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THE SOVIET ROCK SCENE

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G. G.: It's only cultures that, by accident or good management, bypassed the Renaissance that see art for the menace it really is.

g. g.: May I assume that the USSR would qualify?

G. G.: Absolutely. The Soviets are a bit rough-hewn as to method, I'll admit, but their concerns are absolutely justified.

--From *The Glenn Gould Reader*<sup>1</sup>

From rather modest beginnings in the mid-1960s, the Soviet rock scene has burgeoned into a formidable cultural phenomenon whose presence Soviet authorities can no longer afford to scorn. Under Gorbachev, Moscow is no longer the bastion of conservatism that it was, for example, under Khrushchev, Brezhnev or Chernenko. On the contrary, the Gorbachev leadership seems happy to encourage groups that do not seem too dissident, and reconciled to tolerating "unofficial" groups that decline to clear their lyrics with the authorities or to accept state censorship.

Sprouting in hostile soil and constantly under attack by the authorities, rock music in the USSR, as in other countries, became associated with a youth counterculture. It also served as a kind of universal language that put Soviet youngsters on the same "wavelength" as their peers in the West. In 1982, there were said to be "thousands" of discos in the USSR, 90 percent of them with dance floors.<sup>2</sup> In 1984, prior to Gorbachev's accession to power, an article in *Moskovskii komsomolets* put the number of rock groups in Moscow province at more than 1,500 but added that roughly a third were "not recommended."<sup>3</sup> In 1987, there were probably several hundred professional rock groups in the USSR, with 160,000 amateur rock groups in the Russian republic alone.<sup>4</sup>

### The Early Years

The initial rock impulses in the West by Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, and

others during the 1950s, found essentially no resonance in the USSR. A Soviet version of the "zoot-suiter" (*stilyaga*) made an appearance in the mid-1950s, prompting the Soviet satirical magazine *Krokodil* to commission a song parodying the *stilyaga*.<sup>5</sup> The new music performed at the 1957 Sixth World Youth Festival in Moscow shocked some Russians.<sup>6</sup> But in the USSR, as in the West, the emergence of the Beatles marked the beginning of an era in the history of rock and roll. By the mid-1960s, groups imitating the Beatles were appearing in the Soviet Union, typically singing American and British songs in English or writing their own songs in English.<sup>7</sup> Although there was initially a strong tendency to see English as the "natural" language of rock, some bands began writing and singing songs in Russian as early as the mid- or late 1960s.\*

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\*The following listing of stages in the evolution of the Soviet rock scene is an attempt by the authors to provide a rough picture of the development of rock music in the USSR.

During the first stage, from the late 1950s-1963--the "pre-Beatles" era--records smuggled from the West first appeared; and Soviet teenagers began learning American and English songs. The second stage, from 1963 through the late 1960s was a period of imitative rock, characterized by the domination of rock music by the Beatles; the formation of Soviet rock groups singing in English and imitating Western models; initial attempts by these groups to write original lyrics and music; and the creation of the first "official" Soviet bands.

The third stage, from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s--the emergence of indigenous styles--witnessed the arrival and domination of hard rock; and the proliferation of "Sovrock." The fourth stage, during the late 1970s, was marked by the search for ethnic roots, which gave rise to renewed interest in the musical traditions and instruments associated with ethnic and folk music; the appearance of the first highly professional rock bands such as Time Machine, Aquarium, and Autograph; the arrival of jazz rock and fusion; the creation of the first discos; and the "electronic revolution" in instruments.

The fifth stage, from the end of the 1970s to 1985, was one of diversification, which was manifest in the further diversification of sub-genres; a gradual relative decline of fascination with Western rock that occurred as Soviet rock became established; the extensive debates about rock in the press; and the issuance of a list of officially banned groups. Finally, the sixth stage, from 1985-1987, might be called a period of

The Khrushchev leadership's policy toward the arts was extremely conservative, and Khrushchev personally disliked both jazz and rock. On December 1, 1962, Khrushchev addressed the subject on a visit to an art exhibit in Moscow: "I like music a lot, and often listen to it on the radio. I even went so far as to carry a little Japanese radio around in my pocket. ... [But] take these new dances which are so fashionable now. Some of them are completely improper. You wiggle a certain section of the anatomy, if you'll pardon the expression. It's indecent."<sup>8</sup> According to Khrushchev, music, like art, "should ennoble the individual and arouse him to action."<sup>9</sup>

In the 1950s and early 1960s, many in the West were likewise alarmed by the sexual connotations of rock music.<sup>10</sup> But they were not in a position to declare a binding "party line" on the new music, which was precisely the response of the Soviet leadership to the emergence of Soviet interest in rock music. Leonid Ilyichev, head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation from 1958-1962 and Central Committee secretary in charge of ideology from 1961-65, joined Khrushchev in denouncing the "cacophonous" music and "outlandish yowlings" of foreign bands, which they viewed as linked to the class interests of the Western bourgeoisie and inherently subversive. Khrushchev expressed preference for "melodious music with content, music that stirs people ... that summons people to exploits."<sup>11</sup>

The accession of Leonid Brezhnev to first secretary and Alexei Kosygin to chairman of the Council of Ministers brought some changes in Kremlin policy on

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"liberalization" because rock music received official recognition and encouragement; the possibility of creating a Union of Rock Composers was discussed; Melodiya, the official state record and music distributor, recorded groups that were previously unofficial; and heavy metal was accepted by the cultural establishment.

the new music. According to historian John Dornberg, Kosygin liked "cool jazz."<sup>12</sup> More particularly, the authorities gradually realized that rock was exerting a powerful influence on the young. Toward the end of the 1960s, a new approach was adopted. Because rock could not be dismissed, it had to be placed under surveillance, censored, sanitized, and, in some instances, quarantined, as if it were an infectious disease. The creation by the KGB of a "beat club" at Melody and Rhythm Cafe in Moscow in 1969, was characteristic of this approach. The Komsomol, the Soviet Union's main youth organization, was the ostensible sponsor of the club, but despite extravagant promises, the club actually produced very little; it disbanded after a year, when the KGB had obtained hefty dossiers on club members.<sup>13</sup>

In a parallel endeavor in 1968, Soviet authorities sponsored the creation of the clean-cut group Happy Guys. The basic message of the group was that the world, or at least the USSR, was fine. This occurred at a time when American youth were listening to protest songs by Joan Baez, hearing Bob Dylan advise "Everybody must get stoned," and turning on to the "heavier" sounds of Cream and Led Zeppelin.

