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**Bijelo dugme Concert in Hajdučka česma in Belgrade (1977):
Social Event of the Utmost Importance
and Recognition of a Unique Phenomenon***

Abstract: This paper shows how the concert at Hajdučka česma established Bijelo dugme as a unique Yugoslav phenomenon. The event is presented in analogy with Beatlemania and mass gatherings of the hippies in the West. Based on research, the paper proves the soundness of the analogy. The study is written on the basis of archival documentation available at the Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije – AY), the Historical Archives of Belgrade (HAB), Yugoslav press (daily, youth, party, political, music, entertainment), interviews with contemporaries, Serbian, Yugoslav and foreign scholars and other literature.

Key words: Bijelo dugme, Concert at Hajdučka česma, League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, rock and roll, phenomenon

In the mid-sixties of the 20th century and especially after the Belgrade Guitar Festival in 1966 (*Gitarijada*), rock and roll was accepted as the music of the Yugoslav youth. By then, the idea that rock and roll cul-

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ture did not interfere with the socialist ideology and could be used for the benefit of Yugoslav society has been generally accepted among the Communist party authorities and the Socialist youth organization. The rise of a political hippie movement in the West which promoted Neo-Marxism, pacifism, anti-imperialism and decolonization, further confirmed the link between Yugoslav socialism and rock and roll.¹

On the one hand, the Yugoslav rock and roll bands were building their careers, partly but importantly, by refreshing the memory of the Yugoslav socialist revolution in a rock mode. During the seventies, the integration of rock and roll into the Yugoslav social system, which played a role in the suppression of ethnic, cultural and social differences among the youth, was so explicit that the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije), whose program was based on the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, imposed on the Musical Youth of Yugoslavia (Jeunesses Musicales Yougoslavie) to introduce rock and roll as an extracurricular activity in music education of Yugoslav youth.² Thus, it happened that Yugoslav rock and roll of the seventies, perceived as an unusual social phenomenon, became mainstream culture on the whole territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the eighties.

On the other hand, the leaders of the hippies Gerome Ragni (co-author of the musical *Hair*) and John Lennon expressed their respect for the freedoms in the Yugoslav society and socialist self-management. During his stay in Belgrade in 1969 at the performance of *Hair* at Atelje 212, Ragni said for *Borba* daily: "Everyone here [in Belgrade] is so positive, kind, and beautiful. Everything seems to be about eating, drinking and singing. I see nothing of those issues that 'Hair' deals with. No wastelands and no need for young Yugoslavs to seek refuge in drugs".³ In 1971, John Lennon said for the Zagreb weekly *Vjesnik u srijedu*: "I do not belong to

1 Aleksandar Raković, *Rokenrol u Jugoslaviji 1956–1968: izazov socijalističkom društvu*, (Beograd, 2011) [*Rock and Roll in Yugoslavia 1956–1968: A Challenge to the Socialist Society*, (Belgrade, 2011)], 463–523, 533–566. See also: Zoran Janjetović, *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, (Beograd, 2011) [*From the „International“ to the Commercial: Popular Culture in Yugoslavia 1945–1991*, (Belgrade, 2011)]; Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam: amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina 20. veka*, (Beograd, 2012) [*Coca-Cola Socialism: Americanisation of Yugoslav Popular Culture of the Sixties of the 20 Century*, (Belgrade, 2012)].

2 Aleksandar Raković, „Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije i Muzička omladina Jugoslavije u sporu oko rokenrola (1971–1981)“, *Tokovi istorije* [“League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and the Jeunesses Musicales Yougoslavie in Dispute on Rock and Roll (1971–1981)”, *Currents of History*] 3/2012, 159–189.

3 “Jedan trenutak sa Džeromom Regnijem i Džemsom Radom”, [“A Moment with Gerome Ragni and James Rado”], *Borba*, June 22, 1969.

the communist or any other party, but all my sympathies are on the side of communism. I believe in communism as a system of the future of humanity. Of course, I believe in a real communism (...) the one that you, Yugoslavs, are trying to create".⁴

Heterogeneous Yugoslav rock and roll scene has produced a multitude of long-haired bands two of which had a leading role in the seventies: Kornji grupa from Belgrade (1970–1974) and Bijelo dugme from Sarajevo (1974–1978). Both bands were socially engaged and included socialist motives in their work. Kornji grupa never acquired the status of a unique Yugoslav phenomenon although it was the leading band of a Yugoslav rock and roll phenomenon in that period. Their music was perceived as too complicated,⁵ and the band was also aware of the fact that in the pursuit of perfection they become unlistenable for that part of the audience who wanted to listen to a simpler music.⁶

In contrast, Bijelo dugme merged rock and roll and Yugoslav folk music. In the seventies, Bijelo dugme (trans. White Button) was in a hard rock, hippie and glam mode. Their studio albums, "Kad bi' bio Bijelo dugme" (1974), "Šta bi da si na mom mjestu" (1975), "Eto! Baš hoću!" (1976) and "Bitanga i Princeza" (1979) reached hundreds of thousands of copies. Bregović boasted that that Bijelo dugme had sold as many records as there were gramophones in Yugoslavia.⁷ In 1976 Sergije Lukač wrote for Belgrade political weekly *NIN* that Bijelo dugme won over the youth by "newly composed folk songs plugged into the highest voltage" as well as "business people of Yugoslav shows and managers of disco-houses", and in one year they sold 600,000 records and held 200 concerts.⁸ In 1975, Bijelo dugme held over a hundred concerts day after day.⁹

4 "Bitlsovski san bila je puka laž" ["The Beatle Dream Was a Mere Lie"], *Vjesnik u srijedu*, August 4, 1971. About Lennon and Yugoslav socialism see in detail: Aleksandar Raković, „Džon Lenon, levičarski aktivizam i jugoslovenski socijalizam“, *Tokovi istorije* ["John Lennon, Leftist Activism and Yugoslav Socialism", *Currents of History*] 3–4/2013, 251–265.

5 "Kad se raskopča 'Bijelo dugme'" ["When Bijelo dugme Is Unbuttoned"], *Mladost*, September 16, 1977.

6 An interview of Aleksandar Raković with Bojan Hreljac, February 12, 2011.

7 Nenad Stević, *Kad bi' bio Bijelo dugme [If I Were Bijelo dugme]*, (Kragujevac, 2005), 39, 89; Petar Janjatović, *Ex YU rock enciklopedija 1960–2006*, (Beograd, 2007) [*Ex YU Rock Encyclopaedia 1960–2006*, (Belgrade, 2007)], 31–33; Ivan Ivačković, *Kako smo propevali: Jugoslavija i njena muzika*, (Beograd, 2013) [*How We Used to Sing: Yugoslavia and Its Music*, (Belgrade, 2013)], 129; Dušan Vesić, *Bijelo dugme: Šta bi dao da si na mom mjestu*, (Beograd, 2014) [*Bijelo dugme: What Would You Give to Be Me*, (Belgrade, 2014)], 88, 121.

8 „Bijela dugmad“, *Pro Musica* no. 84/1976, 21.

