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“TOEING THE LINE”: THE JOURNAL *GRLICA* — CAUGHT BETWEEN LOFTY SOCIALIST GOALS AND QUALITY MUSIC FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to underscore the significance of Grlica as a pivotal journal for youth music in Slovenia from 1953 to 1988. It explores how Grlica played a crucial role in conveying the ideological and socio-political aspects of the socialist system prevalent during that period. Applying historical-developmental and historical-comparative methods, the paper presents three key findings. Firstly, Grlica was primarily a professional journal, with little to no ideological components. Secondly, the ones we do find were predominantly present in the initial period of Grlica's publication, i.e., until 1965, becoming increasingly rare as time wore on. Thirdly, composers who published their works in Grlica held diverse ideological and musical orientations, indicating that Grlica was not only a professional journal but also characterised by broad-minded and open perspectives.

Keywords: *Grlica*, ideology, socialism, youth music, Slovenia

“ESSERE IN LINEA”: LA RIVISTA *GRLICA* TRA FINALITÀ SOCIALISTE E MUSICA DI QUALITÀ PER BAMBINI E PER GIOVANI

SINTESI

Lo scopo dell'articolo è quello di illustrare l'importanza della rivista Grlica come rivista fondamentale per la musica per bambini e per giovani in Slovenia tra il 1953 e il 1987 per la trasmissione di elementi ideologici e sociopolitici del sistema politico e socioeconomico (socialista) dell'epoca. Utilizzando il metodo storiografico e storico-comparativo, l'articolo presenta tre conclusioni. In primis, Grlica è stata in gran parte una rivista specialistica con poche componenti ideologiche. In secondo luogo, le componenti ideologiche erano presenti soprattutto nel primo periodo di pubblicazione della rivista, cioè fino al 1965, poi si riscontrano molto raramente. Infine, i compositori che pubblicarono le “loro” composizioni in Grlica erano ideologicamente e musicalmente orientati in direzioni diverse, il che significa che Grlica non è stata soltanto una rivista principalmente specialistica, ma anche una rivista di ampio respiro e di mentalità aperta.

Parole chiave: *Grlica*, ideologia, socialismo, musica per bambini e per giovani, Slovenia

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH
PROBLEMATIQUE¹

The end of the Second World War ushered in significant changes for Slovenia. The old pre-war social order gave way to a new one, which also wielded authority to intervene across various societal domains. The fact that music and musical activities were not exceptions is evidenced by the relatively swift intervention of post-war authorities in this domain as well. As Gabrič (1991, 489) notes, as early as 22 January 1944 – almost a year and a half before the end of the Second World War on Slovenian soil – (most likely) Boris Kidrič summarised the essence of the ‘new Yugoslavia’ and its nascent cultural policy, which certainly encompassed music. The main focus of his speech was the ideal of the new artists, who would no longer be constrained by the limitations of petty-bourgeois art,² but would politically emancipate themselves and become not only artists but also political activists. This activism should be cultivated through the artist’s political maturity, implying that the ‘new authorities’ should refrain from “giving directives on how to write”. The artist would therefore find the correct path as part of his own political emancipation — consequently, he would also know how to “write correctly” or to write in a manner that ensures “the work of art will embody quality and direction” (Gabrič, 1991, 489).³ In this speech, Kidrič also emphasised that “just as the Party has waged the political struggle, it must also construct art” (Gabrič, 1991, 489–490), the statement clearly signalling that art, including music, would not evade the Party’s expectations and demands in these ‘new times’.

After the end of the Second World War, it became evident that the field of music and music-making⁴

would not be exempt from the post-war upheaval. A high price was exacted from those who broke (or were deemed to have broken!) the Cultural Silence (*kulturni molk*), as this was seen by the party as legitimising their collaboration with the occupier. Some of them were initially accused, such as Marjan Lipovšek and Primož Ramovš (Pompe, 2019, 96), but were soon acquitted and later became pillars of musical life in Slovenia.⁵ Furthermore, Pompe (2019), Stefanija (2004), and Udovič (2021) argue that the post-war authorities shaped this new music and art in a chaotic manner. On the one hand, they wanted to reshape music-making concurrently with broader societal changes, yet they also reverted to old patterns relatively quickly. This included appointing individuals to prominent positions in the Slovenian music community whom they may have viewed with suspicion for various reasons. Pompe (2019, 99) highlights the case of Lucijan M. Škerjanc,⁶ who became chancellor of the *Academy of Music* after the war. In the same vein, Stanko Premrl, who, writing for the *Cerkveni glasbenik* bulletin, in 1941 penned an article titled “In Recognition of the Momentous Change” (*Ob zgodovinski premembi*), welcoming the Italian occupation of Ljubljana (Udovič, 2021, 240). While the authorities closed down the journal after the war, their attitude toward him remained very respectful. He continued to publish his compositions not only through the *Society of Slovene Composers* but also in other publications, including *Grlica*.⁷

However, not everyone was fortunate enough to have the authorities turn a blind eye. The *unlucky* cases unfortunately include the *Glasbena matica* musical society, which was disbanded at the end of the war, leading to its activities being primarily limited to its choir. While the real reasons for this will probably

1 This article is a result of the Research Project “Music for the young people since 1945 and Jeunesses Musicales in Slovenia (J6-3135)”, bilateral project between Slovenia and Serbia “Music as a means of cultural diplomacy of small transition countries: the case of Slovenia and Serbia”, and the Research Programme “Slovenia and its Actors in International Relations and European integrations” (P5-0177), all financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

2 In Kidrič’s paper, there is an allusion to this concept in the phrase “the heritage of café chitchat” (cf. Gabrič, 1991, 489).

3 Our interpretation of the text suggests that by using the term ‘direction’ [*tendenca* in the Slovenian original], Kidrič likely referred to the thematic content of the artist’s work or its alignment with the postulates and ideological framework of the ‘new authority’.

4 This term encompasses all fields that engage with music or incorporate musical elements. For further insights into the definition and understanding of this concept, refer to Ovník (2024).

5 Venišnik Peternej (2019, 11–12) points out that Marjan Lipovšek did not join the partisans but was a member of the Liberation Front. “After the end of the war, in July 1945, he was accused of collaborating with the occupiers, pilfering parcels intended for the partisans, and breaking Cultural Silence. He was acquitted in August 1946, and in October 1946, he was employed by the Academy of Music, where he was elected an associate professor.”

6 According to Pompe (2019, 99), if the post-war authorities had been consistent in their principles and actions, it should have been detrimental to Lucijan M. Škerjanc that, as a composer, “he aligned himself with the conservative bourgeois tradition of the past, or ‘world-weary impressionism’”, while also dedicating his Symphony No. 3 to Emilio Grazioli, the High Commissioner of the Ljubljana Province.

7 Stefanija (2018, 209) explains the unique status accorded to Stanko Premrl by highlighting that he was perceived by the authorities as a sympathiser of the Liberation Front. This is further corroborated by a letter from the *Society of Slovene Composers* to the Council for Education and Culture of the People’s Republic of Slovenia dated 19 October 1954. The letter not only provides positive endorsements of Stanko Premrl and his support for the Liberation Front but also underscores “his significant reputation among cultural institutions within the Partisan movement, particularly for having composed the music to Prešeren’s poem *Zdravica*, which was frequently performed at partisan rallies.”

never be known,⁸ we do know the legal justification put forward by the authorities. Decree No. 1720/1-45, promulgated by the *Ministry of the Interior* and signed by Minister Zoran Polič, lists the reasons given for dissolving the *Glasbena matica*, including that "Glasbena matica, the Philharmonic Society, and its concert subsidiary, among others, catered to the whims of the occupiers and domestic traitors with all its apparatus" and that "it stayed active even during the Italian and German occupation, continuing as if it were business as usual, even though it was patently clear that such activities run counter to its once great achievements and those of the Slovenian musical arts in general". The Ministry concludes the paragraph by asserting that "the responsibility for Glasbena matica's continued activities, including those of its orchestra, choir, and concert management, does not lie solely with its leadership, but with the Glasbena matica musical society as a whole, **which is why the decision to dissolve Glasbena matica and all its subsidiaries is fully justified**" (emphasis added by the author). The report then proceeds to present 'other evidence' of *Glasbena matica's* collaboration with the occupier, ultimately concluding that "Glasbena matica neglected its responsibility to the nation, whitewashed and denied its past through such actions, and that its members failed in their national duty" (ARS 231, 58).⁹

Although these two examples demonstrate the complete absence of a strategy for influencing the development of art, including music, and the confusion of the post-war authorities regarding how to handle musicians, musical institutions, and music-making in general, a clear common denominator within this confusion emerges: the post-war authorities, like any authoritarian regime, sought to co-opt music and music-making to consolidate their political power. This in turn justified all means.

