

A Fashionable Competition for Modernity

A comparative analysis of fashion in the USA and the USSR during the Cold War

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Abstract

The Cold War conflict consists of the competition for modernity between the USA and the USSR, whereas the USA relied on a capitalist ideology and the USSR relied on a socialist ideology. This paper explores how fashion visualises the *national ideological 'otherness'* between the USA and the USSR through a comparative analysis of capitalist and socialist fashion examples between 1960-1970. Accordingly, the analysis examines the ideological values related to the notion of modernity of fashion in four categories: 'Official Dressing', 'Everyday Dress for the Middle-Class Woman', 'Everyday Dress in Youth Cultures' and 'High-End Fashion Design: the Space Aesthetics'. Throughout the analysis, various images of fashion magazines, women's periodicals and newspapers highlight differences and similarities between fashion examples of the East and the West. The images' visual analysis encompasses the following aspects: morality, silhouette, material, styling, symbolic values and production. However, the accessibility of informative images of fashion examples, due to archival reasons and a language barrier, narrowed the content of the analysis. Using the images obtained from archives, libraries, researchers specialised in this topic and photographers, this paper aims to nuance the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion examples through Jacques Derrida's theory of deconstruction. Accordingly, the analysis exemplifies that the degree of *national ideological 'otherness'* has a different impact per category; these new insights expand the existing scope of

literature on Cold War fashion design. Finally, this article provides a more global perspective and narrative to reframe the currently Western-centric fashion history.

Keywords: Modernity, Fashion, Cold War Fashion Design, 'Otherness', Capitalism, Socialism, Derrida, Deconstruction

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Introduction

Design historians David Crowley and Jane Pavitt once stated in their publication *Cold War Modern: Design 1945-1970* that “design was not a marginal aspect of the Cold War but central - both materially and rhetorically - to the competition over the future.” (Crowley and Pavitt 2008, p.14) The notion that design and consumers goods envision and narrate the ideological Cold War conflict is the starting point of this paper.

Among all consumer goods, fashion became a popular way to disseminate the contradictory ideological perspectives of the American and the Soviet notions of modernity during the Cold War. Both nations envisioned modernity in different ways; the world was torn between an American capitalist and a Soviet socialist perception of the future. Accordingly, the Cold War conflict between America and the Soviet Union was driven by the constant competition for modernity (LaFeber, 1972, pp. 201-2), which was reflected through fashion and dress behaviour (Amerian 2016, p. 67). Therefore, this paper will examine capitalist and socialist fashion examples as products that illustrated the competition for modernity. This paper consists of a historical overview and a comparative analysis of developments of capitalist fashion in the USA and socialist fashion in the USSR, delimited between 1960-1970.

Most existing literature on this Cold War design enhances the binary opposition and ‘otherness’ between capitalist and socialist fashion. The purpose of this paper, on the other hand, is to expand the scope of literature on Cold War fashion design. Therefore, this comparative analysis aims to deconstruct the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion to signify, besides the aesthetic differences, aesthetic similarities. Consequently, the content of this analysis will answer the following research questions: how do fashion examples of the USA and the USSR visualise the competition for modernity during the Cold War? And how do differences and similarities in the fashion examples deconstruct the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion?

In order to answer these questions, a literature review on secondary literature will map the features of the competition for modernity between the USA and the USSR, which will be illustrated through fashion examples. Within this section, emphasis is placed on the preferred binary opposition between capitalism and socialism; however, a thorough analysis of fashion examples of both ideological systems will deconstruct this black-and-white opposition.

The theoretical framework provides a lens to scrutinise new information about Cold War fashion design, which will complement existing literature on this subject matter. This topic will be discussed within the theory of 'otherness' and is affiliated to Jacques Derrida's deconstructionist approach to binary oppositions. This approach is useful to nuance the *national ideological 'otherness'* between the East and the West. In this paper the concept *national ideological 'otherness'* indicates the preferred visual differences between the American capitalist notions of modernity against the Soviet socialist notions of modernity.

The theoretical framework then leads to a method based on design historian John A. Walker's observations on socio-historical research and comparative analysis. In the analysis, equal attention is paid to fashion examples in the USA and in the USSR. All fashion examples used are examples of women's wear from the period 1960-1970. Since the silhouette of women's wear is constantly evolving according to the latest fashion trends, it visibly conveys the perceptions of modernity in the East and the West. Those obvious features of changing women's wear within the realm of modernity allow for a compelling comparison.

The comparative analysis is divided in four categories, comparing four types of fashion examples in the East and the West: 'Official Dressing', 'Everyday Dress for the Middle-Class Woman', 'Everyday Dress in Youth Cultures' and 'High-End Fashion Design: the Space Aesthetics'. In all four categories, the analysis examines the degree of *national ideological 'otherness'* represented through fashion. The examples discussed are based on primary sources, such as reports of fashion events, fashion magazine, women's periodicals and newspapers.

The analysis will be followed with a conclusion, recapitulating three main findings; firstly, not all four categories of fashion examples indicate *national ideological 'otherness'* in the same way. Secondly, the analysis illustrates that all four categories of fashion examples pertain a different perspective of 'otherness' that deconstructs the binary opposition of *national ideological 'otherness'*, as all perspectives depend on different ideological motives indicating modernity. Thirdly, the realities of social and technological developments in the USA and the USSR influenced fashion's appearance, which consequently affected 'otherness' between capitalist and socialist fashion.

Finally, this paper aims at a less Western-centric approach to fashion history and therefore focuses on fashion developments in America and the Soviet Union, as the latter is often left out of consideration within fashion history (Bartlett 2010, pp. I-X; Sidlíková 2017, pp. 11-12). By offering a new perspective on the heritage of Cold War fashion design related to ideological dogmas, the narrowed vision of today's historical fashion narratives will be revised. Accordingly, this paper pushes fashion history towards less stereotypical fashion narratives. To benefit from fashion's scientific values and for the future of fashion history, we as researchers must remain critical and expand our perspectives.

1. The Cold War, Ideologies and Fashion

After the end of the Second World War and the liberation of Europe from Nazi Germany, the continent was split in two and the Cold War conflict began. Dividing Europe into two Global Blocs was the result of the disagreement over Europe's future (Del Pero 2014, pp. 4-6, 9-10); America's capitalist future prospects on the one hand, and the Soviet Union's socialist vision on the other. The Cold War is characterised by many complex conflicts between the USA and USSR, fuelled by their ideological differences about the future. Design historians David Crowley and Jane Pavitt argue that design enhanced the disagreements because "designers played a crucial role in the Cold War competition to demonstrate superior modernity." (Crowley and Pavitt 2008, p. 21) To narrow the broad scope of Cold

War conflicts, this paper will discuss consumer cultures in America and the Soviet Union and the development of the Space Race, as this was important to the appearance of (fashion) design between 1960-1970 (Baldaia 2008, pp. 169-170; Bartlett 2010, p. 214).

The American capitalist system relied on the free-market system that stimulated consumerism through advertising and mass-production (Farber 1994, pp. 13-14), which in turn ensured a flourishing availability of consumer goods (Del Pero 2014, pp.4-5). According to historian David Farber (1994, p. 17), this consumer culture gave meaning to the American way of life; by purchasing things, people could purchase dreams. This lifestyle is characterised as comfortable, luxurious, progressive and self-expressive, which mainly took shape in the American middle-class. Accordingly, the capitalist lifestyle promoted the freedom of costumers' individualistic choice to control their lifestyle through the purchase of luxury objects.

On the contrary, the Soviet socialist system relied on economic centralisation and stability through the implementation of the five-year plan to ensure social equality (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 51). Subsequently, the overarching idea of centralisation banned individual expression through consumer goods, resulting in neutral and uniform consumer behaviour. However, according to Sergei I. Zhuk (2014, pp. 354-355), specialised Soviet historian, regulated socialist consumerism had become more appropriate in the USSR over time, enabling government-controlled manufacturers to produce fashionable consumer goods within the norms of socialism from the late 1950s.

