

# THE FIRST WAVE OF ROCK'N'ROLL IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SOCIALIST YOUTH

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By taking advantage of abundant literature that has been written on the subject, the paper aims to give an overview of the history of rock music in Yugoslavia from its introduction in 1956 to the mid-1970s, when the new wave emerged. It also intends to remind the reader of this topic's relevance and open possible new research questions for history and related fields. Particular emphasis will be placed on the impact that this musical, cultural, social, and political phenomenon had on the lives of Yugoslav and other socialist youth while highlighting the changes rock'n'roll brought to their lives, including opening up to Western cultural influences through new fashion, different forms of youth entertainment, new understanding and redefining of gender relations. Also, the paper will review the cooperation of Yugoslav rock musicians with Eastern Bloc musicians. Through the analysis of articles found in *Džuboks*, a youth music magazine deemed popular at the time; the paper will attempt to illustrate how the Yugoslav youth rock press helped shape the minds of young people. This paper intends to remind the reader of this topic's relevance and open possible new research questions for this and related fields.

**Keywords:** rock, socialist youth, new fashion, gender relations, opening to the West, cooperation, youth music press

## 1. Introduction

This paper primarily relies on previously published literature, relevant historiography, and theoretical-methodological framework. In addition, archival

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materials from the Croatian State Archives and The State Archive in Osijek, *Džuboks/Jukebox magazine*<sup>1</sup>, and other relevant publications were used to elucidate the existing political, social, cultural, and economic conditions in the period from 1956 to mid-1970s. This time span was marked by the emergence and development of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia. Special attention is given to the impact that rock phenomena had on the daily lives of young people, with an emphasis on Croatian youth, where possible.

*Džuboks* magazine helped depict the rock phenomenon by providing a look into youth's interests of the time, moreover to complete the picture of the rock phenomenon in the countries of the socialist system, a brief overview of the cooperation of Yugoslav rock musicians with musicians from the Eastern Bloc countries is given in this paper.

Given the complexity of the rock 'n' roll phenomenon, this paper will address it from the standpoint of 1) political history, 2) socio-cultural history, 3) comparative history (the paper will display some similarities and differences of rock in Yugoslavia with the countries of the Eastern Bloc), 4) gender history (with an emphasis on the impact of rock on changes in the perception of gender relations), with elements of 5) everyday history. By using an interdisciplinary approach and drawing on key knowledge of musicology, sociology, philosophy, and political science, an attempt is made to provide a more precise representation of the history and phenomenon of rock music.

## 2. Review of Historiography and related literature

Numerous foreign and domestic popular books and articles have been written on the history of rock'n'roll, and most of the subject matter is covered by musicology and published in music journals. However, this topic is also represented in historiography. In foreign historiography, rock music in Yugoslavia is regarded by authors Timothy Ryback and Sabrina Petra Ramet.

In the book, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, Timothy Ryback (1990) did not provide a thorough analysis of rock in Yugoslavia because Yugoslavia did not belong to the Eastern Bloc countries at the time of the rock's advent. Nevertheless, Ryback's analysis of the rock movement in the Eastern Bloc countries provides a solid basis for comparing the emergence and development of rock in Yugoslavia with the mentioned countries.

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<sup>1</sup> Also, *Mini Džuboks/ Mini Jukebox*, *Ladin Džuboks/ Lada's Jukebox* will be used. Henceforth referred to as *Džuboks*, *Mini Džuboks*, *Ladin Džuboks*.

The collection of essays entitled *Rocking the States: Rock music and politics in Eastern Europe and Russia*, edited by Sabrina Petra Ramet (1994), provides an overview of the development of rock'n'roll in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, and Yugoslavia. Although the essays mainly deal with the time of late socialism (the 1980s and early 1990s), and the periods of the rise and early progress of rock music are barely mentioned, the authors use a diverse interdisciplinary approach in analyses of rock phenomena (from rock journalism, mass media, literature, language studies, through anthropology and ethnomusicology). In addition, Ramet's essay "Shake, Rattle, and Self-Management: Making the Scene in Yugoslavia" does not discuss the 1950s and only reflects on the 1960s tersely.<sup>2</sup>

In Serbian historiography, Radina Vučetić and Aleksandar Raković wrote about the history of Yugoslav rock. In the book *Koka-Kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola Socialism*, Radina Vučetić (2012) writes about the rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia, emphasizing that it has grown from a genre into a movement, and it served as a symbol of Yugoslavian independence from the policy of the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup> Vučetić also writes about rock'n'roll behind the Iron Curtain. Her contribution allows the reader to compare and contrast Yugoslav rock'n'roll with other Eastern Bloc countries.

Historian Aleksandar Raković (2011) wrote a comprehensive synthesis of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia from 1956-1968.<sup>4</sup> In his book, he analyzes the appearance and expansion of rock in the years of classic rock (from 1956 to 1961) through the electric rock years in Yugoslavia (from 1961 to 1968). In his introduction, the author covers everything from the beginning of rock in the USA to the reception of rock (and jazz) in Yugoslavia, and the last chapter brings the similarities and differences of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia and the Eastern Bloc countries. His synthesis addresses the notion of cooperation of Yugoslav rock musicians with musicians from the Eastern Bloc countries, which will also be discussed later in this paper.

Although it goes beyond the scope of this article, as a contribution to an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, it is worth mentioning the book *Shake, Rattle and Roll*, by sociologist Dalibor Mišina (2013). The book is vital for a better understanding of the phenomenon of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia and its history. The author deals with sociological theory, media, popular culture, social change, and globalization in his work. His book is a sociological analysis of the *new wave* in Yugoslavia, and in it, the author gives a fascinating

<sup>2</sup> Ramet, *Rocking the State*, 103-139

<sup>3</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola socialism*, 189-190

<sup>4</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији 1956.-1968./ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia 1956-1968*

account of the poetics of social criticism (Mišina states that the new wave is the actual beginning of Yugoslav rock'n'roll<sup>5</sup>). The book is imbued with historical research methodology but is based on the interests and issues of sociology. Mišina explores the relationship between rock'n'roll as a socio-cultural force in socialist Yugoslavia and the cultural-political reality of Yugoslav society from 1970 to 1980. The author emphasizes that Yugoslav rock'n'roll, as a cultural weapon of youth in the struggle for self-affirmation, is a genre that requires social responsibility and commitment to the audience. The social engagement of Yugoslav rock music, according to Mišina, is committed to the idea of an authentic socialist-humanist society. He further adds that providing a clear definition of Yugoslavia's socio-political and socio-cultural foundations can help illustrate this phenomenon. Since Yugoslavia encompasses a specific social imagination based on a very dominant political and cultural ideology, exploring its rock music necessitates an understanding of the underlying ideas and ideological models of Yugoslavia.<sup>6</sup>

A collection of philosophical essays, *Novi val i filozofija/ The new wave and Philosophy*<sup>7</sup>, which includes twelve different authors (professional philosophers), is an important book to be discussed. It deals with the reception of the new wave and contributes to the philosophical aspect of rock music. In this collection, the texts and music of the new wave rock are analyzed from a philosophical viewpoint and their general activities within the thought revolt (caused by the political, economic, and social crises in the 1970s and the 1980s).<sup>8</sup> The book emphasizes that the musicians of this movement found their inspiration in the humanities (philosophy, sociology, political science). In the essays, these musicians are portrayed as writers, poets, and philosophers who wrote their lyrics for audiences eager to think, calling them 'rebellious intellectualism and critique of all that exists.'<sup>9</sup>

Mark Fenemore's book entitled *Sex, Thugs and Rock'n'Roll: Teenage Rebels in Cold-War East Germany* (2009) is another relevant source that deserves to be mentioned with respect to this topic. Even though it does not describe the history of rock in Yugoslavia, it is essential to cultural, social, and gender history because it emphasizes the impact that rock'n'roll culture had on teenage rebellion against the controlling state. In addition, the author explains how rock helped redefine gender roles with the introduction of new fashion expressions as a means of sexualizing young people who lived under the communist

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<sup>5</sup> Mišina, *Shake, Rattle and Roll*, 4

<sup>6</sup> Mišina, *Shake, Rattle and Roll*, 1-11

<sup>7</sup> Ćurko, Greguric, *Novi val i filozofija/ New wave and philosophy*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 8

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 14

regime.<sup>10</sup> Similar changes can be found in most communist countries during the 1950s and 1960s, including Yugoslavia.

