ROCK AND ROLL'S IMPACT ON SOVIET YOUTH IN THE COLD WAR (1970-1991)

Name: Aikaterini Pappa   Student Number: 4119037
Master's thesis, Cultural History
Supervisor: Dr. Joes Segal
Utrecht University

"Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole State, and ought to be prohibited, when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them."
Plato, The Republic, Book IV

"It's so hard to endure, to protect all your flowers, through the cold and the black, And to raise on dreams of your powers your own personal flag."
(Time Machine: "Tower" Bright, Terry, 'Soviet Crusade against Pop', Popular Music, Vol. 5 (1985), p. 128)

Table of Contents

Introduction

The Cold war between the Soviet Union and the West started at the end of World War II and ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. During that time and especially since the beginning of the 1960s, rebellious youth cultures emerged in the West. Through music, dress and even the use of drugs they expressed their dissidence towards social hierarchy, the institutional totems of bourgeois culture, discrimination, gender and racial oppression as well as the disintegration of everyday life by the state and militarism.[1] At this period in time, youth as a social group emerged in the Soviet Union.

Despite their political and everyday life experiences, both power blocs had a lot in common. Rock and roll music was one of the most important elements that young people shared as a common way of self-expression in both blocs. The revolutionary nature of the music that young people listened to was seen as a threat against the communist regime. Many times the regime attempted to reduce their power by suppressing the impact of rock music. However, we can see that the history of rock music is directly connected with Soviet youth, not just in opposition to a totalitarian regime but rather as an expression of the individual needs of a whole generation who created its own world through rock and roll.

In my paper I will focus on the impact of rock and roll music in the period from 1970 to 1990 in the Soviet Union, and more specifically on the reasons why young people identified themselves with the rock genre and on the way they used it as a means of self-expression. The hypothesis which motivated me to do my research is that since young people used rock and roll to express their personal beliefs and create their own realities, rock and roll history in the Soviet Union does not only give us evidence about the emergence of rock and roll and the common elements with the West. Rather, it can give us plenty of information about the

---

[1] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth: Pioneers of Change", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1988), p. 556-572

psychological needs of young people and the ways they found to express them. Thus, my research question is why rock and roll music was such an important vehicle for young people to express their (sociopolitical) beliefs in the Soviet Union, and how both its characteristics as a genre and its sociological impact can be connected with youth culture's identity during the last decades of the Cold War up to the dissolution of the Soviet Union**?**

In order to better approach my research question, I divided my research in three different parts. Firstly, I elaborate on the sociological characteristics of rock and roll music as a genre in order to see how rock and roll developed between 1970 and 1991 in the West. By focusing on youth culture in the West, the emergence of rock and roll and the changes in its style, its sociological impact as well as the cultural values it reflected will become clearer. One of the most important parts of my paper will also be Karl Mannheim's theory on generations which will reflect all the dynamic functions of youth culture as a distinct social group. Secondly, I searched for the historical conditions in the period from the 1960s until the end of the Cold War. My focus period, as mentioned in the title of my paper, is between 1970 and 1990. However, my historical review starts from the mid-1960s as it is a period with rapid historical and social shifts in the Soviet Union. In that way, I will show how the historical conditions of that period, which came to their peak under Brezhnev in the period known as "era of stagnation", affected young people and brought about a new generation which found its personal identity in rock and roll music. Soviet rock and roll and its development will be the core of my paper. The character of rock and roll bands, their history and the elements they found in rock and roll as components of self-expression such as its lyrics enable the reader to explore rock and roll's use during periods of constant changes in the Soviet Union.

The first chapter of my paper starts with an explanation of the youth culture phenomenon and continues with the emergence of rock music in the West and especially its sociological impact and characteristics in the period from 1970 to 1990. Its final part is devoted to Karl

Mannheim's theory of generations. The second chapter focuses on the historical facts that took place in the period between the mid-1960s until the end of the 1980s. Finally, the third chapter discusses the Soviet rock scene and how and why they used rock and roll as self-expression. It is divided in two different periods, the first starting in the 1970s until Gorbachev came to power and the second one extending until the end of 1980s. Lyrics and slang terms will be an additional part of this chapter, illuminating the inner forces of rock and roll music as they developed among Soviet youth.

A long research has taken place regarding the emergence of rock and roll music in the West and subsequently in the Soviet Union since the 1960s. Many sociological theories have managed to interpret the power of rock and roll music and to explain its role and impact in the emergence of youth culture in the West and in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Soviet rock scene and its history have been extensively researched as well as the way that young people used this kind of music to create their own realities. Additionally, there is an abundance of information about the historical and social conditions that have taken place in the Soviet Union during the last decades of the Cold War. My research connects the sociological characteristics of rock and roll music as it developed in the West with its history in the Soviet Union. It contributes to the whole history of Soviet rock and roll by investigating how its sociological characteristics were used by the rebellious Soviet youth. The historical information of that period has been used as an essential background in justifying the upsurge of Soviet rock.

By approaching the Soviet youth society in the period between 1970 and 1990 in this way, I contribute to the general debate on the impact of rock music in the Soviet Union and I show how rock and roll music's sociological characteristics affected this young generation. In today's society, older and younger generations seem to distance themselves more than ever from each other. The rapid social and economic changes that take place have created a gap

between young people's ideal worlds and authorities' statements. My research also contributes to understanding the generational gap that exists in periods of crisis, and illuminates the impact of a musical genre, specifically on Soviet youth but also more generally, on young people's psychological and emotional needs.

Rock and Roll Sociology

Youth culture in the West

After the end of the Second World War, the phenomenon of what we call today youth culture emerged in the Western world. The post-war period saw the rise of crucial sociocultural shifts in the status of youth culture. It was a period of increasing economic affluence in Britain and the US. However, the latter was accompanied by an increase in deviant forms of crime such as "gang-based youth violence".[2] The concept of youth culture developed in the 1950s. An explanation for this emergence was the dramatic growth of secondary and university education in Western countries as young people were spending longer periods in educational institutions enhancing youth socializing and solidarity.

The 1960s also brought the rise of middle-class youth counter-culture with protests in the universities in the United States and on the streets against the war in Vietnam. Youth was now viewed as a social category belonging to a generational culture that transcended class, occupation and status.[3] Youth started being an ideological concept. It reflected the ideas that the middle-class children were adopting values such as excitement and toughness, indulgence, autonomy as well as hardness, and therefore they were opposing the values of their parents. The entire new generation was now critical of an elder generation which could not accept this sociocultural shift.[4]

As the sociologist Swingewood (1977) put it, we are born in social classes, possessing distinct ways of life which are modified locally by region and neighborhood. The values and social meanings embodied in these classes form the culture of the group. Hence, we start building an identity based on these social relations and meanings. Society is divided in several

---

[2] Bennett, Andy, *Popular music and youth culture: Music, identity and place*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), p. 11-33
[3] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, (London and New York: Psychology Press, 2008), p. 191-204
[4] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, (London: Constable, 1978), p. 19-37

cultures and the major forms of these are class cultures. Subcultures can be characterized as the sub-sets of these larger cultural configurations.[5] Youth marked the transition from the irresponsibility of childhood to the responsibility of adulthood including the transition from emotional dependence to independence.[6] There is an uncertainty about the definition of a subculture but it is generally considered to be a social group organized around shared interests and practices. Subcultures often distinguish themselves against others and are opposed to their parents' culture.

Music is one of the complex elements making up subcultural style.[7] The subcultures provide particular functions for the young. As Brake asserts, they can offer a solution at a "magical" level to certain structural problems created by the socio-economic conditions of a society, providing them with certain cultural elements such as values, style, ideologies and life-style. Adolescence and early childhood is a period of reshaping ideas and values where one can explore one's relationship to the world. Therefore, it is an important source of socialization outside work or school.[8] Subculture is an alternative particular way of life that contrasts with mainstream culture. It is expressed in ordinary behavior and in art. This involves not only music but also aspects like verbal and nonverbal communication, gender relationships, family, food, religion, fashion and family. However, subcultures are usually organized around music, which is strongly related to socializing behavior.[9]

---

[5] Brake, Michael, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex, Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?,* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge, 1981), p. 1-28

[6] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture: A nation's constructors and constructed*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 14-18

[7] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music,* p. 191-204

[8] Brake., *The Sociology of Youth Culture*, p. 1-18

[9] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, (Newbury Park, London, New Delphi: Sage Publications, 1992), p. 1-32

The emergence of Rock and Roll in the West

Since the early 1950s, the period of adolescence in western society was one in which spontaneity and a kind of self-centered emotional intensity were at the center of youth culture. Popular music symbolizes this relative freedom and brings liberation at the heart of youth culture and thus rock.[10] Rock and roll emerged in the United States in the early 1950s when black rhythm and blues songs began to be played on radio stations, aiming at a wider audience. It is interesting to note that R&B, American country music as well as 1940s and 1950s boogie –woogie music were all elements of early rock and roll.[11] The initial period of rock lasted more or less from 1955 to 1958. The major product of the music industry in the 1950s was the "single" record containing one song on each side.[12]

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, an American folk "revival" took place which clearly influenced rock music. It was bound up with a rural romanticism and with a search for values opposed to urban corruption, mass music and commerce. This kind of music was connected to political ideas and symbolized a sense of "community" through distance from mainstream popular music. Its emphasis was less on technique or skill than on authenticity and honesty. In the 1960s, the idea in folk music that musicians could approach their work as self-expression by focusing on songs and lyrics was assimilated by the commercial needs of rock. This folk ideology was also enhanced by the fact that folkies were against commercial pop, rejected the star system and were proud of the integration between performer and audience.[13]

Rock music started being the main cultural vehicle of youth. In the 1960s it united working and middle class youth culture, the Underground and Rock into an important cultural force.[14] The increasing amount of teenagers in this period gave their consumer choices a new market

---

[10] Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder: Symbolism in rock music", *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (1979), p. 87-124.

[11] Shuker, Roy., *Understanding popular music*, p. 119-135

[12] Regev, Motti. "Producing artistic value", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1994), p. 85-102.

[13] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock,* p. 176-190

[14] Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder", p. 87-124

weight and reflected changes within the leisure industry.[15] The corpus of this genre created by a group of musicians has been accumulated over the years, forming a repertoire of musical codes and sound patterns. It firstly began as a struggle to raise the artistic prestige of popular music and it was initially called "rock and roll" and later just "rock". During the 1960s, an autonomous apparatus of meaning production emerged which interpreted rock as a "serious" musical and cultural practice. This apparatus produced the dominant discourse on rock and consisted of two main channels of production: radio broadcasting and journalism. Radio brought the emergence of special broadcasting formats which were destined by their producers to "alternative" forms of popular music. Journalism contributed through the emergence of periodicals devoted to a "serious" treatment of rock music.[16] Some of the most important elements of this new kind of music were its rhythm and the improvisation of the musicians.[17]

   It represented a common way of thinking and feeling of a whole young generation of middle-class American youth. It was rather a kind of youth status symbol. This had to do more with the new social environment of music. The post-war youth in the USA grew up in an atmosphere of relative material well-being due the stable post-war economic prosperity of the American economy. There was a conflict between the hopes and wishes of young people within the context of relative freedom from immediate material needs and a certain level of middle class luxury. All the expectations of this generation led them to a certain kind of music, rock and roll, which they claimed as their own and which was differentiated from the dominant culture industry expressing its own protest against the materialism of everyday life.[18] Moreover, individual's lives were constructed under the framework of the Cold War experiencing gaps between ideological promises and everyday reality. Their frustration

---

[15] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 49-74

[16] Regev, Motti. "Producing artistic value.", p. 85-102

[17] Kajanová, Yvetta, "The Rock, Pop and Jazz in Contemporary Musicological Studies.", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2013), p. 343-359

[18] Wicke, Peter, "Rock music: a musical-aesthetic study.", *Popular Music*, Vol. 2 (1982), p. 219-243

towards the political and social conditions was demonstrated not only in the shape of political dissent but also by the autonomy of cultural expressions.[19] Rock music was one of the most important cultural elements to express their feelings and to essentially criticize their societies.