The illustrated pragmatism of the post-war regime is highlighted by Gabrič (1991), who describes the significance of promoting the establishment and strengthening of choirs after the Second World War. During the period of Cultural Silence, the formation and activity of these choirs were discouraged, as their existence could potentially legitimise 'normal life' under abnormal conditions (i.e., occupation). However, with the

conclusion of the Second World War, these dilemmas dissipated, and the post-war authorities actively began to support the formation of choirs. Gabrič (1991, 533) provides the following data to confirm this trend:

In 1945, there were 752 choirs in Slovenia, with just over 20,000 members. The new authorities placed particular importance on ensuring that the choirs were predominantly composed of working-class individuals [...]. The number of choirs grew rapidly, with the most significant growth observed in the Slovene Littoral (the Primorska Region). In 1945, Primorska had 95 choirs, which increased to 223 by the following year and 230 by 1947.

By 1947, there were a total of 820 choirs in Slovenia, comprising 219 men's choirs, 89 women's choirs, 320 mixed choirs, and 192 youth choirs. In 1947, these choirs collectively performed 1,948 events. Men's choirs accounted for the largest share with 641 performances (33% of all events), followed by mixed choirs with 587 performances (30% of all events) (supplemented based on Gabrič, 1991, 533).

The growth in the number of choirs can be attributed to several factors. One of these factors is the public demand for socio-cultural engagement, which was significantly restricted during the occupation. Additionally, the post-war authorities recognised that choir singing could serve as a subtle form of political propaganda and reinforce the regime's orientations. Consequently, they actively encouraged these activities and directed the singing programmes to align with the 'new times'. The authorities recommended that choirmasters shape their programmes to align with new expectations and the new era. However, as Gabrič (1991, 534) notes, this led to tension between traditional folk songs and the 'new' songs [i.e. songs with socialist themes – author's note]. According to the authorities, the latter were neglected, which hindered the education and shaping of the *new man*, thereby impeding the consolidation of the new socio-political order.

The authorities' influence was thus exerted in various ways, particularly in the realm of music, especially in the early years. In addition to the

8 Stefanija (2005, 51) lists four reasons: (a) *Glasbena matica's* failure to adapt to the 'new times'; (b) its internal inability to grow while maintaining the quality of musical production; (c) the inherent rejection of musical professionalism, and (d) the leadership's focus on the past, emphasising *the musical society's* own cultural mission and consequently promoting exclusivism. While Stefanija (2005) largely attributes the dissolution of *Glasbena matica* to its own actions, Cigoj Krstulović (2015, 295) is more sceptical, suggesting that a significant reason for the musical society's dissolution lay in both the socio-political changes and differing interpretations of music and music-making. She identifies the former in the processes of "democratisation of mass culture [...]", which led to the "standardisation and trivialisation of musical creation", and the latter in the fact that the "[m]odernisation of musical life demanded the autonomy of art", and in music, its liberation from "the trap of functionality and 'usefulness'".

9 Name of the document: "Addressed to Glasbena matica. For the attention of Dr Vladimir Ravnihar, 24 December 1945." The fact that most of the accusations were complete fabrications or taken out of context is highlighted by Vladimir Ravnihar in his work *Ad Aeternam Memoriam*, where he refutes all the accusations with evidence.

mentioned examples, it is important to mention the activities and perspectives of the authorities regarding the *Society of Slovene Composers* (cf. Kralj Bervar, 2011, 16–51), as well as other areas such as music criticism (Weiss, 2024, 227–244), the introduction of ideological components into the functioning of the Ljubljana Opera House (Pompe, 2018, 73–77), and, crucially, children's and youth music, the central focus of this paper.

This article aims to analyse ideological elements in music for young people in Slovenia, with a particular focus on the music journal *Grlica*. The first volume of *Grlica* was published in 1953, and despite (financial) difficulties, it continued to be published until 1988. In its first issue, *Grlica* featured an article titled "Our Work Plan", outlining its mission. The Editorial Board¹⁰ stated that the new *Grlica*¹¹ would "comprise a book and a sheet music section", with the sheet music section containing compositions suitable for all school levels (from single voice to four voices). Additionally, "the literary supplement [would] address all current youth music issues" (Uredniški odbor, 1953, 1). Among the listed issues, it is particularly noteworthy for our analysis that *Grlica* would also publish timetables for singing on significant holidays, such as national holidays: 1 May (Labour Day), 22 July (Day of the Uprising of the Slovene Nation), 27 April (Liberation Front Day),¹² 29 November (Republic Day), Tito's Birthday (25 May), Women's Day (8 March), Prešeren Day (8 February), as well as school commencement and end-of-school celebrations (Uredniški odbor, 1953, 2).¹³

For our analysis, we define the corpus of material by focusing on vocal and instrumental compositions from *Grlica* that contain an ideological or socialist component. This criterion operates at two levels: either by looking at the title of the composition or its lyrics. Therefore, the works (hereinafter:

compositions)¹⁴ selected for analysis include those with titles or lyrics referencing national holidays, partisans, the national liberation struggle, May Day celebrations, pioneers, the Slovenian or Yugoslav flag, Josip Broz Tito, the youth movement, workers' rights, workers in general, and the socialist revolution. Additionally, revolutionary poems such as those about Matija Gubec, *Puntarska* [A rebellion song], and similar figures are conditionally included within this framework.¹⁵ However, we will also take into consideration popular and academic treatises published in *Grlica*.

This discussion forms the framework for our initial research question (R), which aims to explore the presence of ideological and socialist elements in *Grlica* in general. Building on this foundation, we aim to ascertain the sections of *Grlica* (sheet music or popular and academic treatises) where these ideological components were prominent (R1), and identify the composers who primarily composed texts that addressed the ideological aspects of the socialist regime (R2).

These research questions will be addressed through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods will primarily illustrate numerical trends within the *Grlica* music supplements from 1953 to 1988. Complementing these, we will employ two qualitative methods: the historical-developmental and historical-comparative approaches. These will scrutinise the content of *Grlica's* music supplements alongside its popular and academic writings during the specified period. Our focus will be on determining whether *Grlica* became more or less ideologically influenced over time, changing in ways that either benefited or ran contrary to the socialist regime's ideology. This developmental and comparative analysis aims to uncover shifts in *Grlica's* ideological stance between 1953 and 1988.

10 Members of the Editorial Board included: Radovan Gobec, Pavle Kalan, Janez Kuhar, Slavko Mihelčič, and Ciril Pregelj, with Radovan Gobec serving as the editor-in-chief of *Grlica*.

11 This previous *Grlica* is described as a music magazine for young people edited by Srečko Kumar.

12 27 April was effectively abolished as a public holiday during the 3rd session of the 1st Ordinary Session of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia (8 June 1951), with its significance being transferred to a new holiday—the *Day of the Uprising of the Slovene Nation*. The informal reason for this change was that the Serbs opposed the idea of Slovenians celebrating a holiday that would imply they rose up against the occupier ahead of them, as Serbs celebrated their *Day of the Uprising* on 7 July, marking the first wartime action of the Rađevo troops. Formally, Miha Marinko explained the abolition of *Liberation Front Day* in the People's Assembly as follows: "We are the only republic in Yugoslavia that has a national holiday tied to a party-political event, while in four republics, the beginning of an actual armed uprising is celebrated as a national holiday." He added, "[i]t is certainly much more appropriate for the national holiday of a republic to be tied to such historical facts that signify either the direct beginning of a revolution or acts of national importance. In our case [the celebration of *Liberation Front Day* – author's note], when we impose on the historical date of the foundation of our all-people political organisation, important as it is for us as a nation from a historical-political point of view, a national significance which it cannot have". "27 April as a national holiday obscures for the outside world the actual historical situation of our armed war of liberation. It is particularly unusual for the broader perception abroad to set a party-political holiday as a national holiday" (People's Assembly of Slovenia – Transcript, 1952, 38). The decision of the People's Assembly was published in the Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Slovenia, No. 21/1951. *Liberation Front Day* was reinstated in 1968.

