

Music and the Making of the Cosmonaut Everyman

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Heating up between the final years of Stalinism and the cultural reforms of the Thaw, the space race surged auspiciously to the fore at a time of great change, potential, and consequence. For ordinary Soviet citizens, space exemplified the renewed utopian promises of socialism in the years following Stalin's death in 1953 and Khrushchev's rise to power in 1956. Early triumphs such as Sputnik's orbit in 1957, Yuri Gagarin's groundbreaking orbital flight in 1961, and Valentina Tereshkova's success as the first woman in space in 1963 provided new examples of heroes and heroism for the post-Stalin age. The first decade of the space race highlighted the best of the Soviet project: it proved that through scientific prowess, bravery, and determination a collective economy could achieve what once was thought impossible. A rare moment in which socialist ideology and lived reality aligned, it led to a genuine sense of pride and achievement, which had been in short supply during the previous decade. As a flashpoint in the Cold War, however, the space race also amplified concurrent international entanglements. Primacy in the space race meant primacy in the nuclear arms race, and although Soviet officials publicly presented space exploration as a peaceful cause, behind closed doors they conceived of the space

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program as being in direct military competition with the United States.¹ And of course, supposedly untouched by these global currents, the cosmos represented the ultimate nonaligned sphere—the final frontier for the contest between communism and capitalism. It was a new world, unconstrained by earthly matters and ripe for both literal and metaphorical colonization—the planting of real and ideological flags.

Catalyzed by space's symbolic potential, cultural figures promoted the goals and ideologies of the Soviet space program in their work. Drawing on over half a century of creative fascination with the cosmos, artists produced film, theatre, and stamps to encourage ordinary citizens to engage with the space program.² Collectible knickknacks and trinkets brought images of space into the home, while cartoon depictions of Tereshkova, for example, helped to link “standards of girlhood” to symbols of courage.³ Ranging from state-supported propaganda to individual interpretations of space exploration, such art was intended to educate both the country and the world about the merits of the Soviet space program and socialist system.⁴

Alongside the many ways of watching, reading, and collecting the space race, ordinary citizens listened to the triumphs of the space race. Exploring the music and sounds of the Soviet space program, this article argues that the space race was as much a sonic phenomenon as it was a scientific and geopolitical one. It led to the creation of a wide variety of works in many genres and was the ultimate middlebrow source material: it reached every aspect of everyday life and bridged divides between “high” and “low” culture, between official ideology and genuine pride. Given its ubiquity in the cultural consciousness, composers exploited space's symbolism to reframe ideals of Soviet citizenship during the Cold War.⁵

¹ See Asif A. Siddiqi, “Cosmic Contradictions: Popular Enthusiasm and Secrecy in the Soviet Space Program,” in *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, ed. James T. Andrews and Asif A. Siddiqi (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 47–76.

² On the early cultural origins of space flight, see Alexei Kojevnikov, “The Cultural Spaces of the Soviet Cosmos,” in *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, ed. James T. Andrews and Asif A. Siddiqi (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 15–27, esp. 16–18. For more on the space race's cultural products, see James T. Andrews, “Storming the Stratosphere: Space Exploration, Soviet Culture, and the Arts from Lenin to Khrushchev's Times,” *Russian History* 36 (2009): 77–87.

³ Roshanna P. Sylvester, “She Orbits over the Sex Barrier: Soviet Girls and the Tereshkova Moment,” in *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, ed. James T. Andrews and Asif A. Siddiqi (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 195–212, esp. 201.

⁴ For a discussion of how the public culture around the Soviet space race both aligned with and diverged from official projects, see James T. Andrews, “Getting Ready for Khrushchev's *Sputnik*: Russian Popular Culture and National Markers at the Dawn of the Space Age,” in *Into the Cosmos: Space Exploration and Soviet Culture*, ed. James T. Andrews and Asif A. Siddiqi (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 28–44.

⁵ Space and its mythology have long captured the imagination of musicians. See Ken McLeod, “Space Oddities: Aliens, Futurism and Meaning in Popular Music,” *Popular Music* 22 (2003): 337–55, esp. 337–38. Comparing the music of David Bowie and George Clinton,

Composers and lyricists during the Thaw portrayed Gagarin and Tereshkova as model citizens through which they reimagined the New Soviet Person (*Novyi sovetskii chelovek*), a personal ethics and ideological subject promoted in official cultural arenas.⁶ Popular music, a powerful medium for transmitting this new ideology, played an essential role in the construction of both national and personal identities.⁷ Through popular press representations, radio broadcasts, and variety television performances, music devoted to the space program both humanized the cosmonauts and helped facilitate the transition from Stalinism to the Thaw.

In vivid imagery and memorable melodies, *estrada* (popular variety songs) introduced the cosmos as a world ready to be conquered. But once these frontier narratives solidified, it became necessary to present space as a home suitable for the New Soviet Person. *Estrada* composers thus assigned Gagarin and Tereshkova complementary roles in this colonizing mission: he, the great explorer, was revered in marches; she, the homemaker, was celebrated in ballads. In intimate performances, singers and musicians represented space as not only a conquered dominion but also a domesticated one—a feasible home for communism. Documenting the differing musical characterizations of the two cosmonauts helps to illuminate the messiness of Soviet gender politics during the Thaw, in which women stood alongside men in work while they also were expected to assume additional domestic and emotional labor.

In the changing technological landscape of the Thaw, the conduits through which ordinary people could identify with their cosmonaut idols were many. Radio, which had proliferated throughout the late Stalinist period, broadcasted the voices and sounds of the cosmos into apartments, shops, and parks around the country. The immediacy of the medium provided a potent means of communicating “Sovietness” to citizens.⁸ At the same time, the rise of television in the early 1960s marked a pivot in the Soviet mediasphere. Television’s accessibility and popularity made the cosmonauts more visible and audible than ever before, allowing citizens to witness the space program from the

Brad Erickson makes a similar argument for space as a transgressive realm for ideas of whiteness and blackness. See Erickson, “George Clinton and David Bowie: The Space Race in Black and White,” *Popular Music and Society* 39 (2016): 563–78.

⁶ Often this phrase is translated as the “New Soviet Man.” For clarity and to draw attention to issues of gender representation, I have translated it more literally as “New Soviet Person” in this article, save for instances in which I point to gender differences in the treatment of Gagarin and Tereshkova.

⁷ My argument here is not dissimilar from Jann Pasler’s work on music as an essential means of public policy in *Composing the Citizen: Music as a Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

⁸ See discussions in Stephen Lovell, *Russia in the Microphone Age: A History of Soviet Radio, 1919–1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

comforts of their homes. The rise of the cosmonauts coincided with the cultivation of new viewing and listening rituals.⁹ This study thus concludes with an examination of how cosmonauts were presented to the public in the most modern venue: live variety television. Shows such as *Goluboi ogonek* (Little blue flame) proved to be powerful public relations machines; to see and hear the cosmonauts laughing, joking, and singing was to align them with everyday values and practices during the Thaw.

Singers and composers envisioned popular song as an inherently participatory genre that attempted to bridge the gap between performer and listener. Some of the media in which popular songs appeared offered genuine opportunities for participation, as was the case with television sing-alongs and music published in the popular press. Others were perhaps less truthful, as may have been the case with staged song contests in magazines. Together, composers and performers used the space race to cultivate a participatory culture in which the epic forms of Stalinist art and literature were replaced by more approachable genres. Considering identity as a participatory process augments our current understanding of Cold War musical politics. Whether speech, movement, or music, performative acts constitute rather than merely reflect a subject.¹⁰ As scholars who study music in the Cold War continue to destabilize top-down notions of cultural flow and dissemination, it is important to think about how global politics was not only experienced at local levels but also *co-enacted* by ordinary citizens.¹¹ During the Cold War, ways of being were inextricably linked to ways of watching, listening, and singing.

⁹ Gagarin's flight coincided with what historians Kristin Roth-Ey and Christine Evans have highlighted as a sort of "Golden Age of TV" in the Soviet Union. The 1950s through 1970s saw an increase in the infrastructure necessary to transmit television signals across a larger geographic area—not just to Moscow, but also throughout Russia and, eventually, the other Soviet Republics. See Roth-Ey, *Moscow Prime Time: How the Soviet Union Built the Media Empire That Lost the Cultural Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); and Evans, *Between Truth and Time: A History of Soviet Central Television* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

¹⁰ See for example Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Rebecca Schneider, *The Explicit Body in Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Judith Hamera, "Performance, Performativity, and Cultural Poiesis in Practices of Everyday Life," in *The SAGE Handbook of Performance Studies*, ed. D. Soyini Madison and Judith Hamera (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2006), 46–64.

¹¹ Several musicologists and historians have illuminated how musical exchange—be it of persons, performers, or scores—redirected Cold War artistic currents across the socialist sphere. See, for example, Peter J. Schmelz, *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Kiril Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition during the Early Cold War, 1945–1958* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "The World Is Ready to Listen: Symphony Orchestras and the Global Performance of America," *Diplomatic History* 36 (2012): 17–28; and Lisa Jakelski, *Making New Music in Cold War Poland: The Warsaw Autumn Festival, 1956–1968* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

Identity and the Politics of Space Travel

The New Soviet Person was a forward-looking project with its roots in utopian thought—one that, like much of Soviet socialism, was never fully realized. The image and commensurate values associated with the New Soviet Person, an ideal constantly under negotiation and renegotiation, shifted over the life span of the USSR. It remained, however, a guiding ethical principle around which various cultural, social, and national projects were curated.¹² As such, a history of the New Soviet Person approaches a history of Sovietness itself.

