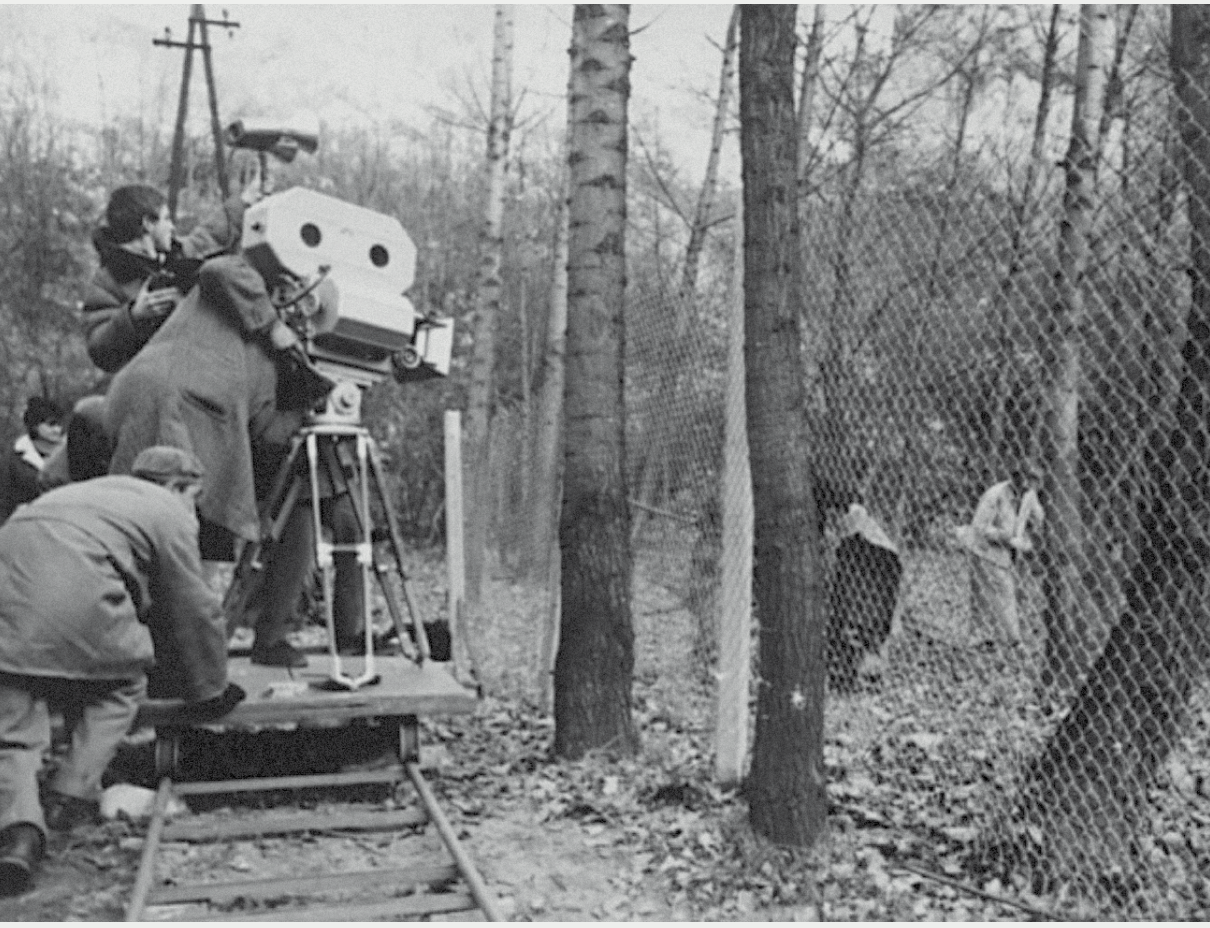
The Multi-mediatized Other

The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980



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The Multi-Mediatized Other. The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945-1980

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The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980

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POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE STUDIES
WITH ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM
AT THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Multi-Mediatized Other
The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980

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Dagnosław Demski
in cooperation with Anelia Kassabova, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, Liisi Laineste and Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Within and Across the Media Borders

Studies about the Other in Visual Representations in Central and Eastern Europe

The *Multi-Mediatized Other* volume of the series concerns the influence of visual media on people's lives, their ways of perception and of representing the world in the years 1945–1980. Its chapters present how people used, interacted with, and coped with the abundance of visual media during this period. The central focus of the book is the question of whether the increasing number of the types of media and of their products enabled people to understand and depict the surrounding world in a new way. We also ask what ways these visual media accompanied everyday life and what has been their contribution to the understanding of reality.

This volume is a continuation of a previous three works in the series: *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures* (2010), *Competing Eyes: Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe* (2013), and *War Matters: Constructing Images of the Other (1930s to 1950s)* (2015). The last volume focuses on more than three decades when visual media changed and developed rapidly. During this time, paintings, drawings, graphics, and caricatures were accompanied by black-and-white and color photography. They appeared in daily and weekly newspapers and journals. Soon photography became a means to preserve private events and experiences. The postwar period was also a time of increasing popularity of cinema—a visual form that captured movement—and later of television, first black-and-white and later, color. Our intent was to grasp the specificity of the period in terms of significant changes in media and the new potential of these media related to recording gestures and whole sequences of life. With an analysis of this shift from frozen images in drawings, graphics, and photography to movement recorded on film tape, this volume completes the series of books devoted to visual representations of the Other.

The Other was the main topic throughout the series. Initially, according to the historical period, the Other has been understood in the narrow way of being excluded from society because of ethnicity, attributed barbarity, different social status. At first the visual images of otherness were limited to caricatures. The first volume in the series was a compendium of the main types of central and eastern European caricatures at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Demski & Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010: 23). With the passing of time, representations of the Other took different visual forms, and it was necessary to indicate a multiplicity and a heterogeneity of "eyes" looking at the Other and both creating representations and perceiving particular images (Demski & Sz. Kristóf 2013: 13).

World War I changed the optics on the Other significantly. The old social order fell; the old values supporting the network of relations lost their significance under the new circumstances. Then, the interwar period brought a new order, based on the ruins of the older social divisions and, politically, on the ruins of old empires. A recognition of ethnic divisions still existed—they preserved their weight—but the divisions began to be perceived and interpreted from many local points of view (new nation-states). Wartime seemed to be a period during which the image of the Other was especially in the centre of attention.

As our focus shifted later to World War II and much attention was paid to photography as a new medium that created the illusion of providing a faithful record of reality (Demski, Laineste & Baraniecka-Olszewska 2015: 13). There was a visible contrast between the grotesque presentations in caricatures aiming to sketch and exaggerate, and photography, which aimed to depict "neutrally". WWII, however, triggered extreme polarizations and these were reflected in the visual representations. The horrors of war, the tragic human losses, and the almost constant mortal danger caused shock and, after the war, invited reflection. A new era began. People still described their "reality" focusing on differences and the othering of the unknown, but they did it in a new way. The period after the end of WWII brought new state boundaries and new political relations in central and eastern Europe—that is, the Cold War started and the iron curtain was lowered—which to some degree prolonged mechanisms of othering established during WWII. The Other, as we presented in the third volume in the series, was still depicted as an enemy, an invader, and an occupant.

During the postwar period, however, the social structure changed, old hierarchies fell, and social relations were transformed. The range of regional contacts expanded. The authors of the current volume investigate the role that the new types of visual media played in restructuring a world depressed and ridden by wars and study the people's ability and will to use that media—for example, in funeral culture, tourism, and advertising or, for that matter, in pop culture, which was also disseminated through the new media. Were the new visual media still a way of conceptualizing reality? In the context of this volume we raise questions referring to the Other and its visual representations in central and eastern Europe in 1945–1980.

Analyzing the illustrations, caricatures, and photographs published in the previous volumes, we were aiming at investigating whether there is an eastern European way of perceiving and depicting the Other. We wanted to check whether—despite the adoption of numerous of ideas, patterns, and cultural clichés from western Europe—regional specificities allowed us to speak about certain "eastern European eyes" (Demski & Sz. Kristóf 2013: 13), a particular way of looking on otherness. It is precisely to grasp this specific eastern European gaze that has been the main goal of the entire series and which, therefore, underpins the current, last volume. We have found that the context of representing the Other has its own east-central European particularity. Mutual relations of neighboring countries and common

experiences of wars place the processes of othering in their specific political and social context. These processes themselves bear, however, global characteristics, too. The current volume, in addition to being a continuation of the project started in 2010, is also an attempt to deepen the research and to present the specificity of the eastern European gaze in many ways.

The World as not yet Overwhelmed by Images

During the 1940s to the 1970s, the amount of visual data with which people interacted increased dramatically. The types of media multiplied, and the amount of space (public and private) occupied by such images grew. To answer, in part, whether the increasing number of the types of media and of their products enabled people to understand and depict the surrounding world in a new way, we may say that this growth of visual information resulted in an increasing role of images in the process of the construction of identity. In other words, the constant circulation of images, their repetitiveness, and the frequency of interaction with them has changed the perception of reality, and of the Other. Visual representations as an instrument of communication exercised a more and more significant impact on the life of average people. We hope that this volume provides some preliminary insights into the tools and processes by which the new media changed the perception of reality.

There have always existed social forms for the preservation and transmission of information (e.g. oral culture, narratives, jokes, gossip, i.e. word of mouth information). The visual form may be identified as a technique for preserving messages across a greater distance. It constitutes a form of communication with a wider and also spatially distanced audience. According to Anderson's now classical definition (1972: 5), 'communication' is a dynamic process in which a person consciously or unconsciously influences the perceptions of other people. Therefore, by analyzing the visual data we try to decode the implicit information hidden—both by the author and by the cultural patterns guiding the particular ways of perception and depiction—in a picture, a photograph, or a movie. It is highly probable that such visual signs are important also for the recipients of the message, confirming their values, and some meanings that are significant for them. It is, however, possible that the meaning inscribed in a picture is contested or read à rebours. We try to grasp in this volume all the mentioned ways of interacting with visual data.

The meaning of visual representations derives, however, not only from the messages present in them, but also from the very materiality of the object or the kind of media it is transmitted by—for example, illustration, photograph, movie. Laura Marks (2000: 170), writing on the beginnings of cinema, pinpointed the certain struggle between the material significance of the object and the representational power of the image. The struggle is related to the two ways of dealing with visual data—their use that is inevitably connected to (a) the representational content and (b) their materiality. Moreover, in every visual representation we have two levels of

reception: the belief in and the use of the representation in question. Because of these tensions and particularities, the authors of the articles in this volume attempt to address all the aspects of visual communication: the encoding of messages, the message itself (in its content and material form), and the reception and interpretation of it.

Based on our findings we suggest that apart from the particular uses—for the aims of propaganda, entertainment, and so forth also the general use of visual data changed during the focal period. The representations not only concerned creating a certain imagery and belief about the phenomena of the surrounding world not experienced directly but they constituted/could be regarded as a *manner of handling reality*. We can observe a certain shift roughly after WWII—a process of moving from "belief in" to a "reality of" the representations—namely to the function of documenting reality. This process enables us to understand the specificity of the media's function at that time. Materiality is also an important level of analysis related to a particular medium. Elizabeth Edwards emphasized this aspect relative to photography and its uses (Edwards & Hart 2004). Although this aspect was not developed further by the authors of these chapters, it does not deny the relevance of this level of analysis. The tools of the new media for describing the changing world shaped the imagery in general and resulted in the previous images being newly formed. Furthermore, these media changed their (political and social) context and constructed new Others.

During the period of the 1940s to the 1970s, the number of media and their influence were continually expanding. New media—film technology and television—developed and started to occupy people's everyday lives. A history of visual media shows that early on images took the form of drawings, paintings, sculptures, caricatures, and posters and then expanded through photography, press, cinema, television. Images were experienced rarely, at first; later they were more often published in newspapers, journals, leaflets, and posters, and still later became an everyday consumption in the form of the television. Initially, broadcasting took only a few hours in the evening and on one channel only; later it expanded to all day programming on multiple channels. Television replaced other sources of information, offering the public more and more news from the world. This fact has lead us to the pivotal question of what creates the experienced reality and how. How was the everyday human experience shaped? What was the role of the visual media in it? In order to find answers to these questions, we have to look at the characteristics of the particular kinds of visual media.

The Variety of Visual Media

Although visual representations are not exact reflections of the surrounding reality, they constitute a certain "window", perceived metaphorically, through which people can watch the ongoing events and their reflections. As we mentioned above, in drawings and photographs the image is frozen, while in a movie we can be "stare through a window directly at past events, to experience people and places as if we

were there" (Rosenstone 1988: 1177). However, in each medium we encounter fictive elements, too (Ibid.: 1181). In visual representations we can trace a certain narration that is, nevertheless, related rather to the general way in which still images depict reality than to the specificity of the image. Each medium has its particular ways and strategies of depiction and it stresses different aspects of the represented reality. In our analysis of the Other, we focus on the grasping of the intermedial aspects of the depictions of alterity. We conceive media as part of a sociocultural reality and claim that they together—that is, caricatures, illustrations, photographs, and movies—constitute a visual cultural paradigm of the era.

In the present volume the authors analyze a variety of visual media: caricatures (Buke; Detrez; Hristov; Nedelcheva; Ispán; Nazarska; Angelov; Halmesvirta), photography (Demski; Libera & Sztandara; Vaseva; Oroz; Czarnecka; Lorke; Seljamaa; Baraniecka-Olszewska), postcards and advertising pictures (Uzlowa; Gadjeva), drawings as illustrations or posters (Sz. Kristóf; Oroz; Sorescu-Marinković; Ispán; Chłopicki; Seljamaa; Periklieva & Markov), movies and cinema characters (Sz. Kristóf; Oroz; Kaser; Kassabova), television (Sorescu-Marinković), and monuments (Troeva; Periklieva & Markov). Each of the authors asks questions of the analyzed material and presents the selected visual medium from a different perspective. Since the content of the volume focuses on a variety of media, we would like to draw a few conclusions dealing with the characteristics of the latter and also their interpretation.

When we look at the image through the lens of photography, "photo-text" can be both a tool for telling stories about the world and—thanks to the narrative techniques—a method for identifying meanings of the message (Michałowska 2012: 11). In this sense, photography is about the surrounding reality, and in the press photography or photojournalism this is even more evident, since it focuses mainly on showing characters and events. In contrast, film depicts motion and is created often as a "confrontation of characters" (Kassabova). Moreover, film endeavors to show individuals rather than groups. Television also has its own specificities. It can be regarded as distinct because it reduces distance from the audience, one of its typical means of expression, because it is first and foremost, as Sorlin wrote, a "talking medium" (Sorlin 1998).

Our intention, however, is not to analyze each and every kind of medium and their respective particularities. We attempt rather to pinpoint certain characteristics of the selected epoch, which, in our opinion, is a persistent period of transition from experiencing a constantly growing amount of media to being dominated and overwhelmed by them—a similar phenomenon to what we experience these days. We close of our considerations just before the Internet enters private space. Thus, for us the most important task is the comparison of three media: photography, cinema, and television, which seem to be the key media of modernity.

We are aware that we make a huge simplification here, but the comparison of the three selected forms of visual representations can provide us with information

about how everyday life was influenced by transmission in media and, moreover, by developed and multiplied ways of creating and shaping those transmissions. As Mirzoeff (2016: 10) suggested, the starting point of a message is in fact not a technological phenomenon but the link between social practices using new technologies with changes in the social and cultural world.

Photography and Photographic Effect

"Photography is a first new medium which introduces passage from meaning to senses" (Kemp 2014: 19); its perception seems to be more sensual and direct. All discussed media—photography, cinema, film, and television—end with representation of impersonal processes, which often are a way of describing reality. They all have one and the same goal: to embrace the world not only in words but in images and words and, thus, offer a chance to touch what was happening and what is reported now. The image makes it possible to "see" the world in the meaning suggested by Nicholas Mirzoeff (2016); that is, images give ways of understanding the world, and the images themselves are an integral part of reality and, even, one of its main components.

The history of photography is long and has expanded in different directions, turns and switches. It is difficult to generalize since both the presentations and interpretations of approaches to photography—for example, reporting from the early 1920s in daily newspapers, and in utilitarian and artistic photography—were of great variety and complexity. However, as Kemp writes after WWII, photography was already treated as a particular language (Kemp 2014: 95).

To compare with other new media, note that the photography in the time of WWII was doomed to reality; its primary objective of communication was to capture a "piece of reality", to crop the right frame, to register a fleeting moment most characteristic to the particular time and situation. As Mirzoeff noted, photography is determined by the time during which the light-sensitive medium—film or later digital sensor—is exposed to light. And as soon as the shutter closes, the moment becomes past tense (Mirzoeff 2016: 38). Examples of such moments we see in the chapters of Demski; Libera & Sztandara; Vaseva; Czarnecka; Lorke; Seljamaa; Baraniecka-Olszewska.

Kemp says that the year 1972, in which the fallen American magazine *Life*, was a new opening in the history of photography (2014: 118). Until this period, photography was recognized as a cultural resource. The accuracy of the description of the event depended on the choice of a set of concepts that were transforming events into facts of a particular kind. After that, photography became more like an object of art. It was not treated as mostly an information container.

Our strong belief is also that photography is much more than information; however, we propose that Steichen's words—that "the task of the photographer is to explain to people who the human being is and to assist him or her in self-knowledge" (quoted by Kemp 2014: 117)—can be, however, equally well applied

to film and television. The difference lies in the fact that photography is a "piece" of reality—static—while characteristic of cinema is movement and action and while television, apart from repetitiveness, gives a sense of the direct experience of distant reality. The range of audience is another differentiating feature of these media. Photography had the narrowest one (unlike today, present in other digital media); film relied on the cinema networks and their wider audience; and television had the widest audience.

Film, cinema, and television are visual and auditory media, and therefore they do not require viewers to be literate. Access to television was generally free. One the most distinctive qualities is that television programming uses storytelling or engaging narratives to capture people's attention as the repetitive pattern of mass-produced messages and images formed the mainstream of a common symbolic environment. TV started to be the main source of the most broadly shared images and messages among visual images. Watching television slowly became a habit acquired from other primary sources.

Film, Cinema, and TV—Images in Motion

New media are often perceived as second-hand accounting, and they embrace photography, film, television, and later also digital technologies, the Internet. Lev Manovich, who described the language of the new media, wrote that "no one treats the history of cinema as a linear process to create one possible language, or as a desire to reach probability of the described stories. On the contrary, we treat the history of film as a consequence of distinct and equally expressive, aesthetically diverse languages, each of which closes part of the opportunities provided by our predecessors" (Manovich 2006: 64). New technologies not only filled everyday public and private space, they also formed a new perception of reality, created new tools for mediating reality.

Analyzing the way media influenced people in the discussed period, we have to take into consideration that it was exactly the moment of development of the cinema in central and eastern Europe. Therefore, access to media increased each year and this process itself constitutes a cultural context of the epoch. Since 1920, moving images could be seen on a TV screen. Regular programs started to be cast from the late 1950s, and they reached a wider audience. The transmission occurred once a week and since the late 1950s several times a week (Cigognetti, Servetti & Sorlin 2010). Another point concerning the range of early television programming, the first broadcasting stations were erected in eastern European cities. The second channel, a local television station, was launched in the 1970s. Color TV was introduced for the first time in 1969. As we can see, the process of availability of television in the average household, at least in the bigger cities, was growing during the late 1950s to 1970s and from that point on would influence viewers on an everyday basis.

The cinema has had a public character, thus the development of a cinema network opened access to movies. As we can see from Karl Kaser's chapter and his

study of Yugoslav cinema, the movies offered new possibilities of message transmission. Interpreting film, we can also start from the influence of films on the spectators and the message films transmitted to audiences. Hayden White notes that there are some similarities in construing a story in text and in film. Every written story emerges as a result of condensation, transfer, symbolization, and selection. And these are the very same processes that determine the shape of representation in the film. As White wrote, medium is different, but the way of creating the message remains the same (1988: 1195).

The cinema, more than written and photographic discourse, is adapted to the faithful representation of certain aspects of surrounding reality, such as the landscape, the place, the atmosphere, emotions and complex events like war or battles. Film, through movement, extends the transmission of both additional sensory data and additional elements arising from the "confrontation of characters", dialogue, dramatic events—transmitting dramatic messages through dialogue (Kassabova; Lachowicz). In other words cinema represents a kind of relationship; an interaction between sides; an exchanging of glances, gestures, words. Relationships can be shown in a more detailed way and in a different manner than in static media, and in this way they aim to convey reality precisely as it is happening or has happened.

It seems that "grasping the motion", film and television use the same technology but are completely different media in terms of building the techniques of communication. Cinematography is an art of writing movement and also of recording movement. The narrative is based on a series of gestures arranged in accordance with the logic of time and space. A smaller screen, due to its size, has less power to resemble reality compared to cinema. In the focal period, TV was not suitable yet for the presentation of a rapid and complicated action. Television's style of presentation was primarily of not fast but of fragmented narration (both textual and visual), and thus, it left viewers a moment to doubt the version of presented events. TV made viewers, however, believe in it. An opportunity to watch television from neighboring countries (Sorescu-Marinković), for example, made viewers see the differences and the different narrations of television programming. Opportunities to see Soviet movies and American movies in the cinema (Kaser) also allowed audiences to see a variety of versions of depicting reality.

We should, however, be aware of a distinction between the concrete and its representation in media. Often "the 'truthfulness' of the sequence is to be found not at the level of concreteness, but rather at another level of representation, that of typification. The sequence should be taken to represent a type of event. The referent of the sequence is the type of event depicted, not the two discrete events imaged, first, the firing of a shell and then, its explosion" (White 1988: 1197). In this sense, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf analyzes a certain shift of representation in the images and movies from the 1960s and 1970s. The truth of the presented scenes springs from the depiction of certain characters whose historical significance was due to the type of action taken at a specific time and place. The same role of media representa-

tions can be seen in Oroz. He describes multimediality of representations and how various types of media focus on different aspects of presented character.

Moreover, means of expression in cinema are primarily picture and sound, but they were not designed to inform about the reality. Press and television became the primary source of information on ongoing events. Television was the most complex information medium since it, for example in interviews, usually combined three types of visuals as data: images, film, and archival materials.

However, movies watched by a large audience as in a cinema also played an increasingly important role in shaping a shared vision of the past as a series of images taken from films (presented in Kaser), but it was television's image of the world that has broadened the worldviews of common folk, because of the medium's accessibility and its recurrent character. Although in the discussed period, the small screen continued a fragmentized way of depicting reality, over time, it has become more and more important in creating both social and cultural meanings. It becomes a way of spending time and a daily source of information. Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković shows the process of the increasing importance of television with an example of the reception of TV channels from Yugoslavia and other neighboring countries inside Romania.

Testimony of the Past: New Media and Deterritorialization of Images

Today we can only investigate the images displayed to the audience, which have been preserved through the years. The images are, however, taken out of the context of the period in which they were created. Nevertheless they constitute a certain testimony of the era in which they were produced. Analysis of visual media in the focal period is a kind of a challenge, since contact with the media was for an average person increasingly significant. Over the years, information coming from visual media took on even greater importance and became the main source of information on reality and on the Other.

