

Tomislav Ivčić was present on Croatia's popular music scene quite a long time prior to the war. He was a recording artist and, naturally, his music was in concordance with the required professional standards of artistry and production. The song *Stop the War in Croatia* was born in a relatively relaxed atmosphere in Zagreb at the very beginning of the war and became the best-selling song of the war-period (Homovec 1991a, Pukanić 1993). A pleasant pop tune sung in English, it aimed to send a clear, condensed message to the named addressee, the European Union. Prior to its public presentation, *Stop the War in Croatia* was recognized for its potential to turn the world's attention to Croatia. Its video clip was created by the professionals employed at the HTV in Zagreb, which also financed it (Homovec, *ibid*). The clip combined documentary scenes of Croatia's natural beauties with suffering and destruction caused by the war.

Marko Perković used to work as a bar-tender prior to the war. His nickname Thompson was related to one of the weapons he and his companions used while defending their village Čavoglave; hence the name of the song. *Bojna Čavoglave* is a rock tune based on the seven-beat meter, which is quite usual in a part of traditional Balkan music. The lyrics in Croatian encouraged Croatian soldiers and addressed Serbian enemies with threatening messages. The video clip was created by the employees of the local television studio in Split at time in which the song already enjoyed popularity. It shows Croatian soldiers singing and simulating military action; their natural outlook, lacking any polish, has little in common with the image of a modern, sophisticated and fully uniformed army. The song and the clip were regularly performed by the state media only after increasing demands from Croatian soldiers on the front lines.

The lyrics of the two songs (examples 3 and 4) are followed by the concluding comparison (example 5).

Stop the war in the name of love / Stop the war in the name of God /  
 Stop the war in the name of children / Stop the war in Croatia.//  
 We want to share the European dream / We want democracy and peace /  
 Let Croatia be one of Europe's stars / Europe, you can stop the war.//

#### Example 3: Stop The War in Croatia

U Zagori na izvoru rijeke Čikole / stala braća da obrane svoje domove //  
 Stoji Hrvat do Hrvata, mi smo braća svi / nećete u Čavoglave dok smo živi mi //  
 Tuče thompson, kalašnjikov, a i zbrojovka / baci bombu, goni bandu preko izvora //  
 Korak naprijed, puška gotovs i uz pjesmu svi / za dom, braćo, za slobodu, borimo se mi //  
 Čujte srpski dobrovoljci, bando četnici / stići će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji //  
 Stići će vas božja pravda, to već svatko zna / sudit će vam bojovnici iz Čavoglava //  
 Slušajte sad poruku od svetog Ilije / nećete u Čavoglave, niste ni prije //  
 Oj, Hrvati, braćo mila iz Čavoglava / Hrvatska vam zaboravit neće nikada, neće nikada.//

#### Example 4: Čavoglave Battalion<sup>19</sup>

	<b>Ivčić:</b>	<b>Thompson:</b>
<b>Intended audience:</b>	International	Domestic
<b>Language:</b>	English	Croatian
<b>Music:</b>	Euro-pop	Balkan-rock
<b>Lyrics:</b>	We beg for peace	We are capable to fight
<b>Visual image:</b>	Pain, destruction	Self-confident fighters

#### Example 5: Comparison

The comparison between the two characteristic examples representing the co-existing, mutually opposed musicians' approaches to war, points to the stereotypic paradigms of a "cultivated European" who tends to avoid conflict by diplomatic means and a "Balkan warrior", self-confident and self-sufficient in overcoming conflict by the use of force. Whichever approach one prefers, it should be kept in mind that it was only the combination of both, the diplomacy and the military commitment, that led to the end of the war in Croatia.

<sup>19</sup> In Zagora on the spring of the Čikola river /  
 Brothers are standing our homes defending //  
 There stand, brothers all, Croat beside Croat /  
 Čavoglave we won't give as long as we live //  
 Shelling Thompson, Kalashnikov and Zbrojovka /  
 Bombs we'll throw and chase the gang across the spring //  
 Step forward, guns ready, let us sing together /  
 We, brothers, are fighting for our homes and freedom //  
 Listen, Serbian volunteers, bandits, Chetniks all /  
 Even down to Serbia our hand will fall //  
 God will judge you, everybody knows that /  
 And fighters from Čavoglave will judge you, too //  
 Now the message from St. Elias all of you can hear /  
 To Čavoglave you'll never, never come near //  
 Croats from Čavoglave now you all can hear /  
 Croatia will never forget this, you don't have to fear.//  
 The translation of *Bojna Čavoglave* was for the most part taken from Čale Feldman et al. (1993:51).

## Conclusion

Political changes and the war enabled public appearance of the previously forbidden Croatian symbols and themes. The Croatian coat of arms, for instance, appeared on various objects in everyday use. Civilian societies supplemented their names by adding them the adjective "Croatian". Music was a part of the same process; the songs referred to the Croatian blood, the Croatian flag, the Croatian mother, the Croatian Spring, the Croatian Sun, the Croatian word, Croatian fields, Croatian heroes, Croatian sailors, and Croatian soldiers. The Church entered schools, the media, and public life in general; consequently, the religious songs appeared in public without restrictions. In short, the right to "Croatianess" was achieved.

A brief look into the destinies of the songs that contributed to this achievement suggests that most of them now, with the conflict being over, do not live any more. A few of the war-related songs got new roles which prolonged their existence. For instance, the band-aid song *Moja domovina* [My Homeland] became — in instrumental version — the call-sign with which the HTV starts and ends broadcasting, while the hymnic song *Bože, čuvaj Hrvatsku* [God, Watch over Croatia] became the anthem of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] ruling party. The others, which meant so much only a few years ago, became obsolete or "buried", as one of my informants would say. He and many other people who associated these songs with the war and its deadly consequences would prefer them to stay where they are.

How should Croatia's early 1990s and its music be evaluated? As a period of national glory, which inspired musicians to join forces to an unprecedented extent and create an incredible body of (patriotic) music; or as a period of death and devastation in which musicians could not survive as professionals without performing patriotic music? These two sides of the coin, each with many nuances, reveal the plurality of music discussed in this text in regard to its functions and stylistic features. The plurality in the musical domain can and should serve as a reminder of the ethnic, regional, religious, and any other plurality characteristic of modern civil societies, and also of the plurality within each individual. Acknowledgment of plurality and freedom of creative expression is the path towards recognition and acceptance of the variety which can only be an advantage for the modern Croatia.

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