Art on the line

Article

Juvenile delinquency and art in *Amerika*

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Abstract

The period between 1956 and 1962 was undoubtedly one of the most intense of the early Cold War era. It was also during this time that both the United States and the Soviet Union most explicitly deployed and exploited cultural activity as a key component in the Cold War battle for hearts and minds. It has often been assumed that, with the exception of isolated events such as the staging of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959, the United States had little opportunity to promote its cultural policies directly and legitimately within the Soviet Union itself. However, little attention has so far been paid to the Russian language journal *Amerika*, produced in the United States under the auspices of the USIA and distributed in Moscow to a Soviet readership. This article examines the ways in which coverage of the visual arts in *Amerika* contributed to the promotion of American cultural values within the Soviet Union. It identifies several key factors relating to this coverage including: the plurality of artistic styles promoted; the specific emphasis upon artist immigrants to the United States; the promotion of experimentalism and rebellion as core values for all artists; and the strategy aimed at encouraging Soviet youth to adopt Western cultural practices at precisely the time when faith in the older generation was potentially and politically at its most vulnerable in the Soviet Union.

The period 1956–62 was undoubtedly one of the most intense of the early Cold War era. Framed at one end by such cataclysmic events as Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in his famous 'secret speech' and the Soviet invasion of Hungary, and at the other by the brinkmanship deployed by both the USSR and the USA during the Cuban missile crisis, the sense of a world potentially staring down the barrel of a gun has rarely been so palpable. It was also during this period that culture was most explicitly highlighted and exploited as a key component in the Cold War battle for hearts and minds. Ever since the appearance of two articles published in the journal *Artforum* in the early 1970s, Max Kozloff's *American Painting During the Cold War* and Eva Cockcroft's *Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War,* debates regarding the relationship between cultural production and the international promotion of art by the United States govern-

ment have flourished.[1] These debates have focused extensively on Abstract Expressionism and have largely concerned the potential appropriation and promotion of Abstract Expressionist works by American financial institutions, operating with government support, as signifying a new form of cultural imperialism. Here much emphasis has been placed on the role of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) and, most notably, their jointly sponsored touring shows *Jackson Pollock 1912-1956* and *The New American Painting* (1958–59). More recently, many scholars have refuted some of the main assumptions made by the so-called 'revisionists', not least of all the notion that the rise to pre-eminence of Abstract Expressionism in the United States was, to a significant degree, founded upon its status as a politically expedient weapon in the cultural Cold War.[2] Many of these studies have been undertaken with the objective of reassigning significant value and meaning to Abstract Expressionism as a cultural practice. However, it has also been argued that the range of cultural work promoted, openly or covertly, by the United States government was, in fact, far broader than was originally proposed.[3] Indeed, Abstract Expressionism was but one of many styles promoted internationally by the USIA and the International Council during this period. Thus, it is argued, the presentation of Abstract Expressionism alongside a wide range of other cultural practices was designed far more to suggest the tolerance and diversity of American cultural policies, than to suggest the hegemony of this movement back home. Despite such criticisms there can be little doubt that the 'revisionist' interpretation of Abstract Expressionism's perceived role within post-war liberal ideology has paved the way not only for a reconsideration of the significance of Abstract Expressionism itself, but also for a further study of the political imperatives intrinsic in cultural exchange and promotion between the two super-powers at this historical juncture.

The vast majority of attention devoted to the activities of the USIA and the International Council has focused specifically upon western Europe as the key Cold War cultural battleground. The political fallout from Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 generated something of a crisis amongst the US leadership. Now the spectre of a more liberal Soviet Union pursuing a policy of 'peaceful co-existence' risked further destabilising already wavering support for the United States in Europe, not least of all amongst leftist intellectuals. Indeed, the USIA's increasing deployment of avant-garde culture during the later 1950s has been read as a strategic appeal to this very constituency.[4] However, whilst the status of western Europe as the key battleground of the cultural Cold War is undeniable, relatively little work has been done on the promotion of American culture in, as it were, the enemy's own backyard. It has often been assumed that the United States had little opportunity to promote its cultural policies, directly and legitimately, within the Soviet Union itself. However, the signing of a major cultural exchange treaty between the two superpowers in January 1958 served to open up the iron curtain and facilitate a number of cross-cultural activities. For example, both the film industries and the Academies of Science from both sides of the divide now developed significant exchange programmes. Numerous publications were distributed and cultural tours organised featuring such august bodies as the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra and the Bolshoi Ballet.[5] The most notable of events generated by the treaty was the staging of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959.

However, prior to this, another important means of disseminating information to a

specifically Soviet audience had been established; namely the Russian language journal *Amerika*, produced in the United States under the auspices of the USIA and distributed in Moscow to a Soviet readership.[6] In this article I want to examine in greater detail how coverage of the visual arts in *Amerika* contributed to the promotion of American cultural values within the Soviet Union. A focus on this particular journal has two factors in its favour. Firstly, it allows an examination of the presentation of the visual arts not as an isolated phenomenon, but as an integral element within a broad range of socio-cultural practices. Secondly, an analysis of articles edited and translated specifically for a Soviet audience can highlight particular foreign policy aims and the ways in which the visual arts could be co-opted to assist these aims. It should be stated from the outset that the USIA's presentation of the visual arts in *Amerika* conforms, in many respects, to its presentation of the visual arts more generally in Europe. However, as I hope to show, there were particular emphases within the pages of *Amerika* that sought to address a specifically Soviet readership. Firstly, in articles devoted to individual artists there was a notable emphasis on immigrants to the United States, and not least of all those born in either Russia or eastern Europe. Secondly, whilst these articles never advocated one particular style as dominant within American culture, experimentalism and rebellion were consistently posited as core values for all artists and thus deployed as a rallying cry to encourage Soviet artists to reject the authoritarianism of Socialist Realism. Yet perhaps one of the most important factors distinguishing *Amerika* from other USIA cultural campaigns in Europe was its perceived audience. *Amerika* made no pretensions to appeal to a specifically intellectual community. As a large-scale, illustrated magazine reporting on a wide range of social and cultural activities, it set out to attract a popular, mass readership particularly amongst the younger generation. However, as I shall argue, by the later 1950s the journal adopted a more interventionist strategy aimed specifically at encouraging Soviet youth to adopt Western cultural practices, not least of all support for so-called avant-garde art. Moreover, it aimed to target this audience at precisely a time when faith in the older generation was potentially and politically at its most vulnerable, namely in the more liberal atmosphere generated in the wake of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin.

Dissident voices

Before examining *Amerika* itself, it will first be necessary to highlight an important sociological development within the post-war Soviet Union; namely the emergence of a Soviet youth sub-culture. From as early as 1949 the Soviet press had begun to recognise this social phenomenon, labelling the rebellious participants as *stiliagi*, a Soviet equivalent of Teddy boys, or zoot-suiters.[7] In an article dated 10 March 1949 and entitled *Stiliaga*, the satirical journal *Krokodil* succinctly defined the perceived parasitic nature of such youths:

> Last summer I was walking through a field of rye with a farmer friend of mine. Then I noticed something standing out from amongst the mass of rye. It was a grain that stood taller and rocked more proudly than the others.
>
> 'Look', I said to the farmer, 'What a strong and beautiful grain. Perhaps it's a special kind?'
>
> The farmer tore down the grain pitilessly and handed it to me.
>
> 'Feel', he said, 'There's no kernel in this beautiful grain. This is a parasite. It thrives on the earth's moisture and all the other necessary nutrients for growth, but it makes no bread. It's known to us as hollow-grain. It's made up of beautiful colours, but it's degenerate. Such grains are often beautiful to look at, but inside there is only emptiness, they bear no fruit so we call them hollow-colours. And that is what this grain is.'