The disagreements between the East and the West about their ideological persuasions were also expressed in another competition, which was about claiming the future and becoming the most modern. As the Cold War conflict between the USA and the USSR is marked by the competition for modernity, the future-oriented nature of the Space Race narrative reinforced this competition. Investigations and illusions about Space were introduced by the Sputnik landing in 1957 (LaFeber 1972, pp. 210-12). The USSR introduced the Sputnik-program and successfully landed multiple unmanned satellites in the universe. In 1961, the USSR landed the first man in Space: Yuri Gagarin (Méhelli 2014, pp. 294-295). Those developments were noted by the USA and, as historian Elidor

Mëhilli (2014, p. 295) argues, the “sputnik shook the confidence of Americans in their absolute technological supremacy.” In response, the Americans organised the Mercury-program of the National Advisory Committee of Aeronautics (NASA) in 1958 (Farber 1994, p. 239). Nevertheless, NASA was not as successful as the Soviet space program. President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963), however, remained confident and promised the world that America would be the first nation to place a man on the moon (Kennedy, 1961), which they achieved with the landing of *Apollo 11* in 1969.

The ideological differences between America and the Soviet Union, exemplified by the discussion of consumer cultures and the Space Race, led to the Cold War conflict. Both nations were convinced of the supremacy of their ideology for the future of planet Earth and Space. Related to the Cold War conflict, design historian Jane Pavitt (2008, p. 23) writes in her publication *Fear and fashion in the Cold War*: “Fashion was regularly highlighted as an area of ideological difference.” Therefore, Pavitt discusses fashion according to the Cold War narrative that is characterised by the ideological competition between the USA and the USSR. In line with Pavitt’s observation, the current scope of literature on Cold War fashion design seems to uphold the binary opposition of socialist fashion in the East and the capitalist fashion in the West.

A literature review will recapitulate the prevailed perspective on Cold War fashion design that reinforces the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion examples. This section encompasses secondary sources, mapping the features of Cold War fashion design embedded in a capitalist or a socialist political system. Accordingly, the collected literature highlights different aspects: the historical context, the social context, the influence of technological developments, the design aesthetics and the ideological persuasions in the USA and the USSR. The literature’s authors are (cultural) historians, design historians and fashion historians with a specialisation in Cold War history and/or political ideological systems. The purpose of this literature review is to identify the existing binary opposition between capitalist and socialist fashion, to subsequently analyse the fashion examples through theories that problematize this existing binary opposition.

Fashion historian Elizabeth Wilson thoroughly examined the relationship between fashion and modernity. Wilson observes the connection between the developments of fashion and the capitalist construct in modern societies and therefore “fashion stemmed from capitalism’s need for perpetual expansion, which encouraged consumption.” (Wilson 2003, p. 49) This capitalist approach to fashion is distinctive for America’s position in the competition for modernity that fostered the thriving consumer culture. However, Wilson (2003, p. 63) mentions the ambiguous definition of modernity, as two notions of modernity can be represented through fashion: capitalism and socialism. First America’s capitalist approach to fashion will be discussed, followed by the socialist approach to fashion.

Based on Wilson’s definition of the modern capitalist fashion system, the free-market enterprise system and the consumer society enabled the mass-production of well-made ready-to-wear collections (Farber 1994, p. 27; Griswold 2012, p. 884), which made fashion affordable. The availability of affordable and fashionable clothing gave American women the opportunity to realise their dreams, as Farber (1994, p. 17) argues: “many Americans saw, in their rush to consume, a push toward a richer world, a limitless world in which people would be free to create themselves anew.” Accordingly, American women were able to purchase their desires with fashionable clothing. Moreover, according to fashion historians José Blanco and Lynn Payne (2015, p. 3), the variety of ready-to-wear collections allowed women to choose what to wear, which allowed them to express their individuality. Also, the fast pace of changing ready-to-wear collections forced consumers to keep buying new trends to stay fashionable/in fashion (Amerian 2016, p. 66), which stimulated the capitalist consumer society and boosted the American economy.

The comfortable and luxurious ready-to-wear collections particularly appealed to the female middle-class, because for women the alleviated American lifestyle resulted in more active behaviour outside the domestic sphere that required a modern fashion style (Blanco and Payne 2015, p. 3). The new ideals of dress behaviour were presented through fashion editorials in magazines (Baldaia 2008, p. 169), such as *Harper's Bazaar*, *Vogue* and *Seventeen*. According to Blanco, American women's fashion represents elegance yet functionality, as designers "developed an approach to fashion based on simple and elegant designs that were



Figure 1, Lana Lobell eds., *Suit Versatility*, Hanover, Pennsylvania, 1961 (Lana Lobell 1961, p. 52).

moderately adorned with intricate but discreet details." (Blanco 2015, p. 1) The elegant and feminine silhouettes of French couturiers, such as Christian Dior, Coco Chanel and Cristóbal Balenciaga (Blanco and Payne 2015, pp. 3-4), inspired American fashion designs. Pavitt (2008, p. 8) adds to those characteristics that a wide range of styles, prints, materials, colours and accessories allows self-expression through dress behaviour. A spread from the fashion catalogue *Lana Lobell* from 1961 illustrates the preferred American women's fashion (see fig. 1).

While American modernity depended on economic and luxurious progress, the socialist perception of modernity differs. According to Wilson (2003, pp. 220-221), the socialist definition of modernity refers to society and social change. The socialist prospects aimed to reconstruct the (economical) class differences to create social equality and stability. The economical centralisation in the USSR allowed the socialist parties to control and stabilise society. This socialist notion of modernity

differs from the individualistic free-market system of the capitalist societies that enforce economical and class differences.

As early as the 1920s, the socialist ideas of modernity were translated into utopian fashion styles that challenged the capitalist and profitable fashion systems of the West. Wilson (2003, p. 205) exemplifies this through Soviet fashion as an alternative to capitalist French haute couture. Socialist fashion was utopian, genderless, neutral and functional in contrast to the conspicuous haute couture from the West (Bartlett 2010, pp. 103, 107). Functionality in particular became important for women's wear, because women had a more active lifestyle as a housemother and labourer at the same time (Bartlett 2013, p. 268). Subsequently, the uniform style of socialist fashion was stable and could not be harmed by the fast pace of changing Western fashion trends. Consequently, social equality became more tangible through this centralised cohesion in dress behaviour. So, the socialist utopian fashion ideals aimed to defeat the obsolescence and vulgarity of capitalist fashion that stimulated social inequality (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 21).

The utopian and stable fashion style relates to the socialist notion of modernity that was future-oriented. To sustain the future-oriented and timeless character of fashion, socialist parties controlled fashion design in the USSR. Fashion was centralised through governmental institutes that provided fashionable yet timeless prototypes that subsequently could be produced by local factories or seamstresses, examples are the Russian *All-Union House of Prototypes* (ODMO) and the Czech *Institute of Material and Dress Culture* (ÚBOK) (Bartlett 2010, p. 160; Zakharova 2010, pp. 356-357).

Paradoxically, the Eastern fashion institutes were inspired by French fashion trends, to offer the audience modern and timeless fashion styles. According to sociologist Jukka Gronow and specialised Russian culture historian Sergey Zhuravlev, from the 1950s socialist parties could no longer ignore the impact of Western fashion trends in the East, as they argue, "Fashion was like a natural force that the socialist planning agencies could not avoid and had to take into account in their calculations." (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 14) Subsequently, capitalist fashion trends were

adjusted according to socialist fashion standards, resulting in a socialist 'good taste' that builds on utopian fashion in combination with influences of French fashion trends.