Apart from scientific literature, various popular books, memoirs, and articles about rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia have been published. Siniša Škarica and his book *Kad je rock bio mlad/ When Rock Was Young* (2005), *Ex YU Rock Enciklopedija/ Ex YU Rock Encyclopedia* by Petar Janjatović (2007) and *Vibracije / Vibrations* by Ljuba Trifunović (1986), former editor of the *Džuboks magazine*, should be highlighted because they allow us a deeper insight into the topic, and will be referred to in the text.

### 3. Theoretical framework: Methodological approaches and concepts

When reviewing the evolution of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia, it is necessary to keep in mind that it cannot be excluded from the context of popular culture. Contemporary history recognizes culture as an indispensable element in forming social and political structures, and it is essential to look at all contexts to get an authentic and accurate portrayal of the rock. In order to gain a better understanding of popular culture and its respective aspects, the following sections will provide requisite clarifications.

In the previously cited book *Coca-Cola Socialism*, Radina Vučetić deals with the notion of *popular culture*. She emphasizes that the very notion of culture is difficult to define because it depends on the philosophical, scientific, social, and historical context in which culture is discussed and the social role of culture at a particular historical moment.<sup>11</sup>

In the book entitled *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams<sup>12</sup> states that the term *popular* was mainly associated with folk culture. However, when placed in a contemporary context, popular culture is considered an inferior form of cultural creation and one that aims to gain favor with the masses.<sup>13</sup> The fact that popular culture became a 'hot topic' in Yugoslav political circles as early as the 1960s attests to its importance. At the *Centralni Komitet Saveza Omladine Jugoslavije /Central Committee of the Yugoslav Youth Alliance* meeting on June 14, 1963, popular culture was depicted

<sup>10</sup> Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock'n'Roll: Teenage Rebels in Cold-War East Germany*, pp. 138-141

<sup>11</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola socialism*, p. 38

<sup>12</sup> Raymond Williams is a representative of British Cultural Studies.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, p. 236

as the downfall of 'high culture' and the problem of the cultural life of the youth.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, it is essential to note a connection between popular culture, modern capitalist consumer society, and the mass media. This connection is necessary to understand the topic of rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia, which is a complex game of economic, ideological, and cultural factors. Through the concept of *the circular flow of culture*, Richard Johnson explains the production, circulation, and consumption of cultural products. He concludes that there is a law of supply and demand for cultural products.<sup>15</sup> This law is also applicable in the case of rock'n'roll among young people. With the help of marketing tricks, the mass media and the entertainment industry used it as a first-class source of income worldwide, and Yugoslavia is not an exception.<sup>16</sup> In digression, it may be helpful to add a remark by Gerd Koenen, who notes that the socialist states, with few exceptions, failed to produce aesthetically or technically satisfying civilian consumer goods and relied mainly on licensed production downloaded from Western companies.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that this model of copying Western, especially American pop-culture influences, is reflected in musical trends.

The preceding points to the conclusion that consumer society is an indispensable part of the history of everyday life that is of interest to this paper. For more insights into the law of supply and demand and the notion of consumer society in Yugoslavia, the work of Croatian historian Igor Duda should be considered. His research centered on the history of leisure and consumer society in Croatia during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>18</sup>

Having clarified the connection between popular culture and rock music, as one of the representatives of American popular culture, it is important to note that rock is not an independent phenomenon in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, it transferred from the American to the European continent or from one culture to another. This example helps us illustrate the *concept of cultural transfer*. It explains how cultural goods are transferred from one culture to another and underscores the changes and inevitable adjustments that occur in the process. In the mid-1980s, historian Michel Espagne and scientist Michael Werner introduced *the concept of cultural transfer* through the study

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<sup>14</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију 1956-1968/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia 1956-1968*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>15</sup> Johnson, *What is Cultural Studies Anyway*, pp.47-48.

<sup>16</sup> Miloš, *Druga strana rock'n'rolla/ The other side of rock'n'roll*, 25-27; Trifunović, *Vibracije/ Vibrations*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>17</sup> Koenen, *Što je bio komunizam/ What was communism*, p.104.

<sup>18</sup> Duda, *U potrazi za blagostanjem/ In Search of Prosperity*.

of colonial cultures and transfers between national-cultural spaces and between regional-cultural spaces.<sup>19</sup> They concluded that cultural transmissions occurred in all historical periods and that elements of cultural phenomena were permeable; that is, that the cultures involved in these processes intertwine and modify, complementing each other.<sup>20</sup> In the context of cultural transfer, theorist Wolfgang Iser<sup>21</sup> notes that close contact between different cultures calls for mutual understanding, hence the need for adapting what is transmitted in consideration of local specificities. His point is also evident in the need to mix new rock music and folklore elements in Yugoslav rock'n'roll in order to subordinate this genre to party authorities. It is why Yugoslav rock has developed a unique sound.

Apart from its cultural aspects, rock and roll music has political and social connotations, and it is therefore interesting to both social and political history. This can be observed in the example of the struggle for social freedoms and equality and the spread of various ideologies, primarily rebellion against the regime.

In this section, something should be said about the connection between music and history from a theoretical perspective. In the introductory chapter to the collection *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, Gienow-Hecht writes that political history and music have gone through a stage of convergence since the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>22</sup> In the introductory section of *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*, subtitled "Towards new social and cultural histories," authors Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam, and Lucy Noakes accentuate that interdisciplinary collaborations between social and cultural historians are necessary. The authors hold that true historians need to be able to observe the past from a critical perspective. Interdisciplinarity can only help them, as evidenced by musicological research on the sociopolitical significance of music that overlapped with the interests of social and cultural historians, with no experience in musicology.<sup>23</sup> Like musicologists, historians are interested in studying music as a historical event or development, analyzing its change, form, development, and meaning over time. However, unlike musicologists, who see music as a musical activity, the interests of historians do not focus on music as a process but as an instrument for analyzing issues of power, political hegemony, and cultural change. Historians do not necessarily

<sup>19</sup> Schmale, „Cultural Transfer“ EGO | European History Online.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Iser, *The Range of Interpretation*, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Gienow-Hecht, *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, Kindle Edition.

<sup>23</sup> Handley, McWilliam, Noakes; *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*, Kindle Edition.

view music as a subject of research but as a means of reconstructing the past – shedding light on groups, individuals, organizations, events, objects, activities, and phenomena.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, in the introduction to the previously mentioned collection, titled “Sonic History, or Why Music Matters in International History,” the author says how a choice to deliberately include music in the repertoire of international history can say a lot. Depending on factors, such as the reviewer, and the context in which the review was written, concert reviews can be as unveiling as any government documents.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, musical contexts can provide the historian with insight into critical political traces, which are also visible in the events behind rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia. Regarding historiography documenting the rock phenomenon, it is essential to note a lack of interdisciplinary approach. Professional historians often ignore or marginalize the importance of musicological insight on the topic, deeming the social and political aspects more relevant. In general, interdisciplinarity should be emphasized more to ensure better understanding and provide a broader overview of the subject.

It was pointed beforehand that rock music will be observed within the framework of gender history in the paper. When examining rock music through the framework of gender history, one can note the influence that rock music exerted on the perception of gender relations. In *The Houses of History*, theorists Anna Green and Kathleen Troup write that gender history is precisely the result of the *Women's Liberation Movement* in the 1960s, in which rock, as a basis for free sexuality, played an essential role in the sexual revolution itself.<sup>26</sup> In part, gender history reflects the course of the feminist movement and the struggle for women's equality.<sup>27</sup> Although in Yugoslavia, the feminist movement, like the sexual revolution, officially came a decade later, some aspects of the sexual revolution and changes in women's position and rights can be traced back to the late 1950s and early 1960s, respectively.<sup>28</sup> For example, contraception was advertised as early as the late 1950s, and abortion was legally allowed in the early 1960s, paving the way for more unrestrained sex.<sup>29</sup> However, when addressing this subject, it is important to note that a

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<sup>24</sup> Gienow-Hecht, *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, Kindle Edition.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Green, Troup, *The houses of history: A critical reader in history and theory*, p. 262.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263

<sup>28</sup> See more about this topic in: Miljan, „Seksualna revolucija u Hrvatskoj 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina“/ “The Sexual Revolution in Croatia in the 1960s and 1970s“