In early Leninist ideology, the New Soviet Person marked the apex of communist thought: the complete emancipation of the person from capitalist constraints. It was an end goal, an ideal that the process of building communism would bring to life. In this way, as Igal Halfin has argued, the New Soviet Person represented the final point in an “eschatological” teleology through which the Bolsheviks believed they could achieve the “end of history.”¹³ The New Soviet Person was a class-conscious person of the future: a good, honest worker whose bravery, self-sacrifice, and strength embodied an idealized socialist collectivism. In the early years of Stalinism, however, these more abstract ideals were imposed onto particularly assiduous workers and members of the proletariat. The efficient and productive *udarnik*, or shock worker, became a surrogate for the New Soviet Person. Later, this general term was embodied in the *Stakhanovite*, named after Aleksei Stakhanov, a miner of legendary prowess. As male and female heroes of the factories, mines, and foundries were celebrated for their work, the New Soviet Person became an exemplary citizen in the broader project of *kul'turnost'* (culturedness): a national initiative to standardize Soviet etiquette and behavior across a diverse, nascent country.¹⁴ These workers enabled ordinary Soviets to model their behavior after “real” comrades, not theoretical values.

Amid mounting economic, technological, and military competition with the West, the New Soviet Person manifested most profoundly in the 1930s in the image of the valiant aviator: a hero who propelled himself both literally and figuratively to the forefront of civic duty and

¹² Maja Soboleva, “The Concept of the ‘New Soviet Man’ and Its Short History,” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 51 (2017): 64–85.

¹³ Igal Halfin, *From Darkness to Light: Class, Consciousness, and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), esp. 39–63.

¹⁴ See Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935–1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Vadim Volkov has explored the different guises of *kul'turnost'* in the early Stalinist period. See Volkov, “The Concept of Kul'turnost': Notes on the Stalinist Civilizing Process,” in *Stalinism: New Directions*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick (New York: Routledge, 1999), 210–30.

communist bravery. Early pilots such as Valerii Chkalov conquered the skies and became symbols of the ideal warrior-defenders of communism.¹⁵ Composers and musicians took note. The mass song “Higher, Higher, and Higher” glorified these early aviators; composed in 1920 by Iulii Khait with lyrics by Pavel German, by the early 1930s it became the official hymn of the Soviet Air Force. An upbeat march, the song boasted of the technological prowess of Soviet aviation; the lyrics unite man and machine in a single entity, an affinity that Khait reinforces through call and response. In both topic and sound, “Higher, Higher, and Higher” thus suggests a communality united around military might.¹⁶

“Higher, Higher, and Higher” (Verse 1, Chorus, and Verse 2)¹⁷

Мы рождены, чтоб сказку сделать былью, Преодолеть пространство и простор, Нам разум дал стальные руки-крылья, А вместо сердца— пламенный мотор.	We are born so that we can make fairy tales a thing of the past, To overcome distance and vastness, Our intellect has given us steel wings for arms, And instead of a heart, a fiery motor.
Всё выше, выше и выше, Стремим мы полёт наших птиц, И в каждом пропеллере дышит, Спокойствие наших границ.	Higher, higher, and higher, We fly our birds, And in every propeller breathes The peacefulness of our borders.
Бросая ввысь свой аппарат послушный Или творя невиданный полёт, Мы сознаём, как крепнет флот воздушный, Наш первый в мире пролетарский флот!	Throwing our contraptions obediently upward Or completing a first-of-its-kind flight, We see how much stronger our air force grows, The first proletarian fleet in the world!

The trope of the heroic aviator would again appear in the years following World War II. Sergei Prokofiev’s opera *A Story of a Real Man* (1948) imbued the brave aviators of Khait’s song with real-life immediacy. Based on factual events detailed in Boris Polevoi’s novella of the same name, *A Story of a Real Man* tells the heroic plight of the pilot

¹⁵ Jay Bergman, “Valerii Chkalov: Soviet Pilot as New Soviet Man,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33 (1998): 135–52, esp. 146–47.

¹⁶ Philip V. Bohlman similarly argues that throughout European history, military music “generates unisonality” for a nation. See Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 146–49.

¹⁷ Iulii Khait, “Vse vyshе: aviatsionnyi marsh” (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1961). All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Aleksei Maresyev—shot down behind enemy lines during World War II, rescued and cared for by villagers, and eventually able to overcome the amputation of both legs and return to the skies once more to fight the enemy. Prokofiev's score, as Simon Morrison writes, "combines the operatic, the nonoperatic, and even the anti-operatic" by incorporating genres like waltzes and foxtrots alongside cinematic effects and folk borrowings.¹⁸ In his effort to create the New Soviet Man through vernacular sounds, however, Prokofiev made his "real man" all too *real*. His critics interpreted simplicity as mockery and chastised the composer for presenting "neither truth nor heroism."¹⁹ The Stalinist hero, "real" or not, needed to be more than human. He needed to soar above the ordinary.

Stalinism was more than just a political regime: as a language, culture, and set of ethics, it had permeated every aspect of Soviet life.²⁰ Thus when the leader succumbed to cerebral hemorrhage early in the morning on 5 March 1953, he left behind a cultural, political, and social system that would outlive him. Nonetheless, after Stalin's death, the Soviet Union was confronted with an uncertain future and a new set of questions as to what being "Soviet" should mean. Shortly after assuming power in 1956, Khrushchev denounced his predecessor for his "Cult of Personality" in his not-so-secret "Secret Speech" to Party members. Marking a pivotal moment in the Thaw, he argued for a return to the values of Marxist-Leninism and collectivity. His subsequent reforms sought to build a socialist version of modernity, one that allowed for greater personal, social, and artistic freedoms. The ultimate aim was to revitalize the utopian goals of communism that had been obscured during Stalinism with a new progressivism. As the process of destalinization took hold, so too did a revised image of the New Soviet Person—a *new* New Soviet Person—who would embolden the collective without surpassing it in fame or glory. Revealing some of the era's contradictions and discontinuities, the New Soviet Person of the Thaw would need to be both exceptional and approachable, autonomous and collective.²¹ The post-Stalinist hero would need to be genuine, spontaneous, and humble.

The space race provided a testing ground for these new values. After his successful orbit on 12 April 1961, Gagarin became a celebrity both at

¹⁸ Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 321.

¹⁹ Quoted in Morrison, *People's Artist*, 330.

²⁰ Fluency in Stalinist customs and practices—to "speak Bolshevik," as Stephen Kotkin has argued—was a necessary condition for participation in the building of a new socialist civilization. Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 198.

²¹ Soboleva, "Concept of the 'New Soviet Man'," 83.

home and abroad.²² Born in a small village in 1934 to parents who worked on a collective farm, Gagarin studied in an industrial school and originally learned to fly as a hobby before joining the air force in 1955. Cementing his symbolism as a Soviet everyman, Soviet citizens related to his ordinary upbringing. With his good looks, boyish charm, and radiant smile, he was the perfect replacement hero-figure for the post-Stalin age. Rather than assuming a paternal role, as had been ascribed to Stalin, Gagarin acted as a “son” for the whole nation: the cosmonaut-hero lifted his brothers and sisters to his level.²³ Gagarin seemed engaging, modest, and likeable: a hero for the Khrushchev age. His ability to both embolden and reflect the public was, of course, part of the point. The space program’s mission was twofold: to colonize the cosmos and to reinforce cultural values at home. To his adoring fans, the “cosmonaut who couldn’t stop smiling” continued a lineage of heroic Soviet aviators, albeit one recalibrated to fit the values of the Thaw.²⁴ Soviet newspapers emphasized this by printing responses from ordinary citizens from all over the country. “Our great Motherland has been the first to open the cosmos,” wrote a worker from Moscow; “Salaam to the cosmonauts,” wrote a man from Baku.²⁵ It was a collective victory, one experienced from Riga to Vladivostok, and print media highlighted the magnitude of the accomplishment alongside these ordinary voices.

Unlike his aeronautic predecessors who only appeared on newsreels in cinemas, however, Gagarin’s image as the New Soviet Person would be broadcast directly into the home. Christine Evans has noted that Gagarin, with his “youthful, telegenic face,” was the perfect “person-example” to show viewers.²⁶ The ability to connect with Gagarin from within one’s apartment via television helped to brand the Soviet space program as a more individual experience, one that allowed for multiple ways of identifying with the cosmonaut heroes. As one telling anecdote reveals, Gagarin consciously used television to cultivate an approachable persona. Upon his return to Moscow, one of his shoelaces came untied while he was being filmed walking across Red Square. When censors and editors debated cutting the mistake from the footage, Gagarin chimed in to insist that it remain, as it contributed an aura of “sincerity” and

²² Slava Gerovitch, “‘New Soviet Man’ inside Machine: Human Engineering, Spacecraft Design, and the Construction of Communism,” *Osiris* 22 (2007): 135–57.

²³ Andrew L. Jenks, “Conquering Space: The Cult of Yuri Gagarin,” in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, ed. Mark Bassin and Catriona Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 129–49, especially 136.

²⁴ Andrew L. Jenks, *The Cosmonaut Who Couldn’t Stop Smiling: The Life and Legend of Yuri Gagarin* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2012).

²⁵ “Narod privetstvet,” *Izvestiia*, 14 April 1961.

²⁶ Evans, *Between Truth and Time*, 44.