Western, especially American, trends have always exerted a powerful influence on Soviet amateur and professional rock musicians, who often make their first appearance in the Baltic republics. In particular, it is difficult to overestimate the tremendous impact that Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice's rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* had on the Soviet rock scene. Smuggled into the USSR immediately after its release in the United States in 1971, the record influenced both Soviet musicians and millions of teenage rock fans; it can seriously be credited with having contributed to the current



religious revival in the USSR. Although both the import and production of *Jesus Christ Superstar* were banned almost at once, several musical groups attempted to stage underground productions of the opera. One of the first was staged in 1973 by students of the Vilnius Conservatory in Lithuania. There were other unofficial productions in the mid-1970s in Riga, Leningrad, and Moscow. Soviet authorities were sufficiently dismayed by the opera that when the Czechoslovak rock group Flamingo appeared in Riga in 1976, they compelled the group to drop a song taken from the opera from its concert repertoire. In addition to the impact of *Jesus Christ Superstar*, performances by British rock star Elton John in Leningrad and Moscow in 1979, galvanized Russian youth, who paid as much as \$350 for a ticket on the black market.<sup>14</sup>

In the mid-1970s, it was decided that musical tastes could be channelled by having the Komsomol establish its own network of disco clubs and supervise the programs. In 1975, *Orpheus and Euridice*, by Aleksandr Zhurbin, was the first Soviet rock opera to be staged with official permission.<sup>15</sup> Soviet authorities reserved the right to approve rock groups. Approval, or "official" status, means that a group is officially registered with either Goskontsert, the state concert agency, or the Bureau of Concert Bands. These organizations issue permits specifying how much money the band is authorized to draw for each performance, ranging from 90 to 140 rubles per concert. A registered group has to have its music and lyrics approved by the cultural affairs section of the local city council. The leader of the group has to report every month and present a schedule of the songs he plans to play during that month. Approval of songs is valid for one month only.<sup>16</sup> "Unapproved" groups are not prevented from performing, but they are unlikely to be hired at

any clubs or hotels, which are state-controlled. Because they are not officially recognized, members of unapproved groups must take full-time jobs elsewhere in order to avoid being branded "social parasites"--a fate that can entail prosecution and assignment to compulsory labor. Yet at the 1980 Tbilisi rock festival, the officially unrecognized groups Aquarium, Autograph, Time Machine, and Magnetic Tape took the top prizes.<sup>17</sup>

"Official" clubs are not allowed to book "unofficial" bands. In the late 1970s, the manager of an official club in Armenia who defied this proscription and was involved in black market activities, was prosecuted and received capital punishment. The manager of the band was sentenced to 14 years in prison.<sup>18</sup>

Because Melodiya, the official state record and music distributor, records only officially recognized groups, private recording and a black market in rock records and tapes received a great stimulus. The black market was initially dominated almost exclusively by Western rock, with the Beatles long remaining one of the groups in greatest demand. However, beginning in the late 1970s, privately taped recordings of underground Soviet rock groups have gradually overtaken Western imports in popularity. In 1980, Melodiya released its first Beatles record in limited quantities. More recently, in 1986, Melodiya released a two-record set of the *Best of the Beatles*.<sup>19</sup> Soviet youth have been known to pay as much as 100 rubles for a single record of a favorite group, but very few can afford to pay that much.

Soviet authorities hoped that the formation of disco clubs within the framework of the Komsomol and the requirement that licensed disc jockeys complete a certain amount of ideological training would ensure that clubs

adhere to official guidelines. But it soon became apparent that disc jockeys were often selecting music not with the aim of instilling higher virtues in their listeners, but with the idea of creating a feeling of ecstasy in the dancers, according to a report in *Komsomol'skaia pravda*.<sup>20</sup> Early in the 1980s, discotheques were required to register with the authorities, and in 1982, they were explicitly forbidden to play music that had not been approved in advance. Amateur rock groups were ordered to join the Association of Musical Groups, which would supervise their repertoires. By 1984, Komsomol "commandoes" were conducting raids of places where black market recordings were occurring; in one raid 536 records were confiscated.<sup>21</sup> The following year, the Central Committee Secretariat of the Komsomol established young people's "musical patrols" to conduct "musical raids" for the purpose of weeding out "low-grade music in places of public relaxation." The Komsomol has been especially interested in recruiting young people with foreign language ability for these patrols in order to translate the songs and verify their ideological tone.<sup>22</sup>

### **Diversity of Views**

In 1981, *Muzykal'naia zhizn'*, a publication that tends to support rock music as a legitimate art form, identified three broad approaches to disco music in the USSR. Discotheques, the article said, could be seen as places for young people to engage in spontaneous creative activity, "cultural products" of professionals, or places where the ideological education of young people can and should be promoted.<sup>23</sup> The most liberal approach, viewing rock music as spontaneous creative activity, is difficult to articulate; even I. Kormiltsev, a member of the unofficial and "unrecommended"<sup>24</sup> group Urfin Dzhus

expressed skepticism about the consequences of too much spontaneity. In an interview with *Literaturnaia gazeta*, Kormiltsev that said "without analysis, without links with social organizations, without reflection on what we are doing, one may not work. Spontaneity only causes damage."<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, a number of publications are clearly liberal in their views of rock music and disco. They include *Muzykal'naia zhizn'*, *Moskovskii komsomolets*, *Smena*, *Iunost'*, *Klub i khudozhestvennia samodeiatel'nost'*, *Nemunas*, as well as *Sel'skaia zhizn'*, to a limited degree. As early as 1965, *Krugozor*, the organ of Melodiya, began running occasional features on rock music, mostly on Western rock groups, such as ABBA, Boney M.,<sup>26</sup> the Beatles, and Joan Baez, and also on various rock groups in Eastern Europe. In the late 1970s, *Klub* began publishing a similar column, with attention to the developing Soviet rock scene. Several local newspapers, such as *Sovetskaia molodezh* (Riga) and *Znamya iunosti* (Minsk), also featured regular columns on rock music. Their discussion of musical trends both within the USSR and abroad tended to be factual, pointing out both positive and negative phenomena associated with the rock scene, and emphasizing the aesthetic rather than the social aspects of rock music. In 1982, music critic Artem Troitskii wrote a very balanced, basically factual article about the Rolling Stones that is representative of this approach.<sup>27</sup> Other liberal critics include Anatolii Pereverz'ev, Arkadii Petrov,<sup>28</sup> Ivan Makarov, and Valter Ojakaar.<sup>29</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum, *Molodaia gvardia*, *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, *Sovetskaia muzyka*, *Sovetskaia kultura*, *Krasnaia zvezda*, and thus far, *Pravda*, have adopted a hostile attitude toward rock music. They typically treat rock as a Western "plot" to undermine Soviet society. *Komsomol'skaia pravda* was

formerly part of this conservative group, but its articles are now sometimes more nuanced.

The Union of Composers of the USSR has also adopted a conservative view of rock music. Until recently, it refused to admit rock composers into its ranks or to include discussion of rock music in the agendas of its meetings. One of the reasons for this hostility was that leading figures in the union feared that allowing rock musicians into the organization would change the balance of power within the union and ultimately propel the leaders from their seats of administrative power.<sup>30</sup> Even today, with two supporters of rock music--Rodion Shchedrin and Yuri Saul'skii--elected as union secretaries, it is unlikely that this organization will change its position in the near future.