<sup>29</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији 1956.-1968./ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia 1956-1968*, p. 191.; “Uredba o postupku za vršenje dopuštenog pobačaja/Regulation on the procedure for performing permitted abortion,” *Službeni list FNRJ/Official Gazette of the FNRJ* (Belgrade), no. 4, January 19, 1952, p. 50 (which entered into force in 1960). Also, see: “Opći zakon o prekidu



turning point for the development of the feminist movement in Yugoslavia was the international conference *Drug-ca žena. Žensko pitanje. Novi pristup?/ A Comrade Woman. Women's question. A new approach?*, organized at the Student Cultural Center in Belgrade in 1978.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. Elaboration of the topic

Rock'n'roll is music a medium through which a new dance rhythm (twist), western fashion (jeans, mini skirts, new hairstyles), and a desire for change spread among Yugoslav youth. A new model of pop music is emerging in which all genres are intertwined. Yugoslav rock is described as 'surrogate music,' a mixture of pop, jazz, classical rock with Italian and French musical influences, and folk music elements.<sup>31</sup> This genre changed the cultural life of the youth – youth tribunes, entertainment evenings (university and school dances), and cultural clubs were being organized, and patriarchal notions of male-female relations were beginning to break down.<sup>32</sup>

In this segment, the influence of the emergence and progress of rock music on Yugoslav youth will be portrayed within the 1956 to mid-1970 period. In 1956, Ivo Robić published a cover of the song *Shake, Rattle and Roll* for Jugoton, with which rock officially entered the domestic stage.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, in the mid-1970s, Yugoslav punk and the new wave began, and the first wave of rock ended.<sup>34</sup>

Since rock music has penetrated the lives of young people through the dynamic processes of social change, it is necessary to describe the circumstances in which it appears briefly.

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trudnoće/General Law on Termination of Pregnancy”, *Službeni list SFRJ/Official Gazette of the SFRY* (Belgrade), no. 20, May 8, 1969, p. 20. and “Rezolucija o planiranju porodice/Resolution on Family Planning”, *Službeni list SFRJ/Official Gazette of the SFRY* (Belgrade), no. 20, May 8, 1969, p. 612.

<sup>30</sup> Stojčić, „Proleter i svih zemalja – ko vam pere čarape?/“Proletarians of all countries – who washes your socks?“, p. 109.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>32</sup> Later in the paper, the influence of rock on the change of understanding of male-female relations will be discussed; for details, see Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији 1956.-1968/ Rock'n'roll in Yugoslavia 1956-1968*, p. 321, and Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock'n'Roll*, pp. 132-141.

<sup>33</sup> Škarica, *Kad je rock bio mlad/ When rock was young*, p. 38.

<sup>34</sup> According to Vinko Barić, the official beginning of Croatian and Yugoslav punk and the new wave was the performance of the group Paraf, December 31, 1976, in the Rijeka's suburb of Kozala (Barić, *Hrvatski punk i novi val/ Croatian punk and the new wave*, p. 10).

After World War II, the United States sought to maintain the image of world power, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics tried to extend communist control to the West, after Eastern Europe. It was an invitation to the American administration to stop the red tide with a firm policy.<sup>35</sup> Truman's doctrine marked the definitive end of American isolationism, which was a prelude to the forty-year era of the Cold War and East-West antagonism, which was a prelude to the forty years of the Cold War and East-West antagonism.<sup>36</sup> At the beginning of the Cold War, Yugoslavia found itself in the Soviet sphere of influence as an American ideological enemy, but after the break with the USSR, it sought to find its path by positioning itself between the Eastern and Western Blocs.<sup>37</sup> After Stalin died in 1953, the possibility of normalizing relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union opened up, which resulted in Khrushchev's visit to Brijuni and Belgrade and the conclusion of the Belgrade Declaration on June 2, 1955. This event provoked a reaction from the USA and led to the meeting between Tito and US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that took place on the Brijuni islands in October 1955. Moreover, the US secretary was interested in a stronger connection between Yugoslavia and the Western powers. This meeting confirmed that Yugoslavia was turning to the West and that there was no danger of turning to the Soviet Union.<sup>38</sup> The second part of the 1950s was marked by the cultural war, with East and West being on the opposite sides. Both sides sent artists, scientists, and films to Yugoslavia. The western propaganda glorified free life while the Eastern Bloc countries sought to repel that influence.<sup>39</sup>

In the foreword to *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and Cold War 1945-1961*, Walter Hixson states that American popular culture is one of the greatest successes of American foreign policy.<sup>40</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> of April, 1954, is considered the birth date of rock music. In addition, this is when Bill Haley & His Comets recorded the song (*We're Gonna*) *Rock Around the Clock*.<sup>41</sup> However, this musical expression was not equally received throughout America and was

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<sup>35</sup> Sellers, May, McMillen, *Povijest Sjedinjenih Američkih Država/ History of the United States*, pp. 342-363.

<sup>36</sup> Diner, *Razumijeti stoljeće / Understanding the century*, p. 201.

<sup>37</sup> It is helpful to consult the book by the group of authors, *Pregled istorije Saveza komunista Jugoslavije/ Review of the history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia*. It was the subject of numerous criticisms due to the insufficient number of sources and the lack of professional personnel. Still, it gives us an insight into how the regime presented the history of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to the public.

<sup>38</sup> Jakovina, *Socijalizam na američkoj pšenici/ Socialism on the American wheat*, pp. 83- 91.

<sup>39</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>40</sup> Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War*, p. xi.

<sup>41</sup> Cee, *Classic Rock*, p. 9.

placed on the margins of American society. Conservative Christian circles saw it as a shallow and rebellious musical expression of dysfunctional postwar youth.<sup>42</sup> Still, as rock music became more popular in the United States, NATO analysts in 1958 found that rock (and jazz) could be used to fight red fever.<sup>43</sup>

Now that we touched on political circumstances, let's go back shortly to the aforementioned popular culture to explain further how the rock came to Yugoslavia. In the context of Americanization, the culture was instrumental as a method of social and political change. Popular culture, including rock music, ended the system of dogmatic cultural views, characteristic of the Eastern Bloc countries. It was a weapon of 'cultural propaganda,' paving the path to the cultural cold war.<sup>44</sup>

Nevertheless, it is critical to keep in mind that the cultural transfer of rock music from the USA to Europe could not have happened without necessary physical conditions such as the development of photography and mass media, especially radio, television, film, and gramophone records. A network of organized cultural institutions, such as concert halls, is also essential. Due to its linguistic and cultural closeness to the United States, the United Kingdom played a bridge in transferring rock to Europe. Through media imperialism,<sup>45</sup> America realized its plans to spread imperialism through consumer society.<sup>46</sup> Despite the spread of criticism that consumerism is a threat to social stability and values in both the USA and Europe, it needs to be stated that it became an effective means of self-defining and defining society. Politicians, especially in socialist states, were against it, but none offered a satisfactory alternative.<sup>47</sup> Namely, in the eyes of socialism, rock was viewed as a symbolic representation of American culture and economy and, by extension, the industrial capitalism. In most Eastern Bloc countries, American cultural imperialism met solid and fierce opposition.<sup>48</sup> Authorities in these countries did not accept the dom-

<sup>42</sup> Romanowski, *Pop culture wars/Religion & the role of entertainment in American life*, pp. 209-210.

<sup>43</sup> Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc*, pp. 26; 86-88.

<sup>44</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola socialism*, pp. 38-40; Hilger, "The Americanization of the European Economy after 1880" EGO | European History Online

<sup>45</sup> *Cultural imperialism* is defined as the effort of one nation to impose itself on another nation, imposing its cultural heritage; that is, we can define it as dominance and expansion, which, in the case of America, has grown into the global domination of American capitalism and popular culture. See more in: Gienov-Hecht, „Cultural Imperialism“, p. 402.

<sup>46</sup> Trifunović, *Vibracije/ Vibrations*, pp. 36-39; TOMLINSON, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, pp. 102-140.

<sup>47</sup> Cross, "Consumerism", p. 84.