> 'It's a *stiliaga* grain', I exclaimed.
> Now it was the farmer's turn to be astonished.
> 'What did you say?'
> '*Stiliaga*', I repeated, and I told the farmer the following story.[8]

The author's subsequent tale formulated a definition of the *stiliagi* who, it claimed, could be identified by their non-conventional appearance (sharp, bright-coloured suits, long hair), their lack of interest in work (described as *bezdelnichestvo*, or idleness) and, most importantly, their love of Western society and its products. In response to the emergence of this counter culture, satirical cartoons appeared frequently in Soviet journals depicting *stiliagi* either dancing outrageously, or slumped over a table in a drunken stupor. Initially, the Soviet press attack focused predominantly on the misdeeds of children from families of wealthy high officials. Affluence and moral decline were specifically blamed for the lapsed aspiration of Soviet youth to participate in the building of communism.[9] To illustrate this over-indulgent parental failing, weak-willed and spoiling fathers were caricatured physically carrying their *stiliaga* sons like babies (figure 1).[10] Later, as shall be seen, Western influences were more stridently accredited with having corrupted Soviet youth.

Despite the early emergence of this youth sub-culture the notion of a generation gap, manifested as a disrespect of youth for the older generation, did not reach its apogee until after Khrushchev's 1956 'secret speech' denunciation of Stalin. Delivered in a closed session to the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the early hours of the morning of 25 February 1956, Khrushchev's speech belied its claimed 'secret' status with alarming rapidity. Within days, a copy of the speech was broadly disseminated amongst party officials nationwide, and one month later, it was read at factories, kolkhozes, universities and educational institutions; it was even read to upper school students aged 14–15 years and above. In response to Khrushchev's acknowledgement of a historical fissure, critical voices began to emerge in the Soviet press, most notably in the literary journal *Novyi Mir*. What was originally launched as a condemnation of one individual, Josif Stalin, soon took on the mantle of a disaffected youth movement. Stories emphasising how Soviet youths were rejecting the values of their parents' generation appeared in the pages of *Novyi Mir*, and for many, Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism became a battle cry for a change in social values. As Dina R Spechler explains in *Permitted Dissent in the USSR: Novy Mir and the Soviet Regime*, radicals amongst the Soviet youth considered that not just Stalin, but also Stalin's contemporaries:

> … constituted an indictment – in some cases a self-indictment – of an entire generation. The political immaturity, gullibility and cowardice they depicted were the signs of a specific age cohort: the men and women who had been adults, accountable for their actions in the 1930s and 1940s. If, as the moral humanists claimed, the young rejected the authority of this generation, if they sought to live by different standards, it was surely at least in part

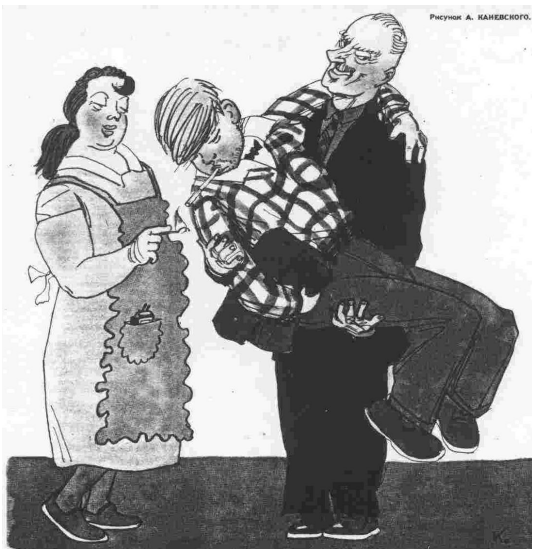

Figure 1 *Stilyaga* from *Krokodil* 20 December 1958: 5

> because they recognised that their fathers had been complicit in, and hence to a degree responsible for, the crimes of the Stalin era.[11]

Even under Khrushchev's more liberally inspired leadership, direct political protest was still a dangerous path to tread, although the threat now was more of losing an official post rather than liberty or life. Thus the machinations of the Soviet state still dictated that any criticism as such manifested itself in a number of guises. Initially, *Novyi Mir* published stories highlighting the problems of excessive bureaucratic control in industry.[12] These criticisms were frequently permitted as their fundamental aims were, ostensibly, the greater development of communism and increased productivity. However, another politically expedient mode of criticism developing from this was a questioning of the cultural hegemony of the communist party as formulated and decreed by the now deceased Andrei Zhdanov. Throughout the 1950s, Zhdanov's formulaic and prohibitive strictures came to be more and more criticised, and at times openly flouted. By 1958, groups of young Muscovites began to gather around the newly erected monument to Vladimir Maiakovskii on Gorkii Street, where they initiated poetry and music evenings. The growing popularity amongst the urban youth for the young poets Evgenii Evtushenko and Andrei Voznesenskii, and the guitar-poet Bulat Okhudzhava soon attracted the displeasure of some factions in the leadership. Yet significantly, there remained those within the party, not least of all Khrushchev himself, who valued the anti-Stalinist stance espoused by these youthful radicals as a weapon which could be used strategically against the still present pro-Stalinist opposition. The historical revisionism engendered in Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist policy inevitably raised other questions concerning representations of the past. When *Novyi Mir* commenced serialisation of Ilia Ehrenburg's memoirs in 1960, the thorny issue of artists relegated to the vaults of Soviet museums or excluded from official histories was given a public airing. Ehrenburg, an unabashed pro-modernist who had spent much of his career living and working in western Europe as a foreign correspondent, used the publication of his memoirs as an opportunity to challenge the hegemony of Socialist Realism. More importantly he drew specific attention to countless European modernist artists, many of whom he had personally known. Ehrenburg's text was clearly directed at supporters of youthful rebellion. Having already been the successful organiser of the 1956–57 Picasso exhibitions in Moscow and Leningrad, Ehrenburg was more than aware of the positive response of the younger generation both to this show, and to Western modernism in general. The impact of the Picasso exhibition in Moscow upon the younger generation was later recalled by a young Soviet painter, Vladimir Slepian, in an article notably entitled *The Young vs the Old*:

> During two weeks in the Pushkin Museum from early morning until closing time, a gigantic line of people waited outside and the militia was compelled to admit people in small groups, because the lucky ones who got into the exhibit did not want to leave and there was no vacant space in the halls. Every day at the exhibition I met outstanding writers, musicians, scientists, actors and painters. But the most numerous spectators were young people who, excited by the discovery of a personal and revolutionary art, filled the hall from morning till evening. Right there, in the halls, discussions were held on such subjects as aesthetics, trends in painting, and the status of Soviet art...After the exhibit closed in Moscow, young students on their own initiative organised discussions about Picasso and about modern art in general.[13]

There can be little doubt that Picasso's communist credentials played a major part in the Soviet leadership's approval of the staging of

this exhibition. However, the popularity of the artist amongst Soviet youth clearly had little to do with his political sympathies.

