Religion, "Westernization," and Youth in the "Closed City" of Soviet Ukraine, 1964–84

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In May 1974 a fifteen-year-old high school student from Dnepropetrovsk, Andrei Vadimov, wrote in his diary about a trip his class had taken to the West Ukrainian city of L'viv:

> We enjoyed our trip to this city very much! For us, it was like traveling to a real West. In contrast to our home town, L'viv is open to visits from foreigners. So on L'viv's streets we even met American and Canadian tourists who spoke their native language. For me, it was the first time in my life when I saw foreigners and heard them speaking real English, my favorite language, the tongue of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and Deep Purple. The best result of our trip was the visit our entire class made (secretly) to L'viv's black market, where seven members of our tourist group, myself included, and our Komsomol ideologist Natasha, bought new British records of the rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* from Polish tourists. It was great because Ian Gillan, our favorite vocalist from the hard rock band Deep Purple, sings in this rock opera. The Polish tourists also recommended that we buy crosses because we were Gillan's fans, and Gillan sang the part of Christ in the opera.[1]

A month later, after he had returned to Dnepropetrovsk, Andrei noted in his diary that he and his friends could not understand the opera's portrayal of events. They translated its lyrics into Russian and tried to find any information about Jesus Christ in Soviet atheistic literature. In July 1974, Andrei noted triumphantly that "today was a great day for us! My neighbor, Vasia, brought an old Russian Bible he found in his grandmother's room, and we read the Gospels and compared them to the opera lyrics." Andrei and his five friends spent all of August 1974 reading the religious text and listening to their favorite rock opera. Driven by curiosity and inspired by their favorite music, they decided to attend a worship meeting of a local Baptist group, where Vasia's grandmother was a member, and for the next year they attended these meetings on a regular basis. In December 1975, however, the police arrested them for participating in "unsanctioned" religious meetings. It turned out

[1]School summer diary of Andrei Vadimov, Dnepropetrovsk, May 20, 1974. This diary covers events from Vadimov's various (mainly summer) school breaks from May 1970 to September 1977.

The Russian Review 67 (October 2008): 661–79

that the Baptists who organized these meetings were not registered officially. Only intervention by Andrei's parents saved him and his friends from scandal.

Other contemporaries also noted the rise in the early 1970s of a similar interest in religion among many young fans of *Jesus Christ Superstar*.[2] Cases of "Jesusmania" among rock-music enthusiasts coincided and overlapped with the activities of new evangelical and Orthodox Christian leaders who tried to attract more young people to their churches in Dnepropetrovsk. The police noted that both "the cult of *Jesus Christ Superstar*" and the "rise in religiosity" among local Komsomol members were connected to Western cultural products, which reached Dnepropetrovsk through L'viv's black market. Local KGB officers expressed their concern about "the growing popular religiosity among the local youth, who read more religious books, including the Bible, listened to more religious radio shows, recorded more religious sermons and music, and collected more religious objects of art than they had done before 1967." The KGB officers called this "the anti-Soviet consumption of products of religious culture." According to them, this "dangerous cultural consumption," which came from the capitalist West through "open Soviet cities" such as L'viv, threatened to destroy the Soviet identity of local youths "with anti-Soviet religious elements." Dnepropetrovsk ideologists also worried about local youth's attraction to what they called the "Westernization and modernization" of religious rituals by both evangelicals and Orthodox Christians.[3] KGB reports from the 1970s mention high school and college students in the region reading the Gospels. Police arrested young people for trading crosses and icons at local farmers' markets. Even local tourists became involved in a very unusual form of cultural consumption: on their trips abroad they purchased Bibles, Orthodox crosses, and icons and brought them back to Dnepropetrovsk. According to KGB reports, 90 percent of all transgressions occurring on tourist trips were related to "popular religiosity."[4]

During the 1970s and 1980s top officials in Dnepropetrovsk's KGB constantly reminded local ideologists about the need to protect Soviet cultural identity from the polluting influences of religion and Western mass culture.[5] Consumption of "religious cultural products" among the youth of Dnepropetrovsk was particularly worrisome for Soviet ideologists and the KGB because the city had special strategic importance for the entire Soviet regime—it was the site of the biggest missile factory in the Soviet Union. Built in 1951 to produce the Soviet military-industrial complex's most powerful rocket engines, the factory's sensitive role prompted the KGB to close the city to foreigners in 1959.[6] In

[2]Ibid., July 15, 1974. See also my interviews of Vitalii Pidgaetskii, Department of History, Dnepropetrovsk University, February 10, 1996; Mikhail Suvorov, Dnepropetrovsk, June 1, 1991; Andrei Vadimov, Dnepropetrovsk, July 20–21, 2003; and Eduard Svichar, Vatutino, Cherkassy region, Ukraine, June 8, 2004.

[3]Derzhavnyi arkhiv Dnipropetrovs'koi oblasti (DADO), f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 1–18.

[4]DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, l. 11; f. 1860, op. 1, d. 1248, l. 57; d. 1532, l. 68; d. 2278, l. 122.

[5]See the KGB reports about this in DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 1–18.

[6]A. G. Bolebrukh, ed., *Dnipropetrovs'k: Vikhy istorii* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 2001), 209–11, 229; *Dnepropetrovskii raketno-kosmicheskii tsentr: Kratkii ocherk stanovleniia i razvitiia. DAZ-YuMZ-KBYu: Khronika dat i sobytii* (Dnepropetrovsk, 1994). See also Yurii Lukanov, *Tretii presydent: Politychnyi portret Leonida Kuchmy* (Kyiv, 1996), 13; and V. P. Gorbulin et al., eds., *Zemni shliakhy i zoriani orbity: Shtrykhy do portreta Leonida Kuchmy* (Kyiv, 1998), 6, 24–31. On the Soviet concept of "closed" cities during late socialism see Paul R. Josephson, *New Atlantis Revisited: Akademgorodok, the Siberian City of Science* (Princeton, 1997); and, for a comparison with the Dnepropetrovsk region, Vladimir A. Kozlov, *Neizvestnyi SSSR: Protivostoianie naroda i vlasti 1953–1985 gg.* (Moscow 2006), 408–16.

addition to its strategic significance, Dnepropetrovsk also played an important role in Soviet politics of the time. It became the launching ground for the political careers of many Soviet politicians in Moscow because of its close association with the Brezhnev clan. And it also played an important role in the political life of Ukraine: before perestroika more than 53 percent of all political leaders in Kyiv had come from Dnepropetrovsk; by 1996 some 80 percent of post-Soviet Ukrainian politicians had begun their careers in the rocket city. The overwhelming majority of these representatives of the "Dnepropetrovsk Family" (including Yulia Tymoshenko, a heroine of "Orange Revolution" in 2004) started their careers during late socialism in the factories of the closed city's military-industrial complex.[7]

This big industrial city had a young, multinational, but predominantly Russian-speaking population which grew from 917,074 inhabitants in 1970 to 1,191,971 in 1989.[8] The region's rapid industrial growth, high salaries, and relatively good living conditions attracted young people from other regions of the Soviet Union, with the result that from the 1950s onward a majority of Dnepropetrovsk's population was under 30 years of age.[9] Three major ethnic groups shaped the cultural development of the Dnepropetrovsk region: Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews. By 1985, more than a third of the city's population was ethnic Russian. If we add to this number the 3.2 percent who were Russian-speaking Jews and the more than 33 percent of Ukrainians who considered Russian their native language, then more than 65 percent of the city's population associated themselves with Russian rather than with Ukrainian culture.[10]

This article explores the connections between cultural consumption and popular religiosity among the youth of Dnepropetrovsk during the Brezhnev era. Given its closed, sheltered existence, Dnepropetrovsk became a unique Soviet social and cultural laboratory in which various patterns of late socialism collided with the new Western cultural influences. Using archival documents, periodicals, personal diaries, and interviews as historical sources, I focus on how the consumption of Western popular music among Dnepropetrovsk's youth stimulated their interest in religion and contributed to popular religiosity and various forms of religious identification.[11]

[7]Viacheslav Pkhovshek et al., eds., *Dnipropetrovsk vs. Security Service* (Kyiv, 1996), 8; V. Pikhovshek et al., eds., *"Dnipropetrovs'ka sim'ia": Informatsia stanom na 25 lystopada 1996 roku* (Kyiv, 1996), 15.