<sup>48</sup> Elteren, "Rethinking Americanization Abroad", p. 358.

inance and expansion of American popular culture and the global dominance of American capitalism.<sup>49</sup> As a result, in socialist countries, rock was seen as a threat to the system and the political circles.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, popular culture, including rock music, helped socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia balance between the East and the West.<sup>51</sup> In the 1950s, American and British films, publications, literature, jazz, and rock records significantly influenced the spread of Western popular culture in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, films and cinemas were vital in spreading popular Western culture (the youth press also reported this), and the inevitable support for Westernization was reflected in the choice of attire sported by many people (e.g., mini skirts, new hairstyles).<sup>52</sup> The 1960s brought cultural liberalization and Western modernization to Yugoslavia. Popular music, jazz, and rock played a crucial role in the penetration of Western culture into the life of Yugoslavia.<sup>53</sup>

In the early 1960s, the youth organization recognized the diversity of youth interests, so rock culture also spread faster than it did in the rest of Eastern Europe. The Youth Association of Yugoslavia tolerated new music, which led to forming of the first rock bands.<sup>54</sup>

In the early '60s, Karlo Metikoš (Matt Collins) broke into the international rock market, performing in Paris.<sup>55</sup> Soon after, the Yugoslav rock scene became flooded with various performers who shaped the everyday life of Yugoslavia's youth in their way. To exemplify, some of the more notable ones were: *4M*, *-Dinamiti* (formerly *Tornado*, *Kon-Tiki* - led by Kićo Slabinac and later Dado Topić), *Sjene*, *Atomi*, *Bijele strijele*, *Uragani*, *Bezimeni*, *Crveni korralji*, *Zlatni dečaci*, *Džentlmeni*, *Korni grupa* (first led by Seka Kojadinović, and later by Dado Topić, Zdravko Čolić, and Zlatko Pejaković)<sup>56</sup>, *Kameleoni*, *Bele vrane*, *Iskre*, *Silujete*, *Elipse*, *Roboti*, *Zlatni akordi*, *Delfini*, *Indexi*, also the female bands such as *Lutke*, *Šigele*, *Sanjalice*, *Crni biseri*.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Gienov-Hecht, „Cultural Imperialism“, p. 402.

<sup>50</sup> Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>51</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>53</sup> Vučetić, „Рокенрол на Западу Истока/ Rock and Roll in the West of the East“, pp. 71-72.

<sup>54</sup> Zubak, „Pop-Express (1969.-1970.)“/ „Pop-Express (1969-1970)“, pp. 24-26.

<sup>55</sup> Janjatović, *Ex YU rock enciklopedija/ Ex YU rock encyclopedia*, p. 147.

<sup>56</sup> P. B. Popović, „Jugoslovenski rock'n'roll designeri- Dado/ Yugoslav rock'n'roll designers-Dado“, *Ladin Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 20, February/March 1976, pp. 14-24.

<sup>57</sup> See more about bands in the mentioned book: Škarica, *Kad je rock bio mlad/ When Rock Was Young*.

With the influx of Western influences, rock music began to enter all homes through radio. Radio Luxembourg, which aired American and English music programs from 7 pm to 3 am, from 15 minutes to an hour, informed young people about the latest hits, the lives of rock stars, and the producers of the latest music equipment, inspiring them to their musical endeavors.<sup>58</sup> This radio station was a window into rock'n'roll all over Europe. While the communist authorities in East Germany (German Democratic Republic) campaigned against Radio Luxembourg in the 1960s, the authorities in Yugoslavia had no problem with this radio station, and the press even recognized the phenomenon.<sup>59</sup> In 1961, Yugoslavia had its first radio show dedicated to rock (*Meeting at 9.05*), hosted by the first editor of *Džuboks/Jukebox* magazine, Nikola Karaklajić. Given the favorable circumstances in the country, many young bands started performing versions of world hits that they first heard on the movie screen. Also, songs by foreign performers were translated.<sup>60</sup> Jugoton signing with the *Radio Corporation of America* (RCA) marked a step forward in promoting American rock music in Yugoslavia. This was further confirmed by Jugoton signing with *Electric & Musical Industries* (EMI).<sup>61</sup> Thanks to this contract, *Jugoton* was the only house authorized to release records from the EMI repertoire in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Records with the greatest pop hits originating from America, Great Britain, Italy, West Germany, and Spain were released in Zagreb at the time.<sup>62</sup>

It is an interesting fact that the *People's Youth of Yugoslavia*<sup>63</sup> allowed young people to become an equal subject, who participates in creating their own free time. This is evident in the youth press, which contributed to the spread of rock culture among young people, but also through which the influence of rock was brought to the Yugoslav youth. *Jugoslavenski Ritam/ Yugoslav Rhythm*, a magazine of popular music, surfaced in 1962 and was succeeded by the *Džuboks* (1966-1969), the first Yugoslav magazine committed to rock'n'roll, printed in Belgrade. Due to its popularity and the influence on the youth of that time, it is a publication on which this writing segment will be primarily based. The magazine *Gong* (1966-1968) and *Pop-Express* (1969-1970)

<sup>58</sup> Željko Fajfrić, Milan Nenad, *Istorija Yu rock muzike/History of Yu rock music*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>59</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 79.

<sup>60</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola socialism*, p. 204.

<sup>61</sup> Trifunović, *Vibracije/ Vibrations*, pp. 99-102.

<sup>62</sup> "Аранжман Југотона са ЕМИ/ Jugoton's Arrangement with EMI", *Политика* (Belgrade), January 24, 1967, p. 6.

<sup>63</sup> It was later (1963) called the *League of Youth of Yugoslavia*. From 1974 called the *League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia*. In the text from now on referred to as *The League of Youth*. See more in Šarić, Jukić, „Prilog proučavanju povijesti omladinskih organizacija“/ "Contribution to the Study of the History of Youth Organizations", pp. 269-288.

from Zagreb were also issued at that time.<sup>64</sup> However, among the previously mentioned magazines, *Džuboks* stands out by delivering rock culture to the young generation. Radina Vučetić called *Džuboks* one of the myths and symbols of the Yugoslav 1960s in her article “Rock and Roll in the West of the East / The *Džuboks* Case.”<sup>65</sup>

The first issue of this magazine was published on May 3, 1966, and was thematically dedicated to *The Rolling Stones*, the second most popular British band of incredible commercial potential, which often permeated the *Džuboks* pages.<sup>66</sup> Still, the band that had the most significant impact on youth across Yugoslavia was the *Beatles*. It is interesting to note that in the weekly *Mini Džuboks* (January 29, 1969), one could find information that the Soviet Minister of Culture said: “Every savage must have an idol to worship, and *Beatlemania* is a symptom of a sick society without ideals.”<sup>67</sup>

In the context of this statement, it is interesting to discern a possible mission of the magazine to point out to young people in Yugoslavia the difference between the Soviet and Yugoslav political leadership. The aforementioned could be a part of further analysis of how the Yugoslav press worked on maintaining the unprecedented cultural status of Yugoslavia. Regardless, young audiences, primarily high school students, flocked to record stores every time the *Beatles* released a record and went to concerts with equal enthusiasm. *Beatlemania* shook Yugoslavia and filled the columns and front pages of *Džuboks magazine*.<sup>68</sup> Through the example of *Beatlemania* in Yugoslavia, it can be concluded that Yugoslavia was not late with modern youth trends and that the youth press had the freedom to write about bands of their choice.

Although the magazine promoted international stars (among others, The Who, Jimi Hendrix, Mary Hopkin, Tom Jones, Bob Dylan, Elvis Presley, The Animals) and top charts of international performers in England, Italy, USA, and France, special attention was paid to domestic performers (previously mentioned young rock bands, but also solo performers, among which Arsen Dedić, Tereza Kesovija, Gabi Novak and Josipa Lisac stood out).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Read about the *Pop-Express* in: Zubak, „Pop-Express (1969.-1970.)/ Pop-Express (1969-1970)“, pp. 23-35.

<sup>65</sup> Vučetić, „Рокенрол на Западу Истока“/ “Rock and Roll in the West of the East”, pp. 73-75; Adrić, *Leksikon Yu mitologije/ Lexicon of Yu Mythology*, p. 116.

<sup>66</sup> *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 1, May 3, 1966; Numbers 4, August 3, 1966 and 26, June 3, 1968 are also dedicated to the band. Smaller articles about the band can be found in almost every issue of the *Džuboks* (1-39).