13 However, subsequent issues of *Grlica* largely lack this kind of content.

14 Hereafter, we use the term *composition* inclusively for both vocal and instrumental works analysed.

15 The latter is the subject of an intriguing discussion by Županovič (1973, 287–307), who concludes that it is not a traditional Slovenian song, as often thought in Slovenia, but rather a melody of a "German rebellion song from 1525" (Županovič, 1973, 293).

The article unfolds in three interconnected parts: an introductory chapter sets the stage, followed by a theoretical framework exploring the role of ideology in music and its significance in the secondary socialisation of individuals (in our case, through the educational system). Next, an empirical chapter divides into two sections: an analysis of *Grlica's* music supplements and an examination of its academic and popular articles. These sections will identify specific features and characteristics gleaned from our analysis. Concluding the article, a discussion and summary will present our main findings, address research questions, and propose avenues for future investigation.

MUSIC AS A TOOL OF SOFT POWER AND IDEOLOGICAL EXPRESSION: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The question of ideology in music presents a seemingly unsolvable dilemma, as it involves understanding music and ideology through two opposing lenses. Those who argue that music is primarily an aesthetic entity (for more on music aesthetics, cf. Barbo, 2008) often struggle to accept its connections to ideological and social realities. Conversely, those who view music as inseparable from its social context always interpret it through a socio-political lens, inherently linked to specific ideologies.

A concrete example illustrates this point: On 3 September 2018, Israeli radio broadcast a recording of Wagner's 'Twilight of the Gods' (*Götterdämmerung*) from the 1991 Bayreuth Festival (RTV SLO, 2018). While this composition is renowned for its musical excellence, some listeners did not evaluate it solely on aesthetic grounds. Instead, they interpreted its broadcast within the framework of its ideological and socially conditioned context. This dual interpretation prompted numerous complaints, leading Israel Radio to apologise for broadcasting the final opera in Wagner's *Ring Cycle* and acknowledge the impact of their decision.

There are numerous insights and conclusions regarding the dilemmas surrounding the aesthetics of music and its communicative power. Maria Bergamo (2003, 9ff) asserts that music communicates in a distinct, independent manner that is neither object-based nor linguistic. According to Adorno, "music speaks, but it does not say anything, and in particular it does not speak in a disordered way" (Rutar, 2001, 136). Its communicative strength lies in its non-verbal nature, transmitting messages through sound. However, these messages are inseparable from the music itself (Adorno, 1956, n.p.). It is crucial to recognise that the impact of music varies among individuals:

some are affected intellectually, others emotionally, and still others aesthetically (Bedina, 2000, 110).

Emotionally, music plays a significant role in conveying ideological elements, as noted by Francis (1997), who posits that ideology primarily influences emotions. Furthermore, emotional responses to music are not solely personal; they are often shaped by socio-political contexts. To illustrate this interplay, consider the evolution of Premrl's *Zdravljica* towards becoming the Slovenian anthem. In 1986, a ceremony commemorating the 400th anniversary of Trubar's death took place at Rašica. Kmecl (2005) vividly recalls the event:

[I] distinctly remember us saying at the time, 'when they begin to sing [Zdravljica – author's note], we would rise'. If we consider it a solemn song that resonates with our identity, then we must treat it as we do a national anthem. Initially, about ten of us stood, then old Vidmar¹⁶ glanced around, realised the sentiment, and stood as well. Soon, the entire audience at the Trubar celebration stood up.

Earlier records suggest *Zdravljica* served as a mobilising song, often evoking, according to some, intense personal emotions. However, in this instance, as described by Kmecl, *Zdravljica* transcended individual sentiment to reflect the broader social atmosphere of the performance. Singing *Zdravljica* in 1986 was a departure from previous renditions in 1948 or 1963, signifying more than musical expression. It symbolised the collective dissent of Slovenians towards the prevailing conditions in Yugoslavia and Slovenia at that time.

In this context, we can concur with Rutar (2001, 10), who asserts that music itself "constitutes an ideological form and practice. Accordingly, it serves processes of social domination and hegemony". Such a perspective situates music as a medium of mediation, through which other ideological or socio-pragmatic messages are communicated. These messages originate from the social superstructure, i.e. the ruling class, and are transmitted via music to individuals, appealing either to their rational or emotional faculties. Debrix (2002, 205) similarly acknowledges music's efficacy in conveying ideological messages, emphasising that "music generates meanings that serve specific political and ideological objectives". Therefore, music and its message are inherently intertwined with a "political or ideological framework that accompanies its performance". It is crucial to recognise that ideology is not a static concept but encompasses diverse frames and spectra. When discussing the transmission of ideology

16 Josip Vidmar was a significant Slovenian writer, critic, and politician, a prominent figure in Slovenian political life post-1945.

through music-making, we must consider these ideological dimensions, which can influence individuals through rationality or emotional resonance. Each instance is unique, so generalisations in this realm are inherently limited.¹⁷

Ideology, as illustrated in examples such as *Twilight of the Gods* and *Zdravljica*, is not always directly articulated or overtly presented. Instead, it can permeate music indirectly through musical texture, elements of melody, or textual motifs (in the case of vocal songs). Social ideology can thus be conveyed through musical intervals (such as Carnolian/Alpine third or sixth, Istrian minor second or fourth, hymnal fourth, etc.), time signatures (like 4/4 for marches, 3/4 for Viennese waltzes, 2/4 for polkas, and 2/4, 6/8, or 12/8 for gondolier dances or lighter music), and rhythmic patterns (including syncopation, punctuated rhythms, etc.). However, the transmission of political or social ideology through music is not solely influenced by instrumental and vocal compositions; it is also shaped by performance. Thus, those who introduce or avoid ideological elements in music aren't just its composers but also its performers (cf. Udovič, 2021, 183–184).

Ideology seldom enters music directly; rather than being overtly coercive, it manifests primarily through elements of appeal, attraction, or other forms of subtle messaging. Unlike direct messages, these subtle cues tend to be more enduring and challenging to dismiss. These subtle and often elusive messages, which are present yet difficult to pinpoint precisely, can be defined as the soft power of ideology (Nye, 1990). What characterises this soft power of ideology, akin to Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1955)? Primarily, it operates indirectly, influencing individuals not through direct imposition but by creating favourable circumstances, fostering feelings of acceptance or desirability, and suggesting ideas perceived as beneficial—whether rationally or emotionally—for the individual.

In this context, it naturally raises the question of how ideology is transmitted from the social superstructure to individuals or social groups. Amat (2021) distinguishes two modes: the direct and indirect. Direct transmission, often referred to as *vertical*, originates from state authorities and is typically perceived as imposed, compelling individuals

to accept it under threat of social sanction at the very least. In contrast, indirect transmission, characterised as *horizontal* or peer-to-peer, develops among equals—peers, colleagues within specific social or political organisations, or professionals in related fields.

The educational system, identified as an ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser, 2018, 50ff), combines both modes of transmission, disseminating state and other ideologies. The vertical mode of ideological transmission, exercised directly by institutions, manifests through curricula, teachers' lectures, organised celebrations, and other institutional emphases (Apple, 2018).¹⁸ These are structured based on laws, regulations (e.g., curricula), or guidelines. In contrast, the horizontal mode operates predominantly through the soft power of attraction among social groups or individuals whom an individual seeks to please or associate with. In a typical educational setting, these two modes intertwine. However, it is crucial to emphasise that while the vertical mode establishes the framework for ideological transmission, the horizontal mode is where ideology is more enduringly and effectively conveyed—peer-to-peer.¹⁹ This horizontal transmission persists because it serves not only as a conduit for ideological messages but also fulfils the individual's need to find common ground with others based on shared identity characteristics.