[8]*Naselenie Dnepropetrovskoi oblasti po dannym Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 g.* (Dnepropetrovsk, 1991), 4.

[9]In 1970, 76 percent of the region's 3,343,000 inhabitants lived in cities; by 1984 the region's population had increased to 3,771,200 people, 83 of whome lived in cities. See L. G. Glushkina, ed., *Dnepropetrovshchina v tsifrakh (K 40-letiiu pobedy v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine)* (Dnepropetrovsk, 1985), 10, 11.

[10]In 1979, Ukrainians made up the overwhelming majority of the regional (72.8 percent) and urban (68.5 percent) population. Yet the Ukrainian share of the regional population slightly decreased over time, from 77.8 percent in 1959 to 74.5 percent in 1970, and to 71.6 percent in 1989. Due to the massive emigration from the Soviet Union, the Jewish population also decreased, from 2.7 percent in 1959 to 1.7 percent in 1979, and to 1.3 percent in 1989. The proportion of Russians in the regional populace grew rapidly: from 17.2 percent in 1959, it increased to 20.9 percent in 1970, almost 23 percent in 1979, and to 24.2 percent in 1989. See *Dneprovskaia pravda*, June 26, 1971; and *Naselenie Dnepropetrovskoi oblasti po dannym Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda* (Dnepropetrovsk, 1991), 100, 102, 106, 108, 119, 122.

[11]From 1990 to 2007, I interviewed more than two hundred people. The majority were people with college educations, electrical engineers, police and state officials, and political leaders between the ages of 30 and 60. All were residents of either the Dnipropetrovs'k region or the city of Kyiv. I made transcripts of all my interviews

Recent studies about post-Stalin socialism in the Soviet Union explore various forms of cultural production and consumption along with their interaction with ideology and politics. Yet the overwhelming majority of these studies by authors like Svetlana Boym, Hilary Pilkington, Thomas Cushman, Alexei Yurchak, and William J. Risch are based on material from the Westernized "open" cities of the USSR (Moscow, Leningrad, and L'viv) which were exposed to Western influences through foreign tourists and journalists.[12] The best studies about popular music consumption in the Soviet Union explore mainly "indigenous" popular music *production* by well-known Soviet and post-Soviet bands in the major capital cities, but they ignore the details of everyday music *consumption* by non-musicians in Soviet provincial cities.[13] As a result, the history of cultural consumption, including pop music, in "closed" Soviet provincial cities and villages is missing from the analysis. It is difficult to generalize about the social and cultural history of the Soviet Union when the focus is only on Moscow and Leningrad.[14] By bringing forgotten cities such as Dnepropetrovsk into the historical debate, this article adds new material to and provides new directions for the study of Soviet politics and cultural consumption. The closed city of Dnepropetrovsk is a model for microhistorical analysis of "closed" Soviet

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(the most recent ones are on audio tapes). I also took notes from diaries some people made available to me, and xeroxed some of their pages. All interview transcripts and diary notes are in my possession.

[12]The pioneering studies in English on Soviet cultural consumption concentrate mainly on Leningrad and Moscow. See, for example, Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (Cambridge, MA, 1994); and Hilary Pilkington, *Russia's Youth and Its Culture: A Nation's Constructors and Constructed* (London, 1994). Thomas Cushman covers the sociology of rock-music consumption in Leningrad in *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (Albany, 1995). Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, 2005), is an excellent anthropological study of late socialism focusing mainly on Leningrad. A good study of Soviet hippies that concentrates on L'viv is William Jay Risch, "Soviet 'Flower Children': Hippies and the Youth Counter-Culture in 1970s Lviv," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (July 2005): 565–84. For a more balanced approach see Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (University Park, PA, 1998). See also Edwin Bacon and Mark Sandle, eds., *Brezhnev Reconsidered* (New York, 2002).

[13]S. Frederick Starr, *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union 1917–1980* (New York, 1985); Artemy Troitsky, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia* (London, 1987); Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York, 1991); Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (New York, 1992); Sabrina Petra Ramet, ed., *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia* (Boulder, 1994), esp. Romana Bahry, "Rock Culture and Rock Music in Ukraine," 243–96. Unfortunately, most of the material in the preceding article covers the post-1985 era. Studies based on Moscow and Leningrad include Cushman, *Notes from Underground*; Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*; Yngvar Bordewich Steinholt, *Songs from the Leningrad Rock Club, 1981–86* (New York, 2004); Michael Urban with Andrei Evdokimov, *Russia Gets the Blues: Music, Culture, and Community in Unsettled Times* (Ithaca, 2004); and Polly McMichael, "'After all, you're a rock and roll star (at least, that's what they say)': *Roksi* and the Creation of the Soviet Rock Musician," *Slavonic and East European Review* 83:4 (2005): 664–84. See also Eric Shiraev and Vladislav Zubok, *Anti-Americanism in Russia: From Stalin to Putin* (New York, 2000), 19–21; Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, PA, 2003), 11–13, 205–9; Jim Riordan, ed., *Soviet Youth Culture* (Bloomington, 1989); Anne White, *De-Stalinization and the House of Culture: Declining State Control over Leisure in the USSR, Poland and Hungary, 1953–89* (London, 1990); and David MacFadyen, *Red Stars: Personality and the Soviet Popular Song, 1955–1991* (Montreal, 2001).

[14]See two recent studies that focus on provincial Russian towns (Samara and Ul'ianovsk) rather than Moscow: Hilary Pilkington et al., *Looking West? Cultural Globalization and Russian Youth Cultures* (University Park, PA, 2002); and Elena Omel'chenko, *Molodezh: Otkrytyi vopros* (Ul'ianovsk, 2004).

society and nascent post-Soviet society. In this sense, it was a more typical Soviet city than many Westernized capital cities of the Soviet Union.

This article draws on various British cultural studies about cultural consumption and identity. According to John Storey, "it is important to include cultural consumption in a discussion of identities because human identities are formed out of people's everyday actions and interaction in different forms of consumption."[15] As Madan Sarup observes, "our identities are in part a result of what we consume."[16] According to certain British scholars, "human self is envisaged as neither the product of an external symbolic system, nor as a fixed entity which the individual can immediately and directly grasp; rather the self is a symbolic project that the individual actively constructs out of the symbolic materials which are available to him or her, materials which the individual weaves into a coherent account of who he or she is, a narrative of self-identity."[17] These ideas influenced a new school of Russian cultural studies. One typical representative of this school, Hilary Pilkington, noted that after 1953 the material base for growing cultural consumption among Soviet youth "was continued urbanization, the extension of the average period of education (leading young people to enter paid employment and start their own families later), an increasingly leisure-oriented society and, not least, a flourishing second economy."[18] During perestroika and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, various Ukrainian and Western scholars explored different aspects of Ukrainian history and the evolution of Ukrainian politics, culture, and identities during the transition from late socialism to independence.[19] Missing from this literature is a concrete detailed historical analysis of cultural consumption and identity-formation in Dnepropetrovsk, one of the most influential regions in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine.[20] Despite a few general works about persecution of religion in the Soviet Union, the recent historiography has no special studies about popular religiosity and cultural consumption in such "closed cities" as Dnepropetrovsk.[21]

[15]John Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life* (London, 1998), 135, 136.

[16]Madan Sarup, *Identity, Culture and the Post modern World* (Edinburgh, 1996), 105, 125.

[17]John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge, England, 1995), 210. See also Storey, *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life*, 135, 136, 147. Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. S. Hall and P. du Gay (London, 1996), 122, 124.

[18]Hilary Pilkington, "'The Future is Ours': Youth Culture in Russia, 1953 to the Present," in *Russian Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (New York, 1998), 371.

[19]See a recent bibliography in Serhy Yekelchyk, *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* (New York, 2007), 250–56, 262–64.

[20]For a focus on L'viv and Donetsk see Claudia Sabic and Kerstin Zimmer, "Ukraine: The Genesis of a Captured State," in *The Making of Regions in Post-Socialist Europe – The Impact of Culture, Economic Structure and Institutions: Case Studies from Poland, Hungary, Romania and Ukraine,* ed. Melanie Tatur (Wiesbaden, 2004), 2:107–354. A good 1991 sociological survey that ignored Dnepropetrovsk is N. I Chernysh et al., eds., *Natsional'na samosvidomist' students'koi molodi (Sotsiologichnyi analiz)* (Toronto, 1993). Even a good study of the Ukrainian evangelicals concentrates mainly on Kharkiv region (Catherine Wanner, *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism* [Ithaca, 2007]).

