

THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN TRENDS ON SLOVENE POPULAR CULTURE FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s

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In the following article perspectives of popular culture are focused on Slovene popular music, the most promoted genre in media and greatly influenced by western cultural trends. There are two lines of inquiry in the paper. The first is the evolution of music scene, while the second line is an outline of cross-cultural musical influences and the ways in which these were mediated.

During the first post-war period, up until the early 1960s, jazz represented popular music in Slovenia. It gained in popularity during the first half of the 1950s thanks in part to Hollywood films. However, it was introduced into the music scene already in 1945 with the establishment of a standing professional orchestra, the Radio Ljubljana Dance Orchestra (Slovene *PORL*). *PORL* was a part of the National Radio, a central cultural institution of the time.¹ The popularity of jazz was increasing rapidly in Slovenia during the pre-electoral and euphoric post-war period. However, this sizzling new musical trend was frowned upon after Tito's victorious election to the Constitutional Assembly in November 1945. Yugoslavia began to transform itself on the Soviet model. This was reflected in all aspects of social life: economic, political, and cultural. At this time a special apparatus of the party, a supervisory committee, was established with a wide network of committees covering the entire cultural and ideological sphere. This so-called agitprop was in charge of ensuring that the programs of cultural institutions followed the ideological model of the new ruling communist elite (Gabrič 2009: 294). Cultural production of the time was supposed to glorify the socialist system and criticize the Western capitalist world.

Despite the repressive social climate, jazz music had managed to gain popularity by the start of early "party liberalism" and the Soviet-Yugoslav Cominform dispute in 1948. *PORL* pioneered the introduction of jazz music. Bojan Adamič, conductor, composer, arranger, and first jazz

¹ *PORL* - the Ljubljana Radio Dance Orchestra was established during the fall of 1945; it began preparing the program already in June 1945; on 27 June it played at the opening of the Postojna cave and throughout the summer at the *Veseli* theater as a direct radio show transmission. Up to WW II, Peter Amalietti was in charge of ten jazz ensembles and orchestras, which at the time did not perform real jazz. During the 1930s and WW II, jazz music was nurtured amongst the Partisans under the influence of Bojan Adamič.

improviser, became the epitome of quality popular music and jazz in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Dances, which at the time provided the most popular venue for youth to socialize, provided musicians an ideal place to popularize jazz. Small ensembles that played at dances and in private circles gave musicians more freedom of expression than state financed musical ensembles. The most popular ensemble at the time was the *Veseli berači* band, managed by the clarinetist Ati Soss.²

Musicians often had Western music in their repertoires despite the fact that the undercover police and communist officials supervised dances. Members of PORL were basically limited to playing popular music songs, Russian marches, and Partisan songs. However, they did also manage to gain exposure to the musical arrangements of the then big American orchestras (such as those of Glenn Miller, Woody Herman, the Dorsey Brothers, and Benny Goodman) by ordering the newest record releases at the American reading room in Belgrade and the American consulate in Ljubljana (Hren 2008). They then made recordings of the records and wrote their own musical arrangements for the PORL (Hren 2008).³ They also came across new western musical trends by listening to the Voice of America (VOA)⁴ radio station. The main trendsetters of jazz listened to VOA at early hours of the morning when the Jazz Hour program broadcast all that was new in the jazz music genre (Hren 2008). They would write down what they remembered hearing, modify it, and then perform at various high school and student dances, as well as at a variety of locations managed by gymnastic associations.⁵

² Urban Koder and Dušan Hren (Metro) also had their own ensemble at the time.

³ Dušan Hren (arranger at PORL during the first post-war years and at the start of TV Ljubljana, the director and editor of a popular entertainment program); the recording is preserved by M. Rendla. This is how Dušan Hren, Borut Lesjak, and Mario Rijavec composed music during the first post-war years (1946–48).

⁴ The Voice of America was established in early 1942 under the jurisdiction of the Office of War Information. Its goal was to relay news to Japan, Europe, the South Pacific and North Africa—all areas occupied by Nazi Germany. Following a two-year interruption in half of the VOA services, it once again began broadcasting in 1947. In the 1950s and 1960s, it broadcast American jazz, which had become popular throughout the entire world. The popularity of jazz was encouraged by the U.S. State Department, which sponsored tours of American jazz musicians such as Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong, and Duke Ellington. (Louis Armstrong, or Satchmo, was hosted at the Gospodarsko razstavišče exhibition and convention center in Ljubljana in 1959 and 1963.)