To maintain controlled dress behaviour to enforce social equality in the USSR, the prevailing socialist 'good taste' was disseminated through centralised fashion press and women's periodicals (Reid 2002, p. 218; Bartlett 2010, p. 208). According to Bartlett (2010, p. 202), this style is characterised as elegant yet uniform. A limited variety of styles, a modest silhouette, the absence of prints and embellishments, neutral styling and covered skin featured the socialist fashion style (Pavitt 2008, p. 23; Bartlett 2010, pp. 205, 208; Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, pp. 149-150, 153; Amerian 2015, p. 69). Authors Gronow and Zhuravlev (2015, p. 11) add to Bartlett's observations that this neutral style reinforces cohesion within dress behaviour, enabling the utopian ideal of an equal society. The Russian magazine *Zvyazda*, part of the centralised *Pravda*, supplemented a 1966 issue with an appendix on do-it-yourself fashion, which exemplifies the socialist notion of fashion and 'good taste' (see fig. 2).



Figure 2, Zvyazda eds., *O Gotovom Uzore (About the finished pattern)*, Minsk, 1966 (Zvyazda 1966, p. 13).

To conclude, America's capitalist notion of modernity was disseminated through fashion and women's appearance and featured comfortable yet elegantly feminine styles, which were made available through ready-to-wear collections. Moreover, the American way of life valued individual expression through purchasing luxury products, such as clothing. On the other side of the spectrum, socialist fashion built on utopian ideas of modernity, which were centralised and disseminated

through fashion institutes and the fashion press. The utopian notion of fashion illustrated stability, uniformity and neutrality to establish social equality. This resulted in a socialist 'good taste' that exemplified "simplicity, convenience, practicality, goods taste and moderation" (Reid 2002, p. 239), which did not allow for individual expression or fashionable statements.

Following from the literature review, the existing scope of literature encompasses what American capitalist fashion or Soviet socialist fashion supposed to look like, according to the nations' ideological beliefs. On the contrary, this paper aims to capture the realities of dress behaviour in the USA and the USSR that present similarities between fashion in the East and the West. Subsequently, the analysis will expand the existing scope of literature on Cold War fashion design.

2. National Ideological 'Otherness'

As discussed earlier, both the USA and the USSR used fashion to present their ideological idea of modernity. Fashion design was suitable for the competition for modernity, because fashion communicates nonverbal messages (Barnard, 2002, pp. 29, 38-39). The conflicting ideological future prospects of the USA and the USSR, translated in fashion messages, build on the concept of 'otherness'. Philosopher Georg Hegel (1770-1831) introduced the sociological concept 'otherness' through his studies on Phenomenology. 'Otherness' determines that difference produces meaning (Hall 2013, p. 267), suggesting that contradiction defines a concept (Silverman 1983, pp. 6, 9). From a sociological perspective, 'otherness' is explained through the correlation between 'the self' and 'the other' (Silverman 1983, pp. 44-45); 'the self' is an existing person, but 'the self' requires the image of 'the other' to project characteristics onto 'the other', to decide which characteristics define 'the self' (Hall 2013, pp. 227-228). So, through determining conflicting characteristics between 'the self' and 'the other', 'the self' gains meaning and shapes an identity.

Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) builds on Hegel's theory and examines the production of meaning through 'otherness' reflected in binary oppositions. As critical theorist Kaja Silverman (1983,

p. 36) observes, Derrida accepts “that a cultural code is a conceptual system which is organised around key oppositions and equations”. The binary opposition consists of a contradiction to acquire meaning, for example: man vs. woman, nature vs. culture and capitalism vs. socialism. Determining the differences enables the construction of a definition of both concepts in binary opposition.

Referring to the Cold War conflict, the American capitalist system (‘the self’) could define itself as an opponent of the Soviet socialist system (‘the other’), and vice versa, since both counterparts required each other to gain meaning and determine their ideological system. Within this paper, the preferred binary opposition between the USA and the USSR during the Cold War conflict is defined as *national ideological ‘otherness’*. The word ‘national’ refers to the place where the ‘ideology’ was situated, on the one hand capitalism in America and on the other hand socialism in the Soviet Union. Both the East and the West opposed ‘the other’, as both nations preferred their ideological persuasions and future prospects over ‘the other’.

Within cultural constructs and society, one of the two concepts of a binary opposition is privileged over ‘the other’ (Silverman 1983, pp. 33-34), positioning ‘the other’ lower within a cultural construct. Related to the Cold War conflict, the Soviets positioned capitalism at a lower position and the other way around the Americans detested socialism. In both nations, this perception became natural, because the ideological persuasion became part of the cultural construct of both societies. Yet, Derrida’s deconstructionist approach to binary oppositions provides a lens to question the naturalness to privilege one concept over ‘the other’, as “Derrida attempts to find elements of our thought that can be turned against the dominant picture.” (Glendinning 2011, p. 77) He achieves this by analysing the strengths and weaknesses of both counterparts of the binary opposition to problematize or dismantle the naturalised privileged worldview (Silverman 1983, p. 36; Glendinning 2011, p. 78).

So, Derrida’s deconstructionist approach to ‘otherness’ provides a lens to problematize the naturalness of accepting the binary opposition of capitalism and socialism that characterises the Cold War conflict. Additionally, Derrida opens-up the possibility of alternating the perspective on

'otherness' (Silverman 1983, pp. 38, 48-49), because within a cultural construct people are free to decide who is chosen or projected as 'the other'. Through scrutinising information from different perspectives related to Cold War fashion design, the binary opposition is dismantled and nuanced, or as Derrida would put it: deconstructed. So, through a shift in 'otherness' and collecting different opinions about modernity and dress behaviour during the 1960s, a new narrative on Cold War fashion design emerges.

The examination of the binary opposition of fashion in the East and the West, according to the deconstructionist perspectives to 'otherness', provides new insights about Cold War fashion design. A socio-historical approach to a comparative analysis makes it possible to explore fashion developments in the East and the West, with an emphasis on differences and similarities. In particular, by emphasising the similarities between fashion examples of the East and the West, this analysis broadens the scope of literature on Cold War fashion design in relation to the two-folded definition of modernity.

The methodology is based on John A. Walker's observations on the socio-historical approach and comparative analysis in his publication *Design History and the History of Design*. The socio-historical approach anchors design in the social and historical context, as this method "includes everything that exists and happens within society." (Walker 1989, p. 129) Moreover, the socio-historical approach puts emphasis on society and average people and how they function in and react to greater historical events or political constructs. By acknowledging the importance of "the mass of ordinary people" (Walker 1989, p. 129), new insights about the production of design can be scrutinised (Walker 1989, pp. 132-133). This paper will address the socio-historical approach by examining the mediation and availability of everyday fashion for the average women in the East and the West. Also, responses to (extravagant) dress behaviour will be taken into account to establish a socio-historically contextualised argumentative line throughout the analysis.

In order to obtain information about socio-historical details of capitalist and socialist fashion between 1960-1970, this paper encompasses a comparative analysis. The comparative analysis

(Walker 1989, pp. 103-104) will pay equal attention to the socio-historical context of the fashion examples in the USA and the USSR. Moreover, according to Walker's observations, juxtaposing two different cultural objects, or in this case two fashion examples, exemplifies that "such cross-cultural comparisons [...] make strange the customs and norms of our own society." (Walker 1989, p. 107) Subsequently, this paper is able to expand the Western-centric approach to fashion between 1960-1970 by proposing a cross-cultural comparison.

To give an overview of various types of fashion in the East and the West, different fashion categories will be discussed. Subsequently, per category will be determined to what extent the fashion examples determine *national ideological 'otherness'* in the competition for modernity. The leitmotifs of the analysis are the ideological (future) persuasions and the interests for the Space aesthetics, as both topics signify modernity and are addressed in the following categories: 'Official Dressing', 'Everyday Fashion for the Middle-Class Women', 'Everyday Fashion in Youth Cultures' and 'High-End Fashion Design: the Space Aesthetics'.