[21]I refer to the standard works by Dimitry Pospielovsky: his *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917–1982*, vol. 2 (Crestwood, NY, 1984); and his three-volume *A History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer* (New York, 1987–88); as well as Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals since World War II* (Scottsdale, PA, 1981); Vasyl Markus, "Religion and Nationalism in Ukraine," in *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, ed. Pedro Ramet (Durham, NC, 1984), 59–81; and Sergei N. Savinskii, *Istoriia evangel'skikh khristian-baptistov Ukrainy, Rossii, Belorussii*, pt. 2 *(1917–1967)*

THE KGB, CHURCHES, AND THE "MODERNIZATION OF RELIGION"

After "closing" Dnepropetrovsk to foreigners in 1959 the KGB justified their operations against organized religion there by citing the region's strategic importance and proclaiming the need for ideological vigilance aimed at preventing local religious organizations from establishing links to foreign religious centers. Those centers were components of "imperialism's" anti-Soviet strategy, and the KGB was obliged to protect Dnepropetrovsk's military-industrial complex from any "ideological provocation" from the West. According to KGB statistics, by 1964 more than 3 percent of the Dnepropetrovsk region's inhabitants were members of various religious congregations.[22] KGB officers thought that the growth of popular religiosity in the region was due in part to overzealous Dnepropetrovsk ideologists and Soviet officials who by 1967 had closed 203 of the region's 300 religious congregations.[23] Early in the campaign, in 1963–64, KGB officials already were complaining to the party's regional committee that the forced closing of meeting houses and churches was provoking "anti-Soviet actions of sectarian preachers and priests of the Orthodox Church." One KGB report concluded that the "illegal" closing of religious buildings by Dnepropetrovsk officials had prompted local Orthodox (mainly young) followers to join nearby Christian sects, especially Pentecostal groups, while in some places they even led to an unprecedented increase of new, and sometimes illegal, religious groups.[24]

The main problem for the local police in Dnepropetrovsk was the proselytizing efforts of different churches among the local youth through what the KGB called the "modernization of religion."[25] KGB operatives were surprised by Christian groups' effective use of radio, musical instruments, record players, and tape recorders in their missionary efforts. Pentecostals and Baptists were the most active and successful in their missionary activities among Dnepropetrovsk's youth. "Leaders of the Pentecostal sect," wrote a KGB officer in a report from 1963, urge their followers to "buy tape recorders, record ... their religious ceremonies, and then during an absence of their leaders to organize [prayers meetings] using the tapes of previous worship meetings. After these recommendations, all Dnepropetrovsk sectarians immediately bought tape recorders."[26] Tape-recording equipment was still considered expensive for local consumers, but Pentecostals became the most

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(St. Petersburg, 2001). See also Zoe Knox, *Russian Society and the Orthodox Church: Religion in Russia after Communism* (London, 2004); and Wanner, *Communities of the Converted.*

[22]DADO, f. 9870, op. 1, d. 48, l. 19–20. By 1964, 35 priests were preaching in 31 Orthodox churches of the region, with 82 monks and thousands of active parishioners. At the same time, the police registered 38 communities with almost 5,000 evangelical Christian Baptists, 105 Adventists, 88 Old Believers, and 64 Catholics in the region. In 1962–63, unregistered denominations, illegal under Soviet law, included 77 Jehovah's Witnesses, 1,197 Pentecostals, 30 Seventh Day Adventists, 80 members of the Orthodox underground movement, 80 Baptists, and 37 "Ioannite sectarians." On the results of the antireligious campaigns during late socialism in Soviet Ukraine see Markus, "Religion and Nationalism in Ukraine"; Yitzhak M. Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953–1991* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 28–39; and Wanner, *Communities of the Converted*, 48–54, 55–89.

[23]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 2, l. 15.

[24]DADO, f. 9870, op. 1, d. 48, ll. 24, 28. From 1963 to 1967, almost 40 percent of former Orthodox Christians joined various evangelical groups in the region. A majority of them were younger than 40.

[25]See KGB reports about this in DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 1–18.

[26]DADO, f. 9870, op. 1, d. 48, l. 22.

prominent participants in this facet of Soviet cultural consumption, buying more tape recorders in the region than nonreligious dwellers during 1962–65. As some contemporary observers noted, the sectarians became real pioneers in tape-recording technology, inviting young specialist engineers to help and using various advanced techniques (including Western ones) in their recording and performance of religious services and ceremonies.[27]

A powerful stimulus behind the increasing use of new technologies and music among Pentecostals was the creation of the "Initiative group" among Soviet Baptists in August 1961. Growing dissatisfaction with the conformism and formalism of the official leadership of the All-Soviet Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists led to divisions within and between congregations and resulted ultimately in the creation of a new organization in 1965—the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists—uniting those who disagreed with the policies of the official Union. While the officially recognized Baptist communities followed Soviet laws and demonstrated their loyalty to the Soviet administration, dissenting Baptists, who were called *initsiativniki*, caused real problems for the police and administrative officials: while they tended to sever relations with the Soviet state, when they did deal with officials they were usually confrontational, and they quickly became famous for using music and technology to provoke conflict and debates among the evangelicals of the Dnepropetrovsk region.[28] In 1972 one Baptist dissenter, Nikolai Iarko, used his tape recorder to play religious sermons in the passenger trains running between Dnepropetrovsk and its neighboring towns. According to the police, Iarko had recorded foreign religious radio shows and then included some fragments of popular music by the Beatles to make his Baptist "message" more attractive, especially to younger passengers.[29]

The influence of young evangelicals in the 1970s forced the leadership of the region's moderate Baptists to adjust their strategy to the new realities. They even borrowed some new ideas and technology from their rivals, the *initsiativniki*. The new head of the region's Baptists, Venedikt Galenko, used "modern" music, guitar bands, and youth choirs to attract more visitors to worship meetings. With the same goal in mind he organized a dinner on New Year's Eve, 1972/73, which featured a special religious concert with live music and the airing of a variety of tape-recorded sermons, including recordings of some foreign radio shows. Galenko also invited some of the city's other evangelicals, especially *initsiativniki*, to attend the dinner-meeting. The event was a great success. Loud music and free food—which included sausages, cheese, buns, lemonade, tea, sweets, and so on—attracted many young people to this meeting. But Soviet officials were not at all pleased. "These new methods" of religious propaganda, they complained to Galenko, "were not desirable because they included elements of Western modernization."[30] Galenko must not

[27]Ibid., l. 28; interview with Eduard Svichar, June 20, 2002. During 1964–67, more than a half of the new tape-recorders in the region were bought by the members of various religious communities. The KGB data were based on department stores' statistics (DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 15–18). See also my interview with Igor T., KGB officer, Dnepropetrovsk, May 15, 1991.

[28]For details on the Initiative group, the split of 1961, and the formation of an *initsiativniki* church in 1965 see Savinskii, *Istoriia evangel'skikh khristian-baptistov*, 208–35; and Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals since World War II*, 157–19. Compare with material about Kharkiv evangelicals during the 1960s in Wanner, *Communities of the Converted*, 63–89.

[29]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 2, ll. 174–75.