In the late 1960s and 1970s rock music established a relationship between audiences and performers that combined folk and art ideologies. Thus, according to Frith, "folk music rock" is meant to represent the community of youth and "art music rock is heard" is intended as the sound of individual, creative sensibility. The audience takes on the structures of meaning of rock music and combines them with private meanings to produce variations of consumption and stylistic expression.[20]

In the 1960s rock was presented as art, and the American critic Jon Landau argued that "the criterion of art in rock is the capacity of the musician to create a personal, almost private, universe and to express it fully".[21] On the one hand, rock music expressed the noise and the endless beat through the feeling of togetherness, and on the other hand it reflected an overlay of musical or lyrical anarchy. As the music theorist John Cage notes, the hallmark of rock has always been its hypnotic rhythm. In the 1960s, the 4-man big bands were middle aged, wore a uniform and had identical haircuts that emphasized collectivity and respectability. The fan clubs and magazines of rock were some of its most common ritual elements. The beat of rock and roll was simple and heavy. The images were all about teenage activities and feelings. Its most important elements were its aggression and newness. Rock, according to the American scholar of cultural studies Lawrence Grossberg, has the ability to energize its fans by transforming the elements which oppress them into moments of fun, repetition and celebrating the noise. However, rock has also the ability to resist the social structures and

[19] Scott-Smith, Segal, Joes, Giles, Romijn, Peter, *'Divided Dreamworlds? The Cultural Cold War in East and West'* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2012), p. 1-9
[20] Bennett, Andy, *Popular music and youth culture*, p. 43-51
[21] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, p. 67-92

institutions which dominate in youth's life such as family, school and the working environment.[22]

Since the 1960s, rock music spans the whole spectrum of social classes, connecting racial, sexual, local and class solidarities. It has the function of "the sacred" according to the French sociologist Durkheim (1975), that of celebrating and enhancing group integration by combining a symbolism of disorder and ambiguity.[23] It has a symbolic message, according to Martin, that sets up the individual against the social and the principle of disorder against order.[24]

Rock became the broad label for a wide range of styles which evolved out of rock and roll since the mid-1960s. The latter include hard rock, progressive rock, blues rock, punk rock, psychedelic or acid rock, heavy metal, country rock, glitter rock, new wave, indie rock and alternative rock.[25] The second part the 1970s is characterized by a new way in music. Punk constituted a reaction to the institutionalization of rock during the 1970s. Punk musicians tried to bring back to rock the type of intense rebellion, musical simplicity and a focus on the importance of social issues in the lyrics. Punk as a new wave in rock music symbolized a maturing of historical consciousness among rock musicians and critics regarding art. It is important to mention that it was the first time that a "new generation" of musicians emerged whose claim for recognition was within the context of rock and was based on a clash with the previous generation (the 1960s rock musicians' attitude was a more orthodox one in terms of expressing a more classical rock sound avoiding the rough sound of punk musicians)[26]

In this period, self-consciousness started being a main characteristic of a record's artistic status. Musicians started expressing more frankness, musical wit and the use of irony and

---

[22] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication,* p. 152-175
[23] Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder", p. 89
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 87-124.
[25] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, p. 119-135
[26] Regev, Motti, "Producing artistic value", p. 85-102.

paradox through their songs.[27] The production of rock music also entailed many commercial dangers. The record companies of the 1960s were trying to emphasize the musicians' technical skills, their instrumental artistry and their unwillingness to be bound by social conventions. Also, in the 1970s, according to Frith, rock started assimilating its own commercial formulas such as the well-made song and the standard of the well-constructed star.[28] Despite these dangers, listeners could identify the artistic identity of the musician. Rock musicians were trying to present the authentic side of the genre.[29] Rock started also being more politically affiliated. Its message was Love not War and promoted an end to greed and pollution, authoritarian politics and bureaucracy. Its attempt was to combine anarchic eclecticism with commune-style togetherness. Singers of that period such as Bob Dylan expressed this paradoxical combination of indirect violence through their lyrics and gentleness. It was a mix of a violent condemnation of the adult world and urban society inside a form which idealized gentleness.[30]

Rock as a political element

Rock musicians represented a subversive community and reflected private dreams and feelings of young people. At the end of 1960s, it was most obvious that rock was also politically "progressive". It had a political significance and it represented a more ambitious music than pop in terms of form, content and impact. According to Simon Frith, it was background music, a permanent sound track of anger and hope. The rock community was also a community of feeling. For example, for some performers, such as the Doors, the Dead, and Jimi Hendrix, it was used as a source of solidarity and enthusiasm for both the antiwar

---

[27] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, p. 119-135
[28] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, p.176-209
[29] Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, p. 119-135
[30] Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder", p. 87-124

movement and the American soldiers in Vietnam.[31] As Lull also asserts, popular music is capable of providing a widespread, unified voice of protest. Like Frith, he also identifies that music played an important role in resistance to slavery, war, poverty and racial as well as gender discrimination.[32] It is during such kinds of historical points that according to Shucker, popular music has identified social problems, oppression and alienation, forging a relationship between cultural change, popular music and politics.[33] For Grossberg, the meanings we give to the music, how we interpret it, the relations between those meanings and our world are never isolated from political and social struggles.[34] Young people in the 1960s had become more self-conscious and politically assertive. As Frith argues, their obsession with rock music instead of previous popular music forms, lays in is its existence in a period of expanded social, political and psychological upsurge. Thus, this historical context makes a relevant popular music important.[35] In the last period of the 1960s, in combination with the youth movement and student revolt, this element of rock was further developed. Rock and roll was converted into a symbolic art of self-liberation and self-realization in which reality and music was at the center of individuals' lives. According to Wicke, in a world of social and political disintegration, the young persons could find the way to social revolution through music. Hence, rock was seen as a social force, as a revolutionary potential and a power of social change.[36]

---

[31] Frith, Simon, "Rock and the Politics of Memory.", *Social Text*, No. 9/10 (1984), p. 59-69
[32] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 1-31
[33] Shucker, *Understanding popular music,* p. 241-255
[34] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 152-175
[35] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock,* p. 191-202
[36] Wicke, Peter, "Rock music: a musical-aesthetic study", p. 219-243.

Musicians and audience: a unique relationship

Unlike other types of popular music, rock music grows from "below", from the daily life of its musicians and audiences. The rock group as a self-contained creative unity emerged during the 1960s. Its ideal types consist of four to six musicians who compose the music, write the lyrics, play and sing. Later, the role of the musical producer also gained creative importance and thus many groups became producers of their own records. The rock group symbolizes a creative responsibility which incorporates the playing of instruments as a component. The individual musician is an entity in the perception of rock music as an art. As Regev argues, the musicians are not just "composers" but rather individuals who master all the components of production using them in a creative way. In the last period of the 1960s, several artists (individuals or groups) emerged trying to produce authentic/classic rock music.[37]

Consequently, this unique relationship between audience and musicians started developing and several critics such as Grossberg characterized rock as a form of mass communication. It provided an escape, a distraction from many of the oppressive realities of the world around us. It had the ability to communicate certain meanings and to offer its audiences values which had an essential impact on the ways they responded to particular situations. More specifically, rock and roll has the ability to give "private desires a public language". According to some theories, our individual identities are the products of the social relations into which we are inserted by particular communicative messages, and thus the audience remains passive. However, other theories redefine the latter approach and argue that it is the audience that interprets the text, defines its message, "decodes" it by adapting it to its own realities and "uses it to satisfy" already present needs. The relationship between musicians and fans is also characterized by the fact that rock and roll is not merely a strategy of resistance but rather is

---

[37] Regev, Motti, "Producing artistic value", p. 85-102

inserted in their lives by reorganizing them. That means, according to Lull, that it is not so much revolutionary but a form of struggle against anything miserable. Rock and roll is about a particular use or organization of pleasure and about the attempt to shape pleasure into fun. It defines youth as the point of contradiction between fun and boredom. According to rock's term, you are young if you are bored with the ordinary life and celebrate fun as an alternative strategy to live in this world. [38] Regev expresses the same viewpoint with Grossberg by arguing that rock comes as a response to boredom and anxiety of everyday life which presents fun and pleasure as a rejection of the restraints of it.[39] Frith also identifies this aspect of rock music by arguing that it celebrates the production of fun and difference.[40]

Therefore, as Wicke argues, the aim of rock focuses more on the experience of collectivity than on individuality. It is based on the musical activity of many people interacting at the same time, in the same way and through the same forms, which structure bodily movements, enabling the latter to become an aesthetically mediated pleasure. This is due to the wish of musicians to reach as many potential purchasers as possible. In that way, rock music can bridge all social, national and racial differences, using this crucial element of "collectivity".[41] Rock is often perceived to have more integrity, authenticity and sincerity than pop. Andrew Strong, a famous rock singer in the 1970s, identifies that rock music is written by the artist for him/herself and not with the initial intention of making money. Pop aims to make quick money either for the artists or their record label. However, rock may last forever and become "classic" in the process.[42]

The rock audience is not a passive mass but an active community making music a symbol of solidarity and an inspiration for action. Rock came from the life experiences of the artists and their interaction with an audience that was roughly of the same age. As Greil Marcus

---

[38] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 152-175
[39] Regev, Motti, "Producing artistic value", p. 85-102
[40] Frith, *The sociology of rock*, p. 152-175
[41] Wicke, Peter, "Rock music: a musical-aesthetic study", p. 219-243.
[42] Shuker, Roy. *Understanding popular music*, p. 125

asserts, rock music can "absorb events" by absorbing its listeners' concerns and values. To claim rock as art at the end of the 1960s was to claim that rock songs and records are demanding individual reactions. The English musicologist Wilfred Mellers argued that rock music is art, a complex creation of symbolic forms which are related to the reality of the artists' experience. Other critics asserted that rock was a form of popular music that has the possibility through its lyrics to put "youth in touch with serious, intellectual critiques" of Western culture.[43] The musician reflects the product of his music with every movement and gesture of his body. Thus, spontaneity dominates rock music, making it a mode of social liberation.[44]

Lyrics in Western rock

Lyrics in rock music have always been an important characteristic in terms of artistic self-consciousness. Rock music had the spiritual and emotional muscle to express wider and deeper needs in an audience. Frith has characterized the rock songs' words as "speech arts" which function more in the way of plays than as poems. The voice is equally important as the sound and the personality of human utterance.[45] Regev also recognized the poetic elements of lyrics. For him when the words are isolated from their performance and analyzed as a written text, they can be presented as "poetry".[46] The impact of the lyrics in rock and roll can be used as a communicative resource as well. James Lull identifies a lack of academic interest in the impact of the words in music. He focuses on the power of lyrics to create a common language for all the adolescents' personal and social lives.[47] Pete Astor also asserts that the lyrics of

---

[43] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, p. 191-202
[44] Wicke, Peter, "Rock music: a musical-aesthetic study", p. 219-243.
[45] Astor, Pete. "The poetry of rock: song lyrics are not poems but the words still matter; another look at Richard Goldstein's collection of rock lyrics", *Popular Music*, Vol. 29 No. 01 (2010), p. 143-148.
[46] Regev, Motti, "Producing artistic value", p. 85-102
[47] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 11-31

rock songs as opposed to sound have a sense of the personal for the listener because they constitute a more concrete expression of feeling.[48]

Contrary to the previous approaches, Bernice Martin expresses his uncertainty about the importance of lyrics in rock music. He argues that its lyrics were mostly simple slogans and all that mattered was the noise of music, its aggression and newness. This was not just stupidity or inability to write anything better. It was rather a kind of teen code, almost a sign language that would make rock incomprehensible to adults and would unite youth.[49] Moreover, the American critic Greil Marcus argued that rock and roll was a "secret" that bound a generation and made it culturally independent of its elders. For these writers, it is not so much the lyrical content of the music that makes it a genuine form of youthful expression as its physical content. The latter is reflected through rock and rock's entertainment value as dance music which arises from its folk value of giving symbolic form to the needs of its users.[50]

Youth and Karl Mannheim's theory of generations

As Grossberg argues, rock and roll exists as a set of strategic responses to a particular historical context rather than as a set of merely musical messages. Rock and roll was about growing up in the advanced capitalist world after the World War II, but in the sense of describing it but rather as a strategy of reorganizing lives by restructuring its contours and including the shape and experience of youth.[51] For social scientists, youth was not only an individual, psychological experience but a social one and this gave rise to a second important category, that of "generation".[52] Personal time is accompanied by social time, which is

---

[48] Astor, Pete, "The poetry of rock", p. 143-148.