9 Amir Misirlić, *Bijelo dugme*, (Beograd, 2005), 26.

Back in that time, Bijelo dugme raised Yugoslav patriotism and a socialist attitude more than any other band. Goran Bregović and Željko Bebek said to *Džuboks* that they were the members of the League of Communists.¹⁰ In 1974, thousands of young people sang a song devoted to Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito “Druže Tito, mi ti se kunemo” with Bijelo dugme, “Yugoslav pop-group of the year”.¹¹ On New Year’s Eve of 1976 Bijelo Dugme performed very shortly for President Tito at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb.¹² The youth organization press supported the work of the members of Bijelo dugme on youth work action (voluntary youth work brigades) “Kozara 76”.¹³ Jugokonzert, the state concert agency of Yugoslavia, organized their tour in Poland in April 1977.¹⁴ Goran Bregović took part in the work of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina and asked the youth organization in 1977 to give him space for social engagement and allow him social responsibility because he could be heard by thousands of young people.¹⁵ Immediately after the concert at Hajdučka česma in Belgrade in 1977, the lead singer of Bijelo dugme Željko Bebek in the show “Vibracije” at Studio B radio station said that the band was “the most Yugoslav variant”.¹⁶ Then, in 1978 Bijelo dugme received a plaque of the Ninth Congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina for exceptional results in gathering youth.¹⁷ And so on.

In August 1975, *Mladost* weekly wrote about Bijelo dugme as “an exceptional phenomenon”.¹⁸ This phenomenon was perceived but it took another two years before the extraordinary event that fully recognized Bijelo dugme as a unique Yugoslav social phenomenon. Therefore, the concert at Hajdučka česma in Belgrade (August 28, 1977) made Bijelo dugme a unique phenomenon within already recognized phenomenon of Yugoslav rock and roll culture. Their Yugoslav patriotism was desirable and

10 „Hit 74 – super-spektakl muzičkih super-starova” [“Hit 74 – Super Spectacle of Musical Super Stars”], *Džuboks*, January 1, 1975.

11 “Praznik naše pop-muzike” [“Holiday of Our Pop Music”], *Mladost*, November 28, 1974.

12 Vesić, *op. cit.*, 95.

13 “Zvuci našeg podneblja” [“The Sounds of Our Country”], *Naši dani*, June 15, 1978.

14 Vesić, *op. cit.*, 128.

15 “Dobili smo ludu, generacijsku borbu” [“We Got a Crazy, Generation Conflict”], *Mladost*, February 11, 1977.

16 “Bijelo dugme in Studio B”, *Džuboks*, October 1977.

17 “Za izuzetne rezultate plaketa” [“Plaque for Exceptional Results”], *Naši dani*, June 23, 1978.

18 “Šta bi dao da si na mom mjestu?” [“What Would You Give to Be Me?”], *Mladost*, August 1, 1975.

well received. However, the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme was so strong that some within the youth organization intended to relativize it because it could threaten the “social ideals”. The phenomenon was known as Dugmemania (Button mania): the intense fan frenzy, hundreds of thousands records sold, tens of thousands young Yugoslavs attended their concerts, many of them interested in representation of Yugoslav patriotism provided by band members. Bijelo dugme combined a Yugoslav version of Beatlemania (in terms of popularity and number of followers) and “Woodstock Nation” (in terms of musical expression, physical expression and number of followers, but not as a counter-culture) and it could not get by without a corrective – phenomenon YES, but idealization and idolatry NO.

Introduction to the Theme of the Concert at Hajdučka česma

In the first half of 1977, the biggest Yugoslav rock and roll band Bijelo dugme was at a turning point. Ipe Ivandić (drummer), Zoran Redžić (bass player) and Vlado Pravdić (keyboard player) began their military service in 1976. The relations between two remaining members Goran Bregović (guitarist) and Željko Bebek (singer) became tense and they cancelled the Yugoslav tour in the summer of 1977 which was supposed to engage three new members. Their relations were so bad that the spirit of break-up could be felt hovering above the band.¹⁹

According to Goran Bregović, their conflict was not caused by the growing glory; it was rather discontent over the absence of three old friends. However, after the return of Ipe Ivandić and Zoran Redžić, and the arrival of a new keyboard player Lazar Ristovski, Bijelo dugme decided to hold a concert at Hajdučka česma in Belgrade, overcome personal pride and return to the path of success.²⁰ Radio DJ and journalist Slobodan Konjović wrote that Bijelo dugme needed an incentive to regain confidence and avoid an immediate break-up.²¹ Konjović underlined that the concert at Hajdučka česma gave them the needed incentive and gave credit to the rock and roll journalist and critic Petar Peca Popović.²² It was Popović who suggested Bijelo dugme should play in the open air at Hajdučka česma (trans. Brigand’s Fountain),²³ a location around a small spring in the woods at the foot of the Košutnjak hill.

19 “Sukob nas je opametio” [“The Conflict Made Us Wiser”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 13, 1977.

20 Ibid.

21 “Više od koncerta” [“More than a Concert”], *Politika*, August 30, 1977.

22 “Samopotvrda jednog mita” [“Self-Confirmation of a Myth”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

23 Vesić, *op. cit.*, 140.

Bregović explained for *Politika ekspres* that the “farewell” reference to the concert at Hajdučka česma was only temporarily because he was starting military service, and the farewell was for a year. Despite the fact that the crisis in the band was publicly known and frequently written about, Bregović had a need to emphasize: “There is no reason for the break-up when we are at the top. We have reached the peak of technical possibilities, sounding better than ever”.²⁴ Beside Belgrade, the farewell concerts were supposed to be held in Goražde, Višegrad, Borike, and Sarajevo.²⁵

The concert at Hajdučka česma in Belgrade was written about and analysed by daily newspapers: *Politika*, *Večernje novosti* and *Politika ekspres*, weekly of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia *Mladost*, political weekly *NIN*, music magazine *Džuboks*, entertainment magazine *Ilustrovana politika* – the press published in Belgrade, whereas the weekly of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Serbia *Komunist* and the daily newspaper of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia *Borba* wrote nothing about the concert at Hajdučka česma probably because it was not deemed to be serious enough for their readers. The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Jugoslavije) was the largest socio-political organization in Yugoslavia, established within the agenda of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for better promotion of self-managed socialism within “the widest masses of the working class people and civic society in spite of their specific ideological beliefs”.²⁶

Zagreb daily *Večernji list* and Sarajevo daily *Oslobođenje* did not say a word about the concert at Hajdučka česma. Instead of writing at least something about the event, *Večernji List* wrote that Bijelo dugme acted “inappropriately” towards the Zagreb audience because “at five minutes to twelve” it cancelled the concert in “the capital of the Socialist Republic of Croatia” scheduled for August 25, 1977: “Once role models for a professional approach to music, which they were, and which, after all, made them famous, just tarnished their name once more”.²⁷

Weeks after, the concert at Hajdučka česma was not mentioned in the journals of the League of Socialist Youth in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Polet* and *Naši dani*. They might have ignored it, especially

24 „Dugmići’ čvrsto ušiveni” [“Dugmići – Sewed on Well”], *Politika ekspres*, August 28, 1977.

