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Celebrating the revolutionary anniversaries  
in the Radio Belgrade music programme (1946–1963)

Abstract. The new holiday calendar, based on the revolutionary tradition of the World War II, was established as an integral part of the overall transformation of the Yugoslav society and culture in the postwar years. As the privileged field for the new authorities' intention to control and govern the whole public life of the country, radio was one of the most powerful ways by which the symbolics of the holiday celebrations could reach the population. In this essay I shall explore one specific interaction between these two powerful social forces: the ways in which the Radio Belgrade contributed to commemorations of revolutionary anniversaries in the examined period. I shall pay attention to one specific aspect of these celebrations which originates from the broadest theoretical foundation for interpreting celebrations, namely the difference between the profane and the sacred. In this case the mentioned difference is transposed onto the level of the usual (or the everyday) programme politics and overall programme of the Radio Belgrade, on the one hand, and the station's the specific 'music holiday behaviour', on the other.

As an integral part of the overall transformation of the Yugoslav society and culture after World War II – the transformation which included both the dissolution of and the distancing from the old bourgeois tradition, on the one hand, and the creation of new socialist values, on the other – the establishing of the new holiday calendar, as well as the celebrations of the holidays which constituted it, represented for the equally new communist authorities 'the means to express their own identity, to provide social cohesion, but also to point to the creation of new social relations'.<sup>1</sup> Regardless of whether the new holidays were officially given the state (i.e. federal) or the republic status, or were celebrated as important dates in national or international context, they participated in the process of 'the invention of tradition': a constitutive part of 'a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with [...] a suitable

historic past'.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the above mentioned process of breaking off from the prewar tradition, and completely opposite to the widespread practice of other European states to choose the nineteenth-century events for the establishing of state holidays and avoid the twentieth-century ones because of the deep ideological divisions,<sup>3</sup> that past was recognised in the revolutionary liberation tradition of the recently ended war: with the exception of international holidays such as the New Year's Day, May Day, The International Women's Day and others, as well as the All Saint's Day in Slovenia, the War of National Liberation became a certain common denominator of the newly established official state and republic holidays and important dates (cf. Table 1).<sup>4</sup>

The means by which the symbolics of the holiday celebrations could reach the population and, consequently, perform its important role in the construction of the new socialist reality in the best possible way, was the radio. In fact, the radio as a medium was the privileged field for the new authorities' intention to control and govern the whole public life of the country: for more than a decade after the liberation it was the only mass medium in the country.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, it penetrated most deeply into the social fabric and affected the largest number of people as a means of ideological indoctrination. Within this general mission, which all Yugoslav radio stations aspired to in the examined period, the role of Radio Belgrade was distinctive for two mutually connected reasons which had far-reaching consequences on its programme politics. Firstly, the very fact that it was based in Belgrade provided the radio itself, along with all other institutions in the capital, with the unique position simply because it was nearest to the source of all decisions in the country. Secondly, the Radio Belgrade was the only one among the Yugoslav radio stations which in one period of time (1947–51) enjoyed the status of a state institution: it had a 'general state priority' as it was legally formulated (cf. Table 2).

Music had a special place in the radio programme. It was believed that the broadcasted music contents contributed to the building of the new society and establishing of the new socialist values in a unique way: if music was ‘properly used’, it had a potential to ‘become the most direct means in the spiritual upbringing of the individual and the society. Whether it was vocal or instrumental music, with its rhythmic, melodic and harmonic elements it was endowed the suggestive strength which the spoken word could never achieve’.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, in this essay I shall examine one particular interaction between the above described social forces: the ways in which the Radio Belgrade celebrated the revolutionary anniversaries within the period framed by the adoption of the two Constitutions (cf. Table 2). My focus will be on music celebrations of the Republic Day (29 November), the Veterans’ Day (4 July), the Uprising Days in different republics (7 July in Serbia, 13 July in Montenegro, 22 July in Slovenia and Croatia, 27 July in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 11 October in Macedonia) and 25 May – the date devoted to the cult of the leader Josip Broz Tito, the worshipped human embodiment of the Revolution – when the peoples of Yugoslavia celebrated his birthday and, from 1957, also The Youth Day.<sup>7</sup> My intention is not to provide the comprehensive insight into all details of the examined programmes (although it was a necessary part of my research), but to accentuate one specific aspect of these celebrations which originates from the broadest theoretical foundation for interpreting celebrations. It is the difference between the profane and the sacred, which is defined as the *differentia specifica* of each celebration.<sup>8</sup> I approach this difference in Durkheim’s tradition, in which the profane and the sacred are mutually defined: the things become either profane or sacred only in a system of differentiation.<sup>9</sup> The profane in this conception is generally identified with the everyday, usual and utilitarian life and behaviour of a certain community and individuals within it, and the sacred – as opposed to it – is not exhausted in a religious ritual. Since ‘things and events are

not sacred by themselves, but they become sacred when such features are attributed to them', the sacred can also be 'something of a special importance for the life of a society, and it must be indisputable and irrefutable'.<sup>10</sup> In postrevolutionary societies the mythology of the sacred is transposed onto the level of politics and ideology. Therefore, the tradition of the War of National Liberation and the new concept of the socialist society born out of it became the specific sacred place of the Yugoslav postwar society, a kind of a common beginning of the revolutionary events celebrated within the new holiday calendar.