<sup>67</sup> „Bitlmanija/Beatlemania“, *Mini Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 29, January 16, 1969

<sup>68</sup> *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 3, July 3, 1966; no. 15, July 3, 1967; no. 21, January 3, 1968; no. 33 January 3, 1969; *Novi Džuboks/ New Jukebox* (Belgrade), no. 36, April 3, 1969; no. 39, June 3, 1969

<sup>69</sup> *Džuboks /Novi Džuboks* (Belgrade), numbers 1-39

The *League of Youth* tolerated the new youth trend but did not pay much attention to rock music until the mid-1970s. The federation allowed rock music as a form of fun for young people. This openness and consent of the regime played an important international role: it created a positive image of Yugoslavia that gave young people more freedom. Having gained the permission of rock music from the Communist Party, Yugoslav rock was no longer considered subversive because it abandoned the concept of rebellion. With the approval from Communist Party, all festivals and music events were actually brought under its control.<sup>70</sup> This fact is confirmed by the interview with the band *Samonikli* in the first issue of *Džuboks*. The band members stated that at the suggestion of the City Committee of the League of Youth in Budapest, they played with orchestras from Hungary and East Germany as part of the Youth Day celebration (the collaboration of Yugoslav rock musicians with bands from the Eastern Bloc countries will be discussed later in the text).<sup>71</sup>

The problems that young Yugoslav musicians faced included poverty, lack of equipment, and instruments they often made themselves. Since music equipment was mainly inaccessible to young musicians and unknown to a broader readership, Jukebox introduces the Technical Corner section, in which each issue presents some of the world's newest music equipment and the game "You answer, we give you a tape recorder" is introduced.<sup>72</sup> As they did not have an official rehearsal space, young people played in apartment buildings and often experienced the rejection of the neighborhood due to their unique lifestyle and appearance. The generational divergence in the perception of rock music became evident in the late 50s. Although official youth organizations accepted rock, the older generations believed that rock music corrupts young people and encourages them to engage in acts of hooliganism and condone immoral acts.<sup>73</sup>

It is a truth that through more intimate dance, rock led to greater sexual freedoms and changed the patriarchal understanding of male-female relationships, and consequently, the older generation blamed this music for the loss of youth ideals.<sup>74</sup> In his book *Sex, Thugs and rock'n'roll*, Mark Fenemore<sup>75</sup> explains that rock music, as an international phenomenon, has changed the

<sup>70</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/ Coca-Cola socialism*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>71</sup> „Dobar dan, kako ste Samonikli?”/ “Hello, how are you Samonikli”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 1, May 3, 1966, pp. 6-7.

<sup>72</sup> *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 2, June 3, 1966; no. 3, July 3, 1966; no. 12, April 9, 1967; no. 21, January 3, 1968; no. 33, January, 3 1969.

<sup>73</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 303.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-327.

<sup>75</sup> Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock'n'Roll*, pp. 132-141.

expressions of masculinity and femininity across Europe. Rock music rejected the military masculine ideal, developing an aversion to everything uniformed and formal. On the other hand, rock freed women from old patriarchal shackles and through fashion (skinny jeans, mini-skirts) brought about a change in values (sex and beauty become weapons of freedom). Fenemore believes that it was the rock that contributed to reducing the gender gap.

In his article, „The Beat Fashion, Rock and Roll, and the Generational Conflict in Yugoslavia 1965-1967“ (2011), Aleksandar Raković also problematizes and explains fashion changes and changes in the lifestyle of young people that deepened generational conflicts in Yugoslavia. The youth trends were regularly exposed to negative criticism in daily newspapers and defended in the youth press. Consequently, the editor of the *Džuboks* magazine, Nikola Karaklajić, noted that nothing is achieved by coercing and condemning young people.<sup>76</sup> While skinny jeans were considered inappropriate among older generations, and girls in mini-skirts were looked upon with disapproval, the long-haired young men were viewed particularly negatively. It was the case even among famous musicians who sported longer hair. Moreover, their short-haired colleagues were better accepted than they were. The members of the *Silvete* band reported about their ‘long-haired problems,’ stating that they encountered resistance and sabotage from individuals employed on the radio. Also, the band *Roboti* reported that the Slavija Hotel did not want to rent out a room to them because of their hairstyles.<sup>77</sup> Amateur musicians and young fans of the rock image had more difficulties. There were cases in which, on the orders of a professor or principal, Belgrade students had to get a haircut to attend high school classes, and long hair was often the reason for street violence. Raković reports that over fifty citizens of Zagreb were forced to get a haircut in the streets during street conflicts in 1967. According to the attackers, their actions were prompted by The League of Youth of Zagreb and *The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Zagreb*. Said organizations, however, denied having taken any part in these conflicts. Police refused to interfere in the clashes.<sup>78</sup> Young people were frequently taken to the streets or forced to a haircut in the police stations after attending performances, concerts, or cinemas. The generational conflict became a severe challenge, and the press also reported on it.

To illustrate, here are a few verses from the poem “Huligani/Hooligans” by Zvonimir Golob, published in *Vjesnik/Herald* in December 1967, and also in January 1968:

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<sup>76</sup> Nikola Karaklajić, „Uvodnik/ Editorial”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 4, August 3, 1966.

<sup>77</sup> Raković, „ Бит мода, рокенрол и генерацијски сукоб у Југославији 1965-1967/ The Beat Fashion, Rock and Roll and the Generational Conflict in Yugoslavia 1965-1967”, p. 749.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 747; 749



„You say: watch this youth  
 Long hair and how they dress.  
 You do not know who is a boy and who is a girl,  
 They serve no purpose while dancing and singing.

...

Isn't your exemplary youth a poor memory?  
 Your ideals, what do they mean to us?  
 Is the mind larger if the hair is shorter?  
 Everyone pays their bill from their salary ...”<sup>79</sup>

The poem in its entirety covers a broader range of intergenerational misunderstanding problems, but this part illuminates the ‘long hair problem’ that is considered here. In general, due to long hair, young people were often associated with robbery and other types of deviant behavior (individuals also saw long hair as a characteristic of “Chetniks”).<sup>80</sup>

The 1960s gave rise to the economic crisis and numerous difficulties. Among other things, there were many instances of termination of employment, and the number of young and highly educated people among the unemployed was growing, so they emigrated outside the borders of Yugoslavia.<sup>81</sup> This crisis (which would reach its peak in 1968 with student protests) was also reflected in rock music. In the 13th issue of *Džuboks*, entitled “Where is our pop music going,” Pavle Werner writes on the impact crisis had on the domestic scene. He sees the cause of the crisis in the lack of discipline, plan, and goal, constant conflicts between bands, and excessive glorification of foreign music. When rock music was still a novelty in Yugoslavia, in 1964, the *Ringo Club* was founded in Zagreb in the hopes of becoming an association of young musicians. The problem arose when most Zagreb bands refused to fund the club so they would not help their competition. The following year the club ceased to operate, but the work continued under the name of the *Youth Ensemble Club*. It was the second attempt to affirm new bands. Music festivals were organized and, the *First Beat Music Festival* was launched on November 4, 1965. Despite the positive reviews, the first festival was also the last. Since the Youth Club was disassembled due to frequent conflicts between the bands, there was an increase in the number of artists doing bad

<sup>79</sup> Klasić, *Jugoslavija i svijet 1968./ Yugoslavia and the World in 1968*, pp. 98-99; *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), December, 31 1967, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Raković, „Бит мода, рокенрол и генерацијски сукоб у Југославији/ The Beat Fashion, Rock and Roll and the Generational Conflict in Yugoslavia”, p. 748.

<sup>81</sup> Klasić, *Jugoslavija i svijet 1968./ Yugoslavia and the World in 1968*, p. 25; Tripalo, *Hrvatsko proljeće/The Croatian Spring*, p. 87.

imitations of foreign music at the local events.<sup>82</sup> The decline in the quality of music and constant imitations can be found in the pro-Western orientation of Yugoslav musicians who were mainly influenced by foreign artists. Also, foreign radio stations were mainly advertised. In addition to the previously mentioned Radio Luxembourg, in the mid-1960s, Radio Europa, Radio Paris, Radio Saarbrücken, Radio Droitwich were also advertised with a British best-seller list according to Melody Maker magazine.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, the problem was in a large number of bands. In the revolutionary 1968, the number of bands in Yugoslavia was estimated at 4000, most of which were bands in Croatia. Due to the low quality, most bands could only play on 'gigs' at school events. The vast majority of young bands remained average due to a lack of equipment. They often improvised, while only a tiny percentage of musicians managed to break into better positions and earn a living by performing. Twenty-seven dance clubs and halls were registered in Zagreb alone in the 1960s. In smaller halls, earnings were low. The growing competition for rock bands was disco clubbing, which led to the end of the first wave of rock in Yugoslavia.<sup>84</sup> Despite the many changes that rock introduced in the lifestyle of young people in the late 1960s, the musical presence of this style was not strong enough to allow the local indigenous rock to dominate the domestic scene.<sup>85</sup> Despite the fact that the emerging popular culture started gaining followers among the younger generation, it was not enough because not enough funds and attention were invested. The best example is the poorly attended music festival in Belgrade (held in December 1968). The article "What is our advertising like" by an unknown author emphasizes that the city gave the hall to the organizers for free. However, the organizers did not invest in advertising, expecting "as much profit as possible, with as little money as possible."<sup>86</sup>

In Zagreb, a center of entertainment and music in Yugoslavia, the situation was somewhat better because young people were offered enough content, and youth parties in many halls and clubs were organized three times a week (Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays).<sup>87</sup> However, the general crisis, which

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<sup>82</sup> Werner, „Kuda ide naša pop muzika/Where is our pop music going”, *Džuboks* (Beograd), no. 13, May 3, 1967, p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Vučetić, “Рокенрол на Западу Истока/ Rock and Roll in the West of the East”, p. 81; See the same in the *Džuboks*, no. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Fajfrić, Nenad, *Istorija Yu rock muzike/ History of Yu rock music*, pp. 44-46.