25 Ibid.

26 Radoš Smiljković, *Društveno-političke organizacije u SFRJ*, (Beograd, 1979) [*Socio-Political Organizations in SFRY*, (Belgrade, 1979)], 267–268.

27 „Bijelo dugme Suddenlly Cancelled Concert in Zagreb, Infamously for the End”, *Večernji list*, August 29, 1977.

in Zagreb, because they were dissatisfied with Bijelo dugme. However, the reason might have also been the fact that the audience did not expect the concert at Hajdučka česma to turn into an extraordinary event and therefore, the editors of some papers outside the Yugoslav capital did not send their reporters or correspondents to report on the concert at Hajdučka česma.

The Course of the Concert at Hajdučka česma

The organizers of the concert at Hajdučka česma were the Tourist Organization of Belgrade and the Tourist Organization of Sarajevo. The concert was advertised in the media and *Politika* wrote about “the giant power of propaganda machine”. On the day of the concert a plane was flying over Belgrade pulling a banner “Bijelo dugme”.²⁸ Concert organizers were given permission to throw leaflets from airplanes,²⁹ and 20,000 to 30,000 people were expected to come.³⁰ Goran Bregović said that Bijelo Dugme expected about 50,000 visitors.³¹ Entrance to the concert was free, and the organizers invested more than 300,000 dinars (30 million old dinars),³² or about 38,000 West German marks.³³ According to the currency exchange in 1977 (1 US dollar = 18.45 Yugoslav dinars),³⁴ the organizers’ expenses were more than 16,260 US dollars. There was no revenue.

Early in the morning, while the technical staff was preparing the stage and sound equipment for the concert of Bijelo dugme, the first visitors started arriving and spreading mattresses and blankets by the stage to occupy the best positions. In the afternoon hours, Belgrade Transportation Company (Gradsko saobraćajno preduzeće, GSP) introduced fourteen additional buses, eight additional trams and

28 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

29 “Sukob nas je opametio” [“The Conflict Made Us Wiser”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 13, 1977.

30 “Više od koncerta” [“More than a Concert”], *Politika*, August 30, 1977.

31 “Sukob nas je opametio” [“The Dispute Made Us Wiser”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 13, 1977.

32 Ibid.

33 Vesić, *op. cit.*, 140.

34 About the exchange rate of the Yugoslav dinar see: Biljana Stojanović, “Exchange Rate Regimes of the Dinar 1945–1990: An Assessment of Appropriateness and Efficiency”, *Workshops No. 13: Proceedings of the Österreichische Nationalbank Workshops*, (Vienna, 2008), 222.

twelve minibuses to enable the audience from the city centre to reach Hajdučka česma in the suburb of Topčider.³⁵ The police (*milicija*), military police and brigade were in charge of the security at the concert at Hajdučka česma.³⁶

The support bands chosen by Bijelo dugme were: Leb i Sol from Skopje, Korak from Sarajevo, Zebra (which did not perform) and Zdravo from Belgrade, and as well Belgrade musician Slađana Milošević.³⁷ Belgrade band Tako also performed.³⁸ The presenter at the concert was Ljubomir Žakula.³⁹ Support bands started playing at 5 p.m.⁴⁰ The first to perform was Leb i Sol and Radio Belgrade reported that there was about 30,000 people at that moment. The bands played one after another, and the last one was Slađana Milošević whose performance was interrupted by the arrival of Bijelo dugme.⁴¹

As the support bands were playing, the number of visitors was changing by the minute.⁴² In addition to the crowded public transportation and private cars, the river of visitors flowed toward Topčider: “The valley at Hajdučka česma was turning into a boiling cauldron”. When there was no more space, the visitors started climbing the trees.⁴³ The crowd was so great that it blocked the rails in Topčider and temporarily blocked the rail traffic.⁴⁴ The program was occasionally interrupted with information about children, fifty of them, that were lost at the concert and should wait for their parents at the stage.⁴⁵

35 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

36 “Organizatori bez sluha!” [“Organizers Have No Ear for Music”], *Večernje novosti*, August 29, 1977.

37 „Dugmići’ čvrsto ušiveni” [“Dugmići Sewed On Well”], *Politika ekspres*, August 29, 1977.

38 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

39 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

40 “Više od koncerta” [“More than A Concert”], *Politika*, August 30, 1977.

41 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

42 Ibid.

43 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

44 „Dugme’ okupilo 70.000 ljudi” [“70,000 People Gathered to Hear Dugme”], *Politika ekspres*, August 29, 1977.

45 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977; “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

At 8 p.m. when Bijelo dugme came out at the stage “the crowd went hysterical”.⁴⁶ Several girls were taken backstage in a state of shock. Girls in the audience were shaking and crying.⁴⁷ The police back-up arrived to maintain order.⁴⁸ The soldiers could be seen asking military police officers to extend their permissions until midnight and handing them papers with permission from the cheering crowd.⁴⁹ *Politika ekspres* reported: “Those moments, however, can hardly be described in words. The screams of weaker sex seemed to prevail over the noise made by boys. The pieces of clothes flew, the audience swayed like stalks of grain. Police cordons, barely managed to keep seventy thousand young people who were trying to break through to the stage itself. The performance was interrupted more than once, the organizers tried in vain to reason with boys and girls, security guards intervened, but the hysteria already peaked”.⁵⁰ Radovan Raka Marić, the associate of Bijelo dugme, said for *Ilustrovana politika* that he feared “that everything would crush and that everybody would go after them”.⁵¹ Duško Pavlović, Bregović’s friend, testified that Bebek asked the audience not to tear down the stage and the audience calmed down.⁵²

The influence of Bijelo dugme was best illustrated by the following fact. Neither police nor military police could calm the audience. But when Željko Bebek addressed the audience, saying: “Now let us all sit down. We will also sit down”, according to *Politika* it had immediate effect: “He sat on the stage. A few seconds of uncomfortable silence followed. Then a murmur rushed through seventy thousand visitors, and each one of them tried to sit”.⁵³ Bijelo dugme finished the concert at 10 p.m. and the band sat in a car that was supposed to make its way through the crowd. However, the fans of Bijelo dugme raised the car, and accord-

46 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

47 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays Music”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

48 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo Dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

49 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

50 „Dugme’ okupilo 70.000 ljudi” [“70,000 People Gathered to Hear Dugme”], *Politika ekspres*, August 29, 1977.

