

NATIONALIZING FASHION:  
SOVIET WOMEN'S FASHION AND THE WEST, 1959-1967

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## ABSTRACT

Virginia Olmsted: Nationalizing Fashion: Soviet Women's Fashion and the West, 1959-1967  
(Under the direction of Donald J. Raleigh)

After Joseph Stalin's death in 1953, the growth of the fashion industry allowed the Soviet Union to compete with the West in both consumer and cultural production. This thesis explores the development of Soviet women's fashion, beginning with the Dior Show in Moscow in 1959 and ending with the International Exhibition of Clothing in August 1967. During this period, Soviet designers endeavored to create clothing that was simple, practical, feminine, and elegant as a contrast to the perceived excesses of Western fashion design. Designers had difficulties developing clothing based on these parameters, often resorting to imitating Western fashion trends. By the late 1960s, designers began to utilize national motifs and textiles from the Soviet republics in their clothing, believing that national dress was inherently beautiful and practical. The focus on national motifs did far more than make clothing distinctly Russian, Uzbek, Latvian, or Ukrainian. It made clothing distinctly Soviet.

In memory of my mother, who first inspired my interest in the history of fashion.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GDR	German Democratic Republic
GUM	<i>Gosudarstvennyi universalnyi magazin</i> (State Department Store)
ODMO	<i>Obshchesoiuznyi dom modelei</i> (General Soviet House of Design)
RFSFR	Russian Soviet Federation of Socialist Republics
SSSR/USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## CHAPTER 1: PRACTICAL, FEMININE, AND ELEGANT

### Introduction

An impeccably attired young woman in a bright red dress poses in front of a crowd of women wearing drab floral prints. One of them, in a headscarf, stares at the model in longing and amazement, as if she has never seen anyone like her. The dingy crowd seems out of place in contrast to the chic, glowing model. Obviously a carefully selected piece, this LIFE magazine photo of Dior models in Moscow for the 1959 Dior fashion show exemplifies the Western image of fashion in the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 60s. Fashion simply did not exist, until a Western designer showed them the glamorous, elegant world that the Soviet other lacked. Those behind the Iron Curtain could only admire and hope to imitate Western culture, particularly its fashion. [Plate 1]

For most people in the United States, the words “Soviet fashion” call to mind masses of people in identical, dark outfits. Even though Soviet society in the 1960s did not provide a cornucopia of choice regarding clothing and fashion, a fashion industry existed that made real efforts to dress women in stylish, attractive clothing. The purpose of this new focus on fashion, however, was not simply to expand consumer production or meet the demands of Soviet citizens. The Soviet state, with the assistance of the houses of design (*dom modelei*) and women’s magazines, developed and produced “socialist” fashion as part of a broader effort to improve the domestic and international reputation of Soviet consumer production. Soviet fashion had to be distinct from Western designs in order to emphasize ideological differences. In the words of the

nineteenth-century sociologist Georg Simmel, “Fashion satisfies the demand for social adaptation. At the same time it satisfies in no less degree the need for differentiation.”<sup>1</sup> On a macro scale, clothing differentiated the Soviet Union from the rest of the world, but also proved that it could compete with the West.

Soviet designers believed that “socialist” fashion needed to be simple, practical, feminine, and elegant in order to avoid Western excesses. These limited parameters made it difficult for designers to create ideologically correct clothing. The effort to develop a uniquely Soviet style of fashion intensified after the Dior Show in 1959 highlighted the limits of Soviet design. Soviet designers during this period simply imitated Western styles, simplifying and altering them to meet the ideological parameters of simplicity, practicality, femininity, and elegance. Beginning in 1960, designers realized that these efforts had failed to produce anything identifiably Soviet. In 1967, they settled on the development of national fashion, as they believed that national motifs and textiles were inherently practical and beautiful.

In an effort to alleviate this problem, Soviet designers turned to national motifs and themes in the late 1960s, especially at the International Exhibition of Clothing in Moscow in 1967. National themes provided a means for international differentiation and creating a particularly Soviet style. Historian Larissa Zakharova has convincingly argued that the emergence of national motifs helped to justify the existence of Soviet fashion; however, I think it was about far more than that.<sup>2</sup> National designs provided a way for Soviet designers to create clothing that reflected the ideologically important ideas that clothing should be simple,

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<sup>1</sup> Georg Simmel, “Fashion,” *The International Quarterly* 10 (October 1, 1904): 143.

<sup>2</sup> Larissa Zakharova, “Dior in Moscow: A Taste for Luxury in Soviet Fashion under Khrushchev,” in *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, eds. David Crowley and Susan Emily Reid (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 106.

egalitarian, and beautifying. As the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, 1967 had particular ideological importance for the Soviet Union. Therefore, the exhibition needed to emphasize the strength of Soviet unity, ideological principles, and consumer production.

These shows gave designers, and in some cases ordinary citizens, a chance to see Western fashion. While Soviet citizens had access to Western fashions through foreign films, limited tourism, and fashion magazines, some of them could now see these designs in person. Interestingly, considering the government's broader concern over the impact of Western culture on Soviet youth, magazines treated Western fashion quite positively. Ultimately, however, the state hoped to limit Western design houses' influence on its citizens. In the 1960s, international fashion shows and exhibitions not only amplified the visibility of the West in the Soviet Union, but also served as a way of displaying the skill of Soviet fashion designers and the advances in Soviet consumer production and production methods.

Only the cultural and party elite had access to fashionable designer clothes from the Moscow General Soviet House of Design (*Obshchesoiuznyi dom modelei* or ODMO). In the 1960s and into the early 1970s, however, Soviet designers wanted to make Soviet fashion more "inclusive" and impact the whole society through mass and home production. Fashion and lifestyle magazines actively encouraged women to make their own clothing or to embellish their attire, since they found mass-produced clothing less attractive and less fashionable. Fashion magazines advised women, of every age and body type, on how to dress fashionably and with good taste. The gendered language and illustrations in these magazines assumed a link between women and fashion, not men and fashion. Even theoretical magazines that mentioned men's fashion, expected women to be the primary focus of fashion design houses and assumed that most men did not read these publications. Design and fashion houses participated in the

increased production of textiles and ready to wear clothing by providing designs and advice on the production process. While the fashion industry may not have actually improved Soviet consumer production, it convinced both Soviet citizens and Western observers that conditions were improving.

## Historiography and Method

The history of fashion has an expansive theoretical basis dating back to the late nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, much of this theory presumes that fashion is an inherent aspect of bourgeois, capitalist society. While a number of historians and art historians, particularly those of the late medieval and early modern period, have challenged this view, little work has been done on fashion in a modern, noncapitalist society. Djurdja Bartlett, a theorist at the London College of Fashion, has argued that true fashion cannot survive in a “totalitarian state” because fashion relies on “a free flow of ideas, well-developed international networks of trade, and the concept of an individual who is not subject to any authority without her or his consent.”<sup>4</sup> Bartlett’s definition is limiting, but it reflects the general view that fashion cannot exist outside of modern, Western, capitalist regions. I would argue that fashion existed in the

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<sup>3</sup> A number of other theoretical understandings of fashion have influenced my work, including: Roland Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*, English ed. (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006); Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981); Ulrich Lehmann, *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); John Wood, *Thorstein Veblen: Critical Assessments* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993); Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, 1st MIT Press ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981); Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life, and Other Essays*, trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1964); Valerie Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History* (London: Batsford, 2004); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 2001 Modern Library ed. (New York: Modern Library, 2001); and Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> Djurdja Bartlett, “Totalitarian Dress, in *The Fashion History Reader : Global Perspectives*, ed. Peter McNeil et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 498-501.

Soviet Union, albeit in a different form from that found in the West. Much more extensive research on everyday dress and the role of fashion in the Soviet economy needs to be done, however to determine the nature of the “fashion system” in the Soviet Union. As a result of these issues, for the purposes of this work I utilize a very general definition of fashion, defining it as “dress in which the key feature is rapid and continual changing of styles.”<sup>5</sup> Fashion is thus inherently fleeting, making it a very expensive and potentially dangerous concept to promote in a command economy.

While few historians have addressed the subject, a number of art historians and other scholars have written about fashion in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> Among the only exceptions to this are Judd Stitzel’s *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics, and Consumer Culture in East Germany*, Olga Vainshtein’s article “Female Fashion, Soviet style: Bodies of Ideology,” and Larissa Zakharova’s excellent work on fashion under Khrushchev, *S’habiller à la soviétique: la mode et le dégel en URSS*.<sup>7</sup> Judd Stitzel’s fascinating study of the role of fashion

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<sup>5</sup> Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive look at fashion in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, see Djurdja Bartlett, *FashionEast: The Spectre That Haunted Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010). Her two articles, provide background on specific aspects of Soviet dress, Bartlett, “Let Them Wear Beige: The Petit-Bourgeois World of Official Socialist Dress,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 8, no. 2 (June 2004): 127–64; and “Socialist Dandies International: East Europe, 1946-59,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 17, no. 3 (June 2013): 249–98. For a discussion of the body and dress, see Olga Gurova, “The Art of Dressing: Body, Gender and Discourse on Fashion in Soviet Russia in the 1950s and 60s” in *The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization*, eds. Hazel Clark and Eugenia Paulicelli (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), 73-91.