[30]Ibid., d. 4, l. 4.

have heeded these concerns because, some six months later, on June 22, 1973, he received a special order from the city administration directing him to "stop this transformation of worship meeting-houses into cafés and forbid the organization there of special music parties with dinners and concerts." The order further required the city's Baptist leaders to remove all radio, music, and tape-recording equipment from their meeting-houses, and to remove amplifiers, musical instruments, benches, and other concert equipment from the yards of these meeting-houses. All religious concerts were banned in Dnepropetrovsk, and children were prohibited from attending religious meetings.[31] Thus, Soviet officials tried to stop the "Western modernization" of the Dnepropetrovsk region's evangelical movement, but failed to do so; and in fact, despite police persecution, the movement not only became more modernized but also more radical, especially among those under 25 years of age, who during the 1970s comprised 25 percent of the membership.[32]

Tape recordings of foreign broadcasts were not the only problem for Soviet officials worried about the increasing influence of popular religiosity at this time. In 1968 the KGB reported that Christians from a variety of denominations also were listening directly to foreign radio stations. More than 500 Christians (mainly Baptists) from the Dnepropetrovsk region had organized meetings where participants could listen to foreign radio shows about religion, as a result of which more than 300 individuals had tried to "establish written correspondence with leaders of foreign religious centers and their radio stations." What bothered KGB officials in particular were letters that Dnepropetrovsk Baptists tried to send to the World Council of Churches and to the United Nations complaining of religious persecution in the region. According to the KGB, in 1968 alone the police had detected illegal activities on the part of 9 groups of *initsiativniki* (500 members), 8 groups of Pentecostals (600 members) and 5 small groups of Jehovah's Witnesses (30 members).[33]

In 1967–68 the police also reported about the influence of the Jewish religion among local youth. One synagogue in the city of Dnepropetrovsk saw an increase from 35 to 50 visitors during work days to 3,000 during big religious holidays. At least a half of these were "Jews younger than 40 years of age."[34] At the end of May 1968, eight students from two Dnepropetrovsk high schools who "studied the Jewish religion formed the Israel National-Democratic Party." These students planned to disseminate leaflets which would "justify the aggression and expansion of Israel in the Middle East." In addition, they obtained radio equipment which they planned to use for illegally broadcasting "the true news about Israel" to the region's people, who they thought were being "deceived by official Soviet propaganda" about the Jewish religion and the state of Israel.[35]

At the same time the KGB was sounding the alarm about the growth and modernization of evangelical Christian and Jewish groups, it also was tracking the growing influence of the Orthodox Church. An alarming number of young married couples, mostly Komsomol members, were still observing the rite of Baptism for their newborns. In 1970, 34 percent of all newborns in the region were baptized in the Orthodox Church, while 42 percent of all

[31]Ibid., ll. 33–34.
[32]Ibid., d. 15, ll. 42, 72, 75, 98–99.
[33]DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 13–14.
[34]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 2, ll. 19–20.
[35]DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 7, 14.

funerals in the region were performed according to Orthodox rituals. Some local college students even entered Orthodox seminaries. The police calculated that by the end of 1976 there were roughly seventy-three thousand activists of the Orthodox Church in the region. The KGB connected the Church's growing popularity with the new leaders of the Dnepropetrovsk diocese, including the new and very ambitious bishop Antonii (whose civil name was Onufrii I. Vikarik).[36]

In 1971, Bishop Antonii tried to replace diocesan officials who were secret KGB informers with new, honest religious activists. He rejected candidates if he knew that they had collaborated with the KGB, or if they had been recommended for the position by Soviet officials. Antonii also tried to restore the Orthodox Church's leading position among Christians in the region. He organized a special missionary campaign against Protestant sects and invited young members of these sects to join Orthodox Christianity. Antonii even promoted the church careers of those young talented sectarians who renounced their old sect and converted to Orthodoxy. He publicly announced that the local Orthodox Church would allocate additional funds to improve missionary activities among the local youth, authorizing the purchase of new musical and other technological equipment for local churches.[37] His efforts raised the prestige and position of the Orthodox Church to such an extent that the KGB, alarmed by this "Westernization of the Church," undertook a special campaign to discredit the bishop and remove him from office in April 1973.[38]

RELIGION IN "BEAT MUSIC" CONSUMPTION

During the 1960s and 1970s, both Communist ideologists and KGB officers complained not only about the growth and modernization of organized religion, which attracted local youth, but also about the consumption of Western mass culture, including rock music. By the mid-1970s Dnepropetrovsk's police were encountering unusual forms of this rock-music consumption, which, surprisingly, became connected again to religion. According to KGB data, the first Western rock-n-roll records on Dnepropetrovsk's black market arrived from the western Ukrainian city of L'viv.[39] In particular, "Beatlemania" began in the late fall of 1964, when engineers from Dnepropetrovsk's secret rocket factory returned to the city with Beatles records they had bought on the black market in L'viv.[40]

[36]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 4, l. 190; d. 18, l. 132; f. 6464, op. 2, d. 3, l. 20 (figures for 1972), l. 49 (figures for 1973); f. 6465, op. 2, d. 6, l. 32 (figures for 1974), l. 88 (figures for 1975); f. 6465, op. 2, d. 9, l. 49 (figures for 1976). During the 1970s the Orthodox Church had 25 religious buildings for 25 Orthodox communities with 44 priests and 160–170 staff members.

[37]DADO, f.19, op. 52, d. 72, l. 29-32.

[38]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 2, ll. 119–22, 240, and f. 6465, op. 2, d. 4, ll. 14–18. In their letter of April 13, 1973, to the USSR Council of Ministers, local Soviet officials supported KGB recommendations to remove Antonii from his office because of "his refusal to collaborate with Soviet administration in the region of Dnepropetrovsk and his modernization of the church."

[39]DADO, f. 19, op. 60, d. 85, ll. 7, 17; f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, l. 25.

[40]See my interviews with Vitalii Pidgaetskii; and with Vladimir Demchenko, a former public lecturer of "Society of Knowledge," Dnepropetrovsk, January 12, 1992. On the significance of Beatles music for Soviet youth during the sixties and seventies see David Gurevich, *From Lenin to Lennon: A Memoir of Russia in the Sixties* (San Diego, 1991), 128; Yury Pelyushonok, *Strings for a Beatle Bass: The Beatles Generation in the*

The popularity of the Beatles triggered interest in other forms of rock music and fashions.[41] As a result, by 1968 Anglo-American rock music (called "beat music") became the primary object of cultural consumption for the majority of Dnepropetrovsk's youth. In the late 1950s the Soviet government had created a network of "music studios" where people, for the relatively high price of two rubles, could record holiday greetings with popular songs on a small flexible vinyl disc. In 1965, 90 percent of all such "musical greeting cards" made in Dnepropetrovsk included popular songs by Soviet composers, while fewer than 10 percent had recordings of Western songs. In 1970, however, more than 90 percent of these cards had "Western beat music," mainly songs by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. In April of that year, Zinaida Soumina, an official in the city of Dnepropetrovsk's administrative apparatus, complained about this phenomenon. "We are not against consumption," she claimed.

> But this should be a *cultured* consumption. Take a look at our city offices of music recording and at what our youth is consuming there as "music." They are recording tapes with songs by Vysotsky [10 percent], music by the Beatles (*bitlov*) [90 percent]. Where is the real cultural consumption here? You can't see that our young people are recording classical music by Tchaikovsky or Glinka. They still prefer dances with their boogie-woogie to classical-music concerts.[42]

If the "music studios" of Dnepropetrovsk are anything to go by, then during 1968–70 the most popular musicians were European rockers—the Beatles, Animals, Rolling Stones, Shocking Blue, Cream with Eric Clapton, Procol Harum, and Jimi Hendrix. Only a few recordings by American rock musicians had reached the Dnepropetrovsk market by the end of the 1960s. They included the Doors, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Simon and Garfunkel, and Santana.[43]

USSR (Ottawa, 1999); and Donald J. Raleigh, ed. and trans., *Russia's Sputnik Generation: Soviet Baby Boomers Talk about Their Lives* (Bloomington, 2006), 38, 65, 68, 69, 139, 166, 237, 256. According to KGB reports, one 16-year-old high school student wrote numerous letters to the BBC about his love for the Beatles' music: "It is impossible not to love *bitlov*. I have listened to their music since 1963. I want to listen to their song "19th Nervous Breakdown" again" (DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 25–26). Apparently, he confused the Beatles with the Rolling Stones. A KGB officer reported that Elena Suratova, a 43-year-old English-language teacher at the Chemical-Mechanical Technical School, obtained records from foreigners in L'viv that had songs "performed by '*bitly*,'" which she then played on a regular basis for her students in collective meetings (ibid., l. 26).