[49] Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder", p. 87-124.

[50] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, p. 191-202

[51] Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, p. 152-175

[52] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture: A nation's constructors and constructed*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 14-18

essentially a socially shared frame for the perception of social development but can differ from one social group to another. One such group is generation.[53]

Each generation appeared to be distinct from the one before and after it in a rapidly modernizing society. Its concept is connected with social processes such as those of continuity and rupture. Modern industrial societies were seen as far more complex than the traditional ones in which the end of childhood was characterized by ritual or celebration when the new member took up her/his ascribed place in adult society. Contrary to this, in modern industrial societies the roles performed within the family were no longer homogeneous within the wider social system and therefore identification with the members of the family did not ensure the achievement of full social maturity in the social system.[54]

People need a social identity for the sense of belonging and a generation can provide this sort of identity in combination with other known concepts such as race, gender and class. It is important to note that most of these concepts which reflect social identities are not solid entities. Hence, identity becomes important for an individual through a given social context and through everyday situations. The most important theorist contributing to defining generations is Karl Mannheim (1893-1947). He was mainly inspired by social movements initiated by young people since the 18th century.[55] He outlined the idea that young generations are imperfectly socialized because of a gap between the ideals they have learned from older generations and the realities they experience.[56] His essay "The Problem of Generations" (1923) is regarded as the most systematic treatment of generation from a sociological perspective. This is mainly due to the fact that he locates generation within a socio-historical context.

---

[53] Nugin, Raili, "Social time as the basis of the generational consciousness", *Trames*, Vol. 14(64/59), No. 4 (2010), p. 342-366.
[54] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture*, p. 14-18
[55] Nugin, Raili, "Social time as the basis of the generational consciousness", p. 342-366.
[56] Codrington, G., "Detailed introduction to Generational Theory", (2009) Available at www.tomorrowtoday.uk.com. Retrieved 18 January 2014

Mannheim clarified the nature of generation as a social category and paralleled it to social class position, since both concepts denote an individual's or group's location in the social structure. In the case of class location, an individual's or group's position emerges from the existence of an economic and power structure within society.[57] He asserted that generational identity is formed during the formative years of an individual's life. For him, a generation is a social entity whose members have a certain bond and "generational consciousness". However, the connection between the members is not as tight as in a group whose members depend on each other.[58] Mannheim saw generation not as a mechanical product of biology-which means that you are born at a certain time- but as a social construct formed by historical conjuncture. Thus, generational consciousness was taken to be more prevalent in periods of rapid social change or instability. Mannheim's theory rejected any kind of social Darwinism which envisaged generations as simply stepping-stones leading the road of progress. He rather asserted that generational change was not only reflected but also affected by youth.[59]

More specifically, he suggested that young people find themselves in a particular set of occupations and roles in most societies and thus they develop a consciousness of themselves as an age-group. As he argued, it is in certain historical situations such as periods of profound social change and situations of political instability that an age-group becomes a generation and youth culture becomes political.[60] In these times, "basic attitudes need to change more quickly than the continuous but more gradual change brought about by the "fresh contact" with culture experienced by the new generations and the dying off of the older ones".[61] Mannheim referred to "fresh contact", explaining that as young people grow up and experience their surroundings in their lives for themselves, they adapt the value systems they

[57] Pilcher, Jane, "Mannheim's Sociology of Generations: An Undervalued Legacy", *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 45, No. 3 (1994), p. 481-495
[58] Nugin, Raili, "Social time as the basis of the generational consciousness", p. 342-366.
[59] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture,* p. 14-18
[60] Frith, Simon. *The sociology of rock,* pp. 19-36
[61] Pilcher, Jane, "Mannheim's Sociology of Generations", pp. 491

have received for the realities they experience rather than merely through their parents' eyes.[62]

The Israeli sociologist Eisenstadt, argued that youth is "a transitory phase between the world of childhood and the adult world". Young people do not seek to change society but to re-enter it. Moreover, the American sociologist Parsons, has asserted something similar, seeing youth culture as something particular to American society, emphasizing its resistance to the pressure of adult expectations.[63] Both of them focus not so much on age group contributions to social change but rather on the mechanisms of orderly cohort flow and gradual evolution in the social order.[64] However, Mannheim differentiates from the above theorists by focusing on the degree of agency.[65] According to him, there are three important characteristics which form a generation: generation as location, generation as actuality and generation units. The members of this group must share a common place in history. Thus, this aspect limits them to a specific range of potential experience and predisposes them with a certain characteristic mode of experience, thought and a type of historically relevant action.[66]

Generation as an actuality appears only when a concrete bond is created between members of a generation by being exposed to the social conditions during a process of intense destabilization. That means that individuals of the same age are united as an actual generation in so far as they participate in the social and intellectual events of their society and period, as well as in so far as they are active or passive members of the interaction of all the components which made up the new situation. Within this community of people with a common destiny, particular generation units can arise.[67] That means that segments of a youthful generation

---

[62] Codrington, G., "Detailed introduction to Generational Theory", Available at www.tomorrowtoday.uk.com.
[63] Brake, Michael. *The Sociology of Youth Culture,* p. 1-28
[64] Pilcher, Jane, "Mannheim's Sociology of Generations", p. 481-495
[65] Brake, Michael, *The Sociology of Youth Culture,* p. 1-28
[66] Nugin, Raili, "Social time as the basis of the generational consciousness", p. 342-366.
[67] Mannheim, K., *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), p. 276-320.

often experienced the same historical problems in very different ways.[68] The collective experience of specific historical events is more intense during periods of rapid social change. Hence, the more rapid the change, the bigger the gap between generational sets of consciousness.[69]

The positive accounts of 1960s youth culture can explain why youth, according to Mannheim, had become a generation. The capitalist explosion after World War II, the growing importance of tertiary and scientific workers, the expansion of secondary and higher education and the decline of unskilled labour were some of the most crucial reasons that led to this. The generational conflict which was taking place in society and could be expressed through rock and roll can be successfully explained by Mannheim's assumption about "age spans". Being young entailed occupying a particular position in modern capitalist societies. Moreover, youth culture could be understood as a solution to the social, sexual and emotional problems of adolescence. In that way, youth is conceptualized as a particular generational response to a wider class problem which includes problems such as housing, future prospects and wages. Rock and roll music reflected a rebellious ideology. According to Frith, it has the ability to contain the seeds of a more radical dissent which could erupt into an action which can threaten society.[70]

People found in rock music the means to distance themselves from a previous generation and it was in a period of political shifts when youth culture emerged. It became the popular art of 1960s culture which expressed the sense of generation and reflected the symbols of individual potential and the doubts about collective comfort.[71]

---

[68] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture*, p. 14-18
[69] Brake, Michael, *The Sociology of Youth Culture,* p. 1-28
[70] Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, p. 19-36
[71] *Ibid.*, p.203-209

Soviet Union 1970-1991

Since the time Stalin came to power in the late 1920s, the Soviet Union tried to maintain the Communist's party monopoly of power, the intensively monolithic character of these parties as well as their organization in accordance with Leninist principles. The Soviet leaders insisted that the security and armed forces of the satellite nations had to be subordinated to a dual system of native party supervision and direct control by the Soviet security and military command. Moreover, they placed the communications media under strict party control. They also did not permit any autonomous political organizations to exist which could challenge the party's monopoly.[72]

The problems that existed since the mid-1960s were not a product of this period but they were the outcome of a rigid management which failed to modernize the economy of the Soviet Union.[73] Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet communist Party General Secretary, asserted that he would lead the state to "mature" communism.[74] Contrary to the years of Stalinist isolation, Soviet intellectuals started having special access to foreign periodicals and technology. Khrushchev's policy oversaw the construction of new scientific communities which would provide the scholars with the opportunity to interact in relative freedom.

However, the Khrushchev policy triggered active dissent among young people. More specifically, Radio Liberty, a radio broadcast and research organization which was formed in Western Europe to circumvent censorship within the Soviet Union exerted a big influence. It reported that because skepticism is so widespread among Soviet intellectuals and particularly young people, it is one of the most important subjects of widespread attention in the Soviet press. There was an obvious disparity between the communist theory and Soviet reality which

---

[72] Bialer, Seweryn, "Socialist Stagnation and Communist Encirclement", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1984), p. 160-176

[73] Cummings, Laura. "Gorbachev's Perestroika and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.", (2008) Available at www.lagrange.edu.com. Retrieved 10 June 2014 Pdf.

[74] Arnold, James R. and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), p. 27-28

was coming to the surface. The Communist Party encountered essential difficulties in its attempts to motivate young citizens for military duty, basic public service and farm labour. The Communist youth league, the Komsomol, noticed that students neglected the compulsory activities and soon enough informal meeting groups replaced the state-controlled Komsomol.[75]

It is also important to note that the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the official Soviet journal concerned with youth issues, essentially focused on issues of "psychology of contemporary young people". Young people wrote to the newspaper describing their boring and depressing life. Youth had already started expressing its disappointment with the state since the beginning of the 1960s before Brezhnev's era. The Soviet authorities attempted to establish gradual reforms in order to bring about changes in youth's psychology.

In 1961, at the 22nd Communist Party congress, Khrushchev proclaimed that the Soviet Union would overcome poverty and realize a more prosperous society. In spite of his declarations, the aims of his policy were not achieved, due to a variety of difficulties that the General Secretary faced within the Soviet Union and abroad.[76]

The leader of the Soviet Union-after Nikita Khrushchev- from 1964 until his death in 1982-was Leonid Brezhnev. Before he took control of the Soviet policy, Brezhnev was a follower of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin and gained rapid promotion within the Communist Party hierarchy. His rise to power was also due to the power of his new patron Nikita Khrushchev. However, in cooperation with Alexei Kosygin, he unseated Khrushchev. Thus, on October 15, 1964, Brezhnev became first secretary of the Soviet Union.[77]

In the time he came to power, the world was still under the consequences of the Cold War. During the early phase of his leadership, the Soviet Union started facing a social and

[75] Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism': The Soviet 'Thaw' and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964–1972." *Contemporary European History* ,Vol. 15, No. 02 (2006), p. 133-158.