⁵ Bojan Adamič, director of PORL, adapted marches to a counterpoint rhythm and transformed them into a jazz version. Already in 1946 he wrote music for France Štiglic's film *Mladina gradi*, about youth work brigades. The music sounded very much like that of Glenn Miller.

The very existence of PORL was quite paradoxical for it performed jazz music at a time when music was strictly politically oriented, and jazz was unwanted and persecuted.

Musicians used various tricks when performing New Orleans jazz and Dixieland. It was not hard to fool the inexperienced and uninformed supervisors, who were chasing something with which they were poorly acquainted.⁶ Supervisors cancelled dances and gave out administrative (monetary) fines if they judged that a dance was evolving beyond the acceptable limits and that the music being played was “hostile to socialism.”

The period of de-Stalinization marked the first and cautious opening to the West, which meant risking closer contact with the world of capitalism. This led to the liberalization of domestic politics. Jazz was gradually no longer considered an ideologically controversial music genre. Ideologically flavored Soviet war movies were soon replaced with other types of cinematography. Two American musical movies—first the *Young Man with a Horn*⁷ and then, in 1951, *Bathing Beauty* (Hren 2008; Lavš 2006: 56)—inspired the breakthrough of the light musical genre. A musical shot in 1944 was one of the first films in Yugoslavia to show dances of sprightly Western beauties, music and melodies as opposed to soldiers, workers, or farmers. Among a people used to a cinematic world of magnificent labor victories, this new film genre diffused great euphoria and represented something totally new and innovative (Lavš 2006: 56). It also triggered new dimensions in the world of Slovene film culture, such as the concept of watching a movie more than once, an increased interest in the actors, longer lines in front of movie theaters and the scalping of movie tickets (Urbanc 2005: 25).

Radio—especially the broadcasts of Radio Luxemburg— and American films encouraged the formation of popular jazz ensembles, including popular swing and pop arrangements of the time into their programs (Hren 2008). PORL began to spin off many smaller ensembles, such as the Dance Orchestra Soloists, who in their ten years of existence introduced hot traditional Chicago jazz and made it quite popular among the public. In 1955, the Dance Orchestra Soloists then evolved into the Ljubljana Jazz ensemble and popularized Dixieland. And the quintets of

⁶ Mojmir Sepe began his music career with the Celje group Veseli študentje during the time that jazz was strictly suppressed. He spoke of how they thought of changing original song titles of American musical arrangements to Russian ones so as to protect themselves from accusations. He said: “It said ‘Night and Day’ and we changed it to ‘Noch’ i den’.” For more on the group, see Kajzer (2003: 33, 86).

⁷ The musical movie *Young Man with a Horn* was filmed in 1950 and was based on Dorothy Baker’s 1938 novel.

Mojmir Sepe and Jure Robežnik, as well as the ensembles of Ati Soss, Jože Kampič, Milan Ferlež, and the Academy Dance ensemble (which changed its name to Ad Hoc in the 1960s), along with small (high school and college) student ensembles, they all began to include many great vocalists (Hren 1996–98). They performed native, modern Spanish, English, American, Italian, and French songs. Popular songs of the time included those of Frank Sinatra, Doris Day, Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Armstrong, Edith Piaf, Marlene Dietrich, and Caterine Valente, to list a few. In the late 1940s and 1950s, small jazz ensembles, with PORL at the forefront, made a strong impact on the mentality of young people and opened new horizons of popular music (Hren 2008). Jazz musicians, once stigmatized as forbidden, Western, spontaneous and free, became role models for the young, especially those who gathered and mingled along Ljubljana's main promenade. It was considered the only place where young people could gather spontaneously⁸ during the first post-war years (Tomc 1989: 71). Aside from select casual cultural communities, it was dance halls, coffee shops, and nightclubs that provided the focal points for social entertainment and city life during the second half of the 1940s and throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Dances in Ljubljana were held mostly at high schools and college dorms, and even at high school dorms.