By the late 1950s, the *stiliagi*'s love of Western culture had infected urban youth in epidemic proportions. The *Komsomol*, or Soviet Youth League, theoretically responsible for the inculcation of Soviet ideals amongst the youth generation, now acknowledged this situation to be a major sociological problem, especially as pro-communist reactionaries, often from within the *Komsomol* movement itself, began to adopt extreme forms of anti-Western sentiment. Violent responses to the spread of so-called *stiliagi* attire erupted on the urban streets of the Soviet Union, attacks that frequently resulted in little more than fashion vigilantism. The following extract, from a report published in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, recounts one of numerous incidents that occurred in light of this problem:

> Recently we received a letter from Ulyanovsk that deserves special mention. It was written by aerial navigator S I Nagornov. He informed us indignantly that three young workers, Igor Shubin, Vyacheslav Pilipenko and Vladimir Markin, who live next door to him, were detained in the park by a YCL (*Komsomol*) patrol with the help of the militia because they 'looked like *stiliagi*'. They were taken to the YCL headquarters, where two were given haircuts, one had his shirt removed, and all three were insulted.
>
> Were these young people acting like hooligans? They were not. Their only crime was that their trousers were narrower than 'the norm' and that one was wearing a cowboy shirt with an odd design on it.
>
> We looked into this story in detail. We learned that the fellows had bought their trousers in the Ulyanovsk Department Store; so if the Ulyanovsk militia assistance brigade members felt that the width of the trouser legs was such an important problem they should have addressed their complaints not to those who had bought the pants, but to the people who manufactured them. It is true that the cowboy shirt was odd and in poor taste. It had not been bought anywhere but had been sewn, judging from all indications, from some sort of coarse material used for upholstering sofas. But is that really reason to stop a person in the street and insult him?
>
> 'It was not just a question of their clothes', the comrades from the city YCL committee said by way of justification. 'There was something wrong about the way they were acting. They're not stiliagi yet, but they might become stiliagi.'14

In response to the popular perception, both from within and without, that the *Komsomol* had lost touch with contemporary youth, *Komsomolskaia Pravda* launched a major youth opinion poll in January 1961 entitled *What Do You Think of Your Generation?* Although the questionnaire published was undoubtedly weighted to gain a positive response, the opportunity was nonetheless provided for criticism of Soviet youth. Based on 19,000 replies received over a twenty-day period the poll concluded, not unsurprisingly, that Soviet youth was strong, united and a generation of whom the nation could be proud. Problems were acknowledged. Drunkenness and worship of Western styles, both traits ascribed as central to the manifestation of the *stiliagi*, topped the poll but were here presented with the underlying aim of putting them in an implied perspective. *Stiliagi*, it was suggested, were certainly present, but statistically insignificant, and youth itself was striving to eradicate such problems.

Yet, if on the one hand the *Komsomol* was striving to reassure the public that a perceived miscreant fascination with Western culture was but an eccentricity confined to a minority of unrepresentative Soviet youth, on the other, its actions suggested a far greater concern about the omnipresence of this very phenomenon. During 1961, whilst *Komsomolskaia Pravda* was publishing the

findings of its youth poll, the organisation finally gained acceptance, after a long period of negotiation, for the opening of two new youth cafés in central Moscow; the *Molodezhnoe* just off Gorkii St, and the *Aelita* on Karetnyi Riad. The delay in implementing this plan was, in itself, a tacit acknowledgement of how this departure was perceived as a concession to youth taste. These cafés constituted officially recognised arenas for youth to gather, where jazz was played, young poets collected and recited their writings, and the walls were adorned with works by artists commonly operating outside the strictures of Socialist Realism. The popularity of these two cafés was soon legion, and many more such arenas were introduced in urban centres throughout the Soviet Union; these included the *Belyi Nochi* (White Nights) café in Leningrad, the *Allegro* in Riga, the *Mriia* (Dream) café in Kiev, and the *Integral* at Akademgorodok (a research town situated just outside Novosibirsk). The *Komsomol's* participation in encouraging support for modern jazz, poetry and art amongst the Soviet youth, whilst acknowledging the widespread presence of Western cultural interests, was simultaneously an attempt to co-opt youth culture for the state in order to entice supporters of Western culture back into the fold. It might have been jazz that was played at these cafés, and modern art hung on the walls, but at least both were the product of Soviet musicians and artists rather than Western imports.[15]

Intervening voices

Clearly analysts in the United States were not unappreciative of the political mileage to be gained by this turn of events. News of the disaffected Soviet youth appeared regularly in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, an English language journal published weekly in the United States providing translations of a selection of stories gleaned from the pages of various Soviet journals. These articles subsequently formed the backbone of Western press responses. To take one example; as early as April 1956, Jack Raymond of the *New York Times* reported on the connections between American culture and Soviet youth rebellion. In an article entitled *Leningrad Curbs Zealots of Jazz – Youth Patrols Roam City to Keep Zoot-Suiters Out of Time with the West*, Raymond reiterated some of the defining features of the *stiliagi*, although here in a notably sympathetic tone:

> Dancing in restaurants and similar gathering places has been prohibited in Leningrad for the last two years chiefly as a measure against '*stiliagi*'.
>
> Stiliagi are the Soviet version of the zoot-suiter, whose additional infraction of accepted behavior is a desire for all things Western…According to one resident here, most *stiliagi* have been routed.
>
> However, they continue to appear in streets and even in restaurants where jazz is played. For example, in the dining room of a big hotel here last night a Young Communist League patrol was observed in action.
>
> Two young men wearing red badges of the Communist organization approached the table of two other young men and asked them to leave. The two young diners were slightly tipsy, but their breach apparently had been to rock their heads in time with the orchestra music … *Stiliagi* are not quite hoodlums or hooligans as the Russians call them, and cannot normally be dealt with as criminals. But they have caused difficult social problems for Communist leaders.
>
> They wear suits of bright colors with narrow trouser cuffs. They wear their hair in what is known as Tarzan fashion – long to the base of the neck …
>
> Since they cannot gather at restaurants here, they get together at homes, or at their factory club rooms and dance. Some have picked up Western music on their recorders.
> If you go to where *stiliagi* gather, you will hear Louis Armstrong and Bing Crosby sing songs like 'Oh Susanna' and 'Stranger in Paradise'.

> Last night at the hotel dining room, the orchestra inspired the two *stiliagi* guests with renditions of 'I Don't Know Why?' and 'The Anniversary Song'.[16]

The political significance of such events was not lost on the USIA. As early as 1954, the American ambassador in Moscow, Charles E Bohlen, had highlighted the value of cultural intervention. Identifying the potential of jazz as a cultural weapon, Bohlen approached Washington with the idea of introducing a jazz broadcast into the USIA run *Voice of America* schedule.[17] The following year Music USA, a jazz programme presented by disc jockey Willis Conover, started transmission.[18] Music USA contrasted with other *Voice of America* broadcasts in that it appeared ostensibly to be concerned solely with entertainment; any reference to politics was strictly avoided. Describing the success of Music USA, the *New York Times* stated:

> Nothing quite like it has happened before at the 'Voice'. Until 'Music USA' plunged it into global entertainment it was mostly non-musical. The political analysts were not deemed in need of assistance from the likes of Dizzy Gillespie and Benny Goodman. Jazz was not thought in keeping with the dignity of America's voice.
>
> But the Voice's program manager, Gene King, was once a disk jockey, and his right hand man, John Wiggen, was formerly a music expert for the National Broadcasting Company. They thought the Voice was acting a bit stuffy, and they invented 'Music USA' as an experimental program beamed from the agency's Tangier transmitter in the direction of Scandinavia.[19]