<sup>7</sup> Judd Stitzel, *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics, and Consumer Culture in East Germany* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005); Ol’ga Vainshtein, “Female Fashion, Soviet Style: Bodies of Ideology,” in *Russia--Women—Culture*, eds. Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 64-93; and Zakharova, *S’habiller à la soviétique: la mode et le dégel en URSS* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2011). See also, Zakharova, “Dior in Moscow: A Taste for Luxury in Soviet Fashion Under Khrushchev,” in *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, eds. David Crowley and Susan Emily Reid (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 95-119; and Zakharova, “Soviet Fashion in the 1950s-1960s: Regimentation, Western Influences, and Consumption Strategies,” in *The*



in a communist society, notes the conflict between individuality and conformity in such a society. He creates a framework to explain the development of a consumer culture, which he argues relied heavily on home production, much as it did in the Soviet Union. Because his monograph focuses on the GDR, however, he does not offer a framework for understanding fashion in a particularly Soviet context.<sup>8</sup> Vainshtein's study of the body and dress in the Soviet Union focuses on issues of sex and body type in female fashion. Larissa Zakharova's work considers high fashion during the Thaw, illustrating the mass transformations in the state's treatment of fashion in the 1950s. In discussing the growing acceptance of fashion in the Soviet Union and the expansion of consumer production, Zakharova's monograph provides a prehistory for my own work.

Historians have dealt with consumer culture and luxury consumption in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union far more extensively than they have with the topic of fashion. This scholarship mentions fashion, even if that is not its primary focus. Susan Reid's article "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," for instance, represents a compelling study of the "peaceful competition" between the Soviet Union and the West in consumer production.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Reid reveals the

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*Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 402 – 35.

<sup>8</sup> He does not address modernity because much of his argument rests on the already developed consumer culture in Germany. The state did not need to modernize society, but rather to control Western impact and Sovietize it.

<sup>9</sup>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, no. 2 (July 1, 2002): 211–52. For other studies, see Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, eds., *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and N. B. Leбина, *Obyvatel' i reformy: kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nēpa i Khrushchevskogo desiatiletiia* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003). For edited collections, see Crowley and Reid, eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000) and Crowley and Reid,

inherently gendered nature of this competition, as both the United States and the Soviet Union believed that women “shared the same innate, gender-specific desires as those of the capitalist camp and treated women’s will to consume as a potent political force.”<sup>10</sup> Fashion became an integral part of this competition and offers an illustrative example of Reid’s point that the Soviet state viewed fashion as a female pursuit, which provided an outlet for highlighting both consumer and cultural production.

I relied primarily on magazines as sources for this thesis: *Zhurnal mod* (The Journal of Fashion), *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* (Decorative Arts of the USSR), *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker), and *Krest’ianka* (Woman Peasant). I also draw on the memoir of Aleksandr Igmand, a chief fashion designer from ODMO and L. I. Brezhnev’s personal designer.<sup>11</sup> Igmand’s memoir helps to fill in some blanks about the everyday activities of the houses of design and clarifies their role in clothing production. His memoir focuses largely on the 1970s and 1980s, when he most actively participated in the fashion world, but he also briefly discusses the late 1960s.

The fashion magazine *Zhurnal mod* largely presented Soviet readers with a discussion of new fashion trends. It offered extensive depictions of the latest styles, but rarely delved into the theoretical or ideological question of fashion. An aspirational journal, *Zhurnal mod* depicted the artistic creations of the design houses as well as the latest European fashions. A magazine for artists and designers, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* focused on the future of Soviet art and artistic theory. While it is not predominately about fashion, the magazine’s contributors extensively

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eds., *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Reid, “Cold War in the Kitchen,” p. 222.

<sup>11</sup> While commonly referred to as “Brezhnev’s tailor,” I use designer here, because Igmand himself disliked the title, viewing himself as an artist and a fashion designer.

discussed fashion and its role in Soviet society and criticized Soviet designers with greater frequency than *Zhurnal mod*. The women's magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* published short sections on fashion at the end of almost every edition, often limited to depictions of clothing and patterns. However, occasionally these magazines included advice columns on proper dress and attire or discussions of fashion and clothing in the Soviet Union. These four magazines targeted different audiences, with *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* having the most limited and specialized audience.

### **Dior, Art, and Culture**

The Dior fashion show in Moscow in June 1959 marked the symbolic entry of the Soviet Union into the international fashion world. The House of Dior presented the new collection by Yves St. Laurent in a number of private viewings at the French Embassy and other locations throughout Moscow. The design house sold ten thousand tickets to these showings, which constituted "the first official French fashion show[s] to be given in Russia in more than forty years."<sup>12</sup> Despite the large number of designers at the shows, Soviet media provided only sparse coverage of the event. While *Izvestiia* advertised it, no mention of it appeared in *Zhurnal mod*, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, *Rabotnitsa*, or *Krest'ianka*.<sup>13</sup> It is surprising that *Zhurnal mod* did not cover the event, since almost every subsequent major international and domestic fashion show received attention on its pages. The first of a number of international exhibitions in Moscow, the Dior show marked the beginning of increased participation in international fashion. Following

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<sup>12</sup> "Dior Spring Collection To Be Seen in Moscow," *New York Times*, May 13, 1959, p. 45; Peggy Massin, "Moscow Rarin' to See Diors," *The Washington Post and Times Herald* (1954-1959), May 29, 1959, p. C1.

<sup>13</sup> "Frantsuzskie modeli damskogo plat'ia," *Izvestiia*, June 13, 1959, p. 4.

the Dior show, fashion shows took on a central position in Soviet cultural production. In addition to Soviet and Eastern European designers, a number of Western designers began to show clothing in the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries. Extensive descriptions of these international and domestic shows appeared in *Zhurnal mod*, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, *Rabotnitsa*, and *Krest'ianka*.

By developing a fashion industry, the Soviet Union opened itself up to a system, which late nineteenth- and twentieth-century theorists presented as an inherently bourgeois, capitalist development.<sup>14</sup> Soviet designers and theorists undoubtedly knew about these theories about fashion. In the 1960s and 70s, however, contributors to fashion magazines rarely presented fashion as inherently bourgeois and capitalist. Many designers and theorists recognized that Western fashion tended to be unnecessarily extravagant and bourgeois, but fashion itself was not the problem. In the West, the ordinary citizen could not dress in a fashionable manner, because of the expense and impracticality of Western design. However, if designers created accessible and affordable clothing for the ordinary citizen, fashion would not be inherently elitist. This suggested that if they avoided the errors of Western designers, Soviet houses of design could create fashionable clothing that fit Soviet ideological parameters.

Rather than depicting fashion as bourgeois, Soviet theorists and designers presented fashion as an art. Contributors to *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* and Alexander Igmand, for instance, regularly emphasized the artistic importance of fashion design. In response to a question about his position as Brezhnev's tailor, Igmand exclaimed, "I am not a tailor, I am an

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<sup>14</sup> Not surprisingly, many of these works were based on Marxist theory. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*; Simmel, "Fashion," *The International Quarterly*; and Adorno, *Prisms*.

artist.”<sup>15</sup> This focus on the artistic credentials of designers could justify fashion as a whole. If fashions in clothing represented broader artistic trends, then fashion could not be innately bourgeois. Indeed, many of the theoretical discussions of fashion in *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* deal with the role of “fashions” in art in general. In the 1963 special edition, “A discussion of fashion and style,” half of the contributors interpreted the word “fashion” in terms of clothing, while the other half dealt with it as an aspect of artistic development in general.<sup>16</sup> This focus on the artistic nature of fashion helps to explain the acceptableness of international fashion shows and even the appeal of extravagant, impractical designs.

In addition to being an artistic, cultural export, fashionable clothing was also a consumer good, whose artistic value mattered. Even the wearer of fashionable clothing could be an artist, if she put together an elegant, attractive outfit. As N. Polidova, the artistic director of the department of fashion at GUM, put it in an *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* article in 1963, “To be well dressed, is a kind of artistic pursuit.”<sup>17</sup> The cultural value of fashion was not just external, something to show at international fashion shows. It was also essential that the Soviet citizen be well dressed and prove her artistic and cultural value. Perfect design meant nothing if the average Soviet citizen did not wear it properly.

Not all artists believed that fashion represented high art or that it had a positive influence on the artistic creation of clothing, or anything else. In the aforementioned special edition of *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, the majority of contributors argued that fashion was dangerous and difficult to control, but that one must accept its existence. Indeed, some embraced fashion, as a

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<sup>15</sup> Anastasiia Iushkova, preface to *Aleksandr Igmand: “Ia odeval Brezhneva --,”* by Aleksandr Igmand (Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2008), 15.

<sup>16</sup> “Diskussiiia o mode i stile,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 4, 1963, pp. 27-47.

<sup>17</sup> N. Polivoda, “Sem’ raz primer’,” *Rabotnitsa*, no. 6, 1963, p. 31.

powerful tool that the Soviet Union needed to adapt from the West. According to the artist Igor Il'inskii, the socialist countries needed to take control of fashion and dictate world fashions, because "the dictators of fashions throughout history were the countries with the most developed and advanced societal systems."<sup>18</sup> If the Soviet Union could dictate fashion trends, this would be proof of its system's superiority.

