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**Exploring Culture in and of the Cold War**

The Cold War used to be portrayed as a global struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Even if this image has been challenged many times, the main images that come to mind when speaking of the Cold War, are often linked to superpower rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States, the threat of a military conflict, and nuclear armament. These images have proved tenacious regardless of scholarship underlining cooperation across apparent ideological division and cross-border interaction instead of hostility. One of the key weaknesses is that many areas still lack empirical research that would fill in the gaps and provide material to allow us to re-evaluate the extent and impact of the Cold War. This volume is intended to serve these needs.

We are keen to add to the process of moving Cold War studies beyond a US-centric perspective, which ties the study of the era to the actions, policies and operations of the United States. There is obviously no denying that the United States was the key player in the Cold War, but the centrality of the US also brings many drawbacks. Perhaps the most important of these is that it has downplayed attention toward cooperative and multilateral developments during the Cold War era. One of the key aims of this volume is to bring to light the transnational connections that took place through cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange in Europe. For a long time, Cold War studies saw Europe and European countries either as victims or passive recipients in the US-Soviet rivalry. While this might seem so from the viewpoint of these superpowers, these countries were also active participants with motivations and aims of their own. These features of inter-European development have often been overshadowed by the superpower rivalry in Cold War scholarship. By focusing on Europe, this volume continues the recent endeavour to provide a more inclusive interpretation of the impact and development of the Cold War in this continent.<sup>1</sup>

While Europe provides the geographical backdrop for our volume, one of the important theoretical foci has been our emphasis on smaller national and transnational actors instead of governments. The diverse state and non-state actors discussed in this volume had very different interests, sometimes irreconcilable

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<sup>1</sup> This volume has been preceded by others focusing on Cold War in the European context, in particular, Sari Autio-Sarasma and Katalin Miklóssy (eds.). *Reassessing Cold War Europe*. London: Routledge, 2011; Poul Villaume, Ann-Marie Ekengren, and Rasmus Mariager (eds.). *Northern Europe in the Cold War, 1965–1990: East-West Interactions of Trade, Culture, and Security*. Tampere: Juvenes Print, 2016.

with and even resisting bipolar Cold War dichotomies. Naturally, as some of the chapters examine local, regional or national perspectives, there is always a risk of offering a one-sided perspective on events, or even exaggerating their historical significance. Yet, by carefully setting these events within a larger context, we have sought to overcome this risk. We have strived to offer a balanced account, enriching our understanding of the Cold War as a phenomenon, and the Cultural Cold War in particular.

The Cultural Cold War is a key concept encompassing this volume. In general, studies of the Cold War have developed since the early 1990s into a point where a unified understanding of the Cold War is being constantly challenged. Most agree that the Cold War was an East-West conflict that became essentially global and was chronologically situated between the Second World War and 1989. Beyond that, however, the traditional bipolar conflict of either security or socio-economic rivalry has been challenged by different national, transnational and global explanations, and the introduction of multiple actors.<sup>2</sup> Can we still speak of Cold War history, or just transnational and global change during the second half of the twentieth century? *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* suggests that a pluralistic interpretation of the Cold War is possible, and even desirable. The three volumes of the series move from everyday life to the actions of statesmen, from military to cultural phenomena.<sup>3</sup> Yet, some critics have seen a danger in this approach, suggesting that it no longer sees the Cold War as a distinctive epoch, making it difficult to separate from other strands of twentieth-century history.<sup>4</sup>

Even so, we believe that the traditional political approach that emphasises foreign policy, state-to-state relationships, and questions of military security is not enough to understand the phenomenon. In contrast, the Cultural Cold War, focusing on the arts, everyday life, education, and how social activity in both East and West was affected by the Cold War, greatly expands the traditional area of Cold War studies. We do not deny the importance of the traditional approach to the Cold War, but we argue that an expansion of Cold War studies enables a better understating of how it was experienced on a daily basis at the “street level”. The Cold War therefore influenced social and cultural life, and

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2 Federico Romero. Cold War historiography at the crossroads. *Cold War History* 14, no. 4 (2014): 685–703.