“truthfulness.”²⁷ Gagarin’s desire for authenticity echoed writer Vladimir Pomerantsev’s famous call for “sincerity in literature” (“Ob iskrennosti v literature”) nearly a decade earlier, in which he contended that “artificiality” and “varnishing reality” were little more than lies. Instead, Pomerantsev argued, an embrace of sincerity would ultimately lead to the uncovering of complex truths in Soviet life.²⁸ A far cry from the Stalinist years of cutting, pasting, and airbrushing photos and films, Gagarin was proof that heroes in the Khrushchev age could come from anywhere and be anyone—wardrobe malfunctions and all.²⁹

Gagarin in a Skirt and the New Soviet Woman

The space program found a counterpart to Gagarin in Valentina Tereshkova, who aboard Vostok 6 became the first woman in space on 16 June 1963. Born near Yaroslavl, an industrial city northeast of Moscow, Tereshkova had worked in a textile factory while practicing skydiving as a hobby and by the late 1950s had become an accomplished parachutist. Similar to Gagarin, her modest upbringing and humble vocation, combined with her aeronautical skills and aspirations, made her an ideal representative for the cosmonautics program. Amidst the complex cultural politics of the Cold War, her flight marked yet another victory in the space race.³⁰ Indeed, America’s failing to reach yet another milestone ahead of the Soviets became the topic of considerable debate in American political circles.³¹ (Americans would not send

²⁷ Jenks, “Conquering Space,” 136.

²⁸ Vladimir Pomerantsev, “Ob iskrennosti v literature,” *Novyi mir* 12 (1953): 218–45, esp. 218. For more on the significance of Pomerantsev’s calls for sincerity, see the second chapter in Denis Kozlov, *The Readers of Novyi Mir: Coming to Terms with the Stalinist Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 44–87.

²⁹ In this way, Gagarin was not unlike what Graeme Turner has called a “celebrity of the ordinary.” See Turner, *Ordinary People and the Media: The Demotic Turn* (London: SAGE, 2010).

³⁰ The Cold War’s influence on social issues in both the United States and Soviet Union has been documented by many scholars. Notably, racial politics in the United States participated in these geopolitical and cultural flows. See, for example, Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). More recently, Danielle Fosler-Lussier has ascribed an even greater intentionality in the cultural exchange of jazz musicians than Von Eschen has. See chapter three in Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America’s Cold War Diplomacy* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 77–100.

³¹ See, for example, the Congressional hearing on the “Qualifications of Female Astronauts” that took place on 17–18 July 1962 in the United States House of Representatives. US Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Science and Astronautics, *Qualifications for Astronauts: Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on the Selection of Astronauts*, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, 1962.

a women into space for another twenty years, when Sally Ride flew aboard the Challenger in 1983.) “What you have done,” opined a woman in Sverdlovsk to *Izvestiia*, “our wonderful cosmonauts Valia [Tereshkova] and Valerii [Bykovsky], is to once again prove that the equality of Soviet men and women is an established fact of the Soviet state.”³² Khrushchev, too, expressed this sentiment upon Tereshkova’s return after her orbit, arguing that socialism was uniquely positioned to enable gender equality.³³

Yet the foundations for equality had been laid long before Tereshkova’s mission. Early Bolshevik ideologues argued that state socialism was able to lift women out of poverty and servitude and allow them to become self-sufficient, productive members of society, and they enacted several successful policies to this end. Women became engineers, tractor drivers, and factory workers at greater rates than their counterparts under capitalism. In the late 1920s and 1930s, however, Soviet women experienced a “double burden” of social demands: they worked, fulfilling their responsibilities to the state, and took care of the home, fulfilling their responsibilities to their families.³⁴ The New Soviet Person was gender-neutral in idea but not practice. And a *de facto* New Soviet Woman arose from these incongruities.

Thus Tereshkova marked the culmination of the divergence between the New Soviet Man and Woman that had begun during Stalinism. She was heroic in her profession and her personal life, like Gagarin, but how that heroism manifested differed greatly between the two cosmonauts. Despite Cold War one-upmanship, Tereshkova did not “walk alongside men” in her post-flight career. While her male colleagues appeared in military dress, Tereshkova was paraded about the country in domestic clothing: the simple, dark textiles of a modern Soviet housewife. Even though she had hoped to continue her military training after her flight, bureaucrats encouraged her to pursue a career advocating for women in politics. Her wedding to fellow cosmonaut Andriyan Nikolaev in November 1963 was widely publicized, as was the birth of her daughter

³² Z. Pushkareva, “Privet s urala,” *Izvestiia*, 17 June 1963.

³³ Sue Bridger, “The Cold War and the Cosmos: Valentina Tereshkova and the First Woman’s Space Flight,” in *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, ed. Melanie Ilić, Susan E. Reid, and Lynne Attwood (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 222–37, esp. 231.

³⁴ For a discussion of women, gender equality, and home life under Stalin, see Lynne Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman: Women’s Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922–1953* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999); and Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Many of the ideals of gender equality were reinvigorated under Khrushchev. See Susan E. Reid, “Women in the Home,” in *Women in the Khrushchev Era*, ed. Melanie Ilić, Susan E. Reid, and Lynne Attwood (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 149–76; and Susan E. Reid, “Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev,” *Slavic Review* 61 (2002): 211–52.

the following year. As they did with Gagarin, onlookers and fans celebrated Tereshkova's post-orbit life as a pop-cultural phenomenon. In contrast to the discourses surrounding Gagarin, however, both popular and state discourses celebrated Tereshkova's "womanly" qualities above all others.³⁵ Moreover, in the shadow of military near-misses such as the Bay of Pigs and Cuban Missile Crisis, Tereshkova became a symbol for peace and an idealized earth in a way that Gagarin, the good soldier, would (or could) not. She reinforced this idea upon her return: "I looked back at our wonderful Earth and thought, 'we cannot let this shining blue planet become covered in black atomic dust.' And as I flew on, I imagined how good it would be if my Vostok 6, this 'female' space craft, could make an invisible yet powerful bridge between the hearts of all women on Earth."³⁶ Complementing her male cosmonaut peers, she showed that the post-Stalin—and post-Gagarin—socialist person could be both adventurous and warmhearted.

This image of Tereshkova as explorer, homemaker, and peace-bringer would prove important as the space race became less about "firsts"—satellites, dogs, men, women—and more about expanding and sustaining new horizons.³⁷ Gagarin had conquered space, yes, but Tereshkova would need to settle it and make it a feasible home. If Gagarin was the proud son of the Soviet people, Tereshkova was both their daughter and their mother. If he was the breadwinner of the family, she would be the homemaker. The cultural depictions of the cosmonauts paralleled what Soviet women experienced at home in their daily lives. Together, Tereshkova and Gagarin symbolized both sides of the New Soviet Person. Musical settings differentiated between the two accordingly.

Sounding the Space Race

Music, sound, and the space race were linked from the start. For many artists, the cosmos was inherently musical, and its conquest assumed symphonic proportions, as in Valentin Victorov's widely reproduced poster from 1963 (fig. 1). Flights were described as "solo performances"

³⁵ Bridger, "Cold War and the Cosmos," 229.

³⁶ V. F. Nesterova, *Pervye v mire: Stranitsy kosmicheskikh startov* (Moscow: Planeta, 1987), 125 (my translation, although this passage is also quoted in Bridger, "Cold War and the Cosmos," 230).

³⁷ For more on the Soviet space program's use of dogs and their cultural significance, see Amy Nelson, "Cold War Celebrity and the Courageous Canine Scout: The Life and Times of Soviet Space Dogs," in *Into the Cosmos: A Cultural History of the Soviet Space Age*, ed. James T. Andrews and Asif A. Siddiqi (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 133–55.

FIGURE 1. “Our Triumph in Space Is a Hymn to the Country of Soviets!”
Valentin Viktorov, 1963



and “duets.”³⁸ Even the ballerina Maia Plisetskaia would assert a connection, suggesting that the “feeling of freedom and lightness” she experienced dancing at the Bolshoi must have been similar to that felt by Alexei Leonov in 1965, when he became the first man to complete a spacewalk.³⁹ The now-famous beeps of Sputnik launched the sonic space race. With visual confirmation impossible for many across the country, Soviet newspapers encouraged ordinary citizens to listen for the satellite’s chirps on the radio in order to experience the historic orbit (fig. 2).⁴⁰

Experiencing the space race at home was made possible by the increased availability of consumer goods in the postwar period.⁴¹ Marble busts of Stalin ceded shelf space to plastic spaceships, and trinkets like pins and teacups became commonplace in the average household.⁴²

³⁸ N. Cherkasov, “Zamechatelnyi duet,” *Izvestiia*, 16 June 1963.

³⁹ See Simon Morrison, *Bolshoi Confidential: Secrets of the Russian Ballet from the Rule of the Tsars to Today* (London: Fourth Estate, 2016), 248.

⁴⁰ See, for example, the front page of *Pravda*, 6 October 1957.

⁴¹ Cathleen Susan Lewis, “The Red Stuff: A History of the Public and Material Culture of Early Human Spaceflight in the U.S.S.R.” (PhD diss., George Washington University, 2008).

⁴² Trinkets and other objects of “kitsch” played an important role in the construction of individual identity and a (quasi-)private sphere in the Soviet Union. See Svetlana Boym,

FIGURE 2. Front page of Pravda, 6 October 1957

Приветствуем всех стран, содействующих!
Коммунистической партии Советского Союза

Орган Центрального Комитета
Коммунистической партии Советского Союза
№ 247 (42406) Воскресенье, 6 октября 1957 года ЦЕНА 30 КОП.

Первый в мире искусственный спутник Земли создан в Советской стране!

ТРИУМФ СОВЕТСКОЙ НАУКИ И ТЕХНИКИ

Вчера мы впервые увидели в небе искусственный спутник Земли. В результате успешной работы ракеты-носителя первого искусственного спутника Земли 4 октября 1957 года в Советской стране был создан первый искусственный спутник Земли. Это событие имеет огромное значение для всего человечества. Оно доказывает, что Советская страна является лидером в области космических исследований.

