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EMOTION, HOPE, FEAR, AND BELONGING

Soviet Wartime Jazz: Propaganda and Popular Culture on the Eastern Front

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INTRODUCTION

In the opening scene of the 1942 Soviet film *Concert for the Front* (*Kontsert frontu*), a small cluster of Soviet soldiers celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October Revolution deep in a bunker while Germans shell their position. The soldiers talk about how they used to celebrate the holiday before the war, with parades and concerts. Suddenly one of the soldiers proposes a brilliant idea: a jubilee concert featuring their favorite performers that could be filmed and sent to units across the front so that soldiers and sailors could celebrate the revolution’s silver anniversary the way they would have in peacetime. Excitedly, the soldiers begin to put together a list of performers they want to see in this concert film, and almost immediately they shout in unison, “Utesov! Utesov!,” referring to jazz singer and bandleader Leonid Utesov. They add the names of other performers like folk singer Lidia Ruslanova, tenor Ivan Kozlovskii, and the Red Army Ensemble and send the list off to Moscow. The rest of the film is the resulting concert and a veritable who’s who of Soviet entertainment from the Stalin period; it features poetry recitals and a ballet routine and concludes with a performance by Utesov and his jazz orchestra.

This opening vignette, along with the rest of *Concert for the Front*, is informative in illustrating the push and pull of wartime culture, including jazz, on the Eastern Front. The film was created and produced in Moscow in order to mobilize Red Army soldiers to keep up the fight against Germany. From this perspective, the film is an example of propaganda, which Karel Berkhoff defines as “a deliberate and systematic attempt to
shape perceptions, mental states, and, above all, behavior, so as to achieve a response that furthers the propagandist’s intent.” In essence, propaganda is the means by which an institution convinces a group of people to do what it wants them to, while granting them some amount of personal autonomy in deciding to do so.

At the same time, the Soviet leadership did not force these performers upon audiences against their will. Luminaries like Utesov, the clown Karandash, and singer Klavdia Shul’zhenko were already established and popular entertainers well before the German invasion of 1941. Since propaganda is powerless if audiences do not engage with it, it would have been pointless to make a musical film starring personalities nobody wanted to see or hear. From this perspective, the film is as much a reflection of popular taste as it is state propaganda. The question, then, is whether wartime culture, jazz music in particular, is predominantly state propaganda or popular sentiment.

While many recent histories of wartime Soviet mass culture emphasize the role of cultural and political elites in shaping it, a more flexible framework is possible. David MacFadyen argues that “sometimes Soviet song runs parallel with politics for a while and is happy to do so, but it then moves off on another tangent to embrace other phenomena.” Not all Soviet audiences were political all the time, and for many, he argues, everyday life was rarely political. Therefore, the music they embraced resonated beyond ideology. This can clearly be seen in Soviet jazz both before and after the war. Before the war, musicians, critics, bureaucrats, and audiences debated whether jazz was sufficiently “cultured” or “proletarian” to contribute to the creation of the New Soviet Man. In the years immediately after the Allied victory, debate swirled about whether jazz, even jazz that incorporated Soviet ideological and musical themes, was anything more than a Trojan horse for American influence. However, in which Soviet citizens endured invasion, occupation, starvation, and a host of other hardships, a greater unity of purpose in defeating the fascists emerged, and the scale of the debate over jazz diminished to the point of almost total absence. Jazz during this period was employed to conquer fear, harness hope, and cultivate belonging within the larger Soviet community.

With this understanding in mind, I argue that Soviet jazz music during the Great Patriotic War was simultaneously propaganda and popular. The ways that jazz groups formed and functioned were rooted in both the needs of the Soviet state and audience tastes. In the same way, some jazz songs evoked narratives akin to those projected in other state-managed media—narratives about the motherland (rodina) and Russia, and about heroism—while others tapped into ideas and emotions marginal to or absent from these narratives, including highly localized understandings of patriotism, the humanity of soldiers, and expressions of friendship with the Allies.
SOVIET JAZZ AND PROPAGANDA

There are many ways that wartime jazz can be construed as an extension of state propaganda. First, by 1941 Soviet jazz had already developed a close relationship with the Soviet military. One of the first amateur jazz competitions held in the Soviet Union occurred at the Leningrad House of the Red Army (Dom Krasnoi armii or DKA) in 1934 and featured ensembles made up of sailors from the Baltic Fleet. The Central House (TsDKA) in Moscow was a major venue for jazz throughout the 1930s as well. African American singer Celestine Cole debuted there, and bandleaders like Aleksandr Varlamov and Aleksandr Tsfasman performed there to great acclaim.