[76] Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism'', p. 133-158.

[77] Arnold, James R. and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 27-28

economic peak. However, the period of Brezhnev is generally characterized as the Era of Stagnation. By the end of the 1960s, society demanded a better standard of living. Brezhnev instituted a new social contract in order to ensure better living conditions for people. This contract would guarantee wages, employment, accommodation, social security and social mobility.[78] At the beginning, the system brought political stability by guaranteeing a minimum standard of living. In spite of the perception of increased Soviet strength during the 1970s, the lack of a real structural reform of the state's institutions would be a leading factor in causing stagnation.[79] During the 1970s, Brezhnev advocated a relaxation of Cold War tensions which he demonstrated by signing the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. The latter recognized the postwar frontiers of Central and Eastern Europe and legitimized Soviet economic leadership over the region. In terms of exchange, the Soviet Union agreed to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.[80]

His general programme of "developed socialism" tried to enhance Soviet power through relaxation of state repression and domestic control. Brezhnev's policy did that by expanding Soviet and Eastern bloc trade with the West. Moreover, the Soviet authorities wanted to extend their power by copying technology imports. In spite of the fact that they already had a large number of scientists and engineers, the political leadership used foreign technology transfer. Brezhnev did not wish to develop new products at home but he wanted to import already developed items. As a result of the above policies, Western Europe was the primary source of industrial and high technology imports in the second half of the 1960s.[81]

However, the above situation was not paralleled with liberalization at home. Brezhnev attempted to neutralize the effects of détente by expanding the Soviet security apparatus and

---

[78] Campbell, Ross. "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", (2011) Available at www.allrussias.com. Retrieved 25 May 2014 Pdf.

[79] Clark, William A., "Crime and Punishment in Soviet Officialdom, 1965-90", *Europe-Asia Studies,* Vol. 45, No. 2 (1993), p. 259-279

[80] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 27-28

[81] Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism", p. 133-158.

government control over society. His regime was characterized by corruption and repression of dissidents. The urbanization gave rise to a larger number of Soviet citizens, especially young and educated people who were hoping to live in a Western lifestyle and to follow a Western middle-class way of living.[82] Instead of pursuing Khrushchev's ambitious aims, an international and domestic stability guided political action. Brezhnev aimed détente with the United States by privileging co-operation with Washington above communist commitments in Cuba, Vietnam and China. Thus, it is argued that "developed socialism" made socialism dependent on capitalism. This can be justified by the fact that Brezhnev's policy depended on Western capital which entered the communist sphere by fostering a broader commercial exchange.[83]

Brezhnev's economic policy was based on the basic Stalinist principles of state ownership of land and non-agricultural capital, centralized planning of most production and intermediate consumption, collectivized farming and state provision of housing and basic amenities. His plans fostered a growing economy at the beginning, but later the focus on military spending and the lack of production of consumer goods devastated the economy. Consequently, there was simply not enough capital or resources to support the type of economy that was desired by the government.[84]

In Brezhnev's period, a bureaucratic routine prevailed at every level. Moreover, crucial decisions about social and political problems were constantly delayed. Additionally problematic was the cost of political and military cadres, which was higher than at any previous period, as the older elite was trying to take good care an entire generation of middle-aged officials in middle-level positions. The political instability led to tense relations between the various elites and bureaucracies. Generally, patronage, corruption and clientalism were

[82] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 27-28
[83] Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism", p. 133-158.
[84] Cummings, Laura. "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.

some of the most important problems of the party-state apparatus, not only in Moscow but also in other districts.[85]

At that period, a large number of informal and technically illegal measures was permitted and encouraged by the Soviet leadership for the maintenance of economic growth. Specifically, the Soviet leadership entailed the development of a wide series of informal arrangements which replaced the formal institutions of the state. Subsequently certain illegalities were allowed that aimed at economic growth and the continued rule of those holding power. For Grossman, one of the expert contributors to the literature on Soviet corruption, the Soviet elite and people had assimilated so much corruption in their life that it had become a standard method of "solving problems" in the social environment.[86] Breznev's policy and his style of leadership were the main causes of this Era of Stagnation. As the political scientist Thane Gustafson (1990) argues, it was the lack of political desire to reform which had such a disappointing impact on foreign trade.[87]

Many scholars assert that Brezhnev was a leader who valued stability above other goals but he also managed to implement a wide-ranging agenda especially in the area of foreign policy.[88] Brezhnev's period was also one in which attempts were made to face the declining economic system. In spite of these attempts, Brezhnev ignored the necessity of a structural reform.

Moreover, besides the political and economic consequences, there were also social issues. Brezhnev's contract froze social mobility by paying people for work regardless of its quality. The attempt to implement equality in the working environment was accompanied by poor planning. Citizens did not see the point of trying to improve a system that would not recognize their efforts. Hence, they had no incentive to work and were essentially

---

[85] Bialer, Seweryn, "Socialist Stagnation and Communist Encirclement", p. 160-176
[86] Clark, William A., "Crime and Punishment in Soviet Officialdom", p. 274
[87] Campbell, Ross. "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", Available at www.allrussias.com.
[88] Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism", p. 133-158.

disappointed by the Soviet leadership which has created these conditions. Wages started being disproportionate because of the intense economic problems.[89]

In combination with these factors, youth culture of the 1960s also faced significant problems in this period. During the Brezhnev years, most of the institutions for official youth culture-especially Komsomol- became formal and bureaucratic. Their aim was to represent the dominant Party ideology. Hence, the younger generation started turning away from them and the gap between official and unofficial youth culture became wider during this period. A distrust of authority among young people was a crucial problem.[90] The sociopolitical conditions brought changes that affected young people's faith in the previous generation.[91] It was in this period that Western youth culture with its trends, fashions and consumerism came to affect Soviet youth culture and to deeply affect Soviet youth.[92]

The Soviet détente came to an end with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The political and economic disintegration was enhanced by Brezhnev's physical health and mental awareness, which declined in the late 1970s.[93] In 1982, both Mikhail Suslov, Brezhnev's ideological spokesmen, and Brezhnev himself died. After these facts, Yuri Andropov advanced to party head and Konstantin Chernenko emerged as the main force on ideological issues.[94]

The economic, social and political problems which developed during Brezhnev's period continued to exist under Andropov's and Chernenko's leadership. The roots of the stagnation were numerous and the failure to modernize the economy was a key driving factor in

---

[89] Campbell, Ross, "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", Available at www.allrussias.com.

[90] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth: Pioneers of Change", *Soviet Studies,* Vol. 40, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), p. 556-572

[91] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 45-81

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 45-81

[93] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 27-28

[94] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc : a history of rock music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 211-231

decline.[95] In February 1984, Yuri Andropov died and Chernenko assumed control of the Communist Party.[96] Chernenko did not effectively deal with the already existing problems and the situation became more difficult in the 1980s. Costs, prices and profits proved inadequate and incentive systems mainly rewarded quantity rather than quality. The limited means to pay for technological imports, the scarcity of investment capital and the inability of agricultural production to match population growth were some of the problems.[97]

The two leaders were both advanced in age and were generally out of touch with the Soviet young people. Chernenko was more concerned with maintaining the status quo of the Marxist-Leninist government rather than improving the conditions within the Soviet Union. Their age and rise within the party linked them with Stalin's beliefs and that was a negative factor as Stalin's name was connected with feelings of harsh oppression. Chernenko's main focus was to maintain the Soviet system by relying on past policies. In spite of that, his plan was weak because the Soviet Union was different than it had been decades earlier and a reform was necessary.[98]

The problem that existed since the beginning of Brezhnev's policy and continued under Andropov's and Chernenko's leadership was that they tried to accommodate themselves to the creation and operation of alternative informal institutions which tended to perform certain social functions in a more efficient manner. An informal operation of the Soviet system was in operation which encouraged certain kinds of legal or illegal behavior that increased the stability of the regime and discouraged others. It is important mentioning that by the end of the Brezhnev regime, nearly 20 million Soviet citizens were engaged either full or part-time in underground production activities.[99] These problems essentially affected Chernenko's

---

[95] Campbell, Ross. "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", Available at www.allrussias.com.

[96] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231

[97] Clark, William A., "Crime and Punishment in Soviet Officialdom", p. 259-279

[98] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.

[99] Clark, William A., "Crime and Punishment in Soviet Officialdom", p. 259-279

policy and it was difficult enough to maintain both the economic and political levels of control in the Soviet Union. In addition to these problems, the long-neglected health services and the low educational levels made the situation even worse.[100]

The government continued to oppress people and sometimes neglected policies which aimed at improving life. As the British historian Ben Fowke argues, their policies also failed even more than Brezhnev's in improving the educational system. Moreover, it turned out that their policy proved unsuccessful to unite people under the Soviet flag and create a sense of Soviet nationalism. Cultural nationalism became more powerful and brought erosion between the Soviet government on the one hand and people from the non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union, which was conceived as a threat to the power of the regime.[101]

On July 1984, Pravda -the official Soviet journal- reproved the Komsomol leadership for important shortcomings in youth policy. Moreover, the *Pravda* charged the Komsomol for having done almost nothing to combat the new challenges of youth and more specifically the "bad influence" of the West. It was argued that young people blindly imitated Western fashion and had no interest in politics.[102] The gap between officials and young people started to extend and youth was trying to find different ways to express its anger and frustration with the political system.[103]

On March 10 1985, Konstantin Chernenko died and the new political strategy was proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev who became General Secretary in April 1985.[104] Since he came to power, Gorbachev consolidated his position within the party and wanted to move forward with internal reforms. He proposed *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost*

---

[100] Bialer, Seweryn, "Socialist Stagnation and Communist Encirclement", p. 160-176

[101] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.

[102] Ruback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231

[103] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81

[104] Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia* (New York, Sydney, Cologne : Omnibus Press, 1987), p. 106-129

(openness).[105] During the early years of his leadership, a series of reforms were articulated that aimed at restructuring the economy and loosening up the restrictions on media and other forms of public opposition. Gorbachev used his position to enact a series of humanitarian and democratic reforms aiming at improving the communist system from within.[106]

Perestroika had three distinctive phases. The first aimed at the enhancement of economic development and the revitalization of socialism. The second was characterized by the notion of *glasnost.* In this period, Gorbachev focused on the need for social and political restructuring and the necessity of dealing with the mistakes of the past. Thus, the media reforms were promoted as part of this whole process of reformation. The third phase aimed at democratizing the Soviet political process.[107]

Perestroika helped to reconstruct the economy. Gorbachev argued that the system should change and that the people desired that general shift. *Glasnost* allowed for greater freedom in the press and a flow of ideas across the Iron Curtain. Its basic aim was to allow dissenting voices to be heard and to allow people to learn about living conditions outside the Soviet Union.[108] One of Gorbachev's important initiatives was the development of autonomous or non-official associations which could replace the often rigid institutions of the Soviet system. Thus, the media organizations themselves were sponsors or creators of the new "non-official" groups.