Идея искусственного спутника Земли возникла в Советской стране еще в начале 40-х годов. В то время ученые стремились создать аппарат, который бы мог вращаться вокруг Земли и передавать сигналы на огромные расстояния. Эта идея была воплощена в жизнь благодаря талантам советских ученых и инженеров.

Создание искусственного спутника Земли — это триумф советской науки и техники. Оно показывает, что Советская страна обладает передовыми технологиями и способностями к решению сложных задач. Этот успех является гордостью для всего советского народа.

4 октября 1957 года в нашей стране произведен успешный запуск первого в мире искусственного спутника Земли. Спутник имеет форму шара диаметром 58 сантиметров и весом 83,6 килограмма. В настоящее время спутник со скоростью около 8,000 метров в секунду описывает эллиптическую траекторию вокруг Земли. За полетом спутника с огромным вниманием следят во всех странах мира.

Прогрессивное человечество горячо приветствует новую историческую победу Советского Союза в развитии науки и техники.

Самые дерзновенные мечты человечества становятся реальностью

Розвядчик небесных гаубиц
Имя не нуждается в упоминании, но в нем заключено великое творчество. Он создал ракеты, которые позволяют человеку выйти за пределы земной поверхности.

Вершина науки
Восхищение вызывает не только успехи в космосе, но и достижения в области физики и химии. Советские ученые достигли вершин в понимании законов природы.

Неоценимый вклад
Достижения советской науки и техники являются неоценимым вкладом в развитие человеческого общества. Они открывают новые горизонты для исследований.

Эллипсоидом с высотой орбиты около 200 км. Скорость движения спутника около 8 км в секунду. Высота орбиты около 200 км. Скорость движения спутника около 8 км в секунду.

О движении искусственного спутника Земли

Спутник движется по эллиптической орбите. Его скорость постоянно меняется. Максимальная скорость достигается в перигее, а минимальная — в апогее. Орбита спутника имеет высоту около 200 км.

Октябрь 1957 года:
Октябрь 4 — 11 часов 48 минут.
Октябрь 5 — 10 часов 30 минут.
Октябрь 6 — 10 часов 15 минут.
Октябрь 7 — 10 часов 00 минут.
Октябрь 8 — 9 часов 45 минут.
Октябрь 9 — 9 часов 30 минут.
Октябрь 10 — 9 часов 15 минут.

«Они сражались за Родину»

Вспомните тех, кто в годы войны сражался за свободу нашей Родины. Их подвиги никогда не забудутся. Они являются примером героизма и патриотизма.

Минута английского ученика

Вспомните те моменты, когда вы учились в школе. Каждая минута была посвящена получению знаний. Эти знания являются основой для вашего будущего.

Вольный побег

Вольный побег — это символ свободы и независимости. Советская страна является родиной свободных людей.

Будущее стало делом сегодняшним

Будущее начинается сегодня. Каждый из нас несет ответственность за развитие нашей страны. Мы должны работать над тем, чтобы сделать нашу Родину сильнее и богаче.

В Москву проедут на родном из КНР прибыла

Правительственная делегация Венгерской Народной Республики. Делегация во главе с министром иностранных дел прибыла в Москву для переговоров.

Обед в Кремле в честь Правительственной делегации Венгерской Народной Республики

Вчера в Кремле состоялся обед в честь прибытия делегации Венгерской Народной Республики. Обедом руководил Председатель Президиума Верховного Совета СССР.

Прен В. С. Курцианский делегации Союза борцов коммунистической партии Югославии

Вчера в Москве состоялась встреча с делегацией Союза борцов коммунистической партии Югославии. Встречу провел Председатель Президиума Верховного Совета СССР.

Телеграмма

Клементу Еремичу Воронилу
Клементу Еремичу Воронилу
Клементу Еремичу Воронилу

Замечательно

Замечательно то, что советская наука и техника достигли таких успехов. Это является результатом упорного труда и творчества советских ученых.

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FIGURE 3. Sputnik Music Box, National Air and Space Museum Collection, Smithsonian Institute, <https://airandspace.si.edu/collection-objects/music-box-sputnik-model>



Although few Soviets would get a chance to pilot their own spacecraft, many could own a toy model and imagine. Music boxes devoted to Sputnik combined the sonic and the visual. Depicting the satellite's flight above the globe, one popular model (fig. 3) reproduced the satellite's characteristic blips and a variation of the chorus to "Wide Is My Motherland," a popular song that had become something of an unofficial anthem in the USSR (ex. 1).⁴³ Originally featured in the film *Circus* (1936)—in a scene glorifying Soviet technology no less—the song espoused the ideals and freedoms of Soviet society. With lyrics by Vasilii Lebedev-Kumach and music by Isaak Dunayevsky, the song maps the extremities of the Soviet empire "from Moscow to its farthest borders." Its commodified, music-box performance reinforced the colonialist undertones of the space program.

These lyrics belong with ex. 1 and the English translation on p. 478 (1936) (Chorus)⁴⁴

Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

⁴³ Music Box – Sputnik Model, Item No. A19850563000, National Air and Space Museum Collection, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC. I thank Dr. Margaret Weitekamp and Dr. Cathleen Lewis for their help accessing information, photos, and a recording of this item.

⁴⁴ Isaak Dunaevskii, "Pesnia o rodine" (Moscow: Soiuz sovetskikh kompozitorov, 1947).

EXAMPLE 1. Transcription of Sputnik Music Box



Широка страна моя родная,	Wide is my Motherland,
Много в ней лесов, полей и рек!	She has many forests, fields, and rivers!
Я другой такой страны не знаю,	I know of no other such country,
Где так вольно дышит человек.	Where a man can breathe so freely.

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The music box thus performed important cultural work on two levels. First, implying a logical trajectory from land to space, its sounds transposed imagery of the vastness of the Soviet Union to the cosmos. Just as they had done decades earlier to Siberia and Central Asia, Soviets could spread communism to space. And second, the music box turned the space race into a souvenir by allowing fans to take home a piece of it in both image and sound. The trinket collectivized and commodified the experience of the space race: a Sputnik in every home.

Gagarin similarly repurposed music to give ordinary citizens an inroad to the cosmos. He claimed in an interview with *Izvestiia* that music was able to translate the physical and emotional sensations of space into a more earthly realm. When asked to describe his first feeling upon landing, he demurred:

It is difficult to put into words the feelings that overwhelmed me when I stepped onto our Soviet ground. Above all, I was glad that the exercise had been successful. In general, the feeling I experienced was one of joy. The moment I stepped out, I sang the song: “The Motherland hears, the Motherland knows.”⁴⁵

Gagarin was referencing Dmitri Shostakovich’s choral work, “The Motherland Hears,” the first of his *Four Songs on Texts by Evgeny Dolmatovsky* (1950–51). “The Motherland Hears,” intended by Dolmatovsky to

⁴⁵ G. Ostroumov, “Rasskazyvaet kosmonavt,” *Izvestiia*, 14 April 1961.

serve as an “aeronautical beacon” for pilots lost in a storm, was easily adopted to fit the cosmonaut’s triumph.⁴⁶ Gagarin was not the first to make the connection; the radio program *Poslednie izvestiia* had combined the song’s opening lines with the beeps of Sputnik a few years earlier.⁴⁷ Shostakovich’s setting, a lilting melody with a sleepy accompaniment, lends itself to cosmic appropriation. Hovering around a C-major pedal throughout most of the piece, it floats to other harmonic destinations only seldomly. It was the perfect choice for Gagarin: with pertinent lyrics and a cozy tonality, it envelops both singer and listener in a familiar warmth, an earthly respite from the estrangement of space. And of course, often performed by a children’s choir and young soloist, it resonated with Gagarin’s boyish charm and reinforced the cosmonaut’s familial role. The cosmonaut hero sang the same tunes ordinary citizens had grown up singing. Moments of modesty and openness like this helped endear Gagarin to the public. The Motherland’s people heard Gagarin, and he did not sound at all different from them.

Shostakovich was not the only composer whose pre-existing work was repurposed to commemorate the occasion. During Gagarin’s orbit, Alexander Scriabin’s *Poem of Ecstasy* (1908) was broadcast over Soviet radio around the country and even, allegedly, into Gagarin’s spacecraft. Three days later, the work was heard again—this time throughout Red Square during the cosmonaut’s triumphal return to Moscow. Although his *Prometheus* had been previously championed by the Bolsheviks, Scriabin had fallen out of favor for his “cosmopolitanism” and mysticism.⁴⁸ Thus the *Poem*’s use by All-Union Radio officials marked a turning point in the composer’s posthumous reception.⁴⁹ Mysticism, it seems, was appropriate to the occasion.

Characteristic of Scriabin’s late style, the *Poem* is a far cry from the socialist-realist tendencies of late Stalinism. It falls into three narrative parts: “(1) [the] soul in the orgy of love; (2) the realization of a fantastic dream; and (3) the glory of one’s own art.”⁵⁰ Foregrounding timbre and color, the opening ebbs and flows in a murky C major, filling up space before dissipating once again. This is music of endless potential but no

⁴⁶ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 180.

⁴⁷ E. G. Bagirov and V. N. Ruzhnikov, *Osnovni radiozhurnalistsiki* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1984), 94.

⁴⁸ For more on Scriabin’s global reception in the 1950s through 1970s, see Lincoln Ballard, Matthew Bengtson, and John Bell Young, eds., *The Alexander Scriabin Companion: History, Performance, and Lore* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

⁴⁹ Lincoln M. Ballard, “Alexander Scriabin’s Centenary Revival in Soviet Era Russia,” *Journal of the Scriabin Society of America* 15 (2010–11): 41–49.