Since 1945, the world has been generally divided into two antagonistic West and East alliances. Moreover, the process of globalization has resulted in changes in mediating the experience of the Other. The Cold War made it difficult to communicate and to travel, interpreting many world events unilaterally from the particular point of view related to the place and the political and social relations in it (Demski; Hristov; Nedelcheva). However, it is worth recalling that even during this period there was some exchange of the "new" media and the global TV audience—standing on both sides of the Cold War frontier—who could "together" to watch many dramatic events, such as the first American landing on the Moon in 1969. Anthony Giddens links such opportunities directly to the development of modernity: "An integral part of modernity are its "own" media: printed text at first and then an electronic signal. The development and expansion of modern institutions were closely associated with unheard-of development of mediation experience, which is involved in these forms of communication" (Giddens 2002: 35).

Robert Rosenstone said that film can "restore the entire life of the past" by an "empathetic" reconstruction that allows the filmmaker to show what really happened, why it happened, and how the film depiction properly communicates the importance of the event (Rosenstone 1988: 1176). Developing his point, we may say also that television allowed the audience to look through the screen directly on representations of past events and experiences of people and places as if the viewers were there. The images and sounds flooded the senses and thwarted the attempts to maintain a distance, engage in criticism and be detached. This process of being engaged by new media can be observed throughout the period of focus of this work.

In addition we can observe a development of the particular tactic of representation. Individuals in new media are identified only by some general social properties or by a type of action. They are not particular individuals but constitute rather certain impressions, embodiments of particular characteristics. This allows the medium to underline its message. White described historical movies, in which such general properties allowed people's representations, to take their "roles" in the historical event (White 1988: 1196). This kind of conceptualization, in a variety of forms can be seen in images presented by Demski; Oroz; Czarnecka; Seljamaa; Baraniecka-Olszewska; Uzlowa; Gadjeva; Sz. Kristóf; Sorescu-Marinković; Kaser; Kassabova.

These new technologies enabled the creation of global networks of communication. Paradoxically, such channels of communication accessible from home made people experience reality from behind closed doors. Everyday experience of reality has become more and more mediated by visual media which technological advancement made also more attractive. Giddens pointed out another feature that marked the period of rising modernity. The individual experience became mediated by an invasion of distant events into the realm of everyday life, and as a second-hand account it turned out to be largely organized by these far events. An individual can receive many news reports as recounted events but as external and distant; some other accounts can also affect regularly the individual's daily activities (2002: 27). As Giddens stated, "Familiarity generated by mediated experience might perhaps quite often produce feelings of 'reality inversion': the real object and event, when encountered, seem to have a less concrete existence than their media representation" (Ibid.: 27–28).

In the analyzed time period, despite living behind the Cold War iron curtain, people were faced with being closer to the events represented in the new media while simultaneously having opened up their eyes to what was far away. We can observe a correlation between communication tools and distance—new media development and a deterritorialization of images. Giddens has given us interesting examples from the past. New media, in a broader view as communication channels, shaped the content presented in the final printed pages of information. He argued that the telegraph, the telephone, and electronic media, the event of communication itself and not place, slowly though increasingly became a decisive factor in its

release as information. Images circulated through the same communication channels and took the same position as the media content in the past. Giddens stressed the point that "most of the media preserve a sense of 'privileged place' in respect of their own position—giving a bias towards local news—but only against the backcloth of the pre-eminence of the event" (Ibid.: 27). In this way media communication channels emerged as a kind of a "third space", transmitting information and content across a long distance. In words of Giddens, visual representations presented by television and cinema and present on video transmissions undoubtedly create a dimension of mediated experience that is unreachable by the printed word. However, print media are as much an expression of what tool disembedding and globalizing trends have done, which is expressed by modernity (Ibid.: 27). Photography—as part of an album collection, private or public, or printed in journals, in movies, and on television or on a poster, and original version can be regarded as representing two parallel processes of modernity—disembedding and globalization.

Fluent Identity and Relatedness: Reality as a Series of Images

The last topic I would like to emphasize is a matter of relatedness—that is, changing identity in relation to the Other. I would argue that this subject concerns not only the discussed caricatures, in which the focus on the othering people is particularly evident but also other visual images like photographs and films. Identities are not constant and although they are ascribed specific values, symbols, and attitudes, they form continuous constructs.

As our main interest is in the depiction of the Other, we pay great attention to the way in which differences are presented, since indicating a discrepancy between "us" and "them" is a main way of representing otherness. An overview of the most common strategies of presenting difference shows that it is usually done in two ways—with positive auto-presentations and with negative presentations of Others. The concepts of pointing out difference are present in the book media's style, rhetoric, and narratives. They all serve to achieve particular aims. One of the aims is othering, which is still a way of preserving one's own identity. Careful analysis of the various processes of othering by media presented in the volume allows the reader to grasp differences between various media technologies and their role in shaping alterity.

Our particular goal was to indicate that the process of othering is a consequence of a certain relation. It is, on the one hand, a way of establishing relations with others who can become the Other. Although relations are between people, they are also seen in visual representations, not only their outcomes, but also the processes of fixing, negotiating, changing the relations. On the other hand, relations can be seen between media and particular representations. The world we wanted to present in this volume belongs to the past, but it left various, complex mutually related visual representations of the Other. Through those representations, taking

into account their material form, their type, the medium they represent, their content, the frequency of appearance, and their impact on viewers, we aimed at grasping a moment when the Other and the othering process entered the multimedial scene—when both an increasing amount of media, their products, and the development of technology made representation of reality multimedial in its nature.

The Multi-Mediatized Other

The volume is divided into sections of thematically related chapters. Each section deals with otherness in a different way. "Mediating Reality: Reflections and Images" concerns the question of reality production by the media. In all approaches, reality appears as a series of images. The choice of means, images, and frames used by the variety of media was an instrument in the transformation of an event into the facts of a so-called reality. Demski focuses on the category of difference, which organizes the depiction of reality. Discussing the examples of photography in the years 1945–1970, the postwar period, in socialist Poland, he argues that difference indicates the presence of a boundary, divided from another reality. Thus, photographs may be treated as aspects of local or supralocal connections.

Libera and Sztandara present the photographs from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s that revealed the "behind the scenes" actions of ethnographic fieldwork that according to authors reveal something that should remain invisible: researcher's scientific approach and specific experience of being with/encountering the Others. Libera and Sztandara focus on the contrast between private and public images and as a consequence they remind us to regard the photo as evidence and perceive it as helpful in illustrating some cultural patterns and informing about them.

Vaseva presents an interesting case study of funeral tradition—visual presentation of death and the celebratory funeral ceremonies in honor of the dead in Bulgarian urban culture since the nineteenth century. These "mournful images" are evidence of the complex nature of photography and its significance in the process of converting verbal images into visual ones—funeral photos were the last attempt to save portraits of deceased members of the family so that "producing" this particular visual form, the person could remain "known" and somehow "present" in everyday life.

Buke-Okyar presents a case of Turkey, where the Arab Other served as an important component in the rhetoric over the new Turkish identity as embedded in post-Ottoman and early republican Turkish public opinion till 1939. This chapter involves earlier periods than is generally discussed in the volume; however, it gives insight into the mechanism of producing extension of the eastern European gaze. As Buke-Okyar claims, negative sentiments toward the Arabs were transferred to the new republic when the Turkish nation-building project reached its peak and an exclusively Turkish nation was imagined.

The section "Transmediality and Intermediality" consists of chapters discussing the creation of medial images used as a reflection of the local "third space" and the circulation of some particular motifs across the media. Image making and circulating practices emerged from and in relation to other media and performances. Sz. Kristóf presents *indiánosdi* as an example of the highly complex web of multimediality. In her approach, she highlights a tendency of stereotypization of these images—a reliance on a couple of characteristic "visual clichés" in representing the figures. She discusses the difference between having knowledge from inside (in America) and in Hungary, rather as curiosity and sympathy for native American people.

Certain images are a result of the conscious development of media. In this context, Oroz problematizes the historical figure of Matija Gubec. He uses the perspective of memory studies with special emphasis on popular culture and political discourse. New visions of Matija Gubec appeared in comics, movies, and theater shows, filling media space. Through these new media forms, people identified themselves with him as a figure representing the oppression. The author's questions revolve around why would a peasant leader become popular and in what way did the "socialist state of mind" make this figure an argument of plausibility of its ideology.

What happens when we had an opportunity to use media across borders? Sorescu-Marinković offers insight into the way the Other, Yugoslavia's neighbors, was perceived by Romanians watching Yugoslavian television in the 1980s in Timişoara. As the author states, the practice of watching foreign TV was a legitimate reaction to the reduction of TV broadcast time and the ubiquitous and subversive communist propaganda, which is why Romanians started to look for alternatives that would satisfy their need for information and entertainment.

Lachowicz discusses how power and authority was accessed in the manipulation of a nature/culture dichotomy within the visual landscape of the popular film chronicle that became present in the memory of the TV and cinema watchers in Poland. Claiming that landscape lives in narration, Lachowicz analyzes the images presented by the chronicle from 1956 to present how collective memory and process of place making are constructed.

Czarnecka discusses how the image of nontraditional woman emerged by analysing all-Poland beauty pageants held twice (only) in 1957 and 1958. As she claimed, these contests served to constitute a model of femininity different from the dominant one. It was associated with the multidimensional process of objectification; on the other hand, it points out the phase of a struggle for a woman's right to a public display of female body. This way the New Woman embodied the desire to see and to be seen. Thus, Czarnecka concluded that beauty queens made an attempt to be not only the passive objects of party-state.

The next section, "The Functioning of Socialist Media: Shaping Society Against the Outside World" deals with caricatures. What were the functions of the

caricatures and images of the Other that changed since the nineteenth century from the political enemy to images from the distant world, and from the war frontlines to simple entertainment? These questions have found a variety of responses in the chapter discussing the functioning of socialist media targeting the outside world. Detrez shows how the media in communist Albania in the 1960s and the 1970s used the image of the West to criticize the Soviet Union. As a case study, Detrez chose the political cartoons produced by Zef Bumçi, or Zefir, the representative of Albanian culture, who became better known by foreign readers only recently.

Hristov presents a series of Bulgarian caricatures displayed at the exhibitions in Sofia in 1953. It shows how the switch/twist/change of political allies by Tito, the president of Yugoslavia, was received in Bulgaria. It is worth exploring how sudden political decisions were being represented in the visual form of caricatures, what techniques were used to discredit the opponent, and what particular channels of communication were used to deliver this message to its audience.

Another aspect of shaping the inner society against the Other is presented by Nedelcheva, who focuses on the same space and time and presents a case of visual representation of the Other in a newspaper—the journal *Glas na Balgarite v Yugoslavia* ('Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia'). This representation was designed to legitimize certain notions and ideological constructions in favor of the Yugoslav idea and at the same time to blacken and degrade Bulgaria.

The section "The Functioning of Socialist Media: Shaping Society by Inner Divisions" depicts the opposite, inward, direction. Examples of the functioning socialist media directed by maintaining inner divisions are presented by several authors. Kaser presents statistical data on Yugoslavia and shows that competition between presenting the U.S. movies versus Soviet Union movies in the cinemas of Yugoslavia was a reflection of political Cold War tensions. However, the break between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had additional consequences for Yugoslav cinema. According to the author, the emerging problem was how to develop an aesthetic local film language that was related neither to Socialist Realism nor to Hollywood. Kaser shows to what extent visual mass entertainment was politicized in the 1950s and 1960s.

Another approach to shaping society is presented by Ispán, who investigates who were considered cultured and uncultured people by the communist regime at the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s, the way this process of shaping society was represented in the press, and finally what measures were taken to promote the new cultured (i.e. socialist) way of life. The author points out the cultural and social distinctions in the Hungarian adaptation of communism and two concepts of culture (German and Soviet) competing in Hungary during this period. Ispán also describes how photography was defined and used by socialist-realism in the 1950s.

Apart from cultural divisions, other divisions resulted from a state preference for a particular socialist way of life, thus, religion became the target of the sharply divided socialist state. Nazarska presents an interesting case of the religious Others,

who are criticized and ridiculed by the atheistic propaganda in Bulgaria that was supported by cartoonists in the 1960s to 1970s. Religion was conceived as an element of ideological subversion carried out by the "imperialist camp" during the Cold War on the Arab countries and neighboring Islamic Turkey.

Chłopicki presents a contribution on the period of the 1970s in Poland, wherein democratic, anticommunist opposition started to expand. Chłopicki reminds us of the unique character of Comrade Szmaciak, developed by Janusz Szpotański. This caricature metaphorically refers to a spineless character, and it was used broadly in literature, jokes, and in everyday conversations as a negative symbol of the People's Poland.

The question of "The Construction of Marginals and Outsiders" is undertaken in the next section. Lorke concentrates on the processes of social and moral engineering in three different socialist states: the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. He illustrates the relationship between semantic and visual strategies regarding the desired (as he calls it) social order in the period between the 1960s and the late 1980s. According to Lorke, the role of the media was to transmit a consistent image of unworthy and antisocial individuals.

A similar motif is taken further in chapters by Angelov and Kassabova. Comparing their chapters, we can see differences concerning the construction of the protagonist in two distinct media—caricature (Angelov) and film (Kassabova). Both authors deal with a concept of hooliganism widely used in the communist propaganda. Angelov focuses on an appearance of a new urban society, accompanied by the disappearance of the old sociocultural stratification. He shows the visual caricatured representations of the Others' entertainments in the first two decades of socialist development, time of intensive social changes—nationalization, forced land cooperation, fast industrialization, and urbanization.

Kassabova analyzes the process of film making, which touches a variety of social dimensions. She investigates the movie from a cultural-historical perspective that treats films as visual *and* textual. From this angle, Kassabova offers insight into film-making processes, with marginal film makers both creating and presenting their films in socialist Bulgaria in the 1960s. The author shows techniques used in the film to create messages and aesthetic effects, communicating shared socialist values, new norms and habits, and a variety of factors—social, cultural, political, and medial—that have to be taken into account when we talk about this period.

In the final chapter of the section, Halmesvirta focuses on the caricatures of the most famous politically independent caricaturist in Finland, "Kari" (Kari Suomalainen, 1920–1999), who published in the leading liberal-progressive Finnish newspaper from the end of the 1950s until the 1990s. This artist and his works are interesting examples of the media providing a counterstatement, an attempt to hit the ruling discourse.

The section "Mediating Sites and Localizations: Images and Movement" directs our attention to images of specific geographical and ideological sites. Uzlowa discusses sent postcards, a classic instrument of communication that accompanies, mainly, travel, as a complex visual and textual product. According to Uzlowa, picture postcards are tempting items and should be understood as a mediator between the well-known and less known otherness. Embodying or, at least, offering insight into the identities of the travelers who wrote them, the postcards depict the travelers themselves and the Others, who perhaps disappeared or had questionable identities.

Seljamaa draws attention to the intricate relationships between cultural forms and contents as sites of agency and collaboration in (post-)Soviet Estonia. The author traces these contradictory goals and meanings in the visual material published on the occasions of the first three Soviet-era song and dance celebrations in Estonia, held between 1947 and 1955. They are considered a tool of Sovietization. However, as the author claims, the relationship between national/Estonian form and socialist content was more complex than one of simple subordination.

Gadjeva presents the changing view of Bulgaria following the decision to open the country to international tourism. She analyzes most representative photographic albums of the 1960s advertising the seaside. As she concludes, to become an object of desire, Bulgaria had to be depicted as seen through the eyes of foreigners and not of the Communist Party. Thus new themes of these "promotional" images permeated the new repertoire of Bulgarian photography, transforming its previous imagery.

From the examples cited in the volume's final section "Media and the Creation of Cultural Memory", figures from the ancient past can be treated only briefly. However, as the authors of these chapters show, the reconstruction of behavior already belongs to the present. It is not a detailed presentation of historical figures but rather creates "character types", recognized only by certain actions or general social property, that played a role in a historical event. Troeva focuses on changes in historical research. The medieval past of Bulgaria is also under reconsideration; the same ideological trends can be observed in the history books from the period after WWII. Troeva presents some of the trends in the representations of Bulgarian medieval history during the socialist period from the end of WWII until the early 1980s.

Periklieva and Markov continue this approach and present memory of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion of 1014 in the region of Petrich in southwest Bulgaria. It is a particular case study, however it enables the authors to discuss generally the problem of the role of state policies in the construction of cultural memory and of the use of cultural memory in various state policies in the frameworks of nationalism and cross-border studies.

The last chapter by Baraniecka-Olszewska concerns the contemporary period and a different way of approaching visual reality. Baraniecka-Olszewska describes

how historical reenactors try to create their vision of the past by means of photography, capturing scenes from re-created reality. Representations of the past embedded in those elements are frequently transferred from one medium to another to imitate pictures from the past through capturing reenacted events. As she claims, with regard to reenacting war photography, it is even more evident that we are dealing not with a kind of restaged representation but a sophisticated fake.

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1. Mediating Reality: Reflections and Images

Dagnosław Demski

Cultural Production of the Real Through Picturing Difference in the Polish Media: 1940s–1960s

> *… two major modes of mediating immediacy. In the first mode the medium is "naturalized" to the extent that it is no longer experienced as a medium. In the second mode, the mediation process is flauntingly revealed and highlighted for what it is. Contrary to what this second mode seems to be doing, I will argue that this "unmasking" of the medium produces its own sensations of immediacy*
> (Van der Post 2011: 76).

> *Thus, when wishing to present a variety of arguments, it is necessary to present not war as such, but the strategies of representation*
> (Sajewska 2012: 60).

The problem of media became the focus of debate as a result of changes in the media market in general in the 1970s. It was triggered first by the emergence of new media that provided an immediate, live picture (television) and, later on, in reaction to television, by the arrival and expansion of the Internet (in the Western world), offering a possibility of selecting the recipient. The debate's subjects were formed not only of a question of truth, of revealing the context and the underlying ideology of the authors, but also of the issue of immediacy and the degree to which we are able to preserve it in the message and, conversely, the possibility (bearing in mind the mechanisms of media message creation) of producing a conviction, an impression, that the message is transparent. The development of media has led to a contemporary discussion on the subject of the human factor's influence on the message. The problem has been examined in the humanities and, therefore, in growing literature related to the subject. However, the media themselves,[1] focused on the number of recipients or readers, are unwilling to notice (at least, in an open forum) the degree of removal from reality. In internal discussions, what matters is the influence on the perception of the reality, not the accuracy of the message.

[1] Contemporarily, major TV shows and the press—from right wing to left wing—are all convinced of their own truth and distort the reality in a similar manner, providing widely circulating pictures and messages they themselves produce.

In this chapter I undertake the problem of whether and how the issues connected with the media were recognized in the years 1945–1970 in Poland. If, at present, the guiding principle is, "The reality is unimportant; it is important to do something that causes a change",[2] then what beliefs can we decode from the visual material from the period of time under study? Remembering that the presented period belongs to the predigital era[3] of the visual world, I want to draw attention to the discourse that connects the subjects presenting difference, and mediatization, what in other words means production of the real in media.

Is it meaningful to stress the difference between representation and visual descriptions of reality? If so, then when is it meaningful and in what way? After a period when images of polarization prevail, does their antithesis arrive? Have the long periods of war still not exhausted the necessary polarization? Or maybe context shapes the attitude towards perceiving difference in another way, and in and of itself, paying attention to the difference always fulfils a temporarily specific function? These issues have absorbed the attention of numerous authors examining the cultural aspects of difference. There have been various perceptions of difference in anthropological research: to name just a few,[4] those that underline interplay between new categorization and the discourses of difference on which these concepts are based, what shapes new understandings of displacement and mobility (Gupta & Ferguson 2001), those that take into consideration gender issues (Moore 1994), those that consider disability (Huber 2010), those that take the ethnographers' view, familiar to us all (Grimshaw 2001), and finally, those that use the visual material from the late nineteenth century as a starting point (Griffiths 2002). As regards this last type of analysis, the visual materials from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the World War I period, the interwar period, and World War II were examined by authors published in previous volumes of this series (Demski et al. 2010, 2013, 2015). On the level of perception, differences form the fundamental part of description. As Jacques Derrida stated:

> It is not the question of a constituted difference here, but rather, before all determination of the content, of the *pure* movement which produces difference. *The (pure) trace is differance*. It does not depend on any sensible plenitude, audible or visible, phonic or graphic. It is, on the contrary, the condition of such a plenitude. Although it *does not exist*, although it is never a *being-present* outside of all plenitude, its possibility is by rights anterior to all (emphasis in original) (Derrida 1997: 62).

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[2] Heard in casual conversation on the metro (April 2016).

[3] Nicholas Mirzoeff distinguished predigital and digital images, where the former reflected directly what stood in front of the camera and the latter presents images that are products of complicated digital manipulations (2015).

[4] The literature comprises a large number of publications, impossible to present here. The titles mentioned belong, in my opinion, among the most significant works.

Going further, this perspective means that to perceive something, to recognize a thing, is to recognize a difference between it and some other thing or some other perception. Things are thus defined by and through their differences. Another way of saying this is that human thought is relational. We perceive and think in terms of relationships—and difference is a relationship (Rapport & Overing 2003: 105).

If human thought is relational, then the perception of difference is also related to the category of otherness, and both—difference and otherness—result from building a community. Following Claude Levi-Strauss (1963), we can say that community describes the arena in which one learns and practices being social. In this sense, creations of difference and images of otherness are products of a process of exclusion. The category of difference organizes the picture of reality, indicating its major elements and the hierarchy of their importance. From the perspective of showing what was dominant and how it was presented in a manner characteristic for a given period of time, visual representations seen in the context of their own age gain another dimension, especially when we additionally compare them from the wider spatial perspective of central and eastern Europe but also over the period of a century filled with changes of global and local significance. Such an approach allows for a number of conclusions to be drawn, which I assume as a starting point for the discussion of the visual description of the reality, with the help of the category of difference, mostly based on the example of photography in the years 1945–1970 in postwar, socialist Poland.

The category of otherness is one of the important issues in anthropology, of which a variety of aspects have been discussed and analysed, most often in the context of a groups' conviction about its own superiority and the inferiority of others.[5] Visual representations that articulate ethnic differences between us and the Others appear in situations in which cultures meet; when such categorization (us-them and the differences between these groups) gains increased significance. These categorizations form structures of alterity characteristic for the given time and place and, as forms of knowledge, they often have a stereotypical character, in which case they represent the ideas of otherness.

Apart from what is common—the presentation of the two sides and the changing degree of gap or distance—there are also other elements that may be treated as parameters worth taking into consideration: (a) describing the sides, or reality in general, by way of difference; (b) focusing on the axis of the dividing line (differentiating criterion); (3) exposing the degree of gap or distance between the observer and the observed (position of the observer); (d) presenting the medium itself used to present the difference (transparency), its material side, including technology and human factors—that is, strategies of immediacy; and (e) revealing (uncovering) the level of contact with/separation from reality (production of the real).

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[5] See e.g. Claude Levi-Strauss (1963), Zygmunt Bauman (2004), Edward Said (2005), and Homi Bhabha (1994).

The first three parameters are joined by the two next as a consequence of posing a question about the type of medium used and its transparency.[6] We have to keep in mind that all the visual materials discussed in this chapter belonged to the predigital era, what in practice meant that the photographic image still reflected what stood in front of the lens. All of this together gives shape to the creation of a cultural reality—that is, the creation of representations that correspond to reality. If we assume that the differences between people result from culture—that is, from their manner of perception—then we can also assume that these differences translate into the creation of what we sometimes call "natural" differences. Then the question of what is real and what is the result of creation begins to make sense—whether there is at all a reality that has not been transformed. If everything appears to have been created, then what causes us to interpret certain information as real and other types not? This motif appears in the research on the media and communication. It has numerous other facets and aspects, which will be mentioned later, but in the present approach, perceiving and describing the world via difference has to suffice. Represented difference appears the most visible in times of high polarization—in this case during the Cold War.