[41]What material I could obtain shows that the overwhelming majority of rock music fans in Dnepropetrovsk ignored the music of Elvis Presley and Bob Dylan. The few tapes of Presley's songs to reach a mass local audience appeared only after Beatlemania, and their quality was poor. Many young consumers of popular music could not appreciate Bob Dylan's songs because they did not understand his English lyrics. See Vladimir Solodovnik's summer school diary, August 16, 1966. Dnepropetrovsk rock bands never performed Dylan's songs in the 1960s because even the most enthusiastic rock fans regarded them as "boring and slow." They preferred the Doors and Creedence Clearwater Revival, American music that was "more energetic and more like rock-n-roll." See Andrei Makarevich, *"Sam ovtsa": Avtobiograficheskaia proza* (Moscow, 2002), 53, 90–91, 109–10, 116–18; Pelyushonok, *Strings for a Beatle Bass*, 205–9; Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–2006*, 10th ed. (Boston, 2007), 337; and Reggie Nadelson, *Comrade Rockstar: The Life and Mystery of Dean Reed, the All-American Boy Who Brought Rock'n'Roll to the Soviet Union* (New York, 1991), 81.

[42]See Soumina's presentation in DADO, f. 416, op. 2, d. 1565, ll. 306–7.

[43]Interviews with Pidgaetskii, Suvorov, Vadimov, and Svichar (2004).

Some of these bands, such as Creedence Clearwater Revival, triggered interest in folk-rock music among local amateur musicians. Local Soviet ideologists were only too happy to support the notion of using Soviet Ukrainian folk bands as an alternative to "Western mass culture," and as a result the region saw the formation of several local folk-rock bands which incorporated Ukrainian folk elements into their music. To KGB horror, however, some of these bands used old Ukrainian folk songs with religious content, "popularizing Christian images and symbols." As former folk-rock musicians recalled, their experiments with Ukrainian religious songs led them to "rediscover the Ukrainian religious past." Despite KGB efforts to ban Christian Ukrainian folk songs from public performance, officers complained that Dnepropetrovsk rock musicians always played "Ukrainian nationalist songs of Christian character." And the local university folk band actually performed these songs during a trip to England in October 1981.[44]

According to contemporaries, it was the music of the Beatles, and especially George Harrison's songs, which toward the end of the 1960s provided the first link between the world of Western popular music, on the one hand, and religion in the region of Dnepropetrovsk, on the other. All Beatles fans knew about Harrison's interest in Indian culture and religion. "When we listened to Harrison's experiments with the sitar and other Indian musical instruments in such Beatles songs as 'Norwegian Wood' and 'Within You Without You,'" one former beat-music enthusiast noted, "we decided to collect all information about the Indian cultural roots of the Beatles music, and we discovered, surprisingly for us, all sorts of Eastern religions, including Hinduism, Krishnaism, and Buddhism, that had inspired our idol, George Harrison."[45]

In the late 1960s teachers from Dnepropetrovsk high schools routinely complained that students were spending their class breaks reading popular books on the history of Indian religion and drawing symbols of "Eastern mystic religions" in their notebooks. According to teachers' reports, all these enthusiasts of Indian religion were *bitlomany* (Beatles fans).[46] Both teachers and librarians noted that young beat-music enthusiasts cut out any pages of the Komsomol magazine *Rovesnik* containing information about the Beatles, and also pages of books about Indian history and religion.[47]

[44]On the obligatory "folklorism" of official Soviet "mass culture" see Stites, *Russian Popular Culture*, 78–79ff. The band *Dnepriane*, from Dnepropetrovsk University, was the best-known folk rock band to perform Ukrainian Cossack religious songs. See K. Klimenko, "Charuiuchi melodii fol'kloru," *Prapor iunosti* (February 20, 1982): 4; Iu. Lystopad, "'Dnepriane' na beregakh Seny," ibid. (February 17, 1983): 4; interview with Tatiana Yeriomenko, a former singer with *Dnepriane*, April 20, 1988; and interview with Iurii Kolomoets, a former musician with *Dnepriane*, March 12, 1991. On *Dnepriane*'s trip to England, October 2–11, 1981, see DADO, f. 22, op. 30 (1981), d. 85, ll. 57–62. The most popular folk song was about the "Ukrainian Zaporozhian Orthodox Christian Cossacks." In fact, it was a cover in Ukrainian of the song "Venus" by the Dutch rock band Shocking Blue (interviews with Igor T, Svichar [2004 and 2007], Mikhail Suvorov, Natalia Vasilenko [b. 1959], Dnipropetrovs'k, July 19, 2007, and Vladimir Donets [b. 1953], Dnipropetrovs'k, July 19, 2007).

[45]Interview with Pidgaetskii.

[46]Interviews with Demchenko and with Evgen D. Prudchenko and Galina V. Smolenskaia, both of the Central Library of Dnepropetrovsk Region, July 18, 2007.

[47]In July 2007, I discovered that pictures of the Beatles were cut out from copies of *Rovesnik* housed in the Russian State Library in Moscow as well (for example, 1973, no. 7:21 and no. 10:21–22). See also *Rovesnik* (December 1968): 25; (July 1969): 25; (February 1970): 24; and (March 1970): 25; and, for the sheet music and Russian lyrics of "Back in the USSR," (August 1970): 24. See also my interviews with Solodovnik,

The police connected the rising interest in Eastern religions among Komsomol *bitlomany* to the Soviet hippie movement. In May 1970 ten young hippies (all high school students) were arrested in downtown Dnepropetrovsk for shouting "Hare Krishna" slogans and "exposing symbols of the Buddhist religion." The police thought the arrests would put an end to public demonstrations by "Soviet Hinduists and Buddhists."[48] But they did nothing to prevent some *bitlomany* from pursuing their exploration of Indian philosophy and religion. "I tried to figure out the meaning of the strange phrase 'Gura Deva Om' from the Beatles song 'Across the Universe,' which was on their 'Let It Be' album," fifteen-year-old Vladimir Solodovnik wrote in his diary in June 1971. "I read everything in our school library about Indian religion and I discovered more than I expected."[49] This eventually led Solodovnik and his friends to begin reading literature about Krishnaism on a regular basis in the 1970s. Two of his classmates became serious followers of Krishna in the 1980s. During 1972–82 they and other "Krishnaists" from the closed city went to neighboring cities that were open to foreigners. There they met tourists and students from India and established contacts with Indian guests who brought new information about Indian religions. During perestroika, some old Beatles fans from Dnepropetrovsk joined newly formed groups of Buddhists and Krishnaists. Even now they still recall how it was music by the Beatles that inspired their interest in what, for Ukraine, was such an exotic religion.[50]

The period from 1964 to 1969, when the popularity of Anglo-American beat music in the big cities of Soviet Ukraine was at its height, was a time of elitist cultural consumption. As a rule, the only people who could afford foreign rock-n-roll recordings and audio tapes were members of the Soviet elite—party and police officials, engineers, lawyers, college professors, and other representatives of the so-called Soviet upper-middle class.[51] The few hippies who appeared in downtown Dnepropetrovsk in 1968 and 1969, flaunting their long hair and new American jeans, and demonstratively rejecting cultural consumption on the black market or indeed any relations with the material world, were children from the wealthy families of Dnepropetrovsk's ruling elite. The local police arrested at least forty people who called themselves "hippies" and who tried to imitate the lifestyle of American hippies. According to contemporaries and participants in the hippie movement, they were inspired by Western rock music and had learned about the American hippie movement from an article that had been published in *Rovesnik* in December 1967. The police reported that the hippies had publicly displayed various religious symbols, such as Christian crosses and icons, as well as "portraits of Krishna and Buddha."[52] Some of these Dnepropetrovsk hippies were children of KGB officers, one was the son of a secretary of the party regional

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Demchenko, and Pidgaetskii, as well as my more recent interview of Svichar from July 28–29, 2007, and the annual librarian reports for 1968–73 at the Central Library of the Dnepropetrovsk Region.

[48]DADO, f. 19, op. 60, d. 85, ll. 7, 17.

[49]Solodovnik diary, June 12, 1971.

[50]Interview with Anatolii T., a member of the Dnepropetrovsk "Hare Krishna" Community, July 20, 2005, Dnepropetrovsk; interview with Solodovnik.

[51]Many of the people I interviewed characterized this social group as "the upper middle class" of Soviet society. See interviews with Suvorov, Svichar (2004), and Svichar (2007).