The materialisation of the mentioned opposition between the profane and the sacred life and behaviour is characterised by a paradox: although the festive and formal commemoration of important dates is 'predominantly in service of the order which allows the emergence of such contents', each celebration 'presupposes certain regularities' and it is always carried out according to 'the known [...] scenario' which is liberated from 'the usual [...] criteria [...]'. The abolishing and rejecting of the usual rules during the celebrations is, as a matter of fact, one of the basic [...] rules of the holiday behaviour'.<sup>11</sup> With regard to my topic, the profane – as the usual and the everyday – is manifested in the programme politics and the overall programme of the Radio Belgrade in the examined period. The sacred is manifested in this station's specific 'holiday behaviour'.

The Radio Belgrade holiday behaviour usually included a special programme regime which was adjusted to the broadcast of the public celebration of a certain holiday, as well as the welcoming of Tito's Relay as a part of the celebration of his birthday.<sup>12</sup> Also, apart from the standard program, the Radio Belgrade broadcasted special musical-literary shows on the occasion of the holidays. Music alone was also a part of the festive radio programme so that the programme which wasn't explicitly marked as celebratory contributed to the celebratory (sacred) atmosphere. Certain 'music regularities' of the radio celebrations consisted of three elements. The first element represented the core of the Radio Belgrade music repertoire

during the holidays regardless of what specific event was commemorated. Those were: 1) works inspired by and dedicated to the revolutionary tradition, the Party and their leader, composed both during and after the war, and 2) mass, revolutionary, battle and partisan songs as well as marches. The constant presence of the described core repertoire in celebratory programmes corresponded to the repeated reactualisation of the revolutionary ‘primordial event’: as a distinctive trait and function of each celebration it was aimed at glorifying the past in order to confirm the present.<sup>13</sup> By far the most often broadcasted piece from this repertoire was *Jugoslovenska partizanska rapsodija* (‘The Yugoslav partisan rhapsody’, 1947) by Jovan Bandur. It was premiered on 9 May 1948 and was awarded by the Broadcasting Committee. The second most often broadcasted piece was the Symphony no. 2 *Eroica* (1946) by Stjepan Šulek and the third – the cantata *Vežilja slobode* (‘The girl embroidering liberty’, 1947) by Mihailo Vukdragović. This repertoire was constantly renewed and supported by the Radio Belgrade numerous public invitations to composers. The second element was the Yugoslav repertoire in general, not necessarily connected with the revolutionary tradition. It encompassed folk music, artistic stylisations of folk melodies and art music of Yugoslav composers. The third element was represented by the works which belonged to the European music heritage and which were in one way or another associated with the heroic or revolutionary symbolism. That symbolism was almost naturally recognised in Beethoven’s works, above all in the Symphonies no. 3 and no. 5, overtures *Egmont*, *Coriolan* and *Leonore*. Occasionally there were also other works – such as Mozart’s *Jupiter* Symphony or choruses and ouvertures from romantic operas, most often by Russian nineteenth-century composers – which also contributed to this spectrum of meaning. The third element established itself as the usual (although not always obligatory) component of the revolutionary and heroic symbolism. Even though some of the works which belonged to it

were celebratory neither in their character nor in their ‘extramusical’ content, their joint presence in the programme was in time established as such.

However, different aspects of the described music regularities changed, because ‘the celebrations are changeable and dynamic phenomena’ which generally ‘depend on the current political constellation, the power relations between the ones who create them, from the spirit of time and historical circumstances’.<sup>14</sup> I shall point to several characteristic examples from the two different constellations of the mentioned influences: the prevailing general worldview in the country, the consequent role of the radio in the Yugoslav society, the status of the Radio Belgrade within the Yugoslav media space and the level of this station’s inner development (cf. Table 3). The fact that the change within all constituents of the two constellations manifested itself almost simultaneously speaks in favour of the ‘before/after 1953–5’ paradigm in discussing the Radio Belgrade holiday behaviour.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, I shall pay attention to the changing nature of the described regularities, and to the changing nature of their context in order to determine if, to what extent and in what way the Radio Belgrade ‘music holiday behaviour’ was distinct from its usual antipode – the overall music programme politics and music programme of the station.<sup>16</sup>

Prior to the middle of the 1950s the prevailing worldview in the Yugoslav society was the Manichean opposition between the eastern ‘world of good’ and the western ‘world of evil’.<sup>17</sup> Radio as a medium actively participated in ‘the battle against the remnants of the past, against the ideological influence of bourgeoisie, against decadent art and culture [...] for the new socialist culture’.<sup>18</sup> Its important aim was to spread the heritage which the ‘bourgeoisie of the old Yugoslavia had criminally hidden from the people with the intention to keep the masses uneducated and unenlightened’, as it was believed at the time.<sup>19</sup> The Radio Belgrade itself was resolutely put in ‘the true service of the people, which it had never been before’.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of 1947 its music programme was subjected to the severe control of the Music