⁵⁰ Ballard, Bengtson, and Young, *Alexander Scriabin Companion*, 94.

impetus, full of motion yet static. Weightlessness gives way to agitation in the second part, which is filled with sequential movement and quickened rhythms. This section, too, fades away, leaving languid uncertainty in its place. It is not until the development, the third section, that these two sides of ecstasy—one transfixed, one transfigured—come into direct conflict. Despite struggle we finally return to C major, but this time, rather than suggesting opaqueness, it triumphs over uncertainty. Ecstasy arrives, steadfast.

Through its aspirational thematic material and harmonic manipulations, the *Poem*, more so than *Prometheus*, fit the revolutionary goals of the space age. The composer's approved notes for the premiere made the connection even clearer:

The creative spirit—the universe—is not conscious that it is absolute; it has subordinated itself to the goal and made creativity a means toward an end. But the more strongly the pulse of life beats, the faster its rhythms rush, the more vibrantly the spirit realizes that it is only through creativity that it is sufficient unto itself. . . . And when the spirit has reached the highest ascent of activity, however it may have been torn away from the embrace of expediency, "Ecstasy" shall arrive.⁵¹

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In many ways, the space program marked the "highest ascent" of Soviet achievement. "Ecstasy" had indeed arrived, and the inclusion of Scriabin's piece both mirrored the quasi-religious fervor of space exploration and gestured toward a utopian future.

The importance of the historical moment, however, demanded more than just precomposed works. New horizons required new music, even new sounds. The Ministry of Culture would direct energy at the end of the 1950s and early 1960s into inventing and manufacturing electronic musical instruments to better capture the sounds of the space age.⁵² Eduard Artem'ev and Stanislav Kreichi used the ANS synthesizer to create the soundtrack for the short documentary film *Into the Cosmos* (*V kosmos*), which played at Soviet exhibitions in London and

⁵¹ Quoted in Vas Iakovlev, *A. N. Scriabin* (Moscow: gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925), 52–53.

⁵² See, for example, discussions of various electronic musical instruments like the Iunost' and Ekvodin in Report of the Ministry of Culture, "Documents about the Production of Electromusical Instruments in the Country," Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literaturny i iskusstva (henceforth RGALI), f. 2329, op. 3, d. 1972, and Report of the Ministry of Culture, "Technical Project 'Electromusical Instrument V-9,'" RGALI, f. 2329, op. 3, d. 433. The Ekvodin was taken on tour to exhibitions in Brussels, Paris, and London, where listeners remarked that it "sounded like the country that gave [the world] Sputnik." Responses from Brussels World's Fair, Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture, f. 420, op. 1, yed. khr. 1.

Paris in 1961.⁵³ Soprano Larisa Aleksandrovskaia, writing to *Izvestiia* to commemorate Gagarin's flight, revealed the impossibility of conveying the moment through old means: "There is always a song in my heart. In it, I find light, and it soothes me and heightens my joy. But now I cannot find a song that would speak to such a rapturous joy: 'There's a man in the cosmos! Our Soviet man!'"⁵⁴ Composers and lyricists participated in the space program by writing music that would memorialize Gagarin's achievement and thereby energize and inspire the Soviet public (table 1).

Yet composers were in many ways outpaced by the speed of space exploration. Writing for *Pravda* after the simultaneous orbit of Andriyan Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich in 1962, the composer Oskar Fel'tsman reiterated the need for new musical devices to celebrate the space age:

On the day when all of Moscow went to meet our heroes, I would have wanted to greet them with a new song. But our beautiful life pushes forward with such cosmic speed that it's difficult for our muses to keep up. But keep up we must, and we can never stop. The builders of communism need a good song.

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These songs needed both to look to the future and to speak to the present. Good music, Fel'tsman argued, would allow for collective participation. It needed to celebrate the "glorious hero-cosmonauts" as well as reflect the "wonderful song of [the] time—a sonorous, joyful, heroic song that, calling for peace and happiness, creates the same feeling in people that the cosmonauts had experienced in the long hours of their unprecedented feat."⁵⁵ The best music for the occasion would be able to replicate the cosmonauts' achievements in the hearts of Soviets around the country.

Composers eagerly took up Fel'tsman's call, and no genre of music was more popular than *estrada*. A loosely defined category, *estrada* were variety songs united more by their topicality than by musical style. As David MacFadyen has shown, these songs "tend[ed] towards the quotidian for their material" and often dealt with contemporary social, political, and cultural themes. Accordingly, they were a powerful source of cultural

⁵³ Decision of the Ministry of Culture, "Documents on the Introduction of Evgenii Murzin's Photo-Electric Synthesizer 'ANS' into Production," RGALI, f. 2329, op. 3, d. 1208. For more on the ANS, see Peter J. Schmelz, "From Scriabin to Pink Floyd: The ANS Synthesizer and the Politics of Soviet Music between Thaw and Stagnation," in *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties*, ed. Robert Adlington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 254–77.

⁵⁴ L. Aleksandrovskaia, "Song of the Heart," *Izvestiia*, 14 April 1961.

⁵⁵ Oskar Fel'tsman, "S pesnei v kosmose," *Pravda*, 18 August 1962.

TABLE 1.
Examples of musical works related to the Soviet space program

Composer/Artist	Work	Year	Genre
Eduard Kolmanovsky	"Captains of Interplanetary Ships"	1957	Song
Alfred Schnittke	<i>Poem about Space</i>	1960	Tone Poem
Jaan Rääts	Symphony No. 4 ("Cosmic")	1960	Symphony
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"Dawn of the Cosmic Age"	1961	Song
Oscar Fel'tsman	"I Believe, Friends"	1961	Song
Vano Muradeli	"Cosmonauts"	1961	Song
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"Glory to the Forward Looking"	1962	Song
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"The Dawn of the Space Age"	1962	Song
Andrei Babaev	"Starry Waltz"	1962	Song
Andrei Babaev	"Earth, Earth!"	1962	Song
Andrei Petrov	"Stars in the Conductor's Bag"	1962	Song
Liudmila Liadova	"To the Stars"	1962	Song
Liudmila Liadova	"Cosmonauts"	1962	Song
Matvei Blanter	"The Cosmonauts' Song"	1962	Song
Matvei Blanter	"A Long Road's Ahead"	1962	Song
Serafim Tulikov	"To Distant Planets"	1962	Song
Jaan Rääts	<i>Ode to the First Cosmonaut</i>	1962	Tone Poem
Valentina Zhubinskaia	"Children of One Planet"	1962	Song
Vano Muradeli	"March of the Cosmonauts"	1962	Song
Yuri Biriukov	<i>A Celebratory Suite in Honor of the Cosmonauts</i>	1962	Ballet
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"Starry Seagull"	1963	Song
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"They Called Her the Seagull"	1963	Song
Arno Babajanian	"Starry Captains"	1963	Song
Oleg Sokolov-Tobol'skii	"Blue Planet"	1963	Song
Vano Muradeli	"And On Mars There Will Be Apple Blossoms"	1963	Song
Vano Muradeli	"I Am the Land"	1963	Song
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	"Tenderness"	1965	Song

Table 1. (*continued*)

Composer/Artist	Work	Year	Genre
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	“Shooting Stars”	1965	Song
Boris Feferman	<i>Asaba Cosmonaut</i>	1969	Ballet
Semyon Zaslavskiy	“Moon Landing”	1969	Song
Aleksandra Pakhmutova	<i>Gagarin’s Constellation</i>	1971	Song Cycle
Aleksei Rybnikov	“The Milky Way”	1974	Song
Oleg Sokolov-Tobol’skii	“Gagarin’s March”	1975	Song

and individual identity.⁵⁶ A multi-stylistic genre, *estrada* were consumed by people of many classes, genders, and ages, and composers and performers often wrote and sang with specific audiences in mind. Many performers believed that singing to—and for—an audience was the only way to ensure that viewers and listeners would be able to “participate” in the song and its subject material. It was at its heart a participatory genre, one that merged the subjectivities of composer, performer, and listener.⁵⁷ As the singer Iosif Kobzon remarked, “a performer must be certain for whom he is working, to whom a song is addressed, for whom the image he creates is intended. Only with these precise considerations will an audience member feel himself a participant in what this—or any other—song is about.”⁵⁸ The performer’s “precise considerations” enabled the participation, even if subconscious, of the viewer or listener. In this way, the genre reflected the changing cultural currents of the Thaw perhaps better than any other.

Fel’tsman, a prolific *estrada* composer himself, answered his own demand for cosmic music with the song “I Believe, Friends” (“Ia veriu, druz’ia”). One of several *de facto* anthems of the Soviet space program, “I Believe, Friends” was frequently mentioned in newspaper accounts of the cosmonauts’ successes. The lyrics and sheet music were even printed in the pages of *Pravda* in an attempt to encourage readers to sing

⁵⁶ David MacFadyen, *Red Stars: Personality and the Soviet Popular Song, 1955–1991* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 11. Alexandra Grabarchuk makes a similar point and notes the powerful affiliations many people felt with these songs in “The Soundtrack of Stagnation: Paradoxes within Soviet Rock and Pop of the 1970s” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015).

⁵⁷ MacFadyen, *Red Stars*, 36.

⁵⁸ I. Kobzon, “Byt’ dostoinymi preemnikami traditsii,” *Sovetskaia muzyka* 9 (1983): 46.

along.⁵⁹ It also garnered fame abroad, which correspondent Boris Strel'nikov highlighted in a dispatch from New York City following Nikolaev's orbit in 1962: "Today at *Pravda's* correspondent office we received calls from firms, gramophone disc manufacturers, television studios, and universities. They all had the same question: where can we find the melody and words to the song of the Soviet cosmonauts, 'I Believe, Friends'?"⁶⁰ It was not just the Soviet Union's technological successes that had traction abroad, Strel'nikov intimated, but rather a combination of technological and cultural prowess. Soviet music's supposed transcendence of geopolitical and linguistic boundaries resonated within a broader Marxist-Leninist ethos—one that proposed the communist system not only as a better economic alternative but also as a social and cultural one. Composers could fight the cultural Cold War beside their comrades in the cosmos.