[52]Iu. Ustimenko, "Liudi s tsvetami i bez tsvetov," *Rovesnik* (December 1967): 10–11; DADO, f. 19, op. 60, d. 85, l. 7, 17 (for police reports); and interviews with Anatolii T., Vadimov, and Sergei Pulin, Dnepropetrovsk University, April, 15, 1990.

committee, two were children of a famous lawyer, and others were children of respectable physicians and professors from the local university. And all of them not only owned substantial collections of "beat-music records" but also possessed books on Hinduism and Buddhism. In the spring of 1972, after KGB operatives had conducted a series of interviews with the parents of Dnepropetrovsk's hippies, the city's main thoroughfare, Karl Marx Avenue, was swept clean of any sign of "hippieism," and of black marketeers as well.[53]

HARD ROCK, *JESUS CHRIST SUPERSTAR*, AND POPULAR RELIGIOSITY

By the mid-1970s the locus of rock-music consumption among Dnepropetrovsk's youth had moved from the city center, where elitist and selective forms of trade in the black market traditionally took place, to the hostels and dormitories housing the vast majority of new music consumers: university, technical college, and vocational students. These consumers wanted the new, loud, and aggressive hard rock of the 1970s and heavy metal of the 1980s, and this trend in consumption spread much more rapidly among this dense population than "Beatlemania" did among the earlier generation of individual consumers living in city apartments. Many contemporaries remember these developments as the "democratization of rock-music consumption."[54]

This "democratization" started with the "hard-rock mania" inspired by the British rock band Deep Purple, whose music became the most popular object of cultural consumption on Soviet dance floors. By 1973, "Deep Purple mania" infected high school and vocational students in particular, including a thirteen-year-old student from City School No. 75, Yulia Grigian (Telegina), who eventually would become the famous oligarch and politician of independent Ukraine known as Yulia Tymoshenko.[55] Anything related to this British band

[53]Interview with Suvorov, June 1, 1991. Compare this with Risch's idealistic description of hippies in L'viv ("Soviet 'Flower Children'"). See also interviews with Svichar (2004) and Vasilenko. Vladimir Donets recalled similar developments in Dneprodzerzhinsk, another industrial city of the Dnepropetrovsk region (interview with Donets).

[54]All two hundred of my interviewees used the word "democratization." See especially my interviews with Solodovnik and Svichar (2004). The number of high school students of Dnepropetrovsk region who regularly visited the local dance grounds increased from 42,200 during the 1960–61 academic year to 125,900 in 1970–71, and to 108,800 in 1983–84. The number of vocational school students, also regular visitors to the dance parties, grew from 13,800 in 1960 to 29,500 in 1970, and to 49,600 in 1984. Corresponding figures for students from technical schools are 20,200 in 1960–61, 54,400 in 1970–71 and 56,700 in 1983–84; while for college students the figures are 21,700 in 1960–61, 36,800 in 1970–71, and to 52,200 in 1983–84 (*Molodezh Dnepropetrovskoi oblasti*, 8, 10, 12). For parallels with developments in the United States see Will Straw, "Characterizing Rock Music Culture: The Case of Heavy Metal," in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, ed. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York, 1990), 97–110.

[55]In October 1970, tourists from Dnepropetrovsk brought the original "Deep Purple in Rock" album back from their visit to Hungary. By the end of that year tapes with recordings from this album had spread throughout the city's student dormitories. In 1972 and 1973 the most popular albums among Dnepropetrovsk college students were all by Deep Purple: "Fireball" (1971), "Machine Head" (1972), and "Who Do We Think We Are" (1973) (Solodovnik diary, May 22, 1971, June, 10, 1972, July 15, 1973; Aleksandr Gusar, school diary, June 2, 1972, August 14, 1973). Yulia Tymoshenko described her love for British hard-rock music in a high school paper that mentioned not only the Beatles but also Manfred Mann's Earth Band and Led Zeppelin. The Deep Purple mania in Dnepropetrovsk in 1973 also triggered interest in other British rock bands with a heavier sound and catchy melodies, including Black Sabbath, Slade, Sweet, T. Rex, Uriah Heep, Queen, Manfred Mann's Earth Band, and Led Zeppelin. On Tymoshenko's childhood see Dmitrii Popov and Il'ia Mil'shtein,

immediately attracted the attention of thousands of Dnepropetrovsk's rock-music consumers. When Aleksandr Tatarskii of the Moscow radio station "Maiak" devoted a few of his twenty-five-minute Sunday broadcasts to Deep Purple in 1973, Dnepropetrovsk's playgrounds, soccer pitches, and volleyball fields stood empty because boys were recording their favorite songs from the radio instead.[56]

Deep Purple's immense popularity shaped the music preferences of Soviet youth in the early seventies. Dnepropetrovsk's rock-music enthusiasts idealized and venerated everything related to this band. Therefore, when rumors surfaced in Moscow and Leningrad about members of Deep Purple performing in a rock opera about the last days of Jesus Christ, it set off a scramble among fans to get tapes of the opera. Andrew Lloyd Webber's rock opera, *Jesus Christ Superstar*, had been released in 1970 (before it became a Broadway sensation in 1971), and by 1973 the original vinyl recordings, as well as taped recordings, could be found on the music black markets of all major Soviet industrial cities, Dnepropetrovsk included. It became the most popular object of cultural consumption among Soviet hard-rock fans because Ian Gillan, the lead singer of Deep Purple, sang the part of Jesus Christ. Thus, in the imagination of young rock-music consumers, Webber's opera was connected directly to the legendary British band.[57]

The biblical story behind the opera triggered an interest in the history of Christianity on the part of thousands of Soviet rock fans. They scoured local libraries for any information about the Gospels and Jesus Christ. While the Bible was officially banned from Soviet libraries, young fans of Webber's opera could use any number of the multitude of atheistic books about the Gospels. Boring tomes of atheistic propaganda that had long been gathering dust suddenly became best-sellers in local book stores and were put on waiting lists in libraries. Dnepropetrovsk librarians complained during 1972 and 1973 about this sudden interest in atheistic literature, especially books about Jesus Christ and the origins of Christianity.[58] Even such notorious classics of antireligious propaganda as Zenon

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Oranzhevaia printsessa: Zagadka Iulii Timoshenko (Moscow, 2006). For the situation in Moscow see Alexei Kozlov, *Dzhaz, rok i mednye truby* (Moscow, 2005), 261. Compare this with Troitsky, *Back in the USSR*, 33; Ryback, *Rock around the Bloc*, 129, 154; and Cushman, *Notes from Underground*, 43, 84, 125.

[56]From 1968 to 1975, Maiak broadcast Tatarskii's "Make Your Own Tape Recording," which usually ran for twenty-five minutes on Sundays, but sometimes lasted for an hour. Tatarskii played the latest hits while offering professional commentary. His superiors tried to control him and stop him from playing "loud music," and more than once they took his show off the air. After 1976, Tatarskii moved to another Moscow station and devoted his new shows to jazz and Soviet popular music. At the central radio station Iunost, Tatarskii and other young radio journalists developed new shows such as "On All Latitudes" and "Musical Globe." These shows covered various topics of modern popular music, including jazz and rock-and-roll. See interviews with Suvorov, Vadimov, and Igor T; and DADO, f. 19, op. 52, d. 72, ll. 25–28. On the radio stations Maiak and Iunost see Aleksandr Sherel', *Audiokul'tura XX veka: Istoriia, esteticheskie zakonomernosti, osobennosti vliianiia na auditoriiu. Ocherki* (Moscow, 2004), 90–94. See also Gusar diary, May–August, 1972, May–August 1973, and May–August 1974; and Solodovnik diary, June 12, 1970, July–August 1971, and July–August 1972.

[57]Interviews with Suvorov, Gusar, Solodovnik, and Vladimir Sadovoi, March 10, 1992; Ryback, *Rock around the Bloc*, 149. Moscow jazz musician Alexei Kozlov and his band *Arsenal* were influenced by the music of *Jesus Christ Superstar* (*Dzhaz, rok i mednye truby*, 264–66; interview with Solodovnik, June 21, 1991). On the cult following of Weber's opera among the Soviet youth in Siberia during the 1970s see Sergei Soloukh, *Shizgara* (Moscow, 2005), 450, 452.