This phenomenon aligns with situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991), which highlights that individuals often learn best in situational contexts. According to this theory, learning occurs as individuals immerse themselves in identity communities they aspire to belong to. For instance, a child may choose to join a choir because encouraged by a music teacher or principal (vertical influence), or because their friends or those they wish to impress or identify with (horizontal influence) are also participating in the choir. Music education, including the broader teaching of music-making, illustrates how ideology can be subtly conveyed through subliminal messages. This occurs not only through the music students listen to in classrooms (Green, 2003), but also through the selection of vocal and instrumental compositions presented in textbooks²⁰ and performed in choirs, school events, and local gatherings.

17 For instance, various studies have examined the incorporation of ideological components into music (cf., for instance, Cigoj Krstulović (2017); Mayer-Hirzberger (2017); Szabó-Knotik (2017); Šentevska (2024); Vesić (2024); Duraković (2024); Aleksić (2024)).

18 Knudsen & Onsrud (2023) discuss the transmission of ideology by music teachers in primary schools in Norway.

19 It can also be transmitted from teacher to student. Students may perceive teachers not only as authorities but also as role models or friends, further influencing ideological transmission.

20 Udovič (2021, 309) observes that Slovenian music education textbooks are de-ideologised and "completely sterile, as they focus solely on uncontroversial authors and songs", adding that "the Slovenian musical landscape presented to primary and secondary school pupils today is perceived as lacking connection to its own (musical) heritage."

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF *GRLICA* ISSUES
FROM 1953 TO 1988

Introduction and Methodology

The analysis of *Grlica* is framed by the research questions introduced earlier in this paper and restated here for clarity and coherence. Our research aims to explore the presence and extent of ideological and socialist elements in *Grlica*. Specifically, we investigate where these elements were more prevalent—whether in the sheet music supplement or in popular and academic articles—and identify composers who predominantly composed music on the basis of texts with ideological or socialist themes. Our analysis involved a comprehensive review of all issues of *Grlica* from 1953 to 1988.²¹ This involved using a blend of quantitative and qualitative methods to analyse both the sheet music supplements and the popular and academic articles. Below, we present the results of this analysis.

Analysis

Quantitative Analysis of the Sheet Music Supplement

Between 1953 and 1988, *Grlica* published a total of 93 issues, some as double or triple editions, and occasionally faced interruptions due to financial constraints. Upon reviewing all issues of *Grlica*, we segmented its publication history into three distinct periods, reflecting its initial growth, subsequent stability, and eventual decline. The first period spans the inaugural decade (1953–1964), characterised by robust editorial and authorial commitment evident in substantial contributions of vocal and instrumental works despite financial challenges. Despite these difficulties, the majority of single issues were published during this time, highlighting a strong output of sheet music. The second period, covering 1965–1975, marks *Grlica's* maturation phase. During this decade, editorial shifts reduced emphasis on choir singing in favour of

classroom-based music, marking a shift in *Grlica's* mission. Ongoing financial strains continued to affect publication frequency, a concern increasingly acknowledged by the editorial board. The third period signifies the decline of *Grlica*. The period between 1976 and 1988 witnessed significant changes in the landscape of music education in primary schools, including the reduction of music lessons from two to one per week (Uvodnik, 1973/74, 1–11), and the introduction of more focused educational approaches. *Grlica* experienced its final decline in the mid-1980s, coinciding with the abolition of the *Department of Music Education and Choir Conducting* at the Ljubljana Pedagogical Academy.²²

Each issue of *Grlica* typically contained more than 10 compositions, with occasional variations due, in our assessment, to the length of compositions or the occasional extra composition published in one issue and consequently omitted in the next. Throughout its publication history, *Grlica* published a cumulative total of 1,130 compositions, averaging approximately 33 compositions published in the journal's music supplement per year (Chart 1).²³ Dividing the total number of compositions published in *Grlica* between 1953 and 1988 by our stated periods reveals notable trends: 560 compositions were published in the first period (1953–1964), constituting 50% of the total; 231 compositions (20%) were published in the second period (1965–1975); and 339 compositions (30%) were published in the third period (1976–1988).

Analysing the presence of ideological elements in music for young people reveals a relatively small proportion of ideological compositions in *Grlica*.²⁴ Out of the total corpus analysed, 118 compositions engaged with socio-political or ideological themes, amounting to 10.5% of all published compositions. There are no significant differences between the periods, although the proportion of compositions with ideological and socio-political content in the first period appears slightly higher compared to the other two²⁵ (we find that these compositions were generally concentrated around important national holidays or anniversaries). For instance, *Grlica* No 4/57 featured a special appendix with 11

21 An interesting observation from our review of the journal is the significant economic volatility experienced by *Grlica* throughout its publication history. Despite considerable interest from primary school music teachers and choirmasters, many subscribers failed to pay their subscriptions, leading to a high rate of unsubscribing due to financial constraints. This economic instability posed a constant challenge to *Grlica's* publication, creating a struggle for survival from its inception. The journal lacked adequate institutional support to ensure economic independence, which would allow the editorial team to focus primarily on maintaining the quality of the music content for young people.

22 While *Grlica* may initially appear as a journal primarily catering to children's and youth choirs, our assessment reveals it as a publication of exceptional professional quality, still relevant for today's primary and secondary school music teachers and choirmasters of choirs for young people and adults.

23 It is important to note some exceptions that slightly skewed these averages, such as the publication of 63 canons in issue 3–4/67–68, which was specifically devoted to this musical form, and 38 songs in issue No 1–2/75–76, as part of Jež's supplement *Pojem-plešem* [I'm Singing and Dancing]. Conversely, there were periods with fewer publications, such as only 7 songs in issue No 1/61, 8 in issue No 2/62, 6 in issue No 2/63, and 3 in issue No 3/66 (Pahor's special issue).

24 Zajček dolgoušček is one of the most popular songs for children today. Parents sing it to their children, they in turn also learn it in nurseries and schools.

25 Gobec (1966, 2) highlighted *Grlica's* role in promoting martial and social themes, stating: "The musical supplement of *Grlica* comprises 822 pages and 564 compositions spanning 10 years. There are 98 (17.4%) songs with militant, revolutionary, and work-related [*sic.*, it should read workers' – author's note] themes, and 15 (3%) songs on social themes [...]."

Zajček Dolgousček

Gredé Janez Bitenc

Otroški zbor

1. Zaj-ček Dol-go-u-šček, bel i-maš ko-žu-šček,
 2. S kravi-co sta-mu-ješ, v hle-vu po-ska-ku-ješ,
 3. Uša-ke-mu u-i-deš, k me-ni vse-lej pri-deš.

1. hi-tre ta-čke, o-stre zob-ke, dol-ge br-ke, re-pek siv.
 2. re-po glo-daš in ko-re-nje, de-te-lji-co in krompir.
 3. S smrk-om vo-haš, prst po-li-žeš, po-tlej pa ve-sel zbe-žiš.

Figure 1: The first published composition in the inaugural issue of *Grlica* (Source: *Grlica*, 1953a, NP1).

revolutionary compositions translated and adapted to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. Similarly, *Grlica* No 1/59 included 15 compositions with socialist, socio-political, or ideological themes to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (ZKJ). In 1977, *Grlica* published a special collection titled *Songs about Tito and Other Compositions for Young People*, where 8 out of 21 compositions could be classified as having socio-political or ideological themes. Interestingly, *Grlica* No 3-5/84 referenced the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, yet only 1 out of the 12 compositions in that issue could be associated with the socio-political or ideological (socialist) subject matter of the time (Chart 1).

Chart 1 illustrates a significant disparity between the total number of compositions published annually in *Grlica* and those with socio-political and ideological themes. This numerical contrast becomes particularly compelling when considering the composers behind these ideologically charged compositions. Among the most prominent contributors in this regard is Radovan Gobec, who during his tenure as editor in the first decade published 15 such compositions or adaptations in *Grlica*.²⁶ Other notable composers include Ciril Pregelj, Peter Lipar, Ciril Cvetko, and Anton Jobst, a recognised church composer in Slovenia, all of whom contributed compositions that could be considered at least ideological.²⁷ Of interest regarding the regime's stance on certain composers²⁸ is the presence of works by Lojze Mav, Stanko Premrl, and Matija Tomc. All three were priests and

26 In the entire corpus analysed, Gobec published 35 original compositions with socio-political or ideological content (out of a total of 65 compositions composed for *Grlica*).