In addition, the KGB figures as a conservative voice in the debate over rock music. It tends to view rock music as a medium for Western cultural and political influence. The KGB carefully monitors tours by Western rock stars, and, in a recent speech by the head of the KGB, Viktor Chebrikov, it was suggested that rock stars play a role in nudging the population "into the position of criticism, demagogy, and nihilism."<sup>31</sup>

The Main Political Administration (MPA), which is in charge of supervising the recreation and leisure activities of the Soviet military, takes a similar position on this question. The MPA has long been one of the most conservative and anti-Western of Soviet agencies, and it is not surprising that it has adopted an extremely hostile line in its official organ, *Krasnaia zvezda*, toward Soviet rock groups. In 1982, for example, after a tour by the Leningrad rock group Blue Guitars to Afghanistan to

entertain Soviet occupation forces, *Krasnaia zvezda* published a letter from 10 military personnel, including 5 lieutenant colonels, who reproached the group on both ideological and artistic grounds.<sup>32</sup> Less than six weeks later, the same newspaper published a notice that the "artistic manager and director of Moskontsert I. N. Safonov and Secretary of the Party Committee B. V. Poliakov have sent a reply to the editors ... admitting that criticism directed against the Blue Guitars was 'correct' .... The Blue Guitars have been scratched from the planned tours abroad and their scheduled performances in Moscow have been canceled. Administrative action has been taken against the director of the ensemble."<sup>33</sup> In the article, the question was raised whether it might be advisable to apply stricter standards to the repertoires of all musical ensembles, including those sent to entertain Soviet forces.

The MPA's attitudes toward rock music have evolved to some extent, however. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the MPA would not have considered the use of the electric guitar or the modern percussion set in military orchestras because of the association with rock music. More recently, the MPA has allowed not only the use of these instruments but also the performance of soft rock--mostly of a patriotic nature--in soldiers' and officers' clubs. Zvezdochka (Little Star), created in the Baltic military district in 1972, was one of the first rock bands allowed to perform in servicemen's clubs.<sup>34</sup> There are currently hundreds of groups like Zvezdochka in the USSR. On the other hand, the MPA remains uncompromisingly hostile toward "heavy metal;" in 1987, a military officer accused heavy metal bands of being "pro-Zionist."<sup>35</sup>

The major concern of MPA officials is that rock music might serve as a channel for dissent. According to Lieutenant Colonel Roshchupkin, "after

changing punk or metal fan clothing for the military uniform, such young men don't immediately change their ideological and moral beliefs. ... It takes a lot of determined work on the part of the propagandist [to counter the effects of heavy metal]."<sup>36</sup>

In recent years, "national Bolsheviks," who are Russian nationalist in orientation, have taken advantage of Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*, or "openness" to become more visible. The group's major spokesmen--the writers from the "villagers" group as well as critics from *Nash sovremennik* and *Molodaia gvardiia*--have traditionally taken extremely negative positions toward rock and roll. They view rock as a vehicle of Western "corruption," and they have also opposed endeavors to incorporate Russian folklore or folk idioms into the melodic or stylistic components of rock music.<sup>37</sup>

Prominent in this circle is the chauvinistic group Pamyat (Memory). Pamyat has been overtly hostile to all forms of rock music, which it views as a uniformly corruptive influence from the West. *Komsomol'skaia pravda* reported that the atmosphere at a recent Pamyat meeting was frenetic:

D. Vasiliev speaks: "The USSR State Committee for Agitation and Propaganda is sewing political labels on us. If this doesn't stop, we will have to resort to the criminal code's article on slander. A stream of cosmopolitanism has engulfed the mass news media. Rock groups are Satanism; they pledge allegiance to Satan!" ...

V. Shumsky runs onto the stage from the audience. He ... proclaims: "We are for Leninism! What was destroyed was destroyed by the hands of Satan!"<sup>38</sup>

*Moscow News* has attacked Pamyat's members as intolerant extremists,<sup>39</sup> but the group nonetheless finds some sympathy in Soviet official circles.

For example, some high-ranking members of the Union of Writers of the USSR are openly sympathetic to Pamyat. In May 1987, at a meeting of the union,

several speakers addressed the subject of rock music. While some writers, such as Andrei Voznesensky and Viktor Rozov, spoke in defense of rock music, others attacked it. Among the latter was Sergei Mikhalkov, author of the Soviet national anthem and vice president of the Academy of Pedagogical Science of the USSR:

Now let's talk about these infamous bands. I am utterly convinced that this is not just innocent dance music. This is a plague, which unfortunately cannot be cured at this time. This is the moral equivalent of AIDS and we cannot find any remedies for it. This is not just music. This is a medium by which our young people are being drugged. This is the turf on which everything can grow, starting with drug addiction and prostitution, and finishing with high treason and criminal offenses. I don't think we should ban rock music but ... this is a ravine into which our young boys and girls are sliding.<sup>40</sup>

His colleague, Vladimir Krupin, a writer close to Pamyat, expressed agreement at the May meeting: "Even drugs may not be as dangerous as this music, because this music calls for violence, killings, and riots. And our television actually encourages this behavior."<sup>41</sup>

Official opinion is not entirely polarized, however. Journals such as *Innostrannaia literatura*, which is more balanced in its treatment of Western trends, and *Literaturnaia gazeta*, which is generally anti-rock, represent a middle ground. But they hold these views for aesthetic reasons rather than for social and political reasons as voiced by the conservatives.

Until recently, the conservatives seemed to be dominant. Their antipathy toward the new music can be explained partly by politics and partly by the generation gap. In general, their antipathy stems from a fear that rock music encourages escapism, skepticism, passivity, glorification of the West, and the spread of fashions and behavior patterns that are independent of party control.<sup>42</sup> General Secretary Yuri Andropov, a modernizer and reformer in many



respects, was a conservative on the question of rock music. In 1983, he warned of "ideologically and aesthetically harmful" groups with "suspicious repertoires."<sup>43</sup>

The high level at which rock has been discussed is striking. For example, in 1983, V. P. Vinogradov told members of the Central Committee that disco music induces daydreaming. In an article in *Sovetskaia Rossiia* reporting on the same meeting, it was argued that disco music uniformly produces a desire to rest or to entertain oneself, and kills the motivation to work. In the article this was viewed as a self-evident bane, and the Komsomol was reproached for having failed to stem the tide of disco and punk.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, a recent article in *Molodaia gvardia* expressed concern that "regular exposure to such sounds [as the Western rock group Kiss] gradually crushes the consumer of this music beneath itself."<sup>45</sup> A 1984 article in *Komsomol'skaia pravda* claimed that the spread of rock in the USSR was the product of "Operation Barbarossa Rock 'n' Roll"--a plan supposedly drawn up by "a special agency" of NATO to undermine the Soviet Union.<sup>46</sup>

In 1983, an article in *Sovetskaia kultura*, a publication of the Ministry of Culture, likewise toed the conservative line; it blasted "disco, rock and other varieties of pop music" for their "primitive associations and poverty of imagination." The above publication warned that pacifist sentiments, encouraged by some rock songs, are "not conducive to the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance and class consciousness." Surprisingly, it urged that socialist realism be taken as the standard by which to judge musical and artistic products.<sup>47</sup> Some rock music is criticized for pacifism, other rock groups are reproached for propagating a cult of violence, and still other

groups are chastized for sheer irrelevance. For example, the song "Banana Islands" was quoted in the above-mentioned article in *Molodaiia gvardiia*:

Here are some bananas,  
Here's a whole forest of them.  
Here are some bananas,  
But nobody is eating them ...  
Not life, but banana paradise.

