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Art Music in Serbia as a Political Tool and/or Refuge During the 1990s

Umetna glasba v Srbiji kot politično sredstvo in/ali pribežališče v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja

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ABSTRACT

The focus of the article is on Serbian composers' responses to the turbulent political developments and wars during the last decade of the 20th century in ex-Yugoslavia. Both their creative work and political activism are considered. There was a general mistrust that art music could make a strong impact on political events, so that composing was mainly felt to be a refuge from brutal reality. Certain authors, however, expressed protest through their works, usually in indirect ways.

IZVLEČEK

Članek se osredotoča na to, kakšen je bil odziv srbskih skladateljev na burne dogodke in vojne v zadnjem desetletju 20. stoletja v nekdanji Jugoslaviji. Pričujoči sestavek upošteva tako kreativno delo kot tudi politični aktivizem. Takrat je veljalo splošno nezaupanje, po katerem naj bi glasba mogla močno vplivati na politično dogajanje, tako da se je skladateljevanje smatralo bolj kot kakšno pribežališče pred kruto realnostjo. Vendar pa so nekateri skladatelji svoj protest izrazili tudi v svojih delih, pa čeprav ponavadi na indirektnen način.

As the title of my article announces, this presentation is focused on the ways in which Serbian composers of art music reacted to the tragic and oppressive events that marked the last decade of the 20th century in former Yugoslavia. Although not much time has past since then, it seems that it is possible today to observe those reactions and many related events with distance and impartiality. There will be no attempt to expose

any 'objective' view on the political nature of those dramatic years – that would be too pretentious regarding the scope of this contribution and the competence of the author – but it is certainly necessary to provide a sketch of the broader political context and to comment upon it briefly at the beginning.

Like all wars, those that accompanied the disintegration of Yugoslavia during the 1990s left deep scars on all social levels of the peoples involved. The armed conflicts that came as a result of a decade-long, steadily increasing, economic and inter-ethnic crisis in that most liberal of all communist countries, began less than two years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the successful overturning of other East-European communist regimes. All six republics of Yugoslavia had had their first multi-party elections in 1990, which did nothing to prevent the escalation of the tragic and fateful events that followed. So, instead of experiencing a peaceful transition to the world of democracy and capitalism, there was a protracted nightmare, varying in duration and intensity in different parts of the disintegrating country. Immediately after the political leaders of two republics (Croatia and Slovenia) declared secession from Yugoslavia in June 1991, armed conflicts broke out, spreading to Bosnia in May 1992. After the Dayton agreement in 1995 which ended the wars in Bosnia and Krajina (in Croatia) little more than two relatively peaceful years passed before ethnic Albanians from Kosovo (a province within Serbia) started an insurrection in 1998. In Spring of the next year Nato forces bombed Serbia for 78 days, which laid the foundations for the secession of Kosovo as well. Yugoslavia (with only two republics left, Serbia and Montenegro), survived until 2006 and the most recent event in this chain of dissolutions was that Kosovo, the province of Serbia, proclaimed independence in 2008.

Although armed conflict was not conducted on the territory of Serbia (apart from the Kosovo Albanian uprising in 1998) it involved the Serbian population in neighbouring Bosnia and Croatia, supported by the Yugoslav (Serbian and the Montenegrin) army. The climate in Serbia was dark and oppressive, everyday life stressful, the future unforeseeable. Hundreds of thousands of people, mostly young, left the country hoping to avoid being sent to war or simply looking for a normal life, while a similarly high number of Serbian civilians arrived from the war zones. The chaotic situation was made even more unbearable after economic and cultural sanctions were imposed by international organizations, remaining effective for most of those ten years. Cultural institutions continued to function, albeit with great difficulty, so that at least an appearance of normal life was preserved.