3 Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.). *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

4 Lawrence D. Freedman. Frostbitten, decoding the Cold War 20 years later. *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2010); Holger Nehring. What Was the Cold War? *The English Historical Review* 127, no. 527 (2012): 923.

in turn was itself a social and cultural phenomenon. By approaching it in this way, the study of the Cultural Cold War involves new approaches and perspectives that emphasise the relevance of identity, interests, behaviour, social interaction, and how they changed over time.

By focusing on East-West interaction, the aim is to point out that despite the Cold War divide, the exchange of ideas, cultural artefacts, artistic processes and people continued throughout this period. Confrontation does not automatically mean suppression of contacts.<sup>5</sup> Both sides began to use culture and information in areas they had occupied after the war, paying either little attention to countries outside their areas of influence, or using more direct means of propaganda, such as surrogate broadcasting.<sup>6</sup>

Cultural diplomacy directed to countries designated as ideological enemies was problematic as long as the Soviet Union kept contacts to a minimum and the United States remained highly suspicious of communism. The death of Stalin marked a major change in this respect, and it was the Soviet Union rather than the United States that first began to embrace the potential for cultural diplomacy. Although the Soviet Union did not change the aim of its foreign policy, namely spreading communism, it greatly revised its approach to cultural diplomacy, increasing its resources and replacing hardliners who had opposed any interaction with capitalist countries.<sup>7</sup> Yet, it needs to be underlined that our understanding of Soviet cultural diplomacy as part of its overall strategy is still quite limited in scope.

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5 Michael David-Fox. The Iron Curtain as Semi-Permeable Membrane: Origins and Demise of the Stalinist Superiority Complex. In *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange across the Soviet Bloc*, Patrick Babiracki, Kenyon Zimmer (eds.). College Station, TX: A&M UP, 2014, 14–39.

6 Perhaps not surprisingly, more studies have been written from the US point of view. A good overview on US Cold War broadcasting activities directed at socialist countries is offered in A. Ross Johnson and Eugene Parta. *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe- a Collection of Studies and Documents*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012. Studies on Soviet Cold War broadcasting are practically non-existent, even if the Soviet Union used radio broadcasting much earlier and more extensively than the United States, see e.g. Simo Mikkonen. To control the world's information flows: Soviet international broadcasting. In *Airy Curtains in the European Ether: Broadcasting and the Cold War*, Alexander Badenoch, Christian Franke, Andreas Fickers (eds.). Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.

7 Nigel Gould-Davies. The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy. *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 2 (2003): 193–214; Simo Mikkonen. Winning Hearts and Minds? The Soviet Musical Intelligentsia in the Struggle against the United States during the Early Cold War. In *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics*, Pauline Fairclough (ed.). Farnham: Ashgate, 2013; Pia Koivunen. Performing Peace and Friendship: The World Youth Festival as a Tool of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy, 1947–1957. Ph.D. diss., University of Tampere, 2013.

In Cultural Cold War studies, just as in traditional Cold War studies, the focus has so far been on exchanges between the US and the Soviet Union, with most research covering American cultural diplomacy. With this volume, we wish to look beyond the United States and instead bring East-West interactions within Europe to the forefront. While the Soviet Union is often excluded from European-focused research, our aim has been the opposite, to include the Soviet Union as an active participant within European connections and interactions. Some of the chapters of this volume discuss official Soviet interaction with western European states, while others single out individuals and organisations that played an important part in initiating and tending connections over ideological and political boundaries. The motivations for these activities, however, often seem very different when looking at state or non-state actors, as a number of chapters in this volume point out.

Geographically, the chapters of this volume focus primarily on connections between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, with some attention given to interaction between East and West Germany and Soviet-Finnish relations. The chapters also offer some glimpses of Soviet-American interactions, primarily from the Soviet point of view. Countries included in this book are unique in many respects. For instance, Finland tried to stay neutral in international politics, while France was more ready to engage in cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union than perhaps any other NATO country from the mid-1950s onwards.<sup>8</sup>

The key concepts of this volume, cultural diplomacy and cultural interaction, are not without problems. What do we mean when we speak of East-West cultural interaction during the Cold War era? What is cultural diplomacy? Together with public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy has become a widely discussed issue in connection with Cold War studies, as well as more broadly in the study of international relations. Typically, public diplomacy is considered an overarching concept encompassing influence on public opinion abroad, the interaction of private groups between different countries, and intercultural communications more generally.<sup>9</sup> From the state perspective, public diplomacy is a label used to distinguish between the traditional activities of diplomacy and the unofficial interactions and activities. While the United States had engaged in extensive cul-