Only one contributor to "A discussion of fashion and style" presented fashion as innately bourgeois. In an article entitled "The pursuit of fashion harms art," the critic Ivan Matsa stated that fashion was an inferior "substitute" of style and something unnecessary in a communist country. Matsa saw fashion as innately capitalist and a poor replacement for true artistic style and taste.<sup>19</sup> While Matsa had in mind all artistic fashions, not just dress, his article suggests that the acceptance of fashion in the Soviet Union was not universal. At the same time, however, the general rejection of his ideas among artistic circles shows that they discouraged opposition to fashion. The dominance of fashion pages and the existence of houses of design further illustrate the popularity of fashion in the Soviet Union.

## **Soviet Fashion**

While highlighting the artistic value of fashion helped to justify its suitability and usefulness in the Soviet Union, designers needed more concrete means to promote and defend their designs. In this effort, they benefited from the writings of the Russian fashion designer, Nadezhda Lamanova, the "preeminent master of Soviet everyday dress."<sup>20</sup> While Lamanova

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<sup>18</sup> Igor Il'inskii, "Diskussiia o mode i stile," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 4, 1963, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> I. Matsa, "Pogonia za modoï vredit iskusstvu," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 4, 1963, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> T. Strizhenova, "Nadezhda Petrovna Lamanova," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 6, 1966, p. 16.

briefly went out of fashion in the 1930s, T. Strichenova claimed in 1966, “Lamanova’s principles of everyday dress regained importance in the second half of the 1950s and they remain so today.”<sup>21</sup> In 1919, Lamanova wrote an “Organizational Plan for a Workshop of Contemporary Costume,” which outlined the primary goals of post-revolutionary design. This work, among a number of other writings by revolutionary designers, helped to define the Soviet fashion industry and provided an ideological basis for their designs. Lamanova emphasized the importance of utility, simplicity, and practicality in clothing design. She stated that designers should focus on studying “ways of simplifying clothes, making simplicity the characteristic of the working-man’s clothes in contrast to the clothes of the bourgeoisie.”<sup>22</sup> Lamanova’s focus on simplicity and practicality helped to define Soviet fashion, as designers in the 1960s continued to attempt to apply her ideas and develop a proletarian style.

The ideal Soviet fashions needed to be egalitarian, simple, and easily mass-produced, while still having artistic value and beautifying society. Rather than designing for the elites, as in the West, Soviet designers theoretically created clothing for everyone. However, Soviet designers seemed uncertain how to create an ideologically acceptable Soviet fashion. Rather than creating their own styles, Soviet designers simply imitated Western fashion trends. As consumer production increased it became apparent that something had to distinguish Soviet fashion from Parisian, Italian, or American fashion. Initially, Soviet designers focused on promoting femininity, simplicity, elegance, and practicality in their designs. Although many Soviet

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 19-20.

<sup>22</sup> N. Lamanova, “Organizational Plan for a Workshop of Contemporary Costume,” in *Revolutionary Costume: Soviet Clothing and Textiles of the 1920*, ed. Lidya Zaletova et al., 1st English language ed. (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 170.

designers still imitated Western designs, they could now distinguish their designs from Western ones rhetorically.

Despite these efforts to make Soviet fashion more feminine, simpler, and more practical than Western designs, the Soviet aesthetic remained ill defined and virtually indistinguishable from Western designs. Thus, in the 1950s, Soviet designers imitated Dior's "new look," which emphasized femininity and elegance. The "new look" meant dresses with a cinched waist and wide skirt, an impractical cut that utilized a great deal of fabric. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Soviet designers continued to imitate Western, especially Parisian, designers. Three dresses from the Summer 1958 collection of ODMO, for instance, are barely distinguishable from Parisian designs from the same year. The one on the far left [Plate 2], by far the most simple, was for mass production, while the other two, prototypes, were never produced. Both the sheath dress and the sheath bubble skirt featured prominently in Parisian designs from 1958. The Pierre Cardin skirt shown here is similar in both style and textile usage to the mass-produced style on the far left. [Plate 2 and Plate 3]

That said, Soviet designers emphasized several factors that clearly distinguish Soviet and Western fashion, such as femininity in working attire. While this was an issue in the West, it had less ideological weight than it did in the Soviet Union, where a much higher percentage of women wore uniforms supplied by the state. Ol'ga Vainshtein has stressed the gendered aspect of Soviet fashion in the 1960s, arguing that the Soviet women's magazines' focus on "modesty" and "femininity" reveals the sexualization of Soviet fashion.<sup>23</sup> While Vainshtein makes a compelling argument, I would suggest that the focus on modesty and femininity represented an effort to reinforce gender roles. Sociologist Lynne Attwood points out that from the 1930s

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<sup>23</sup> Even the Soviet interest in Dior can be partially traced back to femininity, as the "new look" was praised in both the Soviet Union and the West for its "feminine" cut.



through the 1950s women's dress and attire had to "preserve women's femininity."<sup>24</sup> It seems likely that the Soviet state continued to be concerned with practical work clothing that did not "masculinize" women.

The demand for femininity often undermined the call for simple, comfortable clothing. While contributors to *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* demanded that clothing be "simple and feminine," the insistence on femininity often complicated women's dress.<sup>25</sup> This was especially true in women's work attire, because of the difficulty of developing practical feminine working dress. In order to incorporate femininity and attractiveness in women's clothes, designers would have had to develop new expensive designs that needed more fabric or detail work. In addition, Soviet fashion magazines suggest that some women wore impractical clothing at work in order to appear more feminine or attractive. While long skirts may have been feminine, they were unsafe for most factory and collective farm work.<sup>26</sup>

In an effort to alleviate this issue, an article by the designer E. Semenova from the August 1963 issue of *Rabotnitsa* advised women on the distinctions between work and home attire. This article does not deal with specialized work attire, but discusses general use overalls and the acceptable design and colors. Voicing concern that women be attractive, Semenova provided directions on how to make the cut of overalls more feminine. She also emphasized the restrictions in working attire. "I do not think that you need to dress monotonously and boringly,

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<sup>24</sup> Lynne Attwood, *Creating the New Soviet Woman : Women's Magazines as Engineers of Female Identity, 1922-53* (New York: St. Martin's Press in association with Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, 1999), 132.

<sup>25</sup> N. Polivoda, "Otdelki v mode," *Krest'ianka*, no. 2, 1966, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, M. Kink, "Kogda vy na rabote," *Rabotnitsa*, no. 8, 1965, p. 28.

but there are expectations of good taste for working dress.”<sup>27</sup> Semenova offered advice on how to make working attire acceptable for the theater or other after work activity: “A suit can be made more attractive with a scarf. Scarves are always in fashion.”<sup>28</sup> Semenova’s article suggested concern about the femininity and attractiveness of working attire. While she discussed overalls extensively, she gave examples only for dresses or suits with skirts. Her comments on proper attire for home places an emphasis on attractiveness, yet even more so on etiquette and appropriateness of at-home wear. While Semenova emphasized outfits for secretarial or office jobs, other contributors focused on the clothing of collective farm workers.

An author in *Krest’ianka* called for the development of new female work attire for these workers, calling on managers of collective farms to criticize women’s clothing and ensure that everyone was properly dressed. “Dear comrade directors of collective farms: Make certain that female tractor drivers on your collective farm wear comfortable, practical, and beautiful clothing.”<sup>29</sup> Similar articles described competitions to develop new women’s working fashion. Designers never carried out this initiative, no doubt because the state could not produce enough attractive, feminine overalls. The author of the article recognized this, publishing excerpts from letters sent to the magazine asking why such nice working wear remained unavailable, despite the demand.

Authors rarely explain their emphasis on femininity, although in a few cases they suggest that women themselves demanded feminine attire. As the author of the previously mentioned article proclaimed: “Women will always be women. Even at work, they want to be dressed

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<sup>27</sup> E. Semenova, “Kak odevat’sia na pabote i doma,” *Rabotnitsa*, no. 8, 1963, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> “Rabochaia odezhda,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 8, 1964, p. 31.

attractively, prettily, and comfortably.”<sup>30</sup> Another designer and contributor to *Krest’ianka* complained that:

Unfortunately, many women are reluctant to wear modern work uniforms [*spetsovki*], because they include pants. Often on the factory floor or on the farm, they work in long, flowing skirts or a half unbuttoned smock. These women, as a rule, are ashamed to wear pants, thinking that they are part of a men’s wardrobe. They are mistaken!<sup>31</sup>

If the concern over femininity was in fact a concern of the ordinary Soviet woman, this could explain the lack of consistency about feminine attire and dress. Rather than being state imposed, the issue of femininity could have been a truly populist consideration.

While femininity remained a complicated and unresolved issue, fashion commentators more consistently applied other descriptors for Soviet attire, especially “elegant” and “simple.” For example, in March 1960, the designer N. Makarova suggested, “Soviet dress should be elegant, which means it should be simple, natural, and casual.”<sup>32</sup> Makarova did not explain how to make elegant but simple clothing, nor did she give examples. However, creating such an outfit required the ability to “inextricably link good taste and common sense” to create a “beautiful, comfortable, and picturesque” outfit.<sup>33</sup> Seven years later, in 1967, the designer and fashion theorist T. Strizhenova wrote: “Simplicity and comfort in everyday dress has become the main principle of the Soviet art of clothing design.”<sup>34</sup> Strizhenova volunteered some examples of designs that best reflected this principle: these were simple sheath dresses, with large, bold

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> I. Nadgornaia, “Put’ spetsovki,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 7, 1969, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> N. Makarova, “V cheloveke vse dolzhno byt’ prekrasno,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 3, 1960, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> T. Strizhenova, “Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoi vystavke,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 8, 1967, p. 10.

patterns. No doubt, the designer utilized colorful, decorative textiles to offset the simple cut.