Further in the article: "Now the reader may well ask what's so bad about that? The fact is that this is a flight from itself, from life, society, country, time, into a saccharine-sweet fairyland."<sup>48</sup>

The liberal critic Troitskii has disputed this position. In 1983, at a roundtable discussion, Troitskii challenged the one-sided conservative assessment and suggested that rather than being symptomatic of "spiritual emptiness," new wave rock, with its emphasis on melodiousness and lyrics, is "more cheerful and more humane."<sup>49</sup> In an article in *Iunost'*, musicians participating in the roundtable discussion expressed their affinity for the music of Miles Davis, the Mahavishnu Orchestra, Steely Dan, the Beatles, Led Zeppelin, Santana, Aquarium, the Police, Rolling Stones, and even Stravinsky and Prokofiev. As a result, the discussion focused more on music *per se*, than on its supposed social effects. Similarly, the 1981 production of the rock opera *Yunona and Avos* was hailed by *Literaturnaia gazeta* as a "significant event."<sup>50</sup>

Because of the long unresolved debate between party conservatives and liberals, official policy toward rock music has not always been consistent. On the one hand, it was possible to open a rock club in Leningrad in 1981 that claimed some 500 members and 60 affiliated rock groups by late 1986. In addition, the club sponsors an annual rock contest, through which the

unofficial groups Aquarium, Kino, Alisa, Auction, and Jungle first attracted attention.<sup>51</sup> By early 1985, Melodiya had issued some 14 disco sets.<sup>52</sup> In early 1986, the USSR's first rock-music "laboratory" was opened on the initiative of the Inter-Union House of Amateur Creative Work and the Moscow city committee of the Komsomol.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the Union of Composers considered the possibility of establishing a recording firm specifically geared to young people's music. Articles in *Argumenty i fakty* have cautiously floated the idea of opening "rock music theaters" in Moscow and other cities.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, there are signs that some members of the establishment wish to maintain vigilance over the spread of rock music. For example, Katya Surzhikova, a Russian pop star who likes to perform while scantily clad, was told to add to her wardrobe.<sup>55</sup> In 1984, the Ministry of Culture issued a document imposing a ban on the playing of certain music, in any form, within the city limits of Moscow, and enumerated 106 groups that were "not recommended." More specifically, the document listed 68 Western rock groups and artists whose music should be banned, including: Kiss, Nina Hagen, Sex Pistols, AC/DC, Black Sabbath, Alice Cooper, Pink Floyd, Talking Heads, Van Halen, Patty Smith, Elvis Costello, and Depeche Mode. The document also listed 38 Soviet "unofficial" groups that "propagate ideals and currents alien to our society" including: Alliance, Gulliver, Zigzag, Tennis, Rest Area, Nautilus, Urfin Dzhus, Winter Garden, Aquarium, Kino, Lucifer, and Pig.<sup>56</sup> In 1985, police broke up a small gathering on the fifth anniversary of the death of John Lennon, and on a separate occasion they broke up a Moscow concert by Bajaga, Yugoslavia's most popular rock group.<sup>57</sup> Finally, conservatives have voiced opposition to the proposal to create a recording firm specializing in

rock music.<sup>58</sup>

### **Lyrics and Politics**

While American youth are notorious for their general indifference to lyrics, Soviet rock musicians and their followers seem to place a greater premium on the words. Not surprisingly, lyrics were the source of most of the official criticism of rock music, and they have contributed to the troubles that have long plagued rock in the Soviet Union.

Although instrumental jazz and various forms of modern avant-garde music have been viewed at times with suspicion by Soviet authorities, none of these music forms has ever met with such open hostility as rock music. Aside from the sensually rhythmic music, outlandish costumes, abrasive language, and the manners of the musicians also offended the authorities. Initially, Soviet authorities grumbled about rock lyrics because they were usually in English--a language that some officials could not understand and was considered the language of the West.<sup>59</sup> Later, when most of the songs were written and performed in Russian, the authorities fretted that the words were inconsistent with the tenets of socialism. The first rock music performed in Moscow may actually have been sung not in Russian but in Polish by an early 1960s group of Polish students studying in Moscow, known as the Roaches.<sup>60</sup> The first Russian songs were most likely performed by the Moscow groups Sokol and Skomorokhy, although they were largely of amateur quality imitating other groups.<sup>61</sup>

According to official cultural policy enforced by Soviet leaders from the time of Khrushchev to Chernenko, song lyrics were supposed to evoke optimism, youthful energy, and positive emotions in general. Those dealing with love

and other emotions had to be absolutely straight and proper. No deviations from the officially puritan and sexless guidelines were permitted. The lyrics of official groups must be approved by local authorities before the groups are permitted to perform, and music to be published also must be approved by the censorship office, Glavlit.<sup>62</sup> Official groups were required to join the Bureau of Musical Groups established in every major city.<sup>63</sup> These bureaus strictly regulate the number of Western songs that may be performed.<sup>64</sup> Most Soviet rock songs do not deal with political topics. Like their Western counterparts, Soviet rockers sing above all about love, passion, alienation, and the frustrations of life. Some Soviet rock songs, like many Western songs, are simply dance tunes.

The political nature of the more substantive lyrics can best be illustrated by contrasting those sung by official groups with those sung by unofficial, or unsupervised, groups. In the 1970s, the well-known official group Samotsvety (Precious Stones), which has been renamed Plamya, produced a patriotic song called "Our address is the Soviet Union," which is still performed today:

The railroad car wheel dictates to us  
Where we'll meet tomorrow.  
My telephone numbers  
Are ... in different towns.

[Refrain] The heart is aching, the heart is caring.  
The postal cargo is being packed.  
Our address is not a house or a street.  
Our address is the Soviet Union.

You, telegraph dots and dashes,  
Look for me at the construction projects.  
Today what is important is not my personal life,  
But the reports of the work day.

[Refrain]

We are with the guys who are sensible.  
We are where the posters say, "Ahead!"  
Where the toiling country  
Sings the good, new songs.

[Refrain]<sup>65</sup>

The text is unreserved in its patriotism. There is not even a hint of doubt about any aspect of Soviet reality. On the contrary, Soviet society is described as moving *ahead*.

The song, "Experimentor of upward-downward movement," by the unofficial group Alisa, provides a strong contrast, with its only slightly obscured mockery of Marxist dialectics:

Experimentor of upward-downward movement,  
He is looking in the direction of the goal  
He set for himself.  
He knows the answer, he is perfectly alert.  
He is breaking the path for other generations.

Experimentor of upward-downward movement,  
He is forming new models of consciousness.  
He is perfectly shaven, prim and proper.  
He is carrying his brick to the altar of the universe.

Experimentor of upward-downward movement,  
He sees space where I see [a] wall.  
He knows the answer, he is sure of his idea.  
In every process he reaches the bottom.<sup>66</sup>

Plamya also wrote a panegyric to socialist progress; it focused on the All-Union Komsomol Construction Project, the Baikal-Amur Railroad (BAM):

The rails are nearly  
Cutting through the taiga,  
To the ocean,  
Through the blizzard.

[Refrain] Be merry, guys.  
It fell to our lot  
To build the railway,  
Or BAM for short.