Moreover, describing reality via difference requires presenting the two sides. Usually it is accompanied by a narrative description, but in my case the image is sufficient—that is, such style of imaging allows one to observe the boundaries between the two sides by way of, for instance, appearance, costume, symbolism, attributes, ascribed roles, behaviours, gestures, place taken up within space, emotions evoked, and so forth. These boundaries also reflect the axis of the dividing line. In such a manner, the Other is created and, to paraphrase Alison Griffiths, representations of difference emerge from a confluence of discursive practices and image-making techniques (2002: xx). The practices of presenting difference served to express attitudes and specific ideas on the subject of differences that spring from those attitudes—in the case of ethnographic material, attitudes and ideas related to cultural or racial differences; in other cases, to differences connected with politics, worldview, or other.

The means of presenting difference is similar, and usually becomes filled with newly diverse content following established patterns. In every context of an image, different lines of division appear, resulting from the assumed differentiating criterion. The distance between the two sides becomes visible when we observe the changeability of representing the sides over a prolonged period of time. This changeability is enabled by the fact that the picture remains closely related to the time of its creation and forms a reflection of the relationships prevailing (changing)

[6] Writing about theatre—more precisely, about the contemporary political theatre—Dorota Sajewska mentions *mediological perspective*. She understands mediality as a particular way of seeing the world's existence, perception, and cognition as a specific construct that perpetuates or undermines the type of reality in which we are living (2012: 57).

at that time. Periods of relative closeness between the sides are interwoven with periods of polarization. Local conflicts and war find their expression in visual representations. It appears that the new type of total war (World Wars I and II) changed the way in which distance was been shown. Distance can be shown through demonization, dehumanization, of the Others. Dehumanization legitimizes the use of violence.[7] Greater or smaller distance may be recognized in various ways, for instance, as disparate (and sometimes recognized as "dark") elements of the common social field. The use of humour, irony, and sometimes satire testifies to the existence of a certain hierarchy of values and, by the same token, to the divisions.

The distance between two represented sides expresses the position and the ideas of the author and points out to the separation resulting from the author's notions. This differs from what we would call direct contact with reality. The degree of contact with (separation from) reality may be evaluated on the basis of the importance attributed to the details of the presented side. Lack of a sufficient number of details may result from the author's intentions, from lack of information, or from lack of direct contact. In the case of photography, this process takes place when the object transcends the original context of creation (e.g. family photographs) and becomes a representation. In this manner the representation of something new displaces the original image resulting from the initial context. The new comes into being in the new system and replaces the time of creation of the image.[8] The context change results in the image being placed within a new order.

We encounter different types of distance. In the first type, the distance between the two sides as seen from the position of the author is presented. In the second type, the distance of the image itself from the reality is presented. Both depict relationships; in the first, the picture is drawn from one side, and in the second, it sheds light more on the production of subsequent alternative forms of relationship. We recognize both of these types on the basis of different elements—the first, on how the Other is presented, the second, on how and in what way the relationship between the sides is presented.

If the context were changed, then it would be important to pay attention to the medium itself, to the use of a specific tool in specific circumstances and with a specific intention, and, later, to the manner in which the object is preserved—the archive (i.e., the modification of context). Particular significance is gained by the very medium, the technique employed, the so-called human factor, and the strategies of immediacy resulting from them.

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[7] The works of Alexander Laban Hinton present extreme cases in which the distance is taken to its utmost (2002a, 2002b).

[8] Developing the notion of the archive, Van Alphen writes that the collection replaces history with classification, with order beyond the realm of temporality. In the collection, time is not something to be restored to an origin; rather, all time is made simultaneous, or synchronous, within the collection's world (2014: 60).

To sum up, on the one hand, recognition and presentation of difference change basis of this difference (the axis of the division line, differentiating criterion), while on the other hand, recognition and presentation redefine its points of reference (change references and substitute the references with different ones, relativize the references, dissociate itself from the reality of reference). Ethnic and social differences forming the main axes of division and, moreover, constituting a significant visual theme in the late nineteenth century became even more emphasized during World War I. The to-date social order falls, the old values supporting the network of relations lose their overtones under the new circumstances. The interwar period brings a new order based on the ruins of the older social divisions and, politically, on the ruins of old empires. The recognition of ethnic divisions still exists—they have preserved their weight, but they are now perceived from many local points of view (new nation-states). The social context and perspectives change according to each other, and, consequently, we are dealing with new divisions whose examples can be found in the visual material. The motif of modernity gains even more significance, creates a new axis of division,[9] and, as a result, constitutes a visible subject of representations of difference and otherness. I will try to show this in the visual material in the second part of this chapter.

And yet we usually disregard what stands between the represented sides and constitutes a difference, the axis of division or, rather, its "material" aspect. The difference indicates the presence of a boundary, a division from another reality. It may be named the embodied presence of a boundary. What is happening there? When we encounter a division, a question arises as to how we experience the difference the division is based on—directly or via mediation of something tangible. Is it as Derrida argued that "if a text always gives itself a certain representation of its own roots, those roots live only by that representation, by never touching the soil" (1997: 101)?

Here we come to the issue of strategies of immediacy, the act of severance from the original reality—severance from the reference—and the significance of the human factor. We will discuss that later on. To sum up the present part, however, I would like to underline that the problem of difference understood as affiliation to a separate ethnic, religious, social, or territorial community or group is in a visible manner related to the issue of mediation/mediatization and immediate contact with the represented object or reality. What is significant is not only what has significance for the authors, but also how it fits in with the sense of the real. Here we enter the realm of representation, its politics, and what might be called the cultural production of the real in the Polish media of the late 1940s–1960s.

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[9] As Derrida put it, "difference is therefore the formation of form. But it is, on the other hand, the being imprinted of the imprint" (1997: 63).

Practices of Making and Unmaking Difference

The problem of emphasizing difference in visual representations relates to the situating of the author (the self) in a specific social field, a way of locating both the narrator within his or her group and that group's relationship to other groups, the repertoire of motifs and significant themes. Each of them emerges in a specific context and, depending on the situation, either presents hostility or, at other times, illustrates uncertainty or insecurity. The relationships and motifs may also be represented through images or, more broadly, through visual material, each in its own way. Photography documents the world while remaining a testament to the past, even though constructed. It is also a mark or vestige of how the author perceives the world.

Photographs may be treated as aspects of local or supralocal connections. Visual material creates a field in which individual images and motifs appear. Circulation of images and discourse is enabled or even facilitated by the media. How do we understand media? According to Kramer, in the act of conveying something, media are also capable of drawing attention away from their own materiality and technicality[10] to redirect attention to what is being mediated. This capacity of media to at least momentarily stand back and withdraw from perception seems to be the very condition of their functioning and is indeed central to the definition of what constitutes a medium (Kramer 2008).

I understand media as what stands between and separates reality from the author, or the recipient. On the one hand there are traditional media in the sense of printed press, drawings, posters, photographs, and, later on, film and television. Media might also be understood more broadly as word, picture, or sound mediatizing the reception of what is real. They constitute a type of convention whose range of exchange maps out the boundaries of a group that understands the message, the jokes—that has the same associations with regard to given images. The key to an appropriate and significant representation is a vanishing mediator. Do the various media achieve this aim and in what manner?

The medium, participation of the human factor, and metaphors representing the types of such mediations uncover the basic elements that constitute the research field and the analysis criteria for the practices used in a given time period. Possibly, they will allow us to determine whose version of reality they present.

Dorota Sajewska concludes that a confrontation with the reality of war—with its unprecedented brutality, dehumanization, and bodily and psychological humiliation—also created the very first mediatization of such a scale in history. According to Susan Sontag, this era started in 1914 (2010: 34). Thanks to the media, those events and, for some, experiences, gained a new dimension—a second-hand account that was slowly developing, taking increasingly more space in people's everyday life and consciousness.

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[10] Contemporary media use at least two models mentioned by Van Post (2011), and one of them specifically stresses materiality and technicality. However, in the context of analysis of the media from the period 1945–1970, we should focus on one model only.

The images, constructed in this way, due to the increasing durability and intensity of contact with the recipient, possessed a power strong enough to make their recipients succumb to them. After the fall of the imperia and the rise of the new order in Europe and the world, the very subject of difference and otherness activated representations. On the one hand, this was to describe the changing world; on the other, the images of the Others revealed the meanings that, although exotic, were already present on the cognitive horizon of the group. Thus, they also told much about the group itself.

A society defines its collective identity by stressing differences with the Others, while images of a given group are never permanent and have to be continually confirmed in encounters with the Other. But the images are produced as a result of the messages of individual media or content yet also in the dynamic configurations of these elements. In this manner new forms of representation are being born.

Firstly, the 1940s, the 1950s, and subsequent years differ from the previous periods in the change of context (the end of the war, a new political division in eastern Europe). Then, new outlooks appear, most often in reaction to actions and ways of thinking characteristic of the previous period. Finally, the significance of the new media (radio, television) emerges and increases.

The routes through which cultural memory is transported form a very broad topic. For the purposes of the present article I present visual materials coming from three sources—photographs from commemorative albums presented to the chairman of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) during his visits to various regions of Poland; the illustrated weeklies *Świat* ('The World' 1951–1969)[11] and *Przekrój* ('Cross-Section')—an interesting example of presenting the world for the Polish audience in accordance with the spirit of the humanist reportage; and the accounts of the Vietnam War printed in the local Polish press (1966–1969).[12]

Making Spatial Oneness, Territory, and the New Authorities (in the Late 1940s)

Commemorative albums[13] containing visual materials that were never put into public circulation form an interesting source. Such albums were presented to the secretaries of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) who were inspecting a given region of Poland or visiting it on the occasion of a specific ceremony.[14] The albums contain photographs that, on the one hand, present the achievements of the region, its enterprises, and schools and that, on the other hand, document the pres-

[11] The photojournalists of the illustrated weekly *Świat* (1951–1969) were Krzysztof Jarochowski, Jan Kosidowski, Wiesław Prażuch, and Władysław Sławny.

[12] The illustrations were published with the courtesy of the Museum of Independence in Warsaw, the National Library in Warsaw, and the Polska Press.

[13] They are deposited as a separate collection in the Museum of Independence in Warsaw.

[14] Dedicated to the president of the Polish People's Republic, comrade Bolesław Bierut, to commemorate the visit to the ancient lands of the Piasts on April 13–14, 1946.

ence of the secretary in the region. Below, I present two examples: the secretary's visit to Silesia in 1946[15] and the celebration of Sports Day in Warsaw in 1952.

In the photograph, on the parade stand, we see President Bolesław Bierut (Fig. 4), Polish generals, and a general of the Soviet Army (Figs 2, 3). The stand is decorated with the Polish flag and national emblem. At the foot of the stand, there is a single Soviet soldier, ready for intervention. The other photographs from the series show a stage separated from the crowd of listeners who are holding banners that support the new government.

The aim was to testify to the presence of the highest authorities at these celebrations. At the same time, an account by the participant reinforces something other than credibility. Here is confirmed the reality of the fact of accession of Opolian Silesia, actually creating a territorial oneness, but also of Polish-Soviet cooperation. It is, in a way, a stamp on and a legitimization of the act. The year is 1946 and the fact that such a ceremony is taking place is confirmed. The mediator showed the moment when all the participants of the ceremony stood side by side, yet what was going on behind the scenes we do not know and will not learn from these photographs. We encounter the real participants of the event, and the photograph was taken as the event was happening. The participants might have arrived at the event not entirely of their own free will. Some attributes—for instance, propaganda slogans—were probably held by common workers or activists. The process of merging the territory of the state is reflected in the symbolic ceremony. In the photos (Fig. 2), the boundary between the authorities and the people, representing both sides, is visible. They are divided by a wide stretch of sidewalk, and looking closely, we will notice soldiers armed with guns on both sides of the gathering. The differentiating criterion is power, power of foundation, and the photographs' message suggests the inclusion of a diverse group into the whole, integration, building a new community. The distance between the observer and the observed is presented as two halves of the same entity.

We do not know the author of these photographs, but in this particular case it is of no importance. The photos, as the medium, serve an idea and they have a documentary character, as they confirm the fact of the event and of party leaders' participation in it. Neither does the quality of the photographs matter; what matters is that they were placed in the album—that is, representing a new order of things, a new political deal, and bearing witness of the making of history. Following Van Alphen we can state that their original order is lost; they no longer cling to the spatial context that linked them with an original event out of which the memory image was selected. But if the remnants of nature are not oriented toward

[15] In the album we can find this dedication: "To commemorate the historical act of uniting Opolian Silesia with the Śląsko-Dąbrowskie Voivodeship, the act which is a military achievement of the allied Red Army, Polish Army and the only right policy of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic. To the President of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, cit. Bierut."

the memory images, then the order they assume through the images is necessarily provisional (2014: 30). Visually we recognize the new entity, the new order, the integration of the sides. On the other hand, we are aware of the seams (stitches) that achieve the oneness.

Due to the fact that photographs of this type were not far-reaching, it is not important whether people believed in these accounts and pictures. They accomplished their aim and found their place in the visual documentation of the history of the period right after the end of the war, of the past being ordered anew. In a sense, the accounts and photos corresponded to the reality, registered in its most important moments, whose daily occurrence was confirmed in a variety of manners. There is the question of what significance we attribute to such accounts and pictures today. Such albums were most often stored in the filing cabinets of the institutions. In a sense, they constituted mementos of the activities of party members. Therefore, the majority of the photographs were taken to present the view of senior party members in the moment of their contact with the people (presenting the function of authority) or with the crowd (controlling the crowd). The content of the photograph was important, but the message was important as well (people's government consolidates its authority in the region). Photographs of this type were significant for the activists and could sometimes be used for propaganda purposes.[16] Today, the photographs bear testimony to their own era; their message is not convincing, but they form an excellent example of the contemporary strategies of representing reality, in the sense of not only intentions, but also obstacles, limitations, and struggles encountered on the way to building a new society.

What does a photo say if we know the context? And what does it tell us if we do not know the author, year, reference? When the original context is unknown, these photographs may be discussed in more detail. According to Van Alphen (Ibid.), all these details or elements are stored in the image in order to be classified, leading to one reading or another. What kind of mediation are we dealing with here? Considering the recipients and the intentions of the authors, these photographs were supposed to confirm the successes of the party. In terms of propaganda and ideology, the message confirms the activities, achievements, and right measures of the new government.

These pictures produced reality themselves in a sense of being shot in the very significant historical moments establishing the new territorial entities. The aim of these presentations was to pass over the differences and internal tensions, yet the differences were visible in the form of a division of power, the hierarchy—"people's government" versus inhabitants of this land. The differences visible in these photos are created in different takes that show a line between the government representatives and the people. This is an example of presenting local or supralocal connections, of building a community and not creating an Other. The threat is not visible

[16] The purpose was better served by films or fragments of newsreels.

in these pictures, although it is, in a way, marked in the figures of armed soldiers. If we were to name the type of mediation of events here, I would choose the metaphor of a filter—a selective approach that focuses attention on and moves closer to some events, cutting off access to the images of other events. We do not know what really happened in these moments as there are probably no other "media" apart from human memory that would present these events.

A similar message is presented in Figure 1,[17] showing the celebration of an anniversary (including a Catholic mass) of the Silesian Uprising in Góra Świętej Anny ('Mount St. Anna') and confirming that area's accession to the Polish state. This photo, like the others, documents a strategy of representing the beginnings of a society at the stage of stressing the relationships between people, territory, and the new government, joined by the new "common" spirit of socialism.

Imagined Communities in Construction (Late 1940 and Early 1950s)

Karol Świerczewski is a well-known Polish figure, present in history books: a general of the Polish People's Army who died tragically soon after the war (1947). He had been frequently photographed.[18] According to the museum caption of the photograph in Figure 5, "He has sat down, having awarded the Military Crosses to the parents of the soldiers who died in combat with the bands". The event is related to Operation Vistula, directed against the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the southeastern part of Poland. The previous photographs documented the stage of mapping out new borders, these are showing the stage of protecting these borders. Together, the photos indicate the existence of an imagined community that has to reaffirm and prove its connections with the territory.

The other side—the enemy of the new state—is not visible, however, is noticeable by the presence of its victims. In a state of domestic war, the visual distance between the observer and the observed is too far to show it in other categories such as death or danger. From the point of view of the message, this type of photograph may be classified along with the previous ones, in which the "people's government"[19] meets the populace. In this manner, the photos present the government and suggest that it takes care of the people and protects them from the enemies of state. The general symbolizes strong authority. Only the general is mentioned here by name, the rest of the people serve only as a background or, rather, as a human type, representing those under the general's protection. A similar motif of

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[17] From the album for comrade Bolesław Bierut, president of the Government of National Unity, to commemorate the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Silesian Insurgent's Action in Góra Świętej Anny, where 300,000 people testified to the entire world the Polishness and unbreakable link of the "Regained Territories" to the Polish Republic. The chairman of the main board of the Association of Veterans of Silesian Uprisings, col. Jerzy Ziętek, vice-voivode of Śląsko-Dąbrowskie Voivodeship.

[18] These photographs are part of the collection of the Museum of Independence.

[19] In this case also military command.

protecting grown-up people and children is seen in Figure 6, where the soldiers "are tending to" the children whose parents were murdered. This type of photograph, in which soldiers are shown taking care of children or offering them food, is seen repeatedly (e.g., the Nazis liked taking such photographs of themselves in Poland [see Demski 2015: 60] as a gesture of protection and power). The content of the photographs is contrasted by the manner of constructing difference. In the first case (Figs 1–4), the government is together with the people, although separated from them. In the photograph in Figure 5, the authority figure is "beside" the people. In these representations there is no room for variability—at that stage it is no time to speak of blurred boundaries between us and the Others. This is a time of protecting the external boundaries but also time for political mobilization and for consolidation of society.

From the period of the postwar years comes the sports album, presenting the photographs of the sportsmen's parade in Constitution Square in Warsaw (1952). The event took place in a new quarter built on the ruined city of Warsaw and had a character of sportsmanship combined with confirmation of the new socialist values. The youth displayed physical prowess, but also their ideological bonds with the USSR; on the picture they are carrying a portrait of Joseph Stalin (Fig. 7). Ordinary school students also participated in the parade (Fig. 8). The motif of working youth, which now was given a chance to receive education, is also visible in Figure 8. In order to function, a society needs to construct strong external boundaries, but it also has to arouse a strong spirit of revival, joining the community in a new context. These two elements—one stressing the boundaries and differences that separate us from the Others and the Other one, focused on evoking and confirming the homogeneity of, let us say, an imagined community based on common values and notions—complement each other.

In contrast to the previous photos, in these we will not find a clearly marked boundary; they present the construction of a new community. The line visible in the photographs and the separation of parade members from the authorities' stand represents only an internal line, showing the unity and integration of the authority with the crowd. Where the first photographs documented the act of uniting new lands with Poland through personal participation of the highest authorities, the photographs from the parade accented more the enthusiasm and rebirth of ordinary people and their integration within the new state. Both albums were to confirm the successes of a new government in building a new community.

Similar to the previous photographs, these (as media themselves also in a sense) corresponded to the reality registered in its most important moments in the collective life. They produced the real more in a sense of delivering convincing representations of the growing new society. Such albums were a memento of the authorities' activities from that period of time. The majority of the frames presented the enthusiasm of the participants of the group event and their presence in Warsaw,

then under reconstruction. The content of the photograph was important as was the message of unity under the USSR emblems during the short moments of group events and, as such, the photo represents a rather shallow image, distorting the view of reality for propaganda purposes. Likewise, these photographs convey evidence of the strategies used then to present reality. In this perspective, the intentions of the image's author are more visible than the problems and their realization in reality, what in this way highlights the level of contact with it.

The aim of these photographic presentations was to downplay, even make invisible, the differences and internal tensions, and in this they were successful. However, the avoidance of tensions does not cause the photographs to be more convincing than the previously discussed ones. Quite otherwise. Both types represent a selective approach that focuses attention on and gets closer to certain events while cutting off access to images of other events.

The photographs (Figs 7–9), however, document using the strategy of presenting a community's revival and attempt to combine people's enthusiasm and new authority with the new spirit of communism. Devoid of internal "boundaries" and elements disturbing the message of community creation, they do not convince with their reality. Both types of photographic representations can be classified as a heroic narrative of making myths of foundations pointing out the pivotal moments, the main divisions, the main heroic figures and the way of connecting the various parts that make up the whole imagined community.

New Landscape of Everyday Practice, Us, and the World (1950s)

A different example is formed by images from the illustrated weeklies published in the 1950s—*Świat* and *Przekrój*. According to the information from the catalogue of a *Świat* exhibition, the weekly and its photojournalists enjoyed creative freedom, yet the propaganda material was copied from the Soviet ones (e.g. the caricatures from *Ogoniok* ('Little Flame') or from photographic agencies Keystone and CAF. This is how the propaganda aims were realized, and regularly contributing photojournalists were assigned only domestic subjects. As we learn, until 1954, static and posed photographs constituted the majority of those published; this trend began to undergo a decisive change after 1955 in effect of political changes in the country. In 1956, the government of Poland permitted a viewing of "The Family of Man", photographs by Edward Steichen in 1955 from New York's Museum of Modern Art. This created an opportunity to popularize the idea of humanist reportage realized after the Second World War by the creators of Magnum group.[20] According

[20] Magnum is a photographic cooperative group founded by Robert Capa, David Seymour, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and George Rodger in Paris. According to Cartier-Bresson, "Magnum is a community of thought, a shared human quality, a curiosity about what is going on in the world, a respect for what is going on and a desire to transcribe it visually" (Magnum official website; https://pro.magnumphotos.com/C.aspx?VP3=CMS3&VF=MAX_2&FRM=Frame:MAX_3, last accessed on: March 17, 2016).

to Susan Sontag, a photo essay as a genre became established during the Second World War, but it was in Magnum after 1947 that artists assigned themselves the task of creating a chronicle of their times, of war and peace, of providing a balanced testimony free from chauvinist prejudices (Sontag 2010: 44–45). This was also the time of the triumph of photography as a main medium and of photographers without frontiers.

The photographs published in *Świat* in most cases represented high aesthetic values. Apart from propaganda elements, in which the Other was seen as the class enemy, the subjects of everyday life prevailed. Today they provide an example of documenting Poland and Polish daily life in the 1940s–1950s. Their subject matter covered a young and joyous country in 1957, Poland's ethnic and religious diversity, urban streets and balls, Warsaw's bars and theatres. Foreign subjects also appeared, including Chinese landscapes and the revolution, exotic India, the history of Leningrad, a traditional Egyptian wedding reception, and animals in Sudan.

Similar topics could be found in another illustrated weekly, *Przekrój*, beside Polish motifs, everyday life practices, and images from around the world. In 1956 (Fig. 10) the weekly published a report from "our own correspondent" from Brazil, about a stay of a Pole, Zygmunt Sulistrowski, among wild Camayurá Indians (which means the 'Tribe of the Sun').

The aim of the weeklies was to present people and society that had already recovered from the horrors of war, that were focused on the future, that were developing and open to the world, and that even participated in the world's research on equal terms. In accordance with the attitude stating that life took place and played out within interpersonal relations, cheerfulness prevailed in these representations; there was a lack of images of destruction and problems and the recipient received scenes wherein a human being with the recipient's own aspirations and hopes took centre stage. Such an effect was achieved mostly through what was *not* shown. The pictures appear to be true yet are superficial, not penetrating what is hidden behind the façade; the weeklies were making imagery characteristic of the 1950s and later.