Council of the state Broadcasting Committee and became the biggest concern of the management.<sup>21</sup> Under the guidance of the Council, the Radio Belgrade was oriented toward fulfilling the principal task of its music programme: to transmit not only music contents, but also the ideological messages to the listeners. The station also attempted to overcome the insufficiencies of the programme which was – due to technical difficulties, lack of audio material as well as to the role of radio in general – in the first years after the war dominated by Yugoslav mass, revolutionary, battle and partisan songs and folk music and by folk and, considerably less prominently, art music of other Slavic (mostly Soviet) peoples. Within these circumstances, it seems that there were no significant differences in content between the usual programme and the Radio Belgrade music holiday behaviour: the first and partly the second element of the previously described music regularities constituted the majority of the everyday programme. The only difference which the holiday music programmes brought was in one aspect which is necessary for the success of each celebration, but which in that situation was in fact the only possible aspect: the quantitative one.<sup>22</sup> For instance, except only half an hour for which there are no indications regarding the origin of the broadcasted music, the entire programme on the day when Tito's birthday was celebrated in 1946 and 1947 was of a Slavic origin: marches and partisan songs, works inspired by or devoted to the revolution and Tito written by Yugoslav composers as well as Yugoslav folk songs and dances, on the one hand, and romantic art music by Czech and Soviet composers, Soviet folk songs and popular music, on the other (cf. Table 4).<sup>23</sup> In addition, in 1947 Aram Hačaturjan's *Pesnja o Staline* ('Song about Stalin') – as a contribution to the personal identification of the two leaders – was broadcasted as a part of the Radio Belgrade solemn concert held in the National Assembly. Within the same programme coordinates, the Radio Belgrade music holiday behaviour on the Republic Day during the same period was slightly different. Namely, the

majority (around 80%) of the music programme was of a Yugoslav or broader Slavic origin. While in the music programmes on Tito's birthday approximately equal time was reserved for the Yugoslav and for the broader Slavic repertoire, in the programmes on the Republic Day the former dominated. For instance, on 29 November 1947 Yugoslav music constituted almost a half of the total broadcasted programme and two thirds of this programme's music part (cf. Table 4).

Toward the end of the 1940s the music programme of the Radio Belgrade was beginning to show signs of mitigating its excessive political zeal. That development was partly due to the fact that the everyday radio programme aspired to – but fully realised only in the middle of the next decade – more varied music programme, both in its genre structure (less folk and revolutionary and more art music) and in the origin of the broadcasted works. For example, the music programme on Tito's birthday in 1948 consisted of all three elements of the celebratory music regularities: the revolutionary and folk repertoire was still prevailing, but for the first time the programme for 25 May featured contemporary Yugoslav art music not inspired by revolution as well as Beethoven's Symphony no. 5. The total time reserved for the celebratory music regularities was considerably shorter than in the previous years, because the context in which it was placed was different. The programme on that day also contained dozens of minutes of 'popular' art music: orchestral music of the classical era, excerpts from stage works by Verdi, Leoncavallo, Mussorgskij, Borodin and Prokof'ev, Strauss' waltzes and various 'light musics'. Similar tendencies can also be seen in music programmes on the Republic Day.

By the end of 1949, when it became clear that the relations with the socialist block will not be smoothed out, the enthusiasm for the music personification of the socialist 'world of good' weakened. It was a time when the gradual inversion of the picture of the world within the Yugoslav society began.<sup>24</sup> The notion that Yugoslavia was the oasis of genuine socialism



prevailed at that time. Subsequently, the role of the radio changed: now it was supposed to mobilise the working people to build socialism with their own resources. The turn to the country's own resources was also the Radio Belgrade's official obligation. Namely, since it was a station of the 'general state priority', it was supposed to reflect that state priority in its programme. However, toward the end of the 1940s – and in the same time with the strengthening of the image of Yugoslavia as the sole oasis of genuine socialism – the view prevailed that the Radio Belgrade didn't fulfill this task sufficiently, so that sometimes it had the character of the republic Serbian rather than federal station.<sup>25</sup> Consequently – but paradoxically during the process of the weakening of the state control over broadcasting field (cf. Table 2) – the Radio Belgrade gradually increased the presence of Yugoslav contents in its programme and announced it in its magazine.<sup>26</sup> There were two consequences of these developments on music holiday programmes. Firstly, since there was noticeably less Soviet (and broader Slavic) music in the programme in general, there was less and less music of this origin in the radio celebrations. Secondly, there was more prominent Yugoslav orientation of the programme during holidays. The celebrations of the Republic Day and Tito's birthday from the early 1950s are characteristic in that regard. Although the statistics reveals how much more importance was given to the latter, these programmes show certain common traits: musical contents which, according to the above mentioned music regularities, could be marked as celebratory now occupied between between a half and three fourths of the total music programme. Within that group of works considerably more space (sometimes as much as two thirds) was given to the Yugoslav repertoire and to art music within it (cf. Table 5).

Yugoslav orientation was particularly characteristic of the celebratory programmes for the Uprising Days in different republics. During the 1940s these celebrations were mostly based on an hour or so of folk music from the republic which celebrated the anniversary, but

at the beginning of the 1950s – after the mentioned critique – things changed: the programmes featured considerably more music written by composers of the nationality which celebrated the holiday and/or of music very often performed by the outstanding musicians and ensembles from these republics. The celebration of the Uprising Day in Slovenia in 1951 is a paradigmatic example: approximately one sixth of the entire programme and one third of the music programme, evenly distributed throughout the whole day, was filled with music of the Slovenian origin which falls within the first two elements of the Radio Belgrade celebratory music regularities (cf. Table 6). Within this programme a special place was given to new works by Marijan Lipovšek and Lucijan Marija Škerjanc. They were announced and described in the radio magazine and broadcasted within the usual Radio Belgrade show ‘Sunday symphonic concert’.