51 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

52 Duško Pavlović, *Bijelo dugme*, (Gornji Milanovac, 1980), 65.

53 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

ing to *Ilustrovana politika*, carried it along “three hundred meters”.⁵⁴ The crowd around Hajdučka česma lasted until midnight.⁵⁵

Only five incidents were recorded which was rather a symbolic number when one bore in mind the fact that it was the most massive gathering of young people.⁵⁶ Slobodan Konjović wrote for *Politika* that the technical organization of the concert and location were inadequate and that it was pure luck that major incidents were avoided.⁵⁷ In contrast, a famous journalist Bogdan Tirnanić wrote for *NIN* that he felt safe in the crowd, much safer than at a football match or in a city bus.⁵⁸

Mladost wrote that the concert at Hajdučka česma was attended by over 70,000,⁵⁹ and possibly as many as 100,000 people.⁶⁰ Mladen Zvonarević, a social psychologist from Zagreb, in the paper “Pop music – Alienation and De-alienation”, written for the Tenth Yugoslav Colloquium on Leisure Time (*Deseti jugoslavenski kolokvij o slobodnom vremenu*, January 31– February 3, 1979) and for the purposes of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, stated that the concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma gathered “about a hundred thousand people, mostly young”.⁶¹

Goran Bregović stated that there were 70,000 people.⁶² Music magazine *Džuboks* also estimated that there were more than 70,000 people and probably about 100,000 which, according to them, was more than on all Yugoslav festivals put together in the past ten years.⁶³ *Ilustrovana politika* reported that the performance of Bijelo dugme was attended by between 70,000 and 100,000 visitors.⁶⁴ *Večernje novosti* which had four

54 Ibid.

55 „Dugme’ okupilo 70.000 ljudi” [“70,000 People Gathered To Hear Dugme”], *Politika ekspres*, August 29, 1977.

56 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

57 “Više od koncerta” [“More Than a Concert”], *Politika*, August 30, 1977.

58 “Koncert kod Hajdučke česme” [“Concert at Hajdučka česma”], *NIN*, September 4, 1977.

59 “Na 11.000 vati” [“At 11,000 Volts”], *Mladost*, September 2, 1977.

60 “Kad se raskopča ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“When Bijelo dugme Is Unbuttoned”], *Mladost*, September 16, 1977.

61 AY, Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije, [The League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia], Fond 114, Fascicle 130.

62 „Sukob nas je opametio” [“The Conflict Make Us Wiser”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 13, 1977.

63 „Koncert kod Hajdučke česme je veliki korak za Bijelo dugme, ali još veći za domaću rock muziku” [“The Concert at Hajdučka česma Is a Giant Step for Bijelo dugme, but an Even More Giant Step for Domestic Rock Music”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

64 “Tako ti je mala moja kad svira Bosanac” [“That’s How It Is, Baby, When a Bosnian Plays”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 6, 1977.

reporters at Hajdučka česma announced that the concert was attended by 80,000 fans.⁶⁵ *Politika* reported that the concert at Hajdučka česma was seen by “more than seventy thousand young people”.⁶⁶ *Politika ekspres* also reported that the concert at Hajdučka česma was attended by more than 70,000 young people.⁶⁷

On the other hand, Bogdan Tirnanić, who was at Hajdučka česma with a TV Belgrade crew, wrote for *NIN* that there were about 40,000 young people at the concert.⁶⁸ Immediately after the end of the concert, Slobodan Konjović said for “Vibracije” at the radio station Studio B that there were about 50,000 people.⁶⁹

It was hard to tell the exact number of the people who attended the concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma. Belgrade daily newspapers experienced in covering the football matches and mass gatherings, evaluated that the number of visitors of the concert at Hajdučka česma amounted to more than 70,000 people. However, the press and documentation of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia reported that the concert at Hajdučka Česma was attended by approximately 100,000 visitors.

Interpretation of the Success of the Concert at Hajdučka česma and the Phenomenon of Bijelo dugme

After the concert at Hajdučka česma, the public underlined the already observed phenomenon of Bijelo dugme, but now fully recognized and better interpreted. In the title of a report about the event at Hajdučka česma, *Politika* stressed: “The phenomenon called Bijelo dugme”.⁷⁰ In *Džuboks* Slobodan Konjović referred to the fans of Bijelo dugme as a “movement”, and Bijelo dugme as “a national phenomenon”. It was also written that radio, television, film and press “suddenly realized the essential power of a rock ritual”.⁷¹ Marko Lopušina wrote for *Mladost* that the

65 „Dugme’ ostaje i postaje veće” [“Dugme Is not Disbanding It Is Becomes Bigger”], *Večernje novosti*, August 29, 1977.

66 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

67 „Dugme’ okupilo 70.000 ljudi” [“70,000 Gathered to Hear Dugme”], *Politika ekspres*, August 29, 1977.

68 “Koncert kod Hajdučke česme” [“Concert at Hajdučka česma”], *NIN*, September 4, 1977.

69 “Bijelo dugme u Studiju B” [“Bijelo dugme in Studio B”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

70 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bijelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

71 “Samopotvrda jednog mita” [“Self-Confirmation of a Myth”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma and a forty-day tour of Kragujevac band Smak confirmed “the final triumph of the quality of Yugoslav rock style”, which was “the phenomenon of youth culture”. Lopušina emphasized that after the concert at Hajdučka česma Yugoslav rock and roll received important recognition because the media comments regarding the event were serious.⁷²

The phenomenon of Bijelo dugme, but also the phenomenon of the Yugoslav rock and roll, could also be seen in the fact that the director Mića Milošević recorded inserts for the film “Nije nego” at the concert at Hajdučka česma. A famous Yugoslav director Jovan Ristić Rica was filming at the same place.⁷³ Aleksandar Tijanić, influential journalist, wrote that Bijelo dugme gave Belgrade bands a lesson and reduced Belgrade to a “music periphery”.⁷⁴ Zlatko Daniš, pop-music editor at Radio Sarajevo, said that the departure of “extraordinary” Belgrade band Kornij grupa from the scene, whose powerful music was hardly acceptable by the audience, and the departure of Zagreb band Time, opened the space for the dominance of Bijelo dugme which was finally established in the concert at Hajdučka česma.⁷⁵

Bogdan Tirnanić wrote about the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme first dealing with the audience which was said to be twelve to sixteen years old and which was running away from the world of adults in a group of peers where it was easier to overcome the crisis of identity and adolescent frustration. The music of Bijelo dugme, wrote Tirnanić, had a “therapeutic effect” on adolescents because it “de-alienated” them as it was the case with the fans of rock and roll in the fifties and sixties. Tirnanić also wrote about the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme band by analyzing the music and the character of the band leaders. Tirnanić therefore stressed that the success of Bijelo dugme derived from the combination of “undoubted social vitality” of neo-folk music and rock and roll. He concluded that Goran Bregović was “the first authentic artistic personality of our rock music” and that “real success of rock music could not have happened in our society until such a person appeared”.⁷⁶

Bratimir Braća Minić wrote for *Džuboks* that the success of Bijelo dugme was also in the fact that they appeared at the moment when a new

72 “Nova dimenzija” [“New Dimension”], *Mladost*, September 16, 1977.

73 “Dugmići’ čvrsto ušiveni” [“Dugmići Well Sewed”], *Politika ekspres*, August 28, 1977.

74 “Beogradska pop pustinja” [“Pop Wasteland of Belgrade”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 1977.