[Plate 4]

Many articles, particularly those of Makarova, emphasized the importance of personal awareness and the instinctual knowledge of what to wear, since fashion ultimately reflected the character of the person wearing it. “In Soviet attire there should be no affectations or frippery. Only then will it answer the expectations of good taste and harmonize with the inner character of Soviet women.”<sup>35</sup> Dressing properly signified that one was a good Soviet. A “true” Soviet woman would never wear unacceptable clothing. Failing to achieve the correct balance of practical and fashionable meant that both the woman and the designer had failed. Makarova highlighted the concerns of Soviet designers about fashionable, elegant, but impractical clothing:

Imagine a woman in a fashionable, narrow skirt, who is unable to walk in it without bowing her legs. There goes another with bags in both hands, who does not know how to prevent her fashionable hat from slipping off her head. A woman in a trendy, streamlined coat cannot raise her hand to catch the bus and swaying awkwardly steps on her own feet. Imagine the graceless gait of women in unusual heels that are only good for fancy dress.<sup>36</sup>

Such fashion and women who stuck by it made themselves ridiculous. Fashionable clothing had to be wearable and useable, not simply attractive. Indeed, “unwearable” clothing made women less elegant.

While ordinary women probably never wore the complicated styles presented in *Zhurnal mod*, across the board women’s magazines described new fashion trends using almost the exact same adjectives. The magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest’ianka* utilize these buzzwords when discussing working attire, formal attire, and casual wear. Thus, an article in *Krest’ianka* from

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<sup>35</sup> Makarova, “V cheloveke vse dolzhno byt’ prekrasno,” p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

1964 insisted that women should always be dressed “comfortably, practically, and prettily.”<sup>37</sup> In many cases, the clothing in *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest’ianka* reflected these ideas far more so than those in *Zhurnal mod* and *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*. No doubt, designers found it easier to design simple clothing for mass production than to create truly artistic outfits that embodied these ideals. Despite the obvious differences, *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest’ianka* endeavored to convince their readers that the designs in these magazines paralleled the more fashionable designs in *Zhurnal mod* and other fashion magazines. Almost every season, these magazines stated that “the motto for this season’s fashion is ‘simple, practical, and appropriate.’”<sup>38</sup> While the designs changed season by season, these adjectives did not.

The designers recognized that working-class clothing had to be practical and easy to wear to differentiate it from that of the opulent, bourgeois, West. Unfortunately, these adjectives provided little opportunity for Soviet designers to truly differentiate themselves from their Western counterparts. Furthermore, the idea of “comfortable, practical, and pretty” clothing might have limited the designers’ options. For the most part, Soviet designers simply imitated Western fashions, with a few minor alterations, such as using cheaper fabrics or removing unnecessary design elements, such as bows and lace. Soviet fashion therefore looked like the less interesting, cheaper version of Western designs.

M. Mertsalova, a designer and fashion theorist, proposed a solution to this problem. In her 1960 article “How Fashion Emerges” in *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, Mertsalova traced the rise of fashion in the nineteenth century and the new role for the Soviet Union in the development of

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<sup>37</sup> “Rabočaia odezhda,” *Krest’ianka*, p. 31.

<sup>38</sup> M. Malysheva, “Mody sezona,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 10, 1966, p. 32. Similar statements are seen in I. Andreeva, “O samoī novoī mode,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 9, 1967, p. 32; E. Semenova, “Kak odevat’sia na rabote i doma,” *Rabotnitsa*, no. 8, 1963, p. 31.

new fashions. Mertsalova suggested that what made Soviet designers unique was their usage of national motifs and designs.

The People's Republics and the Soviet Union are particularly important in fashion design because of their use of national motifs, which are almost absent in Western design. The wealth of national art is an inexhaustible source for textile and fashion designers. The development of their skills, which are evident at all international exhibitions and congresses of fashion, will manifest itself in the appearance of new methods of utilizing a national artistic legacy.<sup>39</sup>

Since national motifs played little role in Soviet fashion design in the late 1950s, it is likely that Mertsalova was proposing a way forward for Soviet design, rather than identifying a preexisting trend. National fashion would be the Soviet Union's contribution to international fashion. At the same time, Mertsalova indicates a failure on the part of Western designers to recognize the importance of maintaining national symbols in one's attire. National symbols and motifs not only made Soviet fashion unique, but also made it more accessible and representative of the women who would wear these designs.<sup>40</sup> Despite Mertsalova's efforts, national fashion would not become a focal point of Soviet design until 1967.

Mertsalova's focus on national fashion and the rise of national fashion in the late 1960s did not mean that "practicality," "femininity," "simplicity," and "elegance" ceased to be buzzwords. In fact, many theorists viewed national fashion as the simplest way of combining these ideas and developing an ideologically appropriate Soviet design. It seems likely that the idea that national fashion could resolve these issues came from Nadezhda Lamanova's short piece from 1919, entitled "Russian Fashion." Lamanova believed that "The versatility of folk costume, rooted as it is in popular tradition and inventiveness, can give us both ideological and

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<sup>39</sup> M. Mertsalova, "Kak voznikaet moda," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 3, 1960, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6-7.

practical ideas, for our new town. The basic styles of folk costume are sensible.”<sup>41</sup> Lamanova suggested that since peasants worked in folk attire, the styles and motifs taken from traditional dress would be more practical than designs based on Western bourgeois models. While Lamanova’s ideas do not explain why national fashion began to play a central role in the late 1960s, they do reveal the origins of these ideas.

### **Production of Soviet Fashion**

The failures of the Soviet textile and clothing industry towered over the concern about abstract ideas such as defining Soviet fashion and making it distinct. Despite repeated efforts to improve production, the Soviet Union still seriously lagged behind the West and shortages of clothing continued throughout the Soviet period. Even when the state met expectations for production, it did not produce the beautiful clothes in *Zhurnal mod*. As Susan Reid has pointed out, most consumer production in the Soviet Union hinged around the idea of “rational consumption,” which meant that individual desires and needs had to align with the needs of the collective.<sup>42</sup> While the Soviet state broke its own rules with surprising regularity, this underlying idea meant that mass-produced clothing remained utilitarian and plain.

Soviet ready-to-wear clothing has been ridiculed in the West, as observers of the Soviet Union talk of shoes with the heels on the wrong end, shoddily sewn clothing, and shortages of necessities such as underwear. These issues corresponded with similar production failures in other fields. The state, however, attempted to develop a clothing industry to meet the needs of

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<sup>41</sup> N. Lamanova, “Russian Fashion,” in *Revolutionary Costume*, 172.

<sup>42</sup> Reid, “Cold War in the Kitchen,” 219. For more discussion of rational consumption see: Phillip Weitzman, “Soviet Long-Term Consumption Planning: Distribution According to Rational Need,” *Soviet Studies* 26, no. 3 (July 1, 1974): 305–21.

the whole society. The primary purpose of the houses of design after the war was to provide suitable and desirable clothing and textile designs to factories. In his memoir, *"I dressed Brezhnev..."*, Alexander Igmand explained his involvement not only in making Brezhnev's clothes, but also in clothing production. Igmand played such a key role in the production of clothing in the Soviet Union, that his editor, Anastasiia Iushkova, recalls a friend describing him as "The man, who dressed all of the men in the Soviet Union in the second half of the twentieth century."<sup>43</sup> According to Igmand, ODMO created one primary methodological and artistic collection. The designers presented this collection at an international exhibition for Communist bloc countries to show other houses of design and factories how to create clothing that could be mass-produced, as many designers "rarely had ideas that could be realized."<sup>44</sup>

Not surprisingly, the involvement of chief designers in mass production was not limited to Moscow. A *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* profile of the Kievan designer Gertz Mepen presents a similar view of the job of a Soviet designer. In addition to discussing his involvement in "artistic design," the article elucidates his role in factory production, maintaining that all of the major clothing factories in Odessa made fabrics and clothes "with the drawings and participation of Mepen."<sup>45</sup> As a result of this dual role as both artist and production specialist, Soviet designers held a special importance. Their involvement in international fashion shows and exhibitions not only spread Soviet culture, but also allowed them to collect information about new production techniques.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Igmand, *Aleksandr Igmand: "Ja odeval Brezhneva--"*, 18.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 52-53.

<sup>45</sup> I. Monakhova, "Khudozhnik-model'er G. Mepen," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 12, 1966, p. 32.

<sup>46</sup> Igmand, 87-88.



Both Igmand and Mepen worked directly with factory directors to determine which designs and styles factories could produce. In many cases, factories could not make even the most simple designs because of outdated technology. In one instance, Igmand traveled to a factory in Georgia, where he saw an old woman sewing shirtsleeves on by hand, because the machines could not perform this task. Not only that, but she performed her task incorrectly because she did not know how to read sewing patterns. While Igmand did his best to explain to her the proper way of sewing clothing, he quickly realized that his suggestions fell on deaf ears.<sup>47</sup> Soviet factory directors and workers could never fulfill demand with outdated equipment and limited training, regardless of the efforts of Soviet designers to simplify designs and improve productivity. Given these circumstances, the horror stories of Soviet mass produced clothing are hardly surprising.