The jazz performer who had the best relationship with the Soviet military was Leonid Utesov. Utesov performed at TsDKA many times during the prewar years. More significantly, Utesov and his band developed a close relationship with the Red Army leadership. Arkady Kotliarsski, Utesov’s longtime tenor saxophonist, recalled that the group performed repeatedly for the army’s “top brass” (bol’shoe nachal’stvo) and for the Revolutionary Military Council (akin to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff) in 1936. So close was the relationship between Utesov’s orchestra and the Red Army that prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1941, Utesov offered his orchestra’s services to the Red Army in the event that war should break out.

When war finally did break out, many jazz groups followed Utesov’s lead and put themselves at the military’s disposal. Bigger state-sponsored orchestras like Aleksandr Tsfasman’s All-Union Radio Committee Jazz Orchestra and Eddie Rosner’s Belarussian State Jazz Orchestra toured the country, performing for soldiers at the front, for civilians in theaters and factories, and for radio audiences as well. Other jazz groups, like that led by singer Klavdiia Shul’zhenko and her husband Vladimir Koralli, enlisted en masse and became official military bands. Nikolai Minkh and his Leningrad Radio Orchestra, for example, became the official jazz orchestra of the Baltic Fleet. Individual jazz musicians like Iakov Skomorovskii left their orchestras entirely. Performing in Rostov-on-Don when war broke out, Skomorovskii abandoned his orchestra and traveled to Leningrad to take the helm of the Red Navy jazz ensemble.

Regardless of where and how these groups operated, they and their music were put under state supervision. No song could be published, recorded, or included in repertoires (at least for groups that formally toured the front) without the explicit approval of Glavlit, the state censorship agency. Therefore, no matter how much a song may have catered to soldier or civilian tastes, it had to, first and foremost, conform to those of the state. On the road, the ideological purity of touring jazz groups was further ensured through the constant presence of politruki (political commissars). Politruki traveled with the groups, liaised with individual military units, and made sure there were
no inappropriate performances. Divisional and local party cell politruki also helped to organize visits from touring artists to both military and civilian locations.\textsuperscript{12}

Though this discussion shows the control that the state had over jazz during the war, there is plenty to suggest that wartime jazz was more an expression of popular demand than an arm of the Soviet propaganda machine. For one thing, “western entertainment music” (zapadnaia razvlekatelnaiia muzyka), of which jazz was a component, constituted a small minority of the media that Soviet listeners could hear on the radio. According to an All-Union Radio Committee report, such music made up only 6 percent of all music broadcast in 1943.\textsuperscript{13} Because the committee was responsible for all media broadcast over Soviet airwaves, it had the final say about what would be broadcast. If the committee, as an arm of the state, had had more faith in jazz’s potential as a mobilizing force, the genre would have received a greater share of precious airtime. There were also some who thought jazz had no place in Soviet wartime culture. Literatura i iskusstvo, the main cultural newspaper to run throughout the war, criticized jazz bands for their “hellish noisemaking” and for playing “cheap imports,” the implication being that jazz was not sufficiently cultured to boost morale.\textsuperscript{14}

Despite criticism and limited exposure on the radio, jazz artists put their own lives at risk in order to serve soldiers on the front lines. The Central Committee of Rabis, the art workers’ union, declared that “wherever parts of our Red Army and Navy are located, art workers will share life on the front with them,” and many jazz musicians joined the thousands of other art workers who responded to the call either by enlisting themselves, forming artistic “brigades” and embedding themselves within frontline divisions, or touring the front.\textsuperscript{15} David MacFadyen estimates that by the end of 1941, there were four thousand such groups entertaining soldiers and that over the course of the war forty-two thousand artists went to the front and performed an estimated 500,000 concerts (out of a total 1.3 million wartime concerts).\textsuperscript{16}

Jazz groups at the front, even those who were state sponsored, tailored their programs to audience tastes. Utesov and Shul’zhenko separately recalled that when it came to determining what songs to perform during frontline tours, taking soldier attitudes and mindsets into account was of the utmost importance.\textsuperscript{17}