When the worldview changed from the Manichean opposition between East and West to a certain balance between the two polarised sides, the radio as a media, the Radio Belgrade as an institution and its programme went through considerable changes. From the middle of the 1950s the radio was regarded as ‘one of the best instruments of cultural and all other kinds of rapprochement between the Yugoslav peoples’.<sup>27</sup> It was supposed to perform that function by means of broadcasting the contents which were considered the biggest achievements in science, culture and art in Yugoslavia. The status transformation of Radio Belgrade from the station of a general state priority to a republic radio station was a result of the shared opinion that it was ‘quite natural to put the radio in the service of social and cultural development’ of each Yugoslav republic.<sup>28</sup> This transformation had implications on the organisation of this institution, the ways in which it was run, the funding resources, the relations to other republic and local media and the shaping of relationships between them.<sup>29</sup> Radio Belgrade as the republic radio station adjusted itself to the fulfillment of the described new tasks. When, since the middle of 1953 this change became visible in its programmes, a certain kind of music

balancing – to which the station had aspired in previous years – occurred in every sense. Under the control of the new Programme Board – and after the dissolution of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda of the Communist Party which had controlled each detail of cultural life and production – all aspects of the music programme were gradually brought to a high quality level. As a result, already by the middle of the 1950s ‘the characteristics and complex functions’ of the Radio Belgrade programme secured its place of the radio of its time ‘in the full sense of the word’.<sup>30</sup> The genre structure of the programme and its stylistic diversity were enriched. Contrary to the wishes of the listeners who didn’t live in the capital, art music was most often broadcasted,<sup>31</sup> while the revolutionary and battle songs were present very rarely and gradually almost disappeared. By the end of the examined period early music gained more and more space and the New music established itself as a regular part of the programme. In addition, thematically conceived shows and cycles became a standard way of presenting music contents.

Consequently, the Radio Belgrade music holiday behaviour also entered a new phase. It seems that the holiday features in its music programme abated during the middle of the 1950s. For example, there were no more special shows for the celebration of the Uprising Days in different republics. This change coincided with the celebration of a new holiday (The Veterans’ Day) from 1956 which was promptly introduced into the usual practice. A combination of a few dozen minutes of folk music from a certain republic and art music inspired by revolution written by composers from that republic became a standard holiday combination in the context of all the more modern radio programme. It is hard to say whether these music contents, even in this relatively limited scope, were a sign of the aspirations of Radio Belgrade to maintain its state-wide significance or simply a fulfillment of the task prescribed to the radio as a media in general in this period. But a comparison of the

programmes of Radio Belgrade and other republic stations in this period shows that only the Radio Zagreb contributed to these celebrations in equal way and scope.

In the middle of the 1950s the celebrations of 25 May were also ‘tamed’ in a certain way. There were (as always) special shows on this day: the broadcast of the welcoming of the Tito’s Relay and musical-literary shows. For instance, in 1955 the music celebratory regularities contained all three elements, but – according to the available published programme which is not particularly detailed – in a limited scope: now they occupied less than a third of the total programme and less than a half of its music contents. There were only five minutes of ‘Songs about Tito’ early in the morning, no battle, mass or partisan songs (however there was a performance of the Wind Orchestra of the Belgrade Garrison), no art compositions dedicated to the Revolution or Tito himself, almost two hours of Yugoslav folk music and almost an equal total time for Yugoslav art music and the performances of young artists (cf. Table 5). With the symphonic concert of Beethoven’s works the presence of all three celebratory regularities was rounded off. The next year art music dedicated to the Revolution reappeared (the first two of the most often performed compositions: Bandur’s the *Yugoslav partisan rhapsody* and Šulek’s Symphony no. 2) along with all other constituents of the celebratory regularities. One can only wonder if it is a coincidence that from 1956 Tito was actually present at the people’s celebrations of his birthday, instead of welcoming the relays in the garden of his home.

The celebration of the Republic Day in 1962 is a paradigmatic example of what this tendency of ‘taming’ the holiday exaltation led to. Namely, within the all-day programme, only forty-five minutes of the show titled ‘From the battlefield of the revolution’ and fifty minutes of the mixture of folk songs and popular music, represented what was left of the celebratory music regularities. Since the holiday had the state status, its music celebration was transferred to the Joint Programme of the network of the Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo radio

stations which was supposed to fulfill the common state function and interests. On this occasion – and most often on other important dates, too – this segment of the programme contained large symphonic and vocal-instrumental works by Yugoslav composers, the works which could, but need not have been inspired by or devoted to the Revolution. However, on the occasion of ‘round’ numbers the Radio Belgrade music programmes reintroduced the excessiveness which was characteristic for the first postwar years, but this time this excessiveness was of an artistic origin. For instance, in July 1958, when the whole country commemorated the fifteenth anniversary of the Battle on the Sutjeska (1958), works inspired by this event and the Revolution itself were broadcasted through the whole month. It was similar in 1961 on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the revolutionary battle. On the Uprising Day of the Serbian people and the preceding days, Radio Belgrade, for example, featured numerous holiday shows based on the first two elements of the celebratory regularities. The prime time was assigned to the premieres of the works (Dušan Kostić: *Kragujevac*, vocal-symphonic poem, and Milan Ristić: Symphony no. 3), created in response to the public invitation which the Radio Belgrade had sent to composers the year before.<sup>32</sup> It is interesting to notice that in that year the Radio Belgrade also paid special music attention to the Uprising Days in other republics.