Youth clubs, activist clubs and political discussion clubs committed to private entrepreneurial, ecological and other issues and are some of the numerous examples of politically relevant public activities that took place in this period. Most of the Soviet Union's most powerful political institutions which had been in place since Brezhnev's period of

---

[105] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 66-68
[106] Mickiewicz, Ellen, "Mobilization and Reform: Political Communication Policy under Gorbachev.", *PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 02 (1989), pp. 199-207.
[107] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 66-68
[108] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.

stagnation were now perceived as dysfunctional. The aim was to bring changes in a national level which could forge a better value system.[109]

Gorbachev's most important successes were in foreign policy, starting with easing the tensions with the West. Moreover, in 1988, he ordered the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and ended his nation's disastrous decade of struggle. Gorbachev essentially embraced the new democratically elected leadership in the region. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1990 and he is considered to be a driving force behind the end of the Cold War.[110]

All the above accomplishments can be justified by the fact that Gorbachev's young age gave him a different perspective from prior leaders and allowed him to follow a different path. More specifically he was free from Stalinist thinking because his rise in the party was not connected to direct participation in the 1917 Revolution. People had recognized the need for drastic change and his policies found direct support. Gorbachev's desire was to improve life in the Soviet Union and promote basic human rights.[111]

The most visible changes occurred in the field of economy, public relations and political and government reforms. Moreover, reforms were implemented in industry, agriculture and trade. It was the new trend of *glasnost* where dozens of officials and ministers were replaced by younger ones. There was an urgent need of the party to approach young people in informal ways. Many topics like corruption, the black market, drugs and alcoholism, which were once taboo, now became widely discussed.[112] Gorbachev came to believe that without *glasnost*, which included democratic public discussions of all kinds of issues, he could not have *perestroika.* Gorbachev believed in the necessity of transformation within society and in Soviet economy. He generally encouraged moves toward greater autonomy and

[109] Mickiewicz, Ellen, "Mobilization and Reform" p. 199-207
[110] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 66-68
[111] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.
[112] Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR*, p. 106-129

interdependence in the republics of the Union. He also encouraged the disaffected nationalities to push for independence.[113]

Perestroika encompassed a wide variety of issues and reforms. The Soviet economy was backward, lacked technology and did not have the financial banking to support it. Gorbachev tried to distance himself from Stalin by arguing that the country needed to return to its Leninist roots. The working class believed that it would receive a wider variety of goods and services and more efficient solutions to social and economic issues. However, there were also some doubts regarding the reforms and how *perestroika* would affect economic and social issues. Since 1987 these doubts increased when economic problems had not stabilized as hoped and the reforms were not solving society's problems. The ideal aim of Gorbachev's policy focused on peaceful and more open relations between the communist East and the democratic West. The weakness of Soviet economy did not allow it to rise to a level where it could compete with rival economies and more specifically with the American and British ones.[114]

Hence, the reforms of *perestroika* were not generally accepted. In June 1988, at the 19th Party Conference, it was argued that the media had started impeding the functioning of the system.[115] A majority of people believed that the media started to portray the capitalist West in idealizing terms. For example, works of long maligned Western historians on Soviet history were now conceived as "objective". The personal experiences of the Cold War generation, their family genealogies and the transformations that came to the Soviet Union in the decades following World War II enabled perestroika to emerge. In spite of this, the sense of nostalgia started to expand for prerevolutionary images and forms, including families'

---

[113] Raleigh, Donald J, *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 268-311

[114] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.

[115] Mickiewicz, Ellen, "Mobilization and Reform", p. 199-207

histories as people felt the need to search for their genealogies and to make sense of the historical era in which their lives unfolded.

However, *perestroika* represented something more than another revolution from above to strengthen the imperial or the Communist order. It is argued that this is why the reforms Gorbachev started came to threaten and undermine the system. As a result, some people expressed the belief that the *glasnost* revelations destroyed their belief in the system.[116]

The failure of the Soviet system resulted from the fact that the ideology on which it was based was unable to support the realities of the government. A variety of different foreign and domestic factors affected the system and contributed to its demise. Gorbachev allowed the Soviet people to explore the life in democratic countries and enhanced the contradiction between the conditions there and in western countries. Communism proved unable to compete with the strength of democracy and fell apart because of it. Historian Karen Dawisha claims that the system itself caused its decline because it was by definition inefficient, corrupt and unable to promote basic human freedoms. Other historians argue that the reforms of *perestroika* were too weak to solve the problems that the empire was facing.[117]

In 1990, several Soviet controlled republics, including Russia, declared their independence. A new Russian federation was founded in 1991.[118] *Perestroika* sought controlled change and reform but the revelations of mass repressions, abuses of power and corruption led to chaos. *Glasnost* worsened the political struggle within the party and beyond and ended in the attempt to overthrow Gorbachev in August 1991.[119]

Since 1990, society began to lose its political stability. The actual collapse of the communist regime and breakup of the Soviet Union gradually occurred during the summer and early fall of 1991. Gorbachev's *perestroika* in combination with other factors was a basic

---

[116] Raleigh, Donald J., *Soviet Baby Boomers*, p. 268-311
[117] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.
[118] Arnold, James R., and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, p. 66-68
[119] Raleigh, Donald J., *Soviet Baby Boomers*, p. 268-311

cause of that. Regarding *perestroika*, its general vagueness and lack of essential economic reforms markedly contributed to the erosion of the people's support for the communist government. It is commonly accepted that the regime was consumed by the very forces it had unleashed, and was unable to stop its decline.[120]

The fall of the regime created an even bigger gap with young people, even though in the beginning it tried to approach them and make their voices heard. The popular culture of *glasnost* reflected all the uneven developments in Soviet society. The top and the bottom, the new and the old, the cosmopolitan and chauvinist, the religious and anti-religious, the urban and rural brought conflicts in the values of young people. It also indicated spontaneity and freedom but at the end it brought ambiguity about past realities and present problems of society.[121]

---

[120] Cummings, Laura, "Gorbachev's Perestroika", Available at www.lagrange.edu.com.
[121] Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture: entertainment and society since 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 178-203

Rock and Roll in the Soviet Union 1970-1991

Soviet rock music (mid-1960s-1985)

Rock and roll began in the West in the late 1950s with singers such as Chuck Berry. Since its beginning it was immediately condemned by the older generation as being wild, anti-social and erotic. The timing of its beginning and the characteristics that it assimilated in the West are linked with its emergence and high popularity in the Soviet Union. At the end of the 1950s, trade and cultural links expanded as a result of a respite in the Cold War. Foreigners started bringing pop records, magazines and newspapers into the Soviet Union. Pop fans were mainly confined to some big European cities where contact with foreigners was most common such as Leningrad, Moscow, Riga, Lvov and Tallin.[122] These cities had most contacts with the West and thus could attract a sizeable majority of young people's interests.[123] Young people started expressing their passion for this new genre of music in the streets of Soviet cities. Hippies draped themselves with beads and bells, rock fans pasted pictures of rock idols like Mick Jagger over party slogans.[124]

The first Russian rock bands were formed in the mid-1960s from an imitation of Western pop culture. They played mainly cover versions of songs by the Beatles on home-made equipment and sang in English as best as they could. Bass guitars were made by stringing acoustic guitars with piano strings. Amplifiers were modified home stereo units or were created by students of electronic engineering.[125] Most of the Soviet bloc's oldest groups began their careers imitating the four-man Western groups.[126]

---

[122] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth: Pioneers of Change", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (1988), p. 556-572

[123] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", *Popular Music*, Vol. 5 (1985), p. 123-148

[124] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc : a history of rock music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1990)

[125] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words: Notes on the Hegemony of Lyrics in Russian Rock Songs*", Popular Music*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2003), p. 89-108

[126] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 50-65

These groups were amateur/ "underground" bands and mainly expressed their feelings by ignoring the viewpoints of the authorities. They were created and supported by the youth themselves and lived by the principle that they should express their own feelings, not these of the authorities. At this period most of the young people were unfamiliar with black rhythms and blues and the British pop was their model for learning the techniques of playing and singing.[127]

Gradually, the instruments and equipment improved but not the knowledge of the English language. Moreover, the repertoires were of such a limited quantity that the bands begun to write songs in their native tongue. This fist learning phase ended at the beginning of the 1970s with the arrival of new musical styles, most notably hard rock.[128] The authorities could not prohibit their activities but they tried to control and obstruct them. The first musicians in Soviet pop ruined their careers in an unequal fight against the system. On the one hand, Soviet youth, in the first period of rock, was really interested in Western counter-culture and the "youth revolution". On the other hand, their own conflict with the authorities went no further than an adolescent rebellion. The latter attitude was linked to the prevailing atmosphere of faith in communism and belief in the Party claims that universal happiness could be realized in the Soviet Union.[129]

Party polemics had little in common with the realities of life among socialist youth. Soviet unwillingness to acknowledge the youth's infatuation with Western music and the inability of most officials to comprehend the nature of this music prevented officials to deal with Anglo-American rock and roll.[130] Khrushchev at the beginning of 1960s was against this influence of Western music and was trying to promote national musical sounds.[131] However, Leonid Brezhnev, at the end of the 1960s, lecturing the All-Union Teachers' Congress in July 1969,

[127] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[128] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words", p. 89-108
[129] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[130] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 102-114
[131] *Ibid*., p. 50-59

spoke vaguely of his concern about the musical interests of Soviet youths.[132] Ideologically rock and roll was seen as a bourgeois genre that represented the decay in capitalist countries. The authorities ignored the fact that much of this Western rock movement revolved around protest.

The authorities attempted to gain control over the emerging rock scene by the creation of VIAs (Vocal-Instrumental-Ensembles) in 1969. These were officially approved bands that played songs by members of the Union of Composers. Their stage appearances were strictly regulated by "artistic committees" consisting of Party officials, ideological guardians and censors.[133] These groups usually consisted of six to ten members and because of their official status they were offered a steady income, the possibility of releasing records and professional instruments.[134] For the authorities, the distortions in young people's tastes were depicted as a product of the fact that bourgeois mass culture had penetrated the Soviet Union through media, aiming to dominate them.[135] However, in spite of this policy, the authorities were still unable to exert control over musicians' spare-time activities.

The second half of the 1970s brought changes that altered the existing situation. The stagnation, decay and corruption of the Brezhnev era that started in the mid-1960s had effectively brought disappointment to Soviet young people. The frustration among young people and the emergence of Soviet rock after 1964 has to be seen in the context of the disintegrating political climate under Brezhnev.[136] The failure to maintain the status quo that Brezhnev aimed was destructive for the longevity of the Soviet Union.[137] A gap started to be experienced between official interpretations of society and youth's reality.[138] Hence, it was

---

[132] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 102-114
[133] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth", p. 45-81
[134] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words", p. 89-108
[135] Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture: A nation's constructors and constructed*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1994)
[136] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth", p. 45-81
[137] Campbell, Ross. "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", (2011) Available at www.allrussias.com. Retrieved 25 May 2014 Pdf.
[138] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 45-81

then when a new generation emerged that was more anxious and independent than their predecessors. They called themselves "rock groups", showing that they were opposed to the sweet, calm tunes of the previous generations and that they were mainly founded in blues rock, progressive rock and roll and heavy metal. It is important to note that it was at this time when many groups started developing their own sounds. The musicians were trying to create a personal rock and roll by expressing their own views and feelings.