Composers formalized participatory sentiment in their music through call and response techniques between a soloist and chorus, as in popular songs like "To Distant Planets" ("K dal'nym planetam") and "Gagarin's March" ("Marsh Gagarina"). "Cosmonauts" ("Kosmonavty"), composed by Vano Muradeli with lyrics by Dolmatovsky, emphasized the everyman status of the Soviet space explorer (ex. 2). Muradeli had come under fire in 1948 for his opera *The Great Friendship*, but he experienced renewed success in the decades following Stalin's death, even earning the title of Peoples' Artist of the USSR in 1968. Taken together, the three verses in "Cosmonauts" trace a path from a collective realization of reaching the "heavens" to the construction of a "bridge" to colonize the cosmos, and, finally, offer a reflection on the earth's beauty. With clear declamation and minimal accompaniment, the first two lines of the chorus present a venerable "who's who" of proletarian society in the 1960s: the cosmonauts are joined by "Communists, Komsomols, and Pioneers."⁶¹ Rapidly delivered and punctuated by orchestral strikes, Muradeli's setting elides these four characters into one. In the lines that follow, Muradeli uses harmonic tension and a series of secondary dominants to underscore the uncertainty of the "new and unknown" paths the cosmonauts face, before resolving (both thematically and harmonically) to be "always prepared"—the Pioneer motto.

⁵⁹ "Ja veriu, druz'ia," *Pravda*, 19 August 1962.

⁶⁰ B. Strel'nikov, "Amerika Razmyshlyaet . . .," *Pravda*, 16 August 1962.

⁶¹ The Komsomol and Pioneers were both youth organizations in the Soviet Union. For a discussion of the relationship between Soviet youth organizations and music, see Gleb Tsipursky, *Socialist Fun: Youth, Consumption, and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1945–1970* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016).

EXAMPLE 2. "Cosmonauts!" (Космонавты) by Vano Muradeli (Chorus)

Кос - мо - нав - ты! Ком - му - нис - ты, ком - со - моль - цы, пи - о -

не - ры! Наш путь не - из - ве - дан и нов.

К под - ви - гам дер - зким по - пи - о - нер - ски, каж - ды всег - да го -

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"Cosmonauts" (Chorus)⁶²

Космонавты!	Cosmonauts!
Коммунисты, комсомольцы, пионеры!	Communists, Komsomols, Pioneers!
Наш путь неизведан и нов!	Our path is new and unknown!
К подвигами дерзким	For daring exploits,
По-пионерски	Like a pioneer,
Каждый всегда готов!	We are all "always prepared"!
К подвигами дерзким	For daring exploits,
По-пионерски	Like a pioneer,
Каждый всегда готов!	We are all "always prepared"!

⁶² Vano Muradeli, "Pesni dlia golosa ili khora s soprovozhdeniem fortepiano" (Moscow: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1963).

EXAMPLE 2. (*Continued*)

9
тов! К под - ви - гам дер - зким по - пи - о - нер - ски,

12
каж - ды всег - да го - тов!

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The message to listeners and those singing along would have been clear: bravery and valor were the purview of *all* Soviets, not just the cosmonauts.

Ordinary citizens, too, could set the cosmos to music. In an issue of the popular lifestyle magazine *Ogonek*, correspondent Aleksandr Romanov published the lyrics for a future song, “A Song about the Cosmonauts’ Home,” which he and other reporters had written while working at the Cosmodrome in Baikonur.⁶³ Pondering the cosmonauts’ daily lives, as Romanov explained, he and his peers decided to pen a few verses about their potential day-to-day activities. He further detailed his vision for how the song should be performed: two soloists (one man, one woman) for the verses and a choral refrain of “From here they paved the way to the planets.” The verses emphasized that this path had been laid out not just for the cosmonauts but for all Soviet citizens. Focusing on domestic rituals, the poem capitalized on the cosmonauts’ popular reception and emphasized their likeness to average Soviets. It traced

⁶³ A. Romanov, “Pesnya o domike kosmonavtov,” *Ogonek*, no. 43 (October 1964): 7.

collective similarities and in so doing implied that any ordinary citizen had heroic potential.

Three issues later, the magazine reported that several readers had taken Romanov's challenge to heart and had submitted musical settings of the text.

The story of the song is somewhat unusual. In issue no. 43 of our magazine, we published a note from A. Romanov titled "A Song about the Cosmonauts' Home," in which the author described how he had come to write the words of this future song. The day after the issue came out, the editor began to receive sheet music—melodies for the printed poem. And within a few days, we had already decided to hold a contest.⁶⁴

The magazine named Boris Mokrousov the winner of this impromptu contest and published his setting alongside the lyrics. Two issues later, Romanov wrote in once again to express his surprise and pleasure at the number of musical submissions. He described showing the winning song to cosmonauts German Titov and Valentina Tereshkova, who "asked the magazine *Ogonek* to congratulate the composers [who had entered the contest] on their joyful orbit in musical creativity."⁶⁵ Romanov confirmed that the public's fandom of cosmic proportions was by no means lost on the cosmonauts. Their participation, at least as portrayed in *Ogonek*, provided essential support. In return, readers and listeners gained a closeness to and insight into their cosmonaut idols. And yet Mokrousov, the "spontaneous" winner, was himself a well-known composer of popular songs. Nor was this musical contest an unheard-of event; contests had been common occurrences since the 1930s. Much as Gagarin disguised his deliberately crafted self-presentation as unfiltered authenticity, it is possible that *Ogonek* staged the musical contest in an attempt to cultivate an aura of participation around the space race. That Titov and Tereshkova publicly responded to Mokrousov's "victory" demonstrates the extent to which editors and bureaucrats were willing to go in order to present the cosmonauts as accessible heroes of the everyday—be it through authentic or staged conduits.

In the changing currents of the Thaw, moments like this allowed ordinary citizens to participate—or at least imagine doing so—in large-

⁶⁴ *Ogonek*, no. 46 (November 1964): 30.

⁶⁵ A. Romanov, "Schastlivykh orbit vam, druž'ya kompozitory," *Ogonek*, no. 48 (November 1964): 3.

scale national projects. Rather than promote the mere idolization or emulation of heroic figures, as had been generally practiced during the Stalinist period, music helped to pave a path for the co-creation of Soviet identity. The New Soviet Person was no longer a concept that originated within state organs. Instead, the identity politics of “Sovietness” after Stalin were much more diffuse. They allowed for bottom-up, individual negotiations that went hand in hand with a changing media and cultural landscape where participation and entertainment were as potent a means of cultural engineering as propaganda posters and public service announcements.

Domesticating the Cosmos through Song and Screen

Just as new ideas of “Sovietness” highlighted the differences between Gagarin and Tereshkova, so too did the music written for and about them. Alongside diverging standards in the home and workplace, musical treatments of the two cosmonauts reiterated their diverging roles in the space program and, perhaps more importantly, its public identity. That they received different musical settings is not altogether surprising, nor is it unique to the Soviet context. What is notable, however, is how dramatically Tereshkova’s musical commemorations departed from past models of musical citizenship. Although her music was still intended for the masses, the way it was delivered—through intimate performances, not boisterous military marches—marked a significant departure from Stalin-era socialist-realist practices. It was music for the Khrushchev age, a music that allowed for semi-private, personal identification with its texts and sounds. Even more so than Gagarin’s, Tereshkova’s musical tributes represented a shift from a Stalinist to a post-Stalinist ethics.

Tereshkova greeted the public for the first time on 12 April 1963, two months before her orbit, on a special episode of the variety television show *Goluboi ogonek*.⁶⁶ Celebrating Cosmonautics Day, the episode marked the two-year anniversary of Gagarin’s triumph. Alongside others who had since made the journey into space, Gagarin and Tereshkova sat at what looked like a small café table in front of a studio audience. The cosmonauts smiled at each other and audience members as they celebrated Tereshkova and Valerii Bykovsky’s upcoming launches.

⁶⁶ *Goluboi ogonek*, “Zvyozdnaya estafeta ot 12 Aprelya 1963 goda,” *Nostal’giya Media Arkhiv dlya Profi*, accessed 15 November 2015, <http://pro.nostalgiatv.ru/index.php?film=1895>.

Through television screens around the Soviet Union, the country prepared with them.

Featuring various performers and musical groups, the episode's program presents Tereshkova as a supplement to Gagarin. The musical choices are broad: there are songs for children, men, and women that touch on civic, romantic, and humorous themes. The cosmonauts were often encouraged to sing along. In between performances, literary readings, and the presentation of gifts, the two hosts sat down with Tereshkova to interview her about her professional qualifications and personal life. Was she nervous to fly? Did she feel proud to be the first woman in space? Were her preparations difficult? Eventually, one host asked what she did to relax: "I love to listen to music," she responded. "Especially Chaikovsky's Violin Concerto and his First Piano Concerto. And of course, good, happy songs." When pressed for examples, she offered to sing a few "cosmic couplets," a parody of the popular song "The Textile Town" ("Tekstil'ny gorodok"), which she and the other cosmonauts had sung at Nikolayev's launch a year earlier (ex. 3).

EXAMPLE 3. Tereshkova's cosmic couplets

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Гор-о-док наш ни-че-го, На-сел-ень-е та-ко-го: сов-се-крет-ны-е ре-
 7
 бя-та, сос-тав-ля-ют боль-шин-ство. И-щет прес-са по кус-там, И-щет
 12
 прес-са тут и там: "Ах, ку-да ве-дёт Га-га-рин кос-мо-нав-ток по у-трам?"