The era of large orchestras experienced a downturn in the U.S. from the mid 1940s onwards. Solo singers and chamber ensembles were stepping forward into the spotlight. A new genre called Bebop evolved and jazz and Dixieland were going through a period of revival. And in the meantime, this same era of large orchestras was in full swing in Slovenia. During the first ten years after the war orchestral instrumental music had great impact on PORL. Orchestral music evolved significantly. From the mid 1950s onwards, while orchestral music continued to develop and follow the lead of the large American orchestras (the big bands of swing), the first Slovenian remakes of foreign songs were being created under the influence of European "festival-o-mania." The Italian San Remo Music Festival and the Eurovision contest made a great impact on the Slovenian public as well.⁹ This was still prior to the organization of the Slovenska Popevka Festival (Slovenian Pop Song Festival). Original compositions of Slovenian popular vocal music soon followed. PORL set guidelines for the evolution of Slovene music culture; it influenced instrumental and vocal, as well as folk and rock music throughout Slovenia (Bučar, Adamič, Privšek 1985: 2).

⁸ This was the only chance for spontaneous gatherings because the secret police kept an eye on everyone that gathered along the promenade. "Gathering" was equated with "not working" and "idolizing jazz musicians" meant "sympathizing with Western ideology" (Tomc 1989: 71–72).

⁹ The San Remo Music Festival was established in 1951. The Eurovision Song Contest was organized by the EBU (European Broadcasting Union) in 1956.

Radio Ljubljana played a primary role promoting pop songs. It took the initiative by establishing a school for singers. Pokaži kaj znaš (Show Us What You Can Do), a talent show radio program, recruited young musical talents (for example, Lado Leskovar and Alenka Pinterič). The nightclub at the Hotel Slon was also a springboard for young musical talents. This leading cultural institution opened its doors to many famous pop singers; the Hotel Slon nightclub was a meeting point for all big names in the Slovene music entertainment business. The Radio Orchestra PÖRL (a.k.a. ZÖRL) was the driving force behind the popular music business at the time. By adding strings from RTV's (the Radio Television Company) symphonic orchestra, it provided accompaniment to vocal soloists. Some of the first artists that the orchestra accompanied in 1956 were Nino Robič, Marjana Deržaj, Majda Sepe, Jelka Cvetežar, Stane Mancini, and Betty (Betj) Jurkovič (Hren 1996–98). Initially, the artists performed music written by foreign authors and translated into Slovene. Soon thereafter, the first Slovene musical hits began to emerge. These hits formed the base for a popular radio entertainment program and later, the bases for various musical television entertainment shows.

Like in other parts of Europe, many festivals of popular music were held also in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. The oldest of these was in Zagreb, which evolved into a very large festival between 1962 and 1966 (Lavš 2006: 191). The first 'real' festival of popular music was held in Belgrade in 1957 (Lavš 2006: 83). The most elite festival of popular music throughout all Yugoslavia was held a year later in 1958, in Opatija.¹⁰ The first Yugoslavian jazz festival was organized at Bled in 1960, and in 1962 was followed by The Slovenian Pop Song Festival. In the mid 1960s a trend of beat festivals spread that were called "guitariades." They took place in Zagreb in 1966 and in Ljubljana in 1968 (Youth Festival of Popular Music).

Slovene musicians began performing with their prospective vocal soloists at festivals such as the Yugoslav Festival of Popular Music in Belgrade. Betj Jurkovič and Marjana Deržaj represented Slovenia. The following year Marjana Deržaj won the Audience award at the first Opatija Festival for the song titled "Vozi me vlak v daljave" (The train takes me far away), written by Jože Privšek. This pop song became one of Slovenia's first standards, alongside the hit entitled "Ne čakaj na Maj" (Don't wait for May), a song by Borut Lesjak with lyrics by Fran M. Ježek¹¹ and director František Čap 1957 film of the same name. The pop song "Poletna noč" (Summer night)

¹⁰ Iztok Avsec, Opatijske uspavanke, *Tedenska tribuna* (Weekly Tribune), 17 September 1959, 5.

¹¹ Feri Horvat's *Veseli kvintet* ensemble performed several popular music songs and evergreen melodies, French waltzes and songs by Borut Lesjak at the Hotel Slon where F. Čap was staying (Lavš 2006: 88).

became a symbol of the Slovenian Pop Song Festival. Other unforgettable hits include “V Ljubljano” (To Ljubljana), “Solza v očeh” (Tears in your eyes), “Orion, Malokdaj se srečava” (We meet so rarely), “Enkrat še” (One more time), “Cvet v laseh” (A flower in your hair), “Vzameš me v roke” (You take me in your arms), “Maček v žaklju” (Cat in a sack), “Pesem o pomladi in prijateljstvu” (A song about spring and friendship), “Mini-Maxi, Med iskrenimi ljudmi” (Between honest people), “Pegasto dekle” (Freckled girl), “Zato sem noro te ljubila” (That’s why I loved you like crazy), “Uspavanka za mrtve vagabunde” (A lullaby for dead vagabonds), “Ko gre tvoja pot od tod” (When you go away from me), “Človek, ki ga ni” (The man who wasn’t), and “Ko me strastno vzame” (When he passionately holds me) (Rendla 2008: 238).