There is one holiday which transformed its original revolutionary/heroic symbolism during the examined period and included other elements in its sacred space: Tito’s birthday. From 1957, 25 May was celebrated not only as his birthday, but also as the Youth Day.<sup>33</sup> The suggestion was Tito’s as a matter of fact: in the atmosphere of increasing critiques of Stalin in the USSR after his death, Tito wanted to distance himself from the cult of the personality connected with the Soviet leader. Consequently, the original occasion for celebration was in a certain way pushed to the background and from that day on 25 May represented mutual

affection between Tito and the youth of Yugoslavia. The very cover of the radio magazine renders this change visible: for the first time it was not only Tito on it, but Tito with children or, as in 1961, only young people. The magazine also announced that special attention will be paid to pioneer shows. From 1957 the music programmes on 25 May gradually became significantly different, because they also contributed to the semantic transformation of the holiday. For example, already on 24 May 1957 the programme was dominated by the works of Yugoslav composers, some of which were directly connected with Tito and special thematic shows were also broadcasted. On the celebration itself Radio Belgrade broadcasted the Saturday morning show 'From the oeuvre of our young composers' in spite of the fact that the regular cycle 'From the creations of our musical youth' was regularly broadcasted at the same time on Fridays. It is no surprise that Yugoslav music was on the programme during the whole day, except late in the evening (Ivan Zajc: fragments from the operetta *Momci na brod /Mannschaft an Bord*, 'solo works by Yugoslav composers', Nikola Hercigonja: *Vu kleti* ['In the pub'], the cycle of folk songs). The later time in the evening was reserved for Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony and Beethoven's *Egmont* Overture, as the previously described third element of celebratory music regularities. By the end of the examined period, apart from the broadcast of the ceremony of bestowing the Tito's Relay, the Radio Belgrade music holiday behaviour adjusted to the station's general orientation to broadcast thematically conceived music contents. The music programme therefore contained the shows titled *Devoted to the creative work of the youth*, *Youth – the eternal freshness of the world*, *The music of joy*, *Our young opera singers* (1961), *The young entertain you*, *The concert of young artists: advanced university students of the Music Academy* (1962). Since the exact content of the broadcasted shows is not published, it is not possible to calculate not even approximate proportions of different genres and music styles in the programme. However, it is possible to conclude that

these features speak in favour of the fact that the semantic transformation of the holiday was also reflected in the music programme.

In the above discussed examples we could see the historical but also the political nature of both sides of the rift between the profane and the sacred and, consequently, of their mutual relation. Ethnological theories of celebrations pose a provocative question concerning 'the final (resulting) role and meaning of celebrations'.<sup>34</sup> They explore that paradox of affirming the present by abolishing it both structurally and in terms of content. In case of the music holiday programming of the Radio Belgrade, this abolishing had a prominent creative dimension for the present and within it, because it contributed to one important function of celebrations, as described by Durkheim: the restoration of the memory of the creation of the new society and of reaffirming its values.

Table 1. Comparative overview of the holiday calendar before and after World War II

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/ Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918–1943)	Democratic Federal Yugoslavia/ Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1943–1963)
Secular holidays	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The birthday of His Highness the King (6 September)</li> <li>• The Unity Day (1 December)</li> </ul>	<p>The official state holidays:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Year's Day</li> <li>• May Day</li> <li>• The Republic Day (29–30 November)</li> <li>• The Veterans' Day (4 July)</li> </ul>
	<p>The official republic holidays:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Uprising Day in different republics: Serbia (7 July), Montenegro (13 July), Slovenia (22 July), Croatia (27 July), Bosnia and Herzegovina (27 July), Macedonia (11 October)</li> <li>• The Founding of the Liberation Front in Slovenia (27 April)</li> <li>• The National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (25 November)</li> <li>• Ilinden – the first Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the People's Liberation of Macedonia (2 August)</li> </ul>
	<p>Other important dates (selection):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International Women's Day (8 March)</li> <li>• World Meteorological Day (23 March)</li> <li>• Day of the Youth Work Actions (1 April)</li> <li>• World Health Day (7 April)</li> <li>• World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day (8 May)</li> <li>• Victory in Europe Day (9 May)</li> <li>• Victory in Yugoslavia Day (15 May)</li> <li>• Maršal Tito's Birthday – the Youth Day (25 May)</li> <li>• Human Rights Day (10 December)</li> <li>• Day of the Yugoslav People's Army (22 December)</li> </ul>



## Religious holidays

For members of the Orthodox Church: the day before Christmass, Christmass (two days), Epiphany, St Sava, Good Friday, Easter (the second day), St. George's Day, Ascension Day, Saints Cyril and Meethodius, Pentecost (the second day), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven, St. Nicholas

For members of the Roman Catholic Church: Christmass (two days), New Year's Day, Epiphany (Biblical Magi), Saint Joseph, The Feast of the Ascension, Easter (the second day), The Feast of Corpus Christi, Saint Peter and Paul, Saints Cyril and Meethodius, The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven, All Saints' Day, The Immaculate Conception

For members of the Evangelical Church: Christmass, Good Friday, Ascension Day, Reformation Day

For Muslims: Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, Mawlid, Muharram

For the Jewish: Pesach (the first two and the last two days), Rosh Hashanah (two days), Yom Kippur (a day and a half), Shavuot (two days)