The rails stretch,  
The wires buzz.  
To the ocean  
The trains will go.<sup>67</sup>

Alisa, by contrast, is less impressed with "socialist progress:"

All of a sudden, I see something coming my way,  
But I can't figure out what it is  
No matter how hard I try.  
It looks like a tractor, like a nuclear reactor  
And also somewhat like a squeezed lemon.  
It is white like a hospital, birds are scared of it.  
It is strong as a safe  
It is slimy like a jellyfish  
It is of no use like a burden  
It is moving among flowers and different types of grass.  
What are you? What the hell are you?  
And it answers me: I am your juice squeezer.<sup>68</sup>

Soviet authorities prefer buoyant optimism in lyrics, but in the early 1980s, the Latvian group Perkons painted a picture as bleak and dolorous as can be imagined:

Black earth, black skies,  
Black lake, black evening.  
Nothing good can come of this.  
Everything looks like hell.

Black waves in this lake  
Carry flowers on their crest ....  
What he says I do not understand.  
And that will be no different tomorrow.  
He talks to himself  
And no one is listening.

No one knows  
about this lake of flowers ...<sup>69</sup>

Unofficial groups are not the only ones to discuss topical issues. Alla Pugacheva, who is possibly the best paid pop singer in the USSR, has addressed the theme of pacifism:

Tell us, birds, the time has come.  
Our planet is a fragile glass.  
Virgin birch trees, rivers, and fields,

all this, from above, is more delicate than glass.  
Can it be that we shall hear  
from all sides  
the farewell sound of crunching crystal?<sup>70</sup>

Finally, mention should be made of the satirical use by various heavy metal and new wave groups of officially approved texts, or, in the case of Igor Beleov, of certain poems by Karl Marx.<sup>71</sup> This trend has been called "Sovretro." Groups such as Cement (Riga) and Funny Pictures (Moscow) have set song texts from the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s to new music, often with surprising effect. Typically, they perform in "original epoch costumes," and it seems inconceivable that audiences could fail to be amused listening to Cement sing lines that were once taken seriously:

The stars have filled the heavens  
Like schools of fish around the full moon.  
When I come home, your eyes,  
Like two fish, will come to see me.<sup>72</sup>

Other groups have performed adaptations of poetical works that were previously published in the USSR. The now defunct unofficial group Winds of Change prided itself on singing gloomy poems by Martynov and Robert Burns--the latter in an approved translation. The group's members added to the effect of the songs by pointedly refraining from smiling during performances. When the authorities challenged them on their lyrics, band leaders pointed out that they were culled from approved publications.<sup>73</sup> Another rock group, the Estonian group Raja, took Estonian poems from the late 19th and early 20th centuries for its texts. But in this case, the tactic was less successful. Two of these songs were suppressed by Soviet authorities on grounds of Estonian nationalism. In another case, two of Raja's previously approved songs were banned when the songwriter fled to the United States.<sup>74</sup>



Official "Sovrock" bands have presented a clean-cut appearance, performing in neat attire and sticking to musical and textual banalities that were often composed for them by the Union of Composers. The best known among this group is Happy Guys, which is amply supplied with the best equipment available through official channels. It has often been instructed to add "dead wood" to the ensemble in order to give jobs to the sons or cousins of certain influential persons; the instruments of these pantomime actors are not plugged in.<sup>75</sup> Other Sovrock groups have included Samotsvety, Singing Hearts, Flame, and Skomorokhy. Since late 1986, the domination of Sovrock bands seems to be coming to an end; heavy metal and new wave bands are acquiring legitimacy, and thus the opportunity to make records, go on nationwide tours, and be interviewed in the Soviet press. In this context, Soviet society is ripe for musical experimentation, and new possibilities are opening up. In the words of the leader of Time Machine, Andrei Makarevich: "Why should one limit oneself in this field? It's like being forced to use only certain letters of the alphabet."<sup>76</sup>

It is interesting that in the earlier stages of the development of Soviet rock, musicians eschewed ethnic and traditional instruments, and those who made use of accordions or balalaikas in rock performances were scorned for "inauthenticity." It was only after the Beatles and other Western groups began to introduce exotic Oriental instruments, beginning with the sitar, into their music that Soviet groups decided that the traditional instruments might be adaptable to rock music after all. At first, some Soviet rock musicians tried to obtain sitars of their own, and only later did they turn to traditional Russian instruments. The pioneers in this area were Pesnyary and

Siabry from Belorussia,<sup>77</sup> Yalla from Uzbekistan, and Ariel from Cheliabinsk. The authorities have generally approved of this development, though there have been some hot debates about whether traditional songs ought to be given modernized renditions.<sup>78</sup>

### **Gorbachev and Rock Music**

Since Gorbachev's accession to power in 1985, official policy toward rock music has eased dramatically. Within six months of his assuming power, Moscow opened its first rock recording studio,<sup>79</sup> and Boris Grebenshchikov's group Aquarium has been accorded respectability in the press.<sup>80</sup> Michael Jackson's video "Billy Jean" was recently featured on a Soviet television game show.<sup>81</sup> In the spring of 1986, the conservative Pyotr Demichev was relieved of his post as minister of culture and replaced by Vasilii Zakharov, and the notorious conservative V. Shauro, head of the Central Committee Department of Culture, was replaced by the more open-minded Yuri Voronov, signalling a conscious break with the past. The Gorbachev era has also seen the staging of the USSR's first charity rock concert, which took place in May 1986,<sup>82</sup> and breakdancing is being officially endorsed "in the name of a healthy lifestyle and in the spirit of sports."<sup>83</sup> Heavy metal has also been accepted by the establishment, and the "metallist" band Cruise has been given a recording contract with Melodiya.<sup>84</sup> Even the once staid Institute of International Affairs in Moscow played host to a heavy metal rock festival in January 1987.

On the other hand, Soviet authorities remain ill-disposed toward punk, which is most visible in Estonia. The punk movement has evidently attracted a significant following among Estonian high school students,<sup>85</sup> but those taking note of punk music are by no means restricted to that milieu. In February

1986, *Pravda* devoted 28 column-inches to excoriating punks for "something bloodcurdling in their eyes."<sup>86</sup> The Estonian punk group Propeller, which *inter alia* had recorded a song screaming "No!" over and over to a primitive beat, was forcibly disbanded by the authorities.

It is not yet known whether the new Soviet leader is a fan of rock and roll. He has never mentioned rock music in public, even in meetings with the younger generation. However, it is fair to say that in contrast with his predecessors, most notably Khrushchev and Chernenko, Gorbachev does not seem to have strong negative feelings toward this form of music. In fact, the extent of the liberalization in official policies toward rock music since Gorbachev's accession to power invites the speculation that he might be sympathetic to the genre. Gorbachev was in his 20s when the first rock bands were performing in the USSR, and in his early 30s at the time of the "Beatles' invasion." At that time, he was working for the Komsomol, which was charged with supervising rock music. Not all Komsomol officials were unsympathetic to rock; some were prepared to patronize the new genre.<sup>87</sup> Gorbachev may well have been among the latter.