Boundaries in the photographs from around the world were practically invisible. They can be seen only in the case of such representations as the photo in Figure 10, in which the differentiating criterion is the civilization. The Indians from Brazil were shown in a classic manner—as lower beings—from the perspective of their culture's development. The pictures of the world had a positive character and they were reduced to stressing the difference, presenting these people as living outside our own community. We doubt whether these pictures were consistent with the everyday experience of the people because of the reality of the Cold War and its consequences living in a closed society with images of the external world, controlled by the authorities.

Both weeklies, *Świat* and *Przekrój*, maintained a high artistic level, and the audience treated both these magazines as the "prettier" picture of "our" reality of

the time. Such a type of mediation[21] by the illustrated weeklies may be called a window onto the world, broadening our vision and enabling us to learn about what is happening outside, or a kaleidoscope, showing the world as a colourful mosaic of events yet forming patterns that were not entirely organized or understandable. We were to be convinced of the truthfulness of these accounts thanks to their professionalism, and the sense of reality was realized owing to the high artistic quality and the good quality of the essays; professionalism and a highly aesthetic finish were strategies. The magazines had a cognitive character without explicit ideological—that is, political—influence. They mostly reflected the vision of the world close to the humanist values stressed by postwar European elites.

Hostile Other World (1960s)

Polish people were exposed to images, not through direct experiences but through photographs and screens, at an increasing rate. These images allowed them to see what they did not normally see. It turned out that a person could see more than just what was around him or her, but the vision was controlled by the authorities. Another example of this was the Vietnam War, presented in the Polish press[22] and also on television. Press images showed the Vietnamese guerrilla forces (Fig. 11), the victims—the death and cruelties inflicted by the Americans on Vietnamese soldiers (Fig. 13), women, children (Fig. 12), and the elderly—and situations in which Americans were taken prisoners (Fig. 14). Television images offered an impression of being physically present in the place. The Others were the Americans and their actions were presented in a radical manner. Their victims were soldiers but also, and mostly, women and children. The recipients believed these accounts as in those times they had no other source. Moreover, these materials were taken and viewed by the Americans themselves (the materials published by both sides were printed), yet the images were suitably selected thematically. In the Polish press they served to

[21] Here I use some metaphors presented by McQuail 1994 (quoted in Goban-Klas 2009: 116), however, in a modified version. A window onto the events and experiences of others, broadening the view of the world, recognition of what is happening outside without the influence of other people; a mirror—that is, an approach assuming a faithful reflection of events, with a possibility for a slight distortion. The direction and angle of the look is determined by the media administrators, which in a certain way frame the field of vision and, consequently, cut off a part of the picture of reality; a filter, that is a selective approach, which focuses the attention and offers a close-up on certain events while closing off access to the images of other events; a signpost—that is, an approach of a guide indicating a picture yet interpreting it, imposing a sense onto events which without the guide would be fragmentary and incomprehensible; a forum or a stage, that is, a presentation of ideas and information, frequently giving an opportunity for public debate; a screen or barrier—that is, an approach pointing to the fact that media separate us from reality, providing by way of entertainment a false picture of reality (propaganda) or a picture that is unconnected to it (entertainment); a kaleidoscope—that is, an approach presenting the world as a colorful mosaic of events, forming only partly organized or comprehensible patterns.

[22] *Trybuna Robotnicza* ('Workers Tribune' 1965–1966), *Dziennik Bałtycki* ('Baltic Daily' 1965–1973), *Gazeta Kujawska* ('Kuyavian Newspaper' 1960–1966).

confirm the crimes and atrocities committed by the enemy of socialism. In every photograph the boundary was clearly marked, the roles were very obviously divided; no one could have any doubts. The war was presented from the point of view of its participants—victims and murderers. Emphasis on the scenes of brutality and cruelty served to generate a sense of authenticity of the images often experienced and perceived by the victims of the Vietnam War. Some photographs caused a stir. Shown in the form of television scenes they had an even stronger emotional influence and reinforced the effect of terror and the real. The remote war was present in everyday life in this form; the same fragments were pictured by a variety of media (photographs, television, cinema). Sontag had already written that contemporary wars are the pictures and sounds in our living rooms (2010: 26).

The differences visible in these photographs could not go unnoticed. Sharp boundaries were drawn; no one had any doubts as to who was a friend and who was an enemy. However, all of this was happening far away, so there was no sense of an immediate threat. The threat in these multimedial representations and photos is visible but it does not concern us immediately. It was an everyday picture in the living room. The messages from the Polish press and television were the documentation of the strategy of presenting the enemies and the war they were fighting far away. As it did not concern us, it could be treated as the first message of mediated reality that appeared in our homes.

Such types of visual materials, with appropriate reports and interpretations, ought to be treated as a signpost—that is, an approach of a guide who points at the picture but also interprets it, imposes the meaning of the events which without him would be fragmentary and incomprehensible. Sontag wrote that the photographs that cause our greatest dismay when it turns out that they had been posed are those that are supposed to present the most intimate moments—culminating points related mostly to love and death (2010: 68). A distant war does not move us, access to events is limited only by governmental control. The war is served in pictures. This is not how we show our own dead.

In the examples mentioned above, the Other is either visible in the photograph (an exotic Indian from Brazil, a Chinese peasant, an America soldier) or remains outside the frame. In this second case, they are the enemies of socialism, opponents of the "people's government", the so-called Ukrainian bands. On the one hand, the sense of authenticity of the pictures could have been achieved due to the professionalism of the photographs from *Świat*, from *Przekrój*, and from other reliable illustrated weeklies, while on the other hand they provided a sensory perception of the victims of the Vietnam War.

Are these representations credible? First of all, they were presented as the world having no impact on us and our locality. The interdependence was concealed. What they have in common is processing (converting) complex content into an uncomplicated communiqué. All of the images contained a certain given message. The manner of its creation points to the goal and strategies for its achievement.

The faith in the transparent, documentary character of photography had become shaken in the 1920s. Television images of the Vietnam War restored this faith for some time. The examples provided here confirm the existence of the author, in the sense of the one who frames the message and the recipient, the given forms of mediatization; but also they show a different type of circulation of images and discourse (the press, commemorative albums, television viewers).

The examples presented above are solely photographic, but what differentiates them is the intention and the recipient. In this context we can say that all innovations are always a product of a certain specific environment, place, and time, and they reach us already loaded with myths and representations. The albums presented to party secretaries, the photographs of general Świerczewski, the contemporary illustrated weeklies such as *Przekrój* and press accounts of the Vietnam War were also products of their times and places; they were created in a specific environment; offering information, they provide constructed knowledge on the subject of the values of the social groups within which they function.

Medial Images as a New Way of Experiencing Reality

The aim of this chapter is to present the changes that took place in the manner of presenting difference in the Polish media in the period between the 1940s and the 1960s. It is possible to observe two separate motifs—the use of the criterion of difference in the context of creating a community and the emergence of a new medial reality. Emphasising the difference gained significance in the period when the community was becoming important, since the existence of a community provides an opportunity for impact (Goban-Klas 2009: 75), and reinforcement of a community was accompanied by a strong position of the media, with the dominant roles of communicator, sender, information, and message creator.

On the basis of the material described here, it is possible to state that the category of difference organizes the picture of reality in accordance with the rules of evaluation and judgment of the authors, who realize their own specific goals. And the medium refers both to the term describing technological media and to their functions—that is, to the method of recording and storing data. In each case they have similar aims, related to the transmission of a certain type of data. Sports parades, solemn oaths, celebrations, rituals that resemble those through which new territories are incorporated, defence of a new order, revival of peaceful everyday life, interest in the outside world—these relations do not exist simply by themselves, they are created as a result of configuration and transmission of individual elements and media. The relations between content and new media, gaining increased significance with the passage of time, lead to the continuous creation of different forms of representation. One gets the impression that in the period under discussion there occurred a slow transition from a more sensory and personal perception of the world (by people having some reference to the war they experienced directly) towards experiencing the reality through the images produced by the media (e.g. of

the Vietnam War). It is reflected in the examples of the new strategies of perceiving of phenomena.

Dorota Sajewska refers to this when she writes about a representation from 1913: "transfer of the centre of gravity from the artifact to the act of reception, from the representation to a social performance" (2012: 24). According to her it is better not to speak about the media but about mediality—that is, certain structures through which media create, transmit, and communicate facts (Ibid.: 54).

In this sense, the nature of mediality is perceived as a way of existing, perceiving, and exploring the world—as a type of construction that perpetuates or undermines the type of reality in which we live. This assumes the existence of various levels of reality and, what is more, a basic distinction between ideological and practical reality.

We are observing the beginnings of an era of medial reality's acceleration in the area of the world's perception and understanding. The new reality not only suggests the subjects but also the form—a next model steered and controlled by the contemporary norm. What does not fit is eliminated, simplified messages are created out of complex events, and content takes place.

According to Jonathan Sterne (2003),[23] the key to an appropriate reception is the role of a mediator. The image and the message create an impression of authenticity if, on the one hand, in the centre there is a direct witness of these events who in one way or another relates what happened or, on the other hand, a vanishing mediator who is a convincing attempt to draw the spectator into the image of the reality.

The 1960s and the accounts of the Vietnam War changed the view on the media and finally confirmed the gap between the picture and the reality. The question arises as to how to maintain the to-date sense of professionalism and practical agency in the face of numerous variables and randomness. This is not yet a question in the 1960s, but it begins to fit in the 1970s and the 1980s. Institutional influences on the medial effect and product were already understood before that time. Immediacy does not exist prior to but, rather, is a product of mediation. Immediacy was related to a growing role of the receiver as an active agent after the year 1970 in Western countries.

The diversity of war accounts gradually confirmed the receivers' conviction that media became a tool and served a specific strategy. The appearance of new media causes a crisis and destabilization of the to-date forms of representation and mediation. The birth of television gave rise to a conviction about participation, immediacy, a faith in what was being seen. Television and belief in it was an answer to static images, verbal press accounts, unsatisfactory forms of mediatization. Such a strategy brings about an impression of the "real presence" of an emerging global community.

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[23] A vanishing mediator, a medium that erases its own traces and interferences (Sterne 2003 quoted in Eisenlohr 2011b: 47).

Initially there was no awareness that the authors of messages, photojournalists and journalists, deployed "strategies of immediation" through which they attempt to deal with their work environment experienced both in terms of praxeological agentive subjectivity [and] ruled by systemic constraints imposed by media technology. Slowly, a conviction was formed that what they do becomes part of the process of generating new cultural and political forms, as well as the kinds of changes they bring about. It was accompanied by enthusiastic expectations about the effects of new media technologies, such new media technologies are then the concretization of desires for more efficient, more "direct" forms of interaction as well as social and political arrangements reformed accordingly (Eisenlohr 2011a: 3).

What did the shift towards experiencing the reality through pictures produced by the media in the years 1940–1970 consist in? During the period of the Cold War and the lack of open contact with the outside world, awareness of ideological mediatization of the image was growing. The images of postwar reality—on the one hand, the internal one; on the other hand, of the external world—mediatized by the contemporary media (photographs) with a differing reach (daily press, radio, described examples of albums offered to party secretaries, illustrated weeklies)—formed one of the sources of experience. The fission of the pictures of reality, more or less strongly sensed, lay at the root of a reflection of whether today we are capable of experiencing the reality only through its derivative processing. It was reinforced by the pictures of reality of the late 1950s and the 1960s mediatized by television and newsreels but also by the images of the Vietnam War discussed above. In Poland and in other eastern European countries, this impression was formed as a result of the interaction of mostly ideological practices, written into the use of available technologies and material means.

A direct bodily experience gives in to the medial images that, together with the appearance of television, entered people's lives in a more decisive manner. The world begins to be formed by a processed image, and soon the majority of our experiences will come from mediatized images; our physical presence will be replaced by the medium that exposes the body to the public view. The receiver has an impression of touching on the authentic events. This is a sign that we are approaching a moment when the images produced by the media become a basic way of experiencing the reality in which events become virtual, anonymous, and separated from our sensory perception.

Changes in the notion of the real are realized through the transmission of given messages and meanings but also through formal strategies of perception. Multimedia provides the receivers with an opportunity to expose the essence of individual media, when this theme appears in various media. Recognition of the mechanisms by which media influence our ways of perceiving and exploring the world allows us to free ourselves from the threats resulting from the deforming of reality, allows us to recognize the configurations of the media that have a potential impact on the ways in which reality is perceived and explored, and allows us to differentiate

among ideological or emancipatory aspirations forming the base of influence of the media within whose reach we live.

To summarize this chapter, let me revisit the words of Jacques Derrida: "Origin of the experience of space and time, this writing of difference, this fabric of the trace, permits the difference between space and time to be articulated, to appear as such, in the unity of an experience (of a "same" lived out of a "same" body proper [*corps proper*])" (1997: 66). Adapting this idea to visual issues led us to the following conclusion. All the visual material presented here as showing opposite sides—the nature of dividing lines, the distance between the observer and the observed, the medium itself, strategies of immediacy, and the level of production of the real consequently can be brought into assumption that of all of them depict the visual maps of relationship between the parts. According with this way of thinking, the visual data reflect the creation of the new forms of visuality as a kind of play of difference characteristic to Poland. In contrast to the previous years, the number of images (including the number of images never experienced directly) increased, the types of media multiplied, and the space occupied by the images enlarged. It resulted in a process of constructing identity increasingly by means of images.

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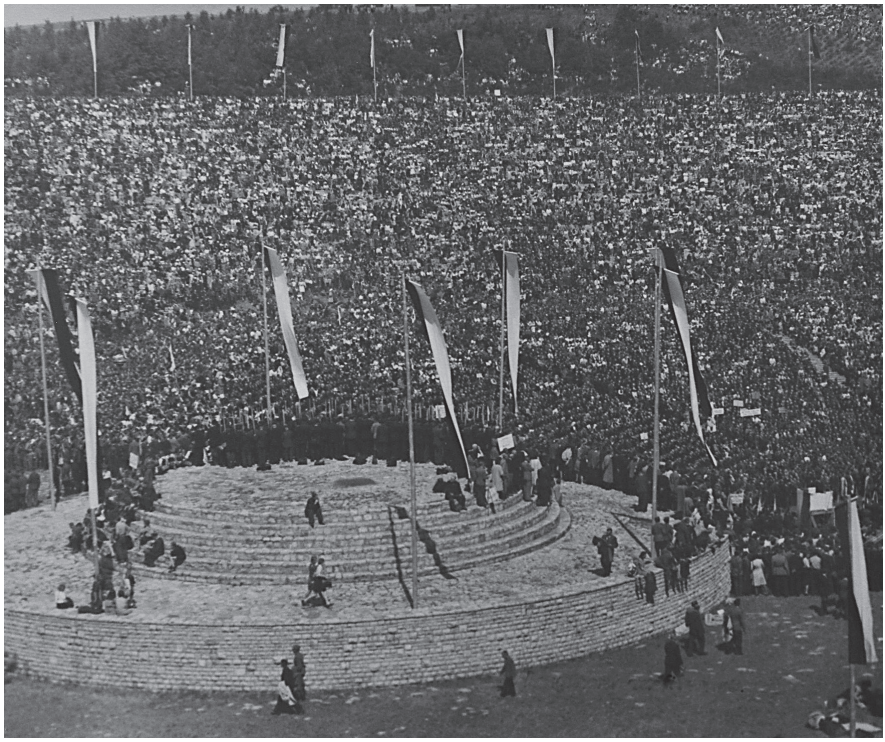

The album for the comrade Bolesław Bierut, president of the Government of National Unity to commemorate the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Silesian Insurgent's Action in Góra Świętej Anny, where 300,000 people testified to the entire world the Polishness and unbreakable link of the Regained Territories to the Polish Republic. The chairman of the main board of the Association of Veterans of Silesian Uprisings, col. Jerzy Ziętek, vice-voivode of Śląsko-Dąbrowskie Voivodeship, 1946, May 19.
Photo of a fragment of the amphitheatre. Author unknown.
1 Museum of Independence in Warsaw.

An illustration from the album dedicated to the president of the Polish People's Republic, comrade Bolesław Bierut, to commemorate the visit to the ancient lands of the Piasts.
1946, April 13–14. Author unknown.
Museum of Independence in Warsaw. 2

A page from the album dedicated to the president of the Polish People's Republic, comrade Bolesław Bierut, to commemorate the visit to the ancient lands of the Piasts. 1946, April 13–14. Author unknown.

3 Museum of Independence in Warsaw.

President Bolesław Bierut
The album "National Youth ZWM Meeting", Warszawa, 1946, July 21–22. Author unknown.
Museum of Independence in Warsaw. 4

5 **General Karol Świerczewski after giving the Crosses of Valour to the parents of the fallen soldier in the fight against gangs.**
1947. Inv. no. F-3904. Author unknown.
Museum of Independence in Warsaw.

Transportation Soldier
Soldiers taking care of the children whose parents have been murdered by the UPA bands.
1947, November. Inv. no. F-4334. Author unknown.
Museum of Independence in Warsaw. 6

Parade on the Constitution Square
Young people, set in the form of a star, carrying a portrait of Joseph Stalin.
The album "The Rally of Young Leaders", Warszawa, 1952, July 20–22. Author unknown.
7 Museum of Independence in Warsaw.

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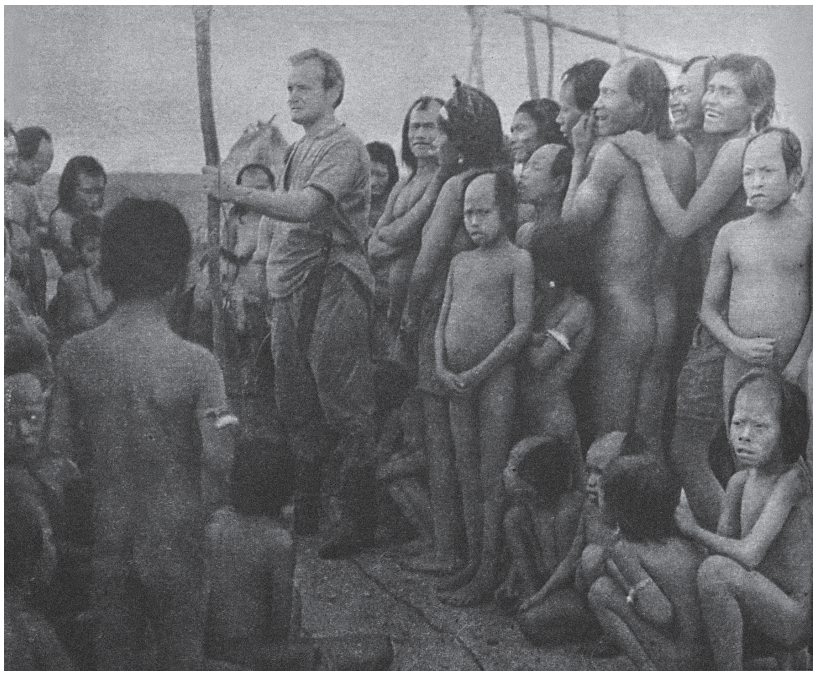
Parade on Constitution Square. Children of Płock with musical instruments.
The album "The Rally of Young Leaders", Warszawa, 1952, July 20–22. Author unknown.

Helping to get education for young workers and peasants, future Polish intelligentsia.
The album "National Youth ZWM Meeting", Warszawa, 1946, July 21–22. Author unknown.
9 Museum of Independence in Warsaw.



60

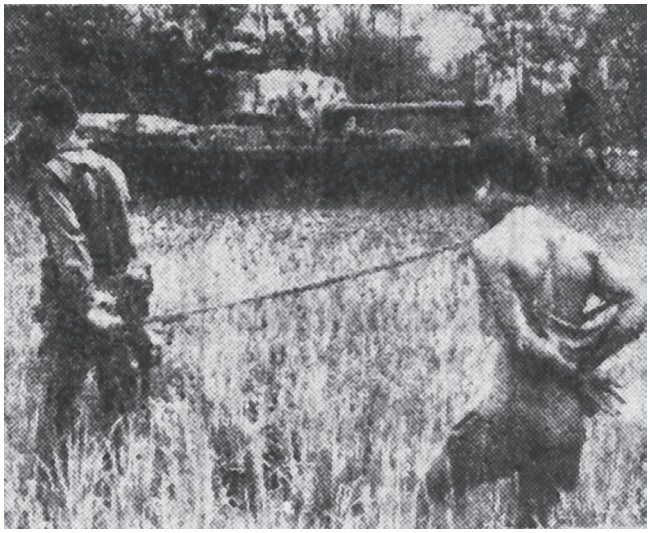
A report of a stay of a Pole, Zygmunt Sulistrowski, among wild Camayurá ('Tribe of the Sun') Indians in Brazil.
Przekrój, 1956. Author unknown.

11 **The guerrilla soldiers prepare for an attack in the province of Kien Tuong south of Saigon.** *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1969, April 8, no. 82, p. 1. CAF–VNA.

62

Saigon army soldiers interrogating at gunpoint a young boy, who is suspected of collaborating with the guerrillas.
Dziennik Bałtycki, 1968, December 15–16, no. 298, p. 1. CAF–VNA. 12

13 **A US Marine leading a tied-up Vietnamese prisoner, captured during the operation conducted in the area of Da Nang, to bring him in for questioning.**
Dziennik Bałtycki, 1967, September 22, no. 224, p. 1. CAF–Telephoto.



14 **Lieutenant Gerald Santo Venanzi captured after shooting down another American aircraft.**
Dziennik Bałtycki, 1967, September 21, no. 223, p. 1. CAF–Telephoto.

Zbigniew Libera, Magdalena Sztandara

Ethnographers' Self-Depiction in the Photographs from the Field. The Example of Post-War Ethnology in Poland

Artistic Decision and Its Possible Consequences

In 2014, in the Ethnographic Museum in Cracow, an American curator and photographer, Aaron Schumann, designed a rather unusual exhibition entitled "Folk. Personal Ethnography". Its unusual character concerned several issues and the most important was a personal opportunity to explore his Polish origins. He focused on "searching", or rather "researching", his own connections and relationships to southern Poland via a collection of traditional customs, culture, materials, and objects of the Ethnographic Museum and conversations with curators and archivists. Therefore, leading his personal investigation, he was interested in "exploring the museum's collection itself" and also in answering the question of how "ethnography itself is researched, preserved, and represented by the museum".[1] It is worth noting that in the process of investigating both his private story and the museum seen as a space and idea of collecting, organizing, and giving meaning to objects from the past, Schumann's practices resemble those ethnographers in the field. It is particularly visible when he gradually starts to be interested in the smallest details and he is drawn to people and their stories, artefacts, objects, and images collected in this peculiar "field". The outcome of his "searching" and "researching" was the exhibition that incorporated the photographs, old storage boxes, catalogues, handwritten notes, labels, and catalogue cards discovered in the ethnographic museum and some original artefacts from his "Polish homeland". One of the most interesting of Schumann's curatorial decisions was the use of black-and-white-photographs, which might be perceived as snapshots taken during the fieldwork that documents ethnographers and their "job". Thus, the visitors could see the photographs from the 1950s, sixties, and seventies that revealed the "behind the scenes" action of ethnographic fieldwork. There are scenes, in which a researcher takes photos of young women dressed in folk costumes against the wall of an old hut; in which a researcher with great physical effort takes a photo of an old chapel; and in which an ethnographer, sitting on the threshold of a hut, is "dressed up" as a traveller exploring the "wild lands"—wearing a hat and a khaki vest, with a camera slung over the shoulder—and recording in a notebook the story of an old lady who sits next to

[1] Fragments of personal correspondents of Aaron Schuman and Ethnographic Museum in Cracow posted at Aaron Schuman's website: aaron.schuman.com (last accessed on: November 11, 2015).

him. These scenes are not the scenes that we usually see or that as anthropologists we show to others after returning from an ethnographic exploration. Neither do they appear in the books or in the articles written by the ethnographers.