The prevalence of amateur jazz ensembles within military units is further evidence of jazz’s popularity. Unknown numbers of amateur and professional jazz musicians left their groups and enlisted as individuals, and many of them quickly formed new groups. Minkh recalled that during the war “there was a great majority of jazz orchestras. Almost every army, almost every flotilla had a jazz orchestra—in the North, the Black Sea, the Caspian, the Baltic, all the way to the Pacific Ocean.”\textsuperscript{18} Another jazz musician, Boris Krupyshev, said that his division alone boasted up to three hundred musicians involved in all kinds of amateur ensembles, alternately playing music and fighting (and dying).\textsuperscript{19} Utesov received fan mail from several of these amateur military
jazz ensembles, many of them asking for song lyrics or notes and thanking him for his music.10

The overlap of and disconnect between propaganda and populism in wartime jazz comes through not only in the ways that jazz ensembles functioned but also in the themes that their songs evoked. Karel Berkhoff argues that Soviet wartime propaganda articulated a number of specific narratives.11 Some of these narratives were present in jazz songs, the most frequent being patriotism, heroism, and the Soviet relationship with the Allies. However, while these themes persisted in Soviet jazz, some songs occasionally extended beyond standardized narratives or were reinterpreted by musicians and audiences.

When asked what drove them to continue fighting against Germany, many Soviet veterans respond that they were driven by patriotism.12 The question of what exactly constituted “patriotism” during the Great Patriotic War is still debated by historians. David Brandenberger argues that during the war, patriotism was intimately linked to Russian national identity. Wartime mass culture, including plays, literature, and other forms of culture, largely abandoned inter- or multinationalism in favor of a focus on Russian folk heroes, Russian culture, and Russian military traditions (intriguingly, Brandenberger does not include music in his analysis). While he admits that recognition of non-Russian nationalities persisted, it lacked the prominence or staying power of Russian equivalents.13 Berkhoff complements Brandenberger’s thesis by showing how wartime propaganda was overwhelmingly “Russocentric” while still being couched in the sufficiently vague language of the “motherland” (rodina).14

Other scholars challenge such notions. Both Roger Reese and Catherine Merridale, who conducted extensive interviews with veterans and others who lived through the war, argue that for most soldiers and civilians, patriotism was an extremely flexible term. While some veterans did equate patriotism with the Soviet Union or Russia, others equated it with “home village, family, language, and even . . . peasant religion.”15 Some cared deeply about the “motherland,” while others rejected the concept outright in favor of more knowable and intimate things like family and hometown.16 As Merridale summarizes, “patriotism . . . was a shorthand for a range of sentiments that ideological leaders might not have recognized . . . ‘Our’ people and ‘our’ country did not have to mean Stalin’s empire, or even, for millions, Russia itself.”17

Some jazz repertoires, to some degree, corroborate Berkhoff’s Russocentrism thesis. Utesov recalled that one of his most popular wartime concert repertoires was “Warrior Fantasy” (bogatyrka fantaziia), a largely historical program that featured songs about the Russian soldier throughout history. Utesov’s group performed jazz interpretations of songs about the Battle of Poltava and Generals Suvorov and Kutuzov, heroes of the Napoleonic wars.18 One division commander told Utesov that this program reminded him that “we are Russian soldiers, custodians of the great ancient (drevnego) armies.”
A captain’s review of the show in a frontline newspaper praised the show’s ability to “revive for audiences the glorious path of Russian arms.”

Another Utesov hit from 1942, “Baron fon der Pshik,” like Ilia Ehrenburg’s articles in Pravda and Red Star, promoted the idea of Russian-Jewish friendship through its combination of lyrics and music. “Baron von der Pshik” tells of a haughty German baron rapidly approaching Stalingrad only to be repelled (and killed) by “Russian” bayonets as opposed to Soviet ones. What is more, the song’s melody is derived note for note from Sholem Secunda’s Yiddish-language hit song “Bei mir bist du schein.” The combination of Russocentric lyrics with a Yiddish melody accentuated the supposed friendship between Russians and Jews in the Soviet Union.