It is clear in both Igmand's memoir and in the descriptions of fashion exhibitions in *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR* and *Zhurnal mod* that designers drew some patterns for mass production and others as artistic designs. In her write up of the International Exhibition in 1967, T. Strizhenova differentiated the two in her depictions of clothing shown at the exhibition, labeling certain designs "Designs for mass production."<sup>48</sup> This suggests that for the most part, the houses of design divided their "artistic" and the practical aspects. This helps to explain the huge divide between the designs in *Zhurnal mod* and those available in shops. Since GUM, and similar exclusive department stores, sold this clothing, the average Soviet consumer had limited access to these artistic designs. Soviet women obtained styles from *Zhurnal mod* in one of three

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 53-54.

<sup>48</sup> Strizhenova, "Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoi vystavke," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 8, 1967, p. 14.

ways: home production, a personal dressmaker, or through connections. For the majority of women, only the first method was an option.

While the Soviet state would have liked to have produced all of its clothing through mass production, it recognized the limits of this. As Judd Stitzel notes, home production became a major element of clothing production in communist states.<sup>49</sup> Further, the industrial production of clothing often resulted in poorly made, undesirable clothing, even when factories kept up with demand.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the state encouraged women to make their own clothing, or modify mass produced clothing to make it more fashionable. The state actively promoted this strategy through major fashion magazines, which incorporated patterns, directions on embroidery, and suggestions for altering clothing, in addition to their standard fashion pages.<sup>51</sup>

The emphasis on home production found in Soviet women's magazines underscores its importance to the state. The last page of almost every issue of *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* includes "Moda" or the fashion section, dating from the early 1930s, when the clothing featured in the publications remained utilitarian. In the late 1950s, however, these magazines begin to publish patterns from houses of design in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc. These designs

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<sup>49</sup> Stitzel, *Fashioning Socialism*, 49-50.

<sup>50</sup> Shortages and the resulting demand for Western goods are discussed in the following works, among others: Leбина, *Obyvatel' i reformy*; Donald J. Raleigh, *Soviet Baby Boomers: An Oral History of Russia's Cold War Generation* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Gleb Tsipursky, "Citizenship, Deviance, and Identity," *Cahiers Du Monde Russe* 49, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 629-50.

<sup>51</sup> Women did not participate in home production solely to make up for the failures of state production or for the purpose of personal embellishment. As a number of historians have pointed out, many home producers copied Western patterns, rather than utilizing Soviet designs. Mark Allen Svede discusses the intentionally controversial homemade clothing of Latvian hippies, called *samostrok*, meaning "'sartorial samizdat' or 'self-published' clothing." Although intentionally subversive clothing was not the norm, the state naturally discouraged such practices as well as popular interest in jeans and other Western styles. Attempts to combat outside influence and win back the Soviet youth to Soviet styles and traditions largely failed, however, the state encouragement of home production succeeded. Mark Allen Svede, "All You Need is Lovebeads: Latvia's Hippies Undress for Success," *Style and Socialism*, 197.

remained fairly simple and practical, but they often echoed those in *Zhurnal mod* and made some effort to follow contemporary global fashion trends. Indeed, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* simply reprinted patterns from *Zhurnal mod* or another fashion magazine. Donald J. Raleigh's *Soviet Baby Boomers* reveals that Soviet schools had sewing classes that taught girls how to make or at least alter their own clothing, suggesting that many women could utilize these patterns.<sup>52</sup>

Outside of school, fashion and women's magazines provided directions on how to sew. In 1963, E. Semenova wrote in *Rabotnitsa*: "The more women become amateur dress makers, the more diverse and beautiful at-home clothing will become."<sup>53</sup> The fashion pages of both *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* promoted making one's own clothing, providing patterns in every edition, and offering directions for dying fabric and complicated sewing techniques. Occasionally the publications replaced the final fashion page with a list of fashion and sewing magazines for those women who "love needlework and are able to sew" or want to learn how to "sew it yourself."<sup>54</sup> They printed directions on how to order the magazines and books and urged beginners to take up sewing or knitting. Despite the importance of home production, the state did not produce high quality patterns. *Zhurnal mod* published up to fourteen patterns on one sheet, and this made it difficult to utilize them and identify the correct outfit. Free patterns, like free patterns in much of the world, focused on conservation of paper rather than on clarity.<sup>55</sup> [Plate 5]

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<sup>52</sup> Raleigh, *Soviet Baby Boomers*, 137.

<sup>53</sup> Semenova, "Kak odevat'sia na pabote i doma," p. 31.

<sup>54</sup> "Moda," *Krest'ianka*, no. 2, 1966, p. 33; "Sheite sami," *Krest'ianka*, no. 8, 1966, pp. 32-33. Similar articles, "Moda," *Rabotnitsa*, October 1963, p. 33; "Sheite sami," *Rabotnitsa*, no. 3, 1964, pp. 32-33; "Sheite sami," *Rabotnitsa*, no. 6, 1965, pp. 32-33.

<sup>55</sup> This is not a peculiarly Soviet phenomenon. Free, inset patterns in American magazines often include multiple patterns on one sheet.

In addition to making a new outfit, magazines often advised women on how to improve and decorate mass-produced clothing. One of the most interesting examples is the article “Finishing touches in fashion” in *Krest’ianka*.<sup>56</sup> Written by N. Polidova, this essay discusses the importance of fancy colors, embroidery, and styles of fastening clothing for fashion. It gives women suggestions for making their own clothing more fashionable and explains which “finishing touches” work best on coats, skirts, blouses, and jackets. Polidova largely intended to inform women of the methods of designers, but she also provided precise directions on how to decorate and make one’s clothing more fashionable. A similar article in the January 1964 issue of *Rabotnitsa* encourages women to knit collars and sleeves for their dresses so that they will be warmer and more attractive.<sup>57</sup>

The state realized that many women, regardless of their sewing ability, did not have access to the appropriate fabric to make the designs depicted in these magazines. In order to alleviate this issue, the state began turning to synthetic textiles. Articles promised that these advancements would enable women to make fancy dresses from “silk-like” fabrics, since silk was unavailable.<sup>58</sup> In addition, the magazines published patterns for multiple designs made with the same fabric. In some cases, they offered ideas for turning one dress into three. In other instances, they explained how to work with striped or floral fabrics, providing three or four examples using one fabric.<sup>59</sup> These articles acknowledge a realization of the limitations facing

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<sup>56</sup> N. Polivoda, “Otdelki v mode,” p. 29.

<sup>57</sup> B. Bainberg, “Trikotazhnaia otdelka,” *Rabotnitsa*, no. 1, 1964, insert.

<sup>58</sup> Nina Okunena, “Kak my budem odevat’sia zavtra?,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 8, 1964, p. 32.

<sup>59</sup> “Iz tkani v polosku,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 7, 1966, p. 30.

women who wished to make their own clothing, encouraging them to make clothing utilizing available resources.

## CHAPTER 2: NATIONALLY INSPIRED FASHION

### Soviet Fashion and the West

Interestingly, Soviet designers and the press lauded Western, particularly Parisian, designers and designs, but voiced reservations about the impact of Western popular fashion on Soviet youth. At least once a year, *Zhurnal mod* and *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* published articles on the latest Parisian designs and their impact on Soviet fashion. The Soviet obsession with Paris no doubt began with the Dior show in 1958, but continued unabated in the 1960s. This obsession was worldwide. Even after the death of Dior himself in 1957, the House of Dior represented a pinnacle of international fashion design. While Soviet designers criticized Western fashion in general, they did not dare take on Dior. In 1961, both the summer and winter issues of *Zhurnal mod* published articles by their chief correspondent on Western fashion, L. Efremova, a head designer at ODMO, on the latest productions of the House of Dior.<sup>60</sup> Similar articles on Parisian and Italian fashion designers were common, but Dior was preeminent.

L. Efremova's article, "The secret of Parisian fashion," in the June 1967 issue of *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, highlights this obsession with Paris. "Even the most zealous opponent of Western fashion recognizes the status of French designers and unconditionally assigns Paris first

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<sup>60</sup> L. Efremova, "Na pokaze vesennei kolleksi Khristiana Dora," *Zhurnal mod*, no. 1, 1961, p. 22; L. Efremova, "Frantsuzskie modeli firmy 'Khristian Dior'," *Zhurnal mod*, no. 3, 1961, pp. 20-21.

place in the creation of foreign fashion,” she writes.<sup>61</sup> Efremova addressed the issues of imitating a bourgeois cultural phenomenon, but argued that Parisian design houses were the ideal “school” for designers regardless of ideology. From the Soviet point of view, French designers consistently beat the Soviets at their own game. The French fashion houses developed wearable, widely accessible clothing in a way that no one else, including the Russians, could. In 1967, the designer V. Kriuchkova lamented her inability to match Chanel in the production of accessible clothing. Kriuchkova recognized that even Chanel’s “haute couture” styles oozed simplicity and (relative) practicality. In trying to beat the Western designers, Soviet designers failed to stick to their own ideological parameters, leading Kriuchkova to lament the impracticality and gargantuan luxury of their own haute couture designs.<sup>62</sup>

Discussions of Western fashion were not limited to the pages of *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* and *Zhurnal mod.* Both *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest’ianka* discussed Western fashion, generally as part of articles about the international exhibitions and fashion shows. The fashion page and patterns from the August 1963 edition of *Rabotnitsa* includes a description of the latest designs from Italy, which provides the readers of *Rabotnitsa* with much coveted Western designs.<sup>63</sup> That issue features simple Italian fashions, with only one fancy dress and a number of day dresses and coats that reflect contemporary fashion trends. This shows that the average Soviet woman had access to some Western designs without purchasing *Zhurnal mod* and other high fashion magazines.