Browsing through the archives of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology in Cracow (formerly the Chair of Ethnography of South Slavs), one might find such small-format black-and-white photos, not of the best technical quality with hard-to-read handwritten notes on the back, hidden in small storage boxes. Although many years have passed since they were taken (most of them date from the middle of the last century) their status of being a source of knowledge and archival material was complex and not entirely clear.[2] Even now their cataloguing has become somewhat confusing.

The first recognition may therefore be that those photographs showing ethnographers in the field reveal something that should be invisible: researcher's scientific approach and work, specific experience being with/encountering the Others, and finally voyeurism and subsequent stages of the research investigation. For a long time the ethnographers' work in the field was based on myth and an assumption that there was no ethnographer in the field, in the sense of the lack of impact on the community. Anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes claims that this kind of perception was based on the illusion that an ethnographer is "an invisible and permeable screen through which pure data, facts, could be objectively filtered and recorded" (Scheper-Hughes 1992: 23). The "unclear" procedures in the process of acquiring anthropological knowledge by an ethnographer from the beginning of fieldwork to the writing of a scientific text continues to be "unspoken" even today (cf. Buliński & Kairski 2013).

In his artistic action, Schumann attempts to speak about the "unspoken", by displaying such photographs in the framework of the project entitled "Folk. Personal Ethnography". It means that somehow he locates them in the sphere of commemorative or private photography. His curatorial decision may also be useful for a visual anthropologist nowadays who attempts to analyse photographic materials created by ethnographers in the field. The clue may be that the photographs, certainly those presenting a group of ethnographers against the truck transporting them in the field everyday but also the ones that present the ethnographers during their fieldwork (drawing, taking photos, interviewing local people), may have at the same time the status of private and public photography. On the one hand, they could be created as a testimony of being in the field, on the other hand, as a private memorial. These photographic presentations seem to operate at the junction of public and private collections and might be related to the issue of the social

[2] For example, in a report about the archive of the Chair of Ethnography of South Slavs from the 1965 by Barbara Olszowy, illustration material was included only in one section and concerned merely material culture. The snapshots depicting researchers in the field are not mentioned in the volume at all (see Olszowy 1965).

biography of things (cf. Kubica 2013). Therefore, they should be understood in the context of photographs' creation, usage, meaning, and also the "crossing from one categorical domain into another, or from one set of material relations into another" (Banks & Vokes 2010: 339). Thus perhaps it is worth problematising the issue of the presence of this type of photography—especially photographic self-portraits of ethnographers—also in the context of their archival function. Consequently, even the method of archiving, using or presenting (excluding, forgetting, or making present) becomes important. As Marcus Banks and Richard Vokes argue, "The transit of an image between the private and public (and vice versa) has the potential to rework the meanings which are attached to it" (Ibid.: 340). Therefore, the meaning of these photographs from the field with ethnographers in the background can change depending on the photograph's assignment to a particular collection, ways of usage, and contexts in which they are used.

Photographs from the 1950s, sixties, and seventies presenting ethnographers during their fieldwork, found and deposited in the archives of Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, have begun to live a second life and might be analytically examined. Looking at the photographs from today's perspective allows us to treat them as something more than just "stubborn", silent images or aesthetic pictures from the last century. What is more, they take the form of a peculiar photo-narrative and perhaps even the specific album of the ethnographers in the field (see chapter "Album of the ethnographers in the field"). To put it simply, we can treat those individual photographs as a rich repository, specific collection of similar works that have some "story to tell". And as it seems, this photo-narrative may have multiple threads. First of all, a careful analysis of those images indicates that we can treat ethnography as a field of study in which it is worth trying to expose the problem of anthropological knowledge as a construct and as a product of ethnographers. Next we will look at them in the context of their "formation and production", the types of interference in their content, which determines the different forms of presentation and social biographies and places them into specific sociocultural discourses (Edwards & Hart 2004).

The idea of taking photos and creating an album of "being there" reveals some important clues and provokes some important questions worth considering. The issue of the self-depiction of ethnographers is also interesting and allows us to relate these images not only to the category of authority but also to "being" a witness of the working methods and encounters. What do they tell us about ethnographers in the field, about the ethnographic authority and ways of "being there"? What do they tell about the self-depiction of the ethnographers at the moment of being photographed? After all it is well known that ethnographic gaze is not innocent, just as photographs from the field are not innocent (Clifford 1988). Following Elizabeth Edwards' idea (1997) that photography *speaks* about the culture, experiences, and beliefs of people, however not at the level of superficial description but as a visual metaphor, combining what is visible and invisible, it is worth paying

attention to the issues of implication of the medium in the multilevel and multifaceted process of recognition and relationships. Sol Worth (1981) has already pointed out that one should distinguish between photography as a "record about the culture" and photography as a "record of culture". Through which category can one describe the photographs presenting ethnographic work in the field? Are they a record "about culture" or rather a "record of culture"? And last but not least, how one can "read" those photographs and how do they become "anthropological"? It might be useful to contextualise the analysis with written and published memoirs of ethnographers by Leszek Dzięgiel (1996) and Przemysław Burchard (1964), who participated in the fieldwork in those days. Their voices are important because they not only describe the purposes and daily life of the camps but also shed light on self-positioning of young researchers in situations of ethnographic fieldwork. Both of them also illustrate their stories with photographs depicting participants of the camps and their work.

The Phenomenon of Research Camps

Looking at those photographs it is difficult not to pay attention to the phenomenon of the research camps,[3] which were held in different parts of Poland since the beginning of the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century. At this point it is worth referring to the sociopolitical contexts in Poland and the period of communist "ideologization". The dominant feature of Polish ethnography during the communist regime was a huge emphasis on fieldwork, which was the result of the urge to document disappearing traditions. Therefore, one of the most important tasks was the documentation of perishing "traditional" folk culture (Burszta & Kopczyńska-Jaworska 1982). Focusing on research on traditional folk culture was consistent with existing interests of ethnography (which was "responding to the needs of the moment") and one of the accepted social tasks—appreciation of groups that did not fully participate in the life of the nation (Jasiewicz 2006). Thus, ethnography after 1945 has had a distinct political function as far as it was associated with influential ideologies. As a result of the documentation of traditional folk culture, where folk culture was treated as a survival form in earlier times, was to organize a large-scale research team's conducting massive field research carried out as part of the aforementioned research camps. Those times resulted in "ethnology losing its theoretical independence and its entire transformation into historical and (mainly) descriptive ethnography" (Jasiewicz & Slattery 1995: 193) with a particular emphasis on the study of material culture (Burszta & Kopczyńska-Jaworska 1982).

The first research camp was held in 1949 near Opoczno and in subsequent years the camp was extended to the areas of central and southern Poland. The offi-

[3] In contemporary Polish anthropology we no longer have to deal with this phenomenon called research camps. Commonly used to describe practices in which the students are participating is the concept of research practice, or fieldwork exercises.

cial organizer of these research projects was the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (or PAN, established, respectively, in 1953 and 1951) and its branch in Cracow (Jasiewicz & Slattery 1995). The field research was led by Roman Reinfuss, who according to Przemysław Burchard had "a lot of energy and creativity and sense of organization" (Burchard 1964: 18). These projects described by their participants as "research events" (Ibid.) were characterized by intensity, massive scale, and versatility. It is worth mentioning that a large group of young researchers came to the selected "headquarters" in the village and they included students of ethnology, art, and architecture and besides them the photographer, driver, a cook, and tutors.[4] Usually research camps lasted a month and had a specific rhythm and regular schedule. According to the recollections of Burchard and Dzięgiel: "one day we spent in the field, next one at the 'base' handling the data" (Burchard 1964: 16); "from dawn till dusk we wrote reports from our observations and interviews" (Dzięgiel 1996: 225). On the very first day, each of the young ethnographers was assigned a specific topic to research. Most often it was folk architecture, folk art in general, weaving, clothing, and various crafts (carpentry or pottery) and a wide range of material culture. At the same time, drafters and photographers, who basically worked for various ethnographers were supposed to document these items and artefacts in a fast and professional way (cf. Burchard 1964).

It seems that there were two purposes of the ethnographic camps taking place in the second half of the last century, which encompassed three concepts: sentiment, authenticity, salvage. The first purpose was preserving the observed and audible facts from the traditional culture and enriching the ethnographic archive. The second was directly connected with preserving the "authenticity" of culture and making the field research into something particularly important and salutary. The necessity of rapid and ground exploration focused primarily on material culture could be reduced to what George Marcus described as a mode of "salvage ethnography". In this model, the ethnographer takes the role of the one who is able, despite the fundamental change, "to salvage a cultural state on the verge of transformation" (Marcus 1986: 165). The guides and mentors (in particular Roman Reinfuss) of young ethnographers in the field quite persuasively, as it seems, explained the need for this type of research. He emphasized inter alia, that procession of urban civilization displaces, destroys and causes the decline of traditional folk culture (Burchard 1964).

The answer for the coming threat was a quick but thorough grounding search of traditional artefacts in order to save and rescue them from destruction.

One can guess that each of the camps brought huge "yields": thousands of pages of interviews and thousands of drawings, plans, sketches, and photographs. However it is difficult to forget that the supposed mass scale and speed of conducting

[4] Camp in 1952 in two-week batches counted 88 participants and every two days 4 trucks left the base.

research did not really allow, and even ruled out, a long-term "art" of participant observation. A short period of time for the interviews and the difficulty in reaching the key informants in the field, who would have the time and willingness to provide explanations, meant that the studies would be rather sketchy. The momentum and scale prevailed over in the in-depth research and its quality was pointed out by the participants of the camps in the following words:

> The methods of obtaining the scientific information were sometimes far from the ideals, plotted by the cabinet methodologists. Piecemeal campaigns, attempting to cover the greatest areas of post-war Polish … gave a result of an incomplete picture of the culture, sometimes even chaotic (Dzięgiel 1996: 235).

Rescuing was synonymous with the searching, day after day, for valuable products of folk culture (respectively old), questioning, describing, sketching, and photographing. However, apart from the photographs of artefacts and ethnic types, there are photographs depicting ethnographers themselves. Records of days spent in the "base" appear on photos less frequently (with the exception of those presenting large trucks stuffed with the participants of the camp) giving place to the documentation related to research tasks, being in the field and its exploration. Thus, some of the photos prove—probably not quite intentionally—the ways of seeing, being, moving, and behaving of researchers in the field. Those photographs could be an interpretation of the moment of encounter in a particular cultural reality.

It is difficult to conceal the impression that the scientific and ethnographic works from those times strongly reveal the research program and, moreover, that the fieldwork was conducted under rigorous conditions. Thus, a fairly accurate inventory, contact with objects of material culture in the field and as much information as possible obtained from the informants was assumed in the framework of the research program.

A condition of the "proper" registration "fragments of the former provincial realities and the traditional colouration" (Dzięgiel 1996: 223) was to find and conduct interviews with aged women and men, the oldest people who could be found, those "who remember". Reaching the oldest interviewees was a necessary condition that is confirmed also in photographs of the "scenery of interview" which include only the old people while the young people are mainly spectators. Moving beyond the illustrations of those pictures one could consider them as symbolic images of a certain era.

Photography as a "Record of Culture"

When one thinks about archival ethnographic photographs from the field, one might think also about a few types of images (Griffith 2002; Kubica 2013). The first type is related to the nineteenth-century programs of anthropometric photographs, which depicted subjects as representatives' types. The second type consists

of arranged scenes depicting the daily life of the people surveyed. Photographic postcards made in the studio and "produce" strongly categorized and idealized presentations constitute the third type. Due to the very obvious fact of illustration in photography, there is no mentioning of the documentation of artefacts. On this level, the "photograph was an *aide-mémoire* to the scientist, equal to his pencil, notebook, or typewriter" (Worth 1981: 194) and using a camera in the field provided a visual supplement to the description. However, images that represent ethnographers themselves, especially in the field, such as in meeting and talking with the "locals" or even writing, are very rarely or not at all mentioned. At the same time, these types of images are well known in the cases of Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and Bronisław Malinowski. Generally, we are used to dealing with the photographs in which the researcher is asking questions from the "natives", posing with the natives, or playing with children. Following James Clifford (cf. 1988), one may argue that we became used to the classical reference discourse in pictorial editions. It is also difficult not to remember that assumptions about invisibility and objectivity needed to be challenged after Bronisław Malinowski's "program" of participant observation and recognition that the anthropologist's presence in the field served as a filter of information (cf. Kaplan 2002). Despite that fact, photos that showed the process and practices of collecting data in the field were not included in published monographs. The problematic status of these photographs can have many reasons. One of them could be the potential openness of images to the plurality of meanings attributed to them, which can be considered both as their strength and weakness.

Making photographic records in the field in the 1950s and 1960s in research camps had a lot to do with early contributions to the visual anthropology of Gregory Beatson and Margaret Mead and, in particular, in her positivist faith in the truth of an image. According to Sol Worth (1981: 18), these ethnographers used visual materials from the field as "illustrations to accompany verbal accounts or as 'evidence' uncritically accepted as objective records of objects and events". Initially photography presented the facts about which there could be no doubt. The dominant paradigm was a scientific and realistic one in which the most important aspect was the objectification and generalization. Photos representing researchers in a particular situation in the field imply that the ethnographers themselves are the evidence, which validates their "being there" (Geertz 1988). In other words, the photographs may be considered as a proof of participant observation, sometimes painstaking and hard ethnographic work, and encounters with the Other, which since Malinowski has become a hallmark of contemporary ethnography. However, one may try to move beyond this simple decoding and look at it from a slightly different perspective. In other words, as suggested by Grażyna Kubica (2013: 61), one may try to "move away from dealing only with the issue of representation per se, in favour of [a] complex of discursive and political landscapes" in which

photography is seen as a product of certain historical presences, meetings, and ways of usage. Considering the metaphorical and rhetorical potency of image and its implication in various representational programs and discourses, one might raise a question about the testimony of ethnographers "doing fieldwork". It seems that they are something other than just a proof of the classical studies under the sign of participant observation.

At this point it may be helpful to recall the already mentioned difference between photography understood as a "record about culture" and as a "record of culture" (see Worth 1981). Assuming the existence of such a difference, one should also

> distinguish between using a medium and studying how a medium is used. In term[s] of the camera, the distinction I want to emphasize is that between the scientist's use of the camera as a tool to collect data about culture and studying how the camera is used by members of a culture (Worth 1981: 194).

This distinction is supposed to be the central one for the understanding of the work done with photography and its cognitive and communication functions. Taking photos for "recording about culture" is similar to collecting the snapshots, which could help us to remind what an artefact, house, or an informant looked like. Photos can also—when the camera portrays the same ethnographers at work—serve as souvenirs and a witnessing of intense and collective fieldwork. However, in that case they do not depict the culture that the research was about. We need to emphasize that it is not the photographs' representing ethnographers in the field that is important, but rather the fact that they have been captured in specific situations and are posed in particular ways. This can subsequently explain the ways of archiving and analysing the visual materials or the lack of it. On this level, as a "record of culture", the photography does not act anymore as an aide-memoire to the researcher but, as Worth suggested:

> In the hands of well-trained observers, it has become a tool for recording not the truth of what is out there, but the truth of what is in there, in the anthropologist's mind, as a trained observer puts observations of 'out there' on record (Worth 1981: 194).

That is the reason, as Sławomir Sikora underlines, that photography turns out to be more interesting as a "record of culture" (2012). It seems that we become increasingly aware that photography is not any longer a one-way registration, but a more subtle record of what is happening on both sides of the camera. To put it differently, there should be a tendency to treat the photography not as something we call the "truth", or "reality", but rather as evidence, which could be helpful to illustrate some patterns, to inform about them, or to use the photography to make

statements. In case of ethnographers' self-depiction in the photographs from the field, it is simultaneously about the truth of ideas (conventions) and the truth of events seen through those conventions that are an integral part of conducting ethnographic research in the field.

Ethnographer in the Field Viewed as an "Ethnographic Type"

The photos from the field seem to be addressing not only the moment of taking the photo but also the moment of being photographed—the moment of facing the camera in which the subject automatically adopts a pose and constructs a specific self-image or identity as in a family photo album.

One should also remember that ethnographers who hold the camera and take at a first glance somewhat informal pictures are also users of a particular culture. This implies that one standing on both sides of the camera cannot separate oneself from entanglement with a certain sophisticated presentation. Here we can see some similarity with so-called peasants photography from the first decades of the twentieth century. In this case, however, the main characters are mostly ethnographers and the elements of the scenery are the "natives", material objects, and the defined area understood broadly as a field. In the 1950s and sixties, due to the imposed mode of "salvage ethnography", the field in Polish ethnology was defined by folk and traditional culture in different regions from Podhale through Cracow, the Kielce region, Podlasie to the Warmia, and Mazury (Burchard 1964). Such prespecified scenery is essentially the same in all-visual representations of portraits from the field. Frequently, the photographed object is a researcher or group of researchers incorporated into the framework of the situation automatically recognized as the "field": they were captured interviewing aged people at the thresholds of the old houses, usually busily taking some notes or examining, as detectives, artefacts (also sketching them or taking photos) or at activities being carried out by the "natives". Photographs representing ethnographers and photographs of peasants (cf. Sulima 1992) remained in line with specific ideas and visions of the researchers on how each of them should look like in the field.

It might be argued that there is a certain cohesion of the composition whose purpose is to reach a more stable and recognizable image and sense of being ethnographer. The background—"local actors"—and ethnographers sitting close to the informants and performing activities (engagement, interest, and comprehension) confirms the norms and a standardized set of stereotypes about "being in the field". As Fulya Ertem remarks, "At the heart of the act of posing, lies the desire to appropriate one's image, to frame one's subjectivity in order to be looked at (and thus approved or constituted) by the social gaze" (Ertem 2006: 155). A notebook, pencil, camera, and specific costume are used as object-signs that not only are necessary for conducting a fieldwork but also distinguish researchers from the respondents. Portraits of ethnographers correspond to the image that they have of

themselves. Indeed, posing is an act of image creation, an act in which the subject attempts to project a particular self-image. Roland Barthes has also written about "performing our identity" in the moment of the pose:

> I constitute myself in the process of "posing". … In front of the lens, I am at the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am (Barthes 1993: 156).

One can assume that those photographic images are inscribed to a certain universalism and conventionalism of presentations. Researchers in front of the camera, by using their bodies, poses, props, and arrangement of background, reproduce all the essential elements of the model-based ideas about themselves. Following such perspective one may assume that there is a convergence in presenting the researchers on the photographs and the "ethnographic types". There is the "theatralization" of the background, compositions, and poses, and the ethnographers—just as their informants—are imagined according to their own and someone else's imagination.

Photographs that Have Some "Story to Tell"

As I mentioned before the collection of photographs from the fieldwork may be arranged in narration with some "story to tell". What does it mean that a photograph can be regarded as a text, or rather—as a photo-text? In the introduction to their book *Phototextualities: Intersection of Photography and Narrative*, Andrea Noble and Alex Hughes propose not to limit the reading of photography to preexisting verbal paradigms but rather to pay attention to "particularized forms of signification that the photographs evince; to the gamut of genres and modes of narrative practice with which photo-images intersect, as they work within 'photonarrative' constructions" (2003: 3–4). In fact, Noble and Hughes speak of the narratives that photographs contain, communicate and interact with, and of the intersection between photographs and their contexts. According to Marianna Michałowska (2012), assumption of researchers mentioned above can also refer to photographs that intentionally do not have a classical narrative form. These are the photographs that are either independent or belong to a series of images that reveal the ability of photography to replace language in narrative endeavours. Narrative approach enables us to identify the meanings of a specific image and to deconstruct the ideological background, in which a photograph is enmeshed. Therefore the meanings are not so much present *in the images* but rather, following Mieke Bal theory of narratology (2007), they *surround* the images.

In this context it would also be useful to recall the proposition of Terence Wright (2008), who mentioned three kinds of social practices connected with photography: looking "through", looking "on", and looking "behind" the picture. The first allows us to treat the image as a window or keyhole through which we can

see the reality. Here, the photographs do not represent reality—they *are reality* (see for examples: August Sander, FSA, Family of Man, or Zofia Rydet). In the next type of practice, that is looking "on", the photo is a medium of communication and it is synonymous with the interpretation. It leads to an understanding of the image and its meaning. The third type concerns photographs as reflections of the sociocultural contexts in which they were taken. However the photographs do not reflect here the materiality of the world but rather rules and cultural patterns; they reconstruct perceptions of reality by the people who have taken them. Hence, the question is: what can we see looking "through", "on", and "behind" the album of ethnographers from the field?

Looking "through" the photographs, one probably sees the same details that Aaron Schuman saw while preparing the exhibition—ethnographers at work. Dressed in modern clothing, equipped with notebooks, pencils, cameras, microphones, and recording equipment, they are driving around in trucks, observing and describing the artefacts of material culture. Researchers seem to follow the example of Malinowski: they talk with or, rather, interview the villagers standing in front of their houses, sitting on the stairs or a bench; they look, listen, write, draw, take photos, and even "fraternize" with the "natives". What is most important, as Schuman emphasises, is their devotion to and sacrifice for work:

> They are focusing all of their attention on the cultural customs, traditions, materials, origins, and so on that are receding into history; the traditional costumes, the horse-drawn carriages, the ancient, hand-crafted tools, technologies and art, and so on—they are preserving what may potentially be lost as contemporary modernity (from where they come) encroaches on these regions, cultures, and communities.

It may be argued that the ethnographers make commemorative photos during the expeditions by capturing their work in the field. However, one cannot consider these specific photographs without their functions and their cultural and institutional contexts. What then can one see by looking "on" and "behind" this photographic album of "being there"?

First of all, these photographs become representations of narrative sequences of ethnographers about themselves, kept according to romantic and realistic conventions. These conventions were strongly associated with a program of ethnography at that time (sentiment, authenticity, salvage). As can be seen in accounts from those years, some of the participants and organizers strongly and deeply believed in these ideas.

> In the face of new events and new reality, the distance between hitherto ignorant peasant and the University student have become blurred. …Finally, the

> common concern about building a new life became united in one thought of informant and questioner, participant and observer of contemporary transformations (Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa 1955: 227).

It can be assumed that the lessening of distance between the informant and the researcher should be visible in the photographs from the field, especially in those depicting the moments of the ethnographer's encounter and conversation with the residents of the "world investigated". Supposedly, the physical contact and conversation was a proof of "a sense of closeness". Moreover, according to Burchard's memoires, even the power relations have been balanced and the authority shifted:

> The real understanding of the process of change in traditional culture comes only through the fieldwork. Only then, the teachers become peasants themselves (Burchard 1964: 22).