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<sup>8</sup> See Timo Vilén's chapter in this volume; Faye Bartram. Reel Results After One Week: The Cinema and French Cold War Cultural Diplomacy with the USSR, 1955–1972. *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 44 (2016): 30–41.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Cull. Public Diplomacy before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase. In *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Nancy Snow, Philip M. Taylor (eds.), 19–23. London, New York: Routledge, 2009; Joseph S. Nye Jr. Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 94–109.

tural relations during the interwar years, the heyday of cultural diplomacy was really after the Second World War, when many countries, led by the United States and the Soviet Union, deliberately aimed to influence international public opinion on a large scale.

Cultural diplomacy is therefore regarded here as a distinct area of public diplomacy, in which culture is used to enable varied forms of communication that project and attract support for ideas, beliefs, and values.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, cultural diplomacy also expands the field of diplomacy by involving private actors that otherwise have little to do with government. This includes artists, administrators, impresarios, educators, and many other individuals who acted with varying degrees of autonomy vis-à-vis state authorities. Thus, cultural diplomacy can refer both to state-to-state contacts as well as people-to-people and other networks of non-governmental organisations. This is clearly a major expansion of the accepted terrain of diplomacy, challenging existing assumptions and complicating the formation of an overall picture. For the purposes of this volume, we use cultural diplomacy to refer to both state and non-state informational, cultural, and educational exchanges across state borders.

## Cultural Cold War – or Cold War Culture

One of the first attempts to provide an overview of the cultural approach to Cold War studies was an article by Patrick Major and Rana Mitter in *Cold War History* (2003). They urged a shift in focus from state politics towards a socio-cultural history of the Cold War. The subsequent edited volume included chapters on issues such as broadcasting, public opinion, and the production of popular culture. Instead of international politics, Major and Mitter wanted to emphasise the production, dissemination, and reception of culture, and the role played by “cultural actors” in the political realm. Around the same time, the volume *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe 1945–1960* also moved the debate away from state-to-state diplomacy more towards the study of culture and ideology in the Cold War contest. Both of these volumes focused largely on the West, although the implication of what they were saying was broader.<sup>11</sup>

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**10** Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried (eds.). *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010.

**11** Patrick Major and Rana Mitter. East is East and West is West? Towards a Comparative Socio-Cultural History of the Cold War. *Cold War History* 4, no. 1 (2003): 1–22; Patrick Major and Rana Mitter (eds.). *Across the Blocs: Cold War Cultural and Social History*. London: Frank Cass, 2004;

In 2010, Gordon Johnston reviewed the development of studies on the Cultural Cold War. He paid attention to the fact that unlike traditional Cold War studies, the study of the Cultural Cold War was specifically a multidisciplinary area that brought together disciplines such as history, international relations, political science, sociology, and cultural studies. Johnston further emphasised the important division between the *Cultural Cold War* and *Cold War Culture* as indicated by Major and Mitter in their 2004 volume.<sup>12</sup> The former studies specific efforts by Cold War protagonists to utilise culture in all its forms in order to achieve political goals, in the process influencing (some would say “distorting”) cultural production and reception, whereas the latter discusses the everyday modes of behaviour and thinking of those who lived during the Cold War.<sup>13</sup> Both, however, imply a socio-cultural approach. The difference between the two thus concerns both methodology and varying interpretations of what culture “means” in different settings.

In recent years a number of studies on East-West interaction have appeared, each one emphasising the role played by a variety of state and non-state actors, proving that the Iron Curtain was more porous than was initially thought.<sup>14</sup> The increasing interest in the campaign for human rights as a “catalytic converter” within East-West relations has focused attention on the role of NGOs in propelling change within societies.<sup>15</sup> A recent turn towards the role of experts has also begun to map out the influence of international organisations and knowledge networks in framing “technological bridges” to the Cold War divide.<sup>16</sup> The cumulative effect of this valuable research is to shift our coordinates for understanding the nature and extent of cross-border, trans-ideological contacts, and how the

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Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam (eds.). *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe 1945–1960*. London: Frank Cass, 2004.