Throughout that decade, the leading political figure in Serbia was Slobodan Milošević, forced to step down in October 2000, following presidential elections. For the majority of the population, he was a symbol of the just aims of the country to help the Serbian population in Croatia and Bosnia fight against the forces of the newly independent states, while for those who supported opposition parties, he was guilty of perpetuating of the wars and all the misery that resulted from them. Winning elections, he succeeded in maintaining political power, although opposition leaders strongly criticized many irregularities of the process, as well as unfair media coverage, which led to different kinds of protest in Belgrade and in other cities. Apart from demonstrations on the streets, protest gatherings of intellectu-

als, artists and politicians from the opposition were typical, held for ten or more consecutive days.¹

One might be surprised to learn that reports of such events (and similar news) were given mostly fairly, although a little understated, even in the official press, such as the newspaper *Politika*. This could have been the result of negotiations between different political forces and their views that a certain level of freedom of speech ought to be tolerated. Such an attitude could also be observed in articles dealing with different problems encountered in the sphere of culture, basically caused by small budgets and imposed sanctions. Concert reviews give us insight into the climate of the times: for instance, in almost every contribution of one particular reviewer of *Politika* (the musicologist Ana Kotevska, who had earlier lost her job as Radio Belgrade music editor because of her anti-regime views), one can find at least two or three sentences of critical comments on the actual situation.²

Sanctions against Yugoslavia, which included cultural matters, prevented guest appearances by musicians from abroad (as well as tours by domestic artists in other countries), which was a severe blow to normal musical life in the country. The sanctions were in force in two periods of times: 1992–1996 and 1998–2001. Even the most pronounced anti-regime activists could not defend such a strategy of punishing Milošević's policy and any act of defiance in this regard was applauded.³ Ivana Stefanović, a composer known for belonging to the opposition, expressed her views on this subject in following terms:

'In the craziness called sanctions nobody is innocent. Or clever. Both among those who created them and those who provoked them through their stupidity or at least unwariness [...] Maybe the editor of the Austrian Radio who has invited me to work [on *Lacrimosa*] thus broke the sanctions [...] So, there are brave and courageous people. It is, however, wrong to expect all people to behave like that. Here also the majority belongs to those others.'⁴

Another similar gesture, the guest performance of Verdi's *Requiem* conducted by the Austrian conductor Ralph Weickert at the 'Belgrade Autumn Festival' (Bemus) in October 1993 and the donation of his entire fee to a children's hospital were warmly acclaimed.⁵

¹ Such were the cases of the series "Intellectuals and war" held in the Home of youth (Dom omladine) in February 1993, and "Against aggression and totalitarianism" in the Home of the Union of Serbian writers (Udruženje književnika Srbije) in June 1993. See also: Cedomir Čupić, ed., *The spirit of cheerfulness. Culture of protest – protest through culture* [Duh vedrine. Kultura protesta – protest kulture] Beograd: Fakultet političkih nauka, 1998, and: Vladimir Ćurgus Kazimir, ed., *Deset godina protiv: građani Srbije u borbi za demokratiju i civilno društvo: 1991–2001* [Ten years against: citizens of Serbia fighting for democracy and civil society: 1991–2001] Beograd: Medija centar, 2001.

² See for instance: Ana Kotevska, "Singing, thinking, crying. Festival of new music in Novi Sad and Sremski Karlovci," [Pevanje, misljenje, plakanje. Tribina kompozitora u Novom Sadu i Sremskim Karlovcima] *Politika*, May 26, 1993. The author indirectly criticises the regime for the sanctions which caused the absence of guests-performers from abroad and the feeling of living on a 'desert island'.

³ Hugues Reigner, a conductor from Paris and a group of intellectuals gathered at a meeting in Budapest gave certain impulse to the hopes that the sanctions would soon be lifted. See: Vladimir Stefanović, "A moment of lifting the embargo," [Trenutak ukidanja embarga] *Politika*, March 2, 1993, and Tanjug press, *Statement in Budapest. Artists of the world against the cultural blockade of Yugoslavia?*, [Izjava u Budimpešti. Umetnici sveta protiv kulturne blokade Jugoslavije?] *Politika*, June 2, 1993.

⁴ Mirjana Ognjanović, "Contemporary music: Ivana Stefanović," [Muzika današnjice: Ivana Stefanović] *Politika*, May 30, 1993.