Throughout the analysis, various images of fashion magazines, women's periodicals and newspapers highlight differences and similarities between fashion examples of the East and the West. The images' visual analysis encompasses the following aspects: morality, silhouette, material, styling, symbolic values and production. Written primary sources and reports on 1960s dress behaviour will complement the visual analysis.

2.1. Official Dressing

Official dressing was a way of expressing, reinforcing and promoting *national ideological 'otherness'*, which is explored in this section based on the first ladies' appearance at the Vienna Summit in 1961. As both first ladies dressed according to a nationally and culturally constructed fashion style, on the one hand capitalist and on the other hand socialist, their ideology and future prospects were disseminated by appearance.

Official dressing in the Cold War conflict was a visualisation of the conflicting future prospects from America and the Soviet Union. These differing visions set the tone for the discussions during the Vienna Summit in 1961. John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) met in Vienna to discuss the ideological political conflicts about the future of Berlin and the growing conflict in Laos (LaFeber 1972, pp. 223-234; Harrison 2014, pp. 63-64). Tensions in Vienna were high between the presidents, as Khrushchev took an aggressive stance during their discussion (Bischof et al. 2014, p. 21), both disagreeing about each other's future prospects. Kennedy reported in a national speech about the results of the Vienna Summit the following:

“Only by such a discussion was it possible for me to be sure that Mr. Khrushchev knew how differently we view the present and the future. [...] We believe in a system of national freedom and independence. He believes in an expanding and dynamic concept of world communism, and the question was whether these two systems can ever hope to live in peace without permitting any loss of security or any denial of the freedom of our friends.”
(Kennedy 1961, p. 444)

Kennedy's speech emphasises the nations' differing visions on modernity and acknowledged the contradiction between capitalism and socialism and therefore *national ideological 'otherness'*.

In addition to the important political discussions at the Vienna Summit, the international press paid attention to Jacqueline Kennedy and Nina Khrushchev; for example, while the press followed the ladies on their museum visits (Bischof et al. 2013, p. 19). As a reaction to the media attention, the ladies translated the conflicting ideologies in a 'feminine' way, including their dress behaviour. Looking at the photo made during the conference, Jacqueline Kennedy and Nina Khrushchev stand side by side; both first ladies represent their nation's ideology through appearance (see fig. 3).

On the left, Jacqueline Kennedy was widely admired for her sophisticated and refined appearance and her interests in culture, art and fashion (Kenner Muir 2008, p. 522; Schwalbe 2010, p. 111). However, interested in French couturiers, such as Christian Dior and Coco Chanel, Jacqueline preferred to wear domestic fashion brands (Kennedy et al. 2013, pp. 282, 316). She advised her personal fashion designer, Oleg Cassini, on French fashion trends (Cole and Deihl 2015, p. 271). Subsequently, Cassini produced Jacqueline's iconic and sophisticated looks. With her refinement, femininity and intelligence, Jacqueline impressed American society and the world. As a result, Jacqueline's worldwide popularity was used for America's ideological propagation



Figure 3, Photographer: unknown, *Jacqueline Kennedy and Nina Khrushchev, June 1961, Vienna, June 4, 1961 (Novye Izvestia, Moscow).*

abroad, because “she proved to be a potent diplomatic force in projecting a cultured, glamorous image of the United States abroad.” (Schwalbe 2010, p. 113)

During the Vienna Summit, Jacqueline wears a Chanel-style jacket and skirt, probably made from an expensive silk, such as *Tasar* silk (wild silk). The deux-pièces has a clean cut, relaxed fit and is finished with symmetrical decorative big buttons and pockets. Jacqueline's look is bejewelled with a string of pearls, a brooch and styled with white gloves and kitten heels. As Cassini was Jacqueline's personal designer, he most likely designed the deux-pièces for the Vienna Summit. Moreover, Cassini's style is distinctive for the designs of deux-pièces, symmetry, the use of pockets and decorative big buttons (Snodgrass 2014, pp. 107-108), all of which are features in Jacqueline's deux-pièces.

Jacqueline's appearance stands for elegance, sophistication yet comfort due to the *deux-pièces*' relaxed fit. Moreover, the minimalist and sharp lines and pockets made the *deux-pièces* functional. The simplicity of the *deux-pièces* is complemented by jewellery that enhances Jacqueline's status and prosperity as America's first lady. The white gloves also hint at glamour (Snodgrass 2014, p. 320), since Hollywood icons, such as Marilyn Monroe, wore satin or silk over-elbow white gloves indoor. Finally, the kitten heels are associated with elegance and femininity. Through these features, Jacqueline's appearance propagates the sophisticated, luxurious, beautiful and modern American women, which is in line with America's progressive ideas of modernity that bring prosperity, otherwise known as the comfortable and luxurious American way of life.

Next to Jacqueline, the photo depicts Nina Khrushchev, standing at the centre of the photo. As a teenager, Nina was member of the Red Army Scouts and she was a long-term member of the Communist party (Griswold 2012, p. 887) and therefore sympathised with her husband's administration. Nina's communist ideals agreed to Khrushchev's socialist vision of modernity, which preferred stability and uniformity over change. Both rejected the rapidly changing high-end and capitalist fashion trends that caused instability. Consequently, they propagated the ideal of socialist fashion for women as socialist 'good taste', which relied on neutrality, uniformity and equality as discussed earlier.

During the Vienna Summit, Nina wears a *deux-pièces* consisting of a simple blouse and long straight skirt. The blouse is finished with mid-length sleeves and a button-closure. The *deux-pièces* is made from a flower-printed textile, probably made of silk or a synthetic imitation of silk. Moreover, Nina's look is styled with comfortable black heels, without any jewellery or accessories. Since Nina had no personal designer, she probably purchased her clothing from a luxury department store, such as GUM in Moscow. GUM department store produced and sold luxurious styles for upper-class men and women (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, pp. 135-136), in line with the ministry of Light Industry's guidelines on socialist 'good taste'. GUM's house style is distinguished by its simplicity of form,

elegance and comfort (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 147), all features that apply to Nina's deux-pièces that represents the stereotypical socialist fashion style.

Nina's appearance promotes the ideological 'otherness' between capitalist and socialist fashion, because she is dressed according to the socialist notion of modernity, which characterises anything but the American approach to fashion. For example, Nina's deux-pièces is stripped of all its exaggerated decorations, which makes her appearance neutral; this is distinctive of socialist fashion, since decorations change accordingly to (Western/capitalist) fashion trends, which are unstable. In addition, the socialist style allows little make-up and visibility of skin, this clarifies Nina's natural grooming and the long length of the sleeves and the skirt. The printed fabric of Nina's deux-pièces also suggests an abstract variation of a floral motif, which fuses modern aesthetics with Russian folk costumes and traditions. Nina's outfit thus represents the socialist perception of modernity that prefers stability, functionality and modesty over fashionable change, the latter characterising capitalist fashion.

Following from the analysis of the photo taken at the Vienna Summit in 1961, the two first ladies display two contradictory ideologies of modernity through dress behaviour. On the one hand, Jacqueline presents ultimately elegant and feminine dress behaviour to put aside the boring and unflattering socialist fashion. On the other hand, Nina presents stability and functionality that rejects luxury and precariousness of capitalist fashion, which ties in with the socialist ideology of modernity. Consequently, these fashion examples acknowledge the content of the literature review that enhances the binary opposition between capitalist and socialist fashion during the Cold War conflict. Thus, official dressing is a category in fashion that functions as a weapon to reinforce the *national ideological 'otherness'*.