Tereshkova's "Cosmic Couplets"

Городок наш ничего,
 Населенье таково:
 Совсекретные ребята
 Составляют большинство.

Our city isn't too big,
 But the population is such that
 Top-secret folk
 Make up the majority.

Ищет пресса по кустам,
 Ищет пресса тут и там:
 "Ах, куда ведёт Гагарин
 космонавток по утрам?"

The press searches in the bushes,
 The press looks here and there:
 "Where, oh where is Gagarin taking
 The lady cosmonauts every morning?"

The altered lines poked fun at their “top-secret” status and Gagarin’s sometimes libidinous personality, which had recently gained traction in the popular press. Although the men mostly refrained from singing, Tereshkova’s pleasant voice garnered smiles from swaying audience members. They too could join in on the cosmonauts’ fun.

Tereshkova had often expressed her love of singing. In newspaper accounts, she spoke of singing along with live music and her hobby as an amateur violinist.⁶⁷ In the pieces she mentions, she outlines a certain hierarchy of cultural values: Chaikovsky, Glinka, and other composers get top billing before those involved with popular genres—a nod perhaps to the tenuous place “light music” (*legkaia muzyka*) still occupied in official rhetoric.⁶⁸ She also reportedly sang “her favorite cosmonaut songs” for Bykovsky during their joint flight to keep him entertained.⁶⁹ (It seems even cosmonauts get bored on long trips.) Such moments of self-fashioning helped endear Tereshkova to the public as well as differentiate her from her stoic male counterparts. Strengthening her status as a talented woman, Tereshkova’s musical “culturedness” also contributed to the civilizing goals of the space program.

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Other song selections during the *Goluboi ogonek* episode reinforce Tereshkova’s image as a cosmic homemaker. Kobzon’s rendition of “And on Mars There Will Be Apple Blossoms” (“I na marse budut iabloni tsvesti”), composed by Muradeli with lyrics by Dolmatovsky, affirms the cosmos as a viable home for communism. Kobzon, an increasingly popular *estrada* performer, was known for his attention to the lyrics and ability to convey dramatic meaning through performance as well as his calm vocal delivery: this was sensitive, civic music with an emphasis on the intimate rather than the boisterous. Sung from the perspective of a cosmonaut, the tender text addresses an unnamed, unseen beloved. The sentimental, lilting melody reinforces the fantasy of outer space as ripe for amorous excursions and romantic settlement. Impassioned strings trade phrases with flighty woodwind instruments, which in turn repeat Muradeli’s melodies (ex. 4).

⁶⁷ G. Ostroumov, “Reportazh s kosmodroma,” *Izvestiia*, 16 June 1963.

⁶⁸ For more on the relationship between “high” and “low” culture, its mediation through the “middlebrow,” and the problems of socialist realism, see Pauline Fairclough, “Was Soviet Music Middlebrow? Shostakovich’s Fifth Symphony, Socialist Realism, and the Mass Listener in the 1930s,” *Journal of Musicology* 35 (2018): 336–67.

⁶⁹ Valerii Gol’tsev, “Vremya i vitki,” *Izvestiia*, 17 June 1963.

EXAMPLE 4. "And on Mars There Will Be Apple Blossoms" (И на Марсе будут яблони цвести) by Vano Muradeli (Final Stanza)

Я со звез-да-ми дру-жил-ся даль-ни-ми! Не вол-нуй-ся о-бо

6 мне и не гру-сти. По-ки-да-я на-шу зем-лю, о-бе-ща-ли мы,

12 что на Мар-се бу-дут яб-ло-ни цве-сти! По-ки-

17 да-я на-шу зем-лю, о-бе-ща-ли мы, что на Мар-се бу-дут

EXAMPLE 4. (Continued)

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яб - ло - ни цве - сти!

“And on Mars There Will Be Apple Blossoms” (Final Stanza)⁷⁰

Я со звёздами сдружился дальними, I've made friends with the faraway stars,
 Не волнуйся обо мне и не грусти. So don't worry about me or be sad.
 Покидая нашу Землю, обещали мы, Forsaking our earth, we promised
 Что на Марсе будут яблони цвести! That on Mars there will be apple blossoms.

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Implicitly acknowledging family members left behind, the song contributed to the humanization of the cosmonauts by recognizing their sacrifices. Likewise, the ambiguous nature of the text would have allowed for a variety of modes of identification from listeners. Kobzon's thoughtful delivery creates a personal, intimate, and reflexive moment among cosmonauts, studio audiences, and viewers at home. His quiet voice draws his audience into the song; they gradually shift their focus away from the café tables of treats and libations in front of the cosmonauts to the singer. All the while, the pastoral imagery and romantic musical tropes imbue the cosmos with an explicitly human character: one where both love and loss coexist, much in the same way they were expected to do so on earth.

Likewise, in “Stars in the Conductor's Bag” (“Zvezdy v konduktorskoi sumke”), performed by Edyta Piekha, composer Andrei Petrov and lyricist Lev Kuklin depict space as a respite from terrestrial problems—and, more specifically, as a feminine escape. Melancholic, meandering verses depict a tram conductor's banal life: staring out the window at rainy streets, she rides in the back of the tram and dreams of distant galaxies. In the chorus, however, she enters a suspended state, flying above the earth, and calls for a beloved whom she cannot find. The verses feature static harmonic progressions and almost arioso vocal declamation, whereas the choruses increase in both tempo and harmonic frequency to “lift,” so to speak, the

⁷⁰ Vano Muradeli, “I na marse budet iablони tsveti,” in *Izbrannye pesni sovetskikh kompozitorov, vypusk II* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo muzyka, 1967).

singer above her earthly troubles. Petrov's setting is evocative: simple yet expressive, memorable yet not banal.

"Stars in the Conductor's Bag" (First Verse and Chorus)⁷¹

Я кондуктор трамвая, мне город знаком,	I'm the conductor of a tram, I know the city well.
Все считают работу мою пустяком.	People think my work is trivial.
Я зимою и летом	Winter and summer,
Отрываю билеты,	I take the tickets
И мечтаю в вечернем вагоне пустом.	And daydream alone in the empty evening train.
Я лечу, лечу, лечу, лечу над землей,	I'm flying, flying, flying, flying above the earth.
Я шепчу, шепчу, шепчу, шепчу:	I whisper, whisper, whisper:
"Милый мой!	"My beloved!
Где же ты и когда ты войдешь в мой вагон?	Where are you and when will you come aboard?
Нас далекой звездою зовет небосклон . . . "	The distant stars in the sky are calling for us."
И все круче, круче, круче, круче полет,	Our flight gets steeper, steeper, and steeper,
Через тучи, через звезды, все вперед,	Through the clouds and the stars we go,
Всех земных пассажиров с собой я зову -	I call all earthly passengers to come with me:
Я билеты до звезд вам продам наяву!	I'll sell you real tickets to the stars!

In the episode, Piekha performs the song in a casual, sincere staging. Piekha's multinational upbringing—she was born to a Polish family in northern France and grew up in Boguszów, Poland—and her sentimental vocal styling embodied increasingly global and personal values in the post-Stalin era.⁷² Accordingly, her inclusion in the episode falls at the crossroads of two Khrushchev-era cultural developments: first, her multiethnic background reaffirms the internationalist goals of the Soviet space program; second, it imbues the performance with a Thaw-era cosmopolitanism, especially given her slight yet discernable Polish accent. Her staging strategies reinforce this. She begins sitting down and singing directly to the cosmonauts but ends the number by walking into an open area and looking into the camera to all those watching at home. By expanding her frame of reference from Tereshkova and Gagarin to the entire Soviet people, Piekha indicates that her performance, while dedicated to the cosmonauts, is for everyone to consume. This was television for both the Space Age and the Thaw, television that embraced its status as

⁷¹ Andrei Petrov, "Zvezdy v konduktorskoj sumke," in *Pesni radio i kino, vypusk 48* (Moscow: Muzgiz, 1964).

⁷² MacFadyen, *Red Stars*, 81–82.

a form of both entertainment and cultural education. For millions of Soviet citizens, these songs allowed them to participate in this new Soviet future—to feel as though Gagarin and Tereshkova could easily be members of their own families. Space was not only for the cosmonauts; it was for the Communists, the Komsomols, the Pioneers, and the everyman and everywoman who watched their country's successes in space and, if only for a moment, dreamt of something greater than him- or herself.

Cosmic Sounds and Cultural Memory

Soviet primacy in the space race did not last the decade. Although Buzz Aldrin and Neil Armstrong would not walk on the moon until 1969, the Soviet space program waned dramatically in the second half of the 1960s, beset by a series of failures and tragedies. Perhaps the most powerful blow to the space program's domestic image was Gagarin's death in a routine test flight in 1968. Mournful headlines remembered the cosmonaut as a "Pioneer of the Cosmic Path" and a "Son of the Earth" shortly before he was interred in the Kremlin walls alongside other icons of Soviet history.⁷³ The very same composers who years earlier had celebrated his orbit memorialized his loss. In 1971 Aleksandra Pakhmutova penned *Gagarin's Constellation* (*Sozvezd'e Gagarina*), a song cycle devoted to remembering the cosmonaut for the ten-year anniversary of his flight. Although the text of the cycle reiterates hope for Gagarin's "eternal memory," Pakhmutova's setting betrays throughout a pervasive sense of loss and collectivizes the cosmonaut's death.