The rock scene has been an early beneficiary of Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*. Unofficial and even banned groups such as Aquarium, Time Machine, and Bravo have received official recognition and support. Melodiya has begun releasing "real" rock albums. The all-union rock festival has received official sponsorship. Radio and television stations now feature rock music on a daily basis. Moreover, under Gorbachev, rock performers play in Moscow almost as often as in any other major city in the world. This has permitted Soviet cultural authorities to stage rock events as "peace" concerts and gain

propaganda mileage.<sup>88</sup>

It is clear that the Gorbachev leadership wants to include rock music in the program of cultural liberalization.<sup>89</sup> The alternative would be to allow the Soviet younger generation, which has acquired a taste for Russian rock, to revert back to Western rock. This could result in increased interest in the Voice of America's popular music programs, and Soviet authorities clearly would prefer not to see this occur.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, even heavy metal is now accepted in the USSR. In a recent press conference for foreign journalists at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Aleksei Kozlov, the saxophonist and composer for the jazz-rock group Arsenal, sang the praises of heavy metal rock, which he viewed as a channel for young working-class Soviets to deal with their resentment toward more affluent members of Soviet society.<sup>91</sup>

There is resistance to the new policy on rock,<sup>92</sup> but at present the forces of resistance seem to be on the losing end. Thus the future looks quite promising for Soviet rock musicians. For example, in October 1987, unofficial groups were to have obtained permission to advertise their concerts.<sup>93</sup> In this respect, the situation regarding rock music in the USSR may well come to resemble that in Hungary, Poland, and the German Democratic Republic.

### **Conclusion**

In the USSR, it is above all the authorities who make rock music a political issue. Most songs written by Soviet rock bands are politically innocent, just as they are in the United States; they deal with themes like love and sex and the trials of growing up. Conservative figures in cultural establishment react not only to the lyrics, however, but also to the music, attire, and language of the performers, all of which they may consider

"subversive."

The factional element in the formation of policy toward rock music closely mirrors what occurs in other policy spheres. In fact, the sphere of rock music is clearly just one part of a much broader context in which liberalizers and conservatives face each other. For this reason, liberalization in the music sphere closely parallels the struggle for liberalization in other areas of Soviet society. Under Khrushchev, for example, jazz music benefitted from relaxed government controls during the "thaw," and rock music is now benefitting from Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, after a long incubation period of imitating Western models, rock music in the Soviet Union has come of age and is developing autonomously, though certainly not in isolation from trends elsewhere in the world. The Soviet rock scene is richer and more diverse than it has ever been in the past.

Until recently, many independent-minded bands in the USSR shunned official status by and large, and there was a clear dichotomy between creative but insolvent bands, such as Kino, and commercially "successful" but artistically vapid bands, such as Happy Guys, with some gradation around the extremes. Could the acceptance of official recognition be the kiss of death for independent rock musicians? This question is very much on the minds of Soviet rock musicians. Official recognition entails an acceptance of certain rules of the game by the group and a kind of endorsement of the group by officialdom. Officially endorsed rock is somehow just not the same as unapproved music. As Boris Grebenshikov of Aquarium mused recently, "the best way to hear rock 'n' roll for the first time is when it's illegal."<sup>95</sup>

## Appendix: Profiles of the Current Major Soviet Rock Groups\*

*Alisa*. Unofficial. Based in Leningrad and led by the riotous "Dr. Kostya", Alisa plays musically innovative hard rock. Lyrics include political satire. Although it has yet to release an album in the USSR, Alisa was included on the two-record set "Red Wave," released in the United States by Los Angeles rock singer and promoter Joanna Stingray in summer 1986.

*Aquarium*. Official. Currently, probably the most popular rock group in the Soviet Union due both to band leader Boris Grebenshikov's imaginative lyrics and to its solid rock beat. It has also benefitted from recent publicity, including frequent television appearances. Long unofficial and at one time constrained to perform under the name "Radio Afrika," Aquarium is now official and courted by Soviet music moguls.

*Aria*. Official. Formed on February 18, 1986 in Moscow, Aria includes former members of Alfa, Art, and Black Coffee. A heavy metal band, Aria has already won first prize in three rock festivals and has thousands of followers throughout the Soviet Union. Known mostly through their homemade tapes, they are waiting for the release of an album by Melodiya, originally scheduled for fall 1987, and a subsequent tour of England.

*Autograph*. Official. Based in Moscow, Autograph received some publicity in the West after its appearance via satellite during the "Live Aid" concert in 1986 and during its tours of Western Europe and Canada in 1987. Lead guitarist/composer Aleksandr Sitkovekstky is obviously influenced by the early music of the British group Genesis. Formed originally in July 1979, it acquired official status in 1980 and often tours both in the Soviet Union and abroad. The early compositions by Autograph were in an art-rock style, but it

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\*It is difficult to produce a definitive list of the most popular Soviet rock groups because official polls do not exist in the USSR and because the sales figures for rock recordings are not available. Furthermore, some very popular groups have been prevented from making commercial records and have gained their audience largely through live performances and through the distribution of privately taped cassettes on the black market. Existing readers' polls conducted by some youth newspapers are not very reliable because they tend to favor local groups that are relatively unknown to outside the given local community. For example, participants in a poll reported by the Latvian newspaper *Sovetskaia molodezh* in its July 4, 1987, issue, gave 34 percent of their votes to Spetsbrigada, a group almost unknown outside Riga. Melodiya also conducts polls, but its findings seem to reflect its rather conservative recording patterns rather than actual audience tastes. A 1987 Melodiya survey reported by TASS, originally appearing in *Sovetskaia molodezh*, August 8, 1987, claimed that the two most popular records were "Epitafia" by Leningrad folk singer Aleksandr Rosenbaum, and "Just one minute" by Happy Guys. The above list, presented in alphabetical order, thus reflects in large part the subjective impressions of the authors.

currently plays new wave rock.

*Bravo*. Official. Led by singer Ivanna Anders, Bravo combines the intensity of punk with elements of 1950s-style boogie and rockabilly.

*Cement*. Official. Based in Riga and led by vocalist Andrei Yakhimovich, this group has a truly unique repertoire. It consists almost entirely of the arrangements of the primitive "socialist realist" songs written in the 1950s and early 1960s. Cement plays these songs in new heavy metal or new wave arrangements and an overly expressive manner which make a complete mockery of the literal messages of these songs.

*Center*. Based in Moscow, this new wave group is one of the most controversial bands from a musical point of view. Formed in the early 1980s and led by Vassilii Shumov, Center combines new wave with elements of early 1960s Soviet rock and roll.

*Cinema* (Kino). Unofficial. Based in Leningrad, Kino remains unofficial and has yet to be allowed to make a Soviet record. The group was included on the two-record set, *Red Wave* released in the United States by Joanna Stingray. Stingray is currently engaged to Kino's lead guitarist, Yuri Kasparyan.

*Cruise*. Official. A heavy metal band, Cruise has been featured on Moscow television and has signed a recording contract with Melodiya.

*DK*. Unofficial-underground. DK has refused to register with any Soviet club and rejects Gorbachev's conciliatory line. DK prides itself on "subversive" and "outrageous" music and has a national cult following. Widely credited with being musically innovative, DK sings of sexual deviance, broken homes, corruption, and alcoholism. Lyrics are written by Sergei Zharikov.