However, the doubt remains. Group photographs, unnatural poses during conversations, distinctive clothes, and observation methods form a specific and particular photo album. The major assumption could be, despite the maintenances of the convention, that the presentations are slightly separated from the true reality—that nonphotographic one. Certainly one needs to agree that those photographs might evidence a somewhat colonial approach to Others. The balance of power and position in the pictures highlights the strong contrast between villagers and ethnographers. The moment of encounter with the Other has always its course, consequences, and interpretation (cf. Rabinow 1977).

Closer analysis reveals that researchers, especially young ones, are looking at villagers (as human examples) at work with the same laboratory curiosity as they are looking at some unique material objects. Human as subject becomes the object of study similar to an antique chest or an old traditional tool. Looking at the photos from the fieldwork brings to mind the idea of tourist gaze (Urry 2002). Additionally, ethnographers resemble "detectives", searching for and "hunting" for authenticity and exoticism. It could be a result of the approaches that promotes material culture. Thereby the history of each individual's life was valuable when it was told only through the narration of the objects. What is more, the conversation with "experts of objects" in the field was led according to a preexisting questionnaire, which did not allow the researchers to hear any other stories than those the objects related. Consequently the interviews (not conversations) aimed to "obtain" from the informants as much information as possible regarding a specified object, its history and usage. The fieldwork resembled rather a scenario in which uninvited and intrusive incomers harassed local people with questions such as, What is this object? How it was called? And the most important question, How old is it? One can only suspect that sometimes it was necessary to use some violence—in a sym-

bolic sense—to get informants to talk and make some effort to "dig deeper" into their memory (Hastrup 1995). Obviously, the relation between the ethnographer and the informant is always a relationship of power. However, in some cases it turns out to be more about "demanding the explanations".[5]

One can agree that the form of researchers' self-depiction is interesting and indicates the category of authority, which James Clifford called ethnographic authority. Such an authority strongly dominates in the situation of conducting interviews. "Fraternization" seems to be an element of ethnographic staging and play and related to ethnographic authority. The disposition of power in the photos highlights the strong contrast between villagers and researchers. The casual demeanour, and sometimes even nonchalance, of the researchers who are sitting comfortably with crossed legs, strongly contrasts with the rigid poses of informants. It is doubtful that we are dealing with moments of proximity and intimacy but with an obvious otherness. Such otherness is expressed also in the ethnographers' dress code. On the one hand, their appearance as "explorers" was intentional and according to Burchard and Dzięgiel raises trust in "ordinary people" and creates closeness and makes the contact easier. On the other hand, in particular situations the "urban" costume rather deepens the sense of distance, as is mentioned by Dzięgiel (1996: 231) in his honest statement about "visiting the village by the 'strange team' from the city".

Looking at these ethnographers' self-depictions, it is rather difficult to resist the impression that we are dealing with just another research task of merely collecting and documenting the "authenticity" of culture. The proximity and intimacy in the photographs is only constructed, since the material objects seem more important than the social reality itself.

Conclusion

Ethnographers photographing themselves in the field are involved in a visual game resulting in a frozen and othered image. These photographs reveal the moment of being photographed in which the object automatically adopts the pose and creates an artificial image of him- or herself. Posing may be regarded as an act of creating the image expected by the gaze of society. In a way these are theatrical situations, which provoke a reflection about a staged encounter with others; thereby the final product can be seen as a model of testimony of being in the field.

Certainly, scenes captured in the photographs are highly mythicized and form a unique *theatrum* that is incoherent with the research themes. As in Rabinow's

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[5] The idea of "demanding the explanations" comes from a master's thesis from the 1960s in which the author states, "The foundation of my plan was to explore one village in Świętokrzyskie mountains, especially to conduct quasi inventories of individual buildings, and to observe and demand the explanations". Unpublished manuscript, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University in Cracow; author: Maria Lechowska; title: *Czynniki wpływające na kształtowanie chałupy chłopskiej w Górach Świętokrzyskich w ciągu bieżącego wieku* ('The Factors Affecting Peasant Huts in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains During the Current Century').

metaphor of fieldwork, the ethnographic research is an arena of the social theatre, where the social boundaries are negotiated and established. However, the game between the ethnographer and the informant not only involves the negotiation and construction of authority but it also needs to be convincing for the viewers that they glance at the reality. As Burchard argues, the ethnographic research might be a game in which eloquence and psychological knowledge are considered to be important for both sides (Burchard 1964).

The photographs from the field are like headnotes, not only important for visual ethnographers but also ethnographic historians who conduct research in archives on alternative histories and politics of representation in anthropology. The photographs are truly an ethnographic source, particularly since they attempt to not only show other cultures but also ethnographers themselves.

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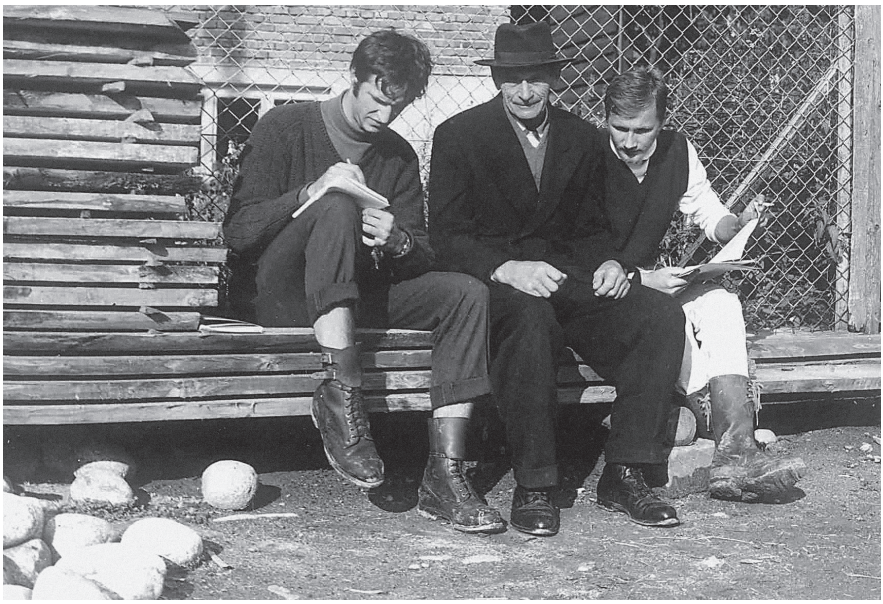
Wach, Kurpie, 1953
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. 2



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Pszczyńskie region, 1953
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. 4

Pszczyńskie region, 1953

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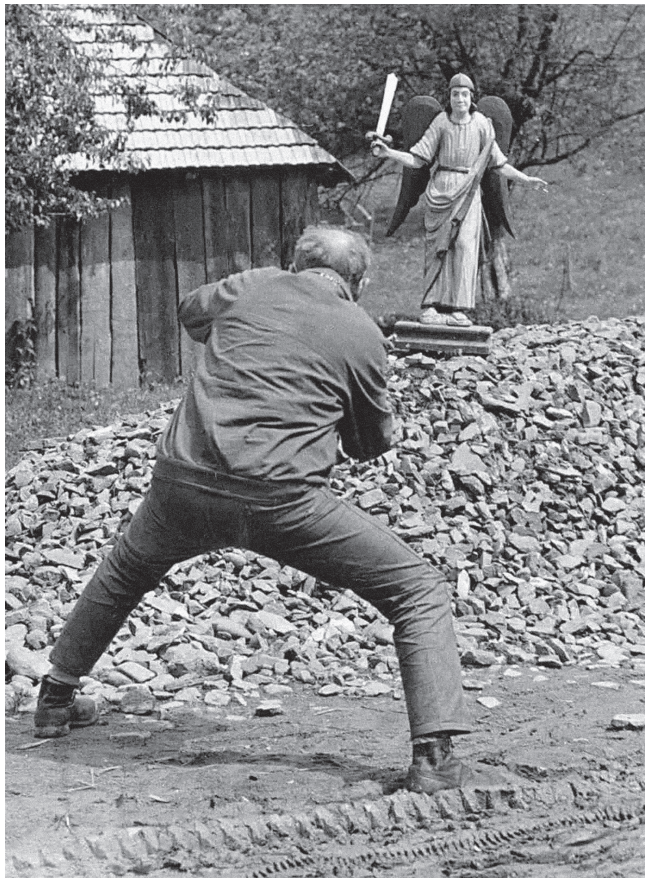
P. Burchard 1964. *Krok za rogatki* ('Step by Turnpike')
Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza. 6

P. Burchard 1964. *Krok za rogatki* ('Step by Turnpike')
7 Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza.

Ethnographic camp in Kozłówka, 1954
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

9 **Ethnographic camp in Kozłówka, 1954**
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



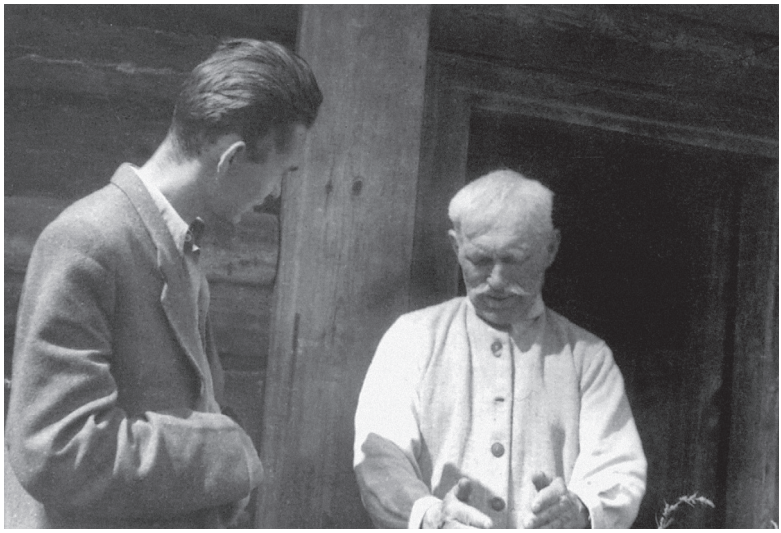
Konna, 1966
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. 10

Ethnographic camp in Głuchów

11 Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

Wach, Kurpie, 1953
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

13 **Kadzidło, Kurpie, 1953**
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



Kadzidło, Kurpie, 1953
14 Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

Ethnographic camp in Bachorza, 1952
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

16 **Ethnographic camp in Bachorza, 1952**
Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

Valentina Vaseva

The Other Dead—the Image of the "Immortal" Communist Leaders in Media Propaganda

The visual presentation of death and the celebratory funeral ceremonies in honour of the dead have been widespread in Bulgarian urban culture ever since the nineteenth century, but this tradition established itself and became a social norm in the first half of the twentieth century. At that time, all printed media began publishing detailed descriptions of the funerals of famous figures including descriptions of the images of the dead themselves that captured the moment of death. Initially, only portraits of the deceased in a black sable frame were used as illustrative material.

An exception here is the reburial (secondary burial) of the first Bulgarian prince Alexander Battenberg, elected after Bulgaria regained its independence from the Ottoman Empire, and the laying of his body in a mausoleum in 1898. The prince died on November 5, 1893, in Graz and his body was transferred to Bulgaria to be temporarily buried in the church of St. George in Sofia. Following a decision taken by the government after an architectural contest, held between 1895 and 1897, a mausoleum in which the prince was solemnly reburied was built (Stanchova 1991: 70; Tokin 2005: 20; Vaseva 2008: 89). On this occasion a few photographs of renowned photographer Dimitar A. Karastoyanov were published in the journal *Ilyustratsia svetlina* ('Illustration Light'), which was published between the 1890s and the 1930s. The journal published a large number of photographs that gave reliable information about the events and personalities of that time (Vetov 2015: 11).

In the early twentieth century the main sources of information were newspapers, which also published notices of the death of important figures along with detailed descriptions of the funeral ceremonies. A standard visual presentation of memorial events gradually developed; some of the newspapers made a special *vanshna zhaleyna forma* ('external mourning form'), the term of the period. The presentation included the following conventions: reports of death and obituaries were to be printed on the front page within a thick black frame with a cross displayed in front of the name of the deceased; in relation to the death, sometimes even painted or photographic portraits of the important figures were published. These are some of the rare cases of publication of human images, especially in the early twentieth century, when photography was still not popular because of the high costs involved. During the Balkan Wars, images of mourning processions and of the deceased laid in coffins of worship were starting to appear in the press. There are even many cases in which the entire front page is framed in black. This way of expressing grief was typical

for the newspapers of political parties when they reported the death of a head of the party. An example of this appeared in the newspaper *Mir* ('The World', an organ of the People's Party in Bulgaria) in which in 1901, after the death of party chairman Dr. Konstantin Stoilov, an announcement of Stoilov's death ran each day for 40 days (Vaseva 2008: 77–78; *Mir*, issue 962, May 1, 1901).

Photographic portraits of honoured deceased persons are also used as some funeral decoration elements of Bulgarian cities on the day of the funeral of an important figure. For example, at the funeral of the Bulgarian patriot and politician Zahari Stoyanov in Ruse in 1889, the municipal government of the city had erected a mourning arch (funeral triumphal arch). It was decorated with green boughs, flowers, black drapes, and a photographic portrait of the deceased (Vaseva 2006: 112; Vaseva 2008: 109; *Svoboda* ('Freedom'), issue 306, October 4, 1889). On the funeral day of Princess Marie-Louise in 1899, many shops and restaurants in Sofia arranged *traurni katove* ('mourning corners') in their display windows, where usually a painted or photographic portrait of the princess, framed by black draperies and flowers, were placed. Entomology professor Bahmetiev even framed the royal portrait with beautiful butterflies and insects (Vaseva 2006: 111; Vaseva 2008: 108; *Mir*, issue 635, January 20, 1899).

In the first half of the twentieth century in Bulgarian cities the tendency to seal and document the image of an important figure at the time of death was established. This visual "image of the deceased" is a way to pay tribute to the honoured deceased, to preserve their "guise" in time, and to project them as an example for future generations. Therefore, newspapers published detailed verbal descriptions of the bodies of the dead in coffins and the decoration of the rooms where the wakes were held. In addition, the features of the faces and bodies of the deceased while on their deathbed were captured by making plaster casts and sculpting posthumous carvings and busts and also by photographing the dead in their coffins. The body of the assassinated prime minister of Bulgaria Dimitar Petkov was photographed on his deathbed by courtier photographer Ivan Karastoyanov on February 27, 1907, and on March 1, 1907, the image was displayed in a small window on the street in front of Karastoyanov's studio. This attracted a large number of Sofia residents who came to see the photographs (*Dnevnik* ['Daily'], issue 1663, February 27, 1907). A teacher from the Sofia School of Arts made a plaster cast of the face of the late Bulgarian politician Dr Konstantin Stoilov, with the consent of his relatives (*Mir*, issue 948, March 24, 1901). A plaster mask was also made of the Bulgarian diplomat Dimitar Rizov, deceased in Berlin, by Berlin sculptor Martin Müller (*Dnevnik*, issue 5455, April 26, 1918; *Mir*, issue 5410, April 26, 1918). One of the teachers in the School of Arts in Sofia made posthumous wax bas-reliefs of the face of Princess Marie-Louise in 1899 (*Mir*, issue 636, January 23, 1899; Vaseva 2006: 106–107).

The urge to document in detail the funeral ceremonies of prominent personalities and the assessment of the visual arts as means of creating specific historical

documents are among the important reasons such innovations as the cinematograph were used to construct the "image of death". In 1915, at the funeral of Exarch Joseph I, for the first time in Bulgaria footage from the removal of a body by the court of the Holy Synod and the funeral procession to the St. Kral church, where the funeral service was held, was captured by a cinematographer (Vaseva 2006: 106; Constant 1991: 340; *Utro* ['Morning'], issue 1587, June 27, 1915).

By the 1920s, photography had permanently entered the life of Bulgarians, especially in cities, and photographic images began to occupy an increasingly important place in the visual presentation of funeral events, not only in the pages of the newspapers, which mainly documented the funerals of important figures, but also in the everyday life of ordinary Bulgarians who could afford to hire a photographer. At that time, images of funerals at which relatives are posing with the coffin and the deceased gained popularity. These group portraits were broadcast in villages and small towns and quickly entered the life of Bulgarians, even as a part of the funeral ritual itself. Such "mournful images" are evidence of the complex nature of photography and its significance in the process of converting verbal images into visual ones—funeral photos were the last attempt to save portraits of deceased members of the family so that the person could remain "known" (Gadjeva 2016).

After the establishment of the communist regime in Bulgaria, the existing urban traditions of building a bright image of the "other dead",[1] deceased individuals who had made special contributions to society, were being used as communist propaganda for political, moral, and aesthetic suggestions. The death of the first political leaders in the communist countries became an occasion to construct the image of the "immortal leader of the people". This concept, originally created in the Soviet Union after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924, was later adopted in Bulgaria after the death of Georgi Dimitrov, who was buried in a similar fashion. This image of propaganda had its verbal expression in the form of text in the printed media, where the portrait of the late leader was described in words, whereas posthumous photographs and documentary footage of the funeral ceremonies preserved a visual image. Thus, in the mass consciousness of "ordinary" people, the image of the "other dead" is constructed with the help of printed and visual media, and they become the extraordinary, the "immortals", who are being used as an example for the next generations. The practice of using such images and ideas of the "immortal leader", however, collapsed after the fall of communist regime in Eastern Europe.

The chapter is based on analysis of photographs published in the press and documentary footage from the socialist period that relate to the death and burials of political leaders. In the centre of the study, there is a visual representation of the

[1] This chapter discerns two categories of dead—the "regular ones", any person after their passing, and the *drugite martvi* ('the other dead'), extraordinary persons who had made great contributions to society. The "other dead" referred to in the text are great politicians, persons of power, and tsars from the presocialism period. Later on during the socialism period after WWII, the term "other dead" shifts to the high-ranking leaders of the communist parties like Georgi Dimitrov in Bulgaria and Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union.

death of Georgi Dimitrov (July 10, 1949) in Bulgaria and parallels with the funeral of Joseph Stalin (March 5, 1953) in the Soviet Union. An important part of the funeral ceremonies of Dimitrov is the funeral procession—the journey of the body on a funeral train from Moscow to Sofia. The train procession of the remains is a pivotal element in all films about Georgi Dimitrov that use archival footage from his funeral.

The proclamation of a famous leader's death in the press was usually made on the first page, where a large portrait in a black sable frame was published. Usually the entire first page of the newspaper was framed in black—and in the "Soviet case", in black and red. To emphasize the affiliation of the deceased with communist ideology, the funeral symbols always combined black and red. Red flags were bandaged with a strip of black crêpe; the drapery of the memorial hall for the body, as well as the coffin, were also red. The funeral drapery (the weepers) on the portraits in the hall were black and red and the funeral armbands, which were carried by "prominent mourners" at the ceremony, were red with a black band around the edge. In this way the colour red symbolically became a main colour in funeral decorations, narrowing the amplitude of the customary black colour.

The verbal descriptions of the image of the deceased in newspapers supplemented the idea of the greatness of the person's deeds. In those images there is a kind of recognition of the death and its imprint on the face and hands of the deceased. At the same time, there is a form of denial, reflected in the eternal act of honouring the dead and the postulation of the person's *bezsmartie* ('immortality'). The denial of the physical death of the leader manifested itself in the practices of embalming the body and keeping it "in perpetuity", and in the construction of mausoleums, where the bodies of the dead communist leaders could be honoured eternally.

The verbally described image of the deceased in the press contained ideological and emotional suggestions such as regarding the specific style of the building. The images of the communist leader Georgi Dimitrov in Bulgaria at his funeral in 1949 and of the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at his funeral in 1953 show a number of common traits and similarities.

This is the verbal description of G. Dimitrov in the newspaper of the Communist Party in Bulgaria *Rabotnichesko Delo* ('Worker's Work')—The official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party for the period 1927–1990):

> The eyes that saw looking into the future, now quietly closed. The mouth that uttered fiery words, that made Goering rage, that beckoned years in a row for the working class to fight against fascism, that proclaimed the creation of the life-saving Fatherland Front, which charted the path of our country towards socialism, is now closed. The great Dimitrov as if asleep. And even in the deathbed, he radiates grandeur and power (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, issue 179, July 9, 1949).

And this is the image of the late leader Stalin, built by the famous Soviet writer Mikhail Sholokhov and published in the newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sholokhov 1953: 2):

> The uniform of the Generalissimo and the red silk drapery of the coffin contrast the snow pallor of this familiar … face. His greying mustache and the crown of his rippling hair looks like an early autumn frost. The stiffed by the coldness of death eyelids are hiding the eyes that penetrated so far into the future. The mighty hands of the leader and soldier, which never knew trembling, which lay on the wheel of history, are now still in their last rest.

The photographic images of the deceased in the coffin displayed in a hall of reverence published in the press also show significant similarities with the funerals of Georgi Dimitrov and Joseph Stalin. In the foreground, the retouched photos show the deceased in a draped opened coffin (Fig. 1). The hands are relaxed, but not crossed on his chest as in a Christian burial, flowers and wreaths can be seen laid alongside the casket where the most important people in the country are lined up for a group picture. Although placed in the foreground, Stalin's casket has been further enlarged to emphasize his greatness and his higher place in the political hierarchy above all other members of the Central Committee of the Party. Military guards and guards of honour can be often seen in the frame, passing through the streets of the funeral procession. The presence of military elements at the funerals of the communist leaders can be explained by the fact that said leaders were also acting as supreme commanders of the army. The cinematography of this period seeks to show the multitude of the bereaved, the huge masses of people who came to pay homage to the deceased, contrasting to what photographs of the funerals aimed for, namely depicting the bidding of farewell to the leader by shrouding it in propagandistic intimacy, through capturing expressions of adoration of important figures of the time during the funerals.

The very environment in which the burial ceremony takes place is also described in detail in word and image. The huge funeral portraits; the decorated ceremonial halls; the funeral procession with military lafettes (cannon racks), on which the closed coffin was placed, pulled by military horses; the rally in front of the mournfully decorated mausoleum—these are all elements of the funeral ceremonies, the image of which was being sculpted with details from the mass media through speech and photography.

In 1949, a large creative team in Bulgaria was commissioned to shoot a documentary on the death of Georgi Dimitrov. The premiere of the black and white film *He Does Not Die* was in September 1949. It was created by B. Grezhov and R. Grigorov, who wrote the screenplay and directed the film, and V. Bakardjiev, G. Durov, V. Holiolchev, K. Kisyov, St. Petrov, Zh. Rusev, Y. Shahov, and D. Trenev, who operated the cameras. These cameramen worked for the "Bulgarian deed"

foundation, which was established back in 1941 as a propagandistic institution directly related to the Directorate of National Propaganda. The activity of the film department of the foundation is associated with the creation of all the newsreels from 1941 onwards and the documenting of all important events in the country. The propagandistic nature of its work continued after September 9, 1944, until 1948, when the Law on Cinematography was passed and the state-owned enterprise "Bulgarian cinematography" was established (Piskova 2006: 101–103). The same team of professionals who made the Dimitrov film captured the funeral of King Boris III in 1943.

There are two documentaries that reflect the funeral of the last Bulgarian king Boris III in 1943. The young Bulgarian director Zahari Zhandov filmed the semi-amateur documentary entitled *Our Beloved King Passed Away*, which is an invaluable historic document about the era and this important event for the Bulgarians. According to the memoirs of the daughter of the director Elena Zhandova, the family hid the film strip in a secret compartment in their basement in order to save it from communist censorship after September 9, 1944. The film was shown only after the fall of the communist regime in Bulgaria on November 10, 1989, and footage from this movie was used in the 2003 film for king Boris III *One Covenant*. Another professional film about the king's death in 1943 is captured by director Boris Borozanov. The title of the second film is *His Majesty King Boris III—the Uniter*. The reel preserves in close-up the faces mourning the death of the king, many of which were those of prominent figures. The 35-mm film was never shown to an audience and was kept secret by the family to save it from censorship (Kovachev 2003).