27 Ana Marija Miklavčič (2016) also notes Jobst's reputation as a church composer. However, a closer examination reveals that Jobst's musical oeuvre "includes 641 manuscripts and printed works, of which 438 are secular and 203 are church music". Our own understanding of Jobst as a church composer is primarily attributed to the fact that—as noted by the author herself—"between the two world wars [...] he distinguished himself with a number of church compositions", also composing many solo instrumental organ works after the Second World War (Miklavčič, 2016).

28 The connection between Tomc and Gobec is underscored by a significant episode in Slovenian music history involving Tomc's composition *Stara Pravda* [Old Justice], which also marked a turning point for Radovan Gobec. In 1954, Gobec approached composer Matija Tomc to set verses from Aškerc's poem cycle *Old Justice* to music, which would then be performed by the Tone Tomšič Academic Choir at its 10th-anniversary celebration in 1956 at Union Hall. Making good on his promise, Tomc delivered the music to Gobec, who enthusiastically prepared for the concert and invited Tomc to attend. At the conclusion of the event, Gobec was honoured with the Golden Wreath, which he then presented to Matija Tomc, who accepted it with a slight bow. The following day, Gobec was summoned by Janez Vipotnik, a local Communist party functionary, who revoked his party membership card, "deeply affecting Gobec" (Gobec, 2018). This was only the beginning of a public backlash, further exacerbated by media scrutiny. Sergej Vošnjak, editor of *Slovenski poročevalec*, wrote the following in his article *Criticising the Critics*: "The Tone Tomšič Academic Choir celebrated the tenth anniversary of its existence by performing chorales. One might have expected the critics [talking about the response to the performance of *Old Justice* by music critics – author's note] to emphasise how such a renowned choir should have sung about more novel, progressive themes. Instead, critiques focused narrowly on vocal technique and sound quality ... Also talking about the challenges inherent in composing song cycles, sidestepping the broader observation that the struggle for old justice did not include supplications to the heavens, but was harsh and cruel" (Vošnjak, 1956, 8). For more on the topic, cf. Škulj (1997) and Weiss (2010).

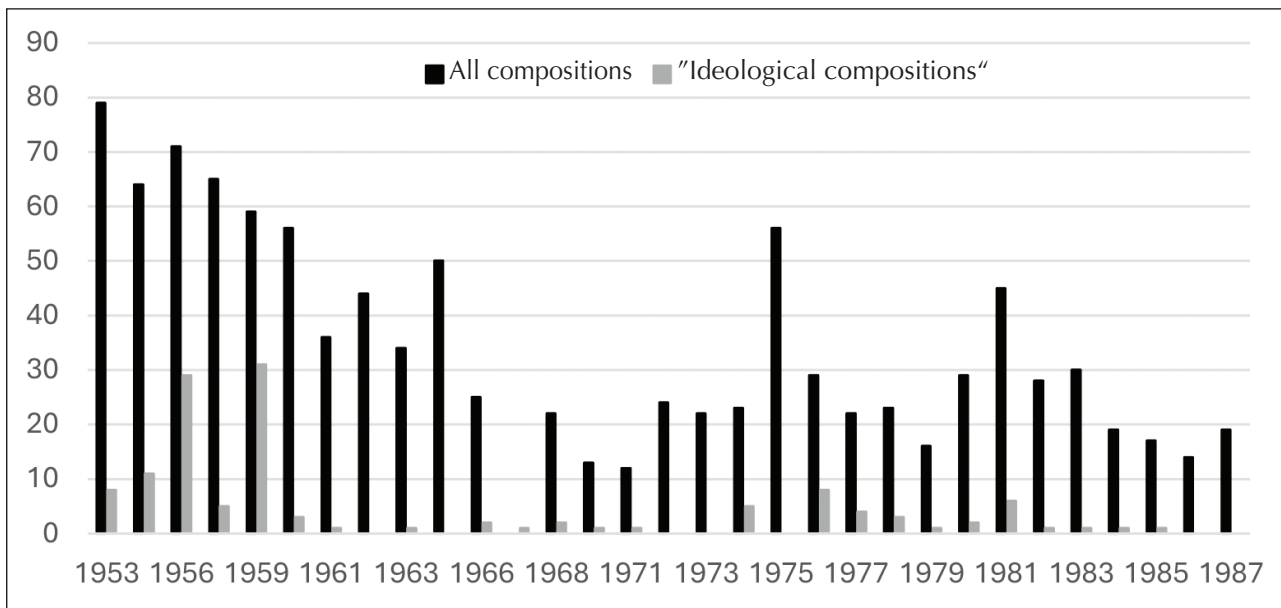


Chart 1: Number of compositions with ideologically significant themes by year (1953–1988) (Source: Our analysis).

composers whose compositions appeared predominantly in the first period under Radovan Gobec's editorship. For example, between 1953 and 1965, *Grlica* published 22 compositions by Premrl, 19 by Tomc,²⁹ and 2 by Mav. In 1958, Stanko Premrl was even awarded a cash prize by *Grlica* for his composition *Vlak* (Train).³⁰

Content Analysis of Socio-Ideological Elements in the Sheet Music Supplement

The content analysis of the sheet music, focusing on the ideological and political themes emphasised in *Grlica's* supplement, reveals two main characteristics.

1. Firstly, we can divide the entire period of *Grlica's* publication into two sub-periods: (1) the time between 1953 and 1961 and (2) the time after 1962, based on socio-ideological themes.³¹
 - During the first sub-period, *Grlica* closely aligned with the political and social ideology of the country and political system at that time. This alignment is evidenced by the number of published compositions and the topics they

covered. These topics can be classified into three categories: (1) youth as an ideological concept, (2) statehood and statecraft, and (3) the socio-political system (Table 1). These categories encompass 76, or 65%, of all published compositions. Among them are now widely accepted songs such as the previously mentioned *Lepo je v naši domovini biti mlad* [Oh to Be Young in Our Homeland] (Radovan Gobec; *Grlica* No 1/53), *Vstajenje Primorske* [Primorska in Arms] (Emil Ulaga; *Grlica* No 1/53), *Naša četica koraka* [Our Little Company is on the March]³² (Janez Bitenc; *Grlica* No 2/55–56), a special edition containing (Russian) revolutionary songs prepared for the anniversary of the October Revolution (*Grlica* No 4/56–57), and a special supplement to the journal featuring (Yugoslav) partisan songs prepared for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (*Grlica* No 1/59). This period concludes with a collection of 12 compositions for young people's choirs, including Pregelj's arrangement of *Za vasjo je čredo pasla* [She Tended Her Flock Outside the Village]

29 *Grlica* published a total of 38 compositions by Tomc.

30 That Stanko Premrl and Matija Tomc received special treatment in *Grlica* is also confirmed by the notes on their anniversaries, and in Tomc's case, by the promotion of his sheet music book *Za mladega pianista* (For the Young Pianist) (*Grlica*, 1959, 47). On Matija Tomc's 60th birthday, *Grlica* published a congratulatory message with best wishes, while 'neglecting' to mention that he was also a priest when listing his titles (*Grlica*, 1960a, 10). Stanko Premrl received similar congratulations. On his jubilee, it was noted that he was "the choirmaster for the Ljubljana Cathedral and an excellent organ player", but they relativised this fact by emphasising that Stanko Premrl "has had a lasting influence on secular music" (*Grlica*, 1960b, 70).

31 Interestingly, although not directly related to music but to the outside appearance of the journal *Grlica*, is the aesthetics of its musical supplement. This changed from the initial relatively drab to a much more aesthetic format in 1962, with issue 4–5 (VIII), only to become more modernist and, in our opinion, visually un-aesthetic again a few years later.

32 Today, the song is sung in nurseries, and parents teach it to their children, etc. In this sense, it was robbed of the ideological factor.