The most distinctive rock groups of this period were *Time Machine* (*Mashina Vremeni*) and Aquarium. The first group consisted of more "socially minded musicians" choosing the simplicity of everyday life, the other choosing a more esoteric language to express their feelings.[139] *Mashina Vremeni* was formed by Andrei Makarevich as a Beatles Band in 1968 and emerged during the mid-1970s as the Soviet Union's first subgroup. In spite of the fact that the group was influenced by Anglo-American rock groups, the lyrics remained distinctly Soviet, leading the way to a new authenticity in rock music. In 1979, some increasing problems with the local officials and a desire for financial compensation compelled Makarevich to seek professional status for his band. Finally, they entered the official rock scene in 1980 although Makarevich was not comfortable with this new role as superstar.[140] It is argued that the 1970s rock music rather than modern jazz embodied the "second revolution" of the 20th century after the social revolution of 1917 in Russia which destroyed the Tsarist autocracy and led to the creation of the Soviet Union. Due to the reinforcement of the sense of a generational confinement on which rock music fed, the prohibition created a vital underground rock culture.

---

[139] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[140] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 149-166

Figure 1: Soviet rock group *Mashina Vremeni* (*Time Machine*)

Figure 2: Andrei Makarevich (leader of *Mashina Vremeni*)

The intense social conditions brought the emergence of new elements in the rock scene. In the late 1970s, the outright rebellion among Soviet youth was enhanced by the appearance of antisocial punk and heavy metal bands. The latter groups deliberately assaulted respectable society with gloomy costumes, intense music and obscene lyrics. Moreover, an important part

of 1970s that shows the government's inability to control rock music is the number of American and European rock bands and individuals who were permitted to tour the Soviet Union as a result of improving diplomatic relations with the West. British rock star Elton John was one of the biggest names that caused frenzy in Leningrad in 1979. By the late 1970s, the Soviet bureaucracy had finally accepted rock music as an unavoidable fact and it was now more than difficult to suppress it.[141]

Figure 3: Soviet rock group *Aquarium*

Source: http://burningaquarium.wordpress.com/2010/01/24/red-wave-4-underground-bands-from-the-ussr-1986/

At that historical time, the political climate was characterized by the dying days of the Brezhnev era. It was a time of uncertainty, permissiveness and of corruption.[142] At the start of the 1980s, an important development in rock music took place with the rise of a new type of group and music called New Wave.[143] This new generation with new names such as *Kino* and *Stranye igri* (Strange names) sang to Soviet youth about the realities of Soviet life and started assimilating a distinctly Soviet sound. The Soviet bands started drawing on indigenous

---

[141] Star Frederick S., *Red and hot: the fate of jazz in the Soviet Union 1917-1980*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 289-315

[142] Bright terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148

[143] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81

traditions of music and theater, creating a distinctly Soviet-style form of rock and roll. In Moscow and its environs, officials speculated there were at least fifteen hundred rock groups, one third of which were not registered with any authority.[144] They occupied the center stage of Soviet pop and their important influence on Soviet youth of 1980s was the biggest shock for the authorities. They avoided the use of the bad language of the punks and were more conventional. However, they were more of a threat because of their music, which was of excellent quality reflecting an acute irony and realism. These also had an innovative character due to their musical styles. The basic characteristics were New Wave sounds from the West, traditional folk music and elements from the urban Russian balladeers which were used in different proportions to produce an individual sound.[145]

Figure 4: Soviet rock group *Kino*

---

[144] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231
[145] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148

Figure 5: Victor Tsoi (leader of *Kino*)

Since the end of the 1970s, the amateur bands started being more numerous and in 1981 the Leningrad Rock Club (LRC) opened and caused upsurge among the Soviet youth. They found a central base within the Soviet Union's second largest city and soon enough it became the largest event of that period. The repeated initiatives from bands and concert organizers were met with interest from the authorities who were attracted by the opportunity to indirectly control unsanctioned cultural activity by offering them resources and facilities. Moreover, the opening of the LRC came parallel with the emergence of a new, local rock style. The imitation of Western rock styles was surprisingly followed by an integration of rock music with Russian cultural traditions and by a desire for self-expression on one's own terms. Russian rock now took on a significant influence form Western rock and embraced the adaptation of the values of solidarity and communicative relationship between the audience and the musician. It reflected the whole history of Anglo-American rock and it consisted of a limited number of bands and styles which set the trends for the 1980s. Blues and hard rock remained part of the expressional span while punk rock and heavy metal had an essential

limited influence. This happened due the power of the authorities on a rock club such as the one in Leningrad.[146]

The stars of the club were Boris Grebenschchikov and his band *Aquarium.* Grebenschchikov was seen as a poet-singer reflecting the value of Western singers who passionately wanted to create a special relationship with their audience. The name *Aquarium* served as a metaphor for the band members' position in the Soviet society. Like a fish in an aquarium, the musicians were visible to the world but they were living in an environment isolated from official culture. The group was formed in 1975 and entered the unofficial Leningrad scene in the late 1970s.[147]

The Rock Club managed to relax the pressure of the authorities to young people by also integrating more underground rock groups which finally became official ones.[148] However, with Brezhnev's death in 1982 and the beginning of the leadership of Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko, anti-rock forces became stronger. Conservatives in the Soviet establishment started informing about the state of Soviet youth and their music since the end of 1970s. Additionally, Chernenko made it clear from the beginning of his leadership that the wanted to tame Western "propaganda" which "poisoned" the minds of young people.[149] The new Andropov era tried to enforce discipline and control on all activities of the masses, both at work and in leisure time and tried to control any activities which were deemed opposed to ideological purity.[150]

There was a deliberate "soviet crusade against pop" which was mainly directed against the Soviet groups that the state had either created or coaxed up from the amateur movement. Many actions took place against these groups with the authorities demanding for a "rehearsal period" in which groups were asked to produce repertoires consistent with the new

[146] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words", p. 89-108
[147] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231
[148] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[149] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231
[150] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148

ideological mood. The new regulations also included a ban on independent organization of performances and an enhancement of control over the formation of amateur vocal/instrumental groups and their performances.[151] Chenrnenko's crusade finally devastated the official rock scene. However, the official attempt to purge the Soviet music scene of Western rock and roll was too radical to could have ever been successful. Young people continued showing their passion for Western music at private gatherings.[152]

---

[151] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[152] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231

Rock and roll in the Gorbachev's era

After Chernenko's death and Gorbachev's advent to power in 1985, things rapidly changed for the rock community. Rock and roll can be characterized as the sound track of Gorbachev's period. His policy aimed at the reconstruction of the domestic economy of the Soviet Union but also at restructuring its image abroad. Hence, Western media's fascination with the Soviet rock scene allowed more freedom to Soviet rock bands. Contrary to the sanitized VIAs of the 1970s, the rock bands under Gorbachev encountered little interference from the state.[153] According to a Soviet rock critic, "rock became the glasnost" of youth music by reflecting its pure "youthfulness" and by the lack of other forms of openness.[154]

Michael Gorbachev addressing the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for greater trust in young people. At its peak it was *glasnost* that brought the most significant changes to the rock community.[155] This brought an unprecedented freedom to Soviet rock and roll music. Under Gorbachev, formerly proscribed rock bands were recognized and all styles of rock blossomed such as hard, punk, folk, soft and heavy metal. Additionally, the number of registered rock groups grew with a remarkable speed. Amateur musicians were also able to shape their own programs and to make informal wage deals.[156] The atmosphere was totally different compared to 1984. Rock concerts had started all over the city and there were lots of amusement events where rockers took part along with avant-garde poets, conceptualist painters and break dancers. There was a general sense of solidarity and collective energy enhanced by the reform policies of Gorbachev.[157]

---

[153] *Ibid.*, p. 211-231
[154] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth", p. 556-572
[155] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[156] Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture: entertainment and society since 1900,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 178-203
[157] Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia* (New York, Sydney, Cologne : Omnibus Press, 1987), p. 106-129

An important event of that period was the establishment of a Rock Laboratory in the fall of 1985 which became the base for many radical bands to express their creative talents. It was opened by the Ministry of Culture in combination with the Moscow Komsomol in the Soviet capital.[158] At the laboratory there was no censorship and the weakening of the latter coincided with the upsurge of more political lyrics. The new social climate provided rockers with a sense of energy and a feeling of responsibility towards the new situation that utilized them as promoters of Soviet culture.[159] The whole style of relations between people and the establishment was now more open and democratic and this can essentially justify the spirit of freedom in rock music and its lyrics as well as the constant development of new rock groups.

In spite of all these changes, at the end of that period, rock continued to make enemies because of its social influence. Some of their lyrics were offensive to the older generation and rock produced a subculture that appeared on the streets: slang terms, gestures, clothes and a specific code shared by its members. More specifically, heavy metal fans called themselves "*metallisti*", who scared the citizens with their leather black suits and bracelets with iron studs.[160] To some people, the meaning of state was "order" and rock and roll certainly was not the standard for something like that.[161]

Hippies, punks and heavy metals entered a fight with "*luberi*", young boys from industrial towns in the Moscow suburbs, who were attacking hippies, punks and heavy metal fans that were sporting Western fashions. An explanation for this reaction comes from the fact that "*luberi*" were not rich, were poorly informed and suffered from an inferiority complex when comparing themselves with fashionable downtown people.[162] Consequently, in the spring of 1987, Gorbachev's reforms for some orthodox members seemed to have been the cause of transformation of the youth clubs into "*metallisti*". Initially, perestroika was well-received by

---

[158] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-233
[159] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-82
[160] Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR*, p. 106-129
[161] Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture*, p. 178-204
[162] Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR*, p. 106-129

the public by offering the promise of a prosperous future. However, Gorbachev's policy started to fail and it was argued that his reforms were enacted too late and were not powerful enough to save the fall of the regime. There was the idea that everything was permitted, law and order collapsed and regulations were not enforced.[163]

There were many concerns about the negative impact of rock music on Soviet youths. Yegor Ligachev, the Kremlin's leading spokesman on ideological issues, had expressed his dissidence to many of Gorbachev's reforms. In November 1987, he met with many Soviet officials and discussed introducing new restrictions on the Soviet rock scene. Additionally, in spite of Gorbachev's reforms, many musicians were not confident that there was a real change.[164] The majority of rock groups did not want to be professional and still expressed their beliefs through their songs that the world had not changed that much as people tended to think. However, rock and roll's impact on Soviet youth and its power to express political and social discontent was the basic reason why it continued to distract officials and caused upsurge in the public opinion.[165]

Lyrics in Soviet rock music

Since the emergence of rock and roll in the Soviet Union, lyrics were an important issue. As in Western rock, lyrics in Soviet rock were an important component of the songs. They reflected all the unique relationship between musicians and audience and the feelings of solidarity and collectivity which were essentially developed in Western rock music. Song lyrics of pop groups in the 1960s mainly focused on love affairs and girls. This was natural, as rock and roll was in its first stages of appearance in the Soviet scene. They reflected a sweet dream of Soviet romanticism in political and public life, focusing on the illusions and

---

[163] Cummings, Laura. "Gorbachev's Perestroika and the Collapse of the Soviet Union."", (2008) Available at www.lagrange.edu.com. Retrieved 10 June 2014 Pdf.
[164] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231
[165] Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc*, p. 211-231

disillusions in love and avoided carrying more political and social ideas.[166] The "boys meets girl and falls in love" theme was the most common theme in lyrics.[167] At the end of 1960s most of the amateur Soviet rock groups continued to focus on the classic themes of love and loss, and were singing with an honesty and sincerity which was absent from other kinds of popular music. They were singing in English and their music was a deliberate insult to the older generation.[168]

In 1970s, the political and social conditions brought changes to rock lyrics in rock music. The latter started gaining much more importance than the music itself. Rock groups started focusing on the real problems of their country such as corruption, ideological compulsion, and lack of freedom and intolerance of those who wanted to express their views in different manners. As in Western music, Soviet rock lyrics started carrying a political progressivism and to express meanings of social criticism towards the disintegration of their everyday lives. An intense maturity of lyrics characterized this period and a typical hero of rock lyrics was a young man trying to make sense of the upside-down world into which he was born. Fighting for your principles, having faith in yourself and changing the world were some of the most important messages of rock music in this period. These messages were mainly expressed by *Time Machine*, the most successful group of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The lyrics of their songs expressed the hero's passionate desire to go his own way despite the realities of Soviet life.[169] *Time Machine* also came closer to songs that dominated in the 1980s singing about the emptiness and frustration that young people felt in their daily lives in an often ironic manner.