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<sup>61</sup> L. Efremova, “Taina parizhskoi mody,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 6, 1967, p. 30. Efremova was hardly the only designer fascinated with Dior, simply one of the most productive writers on the subject. For another example, see, V. Aralova, “Na vystavke v N’iu-jorke,” *Zhurnal mod*, no. 4, 1959, p. 36.

<sup>62</sup> V. Kriuchkova, “Karnaval mod,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 2, 1968, pp. 8-15; N. Golikova, “Posle karnavala,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 2, 1968, pp. 15-18.

<sup>63</sup> N. Golikovo, “Ital’ianskaia moda,” *Rabotnitsa*, no. 8, 1963, pp. 32-33.

Fashion made the Soviet Union look modern and capable of competing with the West in more than just heavy industry and military might. The Soviet Union could also compete in international fashion shows, send its designers and models abroad, and present its citizens as cultured, modern, and well dressed. While international shows allowed the Soviet Union to present its artistic successes to the rest of the world, domestic ones allowed the country to do the same at home. Domestic shows became especially important once international designers began to show alongside Soviet ones. The Soviet houses of design could not afford to look less elegant and fashionable than Western designers, especially in Moscow.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Soviet designers began to travel to international exhibitions held in major cities, such as New York and Paris. In the summer of 1959, the Soviet Union opened its first industrial exhibition in New York, as a counterpart to the American National Exhibition in Moscow.<sup>64</sup> Held at the New York Coliseum, this exhibition highlighted Sputnik models and heavy machinery. The exhibition also featured a daily fashion show of two hundred ODMO designs.<sup>65</sup> In her article on the exhibition, the designer V. Aralova emphasized American interest in the fashion shows and the mass news coverage of the event. Unlike most descriptions of fashion shows, Aralova's article provides almost no description of the clothing. For Aralova, American reaction to Soviet designs mattered far more than any discussions of the clothing itself. She focused on the number of Americans at the show and the positive responses to the Soviet clothing exhibition.<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, in her write up of a trip to Paris two years later, rather than discussing the crowd and the news response, Aralova described the clothing and the

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<sup>64</sup> This exhibition was the sight of the famous "Kitchen Debate" between Nixon and Khrushchev.

<sup>65</sup> "Russians Will Show More Than 200 Fashions Daily at Coliseum Exhibition: Fair Opens Today -- Entourage Includes One Male Model," *New York Times*, June 30, 1959, p. 24.

<sup>66</sup> Aralova, "Na vystavke v N'iu-iorke," p. 36.



exhibition hall.<sup>67</sup> Considering the prevalence of Paris and descriptions of Parisian fashion in the magazine, it is possible that Aralova changed her emphasis, because of the readers' awareness of Parisian fashion.

Although important for designers, the industrial exhibitions pale when compared with the excitement about the International Exhibition of Clothing in August 1967 in Moscow. The International Exhibition of Clothing featured displays from twenty-six countries and over one thousand companies, including designers from France, Hungary, Romania, the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, India, and Pakistan. The pavilions for the event were set up in the exhibition center in Sokolniki Park, the sight of the American National Exhibition in 1959. Each country had its own exhibition hall, where it displayed clothing designs and machines for textile and clothing production. As a result of the international interest in the event, the strength of the Soviet collection became even more essential, since the Soviet Union hosted the event and had to stand out. According to Strizhenova, the Soviet designers showed more than 2,000 articles of clothing in its main pavilion, perhaps to overwhelm visitors with the number if not the quality and artistry of the clothing.<sup>68</sup> The exhibition gained even more significance because 1967 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. The clothing exhibition represented one of a number of efforts to make it clear that the Soviet Union was fulfilling the promises of the Revolution.

The Chanel exhibition at the International Exhibition of Clothing illustrates the Soviet obsession with French style. *Zhurnal mod* lauded the show, as a classic, elegant production. In *FashionEast*, Djurdja Bartlett argues that one Soviet designer's description of Chanel's styles as

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<sup>67</sup> V. Aralova, "Na sovetskoï vystavke v Parizhe," *Zhurnal mod*, no. 1, 1962, pp. 4-5.

<sup>68</sup> Strizhenova, "Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoï vystavke," p. 10; N. Buzylev, "Moda – 67," *Izvestiia*, August 9, 1967, p. 6.

“old-fashioned,” shows a broader rejection of conservative, elegant Western dress.<sup>69</sup> For the Chanel show to be “a little old-fashioned” as I. Andreeva put it, was not necessarily an insult. Andreeva lauded the fact that Chanel designed for “adult women.” In a 1970 article, V. Kriuchkova declared “The design house of Chanel at the festival of fashion in Moscow in 1967 convinced us that clothing, which seems to be at odds with modern fashion, can have great artistic value.”<sup>70</sup> For Andreeva, the price of Chanel’s clothing damned it far more than its “old-fashionedness.” “Good taste does not mean flaunting one’s wealth and the value of one’s clothing.”<sup>71</sup> Soviet designers lauded Chanel’s designs, but protested their exceptionally expensive clothing.

Every republic with a house of design presented at this exhibition, including the Moscow, Tashkent, Tblisi, Kiev, and Riga houses of design. The collections featured national designs for the first time. At the Soviet show, every house of design showed a collection, although ODMO designs dominated the event. As the central Moscow house of design, ODMO had the largest and most opulent collection. Each other house of design had its own section in the main Soviet pavilion and participated in the fashion shows. In addition to the main ODMO collection, the Russian republic presented its own collection, incorporating designs from Moscow and Leningrad houses of design. The *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* sketch for the collection of the RFSFR depicts a number of avant-garde works as well as clothing that reflected the trend of national motifs. The reports of the event suggest that avant-garde and extravagant designs dominated the

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<sup>69</sup> Bartlett’s argument about the increasingly avant-garde appearance of Soviet style is certainly valid, but all of her examples are based on Eastern European rather than Soviet designs. These remained more conservative. Djurdja Bartlett, *FashionEast: The Spectre That Haunted Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), 214.

<sup>70</sup> V. Kriuchkova, “Moda kak forma potrebleniia,” *Zhurnal mod*, no. 1, 1970, insert p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> I. Andreeva, “Festival’ mod v Moskve,” *Zhurnal mod*, no. 2, 1968, pp. 3-4.

Soviet collection, much to the chagrin of many Soviet designers. A few designers, however, suggested that the national collections were the exception to this general opulence.<sup>72</sup> [Plate 7]

Alexander Igmand's memoir reveals the excitement that many Soviet fashion designers felt at their first international runway. "For designers, the fashion festival was manna from heaven, which fell on our heads, and motivated the development of our fashion."<sup>73</sup> The pages of *Zhurnal mod*, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, *Rabotnitsa*, and *Krest'ianka* lauded the successes of Soviet designers and celebrated the presence of international representatives. "Ten or fifteen years ago we were unable to take such a step, because the level of our clothing design was not equal to that of European design."<sup>74</sup> After 1967, the Soviet Union had made it in the international fashion world.

### **The Development of a National Fashion**

The International Exhibition of Clothing in 1967 succeeded admirably in introducing national motifs to Soviet design. While the idea emerged in the early 1960s, the International Exhibition of Clothing became one of the first outlets for celebrating this new "national" fashion. Although it is difficult to say why national motifs became more prominent during this period, they showed the Soviet Union as simultaneously multinational and united. For the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution, the Soviet Union needed to display its cultural and economic importance. Although femininity, simplicity, and elegance were hallmarks of Soviet fashion in the 1950s and 1960s, they did little to seriously distinguish it from Western designs. Without

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<sup>72</sup> Strizhenova, "Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoi vystavke," p. 10; Aralova, "Na sovetskoï vystavke v Parizhe," pp. 4-5; Golikova, "Posle karnavala," p. 16.

<sup>73</sup> Igmand, *Aleksandr Igmand : "Ia Odeval Brezhneva--"*, 47.

<sup>74</sup> Strizhenova, "Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoi vystavke," p. 10.

national motifs, Soviet designs seemed like pale imitations of French designs and failed to reflect the centrality and power of Soviet culture and art. National motifs provided an important way of utilizing the ideals of simplicity, practicality, and elegance to create a more original collection.

According to a few Soviet designers, without the national designs, the fashions presented at the International Exhibition would have lacked originality. As N. Golikova, a designer, put it in early 1968:

What did we, the Soviet designers, show at the festival? Alas, our collection was dominated by designs, which Leonid Likhodeev correctly identified as “garish window dressing.” We did not have our own style, our own fashion, or our own image. If someone had removed the nationally inspired designs from our collection, then it would not have differed in any way from the collections of other countries.<sup>75</sup>

Golikova further criticized the Soviet designs as too opulent and unwearable. For Golikova, the national fashions saved the Soviet collection. The focus on national motifs did far more than make clothing distinctly Russian, Uzbek, Latvian, or Ukrainian. It made clothing distinctly Soviet.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Soviet fashion magazines reflected this emphasis on national fashion. *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* often included articles that discussed the national influences on Russian, East European, and Central Asian fashion. In an article from 1967, “Traditions in fashionable dress,” G. Gorina, for example, compares traditional Russian attire to recent fashion trends. She states that since the beginning of the 1960s, national designs and styles played a greater role in fashion design and artistic development as a whole.<sup>76</sup> The development of national dress was not just about having a different fashion from the rest of the world.