However, less ideological and more social realities also stimulated the appreciation of the competing first ladies across the East and the West, which challenges the degree of *national ideological 'otherness'* in appearance. For example, while Nina disapproved the abundant American way of life through her personal dress behaviour, the Americans still approved Nina's unflattering

appearance as the reason for her kindness and motherhood (Griswold 2012, p. 888). Nina appealed to the Americans as a loving mother and grandmother. Even the American publication *Newsweek* wrote “if Americans warmed up to anyone in the group, more than likely it would be the Soviet Premier’s modest, plainly dressed, sweet-faced wife with her shy, beaming smile.” (Griswold 2012, p. 888) On the contrary, Jacqueline’s sophistication, professionalism and elegance intrigued the socialists, since Jacqueline was not your average superficial American woman. For example, Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky admired Jacqueline’s elegant appearance and wrote in his memoir, “Jacqueline [...] was for me one of the dearest and most indispensable figures of Western culture. A refined European lady, with star quality and exquisite taste”. (Guzeva 2019, §3) So, despite the ideologically different views on dress behaviour, appreciation for both first ladies and their dress behaviour abroad was a reality.

2.2. Everyday Dress for the Middle-Class Woman

Another example of dress behaviour that exemplifies and challenges *national ideological ‘otherness’*, is everyday dress for the middle-class women in the East and the West. In the USA and the USSR, the national preferred style is determined as ‘good taste’; on the one hand American ‘good taste’, and on the other hand socialist ‘good taste’. This style and dress behaviour was educated and disseminated through national events, institutes and media. The cultivation of this preferred fashion style was focused on middle-class women (Blanco and Payne 2015, p. 12), who had the financial capacity to purchase the latest fashion trends. Moreover, those women required a modern fashion style that suited their active lifestyle.

An example of an international event that disseminated the American ‘good taste’ was the New York World’s fair from 1964-1965. The fair propagated the American way of life, since more than half of the pavilions promoted America’s technological improvements or consumer goods (Dearstyne 2015, p. 274). As the fair was busily visited, the fair had a wide audience to cultivate about the latest trends of the privileged American dress behaviour. Accordingly, the promotion of fashion was based

on an ideologically constructed agenda, which was in line with the American capitalist approach to modernity and therefore enhanced the 'otherness' between fashion from the East and the West.

Consumer goods were promoted at the New York World's fair at the *Better Living Centre* (Samuel 2010, pp. 113, 115), displaying leisure goods, food, interior design and fashion design. The building's second floor was dedicated to fashion and called the *Crystal Palace of Fashion*, showcasing everyday ready-to-wear collections. The fashion shows displayed day and evening wear that represented America's 'good taste'. This style is characterised as luxurious, feminine yet sportive "reflecting the American life, specifically in search for comfort and flexibility." (Blanco and Payne 2015, p. 1) This fashion style closely resembles Jacqueline Kennedy's appearance and was also mainly inspired by French couturiers. Less formal fashion styles, compared to Jacqueline's appearance, suited the everyday dress for the average middle-class woman.

Thus, American fashion shows informed and cultivated women about the latest fashion trends according to the capitalist notion of modernity. Those fashion trends were made



Figure 4, Sears eds., *Women's Dresses in Spring Catalogue*, Chicago, 1964 (Sears 1964, p. 623).

available to middle-class women through ready-to-wear collections sold in department stores (Blanco and Payne 2015, p. 3), such as *Sears* and *Bergdorf Goodman* (Olian 1999, pp. 5-6). For example, *Sears'* fashion catalogue presents the summer collection of 1964 that promoted popular fashion styles for the average middle-class women (see fig. 4). *Sears'* fashion styles were mass-produced (Rielly 2003, pp. 79, 83), allowing for an assortment of divers styles due to lower production costs. Looking at the catalogue, *Sears'* dresses are feminine yet sportive; on the one hand, the dresses accentuate the

feminine shapes through the tight waistlines and are styled with kitten heels. On the other hand, the dresses have pockets and button closures, making the dresses more functional.

In the Soviet Union, the socialist parties also promoted their notion of women's wear related to modernity. Just as the mass-production of American ready-to-wear collections, the Soviet Union mass-produced fashion styles. However, the socialist motive for mass-production differs from the American approach that stimulated a wide variation of styles, because the socialist parties wanted to ensure equal availability of clothing throughout the USSR. However, the Soviet mass-production of clothing lacked creativity and diversity due to simplification and standardisation of patterns (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, pp. 110, 139), which dissatisfied the Soviet society. Accordingly, socialist parties acknowledged that people, especially women, could not ignore the impact of foreign fashion influences and therefore allowed regulated fashion collections in the USSR (Bartlett 2010, p. 142; Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 14). As a result, a regulated fashion style, promoted as socialist 'good taste', was the ideal solution for presenting modestly dressed women without references to the vulgarity and fast pace of commercial fashion trends, something that the American fashion industry thrives on.

Since the 1950s, some embellishments and elegance were allowed in socialist dress behaviour, making the styles more fashionable to satisfy the middle-class women who were impressed by the elegance of French haute couture (Bartlett 2010, pp. 202, 258; Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 214). Socialist fashion was disseminated through socialist women's journals, fashion magazines, newspapers and fashion events from department stores or fashion institutes. By establishing and mediating an adapted ideal of the socialist style, the socialist parties were simultaneously able to control and satisfy middle-class women's dress behaviour.

In 1962, the Polish fashion magazine *Swiat Mody* displays the fall collection, presenting silhouettes that assemble femininity and fashionable trends with the traditional utopian idea of socialist fashion (see fig. 5). The silhouettes represent simple and modest dresses below the knee, based on the modest values of socialist 'good taste'. Functional features were also added to the dresses through button closures and pockets. What makes the styles more feminine and modern, according to French haute couture, are the accents at the waistlines and the glamorous styling with strings of pearls, gloves and kitten heels.

A comparison of figures 4 and 5 illustrates visual differences. Accordingly, differences can be found in the printed and refined fabrics of the American dresses and the plain fabrics of the Polish dresses. Also, the American dresses are decorated with lace-like materials, while the Polish dresses are made of one plain material. Thereafter, looking at the pleats and gatherings of the American dresses, those patterns techniques suggest an enormous amount of material. On the contrary, because of the simplistic shapes without excessive pleats or gatherings, the Polish dresses require less material.

However, there are also similarities between American 'good taste' and socialist 'good taste', meaning that they do not differ as much as they aspire to. By highlighting the similarities, the 'otherness' is questioned, based on Derrida's deconstructionism. For example, both the socialist and capitalist magazines propose modest skirt lengths below the knee. Thereafter, all dresses accentuate the waistline, sometimes by means of a matching belt. Moreover,



Figure 5, *Swiat Mody* eds. and Henryk Gecow, *Suknie Typu Klasycznego (Classic Type Dresses)*, Warsaw, 1962 (*Swiat Mody* 1962, nr. 54).

the use of pockets, making the dresses functional, applies to both the American and Soviet styles. Finally, all dresses strive for a similarly elegant and luxurious femininity through the styling with kitten heels and strings of pearls. The similarities are likely to be based on fashion developments in both the East and West that were informed and inspired by French haute couture.

Looking at the similarities between both fashion examples, the ideological opposition between capitalist and socialist everyday dress for middle-class women is contested. Consequently, it can be argued that the propagated ideological motives regarding dress behaviour differ, but the actual representation of their ideologies is quite similar. Both counterparts educated their societies about 'good taste' from their specific ideological perspective, aiming to emphasise the contrast between the East and the West. However, referring to the discussed fashions examples, both nations ended with comparable dress behaviour, relying on femininity suggested by French couturiers, modesty, functionality and elegance. Moreover, those styles promoted a traditional notion of dress behaviour and femininity that jeopardised the nations' greater ideological messages about modernity. As a result, the *national ideological 'otherness'* between fashion examples from the East and the West as framed in the literature review, is contested and deconstructed.

Another conflict for the national persuasions emerges when including production processes in the analysis. According to the literature review, given that the capitalist approach relied on plurality and individuality, the socialist approach relied on uniformity and stability. Therefore, can be expected that the West admired heterogeneous dress behaviour, while the East preferred homogeneous dress behaviour. However, reality threatens the propagated heterogeneous and homogeneous characters of the American and Soviet fashion styles and consequently jeopardises the cultivated 'otherness' in dress behaviour.