75 “Kad se raskopča ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“When Bijelo dugme Unbuttons”], *Mladost*, September 16, 1977.

76 “Koncert kod Hajdučke česme” [“Concert at Hajdučka česma”], *NIN*, September 4, 1977.

generation of rock and roll audience was growing up and was younger than the band, unlike the fans of Kornij grupa, Indexi from Sarajevo and Time who were the same age as the members of these bands. Minić also said: "One massive need and massive desire found its satisfaction in Bijelo dugme. We experienced the Yugoslav version of Beatlemania – belated, but for our circumstances no less eventful! Its climax, probably, was at Hajdučka česma."⁷⁷

Slobodan Konjović wrote for *Politika* about the concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma: 'Concert' is really an outdated word in rock terminology and the only reason we still use it is our inability to find an alternative, because everything that happened this Sunday evening on the slopes of Košutnjak was beyond the academic rigidity and traditional understanding of the relationship between performer and audience implied in this term."⁷⁸

Večernje novosti reported that the concert at Hajdučka česma was a follow-up of "the earlier guitar festivals" and that the concert of Bijelo dugme was such an event "that could not be described but only heard and seen",⁷⁹ that Bijelo dugme "proved to be the best and most popular pop band of all times".⁸⁰ For *Politika*, the concert at Hajdučka česma was an event of "extreme proportions", "musical pilgrimage", "modern Kaaba", "so far the largest music gathering of young people in our country".⁸¹ The *Džuboks* poster from the concert at Hajdučka česma bore the inscription: "The Biggest Pop Event in Europe".⁸² *Džuboks* qualifications of the event might seem pretentious, but they were not.

In addition to the analogy that was drawn between the Yugoslav context of Dugmemania and Beatlemania, when it comes to the concert at Hajdučka česma there were two more analogies to be taken into account: 1) The Belgrade Guitar Festival in 1966 (*Gitarijada*); 2) Mass gatherings of the hippies at rock and roll festivals in the United States and the United Kingdom (1967–1970).

Tomislav Badovinac, then President of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia/the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, testified that the

77 „Koncert kod Hajdučke česme je veliki korak za Bijelo dugme, ali još veći za domaću rock muziku“ [“Concert at Hajdučka česma Is a Giant Step for Bijelo dugme, but an Even More Giant Step for Domestic Rock Music”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

78 “Više od koncerta” [“More than a Concert”], *Politika*, August 30, 1977.

79 “Dugme s kamatom” [“Dugme With an Interest Rate”], *Večernje novosti*, August 30, 1977.

80 „Dugme’ ostaje i postaje veće” [“Dugme Is Not Disbanding and It Is Become Bigger”], *Večernje novosti*, August 29, 1977.

81 “Fenomen zvani ‘Bijelo dugme’” [“Phenomenon Called Bjelo dugme”], *Politika*, August 29, 1977.

82 *Džuboks*, October 1977.

Belgrade Guitar Fest in January and February 1966, for which he gave his consent, was a prelude to the performance of a rock band Elipse on May 24, 1966 in Belgrade Youth Centre (Dom omladine Beograda) on the occasion of President Tito receiving the Relay of Youth (Štafeta mladosti). Badinovac underlined that the performance before Tito affirmed rock and roll as the music of Yugoslav youth.⁸³ *Mladost* announced the “identity card” of rock and roll bands, participants of the guitar festival, presenting them as exemplary youth.⁸⁴ In 1966, a sexologist Dr Aleksandar Kostić wrote for *NIN* about the “phenomenology of a guitar festival”.⁸⁵ The Belgrade Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia after the Belgrade Guitar Festival (1966), made an analysis of “The youth in contemporary social events – some of the issues and problems of Belgrade youth” in which the party admitted that the Yugoslav rock and roll bands formed a “cultural movement”.⁸⁶ Therefore, the Belgrade Guitar Festival in 1966 was a crucial moment in the history of Yugoslav society when it comes to the relationship towards the youth. Rock and roll was established as a phenomenon and observed as a movement. This phenomenon survived to the end of socialist Yugoslavia and received an upgrade by establishing Bijelo dugme as a phenomenon by itself whose audience, after the concert at Hajdučka česma, was described as a movement by Slobodan Konjević.

Therefore, I cannot agree with Bogdan Tirnanić that an “explosion” of the Yugoslav rock and roll came with Bijelo dugme because “history of our attempts in the rock sphere was the history of a long series of failures, mistakes and misunderstandings”.⁸⁷ I cannot agree with Darko Glavan and Dražen Vrdoljak that before Bijelo dugme “pop and rock music existed, but had been moving for years along the line which took it to the periphery of the mass occupation” and that “Yugoslavia discovered rock music twenty years after its appearance”.⁸⁸

83 From e-mail correspondence of Aleksandar Raković with Tomislav Badovinac, February 25–27, 2011.

84 “Slobodanka Mišćević ima pravo da svira” [“Slobodanka Mišćević, Has the Right to Play”], *Mladost*, January 26, 1966.

85 “Naši domaći ‘bitlsi’” [“Our New Beatles”], *NIN*, February 27, 1966.

86 HAB, Fond Gradski komitet Saveza komunista Srbije – Beograd, [The Belgrade Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia], Fascicle 209. - Analysis „Mladi u savremenim društvenim zbivanjima – neka pitanja i problemi omladine Beograda” [“The Youth in Contemporary Social Events – Some Questions and Problems of the Belgrade Youth”] was done on the basis of tests conducted in the spring of 1966. A memo dated on October 15, 1966 ref. no. 05-6/20.

87 “Koncert kod Hajdučke česme” [“Concert at Hajdučka česma”], *NIN*, September 4, 1977.

88 Darko Glavan, Dražen Vrdoljak, *Ništa mudro: Bijelo dugme – autorizirana biografija* [Nothing Wise: Bijelo dugme – an Authorized Biography], (Zagreb, 1981), 14.

When it comes to mass gatherings of hippies in the United States and the United Kingdom expressing countercultural attitude towards Anglo-American imperialism, let us mention the most important. The Monterey Pop Festival in California (June 16–18, 1967) gathered 200,000 people, which was a prelude to the gathering of about 100,000 hippies around San Francisco known as the “Summer of Love”. Further, the Woodstock Festival in New York State (August 15–18, 1969) gathered about 500,000 visitors⁸⁹ and at the Altamont Festival in California (December 6, 1969) about 300,000 people.⁹⁰ there were about 600,000 people (August 26–30, 1970) at the third festival on the Isle of Wight in the United Kingdom in 1970⁹¹ Let us now see a comparative table that says a lot.

The percentage of those present at the biggest rock and roll festivals / concerts in the total population of the home country for Woodstock in the United States (1969), Isle of Wight in the United Kingdom (1970) and Hajdučka Česma in Yugoslavia (1977)			
	Woodstock	The Isle of Wight	Hajdučka Česma
Attendants	≈ 500,000	≈ 600,000	70,000 ≤ x ≤ 100,000
Citizens	203,235,298 (USA) ⁹²	55,928,000 (UK) ⁹³	20,522,602 (YU) ⁹⁴
Percentage	≈ 0,25%	≈ 1,07%	0,34% ≤ x ≤ 0,49%

Therefore, we can see that the percentage of visitors compared to the population of the home country was such that for the Yugoslav

89 Robert Walser, “The Rock and Roll Era”, *The Cambridge History of American Music*, (Cambridge, 2004), 364–365.

90 Mark Hamilton Lytle, *America’s Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era from Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon*, (Oxford – New York, 2006), 336.