⁵ Muharem Durić, "Conductor Ralph Weickert: Music as joy," [Ralf Vajkert, dirigent: muzika kao radost] *Politika*, October 12, 1993, and: Vladimir Stefanović, "Generous act of the Austrian conductor. Ralph Weickert's entire fee for the children's hospital,"

Among the different forms of protest and cultural actions on the streets of Belgrade and smaller cities, two are most worthy of mention: one that took place in June 1992 and the other in November 1996 – February 1997. The former, organized by students in Belgrade and some other cities, was a reaction to the war in Bosnia that had started a month before.⁶ A great number of citizens joined the students and gathered daily for a month in central Belgrade. Within that protest was organized a smaller one – a kind of silent performance: around fifty composers of art music and musicians knelt for fifteen-twenty minutes, surrounded by the crowd, symbolically demanding Slobodan Milošević to step down from power.⁷ They had planned to wait one week (until 21 June) and if the president refused to resign, they would forbid broadcasts and public performances of their works, and musicians would also refuse to perform publicly. In a document they signed they called on the musicians of popular genres to do the same. However, Milošević was still too powerful at that time and was backed by the masses, who believed he would be able to achieve a just peace, so he did not step down. Like all the other protesters, composers and musicians were terribly disappointed, but the times that followed showed that they were not ready to suffer the consequences of what they had signed. One should have understanding for such adaptation to the circumstances, having in mind that the existential survival of many people was at stake. They were in fact painfully aware of the insignificance of their place in the society, and of their efforts to contribute to ending the ethnic wars. In those years of dramatic social and political crisis they knew that they were a *quantité négligeable*, and that their voices were too weak. Therefore they adapted to the hardships and contributed to musical life, while at the same time some participated in voicing their oppositional opinions, whether in the anti-regime media (which were not numerous) or by participating in street demonstrations.

Government policy attempted to provide at least minimal continuation of earlier standards of musical life. Although concerts were organised rather regularly, their quality was on average below the previous levels. That should not come as a surprise, given that very few foreign musicians accepted invitations to come to Serbia (because of the sanctions) but in addition many (mostly young) domestic musicians left the country. According to information supplied by the Union of Serbian musical artists at the beginning of January 1993, around 90 out of 360 members had emigrated to different countries of the West since the beginning of the conflicts (June 1991).⁸ Among the composers who left were Katarina Miljković, Igor Gostuški (1992), Vuk Kulenović, Svetlana Maksimović (1993), Aleksandra Vrebalov and Milica Paranosić (1995). There were also composers who had gone abroad some time before the war, refusing to return afterwards.

[Plemeniti gest austrijskog dirigenta. Ceo honorar Ralfa Vajkerta za dečju bolnicu] *Politika*, October 13, 1993.

⁶ One of the symbols of those protests was the whistle blowing that accompanied many slogans and popular songs. Enthusiastic after the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević on October 5, 2000, the composer Zoran Hristić organized a performance for 300,000 whistlers and toy-trumpet blowers (a pretty exaggerated number, of course!), to be performed by the triumphant citizens on the Square of the Republic, the place where all the street protests used to end every day, with oppositional leaders holding speeches.

⁷ Inspired by the statements of the renowned Serbian painter Mića Popović given on TV a little earlier, the composer Vuk Kulenović called on his fellow-composers to perform this action in the park opposite the building of the National Assembly. See more about this and other important events of the 1990s in Rajko Maksimović, *The way it happened* [Tako je to bilo], Belgrade 3 (2002).

⁸ Vladimir Stefanović, "Aleksandar Saša Madžar, Belgrade pianist: art is a refuge," [Aleksandar Saša Madžar, beogradski pijanist: umetnost je pribežište] *Politika*, January 15, 1993.

The Union of composers founded an annual international festival of contemporary music [Medjunarodna tribina kompozitora], held for the first time in May 1992 in Novi Sad and Sremski Karlovci. Similarly to the 'kneeling' performance where a number of composers signed a protest against the war and the cultural embargo that had just been imposed by the international organisations, the gathering of composers at that festival was another opportunity for them to voice their anti-war sentiments. This they did by signing an appeal against isolation, torturing and killing people only because of their belonging to other nations and religions or because of their holding different political views.⁹

One detail provides a glimpse of the atmosphere surrounding concert life at the time. Mateja Marinković, a violinist living and teaching in London during the 1990s, gave a concert in the main Belgrade concert hall (Kolarac) in April 1998 (at the beginning of conflicts in the province of Kosovo). At the end of his program he performed a 9-movement piece of his own called *Call from tombs* [Poziv iz grobova] using among other material, some rhythmical patterns that were easily recognisable as they were regularly performed at street protests. This clear anti-regime act, followed by a speech with the same intonation, was greatly welcomed by the public. The piece was later performed three or four more times, once also in London at a concert of Serbian music at the Royal Academy of Music. Mateja Marinković was also author of a work born out of his emotional response to the bombardment of Serbia the following year (1999). It was performed at a humanitarian concert in London, also at the Royal Academy.