[58]See librarians' reports in DADO, f. 1860, op. 1, d. 2432, ll. 39–40. See also interviews with Natalia Vasilenko (Dnipropetrovs'k, July 19, 2007), Donets, and Suvorov. My mother, who was a librarian in Vatutino

Kosidovskii's *Stories about the Gospels* and Leo Taksille's *Funny Gospels* became objects of cultural consumption among local rock fans.[59] *Nauka i religiia*, a Soviet atheistic periodical, gained instant popularity among young readers, who spent hours in the reading rooms of local libraries looking for information about the Gospels, Jesus, the crucifixion, Judas, and Mary Magdalene.[60] This "Jesusmania" also resulted in new fashions: besides long hair, jeans, and T-shirts, a big cross worn around the neck became an important accessory for completing the new image of the young rocker in Dnepropetrovsk.[61]

To some extent the new religious interest of rock fans resulted in greater attendance at Orthodox churches and sectarian worship meetings, especially on important Christian holidays such as Easter. Young people liked to watch Easter services "just for fun," but for others there was also the added sense of adventure surrounding attendance at such forbidden events as Easter mass at the central Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in downtown Dnepropetrovsk, a "rush" that was amplified by the feeling of danger they experienced as they ran from the police who were chasing them.[62] As one rock music fan recalled, on April 28, 1973, he and some of his friends who had just taped *Jesus Christ Superstar* and were fascinated with this music went to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity to watch the Easter Eve ceremony. There they found hundreds of other kids—rock fans with long hair, jeans, and metal crosses. They whistled tunes from Webber's opera, showed each other their crosses, and eventually tried to push their way through a thick crowd of police and *druzhinniki* (members of people's patrol) in order to enter the cathedral. They were prevented from doing so by the police, who instead arrested some of the drunken "Jesus Christ fans." According to one officer, "this crowd of young men shouted disapprovingly," but in due course they left the premises. Soviet officials promptly restricted access to the cathedral and stopped young people from entering. As these officials later reported, their efforts led to a decrease in the number of Komsomol members who visited the cathedral during the Easter holidays.[63]

Many young people whose interest in the Gospels had been ignited by Webber's rock opera later became Christian believers. Some of them joined local Orthodox communities,

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in the Cherkassy region of Ukraine, voiced the same complaints about the "Jesus hysteria" of 1974, when *Jesus Christ Superstar* suddenly became popular among the local kids of that town. Other people mentioned this "Jesus hysteria" as well (interview with Svichar [2002]).

[59]See the Russian-language editions of the Polish author Zenon Kosidowski, *Bibleiskie skazaniia* (Moscow, 1966); idem, *Skazaniia evangelistov* (Moscow, 1977); and the Russian translation of the French author Leo Taxil, *Zabavnoe evangelie, ili Zhizn' Iisusa* (Moscow, 1963).

[60]More than three quarters of my two hundred interviewees noted the connection between this rock opera and popular religiosity among rock music fans. See especially my interviews with Svichar (2002) and Suvorov; as well as the diary entries from May 22, 1971, June, 10, 1972, and July 15, 1973 (Solodovnik) and June 2, 1972, and August 14, 1973 (Gusar). Readers' preferences are obvious from the annual reports of 1972–77 in the Dnepropetrovsk Central City Library.

[61]The leaders of Dnepropetrovsk tour groups traveling abroad complained about their young charges' new obsession with metal crosses (DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, l. 11; f. 1860, op. 1, d. 1533, ll. 7, 8–9 [for 1972]; f. 1860, op. 1, d. 1993, ll. 59, 70, 90–91, 119 [for 1976]).

[62]Gusar diary, April 29, 1973.

[63]Interview with Suvorov, June 1, 1991. Compare this with the official description in DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 4, l. 23. See also interviews with Igor T., Professor Iurii Mytsyk (January 15, 1992, Dnipropetrovs'k), Pidgaetskii, Prudchenko, and Smolenskaia.

while others began visiting local Baptist or Pentecostal worship meetings. As contemporaries noted, those who were involved in the "Jesus hysteria" eventually discovered the real text of the Holy Scriptures through either their Christian relatives or friends. Young rock fans tried to compare the real description of events with the rock opera's portrayal of the "Jesus story." They made hand-written copies of the opera's lyrics, read the Gospel of St. John word by word, and compared the Russian text with English lyrics. Many students of English from Dnepropetrovsk University spent hours of their free time translating the opera's lyrics and cross-checking their translation with the biblical text in Russian.[64] Some of these students later entered religious schools and became either Orthodox priests or Baptist ministers. One of them, Valerii Likhachev, who graduated with honors from the Department of History of Dnepropetrovsk University in 1978 and worked on the university's archeological expedition, applied and was admitted to an Orthodox seminary in Leningrad in 1983.[65] Aleksandr Gusar remembers how his high school classmates gathered at his house to compare the text of the Gospels, which belonged to Aleksandr's grandmother, with their two Russian translations of the lyrics from the original album sleeve of *Jesus Christ Superstar*. Throughout 1974 they would listen to these records almost every evening. It is noteworthy that it was their interest in the biblical stories that led some of Aleksandr's friends to breach the Soviet bounds of permissibility. Two of them joined the local Baptist community, two others became active participants of the local Pentecostal church, and one later became a prominent preacher among the local Adventists.[66] Something similar occurred in another town near Dnepropetrovsk, when some close friends of Vladimir Solodovnik began their biblical studies by listening to Webber's opera and checking the Russian translation of its lyrics. Five of these friends converted to the Baptist faith by the end of the 1970s. Each one of them started out as an ordinary participant in the "Jesus hysteria" of the early 1970s, adopting all the usual elements of the fashionable youth culture of the time—long hair, crosses, jeans, and an idealization of hippies. But after they joined their local Christian communities, these symbols of rock-music culture were replaced by purely Christian symbols, and elements of religious piety and Christian ethos, rather than rock-n-roll music, became the most important factors shaping their identity.[67]

The music and lyrics of the British band Black Sabbath also contributed to the growing interest in religion among Dnepropetrovsk's rock fans. Their curiosity piqued by the pictures they had seen of band members with crosses on their chests, and in general fascinated by the band's heavy rock music and mystical lyrics, Eduard Svichar and Mikhail Suvorov combed through Soviet atheist magazines in an effort to find answers to the questions they had about Black Sabbath's religious symbols, and about religion in general. Both Svichar and Suvorov eventually discovered a rare prerevolutionary edition of the Russian Orthodox Bible. It became their first religious text. Inspired by the British band's religious symbolism, Svichar even decided to visit Orthodox churches and monasteries in an effort to speak with

[64]Interviews with Pulin, Suvorov, and Svichar (2004).

[65]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 37, ll. 235–36.

[66]Interview with Gusar, May 4, 1990. See also interviews with Igor T., Mytsyk, and Pidgaetskii.

[67]Interview with Solodovnik. Compare this with similar developments in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine (interview with Svichar [2004]).

priests about religion. According to Svichar, after his spiritual search for religious truth and his visits to various churches in Kyiv, he became so disappointed with the Soviet system of higher education and Komsomol indoctrination that he dropped out of college and returned to his home town in the Cherkassy region, where he continued to play rock music.[68]

Although Soviet officials did their best to discourage or prevent unauthorized public displays of religiosity, they were realistic enough to try to coopt or divert the movement by adopting some of its features. As early as 1976, for example, Communist and Komsomol ideologists in Dnepropetrovsk tried to use Western music, including fragments of *Jesus Christ Superstar*, in an antireligious campaign that locals tellingly termed, "Keep the youth busy during the big religious holidays." Communist ideologists continued to rely on the old stand-by of subbotniks, which kept many high school and university students busy with various labor activities during the most popular religious holidays, particularly Easter.[69] But Dnepropetrovsk ideologists also tried their hand at new tactics. The Dnepropetrovsk Komsomol, for example, organized unusually long dance parties (sometimes until 2:00 A.M.) at the downtown discotheque "Melodiia" during the Easter holidays of 1977, 1978, and 1979. According to some of the organizers of these parties in 1977, the most popular melodies, which were requested five or six times in a row, were arias from *Jesus Christ Superstar*. The disk jockeys obliged, although some would accompany musical fragments from the opera with their own atheistic commentary.[70] None of these measures, however, stopped people from attending religious ceremonies during the Easter holidays. According to police data, during the Easter holiday of April 9–10, 1977, 63,000 people visited Orthodox churches in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, 6,300 young people watched religious ceremonies inside those churches, and 2,300 young people participated in the consecration of paschal bread. These people were not, the police noted, religious activists; rather, they were ordinary Soviet citizens who were "just curious about what was going on." These groups of young people included some whose curiosity had been triggered by the very rock opera the authorities had tried to use in their antireligious, anti-Easter dances.[71]

Documents generated by Dnepropetrovsk's trade unions and Komsomol tourist agencies also demonstrate the ongoing influence of Webber's opera on popular religiosity among locals who traveled abroad. This is an important point because the overwhelming majority of these tourists were the most loyal and ideologically reliable Soviet citizens. In 1983 an electrician from the "Dneprovskaia" mine, Viktor Rybakov, bought a Russian-language Bible in Hungary and tried to bring it back with him to Dnepropetrovsk. When a leader of the tourist group asked him to hand it over to the KGB operative accompanying them, Rybakov replied that he would keep it, "because I need this book in my life." Eventually

[68]Interviews with Svichar (2007) and Suvorov.