The 1970s generation had lost faith in the Soviet leadership and sought new leaders. As in the West, many young people turned to rock musicians for spiritual guidance in a society which they considered to be absent of morality. A suitable leader for Soviet youth was Boris

---

[166] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[167] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[168] Star, Frederick S., *Red and hot*, p. 289-321
[169] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop" p. 123-148

Grebenshchikov, leader and songwriter of the group *Aquarium*. The group's songs were about themes such as love and estrangement and depressed expectations.[170] An important characteristic of rock music in this period was also the hope for a better future and faith, love and friendship as feelings which can bring about social progress. There was this combination of suffering and feeling abandoned with the need for a general rebellion against the sociopolitical conditions of this period.[171]

The early 1980s brought more freedom and self-expression to the lyrics of rock groups and more creativity as Soviet rock music was coming to a more mature period and was assimilating a variety of elements. Since the beginning of 1980s, the Soviet rock groups had already started absorbing their own distinctly Russian rock dialect. In this period, sexual themes were rare in Russian lyrics and when they did concern sex, they did so in a way which differed from Western rock lyrics. The music covered a variety of different expressions such as angry or dark, joyful, romantic, dreamy and funny. The absence of sexual themes can be explained by the fact that the musicians aimed to rock's recognition as an art form.[172] This was a tendency that had already started in the West from the 1960s and the fact that was adopted in the Soviet Union in the 1980s shows a delay in the assimilation of Western elements in their music and culture. Rock groups were singing about the daily life of young people like themselves, about what they enjoyed, such as fashion, enjoyable activities but also about having no money and about their parents and work issues.

Moreover, a tendency to focus more on political issues than before is more obvious now under the pressure of the constant sociopolitical changes. Under Chernenko and Andropov's leadership, the economic, political and social problems of the Soviet Union grew even more and made more than ever necessary the integration of political elements in lyrics. The rock movement was trying to make a difference in this period in contrast with Brezhnev's period

---

[170] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[171] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[172] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words", p. 89-108

when the lyrics did not entail so much political action. Moreover, a good knowledge of the West also arose from contact with foreign tourists and students, Western radio stations and available Soviet sources which allowed the rock community to be influenced by Western styles.[173] This shift in expression is also influenced by the integration of punk elements in the 1980s. Punk was responsible for the terror it transmitted to the older Soviet citizens and the "broadminded" elite. The punk costumes and decorations shocked Soviet society and were a crucial element to the changes in rock.[174]

Since the beginning of Gorbachev's period, the sense of freedom in his policies also penetrated Soviet lyrics. His period was marked by an unprecedented freedom of expression and a legitimation by the authorities of unofficial culture from below. Gorbachev's period made more relevant than before the need for new public forms of expression and a contact with the West.[175] On the one hand, the media were seen as successful agents of socialization and mobilization. On the other hand, the media explosion had many side effects in Soviet society as well.[176] People were already tired by the failure of Khrushchev's dream and the dramatic corruption during Brezhnev's and Chernenko's years.[177] The themes of apathy, indifference, conformism and hypocrisy were the main focus of the lyrics. They were more popular than the erotic ones and were joined by the themes of *glasnost*, corruption, prostitutions, alcoholism and drugs. The Soviet rock of 1980s included a variety of new elements and hard rock was one of them. The group Autograph was one of the most famous representatives of hard rock. As a result of the assimilation of these new elements, the harsh

---

[173] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[174] Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", p. 123-148
[175] Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture,* p. 178-203
[176] Mickiewicz, Ellen. "Mobilization and Reform: Political Communication Policy under Gorbachev.", PS: *Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 02 (1989), pp. 199-207.
[177] Raleigh, Donald J., *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p. 268-311

vocal phrasing was still assaulting to the ears of elder people who were used to a smoother pop music.[178]

Some Russian rock critics, such as Artemy Troisky, have argued that lyrics in Russian rock play a more significant role than in Anglo-American rock. However, Yngvar B. Steinholt argues that this statement should be treated with caution because a song cannot be restricted to its lyrics but to its music as well, and that it is difficult to measure the value of music, lyrics and performance of songwriters and their audiences. According to the author, Russian rock that was created in the 1980s does not have as many differences from Anglo-American rock styles as many critics tend to argue. According to him, an idea in a song cannot be restricted to its lyrics but is expressed in the music as well.[179] However, I would rather suggest that the fact that rock musicians paid so much attention in the lyrics to their songs reflects their need for the creation of a distinct Russian rock. The focus on lyrics provided them with the ability to integrate the variety of their feelings in their songs and communicate them to Soviet youth.

Soviet slang terms-the road to authenticity

 It is important to focus on some aspects of Soviet rock groups' life and how they were trying to establish a unique relationship between them and their audience. The journal *Roksi* is the earliest surviving example devoted to rock culture which started typing and producing issues in 1977 and it continued until 1990. Grebenschchikov is often presented as *Roksi's* editor in chief during the time of the publishing of its first issues. The journal included news of Western musicians' activities, satirical articles and its writers -by taking both Anglo-

---

[178] Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture,* p. 178-203
[179] Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words", p. 89-108

American and Soviet rock music as their main subject- used theoretical articles to discuss the meaning of rock in the Soviet Union.

A big part of these articles is focused on the need of Russian rock culture for authenticity and becoming meaningful in its own context, starting at the end of the 1970s. Oleg Reshetnikov, (editor with Mikhail Bruk from 1979) in his interview in 1987, focused on the need of like-minded individuals to express their shared culture through the journal articles. That need for self-expression can be understood in the way that rock community's informal behavior was structured.[180] It is important to note that this process of disassociation from official culture often begins when young people, in all industrialized countries, leave the institutionalized setting of school and start taking decisions for their lives. According to young people's approaches, the past is something that needs to be revised. Nothing related to Soviet history is holy at this moment.[181]

A history of Grebenshchikov's group in the late 1970s is described as a type gathering, based on common interests, a shared life style which has been classified as "*tusovka*". The latter term refers to a group of people that gather in a kind of party. "*Tusovka*" has been used as a catch-all term to describe the creative output of a young generation of artists and musicians during this time, which is often collaborative and at times confrontational.[182] It is worth to note that also in the hippy movement of 1960s "*tusovka*" was used from the System of hippies. It was their gathering place where many of its members were hanging out every day. To "enter" their System was necessary from the beginning to participate in its undertakings.[183] The hippies were calling themselves the System in order to emphasize the importance of social contacts and ties in their movement and the existence of a common

---

[180] McMichael Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star (At Least, That's What They Say)': Roksi and the Creation of the Soviet Rock Musician", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (Oct., 2005), p. 664-684

[181] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81

[182] McMichael Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star", p. 664-684

[183] Bushnell, John. "Introduction: The history and study of the Soviet youth subculture." *Soviet Sociology*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1990), p. 43-72

language between them.[184] The role of *"tusovka"* has also been examined as a form that enables communication between musicians and fans.[185] This term has been used from a variety of groups in Soviet society denoting common experiences and ways of communicating.[186]

Reshetnikov, also uses the term *"steb"* when he describes *Roksi*, characterizing by its use of ironic humor. Moreover, the Moscow critic Artemii Troitskii asserts that *"steb"* dominated rock music because it provided a relative self-expression that criticizes some aspects of Soviet life. In the articles that appear in Roksi the use of *"steb"* relies on the creation of a relationship of complicity between the writer and the audience. The world *"vrub"* is another slang term that comes from the 1970s's rock music and means the "understanding" of something close to "getting" it or "digging" it in English slang. Grebenshchikov's argument about slang is that an understanding of music distinguishes one group of people that is meaningful to them from those to whom it is meaningless. According to him, rock music can act as a form of defense for the individual from the pressures of society and is connected with "behavioral and emotional problems". This argument is based on a Rousseauian view of society as a potentially corruptive force and of children as being closer to nature than adults.[187] The French philosopher of the 18th century Jean-Jacques Rousseau, expressed the idea that human beings are basically good by nature but they are corrupted by the complex historical events in present day civil society.[188] His view makes our apprehension of the relationship between youths and the others (Party officials or citizens) more essential and

---

[184] Bushnell, John. "Introduction: The history and study of the Soviet youth subculture.", *Soviet education*, Vol. 33, No. 10 (1991), p. 17-34

[185] McMichael Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star", p. 664-684

[186] Bushnell, John. "Introduction: The history and study of the Soviet youth subculture.", *Soviet Sociology*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1990), p. 43-72

[187] McMichael Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star", p. 664-684

[188] Younkins, Edward W., "Rousseau's "general will" and well-ordered society", (2005) Available at www.quebecoislibre.org. Retrieved 27 June 2014.

illuminates more aspects about why young people chose to use rock and roll as a means of self-expression.

Rock lyrics and the unique jargon that was used by the rock community were some of its most important characteristics. In spite of the hippie origins in some of their words, musicians tried to maintain some distinct ideals and customs. Moreover, evidence of Western influence is clearly expressed in these words which include police, parents, hair, flats and high life issues in Russian words. Western music clearly influenced their development and the immediate maturity of their musical styles.[189] However, the approach of Polly McMichael of Soviet rock and its unique characteristics which abstain from just an imitation of Western styles is more convincing. McMichael argues that "the essence of a rock concert, therefore, is contained in what is communicated from performer to audience, conveyed in music and aspects of performance that lie beyond music".[190] Grebenshchikov, writing to *Roksi*, argued that "we need our rock", a distinct Russian poetic style, with music which can gradually become like our reactions to our lives.[191]

Rock and roll music in the Soviet Union essentially assimilated many characteristics from its development in the West. However, Soviet rock musicians tried to create their own rock music and to use it as a means of self-expression under constant historical upheavals. They started by imitating Western music and lyrics but soon enough they recognized the artistic elements of the music which could make it unique and more distinct from other musical genres. Thus, rock music started being presented as art as in the West and as a force which could unite a whole generation and could bring youth as a social category in the surface. Since its beginning in the Soviet Union and in the West it was seen as a threat to the regime. However, the social and historical conditions which were taking place in each block were different. On the one hand, the Western bloc after the World War II was framed under a

---

[189] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[190] McMichael Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star", p. 682
[191] *Ibid*., p. 664-684

certain level of middle class luxury while youth in the West had to face intense political and economic problems.