More about disco clubs: Vučetić, “Рокенрол на Западу Истока/ Rock and Roll in the West of the East”, pp. 81-82.

<sup>85</sup> Zubak, „Pop-Express (1969.-1970.)/ Pop-Express (1969-1970)“, p. 28

<sup>86</sup> „Kakva nam je reklama/What is our advertising like”, *Mini Džuboks*, no. 31, February 6, 1969

<sup>87</sup> *Mini Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 32, February 13, 1969.

encompassed the popular culture, and therefore the rock scene, in late 1960, affected the entire country. In the new decade, this crisis of popular culture introduced autochthonous rock without artistic or political ideals.<sup>88</sup> Also, the late 1960s and early 1970s brought a breath of hippie sexual revolution that Zagreb's magazine *Pop-Express* would successfully defend in court at the end of 1969.<sup>89</sup> The problem was in a couple of funny, 'undesirable' expressions and apparent sexual allusions. It was enough for the thirteenth issue, from October 1969, to be temporarily banned for "a grave insult to morals" that "harms the upbringing of youth."<sup>90</sup>

The defense pointed out that the most significant part of the defendant's sentences was actually transferred from the available press, concluding that the process does not condemn the magazine but the entire young generation and wants to impose sexual tutorship. In the article "Pop-Express (1969-1970)", Zubak concluded that the trial itself was significant because it revealed the extent of tolerance authorities had towards rock culture and its immanent subversive nature.<sup>91</sup> However, the subversive nature of the first wave of Yugoslav rock can be discussed. Apart from the Communist Party's approval and control of the genre mentioned earlier, commercialization and imitation of popular western musical trends are also reasons why the first wave of rock in Yugoslavia never rose to a proper rebellious movement or at least to the level of cultural expression of the radical social movement. It should be pointed out that the lack of ideals and commercialization of rock led to a decline in its popularity by the end of the 1960s.<sup>92</sup> Rock culture proved to be a profitable industry, flourishing in the 1960s, spreading worldwide (including Yugoslavia). With the help of marketing tricks, it was used as a tool for gaining profit by the mass media and entertainment industry.<sup>93</sup> This situation is perhaps best illustrated by the attitude of Vladan Jovanović (*Ladin Džuboks*), who wrote that

<sup>88</sup> "Propada li ili tek nastaje jugoslavenska rock muzika/ Is Yugoslav rock music dying or emerging" *Pop-Express* (Zagreb), no. 11, October 25, 1969, p. 3.

<sup>89</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 191; Zubak, „Pop-Express (1969.-1970.)“/ "Pop-Express (1969-1970)", pp. 30-32; "Nevini smo/ We are innocent", *Pop-Express* (Zagreb), no. 14, November 15, 1969, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Zubak, „Pop-Express (1969.-1970.)“/ "Pop-Express (1969-1970)", p. 31; See also: "Problemi duše, srca i tijela"/ "Problems of the soul, heart and body", *Pop-Express* (Zagreb), no. 10, October 18, 1969, p. 14.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>92</sup> Read more about the meaning of rock culture within a broad counter-cultural movement in Perasović, "Slobodno vrijeme i subkulturni identitet/ Leisure and subcultural identity", pp. 411-418.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414

“the original spirit of rock died when a generation of financiers and producers turned it in a less dangerous, commercial direction.”<sup>94</sup>

The events of 1968 confirmed that internal weaknesses had a much more significant impact on the country's stability than external dangers. Various attempts at political, social, and economic reforms prove that these weaknesses were not unknown to those who ruled the country.<sup>95</sup> After the student protests, due to censorship, and under the standing orders from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the League of Youth focused on discussions on information, propaganda activities, and the country's national defense. It was determined that radio and television, local radio stations, newspaper publishing houses, publishing and printing companies, newspaper and publication editorial offices, film, and other companies should be subordinated to the propaganda activities. The order was explained by a need for a more efficient organization of defense in case of war.<sup>96</sup>

Extremely dynamic political and social processes, which took place after 1967, culminated in the early 1970s, more precisely 1971. This year marked Croatian history as a year of strengthening and protecting Croatian interests in politics, economy, and culture.<sup>97</sup> Although the ‘unresolved national issue’ is mainly cited as the foundation of the *Croatian Spring*, the development of events still suggests that the fundamental problem was unresolved economic relations mentioned above.<sup>98</sup> The significance and interpretation of the year 1971 for Croatia is still the subject of debate.<sup>99</sup>

It was inevitably a kind of turning point in the history of Yugoslav pop culture, which meant further censorship for the domestic rock scene. Indeed, the early 1970s were quiet, with bands playing exclusively at private youth dance parties or in military bands, depending on whether they were in military service at the time.

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<sup>94</sup> Vladan Jovanović, “Šta je otupilo rock'n'roll/What dulled rock'n'roll” *Ladin Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 20, February/March 1976, pp. 64- 65.

<sup>95</sup> Klasić, *Jugoslavija i svijet 1968./ Yugoslavia and the World in 1968*, 448-449

<sup>96</sup> HR-DAOS-962, no. 02-47/1-69, Top Secret Documents of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia.

<sup>97</sup> Šute, “1971. kao uvod u 1991./ 1971 as an introduction to 1991”, pp. 457-469.

<sup>98</sup> Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*, pp. 228-229; Klasić, “Svibanjsko savjetovanje 1968./ The May Consultation 1968”, p. 57; Also see: HR-HDA-1561, State Security Administration: Selected session materials of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, January 15 -17, 1970, Exposition of Savka Dabčević-Kučar.

<sup>99</sup> Kursar, “Prijeporni pluralizam 1971./ Controversial pluralism in 1971”, pp. 143-155; Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*, pp. 227- 262; For more information, read Tripalo, *Hrvatsko proljeće/ The Croatian spring*, and the collection of papers *Hrvatsko Proljeće – 40 godina poslije/ Croatian Spring- 40 years later*, edited by Tvrtko Jakovina.

Strict censorship also precipitated the cessation of the publication of *Džuboks* (until 1974, when the magazine would be re-published under the name *Ladin Džuboks* (July 1)).<sup>100</sup> The new *Džuboks* failed to live up to the readers' expectations because it reported on old bands and 'past times.' The rock scene was significantly weakened by a notable expansion of disco music, so the new magazine covered various musical expressions. The main music event at the time was the Split Festival. Everything in *Ladin Džuboks* indicated that the initial zeal had disappeared entirely.<sup>101</sup>

The following year brought the 'democratization' of youth social life, as evidenced by the documents that provide an overview of the discussions at the Republic Conference of the *League of Socialist Youth of Croatia* (SSOH). In the sessions, the main subject was how to control the social life of youth. In February, it was agreed to organize a *Revolutionary and Patriotic Songs* festival to influence young people by encouraging musicians to create more accessible musical forms when performing songs from the National Liberation War. The goal was to emphasize the importance of adapting to the interests of the youth, which had its way and form of expression.<sup>102</sup> On Thursday, April 24, 1975, in Zagreb, ideological and political issues among young people were addressed at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the *League of Socialist Youth of Croatia* (SSOH) with the presidents and secretaries of the *Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia Communities of Municipalities*. Namely, participants of the conference discussed the "influence of anarcholiberal, technocratic, information bureaucratic and other anti-socialist and anti-self-governing forces and tendencies on the consciousness and political orientation of young people, and the influence of the church and clergy on the youth."<sup>103</sup> They also examined how much foreign propaganda was directed towards the youth and how much the activity of opposition groups at the faculties was aimed at winning over young people for their views and political activities.<sup>104</sup> Young rock musicians had to get involved in various Tito festivities and music festivals "to put an end to all the dangers lurking in order and peace in Yugoslavia." It enabled them to professionally or unprofessionally engage in the music they loved within a given

<sup>100</sup> *Ladin Džuboks* (Belgrade), no 1, July 1, 1974.