The flexible and multifaceted patriotism that Merridale and Reese describe comes through in many jazz songs as well. For those soldiers who thought of their homes and families as the “motherland,” there was a whole subset of songs devoted to the relationship between soldiers and the (invariably female) loved ones they had left behind. One of the earliest songs in this vein was “Wait for Me” (Zhdi menia). Written by M. Blanter and K. Simonov and performed by several jazz groups, the song is written from the perspective of a soldier telling his love interest to patiently await his return even though “letters may not come.” The song even suggests that by remaining true, the loved one left behind will help the soldier survive.

The most famous example of this type of “patriotic” song is Klavdiia Shul’zhenko’s rendition of “Blue Kerchief” (Sinii platochek), which she performed in Concert for the Front and which was arguably the biggest hit of the war. Though Shul’zhenko is the song’s most well-known interpreter, it was originally composed by Iurii Petersburgskii for his own jazz orchestra before the war. In Petersburgskii’s relatively uninteresting version the blue kerchief is a sentimental image of a relationship amid the changing seasons. However, in 1942 Mikhail Maksimov, a soldier, wrote new lyrics and gave them to Shul’zhenko. Maksimov reimagined the blue kerchief as a symbol of the bond between a husband and wife who are separated by the war. Shul’zhenko preferred the new lyrics and incorporated them into her repertoire, proof that, within certain limits, artists could represent audience sentiment as much as state narrative.

“Blue Kerchief” resonated with Soviet audiences throughout the war. K. Adezhemov, who worked for the All-Union Radio station in Moscow during the war, recalled that the song was particularly popular among listeners, and Shul’zhenko’s jazz orchestra featured in the celebratory radio program that aired after the battle of Stalingrad. According to MacFadyen, soldiers and pilots went into battle with literal or metaphorical “blue kerchiefs” that represented their own loved ones. One was rumored to have charged into battle shouting “For the Blue Kerchief!” instead of the prescribed “For the Motherland! For Stalin!” The song resonated on the home front as well. When Shul’zhenko and her group went into the studio to record “Blue Kerchief,”
they had to scrap the first recording because the engineer’s tears fell on the wax recording disc. Though the song lacks any explicit reference to Russia or the motherland, it evoked powerful images of what many soldiers considered to be their own “little motherlands.”

Not only songs about loved ones and family but also those that referenced highly localized geography can be considered patriotic. Rather than sing about the Soviet Union broadly, some jazz artists depicted specific locations. There were, of course, songs about heroic cities like Leningrad and Moscow, but the most impactful jazz song in this vein was “Mishka from Odessa” (Odessit-Mishka). Performed by Leonid Utesov, himself a native Odessan, the song is a sailor’s mournful lament about the fall of his beloved hometown. In the song a sailor in the Black Sea Fleet reminisces about his home city of Odessa, now occupied by the Germans. He recalls the beauty of its streets and trees and memories of his family. In the chorus, Mishka remembers the words of his mother: “You, Mishka, are an Odessan, which means you do not fear trouble or sorrow / You know that you are a sailor, Mishka, which means that you don’t cry or lose good spirit.” This refrain changes subtly in the final stanza when instead Utesov sings “Though you are a sailor, Mishka, and a sailor never cries, you can cry a little bit, truly without trouble.”

“Mishka From Odessa” was arguably Utesov’s biggest wartime hit. He began performing the song in June 1942, and within the first month he received well over two hundred letters from fans praising the song. Not surprisingly, Odessans particularly liked the song, but for other listeners, Odessa could stand in for other hometowns captured by the Germans. One boy wrote to Utesov to say that the song reminded him of his hometown of Sevastopol and of his father, who “probably” died defending the city.

In this sense, “Mishka from Odessa” and other songs like it are examples of what Mayhill Fowler calls “internal transnationalism,” in which local cultures on the Soviet “periphery” are brought to Moscow and then disseminated broadly and appropriated on a national scale. That songs about Odessa, Crimea, and the Black Sea region, of which “Mishka from Odessa” is the most famous, were transmitted nationally during the war and reinterpreted by audiences may help to explain why many Russians consider these regions to be integral to Russian national identity to this day.