Six years after the death of Tsar Boris III, Georgi Dimitrov[2] died in Moscow and the film *He Does Not Die* was commissioned to a grand creative team. In film circles, and even in the press after 1989, it was repeatedly shared by contemporaries of the time that footage from the film for the funeral of King Boris III was secretly mounted in the film about Georgi Dimitrov. The suspected images are exactly the ones that capture the many grieving people and staff in close-up (Kovachev 2003). A comparison of the frames in the two films would confirm or disprove this assertion, but the Dimitrov film is not available in the public domain (Fig. 2).

Documentary footage from the funeral of Georgi Dimitrov captured in 1949, has been used in a variety of films—in the propaganda film from 1960 *Georgi Dimitrov—stranitsi ot edin velik zhivot* ('Georgi Dimitrov—Pages of a Great Life') and two more recent films dedicated to the mausoleum and its destruction—*A Better Tomorrow: The Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum* from 2000 and *Pod ruinite na mavzoleya* ('Under the Ruins of the Mausoleum') from 2008, filmed by Russian filmmakers.

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[2] Boris III was the Bulgarian tsar for the period 1918–1943. He was the eldest son of the former Bulgarian ruler Tsar Ferdinand I. Georgi Dimitrov was a Bulgarian politician, leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and prime minister of Bulgaria for the period 1946–1949.

Conclusion

From the beginning of the twentieth century in the major Bulgarian cities of Bulgaria the tradition of building a posthumous positive image of important figures with a contribution to society began to assert itself. It formed a group of the "other dead"—those who are selected to serve as an example for future generations. After 1944, a communist regime with a new ideology was established in the country, which required profound changes in all areas of life, including culture. The urban tradition of paying homage to *drugite martvi* ('the other dead') was used as communist propaganda to build the image of "the immortal leader of the people". This happened in the first decades of socialism, after the deaths of political leaders who established a cult to their personalities while still alive. The construction of the propaganda image of the "immortal leader of the country" was accomplished by means of the written word, widespread on the pages of newspapers, through photography; and with the increasing participation of documentary cinema. Part of this new trend was the construction of mausoleums, in which the bodies of dead politicians were laid for honouring and the "eternal" rendering of posthumous tribute. These images quickly collapsed after the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. As a result of the fall of the regime in Bulgaria, the body of Georgi Dimitrov was taken out of the mausoleum for cremation in 1990 and the mausoleum building itself was demolished nine years later in 1999.

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The funeral ceremonies of Georgi Dimitrov
Rabotnichesko Delo, 1949, July 9, no. 179. 1

The funeral ceremonies of Georgi Dimitrov

2 Stills reprinted in Kovachev 2003.

Ilkim Buke-Okyar

The Arab Other in Turkish Political Cartoons, 1908–1939

The date is November 18, 1943. It is a regular Thursday in the streets of Istanbul. The layperson, on his daily routine, will quickly pay for the newspaper, the one he gets every morning, the daily *Cumhuriyet* ('The Republic').[1] Rushing to work, he will scan the headlines on the front page. His eyes will stop for a few moments on the attractive bold print. After getting a grasp of the major events, he might start turning its black-and-white pages, one by one, perusing the day's news. But when the reader reaches page four, he is undoubtedly struck by Cemal Nadir's colourful cartoon, which covers the entire top half of the page.[2] One can assume that such busy laypeople with their worldly cares would be better reached by the clichés of the colourful cartoon than by the printed lines of type.

The cartoon is a panoramic depiction of the political situation in north Africa and the Middle East (Fig. 1).[3] If we read this cartoon today, looking beyond its immediate context—namely, a moment in mid-November 1943—we will be able to identify a motif that was quite familiar to Turkish audiences. The various illustrations of Arabs seen in Nadir's cartoons functioned as visual reference points laying the groundwork for the evocation of a variety of themes and subjects concerning the images of Arabs as embedded in post-Ottoman and early republican Turkish public opinion.

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[1] *Cumhuriyet*, the Turkish daily was the new republic's most important source of news. It had the widest distribution of any newspaper, yet its daily distribution was limited to Istanbul. It was distributed nationally by subscription but went out only weekly. Since the day it first went to press, *Cumhuriyet*'s stable of writers embodied the republican era's intellectual elite, including Ziya Gökalp, Aka Gündüz, Hasan Bedreddin, Reşat Ekrem Koçu, Ahmet Rasim, Peyami Safa, Ahmet Refik, İsmail Habip, Abidin Daver, Cenap Şahabettin, Vedat Nedim, Halit Ziya, Cevat Fehmi Başkut, Mümtaz Faik, Fuad Köprülü, Halit Fahri, Zekeriya Sertel, Yakup Kadri, M. Nermi, and Şükrü Kaya.

[2] Cemal Nadir was widely acknowledged as one of the most important political cartoonists of his period. His cartoons were published in *Cumhuriyet* along with prominent cartoonists like Ramiz Gökçe. Starting in 1928, Nadir's cartoons were published on the newspaper's front page. However, with the economic downturn of the Second World War, the newspaper cut its page count from eight to four and moved Nadir's space to page four (Öngören 1983).

[3] The political cartoons appeared in Ottoman print during the 1860s, almost half a century later from its appearance in Europe. They became the indispensible tool for political propaganda throughout the 20th century, especially during World War I. Although the late Ottoman and early Turkish cartooning and cartoonists were highly influenced by their European counterparts in technical terms, the significant influence of traditional Turkish satire and stereotypes as displayed in 16th century Karagöz shadow plays could be traced in early Turkish cartoons.

Nadir's cartoon is titled *Manda'nın başına gelenler!* ('What happened to the buffalo!'), accented by a literary form of exclamation commonly used when telling a story.[4] Similar to a story well told (that can make us laugh, weep, swell with pride, or fill with indignation), Nadir employs all the racially and culturally specific subject positions to produce the image of the Arab as the colonial Other. He sets his story on the shores of the Arabian desert, where the Mediterranean's blue meets the yellow of the desert. The exact geographic location is unclear, but the symbolic colours accentuate the scenery as "Arab" lands. At the centre of the rectangular cartoon we see a giant *manda* ('buffalo'), with unusually big blue eyes, lying on its side. It alternately huffs and puffs from its nostrils the contradictory words *tavzih* ('evidence') and *tekzip* ('denial'). To underline the buffalo's French identity, Nadir draws a tricolour flower on its head. Assaulting the *manda* from all sides are various Arab characters of similar physiognomies, eager to butcher it. The ethnicity of each figure can be surmised not by his physical features, but only by the slightly differentiating symbols in their attire, such as traditional robes and headgear (fezes for the Syrians and Egyptians—the latter also with a flag on his robe—and keffiyeh and turbans for the north Africans of Morocco and Tunisia, the Arabs of Iraq, and the Saudis of the Arabian deserts). The physiognomy in the portrayal of the Arabs is employed to form a biological reference to race and criminality (Sufian 2008). Nadir merely reproduces the archetype of Arabs, which evolved through decades of visual representations. He represents them as vicious savages, running barefoot toward the *manda*, swinging their swords in the air with rage, some already shredding the animal's flesh with their knives and guns. With their fleshy red lips and the white teeth of black Africans, rounded, shifty eyes, black, thin moustaches, chunky body forms, and dark-skin combinations of north African and Middle Eastern Arabs, Nadir's own Arab figures are portrayed as ape-like little monsters. The cartoon stresses the familiar rationalizations of post-Ottoman Arabs with the irrational conviction that the Arabs, as an inferior species, are by nature incapable of self-governance and unfit to benefit from national independence.

Other stereotypes are depicted in the cartoon. A Jew with his hooknose and moneybag worriedly watches the Arabs from the bottom corner. A British man can be seen in the upper left gripping the buffalo's tail from across the sea to aid in its slaughter. Next to him a German's head with his *Pickelhaube* helmet[5] peeks out to spy the scene from between the British and Turkish fronts. Finally, to the German's right we see a sturdy, well-equipped Turkish soldier manning the armed ramparts along the frontier pointing towards the main scene, the Middle East, where the

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[4] *Manda* has a dual meaning in Turkish. The most common is 'buffalo', but its secondary meaning as 'mandate' was added to Turkish as part of the postwar discourse. In the cartoon, Nadir ridicules France by comparing it to a buffalo symbolizing the entire mandate system.

[5] The *Pickelhaube*, a general word for "headgear" in German, was a spiked helmet worn in the 19th and 20th centuries by the German military. It became a symbol of militaristic Germans in 19th and early to mid 20th century political and war cartoons.

slaughter is taking place. Nadir transmits the dynamic relationship between visual metaphors, its audience, and the historical theme of post-Ottoman Arabia. This representation is sustained by the Turks' collective memory.

In the nineteenth century, the Middle East and north Africa dominated the European exoticism. In various contexts, the word *Arab* came to signify the antithesis of "civilization". Alterity and misrepresentation of the Arabs was embedded in the contexts of European expansionism and the "Eastern Question" in the beginning of the century. Distorting representations of reality and their degrading impact made up a major theme in the colonial literature, serving imperial governance. Orientalization, in its Saidian sense, constituted the self and Other through negative mirror imaging, structuring the perception of "what is good in us is lacking in them" and at the same time adding a subordinate reversal of "what is lacking in us is present in them" (Said 1979). In this structural framework of representations, the Arab became the "ultimate" Other in the definition of the West versus the East. Later on, the new elite of the Ottoman Empire adopted this reified image as a means of defining its self-perception.[6] When the new republic was established, the Arab Other served as an important component in the rhetoric over the new Turkish identity, set against the undesired and the pitiful. The objective of this article is to follow a deconstructive and critical analysis of the "graphic" or "visual" rhetoric of imperial and, later, national characterization of the Arabs in the process of nation building from 1908 to 1939.

Nadir used images that were familiar to his Turkish readers. The image of the Arab as "a dishonest, back-stabbing savage" was part of the postwar narrative, heavily employed as of the early 1920s, following the 1916 revolt of Sherif Hussein against Ottoman rule. While embedded in concrete historical circumstances, images of Arabs have a long history, going back to visual representations of the Arab as a bagger or a carpet seller in sixteenth century Ottoman Karagöz shadow plays. Nevertheless, these images were context dependent. Ottoman expansionism started to alter the socially created typology of the Arab in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the critical turning points in the process of social, political, and intellectual transition occurred during World War I, when the empire lost its territories in north Africa and the Middle East. This final époque of Ottoman history was symbolized by the irrevocable collapse of the multi-ethnic empire and the rise of the territorially limited, nationalist Republic of Turkey, alongside other nation-states that emerged in the twentieth century. The ambivalent feelings

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[6] The Western cartoons of the early 19th century represented the exotic that was mostly under the Ottoman rule as barbaric and backward. The symbolic representation of these features were transferred to the revolutionary Ottoman cartoons (after the 1908 revolution that ended the reign of Abdulhamid II) in depicting their orient, in this case the Arab Middle East. The latter became the mirror image of the new Ottoman elite. For further analysis, see unpublished PhD thesis, Ilkim Buke (2015), *Arabs in Visual Rhetoric and the Emergence of Turkish National Identity, 1908–1939*, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Kreitman School for Advanced Graduate Studies.

of the Turkish elite towards Arabs were melded by the heroic Arab resistance to the colonial powers in north Africa and by their betrayal of the Ottomans in the Middle East. These grievances, embedded in the Ottoman collective memory, found manifestation in every possible discourse, including the cartoon space.

The nature and intensity of this transition call for investigation of the myriad ideas that blossomed during the years preceding and following the collapse of 1918. The present study is focused, however, on the production of the image of Arabs during the transition of the empire to nation. It will examine how one of the most prominent sectors of the new post-Ottoman Turkish intellectual elite, cartoonists, refashioned stereotypical images of the Arab in the context of the emerging Turkish national identity.

The dissolution of the empire brought with it new frameworks of identification. The pronationalist reformist group known as Kemalists—which included military officers, bureaucrats, journalists, and intellectuals—shaped and coordinated the national resistance that eventually led to the creation of the Turkish Republic. The Kemalist elite took up a massive project of social engineering, which was part and parcel of the establishment of the new republic. It required the amplification of Turkishness, rendering it the founding concept of the new nation-state, an effort that had been initiated within the Ottoman Reformist movement of the late nineteenth century. Akin to other projects of nation formation, the definition of the Turkish nation was shaped by, among other things, the construction of various Others, and in many ways, the Arabs in their *keffiyeh* and garb constituted the ultimate Other.

Perceptions are transferred through "the concepts by which experience is organized and communicated proceed[ing] from the received cultural scheme" and continuously reproduce its cultural codes (Sahlins 1987: 151–152). These concepts are manifested in different kinds of discourses, including graphic or visual discourse, where symbolic forms of representation have repeatedly produced the cultural codes. Among the available means of graphic persuasion, political cartooning has been a powerful one ever since it was employed as part of news commentary in early nineteenth century Europe. Both the volume edited by Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (Hill & Helmers 2012) and the taxonomic study of Martin J. Medhurst and Michael A. De Sousa provide powerful illustrations of the important role played by political cartoons in establishing the connection between visual images and persuasion (Medhurst & DeSousa 1981). As Foucault argued and Rajchman commented, the "art of seeing" constitutes an essential part of constructing knowledge, and the way people act and react is linked to a way of thinking where thinking is related to the transferred cultural codes (Rajchman 1988).[7]

[7] Visual rhetoric developed in political cartoons as the representation of a certain time in one's imagination of the given moment in history holds the power to carry a certain form of knowledge which become instrumentalized in the construction of public's mind.

Graphical or visual discourse is one of the platforms on which the cultural codes have been repeatedly produced through symbols.

Ultimately figments of the imagination, such perceptions reside in individual human psyches and it is never easy to tease them out completely in historical research. These figments are constituted from social and intellectual inputs that become available through means of various persuasions, and they produce an enduring synthesis in decoding our surroundings. Perceptions are transferred through "the concepts by which the experience is organized communicated and proceed from the received cultural scheme" and continuously reproduce its cultural codes (Sahlins 1987: 151–152).

Among the available means of graphical persuasion, political cartooning has been a powerful one ever since it was employed as part of news commentary in early nineteenth century Europe. The edited volume of Hill and Helmers (2012) and the taxonomic study of Medhurst and De Sousa (1981) provide powerful illustrations of the important role played by political cartoons in establishing the connection between the visual images and persuasion.

Since the initiation of *Tanzimat* reforms, the dilemma of the achievement of a balance between the materiality, in another word, "modernity", of Europe and the inefficacy of the Ottoman governmental system fostered the need to compete with the Europeans while staying close to them. They were the ones to whom Turks compared themselves and against whom they created their national image. Arabs, on the other hand, represented everything that the Ottoman Empire in its demise and, later, the new republic in its birth, would want to seclude itself from in its journey to become a *muasır medeniyet* ('contemporary civilization').

The anti-Arab secularist spirit of the new Turkish nationalism in the process of creating a new identity was imagined in terms of the nineteenth century concept of "civilization". It expressed itself openly and violently in the cartoons of the early republican period. In the process of nation building, intellectuals turned away from Ottomanism and Islamism and began to seek ways to define and promote Turkishness through every possible means. They deemed cultural transformation a political strategy necessary for what they believed to be a progression towards inclusion in the "family of civilized nations". This process included appropriation and adaptation of the meanings and definitions in Turkish cultural memory and transforming its structure through utilizing related discourses in order to maintain a favourable position. Political cartoon space provided an alternative ground for the implementation of such discourses, especially employing the image of the Arab Other inscribed in Turkish national memory and modifying it.

The historical imagery of the Arab Other in the cartoons could be sorted out into images of people, particularly in illustrations that depicted aspects of the character of Arab people; images of space, particularly in illustrations that depicted the region's physical landscape and its cultural features; and images of time, particularly in the temporal intersection that occurs in an illustration when the past meets the

present and also in those illustrations in which the cartoonist employed images that provide the viewer with a glimpse of the unpleasant past. In cartoons that include historical imagery, whether as a reference in a current event's depiction or as full portrayal of a historical event, all three sorts of images work in concert to orchestrate the audience's perception of and reaction to the Arab stereotype.

Arab characters in their capacity as the Other were present in Ottoman visual rhetoric. The 400-year-old Karagöz shadow plays demonstrated the multi-ethnic makeup of the Ottoman Empire. Exhibiting powerful images set against assumed and often stereotypical backgrounds, Karagöz figures constituted probably the first visual illustrations of the various archetypes within the Ottoman public. Employing a wide range of characters, Karagöz was an artistic space in which contradictions, differences, and relations typical of an extremely diverse society found vivid expression (And 1975: 51). Arab characters were among these characters. Their cartoon representations and the humour they contained served as perception builders for their audience. The attributes and qualities of these characters, which were used repeatedly in Karagöz plays, created a set of almost standard generalizations about the ethnic traits of Arabs. Ethnic stereotypes were fixed firmly through this popular artistic genre.

In the prerepublican Ottoman imagination, there were two distinct characters referred to as Arabs. One was the *ak Arap* ('"white" Arab') and the other was the *kara Arap* ('"black" Arab') or simply *zenci* (Figs 2 and 3). They represented two different stereotypes that were almost opposed to each other. One was pale skinned, long-nosed, smart but cunning, wily, and untrustworthy; the other was dark skinned, curly haired, loyal, and honest but sometimes stupid. While the *ak Arab* represented merchants or beggars with heavy accents, the darker-skinned counterpart, the *kara Arab*, was often a representation of local household slaves and servants (Fig. 4). These two stereotypes of Arabs in Karagöz plays not only contributed to the newly developing cartoon industry in the Ottoman print by providing typecasts, but also established the basis for building another Other constructed through ridicule in contrast to the emerging image of the Turk.

With the arrival of print media in the late nineteenth century in the Ottoman capital, Karagöz characters were adapted for the page. They became instrumental in the context of the passage into modernity. Echoing European Orientalist practices, Ottoman caricaturists imagined the modern "self" by contrasting it with an assumed backwardness within their realm. They associated the notion of "premodern" or "backward" with the Arab provinces of the empire, which signified the ultimate backwardness.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, nationalism was a fuzzy concept, meaning quite different things for different groups and individuals in the empire. As yet lacking clear definitions of nation and homeland, cartoonists found themselves in a quandary: how to portray those who were outsiders and insiders at the same time—part of the empire but not quite part of the nation. Cartoons in

this period were multi-layered, imbued with geopolitical signs highlighting particular politico-administrative boundaries, territories, and territorial visions. The cartoon genre provides a vivid illustration of the ideological experiments of the day at a time when ideological experiments such as Westernization, Ottomanism, and Islamism, in line with currently emerging ideas of nationalism and Turkism, were competing with one another.

The stormy period of Yemenite insurgencies, the Libyan war, the Balkan wars, and finally the epic Great War could be defined as a time of "occultation" or "gestation" for the Ottoman cartoon sphere with regard to the Arab stereotype. After a heroic interlude of the Arabs in north Africa during the pre-war years, the Arab as a human figure no longer accorded with any of the recognizable stereotypes. The visual archetype of the Arab was trapped in limbo: neither an insider nor an outsider; neither friend nor foe (Figs 5 and 6). On the one hand it signified rapid internal changes and confusion in the imperial centre about identity issues and, on the other, external developments—Arab nationalism, collusion with imperial powers, a sense of betrayal. The one significant feature of the Arab image that remained intact, either as ally or enemy, was the assumed uncivilized nature. This feature served as an echo of a former, less developed state of one's own civilization. Cartoonists, in their capacity as the new codifiers of the idea of a "modern" nation based on Turkishness, understood that the renewed formation under the new Ottoman ruling elite (the Committee of Union and Progress) was seeking to bury its "near distant" with its uncivilized past in the process of retaining the solidarity of the empire. The Arabs would rather be situated as the Other.[8]

According to Bauman and May (2001), the self itself makes sense only in juxtaposition to Other. Identity and alterity mirror each other by determining the profile of the Other and in return are determined by it. Nationalism emerged as a hegemonic ideology in colonial and non-colonial contexts in the nineteenth century, bringing with it the awareness of grouping as national collectives. The latter was defined in terms of territory, ethnicity, religion, language, history, and tradition. Within the definition of self as a nation, each of these groups (ethnic, religious, territorial) was characteristically typecast or themed as the Other.

The negative sentiments of the Arabs were transferred to the new republic through its founding political elite. The anti-Arab spirit of the new Turkish na-

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[8] Young Turks were the exiled young officers and intellectuals that would form the political elite of the Ottoman Empire in the coming decades. Their goal was the transformation of the crumbling empire into a modern state based on a shared sense of commitment among its citizens and with sufficient military and political strength to halt the encroachments of European powers. Very shortly after their takeover in 1908, however, the ensuing struggle between the centralist and federalist factions of the Young Turks set the stage for a party dictatorship of the centralist group known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The ideal of common citizenship was soon undermined as the CUP attempted to conceptualize Ottomanism with Turkish nationalism and also by the secessionist leanings of non-Turkish groups such as the Arab nationalists following the British-supported Arab revolt in 1916.

tionalism, hitched to the process of creating a new, "civilized" Turkish identity, expressed itself openly and violently in the cartoons of the early republican period. In the process of building the nation, intellectuals turned away from Ottomanism and Islamism and began to search for ways to define and promote Turkishness through every possible means. As cited by William Pfaff from an article published by Michael Ignatieff, "Nationalism was: the dream that a whole nation could be like a congregation—singing the same hymns, listening to the same gospel, sharing the same emotions, linked not only to each other but those buried beneath their feet" (Pfaff 1994: 12).

The process of cultural transformation as a political strategy aimed at elevating the new state to the level of "civilized nations" included appropriation and reinvention of meanings and definitions in Turkish cultural memory and transforming its structure. Political cartoon space was an effective component in the emerging discourse of Turkish nationalism, especially in digging up the image of the Arab Other buried in Turkish national memory and modifying it.

Turkish Nation and Arab Other

It was only during and after the trauma of World War I and the establishment of the new Turkish Republic that a more complex and symbolically laden image of the Arabs emerged in the cartoons and found a ground for the shaping of a national memory. During the period from 1923 to 1939, Turks encountered Arabs once again in various circumstances. For Turkey this was a time of nation building. For most of the Arabs, it was the mandate period, where they were trying to both define their borders and shake off colonial rule. This time, unlike during Ottoman rule, both parties were searching for a clearer ethnic and national definition.

This series of encounters—some of them hostile, some of them more congenial—occurred simultaneously in many parts of the Middle East, including modern-day Iraq, Syria, and Morocco. From 1916 on, the main focus of Middle Eastern affairs, apart from the military campaigns, was the continued dispute between Britain and France over the interpretation of borders set by the Sykes-Picot Agreement in the participation of previous Ottoman territories. The French demanded "greater Syria", as promised, while the British were determined to impose their supremacy in the region, especially in oil-rich Mosul, near the Turkish border. Turkey mostly sat on the sidelines, observing the developments within its old territories of the Middle East and north Africa, except in two cases that directly concerned Turkey's borders: Mosul and Hatay (Alexandretta). These two disputes, where Turkey had encountered the Great Powers of Europe (the British over the Mosul question and the French over Hatay), became instrumental for articulating in the public's mind Turkey's new position as a "strong nation" within the power balance of the new regional order. Representations of Arab images as the Other were contextualized around the grievances of the Great War and the Arabs' struggle against the

mandate regime. The image of the Arab came to epitomize the distinction from the uncivilized past that was an essential element of Ottoman heritage.