Yet simple entertainment was scarcely the only priority of a programme sponsored by the USIA. On November 6 1955, the *New York Times* implied a far greater political significance both to jazz music in general, and to Music USA specifically. Adopting unmistakably militaristic language, the *New York Times* published a front-page story entitled, *United States Has Secret Sonic Weapon – Jazz*. The sub-heading conveyed the impact of the deployment of this new weapon; *Europe Falls Captive as Crowds Riot to Hear Dixieland*. The accompanying photograph furthered this aggressive stance, situating the viewer staring down the barrel of Louis Armstrong's trumpet as one would the barrel of a gun. The text read:

> America's secret weapon is a blue note in a minor key. Right now its most effective ambassador is Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong. A telling propaganda line is the hopped-up tempo of a Dixieland band heard on the *Voice of America* in far-off Tangier.
>
> This is not a pipedream from a backroom jam session. It is the studied conclusion of a handful of thoughtful Americans from Moscow to Madrid.
>
> Somewhere in the official files of one of Washington's myriad agencies all of this has been spelled out.[20]

Whilst Music USA was ostensibly directed at a European audience the USIA was clearly aware of its potential impact within the Soviet Union itself.[21] Indeed many contemporary political commentators extolled the virtues of utilising American culture more broadly as a Cold War weapon in precisely this way. Allen Kassof, for example, writing in *Problems of Communism* in 1957, identified the *stiliagi*'s positive response to foreign culture as 'a measure of their disillusionment over things at home'.[22] From here it was but a small step to recognise this disillusionment as a potentially revolutionary threat against the Soviet regime itself. Kassof continued:

> Today's idlers are not old kulaks who can be disposed of when they resist the regime's policy: they are tomorrow's adults. If … the regime fails to maintain a grip over the attitudes and aspirations of its young people, then a crucial threat is posed to Soviet Totalitarianism precisely by reducing its totality of control.[23]

Kassof concluded that the problems generated by a disaffected Soviet youth '… could be only the first signs of a domestic threat as potentially grave as any the Soviet system has faced.'[24] The potential rewards of deploying jazz and modern art to encourage such Soviet youth dissidence appeared great indeed.

Selling *Amerika*

It is in light of such developments that an analysis of the USIA journal *Amerika* becomes particularly significant. Originally published in the post-war Stalinist period but discontinued in 1952, *Amerika* was reintroduced in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 'secret speech', its first new edition appearing towards the end of that year. The USIA utilised a large format for *Amerika* broadly basing its design layout upon the popular American weekly magazine *Life*.[25] Well illustrated with many full colour photographs, it presented a wide range of aspects of American life, emphasising a positive, upbeat image of American scientific developments, social welfare and cultural activities. Articles extolling the technological advancements in industry and agriculture aimed to promote the successes of democratic capitalism and emphasised improved working conditions and standards of living throughout the country.[26] Typical individuals or families were frequently presented with the aim of showing the relative comforts available to American citizens in distinction to their Soviet counterparts. Consumerism featured heavily in the journal with numerous articles dedicated to department stores, home furnishings and automobiles, often accompanied by prices listed in both dollars and roubles.[27] Social welfare was particularly emphasised, with many articles focusing on medical breakthroughs and innovative educational policies.[28] Leisure activities also took up a good deal of space in the pages of *Amerika*. Sport was frequently represented, and here international sports were juxtaposed with specifically American sports such as baseball, basketball and grid-iron football.[29] Music and the visual arts were also given much priority as were illustrated articles addressing fashion and youth culture.

The USIA claimed that *Amerika* offered the Soviet Union an impression of typical American life. Thomas C Sorensen, a member of the foreign information programme of the USIA, even claimed that *Amerika* contained, 'no political propaganda as such, concentrating on straightforward presentations of US cities, schools, farms, factories and homes, with emphasis on progress in science, medicine, education and culture'.[30]

Initially, *Amerika* focused predominantly on a descriptive presentation of information dominated by facts and figures. The choice of content was inevitably selective, with the aim of showing the United States in the best possible light, and seemed to follow the simple, but not necessarily logical, thesis as suggested by Oren Stephens in 1955 that, 'if other people understood us, they would like us, and if they liked us, they would do what we wanted them to do'.[31] Yet a closer study of the various articles in the journal reveals a gradual shift in emphasis noticeable around mid 1959. Recognising the need for a more dynamic and interventionist policy, the journal adopted a new strategy, actively encouraging the participation of Soviet citizens, and particularly the youth generation, in Western social and cultural practices. The fashion pages, for example, not only regularly illustrated the latest look, but also promoted the making and wearing of Western outfits by reproducing manufacturing patterns.[32] In sport, coverage of basketball went beyond a description of the game to include illustrated guides, in the format of coaching manuals, on such subjects as *How to score points in Basketball*.[33] Music came in for a similar interventionist treatment. Many articles, covering a wide range of styles from traditional folk music to popular American musicals, were accompanied by printed sheet music

often with lyrics in both the original English and a Russian translation, thus encouraging the adoption of Western tunes by Soviet musicians, amateur and professional alike.[34] Responding to the growing popularity of jazz amongst the Soviet youth, *Amerika* included a wide selection of articles about individual jazz musicians, descriptions of specific styles and reports of events.[35]

Art in *Amerika*

Modern art received a similarly broad coverage, and had an equally strong resonance for the youth generation. The popularity amongst the Soviet youth of the Picasso exhibitions had highlighted a love of modern art and youthful dissent as inter-related phenomena. The first major showing of a broad range of abstract works in Moscow the following year, staged as part of the Sixth World Festival of Youth and Students, served to confirm this association in many peoples' minds. Here, process as well as product was put on display, most notably through the performances of American artist Garry Colman who produced Pollock-style 'drip' paintings in front of enthusiastic Soviet youth audiences in a specially built studio at the Sokolniki Park site.[36] The inclusion of works by Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Robert Motherwell and Willem de Kooning at the 1959 American National Exhibition, the launch event for the recently signed cultural exchange programme between the Soviet Union and the United States, furthered the sense of an American cultural invasion. The Soviet press responses to these shows were highly critical of most non-realist works, variously claiming them to be irrelevant to the realities of peoples' lives, self-obsessed, and even downright monotonous.[37] However, it was also clear that the younger generation were seen as potentially the most vulnerable to this onslaught. This is particularly revealed in an article appearing in *Komsomolskaia Pravda* in September 1960. The article recounted a tale of how a seemingly innocent interest in modern art amongst Soviet youth could be exploited by sinister enemies of the state:

> Here is one sad story. It began in the Hermitage. Three young people – a student in a Leningrad Higher Educational Institution, his brother and a comrade – talked in a loud voice about modern painting, making disrespectful remarks about old masters. They were approached by a foreigner. He introduced himself in Russian as a tourist and an art lover. They started talking about the latest trends in painting and sculpture in the West. Seeing the young peoples' interest, the foreigner began to talk at length about American expressionism and promised to get reproductions of several works. That is how they became acquainted.
>
> The foreigner asked his new acquaintances to be his guide through the city. No, he did not try to recruit them as spies and did not talk about his hatred of the Soviet Union. All he did was to probe cautiously, in conversations that skipped from art to politics and from politics to art, for the opinions of his new acquaintances, and sensing their dissatisfaction with the fact that we have no abstract artists or extravagant jazz and that rock 'n' roll is not being danced here, told them in a casual way about the 'advantages' of Western democracy and freedom. As the guests were leaving he asked the students' permission to give their addresses to a friend of his. They had not the slightest inkling at that time that they were dealing with foreign intelligence agents.
>
> The friend of the 'art lover' brought the brothers American magazines and books with contents hostile to us. Following him, more and more new foreigners, all speaking excellent Russian, began appearing in the home of the brothers X … The villainous bog towards which the 'art lover' had paved the first footsteps was sucking in the young people deeper and deeper.[38]