**12** Major and Mitter. *Across the Blocs*.

**13** Gordon Johnston. Revisiting the Cultural Cold War. *Social History* 35, no. 3 (2010): 290–307.

**14** Idesbald Godeeris (ed.). *Solidarity with Solidarity: Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980–1982*. Lanham: Lexington, 2010; Annette Vowinkel, Marcus Payk, and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.). *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies*. New York: Berghahn, 2012; Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen (eds.). *Beyond the Divide: Entangled Histories of Cold War Europe*. New York: Berghahn, 2015; Kim Christiaens, Frank Gerits, Idesbald Godeeris, Giles Scott-Smith (eds.). The Low Countries and Eastern Europe during the Cold War. *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 39, no. 3 (2015).

**15** Poul Villaume and Odd Arne Westad. *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965–1985*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010; Poul Villaume, Rasmus Mariager, and Helge Porsdam (eds.). *The “Long 1970s”: Human Rights, East-West Détente, and Transnational Relations*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016.

**16** Michael Christian, Sandrine Kott, and Ondrej Matejka (eds.). *Planning in Cold War Europe: Competition, Cooperation, Circulations 1950s–1970s*. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2018.

many-sided “actorness” of civil society provided multiple opportunities for such engagement, despite the often tense diplomatic and security environment. Our volume contributes to this significant move in Cold War history by emphasising the importance of culture as a particular space where dialogue and exchange took place, both in terms of state agendas (cultural diplomacy) and inter-personal interaction (cultural relations).

While US cultural diplomacy has been the focus of a number of volumes, Soviet cultural diplomacy has received much less attention. Especially the mechanics and general aims of Soviet foreign policy in the sphere of culture have needed addressing, since existing studies have largely been on the late 1950s only.<sup>17</sup> Recently, however, there have been attempts to include cultural diplomacy as part of the study of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and Russia.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, studies of the Cultural Cold War include a number of descriptive works written by former diplomats, politicians, and journalists, some of whom were involved in cultural diplomacy themselves.<sup>19</sup> Such works can be very valuable for providing insider accounts, but they also emphasise how young a field the study of the Cultural Cold War actually is. Empirical studies dominate, especially with regard to the Soviet Union where archives could not be accessed before the 1990s and new archival evidence is still available to fill in blank spots. This strong empirical basis is also evident in this volume as well, with many of the chapters drawing on previously unused archival sources held in Russia and elsewhere.

From the Russian side, there has been a major re-evaluation of the role played by culture as part of Soviet foreign policy.<sup>20</sup> While information, culture and education already played an important part in Soviet foreign policy before

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**17** Nigel Gould Davies. *The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy*; Simo Mikkonen. *Winning hearts and minds?*

**18** Natalia Tsvetkova. *Soft Power and Public Diplomacy*. In *Russia and the World: Understanding International Relations*, Natalia Tsvetkova (ed.), 231–251. Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Roman & Littlefield, 2017.

**19** There are many studies authored by former specialists, especially American, which both illustrate the processes of public and cultural diplomacy, as well as the individual experiences of those involved. See e.g. Yale Richmond. *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2003; Arch Puddington. *Broadcasting Freedom. The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*. University Press of Kentucky, 2000; Richard H. Cummings. *Cold War Radio: The Dangerous History of American Broadcasting in Europe, 1950–1989*. McFarland, 2009; A. Ross Johnson. *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond*. Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010.

**20** In addition to the works mentioned earlier, the theme has also gained attention among Russian scholars, see e.g. Oksana Nagornaya. “Nuzhno Peredat’ v Dar Ryad Kartin...” *Povoroti Sovetskoy Kul’turnoy Diplomatii v Periodi Krizisov Sotsialisticheskogo Lagerya 1950-60-Kh Gg. Ab Imperio* 2017 no. 2 (2017): 123–143.



the Second World War, after Stalin's death the Soviet Union revised and upgraded its cultural diplomacy machinery in order to conduct an outreach campaign on a truly global scale. While the focus of this volume is on Europe, it must be noted that from the mid-1950s the Soviet Union pursued modernisation projects, development aid and the education of foreign citizens in Soviet schools and universities, all predominantly directed at the countries of the Third World.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, Soviet efforts to engage with the West also increased. After decades of restrictions on cross-border movements, the Soviet Union entered into a number of bilateral agreements on cultural exchange with western countries for the purpose of expanding tourism, trade, and scientific knowledge. This increased mobility played no small part in the changing outlook of East-West relations from the mid-1950s onwards.<sup>22</sup> Among the bilateral cultural agreements, most attention has been given to the US-Soviet (Lacy-Zarubin) agreement from 1957, with a focus on American activities in particular.<sup>23</sup> On the Soviet side, most studies so far have been on the 1950s and the 1960s, with few works covering the 1970s or the 1980s when state control over academic and scientific exchanges with the rest of the world became more relaxed (despite the occasional reintroduction of restrictions and censorship).