91 Gina Arnold, “Nobody’s Army: Contradictory Cultural Rhetoric in Woodstock and Gimme Shelter”, *Countercultures and Popular Music*, ed. Sheila Whiteley, Jedediah Sklower, (Surrey–Burlington, 2014), 129.

92 According to the census in the United States: 1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, May 1972, VIII.

93 Julie Jefferies, *The UK population: past, present and future*, Office for National Statistics, 2005, 7. - The total population of the United Kingdom in 1971 is statistically shown as: 55,928.0.

94 According to the census in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1971). See: Savezni zavod za statistiku, Popis 1991. (sa osvrtom na rezultate ranijih popisa 1921–1981) [Census 1991 (with a view on results of previous censuses 1921–1981)], CD, (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku [Belgrade: Federal Bureau of Statistics], 1998).

community the concert at Hajdučka česma had to be just as striking as the festivals at Woodstock and the Isle of Wight for their local communities. Dušan Vesić, rock journalist, said: "For the older generations, it was important who was at Woodstock and for us it became equally important who was at Hajdučka česma. If one was old enough to be there, one must have been there. No excuses".⁹⁵ Of course, the festivals in the United States and the United Kingdom had a global character, while similar events in Yugoslavia did not. However, the possibility that these events can be estimated quantitatively testify that the concert at Hajdučka česma was a Yugoslav social event of the utmost importance.

League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, Bijelo dugme and the Concert at Hajdučka česma

According to the tasks which the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia gave to their official authorities, and which on March 18, 1977 were explicitly underlined, *Mladost* had an obligation "to be engaged on all important matters of interest for the young generation and society in general".⁹⁶ Among other things, it also included addressing the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme, especially after the concert at Hajdučka česma.

Mladost wrote that the history of the Yugoslav rock and roll and pop music can be divided into the period before and after the concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma. Official newspaper of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia underlined that it was a comprehensive sociological, psychological, philosophical, ecological and political phenomenon.⁹⁷ It was an opportunity for the officials of the youth organizations, experts and journalists to discuss this topic.

After the concert at Hajdučka česma, Azem Vlasi, the President of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia said that Bijelo dugme was "a unique phenomenon" and "therefore deserved to be thoroughly analysed and closely examined as a new discovery for a good portion of our youth". Vlasi obviously had a need to compliment the members of Bijelo dugme who responded to calls of youth organizations to play, participate in work actions and other youth events. He particu-

⁹⁵ Vesić, *op. cit.*, 140.

⁹⁶ AY, Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije [The League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia], Fond 114, Fascicle 121. - A draft concept released by NIP Mladost as the theme for the session of the Presidency of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, March 31, 1977, no. 360.

⁹⁷ "Kad se raskopča 'Bijelo dugme'" ["When Bijelo dugme Is Unbuttoned"], *Mladost*, September 16, 1977.

larly underlined that Goran Bregović was a hardworking member of the League of Socialist Youth.⁹⁸

Vesna Pešić, a sociologist, made an analogy between the concert at Hajdučka česma and the Woodstock Festival. Pešić said that the audience which was present at Hajdučka česma, “simply used the chance for free and spontaneous gathering, without mediation of any single social institutions”. Vukoje Bulatović, the director and chief editor of *Politika* spoke about the analogy with musical events in the West and asked whether the concert at Hajdučka česma was “phenomenon similar to those that occur abroad or it had elements of our mentality”.⁹⁹

On the other hand, Lev Kreft, member of the Secretariat of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, said that the Yugoslav youth does not see Bijelo dugme as “a substitute for true social ideals”. He particularly underlined that the enthusiasm of young Yugoslavs towards rock and roll “did not mean that we, by analogy with some events in the West (which also belonged to the past), had fallen into Dugmemania”.¹⁰⁰

So we see that the analogy between Bijelo dugme and “past phenomena” in the West – Beatlemania and “Woodstock Nation” – aroused suspicion in the part of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. During the sixties, Yugoslav press reported that the Beatles were the most important remnant of “the wreckage known as British Empire”.¹⁰¹ For the need of the Analytical Department of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in May 1968 Rajko Danilović submitted an analysis entitled “Youth New Left in Europe and America and some conceptual developments in this regard in our society”, which said that the hippie movement, under the new left, was most radical and could have a revolutionary role in the United States.¹⁰²

Beatles who were more popular than Queen Elizabeth and the hippies who acted against US presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon because of the intervention in Vietnam – could have made Lev Kreft underline that Bijelo dugme could not be “a substitute for true so-

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 “Olupina zvana Britanska imperija” [“Wreckage Known as the British Empire”], *NIN*, December 10, 1967. - Taken from *Spiegel* and *Newsweek*.

102 HAB, Fond Gradski komitet Saveza komunista Srbije – Beograd, [The Belgrade Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia], Fascicle 520 – The analysis „Omladinska nova levica u Evropi i Americi i neka idejna kretanja u vezi s tim u nas“ [„The New Left Youth in Europe and America and Some Ideological Trends Connected With It In Our Country”], Analytical Department of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia completed this analysis in May 1968.

cial ideals”, although in case of Bijelo Dugme it was not as nearly possible to speak of counterculture. On the contrary, when it comes to young people, Bijelo dugme glorified socialist values more strikingly than others. However, on the top of the social ideals of socialist Yugoslavia, there was a supreme leader, President Josip Broz Tito. Bijelo Dugme could have been a social phenomenon, but no ideal and/or idol of young Yugoslavs.

According to Mladen Zvonarević who, at the Tenth Yugoslav Colloquium on Leisure Time (January 31 – February 3, 1979) in Dubrovnik submitted a report called “Pop Music – Alienation and De-alienation”, also written for the purposes of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, said that in the “broader social context” Bijelo dugme were like the Beatles in the world. However, Zvonarević intended to relativize the popularity of Bijelo dugme by limiting their influence to young people between the age of thirteen and seventeen, “almost exclusively” in urban areas and to the girls who had crush on the band members. Therefore, Zvonarević wrote, “the great importance” given to Bijelo dugme and even rock and roll was “unjustified”. Zvonarević underlined that only “obsessed” girls could see the members of Bijelo dugme as “their idols”.¹⁰³ On the same occasion, the research team led by Darko Glavan submitted a report called “The Motives for ‘the Use of’ Rock Music” which concluded that the Yugoslav youth listened to rock and roll in order to be informed, entertained and relaxed and that there was no idolatry in that.¹⁰⁴

While the League of Socialist Youth analyzed the phenomenon of Bijelo Dugme, the member of the youth organization Goran Bregović, who was thought decent by Azem Vlasi, decided to break the image of an exemplary youth. In a radio show “Vibracije” on Studio B, two hours after the concert at Hajdučka česma, Bregović said that the public had a wrong impression about Bijelo dugme. He underlined that rock and roll was not a passing phase in their lives, that they would not get a haircut and start to live a normal life. He denied he was a good student and explained that for Bijelo dugme rock and roll was “the only way they knew”.¹⁰⁵

Also, in his interview to *Ilustrovana politika* after the concert, Bregović insisted he did not want to be seen as “exemplary” because he no longer passed exams as he did earlier during the university studies. He underlined that music was the only way he wanted to live.¹⁰⁶ Bregović

103 AY, Savez socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije [The League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia], Fond 114, Fascicle 130.