Another popular trope in wartime Soviet propaganda was the war hero. The prominence of individual heroes in the Soviet press was partially a default decision. Josef Stalin’s staunch refusal to publish any information that might aid the enemy or invoke panic (even if not doing so angered civilians or put their lives at risk) meant that Soviet journalists could write very little about events on the front. Instead, they were encouraged to highlight the great deeds of individuals as a means of keeping up the fighting spirit and encouraging new recruits to join the military. To be considered heroes for the purposes of propaganda, soldiers had to fulfill certain criteria. They had to
be “capable, staunch, obedient, courageous, smart, and ‘full of hate’ for the Germans.” It was also preferred that they had committed a great selfless act of heroism for their comrades.41

Soviet jazz also painted a picture of the heroic Soviet soldier, but the heroes of song were more generic and transparently fictional. Some songs depicted heroic individuals like Aleksandr Tsfasman’s “Two Maxims” (Dva Maksima), which tells of a machine gunner named Maxim (“Maxim” referring to both the male name and the maxim gun) who dutifully fights the Germans and if injured, returns to the fight with industrial-like reliability. Other songs glorified groups of soldiers or branches of the military. Nikolai Minkh’s “Migratory Birds” (Pereletnyi ptitsy), for instance, is about a group of fighter pilots who are so devoted to winning the war that they swear not to fall in love until victory has been achieved. In his “Song of the War Correspondents” (Pesenka voennnykh korrespondentov), Utesov toasts military correspondents and praises their diligence and courage on the front lines alongside regular soldiers.

Despite the prevalence of female combatants, Soviet hero propaganda was overwhelmingly masculine, and jazz followed this trend. Being reminded of women in combat was off-putting for many and only reinforced the notion that the prewar days were gone. Shul’zhenko initially wore military fatigues during her performances but was told that soldiers did not like being reminded of this aspect of the war and, from late 1941 onward, she performed exclusively in civilian clothing.42 Heroic jazz was also sung from a masculine perspective. The only songs from a female perspective were those about waiting at home for a loved one to return from the front. At the amateur level, however, female voices could be heard. For example, Utesov received a letter from two female soldiers that contained the lyrics to two songs they had written about women on the front. They asked if he would add the songs to his repertoire, but there is no evidence that he did, and it is not likely that he would have done so.43

For every song about the heroism of soldiers, there were others that depicted their humanity. “Mishka from Odessa” depicted a sailor who was mournful and sensitive as opposed to proud, obedient, or courageous. One of the most popular songs in this vein was Shul’zhenko’s rendition of “Let’s Have a Smoke” (Davai zakurim). The song depicts two soldiers on the Southwestern Front in Ukraine who reflect on how they will remember their experiences after the war. In the chorus one soldier says to the other, “About the firelights / about our comrades / somewhere, someday we will talk / I will remember the infantry and my native company / And you, because you gave me a cigarette / Let’s have a smoke, one comrade with another / Let’s have a smoke my comrade.” The song’s message of comradeship on the front and the bonds that formed between soldiers was a major motivation for Red Army soldiers to keep fighting but was less prevalent in propaganda.44
A third propaganda narrative complicated by Soviet jazz was the somewhat ambivalent attitude toward the Western Allies. When characterizing the extent to which the Soviet leadership or media acknowledged the Allies, Berkhoff describes it as “real but faint.” While the anti-American/British sentiment of pre-1941 disappeared, the media were reticent in their acknowledgment of Allied successes or contributions to the war effort, and any references to “friendship” between the USSR and its allies were discouraged.

If this was indeed the case, the growth of American and British cultural influences in the Soviet Union during this same time must have frustrated authorities. During the later war years, the Soviet Union experienced an influx of films and music not seen since the late 1920s. The stream of American films that flooded Soviet cinemas under the New Economic Policy had all but dried up by the mid-1930s. Now, Soviet audiences were treated to new foreign films. An American version of *The Three Musketeers* (likely the 1939 musical version starring Don Amece and the Ritz Brothers) hit the screen, and the George Formby vehicle *Let George Do It!*, about a bumbling ukulele player turned British spy, was retitled *George of the Dinky Jazz [Orchestra] (Dzhordzh iz dinki dzhazа)* for Soviet audiences.

With American and British films came the latest jazz music, and Soviet musicians were quick to incorporate this music into their repertoires. Emil Gegner, one of Aleksandr Tsfasman’s bandmates, recalled seeing the 1941 American film *Sun Valley Serenade*, a musical comedy that prominently featured the music of (and live performances by) Glenn Miller. Gegner described Miller’s songs, which included “Chattanooga Choo-Choo” and “In the Mood,” as unlike any other jazz they had heard during the war. He made a bootleg recording of the film’s soundtrack and gave it to Tsfasman in order incorporate it into their repertoire. Gegner stated that from that point until the end of the war, the band performed “Chattanooga Choo-Choo” every week during their radio performances.