*Popular Mechanics*. Unofficial. Based in Leningrad, Popular Mechanics incorporates noninstrumental effects, such as banging trash can lids, in its particular variant of jazz rock. Several of the members of Popular Mechanics are graduates of the music conservatory, including the group's creator, Sergei Kuryokhin, who is also an accomplished solo pianist.

*Time Machine*. Official. Based in Moscow, Time Machine was formed in 1971 and now enjoys status as a "living classic." Predictably, some of the younger generation view Time Machine as convention-bound and old fashioned. That notwithstanding, the band, led by singer Andrei Makarevich, has become one of the most influential and controversial rock groups in the country. Time Machine was "unofficial" for almost a decade, acquiring official status only in 1980. Since then, it has toured almost every major city in the Soviet Union, recorded a number of movie soundtracks, and become a familiar feature on Soviet television. In spite of this, Time Machine performances were banned several times during Chernenko's brief rule (1984-85). The group's musical style combines classic rock with elements of Russian folk traditions.

*Zoo*. Unofficial as of late 1986. Based in Moscow, Zoo is probably the most

"un-Western" group currently playing in the capital. Some observers consider Zoo a punk band, but it is really part of the original Russian "poetry rock" current, with texts drawn from modern experimental poetry.



## Notes

1. "Glenn Gould Interviews Glenn Gould About Glenn Gould," *The Glenn Gould Reader* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), excerpted in *Harper's* (January 1985), p. 31.
2. Yu. Tomilin, "Disko: novye problemy, kotorye ne novy," *Muzykal'naiia zhizn'* (Moscow), no. 13 (July 1982), p. 21.
3. *Moskovskii komsomolets*, September 12, 1984.
4. *Sovetskaya molodezh* (Riga), April 16, 1987.
5. *New York Times*, May 8, 1955.
6. S. Frederick Starr, "The Rock Inundation," *The Wilson Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (Autumn 1983), p. 59.
7. Georgi Tolstiakov, "Sowjetische Rockmusik in den 80er Jahren," *Sowjet-union heute*, no. 8 (August 1985), reprinted under the title "'Magnitidat' contra 'Melodija'--Die unkontrollierte Rockmusikwelle in der UdSSR," *Osteuropa* (Aachen) 36, no. 2 (February 1986), p. A102.
8. Priscilla Johnson, *Khrushchev and the Arts: the Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962-1964* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965), p. 102.
9. Johnson, *Khrushchev and the Arts*, p. 103.
10. For a fast-paced treatment of rock music in the United States, see Loyd Grossman, *A Social History of Rock Music* (New York: David McKay, 1976). See also John Orman, *The Politics of Rock Music* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984), especially chapters 1, 4, and 11.
11. Johnson, *Khrushchev and the Arts*, pp. 109-110, 111, and 175.
12. John Dornberg, *Brezhnev: The Masks of Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 202.
13. Starr, "The Rock Inundation," pp. 65-66.
14. *Washington Post*, May 23 and May 30, 1979; and *New York Times*, May 29, 1979.
15. "'Magnitidat' contra 'Melodija'," p. A93; and *Argumenty i fakty* (Moscow), May 6-12, 1986, trans. in Joint Publications Research Service (hereafter, JPRS), *USSR Report*, no. UPS-86-035 (July 28, 1986), p. 50.
16. Vlastimir Nesic, "Rock u SSSR-u," *Reporter* (Belgrade), no. 947, (June 14, 1985), p. 40; and interview with Aleksandr Glukharev, a professional

Soviet rock musician 1976-86 and former member of Happy Guys, by Pedro Ramet, Dover, New Hampshire, February 28, 1987.

17. Aquarium, Autograph, and Time Machine have since acquired official status.

18. Interview with an émigré Soviet rock musician, who asked not to be identified, by Pedro Ramet and Sergei Zamascikov, Washington D.C., February 25, 1987.

19. The set consists of songs from the mid-1960s albums "A Hard Day's Night" and "A Taste of Honey." *Seattle Times*, April 1, 1986.

20. *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (Moscow), April 7, 1984, trans. into German in "'Magnitisdat' contra 'Melodija'," p. A97.

21. "'Magnitisdat' contra 'Melodija'," p. A96.

22. Antonia Lloyd-Jones, "The Nature of Official Documents Concerning Control of Vocal/Instrumental Groups and Discotheques," *Survey* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 176- 177, trans. from *Arkhiv samizdata*, Radio Liberty Research Bulletin, October 18, 1985.

23. "Disko-dilemmy," *Muzykal'naia zhizn'*, no. 18 (September 1981), p. 22.

24. Recommendations of the All-Union Scientific-Methodological Center of the Ministry of Culture (October 1, 1984), smuggled out and reprinted in *Novoe russkoe slovo*, October 2, 1985.

25. *Literaturnaiia gazeta*, December 5, 1984, trans. into German in "'Magnitisdat'contra 'Melodija'," p. A101. "Urfin Dzhuz" is the name of a character in a popular children's story.

26. In 1978, the Munich-based reggae group Boney M. arrived to play several sold-out concerts. The group became extremely popular, especially after releasing its song, "Rasputin," which dealt with the amorous adventures of the infamous ex-monk who dominated the last Romanov family. Although the song was immediately banned in the Soviet Union, it has nonetheless remained in great demand and has been widely played. Boney M. refrained from playing "Rasputin" in its Moscow concerts, however, despite loud requests from the audience.

27. A. Troitskii, "Rolling Stounz," *Muzykal'naia zhizn'*, no. 16 (August 1982), p. 23.

28. See Arkadii Petrov, "'Tartu-82': parad molodezhnoi estrady" [Tartu 1982: parade of young people's entertainment], *Muzykal'naia zhizn'*, no. 15 (August 1982).

29. See Valter Ojakäär, *Pop Muusikast* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1983).

30. See interview with Gennadii Gladkov in *Smena* (Moscow), 1986, no. 15.
31. *Pravda*, September 11, 1987.
32. *Krasnaia zvezda*, December 4, 1982.
33. *Krasnaia zvezda*, January 13, 1983.
34. The history of Zvezdochka was discussed in the television program "Sluzhu Sovetskomu Soiuzu," Moscow, September 6, 1987.
35. Lieutenant Colonel V. Roshchupkin, "Ob'ekt diverii-molodezh'," *Kommunist vooruzhennykh sil*, 1987, no. 16, p. 85.
36. Roshchupkin, "Ob'ekt diverii-molodezh'," p. 86. The corruptive influence of Western popular culture was also discussed on the program cited in note 34.
37. Anatolii Doronin and Arkadii Lisenkov, "Chto proku ot 'roka'" [What use is rock?], *Molodaia gvardiia*, 1986, no. 5, pp. 214-231.
38. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, May 22, 1987, trans. in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (hereafter, CDSP) 39, no. 21 (June 24, 1987), p. 3.
39. Cited in *The Economist*, July 11, 1987, p. 51.
40. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, May 6, 1987.
41. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, May 6, 1987.
42. For more discussion of these points, see Pedro Ramet, "Rock Counterculture in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," *Survey* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1985), esp. pp. 155- 158.
43. Quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, April 4, 1986.
44. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, August 19, 1983.
45. Doronin and Lisenkov, "Chto proku ot 'roka'," p. 215.
46. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, September 16, 1984, trans. in CDSP 36, no. 37 (October 10, 1984), pp. 4, 5.
47. *Sovetskaia kultura*, April 16, 1983, trans. in CDSP 35, no. 15 (May 11, 1983), pp. 4, 5.
48. Doronin and Lisenkov, "Chto proku ot 'roka'," p. 224.
49. *Iunost'* (Moscow), no. 5 (May 1983), trans. in CDSP 35, no. 34

(September 21, 1983), p. 7.

50. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, November 25, 1981, trans. in CDSP 33, no. 47 (December 23, 1981), p. 17.

51. *Leningradskaiia pravda*, January 19, 1986, trans. in JPRS, *USSR Report*, no. UPS-86-020 (April 28, 1986), p. 38; and TASS, August 28, 1986, in JPRS, *USSR Report*, no. UPS- 86-050 (October 15, 1986), p. 132. Also *Sovetskaia molodezh'*, September 4, 1986.

52. *Billboard*, January 12, 1985.

53. *Argumenty i fakty*, May 6-12, 1986, trans. in JPRS, *USSR Report*, no. UPS-86-035 (July 28, 1986), p. 37.

54. *Argumenty i fakty*, May 6-12, 1986, trans. in JPRS, *USSR Report*, no. UPS-86-035 (July 28, 1986), p. 37.

55. Reuter, August 23, 1983.

56. Associated Press, August 8, 1985; and "The USSR This Week," *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, December 13, 1985, p. 3. Regarding Bajaga's popularity, see *Intervju* (Belgrade), January 2, 1987, p. 30.

57. Recommendations of the All-Union Scientific-Methodological Center of the Ministry of Culture (October 1, 1984), smuggled out and reprinted in *Novoe russkoe slovo*, October 2, 1985.

58. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, November 10, 1985, trans. in JPRS, *USSR Report*, no. UPS-86-013 (March 17, 1986), p. 106.

59. Interview with Grisha Dimant, an émigré Soviet rock musician, with Sergei Zamascikov, Los Angeles, February 22, 1987; and interview with Anatoly Mogilevsky, émigré Soviet rock musician, by Pedro Ramet and Sergei Zamascikov, New York, February 27, 1987.

60. See Sim Rokotov, "Govori! Illiustrirovannaia istoriia otechestvennogo roka" [Speak! An Illustrated History of Domestic Rock], *Iunost'*, no. 6 (June 1987), p. 84.

61. Rokotov, "Govori!" pp. 84-85; and *Sovetskaia molodezh'*, July 18, 1987.

62. A Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU, "On the Further Improvement of the Party Guidance by the Komsomol and the Increase of its Role in the Communist Education of Young People," included demands to prevent apoliticality, immorality, and blind imitation of Western fashions from infiltrating young people's minds, and to close off all channels of the penetration of unprincipled behavior and trivial vulgarity into literature and art. See *Pravda*, July 7, 1984.

63. *Sovetskaia kultura*, May 30, 1985; and *Izvestiia*, March 5, 1987.
64. For example, the Moscow Association of Musical Groups provided that songs by foreign groups should occupy no more than 30 percent of local performers' repertoires.
65. The authors are indebted to Irina Rabinovich for the translation of this song.
66. This song is included on the album *Red Wave*, produced by Joanna Stingray of Los Angeles in 1986. The authors wish to thank Ms. Stingray for permission to quote from her translation.
67. The authors are indebted to Irina Rabinovich for the translation of this song.
68. This song is included on *Red Wave*, produced by Joanna Stingray in 1986.
69. Translated from Latvian by Sergei Zamascikov, from the album *Vel ir Laiks*, released in Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany, in 1984.
70. Quoted in Dusko Doder, *Shadows and Whispers: Power Politics inside the Kremlin from Brezhnev to Gorbachev* (New York: Random House, 1986), p. 226.
71. Michael R. Benson, "Rock in Russia," *Rolling Stone*, March 26, 1987, p. 20.
72. *Sovetskaia molodezh*, April 11, 1987.
73. Interview with Sasha Lehrmann, lead singer of Winds of Change 1967-70 and member of Happy Guys 1972-75, by Pedro Ramet, New Haven, Connecticut, February 28, 1987.
74. After a few years the songwriter returned to the USSR, but the songs in question remained under ban. Interview with Rein Rannap, keyboard player for Raja 1971-84, by Pedro Ramet, Rome, June 9, 1987.
75. Interview with Sasha Lehrmann, February 28, 1987.
76. *Sovetskaia molodezh*, July 18, 1987.
77. Regarding Siabry, see interview in *Sel'mashevets* (Gomel), July 29, 1983.
78. Russian nationalists, for example, have never liked rock music; they strongly protested any use of folk melodies in rock music. See, for example, Doronin and Lisenkov, "Chto proku ot 'roka'."
79. *U.S. News & World Report*, December 15, 1986, p. 68.

80. *New York Times*, October 31, 1986.
81. *New York Times*, January 9, 1987.
82. *Pravda*, May 31, 1986; and *New York Times*, May 31, 1986.
83. *Noorte Haal* (Tallinn), May 11, 1986, quoted in Toomas Ilves, "Youth Trends: Breakdancing in, Heavy Metal in Trouble," *Radio Free Europe Research Bulletin*, August 29, 1986, p. 6. See also Vadim Kiryukhin, "Breik umer! Da zdravstruet breik!" *Ogonek*, no. 43 (October 25-November 1, 1986), pp. 19-21.
84. Interview with Joanna Stingray, rock singer and promoter, by Pedro Ramet, Los Angeles, May 7, 1987.
85. Toomas Ilves, "Punks, Drugs, and Violence," *Radio Free Europe Research Bulletin*, January 27, 1986, p. 12.
86. *Pravda*, February 10, 1986, summarized in "The USSR This Week," *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, February 14, 1986, p. 4.
87. See Bill Keller, "Russia's Restless Youth," *New York Times Magazine*, July 26, 1987, pp. 14-15.
88. *Los Angeles Times*, July 5 and 8, 1987; and *Washington Post*, July 5, 1987.
89. See Artur Gasparyan, "Rock Music: The Prognosis for Tomorrow," *Smena* (Moscow), no 13 (July 1986), p. 25.
90. See B. L. Prozorov, *Ideologicheskaiia diversiiia protiv Sovetskoi molodezhi* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1986); and the publication of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol, *Ideologicheskaiia bor'ba i molodezh* (Kiev: Molod, 1986), pp. 79-81.
91. *New York Times*, January 9, 1987.
92. See interview with Gennadii Gladkov in *Smena* (Moscow), 1986, no. 15.
93. *Wall Street Journal*, August 19, 1987.
94. See Rokotov, "Govori!", p. 85. In a recent article, the author cites a Soviet teenager's complaint that her father is playing Led Zepellin all the time. See E. Fedorov, "Posleslovie" [Afterward], *Smena* (Moscow) 1987, no. 2, p. 24.
95. Quoted in Benson, "Rock in Russia," p. 144.