The conspiratorial nature of this tale was dra-

matically over-simplified, with good and evil presented in a quasi-Faustian mode. Yet the details themselves warrant a closer examination. *Komsomolskaia Pravda's* 'art lover' could here be interpreted not literally, but as a metaphor for the pervasive and influential spread of Western information amongst the Soviet youth. *Amerika* in particular, spoke to its readers 'in excellent Russian', and did not 'recruit spies', nor 'talk of hatred of the Soviet Union'. It did, however, suggest the 'advantages' of freedom and democracy by reference to art, music and dance, supplied reproductions of Western art works, encouraged the reading of American magazines and slowly and surely promoted Soviet participation in Western cultural practices. It even had its very own personification of an 'art lover'. In late 1960, an article appeared in *Amerika* entitled *They Are Deep in Thought – Intellectual Ability: the Most Powerful Weapon in Human Hands*.[39] Adopting the familiar militaristic language and self-congratulatory mode typical of the journal, this article strove to unify the efforts of agriculture, industry, social welfare, science and culture under one theme; the ability to reason. A combination of both anonymous and prominent individuals was here presented in a series of photographs intended to characterise a cross-section of American achievements. The visual arts were notably represented by a critic examining an example of twentieth century sculpture. The individual concerned was none other than Alfred H Barr, founding director of MoMA in New York and at this point a key player in the museum's international activities. Barr was shown contemplating Brancusi's famous sculpture, *Mme Pogany*, from MoMA's own collection.

Alfred H Barr was presented to readers of *Amerika* as a significant intermediary between modern art in the West and its Soviet audience.[40] In many respects, Barr was the obvious choice to spearhead the USIA's campaign to promote modernism in the Soviet Union. Academically, his personal experiences and first-hand knowledge of Russian avant-garde artists had already earned him a reputation in the West as an acknowledged expert on Soviet culture. Barr's political credentials also made him the ideal spokesman for pro-American and anti-communist sentiment in cultural matters both at home and abroad. Barr's recognition of the political value of cultural promotion was certainly in line with the thinking of many of Washington's foreign policy strategists. As early as September 1951, for instance, Congressman John J Rooney had praised a report by two staff members from the Bureau of the Budget which stated:

> The objectives of so-called information and cultural activities are the same; no cultural activity is presently being continued which does not, through its own methods, encourage the unity and strengthening of the free world, or expose the evils of communism...Culture for culture's sake has no place in the United States Information and Education Exchange Program. The value of international cultural interchange is to win respect for the cultural achievements of our free society, where that respect is necessary to inspire co-operation with us in world affairs. In such a situation cultural activities are an indispensable tool of propaganda.[41]

Where Barr and members of the USIA were initially in disagreement however, was on the question of what specific artistic content would most effectively serve foreign policy goals. In 1952, Barr had attacked the claims of American right-wing politicians that modern art was little more than 'a subversive instrument of the Kremlin'.[42] Further, he identified the pursuance of an anti-modern cultural agenda as a strategic threat to foreign policy goals. In 1956 he even accused the USIA of having 'generally attempted to exclude not only the work of certain artists associated with subversion, but also abstract art in general'.[43] Indeed an examination of articles published in *Amerika* from 1956 right

up to mid 1959 confirms this view. During this period, *Amerika*'s art coverage fell broadly into two categories: the first promoted specific American painters of the early twentieth century, including George Bellows, Charles Demuth, Walt Kuhn and Edward Hopper; the second focused on the wealth of American and European art on display in collections such as the National Gallery in Washington, the Detroit Art Institute, and the Worcester Museum in Massachusetts.[44] These articles followed the broadly descriptive nature of the first stage of the journal outlined above. However, by mid 1959, a shift in emphasis began to emerge which coincided with the overall development of the journal from a descriptive to an interventionist mode.

In the summer of that year, and coinciding with the staging of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, *Amerika* published the first in a series of articles specifically addressing MoMA in New York. A major function of these articles was to present contemporary art, and particularly abstraction, to a Soviet audience. Thus the works of artists such as David Smith, Alexander Calder, Arshile Gorky and Jackson Pollock were both discussed and widely illustrated. However, it is important to point out that at no time were these more extreme examples of modernist experimentation shown in isolation. Rather they were usually placed amongst a broad array of styles, including more conventional, figurative works, specifically to emphasise the diversity of American culture rather than to promote one form of practice. As one article, discussing MoMA's sculpture collection, claimed, 'the museum has fought ceaselessly for the rights of sculptors to create for themselves whatever they wish, be it in the classical style of Aristide Maillol, or in modern abstract forms'.[45] This importance of both tolerance and diversity was also articulated in an article written by Barr and published in *Amerika* in the autumn of 1961. In *From Gauguin to Pollock*, Barr explicitly claimed to present a diverse range of styles to its Soviet audience, thus reinforcing the pluralism of both the International Council and the USIA's cultural programme and claiming freedom of expression as central to American liberal values. Barr also advocated the need for diversity in contemporary practices:

> In our exceptionally varied and ever-changing world art cannot be one-dimensional. Two pictures, completed on one and the same day, in the same city, might have nothing in common save the date of their production and their rectangular canvas format. One might be a fresh attempt to re-open the past…the other a bold foray into a new movement. Frequently these pictures might represent opposite poles of art, and the producers and their supporters hold each other in profound contempt. However, if both canvases are brilliantly executed they will, it is hoped, find a place in the museum's collection, irrespective of whether they were produced in the United States or in any other corner of this ever-changing world.[46]

The very diversity that Barr espoused, however, was notably confined to the kind of works that formed the core of MoMA's own collection. Thus, if the abstractions of Kandinskii, Mondrian and Pollock stood at one end of the spectrum the other, Barr claimed, was inhabited by the figurative works of Fernand Léger, Max Beckmann and José Clement Orozco. Other forms of realism, and most notably Soviet style Socialist Realism, did not even qualify as art at all. *From Gauguin to Pollock* notably excluded the Soviet avant-garde, though it is highly unlikely that the Soviet authorities would have countenanced releasing a journal that reproduced works by such out of favour artists. However, the inclusion of both Marc Chagall and Vasilii Kandinskii to a readership aware of the role of the Soviet Union in the development of abstract painting but unable to see any works first hand in Soviet museums, served further to highlight the notional

tolerance of United States cultural policies in contrast to those of the Soviet Union.

It is also worth noting that the MoMA articles published in *Amerika* specifically sought to counter Soviet claims that modern art was élitist. For instance, the emphasis in a 1960 article entitled *A Mecca of Modern Art; the Museum on Fifty-Third Street* was not on the collection itself, but rather on the breadth of popular appreciation and practice of modern art generated by the museum. MoMA's financial self-sufficiency and broad membership (25,000 members were recorded as paying $18 per year) was emphasised as evidence of this popularity.[47] To justify further this claim, the article was accompanied by a series of photographs showing a large and diverse public admiring works in the museum (figure 2). Popular participation within the practice of modern art was also demonstrated by reference to the museum's education policy. Here, the link between modern art and the younger, future generation was again much in evidence. Eight hundred children were reported as participating in the museum's education programme which was