[69]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 15, l. 11. On subbotniks see Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever,*, 94, 155. In the city of Dnepropetrovsk more than eighty thousand people took part in a subbotnik organized for Easter Eve 1977, cleaning city streets, fixing furniture and sports equipment for schools, improving parks, planting more than 10,500 trees in the city, and so on. A week later, during the All-Union Subbotnik of April 16, 1977, more than 2.2 million people participated in various forms of voluntary work in the region.

[70]Interviews with Suvorov, Gusar, and Igor T.

[71]DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 15, l. 20; interviews with Vadim Ryzhkov (May 18, 1995), Solodovnik, Pulin, Suvorov, and Svichar (2002).

the KGB officer confiscated Rybakov's Bible at the Soviet border."[72] Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s tour group leaders regularly complained about how tourists from Dnepropetrovsk attempted to smuggle in silver crosses, Bibles, and Orthodox icons from their trips to socialist countries, particularly Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. More than 60 percent of the tourists involved in these crimes mentioned Webber's opera as an inspiration for their curiosity in religion.[73]

THE CLOSED CITY AS AN IDEOLOGICAL FAILURE OF LATE SOCIALISM

Despite every official effort, organized religion and popular religiosity remained vibrant phenomena in both rural and industrial districts of the Dnepropetrovsk region. From 1980 to 1984, according to KGB estimates, some 50–60 thousand of the region's inhabitants visited Orthodox churches on a regular basis, while from 1978 to 1984 some 4–6 thousand people (including 100 people who were under 30 years of age) routinely visited Dnepropetrovsk's Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. During those same years anywhere from 250 to 400 people participated on a regular basis in Passover celebrations in the city's central synagogue.[74] According to official statistics, 9 percent of all newborns in the region were baptized in the Orthodox Church, 24.5 percent in one city district alone. Among the 158 parents who baptized their children in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, 104 (65.8 percent) were Komsomol members, 7 were engineers, 11 were elementary and secondary school teachers, and 5 were college students.[75] On the eve of perestroika in 1984, organized religion held the same position and infrastructure as it had twenty years ago in the region. According to official data, "the registered religious people" made up only 3 percent of the entire population, and at least 2 percent of these religious people lived in Dnepropetrovsk itself.[76]

[72]DADO, f. 1860, op. 1 pr., d. 3157, l. 128. Compare with a description of international tourism during the Khrushchev era in Anne E. Gorsuch, "Time Travelers: Soviet Tourists to Eastern Europe," in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. Anne S. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker (Ithaca, 2006), 205–26.

[73]See these reports in DADO, f. 22, op. 24, d. 141, l. 11, and f. 1860, op. 1, d. 1248, l. 57; d. 1532, l. 68; and d. 2278, l. 122. On the "criminal activities" of Z. Krupakova, a group leader during a Mediterranean cruise of 1978, see DADO, f. 1860, op. 1, d. 2278, l. 215; and interviews with Igor T. and Askol'd K. (Dnepropetrovsk University, April 15, 1993), the son of the former head of a tourism department of the Dnepropetrovsk Trade Union branch.

[74]DADO, 6465, op. 2, d. 20, 92–93.

[75]Ibid., d. 40, ll. 4–5.

[76]Ibid., d. 42, l. 52. The Russian Orthodox Church controlled 25 religious buildings, where 43 priests performed religious rituals, including, in 1984, 26 weddings, 11,573 burial services, and 5,611 baptisms (of which 12 were students and 93 were adults). Despite increased Jewish emigration to Israel and the United States during the 1970s, Dnepropetrovsk's synagogue functioned on a regular basis with at least 200 activists in 1984. Evangelical Christian Baptists had 32 registered congregations with 88 ministers and 5,374 members in the region. Pentecostals had 2 registered congregations with 6 ministers, 242 registered members, and 755 nonregistered members who rejected state interference. The Seventh-Day Adventists had 4 registered congregations with 6 ministers and 299 registered members. *Initsiativniki* had 4 unregistered congregations with 5 ministers and 301 members. The Adventists-reformists had 3 unregistered congregations with 6 ministers and 125 members. Jehovah's Witnesses had 2 unregistered congregations with 6 ministers and 136 members. Increasing numbers of youth joined this category of "religious people." Of the 146 new converts to the Baptist

During the Brezhnev era, Western cultural products such as rock music were not simply an important component of everyday cultural consumption—they were a significant contributing factor in the spread of popular religiosity among the youth of the strategically important region. Music from the West became an important factor in the formation of a local identity in the closed city. As sociologists of music have noted, "in appropriating forms of popular music, individuals are simultaneously constructing ways of being in the context of their local everyday environments."[77] The consumption of Western popular music in Dnepropetrovsk was a process of selective borrowing and appropriation, translation, and incorporation into the indigenous cultural context. The consumption of foreign goods and services "is always embedded in local circumstances."[78] According to Pilkington, Russian (and Ukrainian) consumers of Western popular music always invested local meanings into the cultural forms they consumed. Young people in Dnepropetrovsk created their own pop music "taste culture." As recent scholarship has noted, youngsters in the Soviet bloc drew "on the same music and style but produced not a single-based subculture but a variety of responses as a common set of knowledge relating to the local are differentially applied."[79]

Music by the Beatles, Deep Purple, and Andrew Lloyd Webber was a point of *cultural fixation* for thousands of young people in Dnepropetrovsk. "The music of an important, but limited range of Western rock groups," sociologist Thomas Cushman explained, "was seized upon early on and became the central objects upon which subsequent rock practice was based."[80] Everyday living conditions in Ukraine's "closed city" led to the extreme idealization of any popular cultural product from the West. Through their cultural fixation on authentic Western or imitative music forms, Dnepropetrovsk's rock-music consumers built their own religious identities using the elements of Christianity, Ukrainian folk culture, and Hinduism present in their favorite songs.

The story of "popular religiosity" and "Western mass culture" in Dnepropetrovsk during the Brezhnev era highlights the complete failure of Soviet ideologists and the KGB to protect the youth of this strategically important center of the Soviet military-industrial complex from "ideological pollution." At the same time, it shows how the tastes and activities of the new youth culture created new values and demands for cultural consumption that gradually transformed and replaced traditional Soviet values and Communist ideological practices.

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faith in the region in 1982, 44 were between the ages of 18 and 30; by 1984, 53 of the 165 new converts were in this age group (DADO, f. 6465, op. 2, d. 42, l. 33; *Dnepropetrovshchina v tsifrakh [K 40-letiiu pobedy v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine]*, 10).

[77]Andy Bennett, *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place* (New York, 2000), 198.

[78]Mel van Elteren, *Imagining America: Dutch Youth and Its Sense of Place* (Tilburg, The Netherlands, 1994), 4, 18.

[79]Hilary Pilkington et. al., *Looking West?* 16. Cushman used the phrase "a rock music taste culture" (*Notes from Underground*, 36–39). On pop music and identity formation in postsocialist Hungary see Anna Szemere, *Up from the Underground: The Culture of Rock Music in Postsocialist Hungary* (University Park, PA, 2001). Compare this with Deanna Campbell Robinson et al., eds., *Music at the Margins: Popular Music and Global Cultural Diversity*, (London, 1991), 69–83.

[80]Cushman, *Notes from Underground*, 43.