Individual decisions of the party and government bodies regarding which holidays can be celebrated and how (1945–1950)

All Saints' Day – the republic holiday in Slovenia (1 November)

Table 2. Legal regulation of the Yugoslav media space

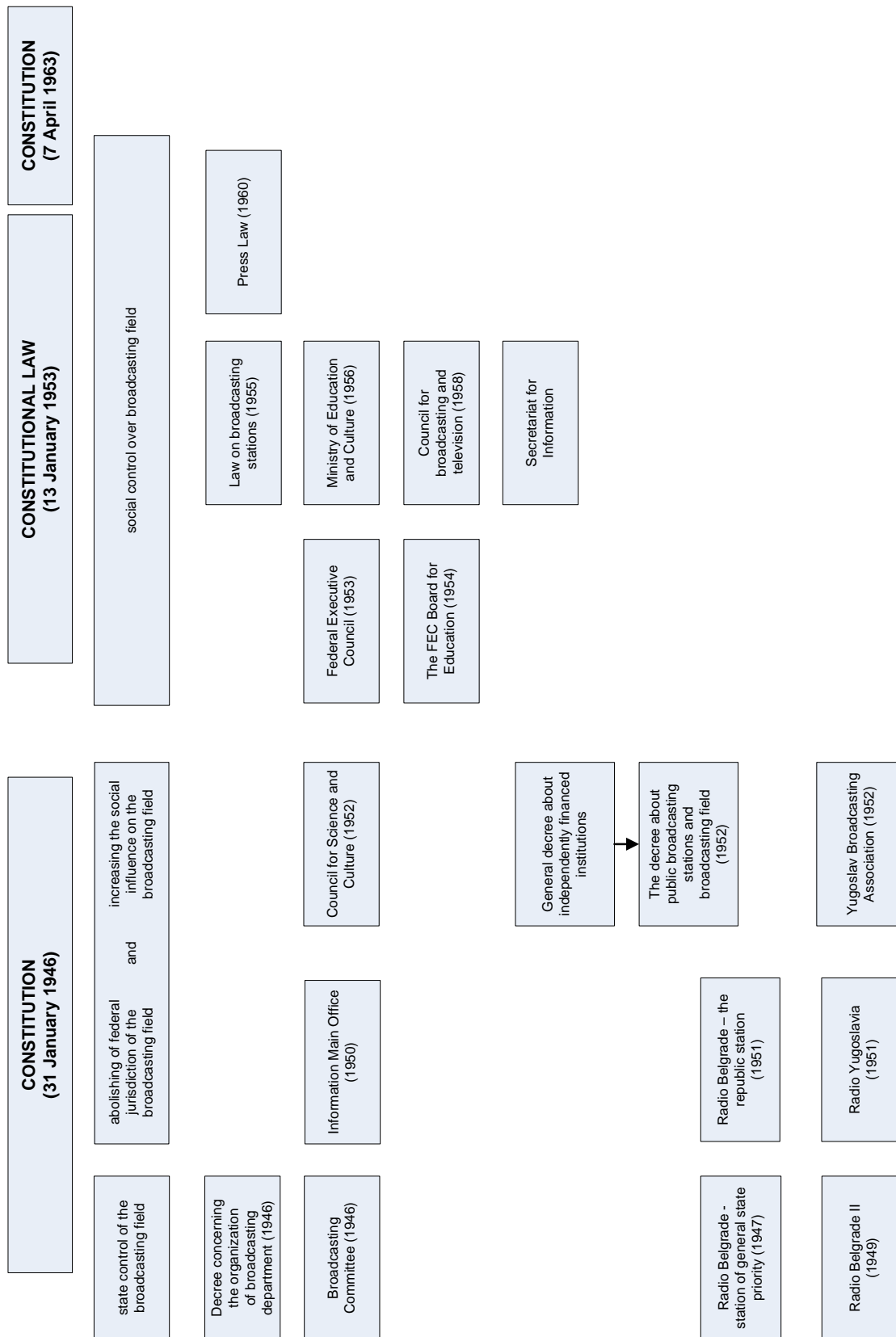


Table 3. Two constelations of influences on the Radio Belgrade musical programme.

The Manichean worldview	1953–1955	The balancing of the worldview
State control over the broadcasting field.	1953	Social control over the broadcasting field.
- ‘Battle against the remnants of the past, against the ideological influence of burgeoisie, against decadent art and culture and for the Marxist-Leninist foundation of culture, for the new socialist culture’ (prior to 1948/49). - Battle for the building of socialism with our own resources, spreading knowledge and culture, daily explanations of foreign politics (after 1948/49).	1953	‘One of the best instruments of cultural and all other kinds of rapprochement between the Yugoslav peoples’.
Radio Belgrade as the ‘station of the state priority’.	(1951)→ 1953	Radio Belgrade as the republic radio station within the Yugoslav Broadcasting Association.
The demand for the qualitative and quantitative development of Radio Belgrade.	1955	Modern and contemporary radio which ‘by its characteristics and complex functions becomes the radio of our time in the full sense of the word’.