The art music scene has never been particularly strong in Serbia, but it had enjoyed a steady accelerated development during the 20th century. In the years preceding the outbreak of the war (1991) Serbian music produced a number of outstanding works and the overall view of the period was one of rich diversity. After the first confrontations with Postmodernism in music around 1980, different aspects of that idea began to gain ever more space in the works of Serbian composers. The new music, mainly that of the youngest composers, assimilated impulses from the spheres of jazz and rock music, which influenced the creation of works with elements of repetitiveness and minimalism.

In view of the small amount of politically engaged music in Serbia during the 1990s, it could be suggested that this was maybe due to composers' frustration at the idea of producing works that would be labelled propaganda, reminding them of those from the period of Socialist Realism. It is fair to say here that there were actually no state commissions for music that would glorify official politics.

Caught between the need to express their patriotic feelings and the fear of being regarded as glorifiers of the war, most composers did not let any of those emotions penetrate into their music. As to the main features of the works composed during the whole last decade of the century, they essentially stayed the same as they were before the tragic events began. The great majority of the new music could not be linked in any way to the surrounding catastrophe. On the one hand, programmes of the single annual festival of contemporary music [Medjunarodna tribina kompozitora] in Serbia included works that focused on the 'purely musical' or subjects other than political. On the other

⁹ The appeal was published in daily newspapers. See: D. Savić, "Musicians' appeal," [Notni apel] *Večernje novosti*, May 26, 1992.

hand, there were composers who felt the need to express their feelings about the oppressive situation, which they did usually very discreetly, in verbal comments. For her *Clinical Quartet* [Klinički kvartet, 1991] the young composer Svetlana Kresić (b. 1971) was inspired by a poem in which the author Božidar Milidragović alluded to the tragic inter-ethnic conflict. Vojin Komadina (1993–1997), a refugee from Bosnia, composed *Sad Songs* [Tužne pjesme] for voice and piano (1992) using poems by Dušan Trifunović, another refugee from Bosnia. Still a student at that time, Jovana Stefanović composed *The City of Mirrors* [Grad ogledala] for two pianos (1993), giving a clue to its meaning in a comment published in the concert programme: ‘*The City of Mirrors* refers to the city inhabited by the tribe of Aureliano Buendia from Marquez’ novel. The men of the city are seized by the madness of making war, while the women fight against destruction [...]’. The ecstatic mood and explosive repetitive rhythmic energy of Vuk Kulenović’s (b. 1946) *Boogie* for piano and orchestra (1993) was interpreted by the Belgrade public as ‘music of despair’. However, when asked some time later if he still reacted to the catastrophic events in the same way, he answered: ‘I believe that *Boogie* would be the same, no matter the circumstances. I think that people liked the music in the first place...’.¹⁰ The piece has sometimes been called *War boogie*.

When asked if he had ever wished to introduce any political message into his works, another composer, Zoran Erić (b. 1950) replied that that might be said of his work *I have not spoken* (1995), but that its inner musical *raison d’être* was more important.¹¹ Commenting on the fact that the piece was a part of the cycle *Images of Chaos* [Slike haosa] I–IV, 1990–95, Erić stated that *Chaos* could be related both to chaos theory, so popular among intellectuals in the two last decades of the 20th century, and to the situation in the country – the isolation, helplessness, aggression in everyday communication, the rise in crime etc.

Much more direct was Ivana Stefanović’s (b. 1948) message in *Lacrimosa* for tape (1993). She composed a moving work constructed of quotations from the “lacrimosae” of Mozart, Pergolesi, Verdi, Britten, Penderecki, and also fragments from the *opelos* (requiems) of Stevan Mokranjac and Stevan Hristić. By using radiophonic techniques those quotations were used as musical material and intertwined with recordings of sounds from the streets of Sarajevo and Belgrade on the eve of the war and in the days that followed. Stefanović also wrote *Tibullus against war* [Tibul protiv rata] (1995) for mixed choir, timpani and strings, using verses by that ancient Roman poet.

One should also take note of *A Nocturne of Belgrade Spring 1999* [Nokturno beogradskog proleća 1999] (1999–2000) for chamber ensemble, live electronics and audio tape by Srdjan Hofman (b. 1944). The composer used his own recording of the nocturnal sounds of May 1999, when bombs were falling on Belgrade and throughout Serbia. Contrary to expectations, the tape recorded ‘silence and the sounds of a suburban night’¹². The composed music of the work is built out of six rhythmic-intervallic models which result from ‘a game with friends and acquaintances’ phone numbers’.¹³ In a work

¹⁰ Bulletin no. 2, Tribina 1993.