The widely available ready-to-wear collections in America influenced the uniqueness of women's individual styles. As the preferred fashion trends were the most profitable, ready-to-wear collections followed, due to its popularity among the female costumer, a similar set of design aesthetics. Consequently, American fashion brands mass-produced similar fashion styles, making up-

to-date fashion available for the average women. Those aesthetically comparable ready-to-wear collections resulted in less unique dress behaviour and more homogeneous dress behaviour. The latter in particular contradicts the capitalist vision of modernity that proclaims self-expression through dress behaviour.

In the USSR, the pursuit of uniformity in socialist dress behaviour was difficult to achieve, because the mediated fashionable styles never became available to the average Soviet women due to the Soviet Union's problems with the mass-production of aesthetically interesting and good-quality clothing. As a result, the illusion of feminine and elegant fashion, inspired by French haute couture, stimulated Soviet women's do-it-yourself activities. For example, fashion historian Katalin Medvedev describes how Hungarian Éva turned her old dresses into fashionable garments during the Cold War:

"She [Éva] had limited resources, so she had to build her wardrobe consciously and systematically. She increased the number of her outfits by combining different pieces and accessorising them with unique details." (Medvedev 2008, pp. 268-269)

The diversity of customised Soviet women's wear through do-it-yourself activities results in a heterogeneous variety of women's wear, threatening the stability and uniformity that the socialist ideology of modernity proclaims.

To conclude, both the East and the West educated the female middle-class about *national ideological 'otherness'* to privilege their unique capitalist or socialist notion of 'good taste'. However, the actual fashion examples looked very similar, because both the USA and the USSR used French couture as inspiration. Moreover, the homogeneous nature of American fashion was the result of the mass-produced and affordable ready-to-wear collections, which contradicted the individualistic morals of capitalism. On the contrary, the heterogeneous nature of socialist fashion was the result of the lack of mass-production of consumer goods to provide all women with functional and modest clothing, threatening socialist uniformity. Discussing fashion developments in the East and the West

from this point of view creates friction about *national ideological 'otherness'* in dress behaviour, because the realities of inspiration, technology and mass-production deconstruct the actual representation of 'otherness' between the East and the West.

2.3. *Everyday Dress in Youth Cultures*

The Youthquake of the 1960s gave rise to revolutionary youth cultures in the East and the West that broke with (national) traditions for a better future (Rielly 2003, pp. 23-24). Therefore, youngsters were future-oriented and relied on a renewed notion of modernity that reassessed the traditions of capitalism and socialism. According to cultural historians Ken Gelder's observation on sociologist Dick Hebdige's writings on subcultures, dress behaviour of youth cultures was an ultimate way to express and resist the older and more traditional generations, since this "produces social identity for the participants [...] and distinguish those people from others." (Gelder 2005, p. 271) A comparison of everyday dress in youth cultures in the East and the West will show that the youngsters were less concerned about the national ideological message of capitalism or socialism conveyed through fashion. Between 1960-1970, youngsters were more concerned with distancing themselves from the older generation and traditions. Hungarian historian Sandor Horvath agrees with this observation, as "the notions of the new social identities created through the construction of "youth subcultures" rested on representations of older inter- and intragenerational contrasts." (Horvath 2011, p. 195)

So, relying on the importance of *generational 'otherness'* to youth cultures, the emphasis of *national ideological 'otherness'* moves to the background, as the exploration of a 'new modernity' became more important. Subsequently, a shift in 'otherness' emerges that proposes a new perspective on the binary opposition of Cold War fashion design. In dress behaviour, youngsters' search for modernity resulted in a mishmash of (inter) national styles with both historical and futuristic references. For example, the rise of the hippies in the 1960s, with their long hair, vintage clothing, flower prints, bohemian details and foreign cultural interests, illustrates that the youth cultures' dress behaviour exceeded the traditional and national boundaries (Rielly 2003, p. 87). Using this shift in

'otherness' in youngsters' perspective on modernity offers new insights to deconstruct the naturalised binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion examples.

The existing and developing feelings of youngsters' resistance to the older generations' traditions also affected the average youth cultures in USA and the USSR, increasing their self-expression (Wilson 2003, pp. 82-83; Farber 1994, p. 158). Subsequently, the quest for an identity and the future-oriented attitude of the youngsters was promoted in dress behaviour (Pavitt 2008, p. 10). Focusing in this analysis on the youngsters' admiration for the modernity and playfulness of the space aesthetics, as this relied on the space-related technological advances fuelled by the Cold War conflict. Moreover, the space aesthetics clearly illustrate the increasing importance of the determination of modernity during the 1960s.

Briefly the characteristics of the space aesthetics are introduced before analysing youth cultures' dress behaviour in the USA and the USSR. The space aesthetics originated in French haute couture (Cole and Deihl 2015, pp. 267, 277), designers such as André Courrèges and Pierre Cardin designed fashion styles suitable for the future on planet Earth and in Space. This novel fashion style particularly appealed to youth cultures, as it was experimental, playful and functional. The space age fashion consisted of jumpsuits or utilitarian body-stockings combined with geometrical tunics or dresses that followed simplicity in silhouette, resulting in uniform fashion styles. Moreover, the miniskirt was introduced within the space aesthetics. The fashionable space uniforms appeared in vibrant and bright colours in combination with white, black and silver. The looks were styled with flat boots and outstanding helmets and armours that had a decorative and imaginative protective function. Finally, the production and availability of modern textiles were applied in the modern silhouettes, using plastic, PVC, faux leather, synthetic jerseys and Lycra.

In America, traditional 'good taste' suited middle-class women; the playful and future-oriented youth distanced themselves from this formal and traditional fashion style, as this did not fit the optimistic youthful worldview. Accordingly, the youngsters positioned the middle-class women and older generation as 'the other', privileging their young and active spirit over the traditional

attitude. American girls preferred the playfulness and simple shapes of the miniskirts and jumpsuits as part of the space aesthetics (Rielly 2003, p. 81). The modern designs allowed freedom of movement (Pavitt 2008, p. 50), which was required for youngsters' active social lifestyle, including work, sports and dancing at parties (Farber 1994, pp. 56-57, 244). The availability of fashionable and reasonably priced ready-to-wear collections through mass-production enabled the transition to modern, experimental and fashionable styles among the American youth.

Noting the female youth's desires for modern and playful fashion, the American ready-to-wear brands produced collections that adopted the future-oriented space aesthetics, making the styles less extravagant. In other words, the daring French fashion was made to fit the moral of American 'good taste' (Robertson 2015, p. 318) that still relied on sophistication, femininity and elegance. Looking at figure 6, six girls are photographed during the annual *Marine Day*, an event honouring the return of marines from their training-camps at the local mall in Burbank, California. The girls wear simplified and white-coloured miniskirts made of stiff cotton textiles; the girls' styles represent a soft version of the extravagant space age fashion. For example, the flower prints and round-shaped collars are features that do not match the space aesthetics, however, those features do conform to traditional sophistication and femininity.



Figure 6, Photographer: unknown, *Teen Hostesses at Marine Day 1968, Burbank, California, 1968* (Burbank Public Library, Burbank).

The
American

democratic system enabled expression of youngsters' identity through fashionable dress behaviour that surprisingly resulted in a withdrawal of the political ideological motives in fashion, because young girls became more concerned with the quest for newness, individuality and self-expression. However, the American youthful fashion collections accepted a similar set of design aesthetics and the mass-produced ready-to-wear collections looked similar. Referring to figure 6, as a result of a recurring set of design characteristics in American ready-to-wear fashion, the six girls are similarly dressed; returning elements are the small flower prints and the round-shaped collars, making the girls' styles less individual and more homogeneous.