The use of the best aspects of national costume is necessary not only for the preservation of the national palette, but most importantly it is necessary for the adoption of the

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<sup>75</sup> Golikova, “Posle karnavala,” p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> G. Gorina, “Traditsii v modnom kostiume,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 3, 1967, p. 7.

universal national principles of simplicity, expediency, artistic expression, and conditions of life. National principles are especially important now, when a tendency to sensible changes in the style of clothing is increasingly evident in the fashion of socialist countries.<sup>77</sup>

Echoing Lamanova's earlier ideas about folk costume, Gorina believed that national styles could provide an easy source for inserting the appropriate ideological principles into fashion. For Gorina, national fashion embodied the ideals of Soviet fashion to be sensible and beautiful, better than any other style could. According to Gorina, the primary challenge for designers was in finding a way to “highlight the national style in the appearance of the contemporary woman, while keeping the lines and silhouette of international fashion.”<sup>78</sup> She illustrates this with a number of examples of recent designs, which suggest that, for Gorina, national dress meant the combination of traditional Russian fur hats and fur detailing with contemporary designs and styles. [Plate 8]

*Zhurnal mod* rarely discussed national clothing explicitly, but the national origins of many designs stand out in its illustrations. Russian designs underscore the politically important editions of the magazine. Thus the Fall 1967 issue, celebrating fifty years since the Revolution, emphasizes Russian designs. In picture of a young woman in a bright red “mini-sarafan” with a fur hat, the caption runs: “The national features and century-long traditions of the costume of our nation and our motherland enrich contemporary dress and give it the traits that are characteristic of Soviet fashion.”<sup>79</sup> Styles like this one differentiated Soviet designs from Western ones, without making Soviet designs look outdated, simplistic, or meaningless. [Plate 9]

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>79</sup> “50 let: kostium i vremia,” *Zhurnal mod*, no. 3, 1967, p. 10.

In addition to national designs, the 1967 exhibition also highlighted ones that reflected Soviet ideological and historical narratives. This suggests that the national designs may have served as part of the golden anniversary celebrations of the Revolution. In a *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo* article from 1967, the author mentions “jubilee” designs that utilize Revolutionary and Civil War era motifs.<sup>80</sup> Among these was a dress based on Red Army uniforms from the 1920s. The model wore a military style hat, a short, turtleneck sweater dress, and long socks. [Plate 10] The Fall 1967 edition of *Zhurnal mod* further supports the idea that national dress was part of the 1967 celebrations. This edition celebrates the successes of the Revolution through fashion, maintaining that the successes of Soviet fashion represent a reflection of the success of the Revolution and the Soviet Union as a whole. In bright red script the main article of this edition declares:

Soviet fashion is now triumphant on all continents and its impact on the development of international design surprises no one. But history is not the result of random transformations, and when we talk about the triumph of the Soviet fashion, we understand that we are talking about the triumph of the humanistic, life-affirming aesthetic ideals of our society.<sup>81</sup>

Almost every design in this edition utilizes national motifs or revolutionary inspired designs. For the editors of *Zhurnal mod*, nationally inspired clothing exemplified the ideals of the Revolution. Fashion, and the success of the Soviet fashion industry, could reflect the success of the Soviet project as a whole. [Plate 11]

Each house of design had its own national character. Take for instance the example of the house of design in Tashkent. For many contributors to fashion magazines, Uzbek national fashion represented proof of the national character of Soviet fashion. Like Russian national

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<sup>80</sup> Strizhenova, “Sovetskaia moda na mezhdunarodnoi vystavke,” p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> “Kostium i vremia: 50 let,” p. 3.

costume, traditional Uzbek motifs became proper sources for Soviet, socialist dress. Calling Uzbek dress “beautiful, reasonable, and logical,” Uzbek designers emphasized the national character of their clothes by using traditional cloth such as the summer textile called “khan-atlas” in Russian.<sup>82</sup> “Khan-atlas” is a bold, colorful, silk fabric, which suited the color and design palate of the late 1960s. Like many others, the Uzbek designers depicted their designs as the fulfillment of earlier demands for practical, beautiful clothing. National designs could help to make clothing more sensible and applicable to the Soviet context. Although made with traditional cloth, the Uzbek clothes had a thoroughly modern appearance, with tight fitting, short skirts based on contemporary Western styles. [Plate 12]

While the design houses did not present exclusively national designs, the collections of almost every Soviet republic at the 1967 exhibition featured national designs.<sup>83</sup> While these designs did not dominate the Soviet press in the way that the Slavic and Uzbek ones did, they echo the same basic trends. One of the designs from the Lviv House of Design features traditional patterns and embroidery on a “peasant” top and mini-skirt. The Ashgabat House of Design presented similarly nationally inspired designs, including “telpek” hats, which are shaggy sheepskin hats. In this case, the Turkmen designers utilized a traditionally male accessory, the “telpek” hat, and combined it with a mini-skirt to create a contemporary, feminine outfit. [Plates 13 and 14]

Even articles in the pages of *Rabotnitsa* and *Krest'ianka* note the importance of national dress and national motifs. The fashion page in these two publications often included designs

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<sup>82</sup> Unsurprisingly such articles make no mention of the sense or logic of the veil or the unveiling campaign of the 1930s. A. Ochakovskaia, “U tashkentskikh model'rov,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, no. 8, 1968, p. 19.

<sup>83</sup> Golikova, “Posle karnavala,” p. 16.

from Ukrainian, Latvian, and Uzbek design houses. Indeed, in September 1969, the editors devoted the back page of *Krest'ianka* to depictions of the latest designs from the Tashkent House of Design. Some of these styles are made of “khan-atlas,” while others simply depict Uzbek motifs. Interestingly, Uzbek national dress, unlike Russian, rarely used traditional cuts and patterns, instead relying on traditional textiles or subtle motifs on modern styles. While it is unsurprising that Soviet fashion and women’s magazines promoted the Russian and Ukrainian houses of design, it is interesting that Uzbek design got similar treatment. The Baltic houses of design, as well as those of the other Central Asian republics, received limited press. [Plate 15]

With the new focus on national fashion, designers hoped to highlight the value of the Soviet fashion internationally. In addition, many designers undoubtedly hoped that Soviet women would be more interested in “national” dress than in Western designs. Many hoped that national dress would appeal to the interests of a broad swath of the Soviet population and encourage them to adopt modern, attractive, Soviet fashions. Internationally, the new trend would help to show that the Soviet Union was both modern and able to design distinctly Soviet styles. Its central position at the 1967 International Exhibition of Clothing served a further vital role of promoting Soviet unity and national pride on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution. While interest in Western fashion continued in the 1970s and 80s and the national dress movement failed to dominate the Soviet wardrobe, the effort reveals a real interest in defining a particularly Soviet style and in actively competing with the West. The Soviet state recognized the power and significance of dress and fashion; it simply failed to harness this power.



## Conclusion

At the time of the Dior show in Moscow, in 1959, Soviet designers tended to imitate Western designs, with little effort to transform them. The only means of differentiation was the removal of excessive decoration and the use of cheaper textiles. As Soviet designers began to compete in international fashion shows, they created their own unique Soviet style. Both at home and abroad, Soviet fashion needed to reflect Soviet ideology and the dominance of the Soviet Union in the development of art and culture. Soviet fashion needed something that made it socialist. Many designers hoped that the emphasis on simplicity and practicality would be enough to make Soviet fashion appropriately proletarian and accessible to the whole population. However, this often led Soviet designs, particularly those for mass production, to be derivative and uninteresting. Simply imitating Western fashion trends, with minor attempts to simplify them, did not improve the image of Soviet designers domestically or internationally.

Designers needed to position the Soviet Union as a part of international cultural production, and as a developer, rather than a follower, of fashion trends. During the 1960s, Soviet designers searched for the solution to this dilemma, eventually settling upon national motifs as the Soviet contribution to the fashion world. Using national motifs and textiles, Soviet designers believed that they could create simple, practical, feminine, elegant, and uniquely Soviet clothing. The combination of all of these styles and motifs in the Soviet exhibition hall emphasized both the unity and the cultural self-expression of each socialist republic. The adoption of national motifs and designs allowed Soviet fashion to reflect state policy and Soviet ideology. While national designs had emerged earlier, the Soviet national collection represented the highlight of the 1967 International Exhibition of Clothing. Every major house of design showed at this exhibition, but they included clothing that reflected their national styles.

National motifs emerged as the major source of inspiration for Soviet designers in the late 1960s for a number of reasons. Soviet designers depicted the success of the 1967 exhibition as a symbol for the success of the Soviet Union as a whole. Since the exhibitions coincided with the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution and represented the first major presentation of Soviet designs, Soviet designers wished to create a collection that reflected national pride and the unity of the Soviet Union. Soviet designers believed that nationally inspired clothing embodied the ideas of practicality and simplicity, while still being beautiful and artistic. The use of national symbols meant that Soviet culture inspired the designs. Designers did not have to imitate the West in their cultural production; they could draw on their own artistic and historical traditions.