Lepo je v naši domovini biti mlad
Radovan Gobec

Z zornostjo

Množični zbor

1. Za - pojmo pesem si ve - se - lo, naj
2. - - - ne - si pesem še uda - lja - u, u, pesem

1. se razle - ga prek sue - ta. Le - po je v naši do - mo - vi - ni
2. dragim našim lep - pozdrav. Le - po je v naši do - mo - vi - ni

1. bi - ti mlad. U de - že - li, kjer so si lju - dje kot brat in
2. bi - ti mlad. Kjer hura - bri so ljudje in rod je zdrav, kre -

1. brat. In to - plo sonce, ki nas gre - je, in morje, ki požulja
2. pak. Ves svet po - znano po ju - na - štu, mla - di - ni cuete zdej po -

1. kri, le - po je v naši domovi - ni bi - ti mlad. Po -
2. mlad, le - po je v naši domovi - ni bi - ti

mlad. Le - po je v naši domovi - ni bi - ti mlad. U de - že - li, kjerso
si ljudje kot brat in brat. In toplo sonce, ki nas gre - je, in morje,
ki požulja kri, le - po je v naši domovi - ni bi - ti mlad.

Klavirsko spremljavo dobite pri avtorju

Figure 2: Adopted folk song *Lepo je v naši domovini biti mlad* [Oh to Be Young in Our Hometown] (Source: *Grlica*, 1953b, NP22).

(originally called *Partisan's Wife*) and *Stoji tam v gori partizan* [A Partisan Stands There on the Mountain]. During this period, alongside the emphasis on partisan songs, there were a few songs dedicated to Josip Broz Tito.³³

33 Five such compositions were published during this sub-period.

34 During these years, two significant changes occurred in *Grlica*. First, Radovan Gobec was replaced by Jakob Jež as editor in 1967, following two interim editors. Second, *Grlica's* mission shifted from being a choral journal for young people's music to focusing 'more' on classroom singing, resulting in less emphasis on choirs. These changes to the musical supplement included greater inclusion of children and young people through Orff instruments, student participation in clapping as accompaniment, and other sound effects.

35 It is not entirely clear when the slogan "Nation-Party-Youth-Action" [*Narod-partija-omladina-akcija*] emerged in Yugoslav post-war history. Some sources suggest that the slogan [emphasis in bold by author] became relevant within the framework of work brigades in the 1960s, before official authorities 'corrected' it by substituting "action" for "army" [*Nation-Party-Youth-Army – Narod-partija-omladina-armija*]. Regardless of these ambiguities, the phrase became part of the music in the composition *Tito je naše sunce* [Tito Is Our Sun], performed on the Youth Day (25 May 25, Tito's alleged birthday; he was actually born on 7 May) in 1979. The lyrics of this song were written by Pero Zubac, with music by the established composer Kornelije Kovač.

36 Something incomprehensible from the perspective of today's political correctness is the publication of the composition *Cigan je zmaknil klarinet* [The Gypsy Stole the Clarinet], with lyrics by Silvin Sardenko and music by Breda Šček, which ends with the phrase "Ti, ti tatič, cigan!" ["You, you, little gypsy thief"] (*Grlica*, 1955/1956, 39–41). Even more unacceptable from today's standpoint is the composition *Roža krvava* [The Bloody Rose], which describes a mother killing her own child (composed by Janez Močnik; *Grlica*, 1979, 15).

- The second sub-period, covering the years after 1962, saw a significant reduction in the number of compositions with socio-political or socio-ideological elements. Between 1962 and 1972, there were only 8 such compositions, and in the remaining 15 years until the end of *Grlica's* publication, another 34 compositions were published. An analysis of *Grlica* issues from this period reveals several intriguing points: in *Grlica* No 2/64, dedicated to Rado Simoniti, a composer sympathetic to the regime, there was not a single composition with socio-political or socio-ideological elements. Similarly, in *Grlica* No 3/66, dedicated to Karol Pahor, a well-known partisan composer, no such compositions were present. The sheet music supplement in *Grlica* No 3/64 was entirely devoted to Slovenian folk songs, provided by the Institute for Ethnomusicology of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU). Additionally, *Grlica* No 3/67–68³⁴ featured a special supplement dedicated to canons, and *Grlica* No 3–5/73–74 included a special sheet music supplement of compositions by a Slovenian musical expressionist Marij Kogoj. After 1975, socio-political or socio-ideological elements in compositions became rare, with the exception of a special issue of *Grlica* in 1977. From 1980 onwards, only 10 compositions with ideological or socio-political content were identified.

2. The analysis of the musical supplements across all issues of *Grlica* reveals another interesting fact: there are relatively fewer compositions in *Grlica* that explicitly highlight elements of state ideology or socialist ideology *per se* in the context of statecraft. Instead, several compositions emphasise the socio-ideological elements of the system at that time. Notably, many compositions related to young people, considered a pillar of the regime,³⁵ and compositions emphasizing socio-political³⁶ and ideological elements such

as the celebration of Labour Day, social order (fraternity and unity), and the importance of the partisan movement (cf. Table 1).

In addition to the compositions listed in Table 1, two more were published in the sheet music supplements of *Grlica* that can be placed within an international socio-political (socialist) context. These are *Himna miru* [An Anthem to Peace, music by Zlatan Vauda; *Grlica*, 1974/75, NP46–48] and *Vlak prijateljstva* [Friendship Train, music by Radovan Gobec; *Grlica*, 1980, NP70–74].³⁷ Notably, in all the analysed sheet music supplements of *Grlica*, compositions with state-ideological elements are the fewest in number. However, those that do exist are mostly dedicated to Tito, with no other politicians mentioned.³⁸

Socio-political and Ideological Elements in Popular and Academic Texts in *Grlica*

The first relatively prominent ideological reference appears in *Grlica* No 4/1954, in Stanko Prek's article "Good Music is the Best Teacher" (*Dobra glasba – najboljši vzgojitelj*), where he emphasises the importance of using music in education to foster "the education of an honest socialist person", stating that "the purpose of education in a socialist society is much more than just imparting practical knowledge [...]" (Prek, 1954, 54). In the special issue of *Grlica* commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, Peter Lipar wrote about music for young people: "Modern music for young people should reflect the era in which we live [...]. It should be harmonically interesting and devoid of nostalgic echoes of old melodies and harmonies" (Lipar, 1957, 50). By 1960, *Grlica* proudly aligned itself "with the spirit of the times" regarding song content, evidenced by its special song supplements commemorating the 40th anniversaries of the October Revolution and the ZKJ. These initiatives aimed to preserve "the spirit of struggle, partisans, and workers' songs" (Uredniški odbor, 1960, 50). The article concludes by lambasting those critics that looked unfavourably on *Grlica's* editorial decisions, particularly for not publishing the kinds of songs favoured by Kumar's *Grlica*. Addressing this, the editorial board stated: "It

Figure 3a: Excerpt from the composition *Leninova zastava* [Lenin's Flag] (collection of compositions commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution; Source: *Grlica*, 1956/57a, NP14–16).

is time to cease celebrating an era that allowed such literature to exist but simultaneously hindered **the creation of more advanced content** [emphasis added by the author]" (Uredniški odbor, 1960, 52).

The editorial to the *Twentieth Anniversary of the People's Uprising* (*Grlica*, 1961, special issue) was certainly one of the best examples how the journal 'toed

37 Part of the lyrics by Jasna Vitežnik read [the Slovenian lyrics have been translated into English for the purposes of this paper]:

*If I were an architect, I'd design a grand project, a ferry worth respect.
From Europe to Africa, to America, Greenland so free,
From Asia to Australia, trains would roam with glee.
The long train of friendship, would take us on a quest,
Across the vast sea of us, a journey at its best.
On the locomotive named 'Happiness', a flag blue, white, and red would be unfurled, you see,
What would drive the train? Atomic energy! This immense power, now causing such dismay,
Would propel our train of friendship, in a peaceful way. [...]
In the train together, we would sit, red-skinned, black, and white, a world of many colours, united in delight. [...]* (*Grlica*, 1980, NP70–74).

38 With the exception of two compositions, tentatively classified as ideologically socialist, which were published in the *Grlica* sheet music supplement No 1–2/72 (*Matija Gubec* by Nikola Hercigonja and *Dvignil se je Gubec kmet* [The Uprising of Gubec the Peasant], arranged by Radovan Gobec).