However, rock music gave the opportunity to both of these young audiences to feel the energy of the music and to shape their own pleasures into fun. Soviet rock was not so angry and politically oriented from its beginning as it was in the West. However, since the end of the 1970s, young people felt that their interests were being ignored and soon enough rebellion against hierarchy and authority became the main them of their new youth culture. In both blocs, it was a youth status symbol which could challenge the political reality and be opposed to anything which was coming contrary to their expectations. In spite of this, the Soviet rock of 1980s made rebellion through rock and roll more political and explicit in comparison with the Western counterpart.[192]

Soon enough, Soviet musicians started to integrate in their reality all these elements which were quite popular in the West such as the communication between them and the audience, elements of spontaneity, anger and hope in their music and the need to use it as a force of social change. Additionally, Soviet musicians started to focus on the meaning of the lyrics in rock music which indeed can be characterized as "speech works" and communicative elements. On the one hand, they reflected all the personal beliefs of young people about the social conditions and on the other they created a unique relationship-as Western musicians did- between them and the audience by sharing common feelings about the reality they live in.

The whole process of rock and roll music in Soviet society shows the dynamic functions of Soviet rock, which was trying to differentiate itself from Western rock and create its own reality. As Steinholt argues, rock and roll was more romantically oriented and promoted notions of authenticity. Authenticity is what is left in popular kinds of music when you subtract the commercial aspects of it and when you free yourself from prevailing economic,

---

[192] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth", p. 556-572

social and political pressures. By claiming authenticity, you are claiming to do something "that matters". The Soviet rock bands wanted to prove that they mattered, that they had created their own lifestyles. For them, rock was a force of inner freedom.[193]

---

[193] Steinholt, Yngvar B., p. 89-108

Conclusion

The history of rock and roll music in the Soviet Union is one of significant importance because it gives insight in how one specific musical genre can be used as a means of self-expression for young people. A whole generation used rock and roll as one of the core interests in their lives, expressing on the one hand their passion for life and on the other a form of rebellion towards the communist regime. In a period of constant historical changes, rock music had the characteristics which enabled its emergence in the Soviet Union. It was rebellious and unconventional towards the social structures and institutions of a society. It could also be used as a communicative element between musicians and audience. Through the use of specific lyrics and slang terms, the Soviet rock community had the opportunity to express its ideals and hopes for a better future.

Since the beginning of Brezhnev's reign, Western cultural products, the most important being rock music, not only became an important element of everyday cultural consumption but rather an essential factor in the spread of popular culture among the Soviet youth. Soon enough music from the West became an important factor in the formation of the identity of young people. As sociologists have noted, "in appropriating forms of popular music, individuals are simultaneously constructing ways of being in the context of their local everyday environments".[194]

The Soviet rock community in the West encompassed people of different backgrounds and ages. On the one hand, it was a relatively small band of musicians, writers, avant-garde artists and other "cultural workers". Similarly to the avant-garde, it could influence youth fashion and ideologies in the same way that people in the West were affected by pop and rock heroes. One important difference between the Soviet rock community and its Western counterpart of

---

[194] Zhuk, Sergei I. "Religion, "Westernization," and Youth in the "Closed City" of Soviet Ukraine, 1964–84.", *The Russian Review,* Vol. 67, No. 4 (2008), p. 679.

the late 1960s and early 1970s is that it does not aim to change the system. Freedom for Soviet youth is mainly perceived as a spiritual phenomenon which can be achieved by living beyond the realm of official life.[195] Hence, this is what rock symbolized for young people: a source of self-indulgence and individual escape in combination with solidarity and active dissatisfaction.[196]

Soviet rock and roll music started as a self-imitation of Western styles and ended with the creation of Russian rock. Soviet youth made clear from the beginning of the 1960s that the reality which was made for them did not correspond to their ideals. At the end, their desire was not to live in a Soviet version of Western society. They rather wanted, as the young Westerners wanted in the 1960s, a right to take part in the formation of society and policy in a constructive way.[197] The days when so many young people wanted to live in the West had passed at the end of the Cold War, their main aim was the creation of an alternative society at home.[198]

As we can see, rock music in the Soviet Union was something like a daydream that was becoming reality in the minds of young people. The individuals' lives in East and West were shaped by the realities of the Cold War. The gap that people experienced between ideological promises and everyday reality made their tendency for individual expression necessary.[199] Rock and roll dominated young people's lives and essentially characterized a whole period.

---

[195] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 45-81
[196] Frith, Simon. *The sociology of rock.* (London: Constable, 1978), p. 206
[197] Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth: Pioneers of Change", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Oct., 1988), pp. 556-572
[198] Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture*, p. 45-81
[199] Scott-Smith, Segal, Joes, Giles, Romijn, Peter, *'Divided Dreamworlds? The Cultural Cold War in East and West'* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2012), p. 1-9

Bibliography

1. Arnold, James R. and Wiener Roberta, *Cold War*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012)

2. Astor, Pete. "The poetry of rock: song lyrics are not poems but the words still matter; another look at Richard Goldstein's collection of rock lyrics", *Popular Music*, Vol. 29 No. 01 (2010), p. 143-148.

3. Bennett, Andy, *Popular music and youth culture: music, identity and place,* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000)

4. Bialer, Seweryn, "Socialist Stagnation and Communist Encirclement", *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science,* Vol. 35, No. 3 (1984), p. 160-176

5. Brake, Michael, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex, Drugs and Rock' n 'Roll?,* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge, 1981)

6. Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", *Popular Music*, Vol. 5 (1985), p. 123-148

7. Bushnell, John. "Introduction: The history and study of the Soviet youth subculture", *Soviet education,* Vol. 33, No. 10 (1991)

8. Bushnell, John. "Introduction: The history and study of the Soviet youth subculture", *Soviet Sociology, Vol. 29*, No. 1 (1990)

9. Campbell, Ross. "What were the economic and social roots of "stagnation" under Brezhnev?", (2011) Available at www.allrussias.com. Retrieved 25 May 2014 Pdf.

10. Clark, William A., "Crime and Punishment in Soviet Officialdom, 1965-90", *Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 45, No. 2* (1993), p. 259-279

11. Codrington, G., "Detailed introduction to Generational Theory", (2009) Available at www.tomorrowtoday.uk.com. Retrieved 18 January 2014

12. Cummings, Laura. "Gorbachev's Perestroika and the Collapse of the Soviet Union.", (2008) Available at www.lagrange.edu.com. Retrieved 10 June 2014 Pdf.

13. Fainsod, Merle. "Soviet Youth and the Problem of the Generations." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 108, No. 5 (1964), p. 429-436

14. Frith, Simon, "Rock and the Politics of Memory.", No. 9/10, *Social Text* (1984), p. 59-69

15. Frith, Simon, *Sound effects: Youth, leisure, and the politics of rock 'n' roll.*, (New York : Pantheon Books, 1981)

16. Frith, Simon, *The sociology of rock*, (London: Constable, 1978)

17. Kajanová, Yvetta, "The Rock, Pop and Jazz in Contemporary Musicological Studies.", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, Vol. 44, No. 2* (2013), p. 343-359

18. Laughey, Dan, *Music and youth culture,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

19. Lull, James, *Popular music and communication*, (Newbury Park, London, New Delphi: Sage Publications, 1992)

20. Mannheim, K., *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), p. 276-320.

21. Martin, Bernice, "The sacralization of disorder: Symbolism in rock music", *Sociology of Religion,* Vol. 40, No. 2 (1979), p. 87-124

22. McMichael, Polly, "After All, You're a Rock and Roll Star (At Least, That's What They Say): Roksi and the Creation of the Soviet Rock Musician", *The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 83, No. 4* (2005), p. 664-684

23. Mickiewicz, Ellen. "Mobilization and Reform: Political Communication Policy under Gorbachev", *PS: Political Science & Politics,* Vol. 22, No. 02 (1989), p. 199-207.

24. Nugin, Raili, "Social time as the basis of the generational consciousness", *Trames, Vol. 14(64/59), No. 4* (2010), p. 342-366.

25. Pekacz, Jolanta, "Did Rock Smash the Wall? The Role of Rock in Political Transition", *Popular Music, Vol. 13, No. 1* (1994), p. 41-49

26. Pilcher, Jane, "Mannheim's Sociology of Generations: An Undervalued Legacy", *The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 45, No. 3* (1994), p. 481-495

27. Pilkington, Hilary, *Russia's youth and its culture: A nation's constructors and constructed, (*London and New York: Routledge, 1994)

28. Raleigh, Donald J. *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

29. Ramet, Sabrina P, *Rocking the state: rock music and politics in Eastern Europe and Russia,* (Boulder : Westview Press, 1994)

30. Regev, Motti. "Producing artistic value." *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. *35, No. 1* (1994), p. 85-102.

31. Riordan, Jim, "Soviet Youth: Pioneers of Change", *Soviet Studies, Vol. 40, No. 4* (1988), p. 556-572

32. Riordan, Jim, *Soviet youth culture,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989)

33. Ryback, Timothy W., *Rock around the bloc : a history of rock music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union,* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1990)

34. Schmelz, Peter J., "Introduction: Music in the Cold War.", Vol. 26, No. 1 (2009), p. 3-16.

35. Scott-Smith, Segal, Joes, Giles, Romijn, Peter, *Divided Dreamworlds? The Cultural Cold War in East and West*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012)

36. Shuker, Roy, *Understanding popular music*, (London and New York: Psychology Press, 2008)

37. Star, Frederick S., *Red and hot: the fate of jazz in the Soviet Union 1917-1980*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983)

38. Steinholt, Yngvar B., "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words: Notes on the Hegemony of Lyrics in Russian Rock Songs", *Popular Music, Vol. 22, No. 1* (2003), p. 89-108

39. Stites, Richard, *Russian popular culture: entertainment and society since 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

40. Suri, Jeremi, "The Promise and Failure of 'Developed Socialism': The Soviet 'Thaw' and the Crucible of the Prague Spring, 1964–1972." *Contemporary European History* Vo. 15, No. 02 (2006), p. 133-158.

41. Troitsky, Artemy, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia,* (New York, Sydney, Cologne : Omnibus Press, 1987)

42. Wicke, Peter, "Rock music: a musical-aesthetic study." *Popular Music,* Vol. 2 (1982), p. 219-243.

43. Younkins, Edward W., "Rousseau's "general will" and well-ordered society", (2005) Available at www.quebecoislibre.org. Retrieved 27 June 2014.

44. Zhuk, Sergei I. "Religion, "Westernization," and Youth in the "Closed City" of Soviet Ukraine, 1964–84." *The Russian Review*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (2008), p. 661-679

45. Zhuk, Sergei I., *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City. The West, Identity and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk* (Washington DC and Baltimore : Woodrow Wilson Center Press and The John Hopkins University Press, 2010)

Figures

1. **Front page**: "The Soviet rock band *Time Machine*. The guitarist in the foreground is the band's leader, Andrei Makarevich", **Source**: Bright, Terry, "Soviet Crusade against Pop", *Popular Music*, Vol. 5 (1985), p. 123-148

2. **Figure 1**: Soviet rock group *Mashina Vremeni* (*Time Machine*),
   Source: http://polnotch.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/mv.jpg?w=300&h=222

3. **Figure 2**: Andrei Makarevich (leader of *Mashina Vremeni*),

   Source: http://forum.russianamerica.com/f/showthread.php?t=22157&page=27

4. **Figure 3**: Soviet rock group *Aquarium*,

   Source: http://burningaquarium.wordpress.com/2010/01/24/red-wave-4-underground-bands-from-the-ussr-1986/

5. **Figure 4**: Soviet rock group *Kino*,

   Source: http://www.kaunozinios.lt/renginiai/tribute-to-kino-viktoro-cojaus-dainu-vakaras_74985.html

6. **Figure 5**: Victor Tsoi (leader of *Kino*)

   Source: http://swaego.deviantart.com/art/Viktor-Tsoi-298427465