Another possible reason for this shift to nationally inspired dress is that it reflected Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev's nationalities policy. Under Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, Soviet nationalities policy focused on the "merging of peoples," placing Slavic culture at the center of Soviet identity. This led to a "Russification" of the non-Russian populations of the Soviet Union. Brezhnev shifted Soviet nationalities policy back to the previous idea of the "Brotherhood of Nations," or the idea that every national culture had a place in Soviet society. Under Brezhnev, folk art and music gained a new central position in Soviet society.<sup>84</sup> It is possible that the Soviet state and designers hoped that these nationally inspired fashions would show the state's commitment toward promoting the national culture of each socialist republic.

National motifs on modern designs alone could not make the Soviet Union a dominant force in the development of fashion and the expansion of culture, nor could they meet the demands of Soviet consumers. As a result, the international promotion of the Soviet "brand"

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<sup>84</sup> Stephen E. Hanson, "The Brezhnev Era," in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, ed. Ronald G. Suny (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 304-305; Jeremy Smith, "Non-Russians in the Soviet Union and After," in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, 511-12.

paralleled efforts to improve domestic production of clothing. National styles and fashion shows helped to spotlight Soviet power and state efforts to improve consumer production. “Do it yourself” columns and advice on how to dress filled in the gaps. When combined with international fashion shows and exhibitions, home production and increased industrial production allowed the state to project an image of refinement and cultural hegemony at home and abroad.

Soviet designers continued to show at international shows throughout the 1970s and 80s, despite the weaknesses of Soviet design and production. Indeed, the national designs of former Soviet Republics continue to have relevance in international fashion. The head designer of Chanel, Karl Lagerfeld, has shown a number of Russian themed collections, most famously his Pre-Fall 2009 collection, “Paris-Moscou.”<sup>85</sup> However, even Central Asian styles have gained some prominence on international runways. This is particularly true of Uzbek designs and textiles, which most recently featured in Emilio Pucci’s 2014 pre-fall collection.<sup>86</sup> While Russian inspired collections usually draw their inspiration from folklore, the Ballet Russe, and the pre-revolutionary period, the Uzbek inspired designs reflect Soviet fashion trends. As the first to introduce these motifs and textiles to the fashion world, Soviet designers can lay some claim on Pucci’s collection, at the very least.

Soviet houses of design ultimately failed in their effort to supersede Western designers in the production of consumer goods and dominance in international fashion, as Soviet citizens continued to imitate Western designs and culture, with little regard for the alternatives the state

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<sup>85</sup> “Chanel Pre-Fall 2009 Fashion Show: Runway Review,” *Style.com*, accessed December 30, 2014, <http://www.style.com/fashion-shows/pre-fall-2009/chanel>.

<sup>86</sup> Tim Blanks, “Emilio Pucci Pre-Fall 2014 Fashion Show: Runway Review,” *Style.com*, accessed December 3, 2014, <http://www.style.com/fashion-shows/pre-fall-2014/emilio-pucci>.

offered them. Internationally, Soviet fashion remained the butt of jokes, rather than a serious competitor. The Soviet effort to develop a Soviet fashion, which reflected state economic and political ideologies, shows a clear understanding of the power of cultural practices. Fashion, as both a cultural export and a consumer good, provided a dual way of increasing the Soviet Union's international and domestic power. If the Soviet Union could compete with the West in both cultural and consumer production, then it would win the "Cold War in the Kitchen."

## PLATES



Plate 1, Dior models in Moscow, Howard Sochurek, The LIFE Picture Collection.



Plate 2, "Fancy Dresses," *Zhurnal mod*, no. 2, 1958, p. 27.



Plate 3, "Cardin", Daves, Jessica. "Fashion: Paris Collections." *Vogue* 131, no. 5, Mar 01, 1958, p. 110.





Plate 4, "Designs for mass production," O. Belkina, L. Ezhova, N. Vasil'eva, "Modeli dlia massovovo proizvodstva," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 8, 1967, p. 14.



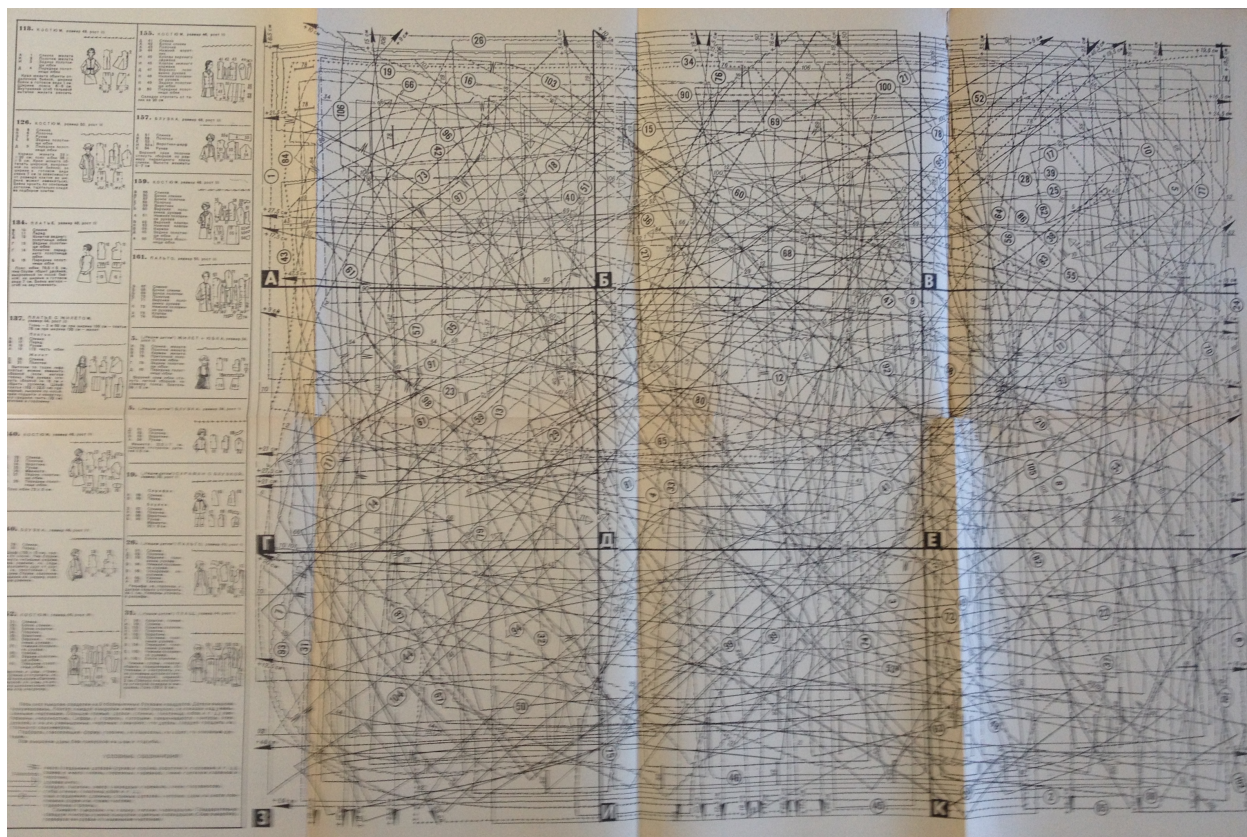


Plate 5, Patterns, *Zhurnal mod*, no 1, 1970, inset.



Plate 6, "Italian fashion" "Ital'ianskaia moda". *Rabotnitsa*, no. 8, 1963, p. 33.



Plate 7, "Sketches of dresses which use Russian national motifs," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 8, 1967, p. 12.





Plate 8, Traditional Russian designs

Left: "Winter coat based on traditional Russian clothing," M. Raduto, "Zimnee pal'to v traditsiakh russkoi odezhdy," *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 3, 1967, 9.

Center: "Sporting attire for young people," T. Kuchinskaia and N. Agapiev, "Sportivnye kostiumy dlia molodezhi".

Right: "Winter coat based on traditional Russian designs.N. Rudistskaia, "Zimnee pal'to v traditsiakh russkoi odezhdy".

*Национальные особенности  
и многовековые  
традиции костюма  
народов*



*нашей Родины,  
обогащая современную одежду,  
придают ей черты,  
присущие советской моде.*

Plate 9, Mini-sarafan, *Zhurnal mod*, no 3, 1967, p. 11.



Plate 10, "Outfit for a young woman with Red Army motifs," N. Pantelejmonova, "Ansambl' odezhdy dlia molodezhi po motivam krasnoarmeiskoi formy," *Dekorativnoe Iskusstvo*, no. 8, 1967, p. 11.





Plate 11, Fiftieth Anniversary, *Zhurnal mod*, no. 3, 1967, front cover.



Plate 12, "Contemporary clothing made with xan-atlas," "Covremennye plat'ia iz 'xan-atlasa'," *Dekorativnoe Iskusstvo*, no. 8, 1968, p. 21.





Plate 13, Baltic designs

Second from Left: “Lviv House of Design,” “L’vovskii dom modelei,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 2, 1968, p. 16.

Far Right: “Riga House of Design,” “Rizhskii dom modelei.”



Plate 14, Central Asian designs

Center two: “Ashgabat House of Design,” “Ashkhabadskii dom modelei,” *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 2, 1968, p. 17.



Plate 15, Uzbek Fashion, “Mody,” *Krest’ianka*, no. 9, 1969, back cover.

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