## The Structure of This Volume

The first part of this volume dives into visual aesthetics and diplomacy. It discusses how arts and diplomacy have intersected in a number of ways during the Cold War years. The section begins with Verity Clarkson's analysis of Soviet-British interaction surrounding the *Art in Revolution* exhibition of 1971. The exhibition introduced the early Soviet avant-garde to western audiences. At the time, most of what was exhibited was unknown for both western and Soviet audiences. The politics surrounding the exhibition demonstrates the many

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**21** Jeremiah Wishon. Soviet Globalization: Indo-soviet Public Diplomacy and Cold War Cultural Spheres. *Global Studies Journal* 5, no. 2 (2013): 103–114.

**22** Anne E. Gorsuch. *All This is Your World. Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; Patrick Babiracki, Kenyon Zimmer, and Michael David-Fox (ed.). *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s–1960s*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2014.

**23** Walter L. Hixson. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997; Yale Richmond. *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*; Susan E. Reid. Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959. *Kritika* 9, no. 4 (2008): 855–904.

complicating factors related to an ostensibly artistic event. Furthermore, Clarkson's case is an excellent example of the interplay between official and unofficial agendas in East-West cultural interaction. Ksenia Malich continues with the avant-garde in her study of architecture, examining Soviet influences on Dutch post-Second World War practices. Malich traces the influences to the inter-war era, when in the 1930s, foreign specialists were invited to the Soviet Union. Even if many Dutch architects became disillusioned with the Soviet experience, experiments in standardised housing and functional cities nevertheless influenced Dutch architecture afterwards. Annette Vowinckel then moves us to photography and the use of images of the Berlin Wall in West German and US cultural diplomacy. Vowinckel reconstructs the exhibit and points out how the line between propaganda and cultural diplomacy was thin. The section concludes with Timo Vilen's chapter dealing with the ideological struggle over Finnish memory during the Cold War, represented by a particular statue in Helsinki's harbour area. Vilen points out how the struggle between the Finnish political left and right directly involved the Soviet Union as a participant. The Statue of Peace also illustrates the importance of national history and memory in shaping relations between these two nations.

The second part of this volume begins with an examination of scholarly connections and the role of individuals in international connections. This section focuses on educational exchanges and scholarly cooperation and competition, a field that has up until recently been relatively neglected.<sup>24</sup> Although the focus of this volume is on Europe, post-Second World War educational exchanges played an important part in such processes as decolonisation, inter-ideological dialogue, and inter-regional networks. Astrid Shchekina-Greipel begins with a chapter examining the influence of a single Soviet individual, Lev Kopelev, on Soviet-German cultural and scholarly exchange. Kopelev moved from being a translator of German literature into a dissident and was finally forced to emigrate to West Germany, where he continued his dissident activities and interaction with Soviet intellectuals. Kopelev's case illustrates how the Soviet Union's treatment of dissidents was anything but straightforward. Kopelev's connections to

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**24** On Soviet educational exchanges in a global context see Constantin Katsakioris. *Soviet Lessons for Arab Modernization: Soviet Educational Aid to Arab Countries after 1956*. *Journal of Modern European History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 85–106; Tobias Rupprecht. *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin: Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015; Julie Hessler. *Third World Students at Soviet Universities in the Brezhnev Period*. In *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World*, Ludovic Tournes, Giles Scott-Smith (eds.). New York: Berghahn, 2017.