Table 4. The Radio Belgrade musical holiday behaviour on Tito's Birthday (1946 and 1947) and the Republic Day (1947)

	Tito's Birthday (1946)	Tito's Birthday (1947)	Republic Day (1947)
Total programme	725'	635'	720'
Total music within the programme	405' (~56%)	535 (~84%)	520 (~72%)
Yugoslav repertoire	~185' (~26%)	~120 (~31%)	340' (~47%)
Marches, partisan songs, battle songs	30'	15'	30'
Folk songs and dances	~95'	105'	150'
Art music of different genres	~60'	/	160'
Slavic repertoire	195' (~27%)	190' (30%)	60'
Folk songs and dances	75	within solemn concerts	/
Art music of different genres	90'	145'	15'
Light music	30'	30'	45'
Mixed Yugoslav/Slavic repertoire on solemn concerts	/	225'	/
Not specified repertoire	55'	/	/
Other repertoire	/	/	120'

Table 5. The Radio Belgrade musical holiday behaviour on the Republic Day (1950) and on Tito's Birthday (1951 and 1955)

	Republic Day (1950)	Tito's Birthday (1951)	Tito's Birthday (1955)
Total programme	1080'	1080'	1110'
Total music within the programme	735' (~67%)	640' (~59%)	715' (~64%)
Total holiday music within the musical programme	345' (~47%)	480' (~75%)	325' (~29%)
Marches, partisan songs, battle songs, songs about Tito	60'	105'	35'
Yugoslav folk songs and dances	68'	90'	110'
Yugoslav art music of different genres	220'	200'	65'
Yugoslav performers	/	30'	60'
Beethoven's music	40'	55'	55'
Other repertoire	330'	160'	390'

Table 6. The Radio Belgrade celebratory musical programme on the Uprising Day in Slovenia (22 July 1951)

- ‘Works by Slovenian composers inspired by the War of National Liberation’: songs by Marjan Kozina (Anica Čepe and Aleksej Butakov) and symphonic poem *Gozdovi pojejo* (‘Forests sing’) by Blaž Arnič (Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra).
- ‘Partisan songs by Karol Pahor’ (Radio Octet)
- ‘Slovenian folk songs and dances’ (soloists and ensembles of Radio Belgrade)
- Art music written by Slovenian composers and/or performed by Slovenian performers
  1. two premieres within the ‘Sunday symphonic concert’ – Lucijan Marija Škerjanc: *Gazele* (‘Gazelles’), suite for orchestra (the Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Bogo Leskovic), and Marijan Lipovšek: *Orglar* (‘Organ’) player cantata for soloists, choir and orchestra (Nada Vidmar, Elza Karlovic, Rudolf Frincl, Frederik Lupša, Choir and Symphony Orchestra of the Slovenian Philharmonics).
  2. ‘Marjan Lipovšek plays on the piano the works by Slovenian composers’
  3. ‘Concert of Slovenian artists’

Total programme: 1110’

Total musical programme: 585’ (~53%)

Total holiday music within the musical programme 180’ (~30%)

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<sup>1</sup> Nataša Milićević. 'Stvaranje nove tradicije: praznici i proslave u Srbiji 1944–1950'. *Tokovi istorije* 8/4 (2007), 170.

<sup>2</sup> Eric Hobsbawm. 'Introduction: Inventing traditions', in *The invention of tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf.: Senka Kovač. *Sretenje: Novi državni praznik u javnom diskursu* (Beograd: Srpski genealoški centar, 2011), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Since in 1945 the view prevailed that 'it was still not the time to pass a new law or any kind of a general decree concerning holidays' because the relationship between the state and religious communities was not defined (cf.: Milićević, 'Stvaranje nove tradicije', 176), the establishing of the new holiday calendar was realised through individual decisions. The first comprehensive law concerning state holidays was passed in 1955. By that time, the extremely delicate problematics of celebrating religious holidays was resolved. In spite of the overt atheist programme of the Communist Party and very cautious attitude of the government toward this matter, during five years after the liberation – within the process of the 'repudiation of ritual' in the Burkeian sense – the gradual reducing of the number of religious holidays and their dechristianization took place. Cf.: Radmila Radić. *Verom protiv vere. Država i verske zajednice u Srbiji 1945–1953* (Beograd: INIS, 1995), 188–91; Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin. 'O dekristijanizaciji narodne kulture'. *Etnološka tribina* 20/13 (1990), 11.

<sup>5</sup> After the short trial broadcast during the summer of 1958, on 29 November the Joint Programme of the Yugoslav Television was set in motion. However, since during the next several years television was fairly inaccessible and the television set was regarded a status symbol, the real television era started only in 1965. Cf.: Predrag J. Marković. *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada: 1948–1965* (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1996), 491.

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<sup>6</sup> Mihailo Vukdragović. 'Muzika i radio'. *Radio: ilustrovani časopis sa redovnim programom radio-stanice na srednjim i kratkim talasima* 1/1 (1945), 10.

<sup>7</sup> The power of the symbolism connected with this date is reflected in the fact that it was celebrated even after Tito's death, until 1988.

<sup>8</sup> Jelena Đorđević. *Političke svetkovine i rituali* (Beograd: Dosije, Signature, 1997), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Đorđević. *Političke svetkovine*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Đorđević. *Političke svetkovine*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Bojan Jovanović. 'Praznična antiteza slavljenja postojećeg', *Kultura* 18/73-74-75 (1986), 69–70.

<sup>12</sup> At the beginning the radio broadcasts of the solemn academies and celebrations were accesible only to the population in Serbia. It was only in the middle of the 1950s that the programme exchange of transmissions among the Yugoslav radio stations was technically enabled.