Thus, whereas *generational 'otherness'* moves to the foreground, the *national ideological 'otherness'* moves to the background in dress behaviour in youth cultures in America. Therefore, female youth was less concerned with the transmission of the capitalist ideologies through fashion. More important for teenagers was the expression of fashionability, a future-oriented appearance and breaking with traditions.

As with the fashion developments among teenagers in America, Soviet girls distanced themselves from the modest and functional socialist fashion, because they were intrigued by the space aesthetics that reflected youthfulness and modernity (Bartlett 2010, p. 214). The socialist parties left room for this to happen, because they acknowledged the presence of changing fashion trends and thus decided to turn this into something positive related to socialism as "fashion would [...] act as a major force of innovation and progress." (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 96) Subsequently, the Soviet parties justified fashion within society as a practice that was necessary because of female diversity (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 220), meaning that a fashion style must fit the woman's age, posture, work, and character. As a result, according to Gronow and Zhuravlev (2015, p. 220), fashion became a reflection of the women's individuality that represented a person's 'spiritual essence', referring with 'spiritual essence' to the inner moral of well-behaved socialist women. Thus, the socialist parties introduced the concept of 'spiritual essence' in dress behaviour, as this referred to a woman's intangible capacity of good conduct within the socialist notion of modernity.

The Soviet female youth eagerly appropriated the alleviation of self-expression and experimentation in dress behaviour to find their true identity. The quest for identity through dress behaviour is remarkable for youth cultures, reinforcing the differences in style between younger and older generations. So, the government's approval of diversity in dress behaviour emphasised the *generational 'otherness'*, making the message of *national ideological 'otherness'* in fashion less prominent. Bartlett observes that the older generation responded negatively to the Soviet girl's experimentation in style, as the *Komsomol Truth* reported on a teenager's style: "... the even more disgusting girls, with their coiffeures 'a la garson' - pitiful bristles of cropped hair - and their shoes that remind one of Caterpillar tractors." (Bartlett 2013, p. 270) So, the soviet girls' appropriation of the space aesthetics, which also encompassed a short and boyish coiffure, was not appreciated by the older generation whom determined this coiffure as unfeminine and unflattering.

Despite the older generation's disapproval, opening-up of the socialist notion of fashion allowed young women to experiment in dress behaviour from a young and modern perspective. Nevertheless, due to the lack of mass-production of fashionable clothing, young women had to find different solutions to dress according to the space aesthetics. Vsevolod Tarasevich's photo of two girls at Nevsky Prospect in Leningrad in the 1960s exemplifies youngsters' style in the USSR (see fig. 7). The girl on the right is wearing a snakeskin coat, possibly made of faux leather, with its shiny texture and white colour scheme, features that can be ascribed to the space age style. Moreover, the remarkable snakeskin print is anything but in agreement with the modest socialist 'good taste', since the snakeskin pattern is associated with luxury and prosperity. Also, both girls of the photo seem to combine different fashion styles in their dress behaviour and grooming, making their appearance a mishmash of traditions and fashion experiments in their quest for an identity. For example, the girl on the left wears a traditional variation of a trench coat styled with a dress or a top with a graphic print, which she combines with a playful and short coiffure.



In
sum,

Figure 7, Photographer: Vsevolod Tarasevich, *Passengers on Nevksy Prospekt*, Leningrad, 1960s (Multimedia Art Museum, Moscow).

referring back to the terminology of the theoretical framework: the youth cultures in America and the Soviet Union are discussed as ‘the self’ and then the older generation is ‘the other’. The female youth in the East and the West had different motives for their dress behaviour, which relied on youthfulness, newness and playfulness. As a result, fashionable dress behaviour and self-expression among youth cultures became more important than conveying national ideological messages on modernity through dress behaviour. By analysing the shifting perspective to ‘otherness’, from a national ideological opposition towards a generational opposition, the naturalised binary opposition of Cold War fashion design is deconstructed.

2.4. High-End Fashion Design: the Space Aesthetics

As discussed in the previous section, youth cultures’ fashion in the East and the West was inspired by the space aesthetics. However, everyday fashion for teenagers was a milder version of French haute couture, but in both the USA and the USSR high-end fashion designers or fashion institutes produced styles in accordance with haute couture’s extravagance (Bartlett 2010, p. 214; Baldaia 2008, p. 170). The interest for this futuristic fashion style can be motivated by the common interest in Space

worldwide due to the great impact of the Space Race. As a result, the USA and the USSR found a shared interest for Space, with both counterparts seeking to claim Space as their national property.

The conquest for Space and the same illusion of Space problematize the signification of the contradicting fashion messages between the USA and the USSR, disturbing the denomination of *national ideological 'otherness'*. Both Eastern and Western high-end fashion designers wanted to become the most modern with fashion styles that suited Space. However, while fashion designers in the USA and the USSR build on a similar set of space aesthetics, inspired by French designers, *national ideological 'otherness'* shifted to the background. Accordingly, high-end fashion designers wanted to distance themselves from out-dated fashion, creating a different binary opposition between traditional fashion and future-oriented fashion. The latter looked similar in the USA and the USSR.

At the *Soviet Union Industry and Trade Exhibition* in London in 1968, the USSR exhibited their scientific, space-related and industrial innovations to the world in an effort to establish economic ties with the West (Jakaite and Dobriakov 2016, pp. 522, 544), including consumer goods and fashion. At the exhibition photographer Pierre Boulat shot the Soviet model Mila Romanovkeaja in a space age style designed by ODMO (see fig. 8).

Mila wears a metallic silver nylon one-piece suit that is finished with a front zipper, a sharp pointy collar and separation seams from top to bottom. The one-piece suit is styled with a fur coat, belt and flat boots.



Figure 8, Photographer: Pierre Boulat, Mila Romanovkeaja at the Soviet Exhibition, Earls Court Exhibition Centre, London, 1968 (Association Pierre and Alexandra Boulat, Paris).

This one-piece suit translates the Space Race into space age fashion. First, the one-piece suit is a fashionable variation on an astronaut-suit, making the suit elegant and feminine due to its tight fit and details such as the collar, separation seams and belt. Also, the use of nylon refers to modernisation and science, as this was a newly invented and promising material. The one-piece suit is in line with the space aesthetics due to its uniform character, functionality and simplicity of shape. Finally, a women wearing trousers was progressive in comparison to the standards of socialist 'good taste'. Consequently, the organisation of the *Soviet Union Industry and Trade Exhibition* presents a modern depiction of a Soviet woman dressed in a fashionable uniform to conquer the future.

The fashionable one-piece suit is a recurring garment in space age fashion. American fashion photographer Richard Avedon photographed a similar one-piece suit for *Harper's Bazaar* in April 1965 (see fig. 9). For the photo, the creative team reproduced the idea of a moon landscape, referring to Kennedy's goal of America being the first nation to set foot on the moon.

The model is wearing a white one-piece suit from a local warehouse in Washington, paired with silver nylon tights and so-called 'space mules' [1]. The outfit is styled with a transparent plastic helmet covering the head and sunglasses covering the eyes, all of which protect against undefined radiation.

Harper's Bazaar describes the outfit as "look-of-the-future knicker jumpsuit [...], celestially white as the Milky Way, zips up front, stretching to hug the bug." (Harper's Bazaar (eds.) 1965, p. 163) In a playful way, Avedon and *Harper's Bazaar* promote the future of fashion, which is in line with the



Figure 9, Photographer: Richard Avedon, *Galactic Girl In The Sun*, Harper's Bazaar, America, April 1965 (The Richard Avedon Foundation, New York).

¹ The 'space mules' is a designer shoe that combines a slipper with a loafer and is finished with a platform.

scientific developments of the Space Race, as the suit is functional yet fashionable. Making the one-piece suit fashionable due to its relaxed fit through the dropped shoulder-lines, the extravagant 'space mules' and the sunglasses.