the West, especially through Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll, made it difficult for the Soviet state to simply silence or ignore Kopelev due to the possibility of international scandal and the subsequent disruption that it could cause to diplomatic and economic relations with Western Europe. Kopelev was therefore able to maintain his role as a cultural mediator in Soviet-German relations over a long period. Natalia Tsvetkova then shifts the focus to education by analysing Soviet and American policies towards foreign universities during the Cold War. Tsvetkova argues that educational systems and the development of universities as institutions represented a key but under-researched field of cultural and ideological confrontation. The US aimed at spreading liberalism through foreign education systems, while the USSR projected Marxist models for both institutional agendas and curricula. Sergei Zhuk then discusses the role of Soviet Americanists – academics who specialised in US history, politics or culture – as sources of information for the Kremlin leadership. Zhuk describes how these Americanists acted as “cultural gatekeepers”, influencing which foreign films may or may not be shown on Soviet screens. Zhuk focuses on the Brezhnev era (1964–1982), up till now a neglected period for the study of the Cultural Cold War.<sup>25</sup>

The third part of this volume discusses the role played by music in Cold War cultural exchange. Music played a key role in Soviet cultural diplomacy, but previous research has focused primarily on artistic mobility.<sup>26</sup> Evgeniya Kondrashina examines the important role played by Soviet recordings as transferable and marketable cultural products in the west. The Soviet recording industry was initially a part of the overall propaganda effort abroad, but it became a more complex actor by the 1960s. Instead of state-to-state relations, the key partners of the Soviet government in the West were western businesses like EMI whose interests were primarily commercial. Kondrashina sheds new light on the complexity of cultural production and exchange in the East-West setting. Viktoria Zora’s chapter adds to this by detailing how Soviet music publishing operated in the Anglophone world after the Second World War. Zora’s case illustrates the difficulties faced by Soviet officials, trying to popularise Soviet music abroad, especially in the capitalist countries. The obstacles they faced were not only internal, bureaucratic ones, but also related to the need of western companies and firms to make a profit. Both Kondrashina’s and Zora’s chapters emphasise how com-

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<sup>25</sup> Dina Fainberg and Artemy Kalinovsky underline this gap in Fainberg and Kalinovsky. *Reconsidering Stagnation in the Brezhnev Era: Ideology and Exchange*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Kirill Tomoff. *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet Music and Imperial Competition during the Early Cold War, 1945–1958*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

mercial, and not only ideological, factors played a considerable role in the interaction between East and West.

The section closes with Bruce Johnson, Mila Oiva and Hannu Salmi's chapter on the visit of Italian-French actor and singer Yves Montand to the Soviet Union in 1956. Montand was hugely popular in the Soviet Union and his concerts there were attended by audiences of up to 20,000. But Montand's visit also took place at a sensitive time, since it coincided with the Soviet invasion of Hungary. As a result of that, NATO countries temporarily froze projects on cultural exchange with the Soviet Union. Despite this, Montand decided to pursue the original plans and continued with his tour. Montand's visit is analysed from a number of angles, using newspaper coverage, film footage and other evidence to illustrate how the presumption of a propaganda victory for the Soviet Union, in the form of Montand's celebrity endorsement of the regime, needs to be balanced with more critical conclusions that highlight the tour's ironic and ambiguous nature.

The volume concludes with a chapter by Giles Scott-Smith, which uses the flight of West German teenager Mathias Rust to Red Square in 1987 as a symbolic event for investigating Cold War boundaries in both an analytical and geographical sense. The epic flight of Rust has generally been typecast as the act of a wayward teenager with delusions of fostering peace with the Soviet Union. Regarded as an eccentric, Rust's act has so far not received any serious attention within Cold War studies. Yet, Scott-Smith interprets his flight as a symbolic transgression of both the East-West boundary *and* the boundaries of Cold War studies, which determine who is and who is not an actor worthy of attention in East-West relations. By making use of the concept of "airworld" and delving into the cultural context of Rust and his motivations, this chapter recasts his flight at the end of the Cold War as an important moment in European Cold War culture, when an "ordinary citizen" rejected the restrictions on freedom of movement across one of the most heavily defended borders on the continent. By means of this approach, the chapter rounds off the volume by raising questions on the place of agency, the ways the Cold War divide influenced behaviour, and the difficulty in ascertaining the precise motivation behind significant events. As a result, the volume ends by pointing to still-to-be-explored fields of Cold War research hitherto ignored or downplayed, rather than claiming any "closure" or completeness regarding interpretations of the Cold War. Ultimately, the further the Cold War recedes into history, the more there is to be questioned, investigated, and discussed.