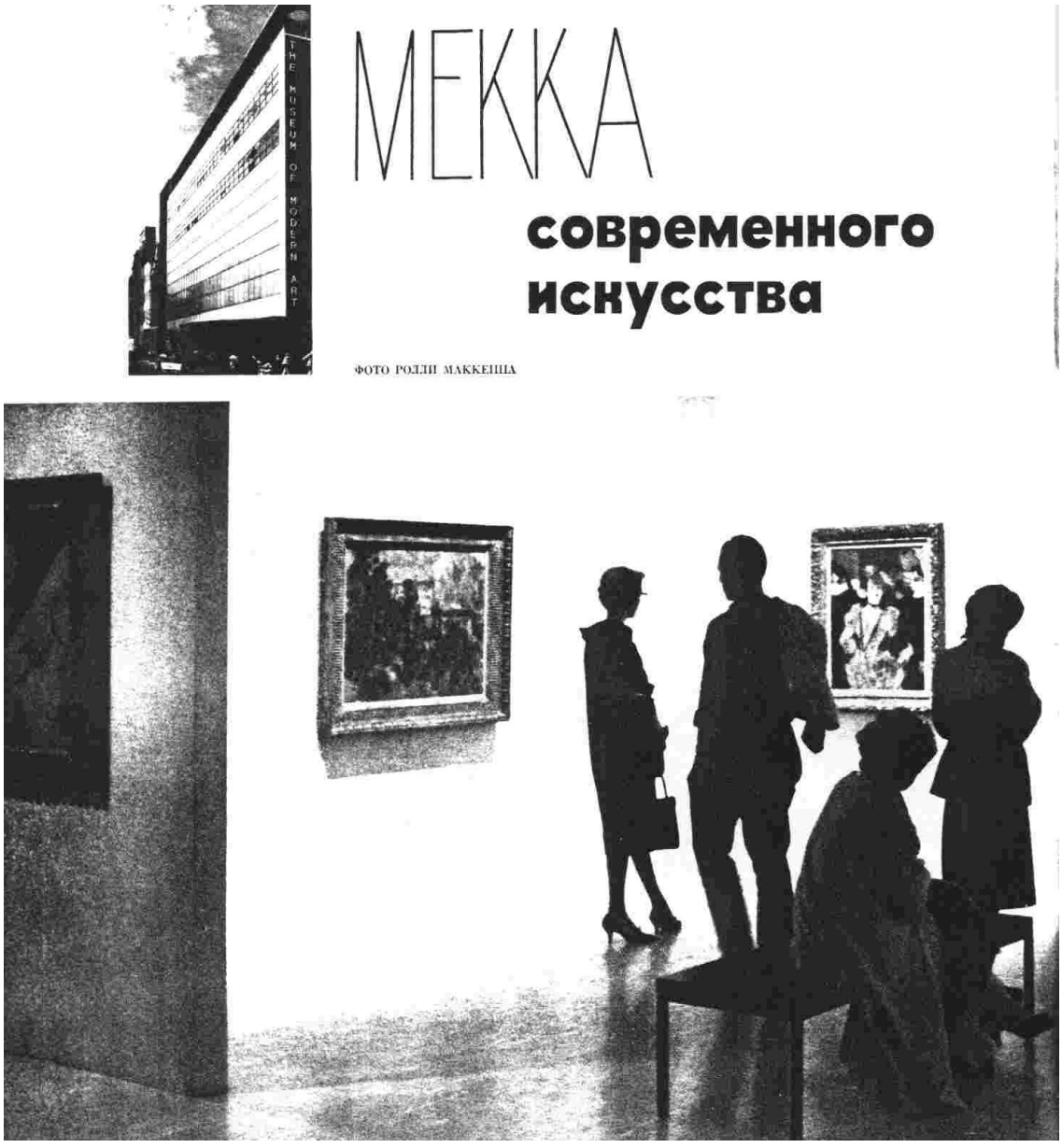

Figure 2 'A Mecca of Modern Art: The Museum on Fifty Third Street'. A page from *Amerika* (44) 1960: 56

specifically designed to emphasise experimentation and individualistic self-expression over formal training. This participation was also reflected in the accompanying photographs which included: a young girl admiring a Lipchitz sculpture in the museum's sculpture garden; a small boy making decorations for the annual Christmas carnival; a teenage girl producing a 'fascinating and original' abstract painting; and a group of children working around a table whilst being filmed for television. Popular and widespread participation in modern art practices, particularly amongst the younger generation, was here implied to be symbolic of Western democracy and freedom of expression.

It was perhaps in the coverage of individual artists, however, that the journal made its most explicit appeal to Soviet youth. Between 1956 and 1962 *Amerika* included, on average, one or two articles per year dedicated to individual artists. Unsurprisingly, in view of the journal's remit, these artists were exclusively of American nationality. During the first three years George Bellows, Charles Demuth, Walt Kuhn and Edward Hopper were amongst those included. Towards the end of 1959, however, an increasing emphasis was placed upon immigrant artists, not least of all those born in Russia. These notably included Ben Shahn, William Zorach and Alexander Arkhipenko.[48] The promotion of Shahn and Zorach is perhaps most noteworthy. In the United States, both Shahn and Zorach had previously encountered significant political resistance when considered for inclusion in programmes promoting American culture abroad.[49] This opposition had little to do with their styles as both were, broadly speaking, figurative artists. Rather, their alleged previous association with communism, and possibly even the fact that both had been born in the former Russian Empire, made Shahn and Zorach easy targets for McCarthy's anti-communist attacks. Notably, Barr had defended both artists by reference to their American nationality, presumably to appease the pro-nationalist sentiments of his right-wing opponents. In *Amerika*, however, both artists' Russian birth was strategically highlighted. Here the USIA recognised the potential for a degree of self-identification between reader and subject, conflating a notional Slavic nationality in Shahn and Zorach with contemporary cultural practices in the United States. Both artists were described in a conventional 'rags to riches' biographical mode, thus implying a potentially rewarding future for those young Soviet artists who might choose to follow this model. Further, *Amerika* particularly emphasised how the success of both artists was founded explicitly upon the tolerance and diversity of art practices in the United States. Zorach was described as having finally arrived at his own personal style only after having worked in a number of modern idioms such as fauvism and cubism.[50] With Shahn, the focus was more emphatically on the artist's declaration that rebellion was essential to worthwhile artistic production. Republishing an edited version of Shahn's 1957 Harvard lecture *On Non-conformity*, under the title *Against the Current*, *Amerika* quoted Shahn's claim that, '… all art is based on non-conformity … and that every great historical change has been based upon non-conformity, has been bought either with the blood or with the reputation of non-conformists'.[51] Shahn further claimed, '… to create anything at all in any field, and especially anything of outstanding worth, requires non-conformity, or a want of satisfaction with things as they are'.[52] Shahn's text reconstructed a notional history of great individual artists all of whom, he claimed, had achieved their greatness by rebelling against the conventions of their day. Whilst such clichés were part and parcel of modernist perceptions of the artist at this time, the clear inference of Shahn's argument, in the context of its edited republication for a Soviet readership, was that a rejection of conformity to Soviet cultural strictures was a necessary

corollary to worthwhile artistic production.

Both Shahn and Zorach were still in their infancy when their families immigrated to the United States. Arkhipenko, however, was already in his mid-thirties when he arrived in New York in 1923. 'Where there is diversity, there is life' declares Arkhipenko as the opening quotation in a brief, but well illustrated article published in *Amerika* in late 1961. Invention and experimentation are highlighted as the cornerstones of a highly successful career for an artist who has spent the best part of 40 years living and working in his adoptive New York. In light of the USIA's awareness of discontent amongst the Soviet youth at this time, the political expediency of focusing upon Shahn, Zorach and Arkhipenko in *Amerika* can scarcely be perceived as a happy coincidence. Whilst these artists did not carry the dissident weight of writers such as Boris Pasternak, they nonetheless suggested themselves as role models for the younger generation. In this context, fame and fortune clearly awaited the experimental artist in the United States, whatever his, and in this case the gender restriction is appropriate, nationality.