Utesov also appropriated music from these films, receiving praise for his 1943 rendition of an unknown song from *The Three Musketeers*. Jazz groups also expressed comradeship with the Allies in their own compositions. Utesov and his daughter Edit recorded a bilingual version of the American composition “On a Wing and a Prayer” with both Russian and English lyrics that was well received by Soviet audiences.

Minkh expressed similar sentiments in his own composition “James Kennedy” (*Dzheims Kennedi*), about a British sea captain who is awarded the title “Hero of the Soviet Union” for delivering vital goods to the USSR, all while shooting down German planes and sinking German U-boats. The existence of such songs and the fact that they were recorded and performed raises questions about how extensively the authorities tried to limit pro-Allied sentiment in the media.
CONCLUSION

It is still difficult to precisely parse the difference between jazz as propaganda and jazz as popular expression during the Great Patriotic War. Most jazz ensembles, especially those that toured the battlefront and the home front, were under state supervision, with their repertoires scrutinized by censors and political officers. The themes embedded in many of the songs they played dovetailed with propaganda narratives on display elsewhere, especially in regard to Russocentric patriotism and, to a lesser degree, the heroic soldier. At the same time, propaganda may not have been all that necessary because people were willing to fight for their homes, their families, and each other if not for the party, state, or motherland. Jazz touched on all these sentiments and consequently helped mobilize the Soviet population to win the war.

NOTES

1. This essay was made possible by generous research grants from the School of Historical, Philosophical, and Religious Studies and the Center for Jewish Studies at Arizona State University and especially by a US State Department Title VIII Fellowship from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX).
7. For example, “Estradnik i zritel’: V estradnykh teatrakh ‘Ermitazh’ i TsDKA,” Sovetskoe iskusstvo, June 11, 1934.
8. Arkadii Kotliarskii, Spasibo, dzhazu! Vospominanie starogo utesovtsa (Moscow: Khudozhestvannaia literatura, 1990), 43–44.
9. Rossisskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (hereafter RGALI), f. 3005, op. 1, d. 856, l. 1.
10. Olga Anatol’evna Korzhova, Dzhaz v Rostove-na-donu: “Ot” i “Po” (Rostov-on-Don: Pegas, 2001), 19; and Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv Sankt-Peterburga (TsGALI SPb), f. 747, op. 1, d. 7., l. 1.
12. A. N. Golubev, *Aleksandr Tšfasman: Korifei sovetskogo džaza* (Moscow: Muzyka, 2006), 56; and Korzhova, *Džaz v Rostove-na-donu*, 21. See also the many letters Utesov received from *politruki* during the war. RGALI, f. 3005, op. 1, dd. 856–58.


20. See, for example, RGALI, f. 3005, op. 1, d. 748, l. 62 or RGALI, f. 3005, op. 1, d. 751, l. 8.


29. RGALI, f. 3005, op. 1, d. 860, ll. 17, 21.


31. It is not clear where Utesov first heard this melody. By the late 1930s at least two Soviet jazz ensembles had recorded it. On the other hand, before emigrating to America, Secunda grew up in Nikolaev, not far from Utesov’s hometown of Odessa, so it is possible that it was a Yiddish folk melody with which Utesov had been familiar since his youth.

32. RGALI, f. 656, op. 3, d. 4781, l. 7. Prior to Eddie Rosner’s immigration in 1939, Petersburgkii’s orchestra doubled as the Belorussian State Jazz Orchestra.


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Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF), Moscow, Russia, f. 6903, op. 14, d. 104, l. 193.


Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 656, op. 3, d. 478, 1. 7.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 6.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 748, 1. 52.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 748, 1. 62.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 749, 1. 30.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 751, 1. 8.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 751, 1. 19.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 856, 1. 1.

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 3005, op. 1, d. 856–58. “Letters Utesov Received from Politruki during the War.”

Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv (RGALI), Moscow, Russia. f. 747, op. 1, d. 7, 1. 1.


Tsentr’nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstv Sankt-Peterburga (TsGALI SPb). f. 747, op. 1, d. 7, 1. 1.