In the late 1950s, Slovene popular music managed to adapt to American and European trends more quickly. Of course, Slovene musicians also continued to further progress and incorporate certain national features. Following fifteen years of explicit discrimination, jazz music at the 1960 Yugoslav Jazz Festival in Bled finally received social acceptance. In the 1960s, the popularity of the jazz ensemble was slowly taken over by popular vocal music, beat ensembles, and protest singers. Media connections, technology, and personal connections enabled jazz to adapt quickly to contemporary trends and move from the specter of alternative subculture to that of a respectable concert art. The Jazz Festival and Slovenian Pop Song Festival represented the key musical and cultural event throughout the entire Republic of Slovenia (Zrnec 2000: 5–7).

Concerts, modern dances, and various festival events were increasingly frequent towards the end of the 1950s and 1960s. The populist press and (popular) Radio Luxemburg acquainted the young with Western music. Radio Luxemburg mediated the top hit charts in England and France. The *Weekly Tribune* (a weekly magazine that was published in 1953) and *Antena* introduced readers to “Top Ten” music charts from England, America, Germany, and to local charts of favorite songs. The best-selling music magazine in Yugoslavia was *Džuboks* (Jukebox), especially during its first publishing period, between 1966 and 1969. The influence of Western pop and rock music crossed Slovenia’s borders. In the Primorska (Littoral) and Štajerska (Lower Styria) regions, people could receive Italian and Austrian television stations.

The Slovenian Pop Song Festival was established in 1962, based on the models of the San Remo and Opatija festivals. Each song was usually performed twice: first with the accompaniment of a big band with strings and then again with a small orchestra, each time with different vocal soloists. A small cast of Mojmir Sepe’s ensemble usually accompanied the singers. In the second half of the 1960s, when popular beat band ensembles gained recognition for providing accompaniment, the vocal/instrumental

band Bele Vrane also made its way onto the stage for similar purposes. The Slovenian Pop Song Festival became international in 1969; songs were first performed in Slovene and then by a foreign singer; for example, in English, German, Hungarian, or some other language. In 1968, the Slovenian Pop Song Festival was broadcast on the radio and three international television stations: in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and East Germany (Lavš 2006: 142).

The genre of Slovene popular music featured names like Bojan Adamič, Jože Privšek, Mojmir Sepe, Jure Robežnik, and Ati Soss. The festival's most frequent performers included Nino Robič, Lado Leskovar, Rafko Irgolič, Stane Mancini, Oto Pestner, Marjana Deržaj, Majda Sepe, Lidija Kodrič, Beti Jurkovič, Elda Viler, and Alenka Pinterič (Rendla 2008: 241). Composers invited some of the best renowned Slovene poets to write lyrics. These included Ciril Zlobec, Frane Miličinski Ježek, Veno Taufer, Smiljan Rozman, Branko Šömen, Gregor Strniša, Svetlana Makarovič, Ervin Fritz, and Miroslav Košuta. Writers like Elza Budau and Dušan Velkaverh also wrote lyrics (Hren 1996–98; Lavš 2006: 120).¹²

In 1961, Yugoslavia was the only socialist country represented in the "Grand Prix Eurovision" contest,¹³ a contest for the best European pop song. Many Slovene pop singers competed in Yugoslav music festivals and were selected to later represent Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest. Lola Novaković won fourth place in 1962 with her performance of Privšek's song "Ne prižigaj luči v somraku" (Don't turn on the light at dusk) at the Eurovision Contest in Luxemburg. In 1966, Slovene singer Berta Ambrož secured seventh place in Luxemburg by performing composer Mojmir Sepe's song "Brez besed" (Without words).