Ultimately, *Amerika*'s presentation of the visual arts must be regarded as a significant factor in the expansion of interest in, and practice of, avant-garde art in the Soviet Union between 1956 and 1962. Simultaneously, the role played by Alfred H Barr and MoMA in the pages of *Amerika* must also be seen as an integral element of a cultural policy that forged a specifically pro-modernist identity within a framework of cultural diversity aimed at encouraging Soviet youth to reject Socialist Realism and adopt Western cultural styles at a time when sociological developments made them most susceptible to that precise message. None of this is to claim that the impact of Western culture on the Soviet Union stemmed from this source alone. Indeed a multitude of forms of official and unofficial information dissemination, ranging from radio broadcasts, movies, books, journals and newspapers, right down to the personal exchange of information via visitors or tourists, contributed to the growing awareness of Western practices amongst Soviet youth. Nor is it to suggest that Soviet dissident artists emerging at this time slavishly followed Western styles or trends in art. Whilst there is ample evidence to suggest that the USIA's cultural promotion policies drew the considerable attention of young Soviet artists to Western culture, these artists also interacted with a multitude of local concerns and issues to generate new art forms far more dependent upon Russian and Soviet historical contingencies than they were upon the cultural practices promoted from without. Nonetheless, *Amerika* played its part as one component within a broader political programme designed to woo Soviet youth into a greater acceptance of Western, and a rejection of Soviet, cultural values. By the end of 1962 the Soviet Union was finally forced to adopt desperate measures to try to curtail its perceived loss of control over its own cultural policy. On 1 December that year, beleaguered by oppositional criticism over his strategic backdown in the Cuban missile crisis, Khrushchev finally relinquished any notional reputation he still held as a liberal in cultural matters, and vociferously rejected Soviet modernism in an obviously stage-managed outburst at the exhibition *Thirty Years of Moscow Art*. That occasion, subsequently recorded as the Manezh Affair, served ironically to open a new chapter in Soviet cultural dissidence. The rest of the story, like the Soviet Union itself is, as they say, history.

1 Kozloff, M, 'American Painting During the Cold War', *Artforum* XI (9), 1973: 43–54, and Cockcroft, E, 'Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War', *Artforum* XII (10), 1974: 39–41.

2 These have included: Craven, D, *Abstract Expressionism as Cultural Critique: Dissent During the McCarthy Period*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Jachec, N, *The Philosophy and Politics of Abstract Expressionism 1940–1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; and Leja, M, *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

3 See Kimmelman, M, 'Revisiting the Revisionists: The Modern, Its Critics and the Cold War' in Szarkowski, J & Elderfield, J, *The Museum of Modern Art at Mid-Century: At Home and Abroad, (Studies in Modern Art 4)*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1994: 38–56.
4 Jachec 2000.
5 See Parks, J D, *Culture, Conflict and Co-Existence: American-Soviet Relations, 1917–58*, North Carolina: McFarland, 1983: 172–173.
6 A reciprocal arrangement between the two governments allowed the Soviet Union to publish and distribute its own journal entitled USSR, for an American readership. Each nation was permitted to print and distribute 50,000 copies of each issue. See Peet, C, 'Russian "Amerika", a Magazine about U.S. for Soviet Citizens' in *College Art Journal*, 11 (1) Autumn 1951: 17-20.
7 The word *stiliaga*, plural, *stiliagi*, is a detrimental Russian neologism coined to describe this youth phenomenon. The word derives from the Russian *stil* meaning style, although here the connotations also imply extravagant display of fashion and manners.
8 Beliaev, D, '*Stiliaga*', *Krokodil* 10 March 1949: 10.
9 See 'Blight' in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, 19 November 1953: 3, translated in The *Current Digest of the Soviet Pres*s V (45) 23 December 1953: 6–8 and 'Once More About Blight' in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, 15 August 1956: 2, translated in The *Current Digest of the Soviet Pres*s VIII (33) 26 September 1956: 6–8.
10 *Krokodil*, 20 December 1958: 5. Allen Kassof also mentions having seen a similar poster displayed on a wall in Kiev in May 1956: '..which shows a young dandy supported in the arms of his balding and harassed father and wearing a wide-brimmed hat, striped socks, thick-soled shoes, loud necktie, and lazily puffing at a cigarette in a holder. The legend reads: "Edvard Falko, born in 1937, works nowhere, studies nowhere. Supported by his father N M Lvkovsky, Candidate of Medical Sciences, Head of the Department of Dermatology; and his mother, D M Voloshina, junior assistant at the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian Republic. He goes aimlessly through the city; his father will clothe him, his mother will feed him – they have brought up a specialist who cares not a fig for anything."' See Kassof, A, *The Soviet Youth Program: Regimentation and Rebellion*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965: 155. Clearly this form of presentation also implied a mockery of a quasi-religious devotion of parents towards their undeserving offspring by appropriating the iconography of the piéta.
11 Spechler, D R, *Permitted Dissent in the USSR: Novy Mir and the Soviet Regime*, New York: Praeger, 1982: 147. Following the title of Turgenev's 1862 novel, this issue was frequently referred to, both in the Soviet Union and abroad, as the 'Fathers and Sons' phenomenon.
12 See chapter one 'The Limits of Dissent' in Spechler, 1982.
13 Slepian, V, 'The Young vs. the Old' in *Problems of Communism*, May/June 1962: 57.
14 Pochivalov, L, 'Once More About "Stiliagi"' in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, 5 October 1958: 2–3, translated in *The Current Digest of the Soviet Pres*s, 10 December 1958: 12.
15 It is important to recognise that the history of jazz in the Soviet Union is one of a greater acceptance than is popularly reported. For a full discussion of the history of jazz in the Soviet Union see Starr, S F, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
16 *New York Times*, 1 April 1956: 15.
17 Starr, 1983: 243.
18 Music USA was first broadcast on 6 January 1955. The two-hour programme was split into two one-hour slots, the first presenting dance music and the second modern jazz. Interviews were frequently conducted with famous jazz musicians including Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington and Sarah Vaughn. The principal disc jockey, Willis Conover, although little known in his native America, soon acquired an international fame and a huge following in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.
19 *New York Times*, 13 November 1955: 84.
20 *New York Times*, 6 November 1955: 1.
21 *Voice of America* programmes were transmitted to Eastern Europe and the USSR from a strategically situated base in Tangier. This was to enable the sending of a suitably strong radio signal, capable of breaking through the Soviet signal jamming devices.
22 Kassof, A, 'Youth vs. the Regime: Conflict in Values' in *Problems of Communism* 3 (VI) 1957: 15–23.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 This large format certainly allowed the possibility of the illustrations in the journal being used as posters or wall decoration.
26 For example, whilst Khrushchev was confronting the dual problems of rebuilding suitable housing in Moscow, and simultaneously contending with the need for greater crop yields, *Amerika* published two articles in (3) 1956 that served, amongst countless other examples, to illustrate the greater industrial and agricultural prowess of the United States. These articles were; 'A Skyscraper's Walls Built in One Day', a photo-story showing how the walls of a tower block on Park Avenue, New York were completed in a period of just 10 hours; and a story entitled 'A Young Farmer Harvests 1,165 Poods (Approx 36lbs) of Corn from One Hectare of Land'.
27 'Examples of Cheap Furniture' showing home furnishings all of which were cheaper than $25, *Amerika* (4) 1957; 'Supermarkets – A New Era in Shopping' in (41) 1960 and 'The Automobile – Inside and Outside', *Amerika* (13) 1957.
28 Again, these types of article are too numerous to list in entirety. However, typical examples of articles addressing medical issues included 'The War on Polio', *Amerika* (4) 1957, and 'A Prosthetic Surgeon', *Amerika* (17) 1957. Articles on educational innovation included 'A School Where Children Learn the Science of Life', *Amerika* (3) 1956 and 'A School in the Open Air', *Amerika* (10) 1957.