Pesem o Leninu
 Besedilo: T. Spendiarov
 Prevod: J. Menart
 M. Krasovec

Pripovedovaje *mf*

Glas

1. Ve - mo, da ve - li - ki Le - min je z malčki rod mo - dro -
 2. O - tro -čki, ka - bo ži - vi - te? od - go -vor bi naš zve -

Klavir: *mf*

1. - val. ——— On uzel bi nas na ko - le - na, on
 2. - nel. ——— Zdaj sre - čni res smo na sve - tu, zdaj

1. uzel bi nas na ko - le - na sme - hajo - bi nam de - jal: ———
 2. sre - čni res smo na sve - tu, zdaj res je, kar si že - lel. ———

Figure 3b: Pesem o Leninu [Song About Lenin] (collection of compositions commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution; Source: *Grlica*, 1956/57b, NP4).

the line' during its lifetime. It glorified partisan struggles and emphasised the collective effort of millions in building a new, better Yugoslavia. The Editorial's rhetoric underscored a commitment to ideological and political doctrines of the time, stating: "We have taken up arms against backwardness and reactionary thought both in the physical and mental realms." However, what these words actually mean is another question. The Editorial's authors conclude by urging music educators to create "as many true, new musical gems as

possible" with young people. "This is the best way to repay the sacrifices made for the new homeland, while also being the best approach to nurturing our new generations" (*Grlica*, 1961, special issue). In the same issue, Mile Klopčič delved into the origin and translations of *The Internationale*. It offers real historical insights and dispels myths surrounding its first translation and introduction to Slovenia post-October Revolution (Klopčič, 1961, 13). He writes:

It is a misconception that the text of the 'The Internationale' was first translated into Slovenian at the end of the First World War, when returning prisoners of war brought both the melody and a Slovenian translation with them. In fact, the Slovenian translation of the 'The Internationale' dates in 1904. The translation was first published on 4 January 1904 in the inaugural issue of Naprej, a publication based in Idrija, by its editor Anton Kristan. The second known and published translation appeared in 'Delo'. This Trieste-based weekly publication published a song called 'The Internationale' on 1 October 1920 [...].

The next ideological stance is documented in Gobec's discussion (1962, 1), where he summarises a consultation among music educators regarding the work and editorial policies at *Grlica*. Gobec highlights several proposals that emerged from the consultation, including the suggestion for *Grlica* to publish more literature [i.e. compositions – author's note] from "various friendly nations or songs of nations with **progressive movements**" [emphasis added by the author]. This primarily refers to nations adopting socialist or communist social structures, as well as nations engaged in decolonization and the creation of their own resistance songs.

In 1963, *Grlica* published *Recommendations for the Reform of Music Instruction* (*Grlica*, 1963a), formulated by a commission led by Vlado Golob.³⁹ Among other directives, it proposed establishing a "'Musical Youth' organisation (Jeunesse musicale)⁴⁰ within the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, akin to successful models in other republics, to enhance mass musical-cultural education" (*Grlica*, 1963a, 4). The recommendations also underscored the need to "strengthen the social awareness, activities, and

39 The commission also included the following members: Cvetko Budkovič, Srečko Grušovnik, Vida Hribar-Jerajeva, Pavle Kalan, Egon Kunej and Peter Lipar.

40 Among the articles discussing Musical Youth, Marjana Mrak's contribution in *Grlica* notes the establishment of the *Musical Youth of Slovenia* on 12 December 1969. The article also highlights the comparatively delayed founding of *The Musical Youth of Slovenia*, noting that similar organisations had been established in Serbia and Croatia fifteen years earlier. Mrak (1969/70, 68) emphasises that the *Musical Youth of Slovenia* will aim to serve both teaching and social purposes. The former aims to cultivate young people's interest in music, while the latter seeks to rejuvenate musical activities, particularly in regions distant from cultural hubs. In addition to Mrak's report, the editors mention that there was a proposal "for the Musical Youth to collaborate with *Grlica* on its announcements". However, subsequent issues of *Grlica* do not provide further details regarding the activities and initiatives of the Musical Youth.

Table 1: Content-based ideological, social, and political elements in compositions (selection of compositions) (Source: Our analysis).

Youth and young people in relation to ideology			State-ideological elements			Sociopolitical or socio-ideological elements		
<i>title</i>	<i>author</i>	<i>Issue no.</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>author</i>	<i>Issue no.</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>author</i>	<i>Issue no.</i>
Lepo je v naši domovini biti mlad	Radovan Gobec	1/53	Mladi vojaki	Radovan Gobec	2/53	Prvi maj	Ciril Pregelj	2/53
Pesem mladine	Radovan Gobec	4/53	Naša zastava	Radovan Gobec	1/56–57	Tako ni cvetela še naša dežela	Viktor Mihelčič	5/56–57
Pesem mladih graditeljev	Rado Simoniti	5/53–54	Titu za rojstni dan	Radovan Gobec	1/67–68	Pesem bratstva in edinstva	Radovan Gobec	3/58
Pesem mladine	Rudi Pešl	1/56–57	Republiki pozdrav	Stanko Bohinc	4–5/71	Rdeči nagelj	Radovan Gobec	2/60
Brigadirski	Slavko Mihelčič	3/59				Pesem revolucije	Radovan Gobec	1/61
Pionirji partizanom	Danilo Švara	3–5/78				Borcem	Radovan Gobec	1–2/78
						Prvi maj	Jakob Jež	4–5/80
						Vlak prijateljstva	Radovan Gobec	4–5/80

prominence of music educators, while genuine self-management should take the form of collective working methods [...]” (*Grlica*, 1963a, 5). They also emphasised “fostering a sense of collectivity” among music students and studying music education “scientifically through the lens of historical dialectical materialism [...]” (*Grlica*, 1963a, 5). Vlado Golob (1963, 36) goes on to elaborate on the recommendations put forth by the commission under his leadership. He discusses the evolving societal priorities where, in more advanced societies, the emotional aspects are giving way to intellectual pursuits. Golob contrasts Western countries, where investment in music is seen as a means to mitigate youth crime (through educational music programs), with socialist countries, saying these can avoid such problems by emphasising the importance of music early on, prioritising indigenous music over the influx of Western cultural influences. He cautions against the uncritical adoption of Western cultural patterns, stating: “[T]oday, we are particularly vulnerable to phenomena from the civilised world, such as the flood of popular songs and the popularity of *The Twist*, which is even replacing the traditional *kolo dances* in the very heart of Serbia [...]” (Golob, 1963, 36).⁴¹

In subsequent issues of *Grlica*, socio-political or socio-ideological elements are noticeably scarce. However, sporadic references can still be found, such as Šivic’s proposal that music education in Yugoslavia should “align with the directives set forth by the new constitution of the state” (Šivic, 1973/74, 13), or Kušar’s ideological critique of the authors of Musical Youth’s *Mozart Issue*, wherein he critiques the association of Mozart with Catholicism (Kušar, 1974/75, 39–44).⁴² Excluding these two examples, it can be concluded that the emphasis on socio-political and socio-ideological elements in the popular and professional debates in *Grlica* disappeared after 1975.

The analysis of the presence of socio-political or socio-ideological elements in popular and academic texts revealed similar trends to those found in *Grlica*’s music supplements. The majority of discussions incorporating socio-ideological concepts or emphases were published during the first decade of *Grlica*’s existence, after which their presence declined or vanished entirely. It can be argued that *Grlica* was even less ideological in its popular and academic debates than in its sheet music section. Throughout its existence, regardless of its composi-

41 In *Grlica* (1963b, 27), an invitation is extended to a conference of the *Association of Music Teachers’ Societies of Yugoslavia* on “Socialist Society and Musical Culture,” where various topics were slated for discussion, including (1) Socialist Humanism in Art and Education and (2) Ideological Movements in Our [Yugoslav – author’s note] Musical Creativity.

42 The Editorial Board of the Musical Youth of Slovenia responded to the article in *Grlica* No 3/1975–1976 (Uredništvo Glasbene mladine Slovenije, 1975–1976, 26).

ZA RAST MLADINSKEGA PETJA

Mladinski pevski zbor iz Sečovelj

V razkropljeni primorski vasi Sečovelje obiskuje osnovno šolo nekaj več kakor 250 otrok. Na tej šoli je prevzela mladinski pevski zbor leta 1963 zborovodkinja Helena Jureš. Zaradi majhne izbire je morala sprejeti v zbor vse učence s količkaj ugodno razvitimi glasbenimi dispozicijami. Izbrala je nad 80 pevcev. Z njimi je vadila tri šolske ure. Težave so nastopile s pevci-vozači; zaradi njih ni mogla imeti vaj v popoldanskem času, tako je bila vezana le na 6. učno uro, ko so učenci že utrujeni.