Comparing both the Soviet and American version of the one-piece suit without the competing ideological motives in mind, *national ideological 'otherness'* is difficult to signify, as the designs look similar and suggest a similar illusion of Space. The suits feature comparable aesthetics that apply to the conquest for Space, allowing for both suits to be imaginative fashionable styles that can survive in Space. In fact, the comparable fashion styles deconstruct the binary opposition of *national ideological 'otherness'*, as the competing designers' privileged to proclaim a similar notion of modernity in fashion. Rather than reinforcing the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion examples upon which the Cold War built, these future-oriented designs function as a common denominator.

Another high-end fashion proposal for the appearance of modern women in the future and Space is the dress *Zolotoi Kolos* (golden ear) designed by Kuznetskii most Fashion House in Moscow in 1968 (see fig. 10). Using the metallic and rigid materials that create a simplistic A-line shape with standing collar, the dress fits into the space aesthetics. The dress's styling also represents the space age style, referring to the metallic flat boots and the metal ball-shaped earrings.

More surprising is that the Soviet dress was made in order of the American company Celanese Fibers Co (Gronow and Zhuravlev 2015, p. 104), which produced synthetic materials. Through the collaboration, both the socialist Kuznetskii most

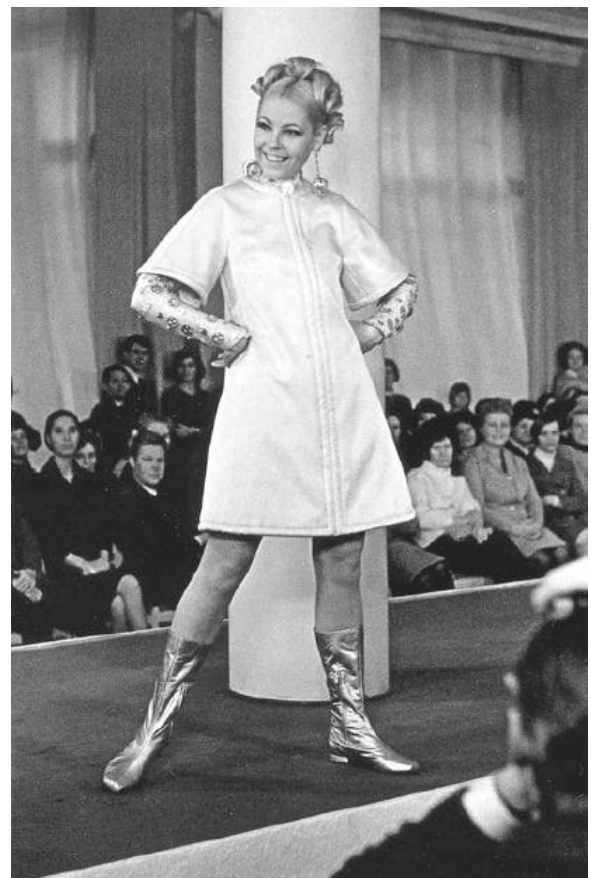


Figure 10, Photographer: unknown, Design: Kuznetskii most Fashion House, *Mila Romanovskaya* Demonstrates the Dress *Zolotoi kolos* (Golden Ear), Moscow, 1968 (Gronow, Zhuravlev 2016, p. 105).

Fashion House and the capitalist Celanese Fibers Co wanted to expand their sales market abroad. Also, the collaboration suggests a peaceful coexistence between the East and the West, blurring the aggressive notion of *national ideological 'otherness'*. The American and Soviet parties possibly agreed on the space dress's design due to a similar illusion of the future-planet and Space. Consequently, it can be argued that the international conquest for Space allow for collaborations, even between two arch-rivals who were still in conflict in the heat of the Cold War conflict.

To conclude, the conquest for Space between the USA and the USSR relied on a similar set of design aesthetics, producing similar high-end fashion design. It appears that the space aesthetics specifically resulted in a common denominator between the USA and the USSR, as both required the same tools to conquer Space. Accordingly, the space age fashion from the East and the West became almost exchangeable, jeopardising the narrative of Cold War fashion design based on the *national ideological 'otherness'*. In other words, space age fashion somehow unites the binary opposition between capitalist and socialist fashion examples.

Conclusion

The binary opposition of *national ideological 'otherness'* between American and Soviet fashion exists because capitalist fashion requires the opposing socialist fashion to define itself, and vice versa. By means of fashion, both the capitalist system and the socialist system promoted their conflicting worldviews of modernity to surpass their counterparts. Accordingly, fashion in the East and the West, with a specific interest in the space aesthetics, became part of the competition for modernity.

In order to expand the existing scope of literature on Cold War fashion design, this analysis highlighted, besides the differences, the similarities between capitalist and socialist fashion examples to nuance the privileged binary opposition of Cold War fashion design. Additionally, the analysis explores various ideological motives for fashion styles of American and Soviet women or designers. The inconsistency of the motives for dress behaviour related to modernity jeopardises the *national*

ideological 'otherness' upon which the Cold War conflict was built. As there are many reasons for dress behaviour in the East and the West, multiple perspectives on 'otherness' and modernity exemplify the weaknesses of the concept *national ideological 'otherness'*. As a result, the naturalised binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion between 1960-1970 is being deconstructed by addressing similarities in the juxtaposed fashion examples and allowing different perspectives on 'otherness' and modernity.

The analysis discussed four different categories of fashion in the USA and the USSR, for all four categories the relation with *national ideological 'otherness'* and modernity is different. Starting with 'official dressing', it can be argued that according to the first ladies' appearance, the political decision to emphasise the political 'otherness' in fashion results in a successful incorporation of opposing visions of modernity in clothing. Accordingly, the visualisation of modernity conformed to the binary opposition Cold War fashion design.

Regarding everyday dress behaviour among middle-class women, 'good taste' was disseminated as a unique practice in the USA and the USSR, opposing to the *national ideological 'other'*. However, the actual fashion styles from the East and the West looked similar, because of a common interest in French haute couture. Moreover, the industrial realities of the mass-production lead to an American homogenous fashion style and a Soviet heterogeneous fashion style, both jeopardising the nations' greater ideological messages about modernity.

The third category compares dress behaviour in youth cultures; both youth cultures from the East and the West used fashion in the quest for identity and breaking with tradition. Therefore, fashion was a practice of expressing teenagers' ideology of modernity and diversity. The appropriation of the novelty of the space aesthetics became more important to youngsters than the representation of *national ideological 'otherness'* through dress behaviour. Accordingly, the *national ideological 'otherness'* shifts to *generational 'otherness'*, undermining the binary opposition in Cold War fashion design.

The final category acknowledges a shared interest between America and the Soviet Union that influenced fashion: the conquest for Space. The main motive for high-end fashion designers in the East and the West was to become the most modern, relying on a comparable illusion of Space. The capitalist and socialist designers used a similar set of space aesthetics. Accordingly, the denomination of the *national ideological 'other'* in fashion became unclear, because the future-oriented ideological message was emphasised yet similar. Thus, the conquest for Space resulted in a common denominator in fashion design in the East in the West.

In sum, depending on the category discussed, fashion can fulfil different ideological motives, not all of which denote the binary opposition of capitalism and socialism of Cold War fashion design. Fashion thus justifies the existence of *national ideological 'otherness'* on the one hand, but acknowledges similarities in the counterparts' illusion of the future and Space on the other hand. The impact of realities in society and industrial developments enhanced the ambiguous motives for dress behaviour in the East and the West. The acceptance of the ambiguous character of Cold War fashion design deconstructs the binary opposition of capitalist and socialist fashion examples and therefore breaks open the preferred narrative of the Cold War conflict. Opening-up the Western-centric black-and-white approach to socialism and capitalism will enable a truthful worldview, a worldview that will persist in contrast to the Cold War illusions.

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