29 This juxtaposition was seen early on. In *Amerika* (4) 1957, an article covering the 1956 Melbourne Olympics incongruously included a photograph of William Russell scoring a basket not in the Olympic Games themselves, but in a US college game. Other examples of the promotion of specifically American sports can be seen in *Amerika* (18) 1958 which presented a photograph of a basketball match on the cover, and *Amerika* (37) 1959 which featured a three-page spread on baseball.

30 Sorensen, T C, *The Word War: The Story of American Propaganda*, New York : Harper and Row, 1968: 87.

31 Stephens, O, *Facts to a Candid World*, Stanford: Stanford University Press: 1955. Quoted in Thomson, C and Laves, W H C, *Cultural Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963: 68.

32 In particular see 'How to Make a Dress Simply in One Day' in *Amerika* (39) 1959.

33 See two page illustrated spread 'How to Score Points in Basketball' in *Amerika* (69) 1962.

34 *Amerika* (71) 1962 included the sheet music and lyrics to 'Maria' from Bernstein's *West Side Story*. Music and lyrics to famous American folk tunes, including 'The Streets of Laredo', 'Oh, Susanna', 'Old Joe Clark' and 'The Erie Canal' were also earlier reproduced in *Amerika* (37) 1959.

35 These included an early seven page article in *Amerika* (5) 1957 featuring amongst other musicians, Dave Brubeck, Nat King Cole, Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, Gerry Mulligan, Charlie Parker, Oscar Peterson and Lester Young. Further jazz subjects included jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong, *Amerika* (24) 1958; Ornette Colman and atonal jazz – including photographs of Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, *Amerika* (69) 1962; and the Newport Jazz Festival – including photographs of Duke Ellington, Gerry Mulligan and James Rushing, *Amerika* (35) 1959. Willis Conover, the disc jockey of the *Voice of America* programme Music USA, was no stranger to the pages of *Amerika*, appearing in a photograph in the Newport Jazz Festival article, *Amerika* (35) 1959, and publishing an article entitled 'My Friends – Jazz Musicians', *Amerika* (52) 1961.

36 Rosenfeld, A and Dodge, T, *Nonconformist Art: The Soviet Experience 1956–1986*, London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995: 50 and Golomshtok, I and Glezer, A, *Unofficial Art from the Soviet Union*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1977: 89–90.

37 Amongst those condemning abstract works were Pavel Sokolov-Skalia in *Vechernaia Moskva*, 5 August 1957: 2; Vladimir Zimenko in *Sovetskaia Kultura*, 24 August 1957: 2; V Zakharchenko in *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, 8 August 1957: 8. *Komsomolskaia Pravda* also criticised the modern trends evident at this exhibition on 21 August 1957: 3.

38 'Vigilance is Our Weapon', *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, 15 September 1960: 2, translated in The *Current Digest of the Soviet Pres*s, 12 October 1960.

39 *Amerika* (51) 1960.

40 This presentation of Alfred H Barr in *Amerika*, was broadly similar to that afforded to Willis Conover in relation to jazz. Both men appeared in photographs: Barr in *Amerika* (51) 1960; Conover in *Amerika* (35) 1959. Both also appeared as authors: Barr in *Amerika* (61) 1962; Conover in *Amerika* (52) 1961.

41 Thomson and Laves, 1963: 86. The views here expressed were in response to earlier policy which had tried to identify cultural promotion as distinct from information programmes. However, the rationale that cultural activity was somehow less politically motivated than other forms of propaganda was soon rejected. In line with this, overseas libraries were renamed 'information centres' implying a more strategic and political purpose to their existence.

42 Barr, A H, 'Is Modern Art Communistic?', *New York Times* Magazine, 14 December 1952. Reproduced in Sandler, I and Newmam, A, *Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H Barr Jr*, New York: Harry N Abrams, 1986: 214–219.

43 'Artistic Freedom' in *College Art Journal*, Spring 1956: 184–188. Republished in Sandler and Newman, 1986: 220–225.

44 'George Bellows', *Amerika* (13) 1957; 'My Egypt – by Charles Demuth', *Amerika* (18) 1958; 'The White Clown – a picture by Walt Kuhn', *Amerika* (31) 1959; 'The Paintings of Edward Hopper', *Amerika* (32) 1959.

45 'Muzei vedet neustannuiu bor'bu za pravo skul'ptora tvorit' po svoemu usmotreniiu, bud' to v klassicheskom stile Aristida Maiolia ili zhe v abstraktnykh formakh, predpochitaemykh ego sovremennikami'. *Amerika* (47) 1960: 56.

46 'V nashem iskliuchitel'no raznoobraznom i meniaiushchemsia mira iskusstvo ne mozhet byt' odnorodnym. Dve kartiny, zakonchennye v odni I tot zhe den', v odnom I tom zhe gorode, mogut ne imet' mezhdu soboi nichego obshchego, za iskliucheniem daty I kholsta priamougolnoi formy. Odna mozhet byt' svezhei popytkoi pereotkrytiia starykh … drugaia – smelym nabegom v oblast' neissledovannogo. Zachastuiu kartiny eti mogut stoiat' na raznykh poliusakh iskusstva, a avtory i ikh storonniki – otnosit'sia drug k drugu s glubokim prezreniem. Odnako, esli oba polotna napisany blestiashche, to oni nuzhno nadeiat'sia, naidut put' v khudozhestvennoe sobranie Muzeia, nezavisimo ot togo poiavilis' li oni v Soedinennykh Shtatakh ili v liubom drugom ugolke nashego bystro umen'shaiushchegosia zemnogo shara'. *Amerika* (61) 1961: 25.

47 *Amerika* (44) 1960: 56–61.

48 'Against the Current', *Amerika* (33) 1959: 16–22; 'The Sculpture of William Zorach', *Amerika* (49) 1960: 9–10; 'Arkhipenko's Bronzes', *Amerika* (62) 1961: 8–9.

49 In 1952, for example, the State Department had intervened to prevent the inclusion of Zorach in an article by John Baur destined for publication in Europe, the justification for this exclusion being an accusation by Congressman Dondero that Zorach had formerly been a member of the John Reed club. Despite Zorach's emphatic denial of this claim, Baur's article remained censored. Similarly, Shahn had been placed on a list of artists with subversive records by Congressman Busbey in 1947, in this case the justification being a citation against Shahn for having submitted a drawing for an art auction in support of the pro-Soviet New Masses in 1942. Moreover, both Zorach and Shahn had originally been included in the 1956 Sport in Art exhibition planned to coincide with the Melbourne Olympic Games. The exhibition was cancelled following protests from the right-wing Patriotic Council who objected to the fact that several of the artists, Shahn and Zorach amongst them, had communist links. See Cockcroft 1974.

50 'The Sculpture of William Zorach', *Amerika* (49) 1960: 9.
51 This quotation is taken from Shahn's original published lecture entitled *On Non-conformity*, and reproduced in Shahn, B, *The Shape of Content: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1956–57*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957: 76–77.
52 Ibid: 76.