The group Pepel in Kri performed the 1975 Opatija Festival winning song, "Dan ljubezni" (The day of love) at the Eurovision Song Contest in Stockholm and ranked thirteenth. Yugoslavian performers at the Eurovision Song Contest also played a part in Yugoslavian "cold war" politics. Their choice of music on the one hand reflected their wish to approach the Western world of entertainment, while on the other hand, by emphasizing socialist ideals, they were aiming to prove themselves still representatives of an Eastern Bloc country.

¹² See also: Ivo Štrakl, Po popevki zvoniti. *Tedenska tribuna* (Weekly Tribune) 21 June 1967, 11.

¹³ Popevka Evrope 67, *Tedenska tribuna*, 8 February 1967, 11. Eastern European countries had their own TV association *Intervision*. In 1964 an Intervision festival was held. It was basically a TV show with a panel of judges that evaluated songs. (Ivo Štrakl: Popevka na relaciji Evrovizija – Intervizija, *Tedenska tribuna*, 3 July 1968, no. 27, 11.)

Slovene musicians appeared internationally as well, especially after the renowned Belgrade festival of popular music in June of 1957, which was broadcast on all radio stations throughout Yugoslavia. They accepted both foreign and local invitations to various concerts, radio and television performances, and live transmissions for RTV's public radio and television shows. Lado Leskovar became the Slovene Paul Anka, while Edvin Fliser and Ivan Mojzer became the Tom Jones of Slovenia, based on the similar styles of singing and performing.

Performances of Slovene and Yugoslav musicians in the 1950s reflected the foreign policy of Yugoslavia: the search for a place between East and West and in the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement). They participated most often at international events, concert tours and performances on radio and television stations in countries like Austria, Germany, Italy, France, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, and the Scandinavian countries. In 1956, Majda Sepe toured American military bases in Paris with the Ljubljana Jazz ensemble (Hren 1996–98). The following year Marjana Deržaj and Zlata Gašperčič attended the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow with the Academy Dance Orchestra, conducted by Dušan Hren. Their Western music made a great impression on the Soviet public. They recorded a record in Moscow with two instrumental and four vocal tracks. It sold over a million copies.

Marjana Deržaj went to the Sinai in October 1959 to perform for soldiers of the UNEF Peace Corps (United Nations Emergency Forces).¹⁴ Majda Sepe and Tereza Kesovija joined her two years later, in 1961.

When, in 1963, RTV Ljubljana started collaborating with seven European radio stations, Slovene musicians represented the radio station of Ljubljana in the international radio show called *Glasba ne pozna meja* (Music knows no borders). The show enabled many European radio stations, like Radio Köln, Monte Carlo, Lugano, Geneva, Vienna, BBC London, Brussels, and Ljubljana to summarize recent events in the field of popular music every month (Lavš 2006: 130). One of many popular guests of public radio entertainment music shows in Eastern Germany was Majda Sepe.

Popular folk music enjoyed rising popularity from the mid 1950s onwards. This genre of "Oberkrainer" music was defined by the Avsenik Quintet. Established in 1953 by the accordionist Slavko Avsenik, their first

¹⁴ After the outbreak of the Suez crisis in October 1956, when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal following the revolution and precipitated the attack by Israel, France, and Great Britain, UNEF carried out their first operation in 1959. Their purpose was to supervise the suspension of hostilities and to withdraw the armed forces of France, Israel, and Great Britain from Egyptian territory. See: Lavš (2006: 98).

record for a German record company entitled Telefunken, was released in 1955. Their music gained popularity in the wider Middle European Alpine area, and their tunes, based on local Carniolan motifs, made it to the top of many local charts in the 1960s. The ensemble of the brothers Avsenik made their way onto the international music scene, something substantiated by the fact that their concert was promoted on the same billboards as the renowned beat group, the Rolling Stones. The two groups differ significantly in genre and performed within a week's time at the same place, the Stadthalle in Vienna in April of 1967. The crowd at the Avsenik Brothers' concert exceeded the numbers that came to see the Rolling Stones (approximately 13,000 people came to the Rolling Stones concert and 15,000 came to the Avseniks' performance). In Germany, they even shared the same manager of other distinguished performers, such as Paul Anka, the Laterna Magica from Paris, and the Beatles.¹⁵