Šola nima pevske sobe.

Pri vajah so učenci veliko deklamirali. Pesmi so peli po melodičnih frazah in sproti upoštevali ritmiko, dinamiko, agogiko in artikulacijo. Vsako pesem so skušali glasbeno in literarno doživeti. Pri vsaki pevski vaji je zborovodkinja uporabila 5—10 minut za dihalne vaje, oblikovanje lepega glasu in za pravilno zgovarjavo. Že po nekaj mesecih je zbor kar ubrano pel.

Sprva je nastopal na domačih proslavah, kmalu pa so prišla vabila iz Pirana, Portoroža in Kopra. Še isto šolsko leto je bil izbran na okrajni reviji za nastop v Celju in tam dosegel v republiškem merilu I. mesto.

»Ta nepričakovan uspeh nam je dal spodbudo za nadaljnje delo,« je povedala vodja zbora tov. Jureševa.

V naslednjih letih je vadil zbor deljeno po glasovih z eno skupno vajo, torej vsega 4 ure na teden. Toda zaradi prenatrpanosti urnika — v teh krajih je obvezna tudi italijanščina — in zaradi večnega problema vozačev ni bilo moč zajeti vseh pevcev k vaji več kakor enkrat na teden, kar je za rast zbora odločno premalo. Kljub vsem težavam pa je zbor vendarle dosegel leta 1965 v Celju tretje mesto v zveznem merilu.

Lani se zbor ni mogel prijaviti na tekmovanje v Celju zaradi zgoraj omenjenih razlogov. Prav tako se ni mogel odzvati vabilu za gostovanje v ČSSR, predvsem zaradi finančnih težav.

In kdo bo prevzel odgovornost za to, da tako kvaliteten zbor ne more ponesti lepe slovenske ljudske in umetne ter partizanske pesmi po naši ožji in širši domovini ter v širni svet? Cvetko Budkovič

Figure 4: Report on the challenges of youth choirs (Source: Budkovič, 1968, 34).

tion, the Editorial Board primarily steered *Grlica* towards professionalism. This is evidenced by the fact that most academic and popular discussions focused on technical issues (e.g., challenges in children's musical learning, the vocal range of children and young people, teaching of compositions, introduction of music education) and presented the state of choral music in primary and secondary schools.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present discussion, which aimed to establish the presence of socio-political or socio-ideological elements in *Grlica* and its sheet music supplements throughout its existence, has revealed three characteristics of the post-war socialist period, as reflected in music for young people and *Grlica's* activities.

The first and most general observation is that the state and its ideological apparatus did not systematically impose the socio-political or socio-ideological characteristics of the system on *Grlica*. Instead, the influence seemed to flow in the opposite direction. This is evidenced by the frequent interventions from *Grlica*'s Editorial Board, emphasising that the magazine relied primarily on its subscribers and their subscription fees for its survival. The constant financial instability and threat of cessation suggest that if the regime had intended to use *Grlica* as a tool to disseminate its socio-political or socio-ideological views, it would have ensured its economic stability from the outset.

The second observation is that *Grlica* functioned primarily as a professional journal. Despite occasionally incorporating socio-political or socio-ideological elements in its popular and academic articles, as well as in its sheet music supplements, *Grlica* remained committed to its primary mission of promoting quality music education and appreciation. This commitment to professionalism is evident in its analytical content, recommendations, and the compositions it published. The elements of the socialist system found in *Grlica* are largely either linked to the authors themselves or perhaps to an ideological anniversary. However, even in such cases, these elements are not predominant, especially not after 1965. By this time, *Grlica* had undergone a complete de-politicization and de-ideologization, with ideological and socio-political elements becoming almost non-existent in both the sheet music and the popular and academic discussions.

A third conclusion of this analysis pertains to the composers who contributed to *Grlica*. Radovan Gobec was the most prolific, particularly with compositions featuring socio-ideological elements, followed by Peter Lipar. Other notable contributors included Janez Bitenc, Janez Kuhar, and Albin Weingerl. In the second period, Jakob Jež played a significant role; he became the editor of *Grlica* in 1967 and continued until 1988. During his tenure, Jež was among the most frequent contributors, and a younger generation of composers, such as Jani Golob and Uroš Rojko, began publishing more regularly in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Our analysis also reveals several important observations. One key finding is that *Grlica* experienced two distinct periods during its existence. The first

period was marked by *Grlica*'s focus on creating vocal music for primary and secondary school choirs. In the second period, *Grlica*'s orientation increasingly shifted towards music education, emphasising learning about music and music-making rather than purely choral performance (e.g. at this time we find a greater emphasis on simpler, single-voice compositions, as well as on the use of Orff Instruments).

The second observation pertains to the complexity of the compositions in the sheet music supplement, which some *Grlica* users found too ambitious. Our review of these supplements partially supports this view.⁴³ It appears that some of the music may indeed have been too challenging for youth and children's choirs in Slovenia. This is implicitly confirmed by the editorial board's occasional defensive responses to such criticism or explanations justifying their editorial decisions.

A third finding, which we might consider our own assessment, is that *Grlica* was a musically progressive journal. This is particularly evident in the piano accompaniments to the songs, which were compositionally interesting and featured unusual musical solutions, often incorporating many dissonant elements. However, they also moved away from the traditional vocal-line melody, presenting a challenge for choirs. In this context, we can assert that *Grlica* was a journal that successfully merged the 'old' with the 'new'. It was innovative, bold, and, above all, modern in its pursuit of musical solutions, offering a modern take on music for children and young people. Therefore, its decline and cessation in 1988, amid significant political changes, was a great loss for Slovenian children's and youth choral singing.

From this analysis, we can conclude that neither the state nor the federal authorities used *Grlica* to convey ideological messages or consolidate power. *Grlica* was, as much as possible in those days, 'only' and foremost a professional journal. As such, it was left to professional musical circles, which, in 1988, effectively led to its closure due to various disputes. The key observation is that *Grlica* did toe the line—not the party line or an ideological line, nor one close to the authorities, but a line focused on quality choral music for young people. This is evidenced by the many children's and youth choirs that still build their repertoires on compositions published in *Grlica* fifty years ago or more.

43 Žvar (2012, 41) found that 13% of all published compositions were very difficult for children's choirs.

»BITI NA LINIJI«: REVIJA *GRLICA* MED SOCIALISTIČNIMI SMOTRI IN KAKOVOSTNO OTROŠKO-MLADINSKO GLASBO

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POVZETEK

Namen članka je osvetliti pomen *Grlice* kot ključne revije za otroško in mladinsko glasbo na Slovenskem med letoma 1953 in 1988 za prenos ideoloških in družbenopolitičnih prvin takratnega političnega in družbenoekonomskega (socialističnega) sistema. S pomočjo zgodovinskorazvojne in zgodovinskoprimerjalne metode članek predstavi tri ugotovitve. Prvič, *Grlica* je bila predvsem strokovna revija, ideoloških komponent je bilo v njej v celotnem obdobju izhajanja nasploh malo. Drugič, tiste, ki so bile prisotne, so bile razvidne predvsem v prvem obdobju izhajanja *Grlice*, tj. do leta 1965, nato pa so počasi presahnile. Končno, ključna ugotovitev je, da je na Slovenskem med letoma 1953 in 1988 obstajala glasbena revija za otroke in mladino, ki je strokovnost absolutna postavljala pred usklajenost s pričakovani takratne politične oblasti. To se je pokazalo v številnih strokovnih in poljudnih razpravah s področja zborovskega petja, pa tudi v notni prilogi. Glede slednje velja poudariti še, da so v njej svoje skladbe objavljali skladatelji različnih svetovnonazorskih prepričanj in tudi glasbenih slogov, kar pomeni, da je bila *Grlica* v svojem bistvu ne samo strokovna, ampak tudi široko razgledana in odprta glasbena revija, o čemer priča tudi njena aktualnost še danes, po več kot 60 letih njenega obstoja.

Ključne besede: *Grlica*, ideologija, socializem, otroška in mladinska glasba, Slovenija

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