<sup>101</sup> See *Ladin Džuboks*, issues from 1 – 3 for the year 1974; 4-18 for 1975, and 19- 29 for 1976.

<sup>102</sup> HR-HDA-1231, no. 010-323 / 1, Association of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, Conference of the Association of Socialist Youth of Croatia, Commission for the Development of the Acquis of Revolutions and Revolutionary Traditions: Action Program for 1975.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

theme. It resulted in the quiet ridicule of the young bands who participated in these festivities.<sup>105</sup>

The *Festival of Revolutionary and Patriotic Songs* was organized in November 1975. The year 1977 marked the most memorable Festival. The thematic title was: *With Tito to freedom, with Tito in freedom*. The song by Đorđe Novković and Mira Alečković, *Comrade Tito, We Swear to You* (performed by Zdravko Čolić), also helped to maintain Tito's cult of personality. No less noticeable was the band *Indexi* with the song *Yugoslavia* (later *Long Live Yugoslavia*) in the same year.<sup>106</sup>

Despite these successes, critics of the festival complained about the miserable response of rock performers and the lack of 'revolutionary pathos.'<sup>107</sup>

Notwithstanding its humble beginnings and problems, Yugoslav rock continued to develop during the *new wave* in 1977, reaching its peak and addressing the individual existential problems. The philosopher Dalibor Mišina considered the *new wave* as the genuine beginning of rock in Yugoslavia.<sup>108</sup> While this claim can stimulate further discussions, the importance and impact of the first wave of rock in Yugoslavia on the lives of the youth should not be diminished.

#### **4.1. Cooperation of Yugoslav rock musicians with the musicians from the Eastern Bloc countries (a glimpse through Džuboks magazine)**

Since Yugoslav rock is not an isolated phenomenon in Eastern Europe, it is necessary to compare it with the development of rock'n'roll in other European countries under the communist regime. For this reason, the paper will give a brief overview of the situation in these countries.

In the countries behind the Iron Curtain, rock represented a desire for a different life and a rebellion against a system maintained on prohibitions, strict rules, and restrictions on personal freedoms. Rock'n'roll simultaneously infected the Soviet Union and its satellites in the late 1950s. Thus, after Stalin's death, the Soviet youth embraced the Western popular culture, freedom

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<sup>105</sup> HR-HDA-1241, Republic Board of SUBNOR SRH and Republic Conference SSOH/Report on the 3rd Yugoslav Festival of Revolutionary and Patriotic Songs 1977, Zagreb, December 1977.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> See reviews in *Polet* (Zagreb), December 9 1977, and *Mladost* (Belgrade), November 21 1977.

<sup>108</sup> Mišina, *Shake, Rattle and Roll*, p. 4

of speech, and “scandalous fashion” (tight jeans, white shirts, and jackets with broad shoulders). The acceptance of Western influences is also reflected in the fact that *Gorky Boulevard*, where young people in Moscow gathered, was called Broadway.<sup>109</sup> Poland and Hungary had the most progressive rock scene. Hungarian and Polish authorities considered that young people should not be deprived of Western popular culture. The rock scene there developed smoothly (albeit at the cost of non-interference in politics).<sup>110</sup> The situation was similar in Czechoslovakia until the invasion of Soviet troops in 1968, which made rock illegal. The only country where young people were “protected” from rock’n’roll influence was Albania because rock never reached popularity there. It might be because the country was isolated and protected its traditions and culture.<sup>111</sup> Radio Belgrade and Western stations (especially Radio Luxembourg) were broadcast in Bulgaria and Romania in the early 1960s. However, the domestic rock scene never developed in these countries, and sympathy for rock was expressed only through listening and covering foreign hits.<sup>112</sup> In Romania, the Ceaușescu regime made concessions only because of tourists in resorts, but it did not allow young people to nurture rock ideology. As early as 1971, the regime expelled all inappropriate Western influences and shut down the rock scene.<sup>113</sup>

In East Germany (the German Democratic Republic), the communist government tried to prevent the spread of rock’n’roll with all its might, believing that dancing to this type of music posed a danger to communist values and threatened to corrupt young people with the American way of life. The association of rock’n’roll with the sexual revolution, youth rebellion, and the desire for freedom posed a problem to the authorities.<sup>114</sup> Also, the fact that strict control led to the flourishing of the illegal markets of records and rock bands did not help. For these reasons, the Ministry of Culture in East Berlin established the *Sektion Rockmusik* to monitor rock music.<sup>115</sup> When we talk about music during the communist regime in East Germany, we should also mention the book: *Composing the Party line* (2013) by David G. Tomkins. The book does not focus on rock music, but the author describes the demonstration

<sup>109</sup> Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>110</sup> Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc*, pp. 22-24; Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији / Rock’n’ roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 590.

<sup>111</sup> Ramet, *Rocking the State*, p. 9

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141

<sup>113</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославији/ Rock’n’ roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 584.

<sup>114</sup> Fenemore, *Sex, Thugs and Rock’n’Roll*, pp. ix – xiv.

<sup>115</sup> Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc*, p. 5; VUČETIĆ, *Koka-kola socijalizam/Coca-Cola socialism*, p. 193.

of communist regime power through Stalinist music. Using a comparative method, the author contrasts the connection between music (mainly classical) and politics in East Germany and Poland from the end of World War II to the mid-1950s. Tompkins believes that music in these states played a crucial role in consolidating and maintaining the communist regime in Eastern Central Europe.<sup>116</sup> Although the author touches briefly on popular Western music, describing it as a “seductive phenomenon that neither composers nor audiences could resist,”<sup>117</sup> and does not analyze it further, this book is a valuable contribution to music research within political and socio-cultural history, as well as to the history of everyday life within communist regimes.

The Yugoslav press did not write much about rock'n'roll in the East until the mid-1960s. This was caused by the desire to preserve the unique cultural status of Yugoslavia. However, Yugoslavia had a successful musical collaboration with the countries of the Eastern Bloc. Not only did rock music enter the Soviet Union through Yugoslav musicians, but Yugoslav and ‘eastern’ rock musicians collaborated and performed at joint music festivals.<sup>118</sup> *Dance Orchestra* of Radio Ljubljana (1957) brought the first rock rhythms to the Soviet Union (later called the “Eldorado of popular music”<sup>119</sup>). Singers Marjana Deržaj and Nino Robić performed a twist while on a tour of the USSR in the summer of 1962.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, Đorđe Marjanović was one of the pioneers of Yugoslav rock who brought the latest hits of The Beatles, Animals, Johnny Hallyday, Bob Dylan, The Mamas & the Papas to the Soviet Union. He went on his first tour of the USSR in 1963. Until the end of the 1960s, Marjanović caused “hysteria” in the Soviet Union akin to the biggest rock stars. The youth there got more in touch with the mysterious West through his music.<sup>121</sup> Another favorite guest on the stages of the Soviet Union was Radmila Karaklaić, whose vinyl record featuring the song: *Angelina Zumba Zumba* was the best-selling record in the Soviet Union (it sold one million and two hundred thousand copies). Her first arrival in the USSR was planned for 1964. However, it was postponed because some of Radmila’s songs were in English. She arrived in the Soviet Union in 1965 (and she sang in Serbian). By 1966, she had had

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<sup>116</sup> Tompkins, *Composing the Party Line*, pp. 1-9.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>118</sup> Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam/Coca-Cola socialism*, p. 194; Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 306- 317; 582.

<sup>119</sup> “Radmila Karaklajić – Džuboksova porota/Radmila Karaklajić – Džuboks Jury” *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 37., May 3, 1969, p. 14.

<sup>120</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, 315; „Najpopularniji twist/The most popular is the twist“, *Arena* (Zagreb), September 28, 1962; „Твист у Москви/Twist in Moscow“ *Дуга[Duga]* (Belgrade), June 3, 1962.