104 Ibid.

105 “Bijelo dugme u Studiju B” [“Bijelo dugme in Studio B”], *Džuboks*, October 1977.

106 “Sukob nas je opametio” [“The Dispute Make Us Wiser”], *Ilustrovana politika*, September 13, 1977.

was even more explicit in an interview for *Džuboks*: “Everything around us, around Bijelo dugme, is rock and roll. Rock and roll is not only in that what we play, not only in the music. Rock and roll is the way we live. So, all that money that has come and that we will spend unscrupulously (...) All that glory that we have and that will also be spent unscrupulously; all those people who are around us and who love us, will reject us one day (...) all that energy that we will spend in the beds of these crazy girls hanging around us (...) All that is what we play, all that is rock and roll”.¹⁰⁷

At that moment, Bregović either took off on the wings of the concert at Hajdučka česma or maybe wanted to present himself as a bad guy interested in nothing but rock and roll, women and money (and also attributed these qualities to other members of the band) in order to set up a barrier towards young people who looked upon him and Bijelo dugme as their idols, which was considered inappropriate in the youth organization (i.e. the party structures). Youth organization fully recognized the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme, nurturing it to a large extent and the rewarding the band, but could not allow idolatry that Bijelo dugme seemed to inspire in a “small portion” of the youth.

In recent publications, we can see comparisons and analogies between Josip Broz Tito, on the one hand and Goran Bregović and Bijelo dugme on the other hand. For example, in 2015 Radovan Raka Marić stated: “Bijelo dugme was more popular than Tito”.¹⁰⁸ Ivan Ivačković wrote that there were those who called Goran Bregović “Tito of the Yugoslav rock and roll”.¹⁰⁹ Ljubiša Stavrić and Vladimir Sudar assessed that Bregović was a kind of “Tito of music”.¹¹⁰ However, it is certain that the Yugoslav teenagers in urban areas had mostly thought and dreamed of Bijelo dugme from 1974 to the end of the seventies. So, it was limited to a certain period of time and a certain part of population. In the overall Yugoslav context, Bijelo dugme could not have been more popular than Tito in the seventies.

107 Goran Bregović, *Džuboks*, October 1977.

108 “Bijelo dugme je bilo popularnije od Tita” [“Bjelo dugme Was More Popular than Tito”], *Nedeljnik*, Maj 21, 2015.

109 Ivačković, *op. cit.*, 134.

110 Ljubiša Stavrić, Vladimir Sudar, *Kad sam bio Bijelo dugme* [When I Was Bijelo dugme], (Beograd, 2005), 31–32.

League of Socialist Youth as a publisher of literature on Bijelo dugme

The League of Socialist Youth stood behind three books dealing with the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme and the Yugoslav rock and roll that were written in the second half of the seventies (two of these were published in the early eighties). In the books on Yugoslav rock and roll Bijelo dugme takes a crucial or very important role.

In 1976 and 1977 Darko Glavan and his colleagues Velibor Jerbić, Stoja Lukić and Vladimir Tomić, were given the task, within the Research Department of the Centre of Social Activities of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia (Znanstveno-istraživački odsjek Centra društvenih djelatnosti Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske), to study the socio-cultural importance of pop music. It is a research team that has already been mentioned as the author of "The Motives for 'the Use of' Rock Music" presented at the Tenth Yugoslav Colloquium on Leisure Time (January 31 – February 3, 1979) in Dubrovnik. The research was entrusted to the Croatian Cultural Institute (Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske), the Centre of Social Activities of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia and the Croatian Institute for Education and Pedagogy (Zavod za prosvjetno-pedagošku službu). The research team led by Glavan, conducted surveys with those who attended the concerts of the Rolling Stones (June 21–22, 1976) and Bijelo dugme (1977).¹¹¹ It was the concert of Bijelo dugme in the spring of 1977 which the Zagreb press rated as poor.¹¹² Finally, the research of Glavan and his associates was published by the Centre of Social Activities of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia as a book titled *Pop glazba i kultura mladih 1 (Pop Music and Youth Culture 1)* (Zagreb, 1978).

At about the same time Mišo Kulić, a philosopher and sociologist of culture from Sarajevo, wrote the feuilleton "Izazov rok kulture" (The Challenge of Rock Culture) (December 1976 – March 1977) for the official weekly of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia *Mladost* in which he positively rated domestic rock music as the Yugoslav phenomenon because "rock music had a socially integrating role".¹¹³ He edited his feuilleton and published it as a book *Rok kultura u izazovu (Rock Culture under Challenge)* (Sarajevo, 1980), published by the City Conference of the Literary Youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Gradska konferencija

111 Darko Glavan, Velibor Jerbić, Stoja Lukić, Vladimir Tomić, *Pop glazba i kultura mladih 1 [Pop Music and Youth Culture 1]*, (Zagreb, 1978), 7, 9, 14, 55–56.

112 „Bijelo dugme' iznenada otkazalo koncert u Zagrebu. Neslavno za kraj" [Bijelo dugme Suddenly Cancelled the Concert in Zagreb, Infamous for the End"], *Večernji list*, August 29, 1977.

113 "Ljubav, najprisutnija" ["Love, the Most Present of All"], *Mladost*, March 18, 1977.

Književne omladine Bosne i Hercegovine). He concluded that the concert of Bijelo dugme at Hajdučka česma “which was attended by nearly one hundred thousand people”, was the culmination of the interest of the Yugoslav youth in rock and roll.¹¹⁴

The League of Socialist Youth also published the book on the phenomenon of Bijelo dugme. Precisely, Darko Glavan and Dražen Vrdoljak published a book *Ništa mudro: Bijelo dugme: autorizirana biografija* (*Nothing Wise: Bijelo dugme: Authorized Biography*) (Zagreb, 1981) in “Polet-rok” edition issued by the Centre of Social Activities of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia.

On the other hand, the book *Istina o Bijelom dugmetu* (*Truth about Bijelo dugme*) was published by the author Danilo Štrbac in Belgrade, 1977. In 1980, Duško Pavlović wrote a book *Bijelo Dugme* (Gornji Milanovac, 1980) which was published by *Džuboks*. The League of Socialist Youth was not behind these books.