As Soviet politics began to chill once more, citizens mourned the death not only of Gagarin but also of the utopian ideals of the cosmos and the promises of the Thaw, the gilded the future of social progress that was to become a second home for socialism. Indeed, just one year after Pakhmutova's cycle, Andrei Tarkovsky's film *Solaris* (1972) would depict space as a very different escape: an emotional vacuum in which the immensity of human psychology and inner struggle painted the cosmos in dystopian shades.⁷⁴ The space program's success narrative was

⁷³ See various headlines such as "Pioner kosmicheskikh trass," "Simvol epokhi kommunizma," and "Syn zemli" in *Pravda*, 29 March 1968, 2.

⁷⁴ The psychological underpinnings of *Solaris* are well documented. Putting pressure on Cartesian dualism, for example, Vladimir Tumanov positions the character of Hari (Kris Kelvin's wife) as a fluid being through whom ethical, emotional, and psychological questions are filtered over the course of the film. See Tumanov, "Philosophy of Mind and Body in Andrei Tarkovsky's *Solaris*," *Film-Philosophy* 20 (2016): 357–75. Notably, Artem'ev's music for the film eschews most popular styles of the time. Instead, it largely relies on composed sounds for the ANS synthesizer and Johann Sebastian Bach's "Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ" to provide an interpretive, albeit still ambiguous framework for the film. See Tobias

slowly but surely stagnating and decaying, due in no small part to the same cultural agents and media that had cultivated it in the first place.⁷⁵ And with it, the promises of the Thaw gave way to Leonid Brezhnev's more realistic "actually existing socialism."⁷⁶

As is almost always the case, lost utopias still make for powerful sources of creative inspiration. Rather than depicting a future just out of reach, later musical treatments of space would be laced with nostalgia or, perhaps more accurately, disillusionment. In their 1983 performance on *Song of the Year* (*Pesnia goda*), an annual music competition hosted by Soviet Central Television, the rock group Zemliane (Earthlings) gave voice to this transformation in their song "Grass by the Home" ("Trava u doma").⁷⁷ A VIA, or vocal-instrumental ensemble (*vokalno-instrumentalni ansambl*), this state-produced group wowed audiences with their synth-driven rock, feedback-saturated guitar solos, and driving basslines. Including both a double-necked guitar and a gleaming black keytar, the ensemble looked, felt, and sounded like the Soviet 1980s: an exciting if messy blend of kitsch and sincerity, official and countercultural, Soviet and global. Sung from the perspective of an unnamed cosmonaut, "Grass by the Home" speaks to the loneliness of space and the dissolution of family ties through distance and technology. Interstellar heroism is simply a means to an end, a footnote to a far more poignant emotional journey.

Pontara, "Bach at the Space Station: Hermeneutic Pliability and Multiplying Gaps in Andrei Tarkovsky's *Solaris*," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 8 (2014): 1–23.

⁷⁵ For more on the myths and countermyths that arose around the Soviet space program, see Slava Gerovitch, "Why Are We Telling Lies?' The Creation of Soviet Space History Myths," *Russian Review* 70 (2011): 460–84, at 477.

⁷⁶ This period, known as the era of stagnation, has often been characterized as marked by economic shortages, a decrease in personal freedoms, and general boredom among the populace. Svetlana Boym, for example, points to how even the discussion of banality was itself outmoded and banal. See Boym, *Common Places*, 64–67. There was still, however, a lively, thriving cultural life during the stagnation era, though it was largely centered in private or semi-private rather than state settings. Peter Schmelz, for example, has shown that changes such as genre-bending and high-low crossovers in the 1970s and 1980s were part of a lively musical community. See Schmelz, "'Crucified on the Cross of Mass Culture': Late Soviet Genre Politics in Alexander Zhurbin's Rock Opera *Orpheus and Eurydice*," *Journal of Musicological Research* 28 (2009): 61–87. Similarly, I follow Evans in using the term "stagnation" here to capture the period's malaise and disengagement—at least as it has been remembered in the recent past—as well as to position it alongside broader global trends in the 1970s. As Evans, speaking to the paradoxical nature of the Soviet seventies, notes, "the Soviet 1970s were thus, as in many other countries, a period of both greater repression and greater experimentation." See Evans, *Between Truth and Time*, 7. For a comprehensive examination of the more ritualistic characteristics of the 1970s and 1980s in the Soviet Union, see Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

⁷⁷ Evans has written at length about how *Song of the Year* became a powerful cultural force that mobilized audience participation, dramatic potential, and "good moods." See Evans, "Song of the Year and Soviet Mass Culture in the 1970s," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12 (2011): 617–45.

This was not unlike the space program itself: what had given rise to countless hopes and dreams in the early 1960s had become a reminder of past successes and present problems in the 1970s and 1980s. Space, in the end, was not even for the cosmonauts—let alone for the Communists, Komsomols, or Pioneers. Or rather it had been at first, but like so much else in the socialist project it proved to be just out of reach. Music that had once cultivated a post-Stalin Soviet citizenry came to embody its failure. Performed, enacted through everyday action, and broadcast through media, the same processes of identity formation that had proved so potent at the outset of the space race contributed to its demise. The cosmonaut everyman, in the end, was eclipsed by the Soviet everyday.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, however, the cosmonauts have endured as a source of fascination for musicians and performers throughout the post-Soviet sphere—and indeed, around the globe.⁷⁸ Beginning with the earliest raves in Moscow and Leningrad, Gagarin in particular symbolized the fast-paced, futuristic hopes of young Russians.⁷⁹ Disco parties in his namesake enabled global musical genres and young people to merge on the dance floor, with one French DJ even remarking in 1991 that visiting Soviet Russia was just like visiting the moon.⁸⁰ Gagarin's cry "Let's go!!" (*Poekhali!*), which first resounded from radios around the Soviet Union shortly after his flight, is arguably one of the most sampled and referenced soundbites from Soviet history in electronic music today.⁸¹ Cosmic *estrada*, too, remain popular among Russians old and young.⁸² And the cosmonauts' heroic feats continue to inspire musical creation: Moscow's Cosmonautics Museum even commissioned an album of "Cosmic Firsts," which they released as a mobile app along with annotated histories and photos of important space race events.⁸³ Indeed, every year

⁷⁸ For a discussion of the many ways in which the Soviet space program endures in post-Soviet memory, see the final chapter of Slava Gerovitch, *Soviet Space Mythologies: Public Images, Private Memories, and the Making of a Cultural Identity* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 155–70.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Alexei Yurchak, "Gagarin and the Rave Kids: Transforming Power, Identity, and Aesthetics in Post-Soviet Nightlife," in *Consuming Russia: Popular Culture, Sex, and Society since Gorbachev*, ed. Adele Marie Barker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 76–109.

⁸⁰ Ilya Voronin and Oleg Tsodikov, "'Poekhali!' Istorii Gagarin Party," *MixMag Russia*, 16 December 2016, accessed 6 July 2018, <https://mixmag.io/cover/63144>.

⁸¹ For more on this trend, see K. D. Plotnikov, "Elektronnaia muzyka v kontekste kul'turnoi zhizni Rossii v 90-e gg," *Chelovek v mire kul'tury* 21 (2017): 189–93.

⁸² The Moscow government, for example, played songs like "Gagarin's March" and "I Believe, Friends" in the Moscow metro to celebrate Cosmonautics Day. "Passazhiri metro pozdraviat s Dnem kosmonavtov," *Mos.ru: The Official Site of the Moscow Mayor*, 12 April 2017, accessed 5 July 2018, www.mos.ru/news/item/22813073/.

⁸³ Dmitri Chertkov, "Muzei kosmonavtiki vypustil muzykal'nyi sbornik 'Pervyi kosmicheskii,'" *The Village*, 11 April 2017, accessed 1 July 2018, www.the-village.ru/village/city/city/262518-music.

on 12 April, celebrations around Russia both draw on pre-existing musical works and use the opportunity to create new ones.

The space race continues to catalyze musical and artistic creation. Just as it symbolized the Soviet Union's position within broader global currents, so too does it symbolize a new techno-utopianism for the twenty-first century. That it continues to do so for millions of young people who, born after 1991, have little connection to socialist philosophy testifies to the supranational (one could say extraterrestrial) symbolism of the cosmos. The space race was sounded, yes, but it continues to be *re*-sounded today. It endures as a sonic reminder of a momentous occasion in Soviet history and, indeed, in global history more broadly.

ABSTRACT

This article repositions the space race as a sonic phenomenon by analyzing music and sounds related to the Soviet space program. Early triumphs such as the orbit of Sputnik I in 1957, Yuri Gagarin's groundbreaking orbital flight in 1961, and Valentina Tereshkova's success as the first woman in space in 1963 epitomized the complexities of the cultural Cold War and the utopian underpinnings of the Thaw. Space, the ultimate nonaligned sphere, was a new world for the planting of real and ideological flags. At the same time, these successes were key to reimagining the ideals of Soviet citizenship and national identity in the post-Stalin era. Heating up at a moment of great change and consequence, the space race provides an inroad to examine how music, media, and sound helped spread these emerging values. Drawing on the popular press, radio broadcasts, and variety television performances, this article demonstrates how music was used to humanize the cosmonauts and promote a new personal ethics—one that prized approachability and humility alongside heroism and bravery. The divergent ways that composers and performers celebrated Gagarin and Tereshkova reveal a complex politics of gender during the Thaw. Gagarin, the conqueror, was revered in marches extolling his colonizing feats; Tereshkova, the homemaker, was celebrated with romances and tales of domesticity. By demonstrating the prevalence of new media and the power of participatory practices in the sonic space race, this article contributes to our understanding of the cultural Cold War as a lived and performed experience.

Keywords: space race, Soviet Union, Cold War, popular music, Dmitri Shostakovich, Vano Muradeli