The trendy beat music that originated in Great Britain reached Slovenia through Radio Luxemburg hit lists and the proximity of Trieste. This new trend defined the rebellious spirit of the younger generation. Although the first wave of rock and roll never really reached the Slovene music scene, this new style of beat broke in the 1960s and generated many new music groups. This new electric music trend inspired the young to dress differently, act in a certain way, and have a critical point of view of society—in a way it evolved into a whole new subculture. Groups that started off playing beat style music soon developed new styles, following the English and American fashion. They added rhythm and blues, soul and protest songs to the original beat rhythm. Although beat music was thought questionable at first, some beat bands even made it into the leading state institution, the house of RTV, and big festivals. At one point they even got their own festival.¹⁶ In line with the decentralized cultural development, beat bands were forming in various cities throughout Slovenia, although most of them had indeed formed in the two main cultural centers of Slovenia, Ljubljana and Maribor. Beat first reached the capital and then the cities of Koper and Maribor, close to the country's borders. The first well-known beat band was Kameleoni, founded in Koper in 1965. They were followed by Faraoni from Izola.¹⁷ The bands Rdeči dečki, The Out and

¹⁵ E. Hrausky, Židana marela osvaja Nemčijo. In: *Tedenska tribuna*, 28 February 1968, no. 9, 13. This is a special letter about the Avsenik Brothers quintet winning the Second Golden Record award.

¹⁶ Two new festivals were opened in the Tivoli hall in 1968—the youth festival and the beat festival.

¹⁷ Nostalgija z beatniki, Beat v vsako slovensko vas, RTV Slovenia 1997, Dokumentation TV Slovenia.

Biseri all formed in Maribor. The Biseri later divided into several other bands: Efekti, Talismani, Generacija and Creeps.¹⁸

The two best-known bands from Ljubljana were Mladi levi and Bele vrane. The first formed in 1966 and played a musical style called rhythm and blues, a derivative of jazz. The second band formed in 1967 and played mostly romantic beat rock with polyphonic singing, which sounded like the American band The Mamas and the Papas. Members of both bands were former members of the band Albatrosi, which was one of the first bands besides the Chorus ensemble to include new British pop music (for example instrumental pop music like the Shadows, guitar and drum based music like that of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones with their rhythm and blues style of rock) into their jazz program in the early 1960s. The band Mladi levi included professional musicians and was famous for a strong brass section. Their repertoire included adapted foreign music, as well as original vocal and instrumental songs.¹⁹ Bele vrane became an attraction on the Slovene music scene right away and reached the top very quickly (Štrakl 1968: 24–25). Authors of the Slovene entertainment music genre also showed a great interest in the band. Soon composers such as Jože Privšek, Jure Robežnik, and Mojmir Sepe began working for them. Their hits such as “Presenečenja” (Surprise), “Mini maxi,” “Maček v žaklju” (Cat in a sack) and “Na vrhu nebotačnika” (On top of the skyscraper) became very popular and known all over Slovenia. Aside from Mladi levi and Bele vrane, famous bands included Deliali, Echo, Synkope, Črne vrane, Helioni, and Sinovi.

The beat trend took the leading role in the music scene during the 1960s. The 1970s transformed it into a then controversial rock genre, which was accepted only towards the end of the decade. It is my true conviction that it was the activity and enterprise in the mid 1970s of the group *Buldožer*, and their lead singer Marko Breclj, who contributed the most towards the progress of rock music in Slovenia.

Slovenia experienced a noticeable change in the lifestyle around the mid 1960s. From the 1960s Slovenes no longer spent money only on food, clothes and shoes, rather they also began long-term spending and consumerism by purchasing cars and covering their maintenance, buying household furniture, radio and television receivers, heating, lighting,

¹⁸ Tretji v Ljubljani, prvi v Gradcu – Rdeči dečki, Maribor. In: *Antena* 9, no. 19 (May 1968), 24–25.

¹⁹ The famous songs include “Oda Ireni” (Ode to Irene), “Mila mala” (Little gentle girl), “Poljubi me in pojdi,” Kiss me and go) and “Zaznamovan” (Marked). In 1967, they recorded the songs “Odmevi želja” (The echoes of desire), and “Človek s poslanstvom” (Man with a mission) for a record company from Trieste. Mladi Levi na novi poti - Bor Gostiša na svoji, *Tedenska tribuna*, 19 July 1967, 11.

household appliances (washing machine, refrigerator, etc.) and rental payments (Mlinar 1975:169). They also spent more on drinks, tobacco, culture and education, and hygiene. Western mass culture, with all its morals and values began to seep in and through everyday life. The offer of cultural goods in Slovenia, with frequent concerts, modern dance and various events, became much more diverse.

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