¹¹ From a conversation with the author of this paper, in May 2006.

¹² Author’s comment in bulletin no. 1 of Tribina IX, 2000.

¹³ Ibid.

whose title is difficult to translate – *VrisKrik.exe* [ScreamCry.exe] for live electronics and orchestra by the young Jasna Veličković (b. 1974), the omnipresent anguish was expressed through manipulation, with the author's recorded suffocating and crying.

Dejan Despić (b. 1930) reacted to the brutal events in two ways. He successively composed works such as *Dies irae* for oboe, violin, viola, cello and piano (1992), with musically transposed symbols of death and hate, and works that ignored such a reality (*Concerto sereno* for piano and orchestra, 1993). Despić expressed his views on composers' attitudes towards the tragic events and massive suffering in the following way: 'A piece of music can be a composer's clear and direct response to concrete events, situations or challenges. Such engaged art is, however, always threatened by dangers to which not only street singers of newly composed patriotic songs succumb. A necessary process and indispensable measure of sublimation make it so that, in fact, a work that does not appear to be such is sometimes more engaged [...]. The cathartic effect is the best possible engagement! It can be realized in two quite different ways. One is more direct: by living-through experience and identification with a sufficiently clear meaning of a work, first of all on the basis of texts, be it programmes or titles. The other one acts by the power of contrasts, thus indirectly – not necessarily producing a weaker effect! [...] In that way the listener is taken to his own shelter in some other, lovelier and gentler world, in recreating some past lights, or visions of some future ones.'¹⁴

In another text Despić expressed a similar view: 'My creative work is for me today a precious refuge, and a firm support for soul and spirit, but it is also a kind of *defiance!* Powerless as an individual – 'a straw in whirlwinds' – to fight against the evil that surrounds and suffocates us – let alone prevent it –, I am trying to ignore it!'¹⁵

The last decade of the 20th century in Serbian music was also marked by a rise of interest in (orthodox) church music, a phenomenon that could be first noticed in the pre-war decade, when all the socio-political taboos in Yugoslavia were subject to serious questioning. Namely, after 1945 the spheres of religion were radically cut from public life and church music was rarely heard in concerts. During the 1980s, for the first time after the war, new church music was composed, as a result of improved relations between the State and the Serbian Orthodox Church. Only a handful of composers showed interest for that genre (among them Svetislav Božić, b. 1954, Aleksandar Vujić, b. 1945, Dimitrije Golemović, b. 1954) and remained true throughout the 1990s. Apart from applying rather strictly the compositional techniques of Stevan Mokranjac (the great Serbian composer who had lived a century before) and some of his followers in the 1920s and 1930s, (such as Stevan Hristić and Marko Tajčević) those composers found models for their church music in the works of composers belonging to the so-called 'new Russian choral school' (Smolensky, Kastalsky, the brothers Chesnokov, Rachmaninov). The simple and unimaginative approaches which could be observed in most of those new liturgies and other works based on liturgical texts, together with official recognition and awards, provoked a lot of criticism from other composers and critics, who found their music to be exclusively utilitarian and sometimes problematic from the professional standpoint.

¹⁴ Dejan Despić, „The seal of (bad) times,“ [Pečat (ne)vremena] *Muzički talas* 1 (1994): 1–2

¹⁵ Dejan Despić. „To create – defying destruction.“ [Stvarati – rušenju u prkos] *Jedinstvo*. Priština, 1992.

Since 2000, Serbian composers have not been particularly interested in producing works referring to the tragic 1990s. Two among them deserve mention: Ivan Jevtić's (b. 1947) work for symphonic orchestra and choir *Exodus* [Izgon] (2001) which thematises the expulsion of the Serbian population from Croatia in 1995, and Aleksandra Vrebalov's (b. 1970)... *hold me, neighbour, in this storm* ... (2007), commissioned by Carnegie Hall for the Kronos Quartet. In this work, Vrebalov, who has been living in the United States since 1995, expressed her thoughts and feelings on the ethnic and historical origins of the 1990s tragedy. Here is a fragment from the author's comment on the piece: 'For me, ... *hold me, neighbour* [...] is a way to bring together the sounds of the church bells of Serbian Orthodox monasteries and Islamic calls to prayer. It is a way to connect histories and places by unifying one of the most civilized sounds of Western classical music—that of the string quartet—with ethnic Balkan instruments, the *gusle* (a bowed string instrument) and *tapan* (large double-headed drum). It is a way to piece together our identities—fractured by centuries of intolerance—and to reach out and celebrate the land so rich in its diversity, the land that would be ashen, empty, fallow, if any one of us, all so different, weren't there.'¹⁶