<sup>121</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 316-317



a successful collaboration with musicians in the USSR and had 280 performances there. This singer also performed in Romania and Czechoslovakia.<sup>122</sup>

In 1965, Karlo Metikoš, Vice Vukov, Ana Štefok and Ivica Šerfezi went on tour in the Soviet Union. The performances of Vice Vukov and Karlo Metikoš were severely criticized for dancing on stage, singing in English, and inviting the audience to dance. The SFRY embassy considered the guest appearances that followed the “pop group” inappropriate. It was argued that musicians “justifiably caused some resentment, both because of the program and the behavior of individuals from the group.”<sup>123</sup>

Following this ‘incident,’ musicians who came to the Soviet Union were subjected to stricter repertoire checks. Despite these measures, cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslav musicians continued. This can be observed in the case of *Delfini*, rockers from Split, who also traveled to the Soviet Union at the end of 1967.<sup>124</sup> After returning from a tour of the USSR that lasted through December and January 1968, the band *Indexi* noted that they had to prove their skills and suitability at a rehearsal in the *Great Hall* in Moscow. That was the only way to play in front of the live audience. They also claimed to have established successful cooperation and friendship with several ‘Soviet bands’ in Leningrad.<sup>125</sup>

At the end of April 1966, youth orchestras from Hungary, East Germany, and Yugoslavia had a music competition in Budapest. At the suggestion of the City Committee of the League of Youth of Yugoslavia, the band *Samonikli* went as representatives of Yugoslavia.<sup>126</sup> The band members stated for the *Džuboks* magazine that they felt welcome and that their lack of knowledge of the language was not a problem in making acquaintances with the present vocal-instrumental ensembles.<sup>127</sup> In the same year, the Polish band *Niebiesko Czarni* (Blue and Black) visited Yugoslavia in the autumn. They played in Ljubljana’s Tivoli on October 15 and 16 and performed in Kranj, Zagreb, and Belgrade. *Džuboks* called them one of the best bands in Europe.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 27, July 1968; no. 31, November 3, 1968.

<sup>123</sup> A. Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију / Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 318

<sup>124</sup> “Delfini- putem profesionalizma/ Delfini – on the way of professionalism” *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 17, September 3, 1967, p. 21.

<sup>125</sup> V. M. “Odlikaši sarajevske pop scene/ Excellences of the Sarajevo pop scene”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 23, March 3, 1968, p. 12.

<sup>126</sup> „Dobar dan, kako ste Samonikli/ Hello, how are you Samonikli”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 1, May 3, 1966, pp. 6-7.

<sup>127</sup> Pavlov, “Pismo iz Budimpešte/ A letter from Budapest” *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 2, June 3, 1966, p. 24.

<sup>128</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију / Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, p. 586; Đukić, “Jedan od najboljih sastava Evrope: ‘Plavo-Crni’ iz Poljske/One of the best bands in Europe: ‘Blue-Black’ from Poland”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 8, December, 3 1966.

Moreover, a Yugoslav band from Zagreb, *Roboti*, performed in Vienna with orchestras from Hungary and Czechoslovakia in the same year.<sup>129</sup> It was through this band that the Yugoslav audience learned more about the bands from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. After this event, *Džuboks*, under the title “Letter from Czechoslovakia”, reported that *Olimpić* were the most popular “electricians” in Czechoslovakia. They recorded ten single records and played in Poland and East Germany.<sup>130</sup> However, in Yugoslavia, the most popular band from Czechoslovakia was *Flamengo* from Prague. They performed in Belgrade, at the Tasmajdan Stadium, in the summer of 1967. That was their first visit. They held a concert with the ensemble *Staccato* from Bulgaria (Sofia) and the Yugoslav bands: *Kameleoni*, *Elipse*, and *Crni biseri*. The second time *Flamengo* came to Yugoslavia, they played at the Belgrade’s Youth Center in 1968. They sang in Czech and English.<sup>131</sup> The leader of the band, Premisl Czerny, told *Džuboks* (in April 1968) that the *Džuboks* magazine helped the band gain more popularity in Czechoslovakia.<sup>132</sup>

Positive experiences notwithstanding, the band recalled some unpleasant dealings with the Yugoslav entertainment industry. Specifically, the concert organizer did not pay the musicians. As a result, they had no place to sleep and no money to return to Prague. Fellow musicians jumped in and organized an overnight stay for the band. They also raised money for the train ticket.<sup>133</sup> In 1968, Vice Vukov had a concert in Czechoslovakia. Additionally, Hrvoje Hegedušić won the *Silver Key* at the competition in Bratislava in the same year.<sup>134</sup> The last article of *Džuboks* about performances in the Eastern Bloc countries, before the censorship, was about the band Strangers from Vojvodina, who performed in Poland and Hungary in 1969.<sup>135</sup> After the student demonstrations, concert organizations and Yugoslav rock bands became less relevant.

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<sup>129</sup> Marjanović, “Dobar dan, kako ste Roboti/ Hello, how are you, Roboti”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 3, July 3, 1966, pp. 4-5.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 5, September 3, 1966.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 16, August 3, 1967; no. 17, September 3, 1967; Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 588-589.

<sup>132</sup> Mitrović, “Upitnik/A questionnaire – Premisl Czerny Flamengo”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 24, April 3, 1968, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup> Raković, *Рокенрол у Југославију/ Rock'n' roll in Yugoslavia*, pp. 589-590.

<sup>134</sup> Warner, “Džuboks u poseti/ Džuboks visiting”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade), no. 25, May 3, 1968, p. 19.

<sup>135</sup> D. P. “The Strangers – najbolji u Vojvodini/ The Strangers – the best in Vojvodina”, *Džuboks* (Belgrade) no. 39, July 3, 1969, p. 42.

## 5. Conclusion

By examining exhaustive historiography and numerous sources, we can conclude that rock music became popular in Yugoslavia owing to several reasons: 1) opening up to the West; 2) acknowledging young people's desire for change, 3) accepting new youth interests. These reasons gave birth to youth music and bands as bearers of popular culture. Although young people did not directly oppose values, rules, and standard social norms through rock music, this genre did introduce new fashion styles and ways of thinking and brought the desired change and liberalization into the everyday life of young Yugoslavs through Western fashion and insight into the lives of their idols. However, it also deepened the generation gap, bringing the problem of misunderstanding older generations. Young people in communist Europe, either legally or illegally, found their expression of freedom and fun in rock'n'roll despite the cultural cold war and the disapproval of the ruling communist structures. Although Yugoslav musicians and the entertainment press were primarily focused on cultural and musical influences from the West, in *Džuboks/Jukebox*, we find a sufficient number of examples of successful collaboration of Yugoslav rock musicians with rock musicians from the Eastern Bloc countries where the development of this music genre was possible. Initially, Yugoslav bands and bands from the Eastern Bloc countries imitated popular Western hits but gradually found their expression and organized their concerts, competitions, and festivals where they could cooperate. It allowed them to maintain friendly relations between their countries.

When it became clear that the *League of Communists of Yugoslavia* could not steer the country towards the promised prosperity, the necessity of political and economic reforms, the reality of interethnic turmoil and aggravation ultimately led the youth to active resistance through student protests that did not do much for youth. In the mid-1970s, the regime attempted to make it seem like leisure was a part of organized social life, trying to keep youthful enthusiasm in controlled conditions. The youth's response was silent mockery, indifference, and passive resistance. It will soon progress to louder musical protest in the time of *the new wave* by expressing the existential problems of the misunderstood individual.

Finally, it should be noted that there is no unambiguous answer as to whether the first wave of rock described here represents the actual beginning of authentic rock in Yugoslavia or if it epitomizes the beginning of the *new wave* as indicated by sociologist Dalibor Mišina. There is no doubt that many consider the first wave of Yugoslav rock to be a submissive, cheap imitation of Western rock expression. The fact that it was brought under the control of the system by the Communist Party's approval from the very beginning should be

seen as one of the reasons why the first wave of rock in Yugoslavia never rose to a proper rebellious movement or at least to the level of cultural expression of the radical social movement. Nevertheless, as we have seen so far, the first wave brought many novelties into the lives of the socialist youth and substantially changed their understanding of the world. Bearing this in mind, it should be considered in its entirety and assessed according to its impact. How different the *new wave* was at its core remains to be interpreted. This question might prompt future research on the topic and be the basis of future historiographical analysis.

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