<sup>13</sup> Jelena Đorđević. 'Mnoštvo lica svetkovine', *Kultura* 18/73-74-75 (1986), 11.

<sup>14</sup> Đorđević. *Političke svetkovine*, 162.

<sup>15</sup> Although Radio Belgrade was officially established as a Republic radio station in 1951, this transformation materialised itself in this station's programme only from the middle of 1953.

<sup>16</sup> My basis for the characterisations concerning the overall Radio Belgrade music programme during the period indicated in the title of this essay is my earlier research ('Institutional and ideological aspects of the Radio Belgrade music programme, 1944–1963') which is currently in prepress. However, all conclusions about the programme should be taken with reservation because rather often – especially in the first postwar years – the broadcasted programme differed from the programme announced in the press.

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<sup>17</sup> Cf.: Marković. *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada*, 107–122.

<sup>18</sup> Veljko Korać. ‘O potrebi kritike programa naših radio stanica’. *Radio. Časopis Komiteta za radio-difuziju Vlade FNRJ* 1 (1948), 13–4.

<sup>19</sup> Korać. ‘O potrebi kritike’, 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Radio Beograd: ilustrovani časopis sa redovnim programom radio-stanice na srednjim i kratkim talasima* 1/1 (1945), 9.

<sup>21</sup> The Committee influenced both the program of Radio Belgrade and the republic stations. Although in the first days of the state control of the radio the focus of the Committee’s work was on the technical aspects of the radio network, the programme aspects were not neglected. The Music Council was, after all, the first organ which was in charge of the developing and advancing the music programme of Yugoslav radio stations. Needless to say that some of the most prominent composers of the ‘revolutionary music’ were members of this Council Cf.: ‘Za unapređenje jugoslovenske radiofonije’. *Radio Beograd: ilustrovani časopis sa redovnim programom radio-stanice na srednjim i kratkim talasima* 2/30 (1946), 5; Ljubomir Kocić and Ljubinko Miljković. ‘Tragovima sazvučja muzike’, 113–4.

<sup>22</sup> Cf.: Rože Kajoa. ‘Teorija praznika’, transl. Jasenka Tomašević. *Kultura* 18/73-74-75 (1986), 36.

<sup>23</sup> Here, as well as in other presented programmes, some of the music contents which I interpret as celebratory might have belonged to the regularly broadcasted shows. However, since the programme schemes began to be long-term planned only from the middle of the 1950, it is practically impossible to make these nuanced differences.

<sup>24</sup> Cf.: Marković. *Beograd između Istoka i Zapada*, 122–36.

<sup>25</sup> Interestingly enough, this critique came from the director of Radio Belgrade. Cf.: ‘Problemi i zadaci našeg radija’. *Radio. Časopis Komiteta za radio-difuziju Vlade FNRJ* 3/3 (1949), 9.

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<sup>26</sup> This reorientation was announced in the magazine of the Radio Belgrade around the middle of 1950; cf.: ‘Časopis “Radio Beograd” u novom izdanju’. *Radio Beograd* 6/83 (1950), 2. From that moment on it was visible in the Radio Belgrade programme, in the contents of the magazine as well as in collaboration with other radio stations. More prominent state-wide orientation of the Radio Belgrade programme was preceded and in fact enabled by the establishing of the Radio Belgrade II – the station of the People’s Republic of Serbia.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Razvitak našeg radija i slušaoci’. *Jugoslavenski radio* 1/3 (1953), 2.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Razvitak našeg radija’, 2.

<sup>29</sup> The lacuna which consequently originated in a specifically Yugoslav media space was filled with the foundation of the Radio Yugoslavia (1951) and the establishing of the association of the republic radio stations named the Yugoslav Broadcasting Association (1952). Since the Radio Yugoslavia broadcasted the programme for the audiences abroad in several different languages, it could never occupy the same place as the Radio Belgrade. This accounts for a certain fragmentation of the Yugoslav media space and the diminishing of the Yugoslav traits of the programmes transmitted by the republic radio stations, especially in their cultural and music part. The problem was solved by the establishing of the programme of the Yugoslav Broadcasting Association in the end of 1956, when technical prerequisites enabled the networking of Yugoslav radio stations and the realization of the Joint Programme of the Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo radio stations. The next step in the same direction was setting in motion of the Joint Programme of the Yugoslav Television on 29 November 1958.

<sup>30</sup> Milan Bulatović, ‘Do celovitog sistema pet programa’, in *Ovde Radio Beograd*, ed. Milan Bulatović et al. (Beograd: Radio Beograd, 1979), 41.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. N. V. 'Radio i naša kulturna politika. Jedna anketa provedena među slušaocima', *Jugoslovenski radio* 4/31 (1956), 6; Ivan Rupnik. 'Problemi muzičkog programa Radio Beograda', *Jugoslavenski radio* 3/2 (1955), 3.

<sup>32</sup> According to Vlastimir Peričić, Kostić's cantata was premiered on 5 February 1962. Cf.: Vlastimir Peričić, *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* (Beograd: Prosveta, [1969]), 202.

<sup>33</sup> From 1957 the celebration was also extended so that it lasted several days (sometimes even the whole week). Radio Belgrade contributed to this practice by broadcasting the compositions dedicated to Tito in the days precedeing the official day of the celebration.

<sup>34</sup> Jovanović. 'Praznična antiteza', 69.