Serbian popular music falls outside the ambit of this paper, dominated as it is by so-called 'newly composed folk music', which, in contrast to art music, did respond, and usually very promptly, to developments on the social and political scene. There are already many studies of that sphere, of its nationalistic excesses, bad taste, and media manipulation, in the times already behind us, so that anybody interested can find enough material for thought. Serbian rock music of the same decade has also been an object of investigation. While there were bands which 'could not bring themselves to produce songs during a time when wars were going on nearby' there were also those who 'commented on the social and political situation, but in an oblique and highly metaphoric way. A few others [...] sided with the nationalist rhetoric.'¹⁷

Although the eventful and tragic two decades 1985–2005 deeply shook Serbian society, art music production did not mirror them in ways that might have been expected. Artists working in the spheres of literature, theatre and the visual arts displayed more willingness to deal with the nightmarish 1990s, which can be easily explained by the very nature of those media. The entire artistic scene of that decade needs however to be thoroughly investigated in order to pronounce any firm conclusion. As regards composers of art music, their pacifistic and oppositional political ideas could be freely voiced in public life, but the majority of them wished to distance themselves from overt political engagement in their works, contemplating their own creative work as a refuge and shelter from the unbearable realities of everyday life. Such an attitude was probably due to the bad reputation of the political utilisation of music in the period of Socialist Realism, but also to doubts that art music, the influence of which has always been very limited in the country, could have a strong impact on political events. It is also possible that symbolic processing of the war experience and reaching the spheres of the ritual or

¹⁶ The whole comment is on the internet address: http://www.carnegiehall.org/article/sound_insights/works/commissions/art_detail_HoldMeNeighbourInThisStorm_commissions.html.

¹⁷ Brana Mijatović, 'Throwing Stones at the System': Rock Music in Serbia during the 1990s', *Music and Politics* 2 (2008), <http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/past.html>.

archetypal, which are necessary for creating art works, was not achieved. Perhaps some more time is needed for such a process to last and eventually bear fruit.

POVZETEK

Članek je zamišljen kot prispevek k širši temi, ki zadeva »glasbo in politiko«, in sicer na podlagi opazovanj dogodkov, ki in kakor so se odvijali v srbski glasbi v burnih devetdesetih letih, v času razpada Jugoslavije. Razen v letih 1998/99 (oborožena vstaja etničnih Albancev na Kosovu ter bombardiranje Nata) je bilo v vojni Srbiji sicer prizanešeno, je pa bila udeležena v vojnah v nekaterih drugih eksjugoslovanskih republikah. Morala se je soočiti z ekonomsko katastrofo, s sankcijami, splošno negotovostjo, morala je skrbeti za stotisoče srbskih beguncev z vojnih področij. V tem kaotičnem stanju so kulturne institucije delovale naprej, pa čeprav z velikimi težavami, tako da se je ohranjal vsaj videz normalnega življenja. Kar

zadeva skladatelje umetne glasbe, so le-ti sicer lahko svobodno izražali svoje pacifistične in opozicijske ideje, vendar pa se je večina distancirala od očitnega političnega angažiranja in v svojih delih iskala zatočišče in varnost pred neznošno realnostjo vsakdanjega življenja. Vzroke za tak odnos je iskati v slabem slovesu, ki ga je bilo imelo izrabljanje glasbe v času socialističnega realizma, pa tudi v nezaupanju v umetno glasbo, katere vpliv je bil v Srbiji vedno močno omejen, ki pa bi kljub temu utegnila močno vplivati na politično dogajanje. Obenem tudi kaže, da vojne izkušnje še niso bile simbolno procesuirane in še niso dosegle območja ritualnega in arhitektskega, kar je sicer nujno za nastanek umetniškega dela. Morda bo treba še nekaj časa, da bi tak proces mogel obroditi sadove.