During the sixties, party organs supported the research and analysis of the attitude of Yugoslav youth towards rock and roll and the counterculture that can be found only in archival funds, whereas in the seventies the research and analysis of the same type were published as books, available to the public, and published by the youth organization acting under the guidance of the party. Here we have two intertwined and inseparable phenomena of the seventies: 1. Phenomenon of Yugoslav rock and roll 2. Phenomenon of Bijelo dugme. The phenomenon of Yugoslav rock and roll lasted continuously from 1966 to 1991 (and possibly from 1964) and the unique phenomenon of Bijelo dugme over the seventies. With the maturing of audience and band members entering the age of thirties they moved from hard rock towards a softer sound. Thus, during the eighties, Bijelo dugme was a part of a phenomenon of the Yugoslav rock and roll scene but no longer a unique phenomenon.

¹¹⁴ Mišo Kulić, *Rok kultura u izazovu* [*The Challenge of Rock Culture*], (Sarajevo, 1980), 88.

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- *Pro Musica* (Belgrade)
- *Večernje novosti* (Belgrade)
- *Večernji list* (Zagreb)
- *Vjesnik u srijedu* (Zagreb)

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Резиме

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Концерт Бијелог дугмета код Хајдучке чесме у Београду (1977): друштвени догађај од највећег значаја и признање самосвојног феномена

Апстракт: Рад показује како је Бијело дугме после концерта код Хајдучке чесме утврђено као самосвојан југословенски феномен, а сам догађај приказан у светлу аналогije са битлманијом и масовним окупљањима хипика на Западу. Истраживање потврђује утемељеност ових аналогija. Рад је писан на основу архивске грађе из Архива Југославије и Историјског архива Београда, домаће штампе (дневне, омладинске, партијске, политичке, музичке, забавне), разговора са савременицима, домаће и стране научне и стручне литературе.

Кључне речи: Бијело дугме, концерт код Хајдучке чесме, Савез социјалистичке омладине Југославије, рокенрол, феномен

Средином шездесетих година 20. века, а изричито након Прве велике београдске гитаријаде (1966), рокенрол је прихваћен као музика младих Југословена. У партијским органима и омладинској организацији до тада је потпуно сазрело мишљење да се рокенрол култура не коси са социјалистичком идеологијом и да би могла да се усмери за добробит југословенског друштва. Појава политичног хипи покрета у западном свету, окренутог неомарксизму, пацифизму, антиимперијализму и деколонизацији, додатно је потврдила везу између југословенског социјализма и рокенрола.

С једне стране, југословенски рокенрол састави су своје каријере, мањим али важним делом, градили и тако што су рокерским приступом освежавали сећање на југословенску социјалистичку револуцију. Интеграција рокенрола у југословенски друштвени систем, која је играла улогу и у сузбијању етничких, културних и социјалних разлика међу омладином, била је толика да је Савез социјалистичке омладине Југославије (чија је програмска оријен-

тација била заснована на политици Савеза комуниста Југославије) током седамдесетих наметнуо Музичкој омладини Југославије да уведе рокенрол као ваннаставну активност у музичком образовању младих Југословена.

Разнородна југословенска рокенрол сцена изнедрила је мноштво дугокосих састава, од којих су током седамдесетих два имала лидерску улогу: Корни група из Београда (1970–1974) и Бијело дугме из Сарајева (1974–1978). Оба састава су била друштвено ангажована и у њиховом раду је било и изразитих социјалистичких мотива. Међутим, Корни група није досегла самосвојан статус југословенског феномена, већ је у своје време била на челу феномена југословенске рокенрол целине. Сматрало се да је музика Корни групе преквалитетна за укусу просечног слушаоца и да је распад тог састава отворио пут новом рокенрол звуку чији је носилац било Бијело дугме.

Бијело дугме – које је спојило хард рок, хипи и глем моду с народном музиком – продавало је стотине хиљада плоча и свирало стотине концерата годишње током година своје доминације. Политичка ангажованост састава, било да је реч о концертима или другим видовима јавних наступа, издигла је југословенски патриотизам и социјалистички став на највиши могући ниво популарне културе. Феномен групе Бијело дугме примећен је у омладинској штампи 1975. али тада није утврђен. Требало је да прођу још две године и да се догоди нешто несвакидашње – њихов наступ код Хајдучке чесме у Београду (28. август 1977) где се окупило између 70.000 и 100.000 младих – да сарајевски састав буде у потпуности утврђен као самосвојан југословенски друштвени феномен, у оквиру већ прихваћеног феномена југословенске рокенрол културе.

О томе су брујали дневна, политичка, забавна, музичка и омладинска штампа. Стручњаци и новинари су се утркивали ко ће боље протумачити феномен зван Бијело дугме. Коначно, таква мишљења је после концерта код Хајдучке чесме за *Младост* на извештај начин ауторизовао Азем Власи, председник Конференције Савеза социјалистичке омладине Југославије, рекавши да је Бијело дугме „својеврстан феномен“ те да „зато и заслужују да се подробно анализирају и да се подробно проучи то ново откриће за добар део наше омладине“. Први човек омладинске организације је својим ставом дао посебну тежину прихватању Бијелог дугмета као југословенског друштвеног феномена.

Иако је југословенски патриотизам Бијелог дугмета био пожељан и добродошао, феномен је после концерта код Хајдучке че-

сме постао толико јак да су неке струје у омладинској организацији имале намеру да га релативизују због бојазни да би могао да угрози „друштвене идеале“. Кроз Бијело дугме су се смешали југословенска верзија битлманије (у смислу популарности и бројности следбеника) и „нације Вудстока“ (у смислу музичког израза, физичке експресије и бројности следбеника, али никако и као контракултура) а то није могло да прође без коректива – феномен ДА, али идеализација и идолатрија НЕ.

На врху лествице друштвених идеала социјалистичке Југославије морао је да буде врховни вођа, председник Јосип Броз Тито. Бијело дугме је могло бити друштвени феномен, али никако идеал младих Југословена. Вођа састава Горан Бреговић као да је после концерта код Хајдучке чесме схватио како је дошао моменат да у јавности разбије слику о себи као о примерном омладинцу и представи се у другом светлу: као поклоник рокенрола кога занимају новац, слава и жене. То нипошто нису биле особине које би красиле угледног социјалистичког омладинца. Бреговић је после Хајдучке чесме отишао на одслужење војног рока па је и тиме галама, макар за неко време, утихнула.

Док су током шездесетих партијски органи стајали иза истраживања и анализа о односу југословенске омладине према рокенролу и контракултури, који се данас могу наћи само у архивским фондовима, седамдесете су отвориле пут да истраживања и анализе истоветног типа буду објављиване као књиге, доступне свима, и то у издању омладинске организације. И овде можемо говорити о бављењу са два испреплетана и нераскидива феномена седамдесетих: југословенским рокенролом и групом Бијело дугме. Ипак, отклон од хард рока и искорак ка мекшем звуку, ступање у тридесете године живота и сазревање њихове публике, учинили су да Бијело дугме током осамдесетих буде део јединственог феномена југословенског рокенрола али не више и самосвојан феномен.