Turkish cartoon space projected the Arab Other in two time frames. One is from 1923 to 1927, where the cartoonists as observers and contributors to the nation-building process drew Arabs who were engaged in a similar project: seeking national recognition against their mandate rulers. This period covers the Mosul question (1923–1926); the struggle between King Hussein and ibn Saud over Hejaz (1924); the Yazidi rebellion of 1926 near the Turkish border; the Syrian revolt against the mandatory French government (1925–1926); and the Moroccan revolt in North Africa. Concerning all of these events, the Arab figures were covered in Turkish cartoons (Fig. 7).

The second time frame is from 1936 to 1939, when the Turkish nation-building project reached its peak, an exclusively Turkish nation was imagined, and identity building through othering became even more apparent. The depiction of Arabs had been used in between these years with regard to the invasion of Habeş (Ethiopia, 1936) and the reappearance of blacks (previously understood to be a type of Arab), this time as colonized Africans; the Arab Revolt in Palestine (1936); and finally the Hatay (Alexandretta) dispute between France and Turkey (1936–1939).

Out of the multiple stereotypes of Arab behaviour throughout the Ottoman experience, four emerged to dominate the representation of Arabs in the first period of the Turkish republican cartoon sphere under the influences of these events: the fiercely violent and cruel behaviour of Arabs, especially the puppet leaders of the post-Ottoman Arab provinces; the physical and mental sloth and indolence of the Arab; the uncivilized nature of Arabs and their struggle with progress over the forces of barbarism; and the greed, or heightened aspiration for financial gain.

In the 1930s, a new form of Arab representation was evident in most republican cartoons whenever the subject of Arabs came up in Turkish political life as accompanying to the previous ones. The four magnified features of "white" (*ak*) Arabs were attached to the physiognomy of "black" (*kara*) Arabs, who had been attributed and identified with uncivilized savages that resembled monstrous ape-like creatures, menacing law, order, and civilized values. The cartoonist adopting the racial theories of colonial discourse projected a hybrid image of the Arab in relation to the Turks; that is, the Turks played the role of the pure race standing at the top of the pyramid, in opposition to white Arabs, who held the role of the Semitic races, and black Arabs, of "African type", who held the lowest rank (Fig. 8).

The depiction of the unappreciated Other as an animal-like, or beastly, figure had already been used for ridicule as early as the nineteenth century in Ottoman satire mostly to discredit the European and later mandate powers. On the other hand, until the 1930s, the Arabs of the Middle East and north Africa were depicted in cartoons in stereotypical outfits (with *keffiyes* and garb), ethnically indistinguishable. One would be unable to differentiate between the Middle East's various cultural or ethnic groups just by looking at the illustrations without reading the titles

or commentaries. Besides their traditional looks, the one common aspect of all these types was their barbaric and disloyal character for allying with European forces against the Ottoman Empire.

The Arab of the Middle East, in the new imagery of the Turkish Republic appeared in the cartoon scene through two contemporaneous events: the Arab Revolt of 1936, also known as the Palestinian Revolt, and the Alexandretta dispute (1936–1939). Although these situations arose independently, they were represented at the same time in Turkish cartoon magazines.

The cartoonists' perception of the new foreign policy during the early years of the republic was characterized as cautious, realistic, and generally aimed at preserving the status quo and the hard-won victory of 1923. The period from 1923 to the 1930s was dominated by the power struggle between Turkey and the Great Powers, mainly over border issues, with Iraq over Mosul, and with Syria over Hatay Sancak (the Alexandretta *sanjak* ['district']).[9] The feeling of distrust towards the West was still rife. Yet, over the course of the national construction years, Turkey's relations showed a gradual improvement with its neighbours, mainly with the powers on its southeastern border, Britain and France. After the resolution of the Mosul dispute with Britain in 1926, the one issue Turkey and France clashed over in the 1930s was the district of Alexandretta. Meanwhile, Turkey stood on the sidelines as a mere spectator to the Arab Revolt, which was taking place in Palestine and Syria.

When the Palestinian Arab Revolt of 1936 (simultaneously against the British and the Zionists) echoed in the Turkish newspapers, a prominent cartoonist depicted the incident by alluding to the ancient Roman gladiatorial fights with the title *İsyan* ('Revolt') (Fig. 9).[10] As in earlier periods, revolt stood as the major theme in the 1930s Turkish cartoons and was seen as the major attribute of the Arab Other. In the cartoon as well, the European power, depicted as an old, beaten-up gladiator, holds his bloody sword against the Arab Revolt, represented as a giant beast. The giant's dark, hairy skin constitutes a binary opposition to his fleshy, swollen red lips, exaggerated to signify foolishness, as in the cartoons of Africans. Cartoon artists developed an interest in deformed and misshapen monstrosity as a form of pictorial representation, a symbol of the negative. Monsters, aberrations, and

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[9] The Alexandretta district or Hatay Sancak was a province located in southern Turkey, on the Mediterranean coast. The administrative capital of the district was Antakya (Antioch), and the other major city in the province was the port city of Iskenderun (Alexandretta). It was part of the Ottoman Empire until the Great War. Under the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, Syria, Lebanon, and the northern Levant, including Alexandretta, were given to the French. It officially went under French mandatory government after 1919, bordering Turkey to the south. The province was designated part of the National Pact of 1920 by Mustafa Kemal, and it held its significant status until its inclusion within the Turkish Republic's borders.

[10] "Filistinde Kanlı Hadiseler: Tel Aviv ve Hayfa'da örfi idare ilan edildi" ('Bloody Events in Palestine: Martial Law is Proclaimed in Tel Aviv and Haifa'), *Tan Gazetesi*, April 21, 1936; "Filistinde vaziyet vahim: Araplar ve Yahudiler arasında yeniden kanlı hadiseler oldu" ('Situation is Serious in Palestine: Bloody Events Taking Place Between the Arabs and Jews'), *Tan Gazetesi*, April 22, 1936; "Filistin Yahudileri Kudüse iltica ediyorlar" ('Palestinian Jews are Immigrating to Quds.'), *Cumhuriyet*, April 25, 1936.

anomalies symbolized grotesque and dehumanized subjects and were often used to construct opposing stereotypes. The shape of the monster was a combination of characteristics attributed to create negative images of the persona. In this cartoon, the monstrous image of the "Arab Revolt" reflects the notions of dehumanization and the sense of the psychological enemy. It also shows ethnic classification, or even generalization of Arabs, as a constant threat to the former Ottomans and, in this case, to the mandatory governments, mainly Britain and France.

Cartoons published subsequently in magazines depicted the Arab Revolt in Palestine in the context of the Arab struggle against the Zionists. The scene of a confrontation with Zionism, Palestine became the key issue between the Great Powers and the Arabs during the post-war years. Aiming to change the British policies in Palestine and prevent its partition between Arabs and Jews, the Arab Revolt took place between 1936 and 1939, with two major uprisings in 1936 and 1937 (Khoury 1985: 327–328).[11] Syria extensively supported the Palestinian cause when the rebels in Palestine revolted for two years from 1936 to 1938. The situation was reflected as a far-off event in the Turkish media. On May 2, 1936, *Akbaba* commented on a newspaper item regarding the Arabs of Haifa, who set over a thousand Jewish homes on fire. The cartoon is titled *From the Newspapers: The Arabs Are Killing the Jews in Palestine!* The subtext hints at the Jewish fondness for money, with the Jewish man trying to sell matches to the Arab, saying: "Haci sir, since you're burning down Jewish villages, why don't you buy the matches from us!"[12] The Arab's typical behavioural attribute of barbarism is emphasized in the cartoon, in which he looks like an assassin as opposed to the civil but money-mad Jewish character, both of them ethnically portrayed (Fig. 10). Interestingly, in this cartoon, the message conveyed is not the contrast but instead the similarity in their physiognomy. The linkage between the Jewish money-grubber stereotype and the disloyal Arab runs through the text. The Palestinian Arab's bony facial structure, not yet merged into a hybrid form, is combined with a hooknose and thick lips, which are common facial stereotypes for Jews as well.

Syria was the common denominator in Turkey's dispute with France over Alexandretta and the Palestinian Arab Revolt. When France's mandatory government promised full independence to Syria including the Alexandretta province in 1936, Turkey decided to claim the province for its own, arguing that it was part of the National Pact of 1920. Turkey's claim over the Alexandretta region of northeastern Syria continued to be asserted in the League of Nations while Turkey engaged in considerable media propaganda from 1936 to 1937. Syria, on the other hand, along with Lebanon, which was under French mandatory rule, provided popular

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[11] Arabs, in general, and Palestinians, in particular, were uncomfortable with the Zionist movement, which was growing rapidly with the aim of establishing a Jewish national home and an independent state; the Arabs felt left behind and in danger of losing their homeland.

[12] "Filistin Halkı Dehşet içinde: Hayfa Arapları 1000 kadar yahudi evini ateşe verdi" ('Palestinians Are in Terror: Arabs of Haifa Set About 1000 Jewish Homes to Fire'), *Tan Gazetesi*, April 23, 1936.

support to the revolt in Palestine until it became actively involved (Khoury 1985: 324–348). The Turkish cartoonists were more interested in Syria's involvement in the revolt than in the Palestinian cause. The "revolt" theme attracted the attention of the cartoonists, who launched a serious propaganda campaign against the Syrian Arabs, tending to comply with the government's policies. In October 1936, the Syrian Arab reappeared as a dark-skinned, swarthy, villainous barbarian lurking at the gates of civilization. In the cartoon shown in Figure 11, the main theme refers to the French agreement that promised Syria its independence with the inclusion of Antakya (Antioch) and İskenderun (Alexandretta) within its borders. The Arab's monstrous look was decorated with the symbolic ornaments: a red fez with a pendulous tassel; a long, striped robe; a short coat; and slippers to create the visual metaphor of the hybrid Arab in the minds of the Turkish audience.[13] The vulgar Arab was illustrated forcefully holding a beautiful woman (depicted similar to previous ones) against her will. Her European-style looks, as contrasted with the Arab's backwardness, juxtapose the civilized with the savage. The Arab's viciousness is amplified by his drooling as an enraged animal would. The woman is tied tight to him through a coiled snake labelled "France-Syria concord". The woman's skirt is labelled "Antakya/Iskenderun". The Arab says to the woman: *Look, darling! We're bound together!*

All the negative components of the Ethiopian *zenci/kara* Arab as a savage and inferior race were depicted to create a dehumanizing and isolating effect on the hated Syrian Arab, who emerged as the enemy, and the ultimate Other in the new Turkish Republic. Its recombinant form is indebted to its "parent" cultures but remains assertively and insubordinately a bastard. It reproduces neither of the supposedly anterior purities that gave rise to it in anything like its unmodified form.

The nation as a social construct relies on a continuous construction of national identity. The latter consists of organized perceptions of basic human behaviours in an effort to group together collectives who are willing to accept various sets of values and particular positions. Political elites who lead projects of nation construction tend to emphasize emotional attachment to the nation and its territory while blurring or even negating the territorial or political claims of other groups. At the same time, the effort of nation construction often involves an intense effort of othering.

Apparently, the previously two archetypes of the Arab of Karagöz plays, *ak* Arab and *kara* Arab merged to become a single ultimate Other. The historical imagery of the Arab Other in the cartoons was incorporated as a hybrid image, denoting the mixture of races that signified the antithesis of national "purity". In cartoons

[13] While Turkey discarded the fez with its republican reforms, the Arab public under mandate control kept using it as part of the daily attire. Thus, its depiction suggests the regions of Syria and Lebanon personified through physical features. Ahmet Emin Yalman, "Lübnan istiklali ve Antakya" ('The Future of Lebanon and Antioch'), *Tan Gazetesi*, November 1, 1936: 1.

that include historical imagery, whether as a reference in the illustration of current events or as full portrayal of a historical event, all three sorts of images—images of people, space, and time—worked together in forming the Turkish perception of and reaction to these Arab stereotypes.

In conclusion, as in Nadir's cartoon (Fig. 1), the reservoir of stereotypes of Arab behaviour and appearance developed before the nation emerged as a persona in which the real and fictional physiognomic and characteristic features seamlessly blended together to form an ultimate Other. This image represented the past that the new Turk did not want to associate himself with. Bringing all of the qualities identified with both the *ak* ("white") Arabs of the Middle East and the *kara* ("black") Arabs of sub-Saharan Africa together, in the pursuit of a national identity, a hyper-reality of the Arab Other was imagined in early republican cartoon space.

Sources

Akbaba, May 2, 1936; July 18, 1936; October 17, 1936.

Yapı Kredi Karagöz Collection 2004. *Torn is the Curtain, Shattered is the Screen, the Stage All in Ruins*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

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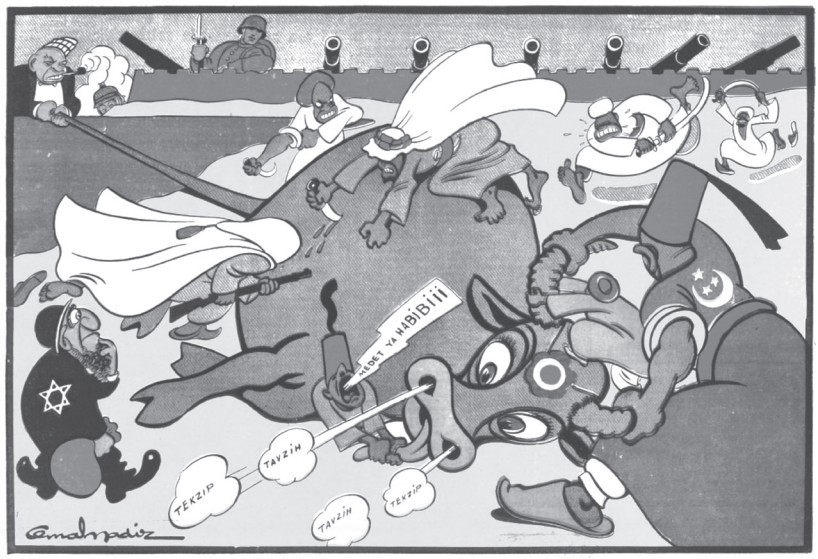

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE BUFFALO (-MANDATE)!

1 C. Nadir, *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, 1943, November 18, p. 4.

AK ARAP* AS *HACI KANDIL 2

Various representations of *ak Arap* figures in Karagöz plays.
Yapı Kredi Karagöz Collection and Metin And Collection, Istanbul.

KARA ARAP* OR *ZENCI

Various representations of *zenci* ('black Arab') figures in Karagöz plays.
He is dark skinned, curly haired, loyal, honest but naive to the extent of stupidity.
Yapı Kredi Karagöz Collection and Metin And Collection, Istanbul. 3

ARAB BEGGAR, ALSO *AK ARAP*
One of the oldest characters in Karagöz plays.
He is pale skinned, long nosed, smart but cunning, wily and untrustworthy.

4 Yapı Kredi Karagöz Collection and Metin And Collection, Istanbul.

Karagöz: What is that filthy thing at the tip of your hunting rifle?
Tripolitanian: Carcass?
Karagöz: If it is a carcass, don't you wait and throw away the filthy thing quickly!
H. Naci, *Karagöz*, 1911, October 18. 5

FRENCH POSITION DETONATES IN DAMASCUS!
Druze: Hey beloved, hey Christian! give me my money or I swear I will slaughter you!
Karagöz: Gosh! When I was in Damascus, you kept longing for each other. Now, as soon as you found each other, you started fighting. Anyhow, let's watch how you fight each other.

6 *Karagöz,* 1925, November 7.

THE STATE OF THE WORLD

Mussolini: Adolf, you'd better watch out, at the end of the day, it is hair!

8 R. Gökçe, *Karikatür*, 1936, April 4.

Revolt: Old man you must be tired in last six years… Give the sword to me! 9
Akbaba, 1936, July 18.

FROM THE NEWSPAPERS: THE ARABS ARE KILLING THE JEWS IN PALESTINE!
- Haci sir, since you are burning down the Jewish villages, why don't you buy the matches from us!
Akbaba, 1936, May 2. 10

- Look, my darling, we are one body!
It reads 'French-Syrian Concordat' on the snake, and 'Antioch-Alexandretta' on the woman's skirt.

11 N. Rıza, *Akbaba*, 1936, October 17.

2. Transmediality and Intermediality

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

(Multi-)Mediatized Indians in Socialist Hungary: Winnetou, Tokei-ihto, and Other Popular Heroes of the 1970s in East-Central Europe

Indiánosdi as a Multimediatized Practice

This study aims to analyse a specific field of the socialist past and its techniques of representation in our east-central European countries. This field, this "cultural field" (*champs culturel*), or "cultural practice" (*pratique culturelle*), to use the approach of the excellent French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1996), had two chief characteristics that seemed to be common to perhaps the majority of the scholars present in our conference in December 2015 in Sofia: first, that this socialist past and its cultural representations constituted our childhood—a peculiar childhood whose social context has been held and felt very different from the current postsocialist–early capitalist era, its imagery, and its attitudes;[1] and, second, that the same socialist past has provided a number of *cultural motif*s, *patterns*, and *ways of doing* for our childhood and early youth that themselves seem to have been (more or less) common in our east-central European countries. One such motif and also a pattern of doing was, I would argue, what we call *indiánosdi* (Indianizing) in Hungarian—that is, reading, watching, playing, reenacting (North American) "Indians".

The functioning of *indiánosdi* during the 1970s in the Peoples' Republic of Hungary is at the same time an excellent example of *multimediality*, the very topic of the 2015 conference. *Indiánosdi* relied upon—invaded, I would say—all the branches of contemporary media and (almost) all the channels of interpersonal communication and bound them closely together. It appeared in the text of printed novels, in the drawings inserted into them (like frontispiece pictures or illustrations; among many examples, see Cooper 1973; May 1973, 1974, 1975; Welskopf-Henrich 1973a, 1973b). *Indiánosdi* penetrated movie culture—for example, the extremely popular West German and East German "Indian films" as they were commonly called during the period and later on as well. Next to popular "spaghetti westerns", the latter were qualified somewhat more positively "red westerns", meaning that they replaced the good old opposition of "good guys–bad guys" with

[1] Hereafter, I rely on the conversations I led with friends, colleagues, and acquaintances during 2015 and 2016; see my research described under the subheading "Ego-histoire: A Self-History, Personal History Contextualized" in this study.

the opposition of "good Indians–bad Anglos", and refreshed the latter in this way with a dose of socialist internationalism (*Commies and Indians* … 2013). Two of their most popular heroes are to be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Figure 2 shows the famous French actor, Pierre Brice (1929–2015) in the role of Winnetou, the Apache chief of the German novelist Karl May (1842–1912); the image is from one of his films made together with the American actor Lex Barker (1919–1973) in the role of Old Shatterhand. Figure 1 shows the equally famous Serbian–East German actor, Gojko Mitić (1940–) after whom the East German Indian films were called rather ironically *Miticfilmek* ('Mitić Films') in Hungary in the 1980s.[2] I will return to the impact of movie culture, but let us continue surveying the channels and sources of *indiánosdi*. There were also specific filmstrips produced for children and the young audience with a Hungarian text by the Magyar Diafilmgyártó Vállalat ('Hungarian Enterprise for Filmstrip Production')—for example, James Fenimore Cooper, *Vadölő* ('The Deerslayer', 1963), *Bőrharisnya* ('Leatherstock', 1961), *Az utolsó mohikán* ('The Last of the Mohicans', 1957, 1963) and Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich, *A Nagy Medve fiai* ('The Sons of the Great Bear', n.d.), and *Winnetou* (1962, 1974).[3] But there were innumerable postcards and picture almanacs and toys (like the peculiar Indian outfit consisting of a feathered headdress or war bonnet and bows and arrows),[4] and there were social games (like playing Winnetou and Old Shatterhand in the bushes).[5] There were even certain patterns of behaviour and gestures, and also ways of speaking (e.g. gazing with a rigid face and saying "Uff" in order to stop conversation or crawling on the ground in a specific, Indian way, touching the ground with one's fingers and toes only[6]—all this constituted important and popular microelements of *indiánosdi*. A great number of men and women from my generation (born in the 1960s) have played—and enjoyed—such games and practices, not much knowing nor really caring about the exact sources of all that and even less about the historical-political context in which it was embedded.

In order to open up the highly complex web of multimediality, one should find out first if and how certain ingredients of *indiánosdi* exerted influence upon the others. Let us start with the possible impact of the movies.

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[2] My own memories, shared by those participating in this research.

[3] I had a copy of the above mentioned filmstrips in my own collection as a child. They are widely known by my generation and the next one.

[4] I personally did not own any, but a lot of my friends and acquaintances did, regardless of their gender.

[5] Both little boys and little girls could play such games. Belonging to a "tribe" and sometimes also having chosen Indian names for individuals was the essence of the game.

[6] Such an Indian crawling has been copied directly from the descriptions to be found in the novels of Karl May.

From Movies to Children's Books and Beyond

Figure 3 shows the frontispiece image of May's popular tetralogy, *Winnetou*, published in Hungarian for children in 1974 by the children's publishing house, Móra, in Budapest. Figure 4 is a black and white drawing from *A Nagy Medve fiai*, the Hungarian translation of *Die Söhne der Grossen Bärin*, a two-volume novel of Welskopf-Henrich (1901–1979), a popular East German writer of the time (her novel has been published in German since 1951). The Hungarian translation came out in 1971 in Budapest, it was made from one of the original German texts (it is not specified though which one) and was addressed to the Hungarian youth. Accordingly, new drawings were attached to it. If one takes a closer look at these two pictures in the figures, one finds a certain resemblance of the Indian chiefs depicted in them to the contemporary movie stars shown in figures 1 and 2. The resemblance to Mitić is especially remarkable as to the physical appearance, the shape of the figure of the Indian shown in both Figure 3 and Figure 4. The body of Winnetou drawn in Figure 3 by a renowned Hungarian graphic artist of the day, Ádám Würz (1927–1994), seems to bear peculiar similarity to Mitić's body presented in movies like *The Sons of the Great Bear* (1966), *Trail of the Falcon* (1968), *Osceola* (1971), and so on. The body and the face of the French actor Pierre Brice could however also affect the illustrations, especially Figure 3, and other drawings of Winnetou. Brice played the role of May's Apache chief in the movies *Winnetou I* (1963) and *Winnetou II* (1964) and featured in some other great Indian films of the 1960s and 1970s. As for the black and white drawing in Figure 4, it represents Tokei-ihto, an imagined Sioux (Dakota) chief whose character was played by Mitić in *The Sons of the Great Bear*. This movie, as mentioned above, was based upon the novel entitled *Die Söhne der Grossen Bärin* of Welskopf-Henrich (who also wrote the screenplay), and the drawing was made by a Hungarian graphic artist, Tamás Szecskó (1925–1987), who had produced numerous illustrations for children and youth literature of the period.[7] The image shown in Figure 4 is taken from the Hungarian adaptation of the novel (1971). If one examines the shape of the face of Tokei-ihto in that drawing, one finds again possible traces of the influence of the face of the young Mitić—especially the form of his head, his face, and especially his cheeks.

Examples are numerous; much of infiltration and interpenetration can be detected among the different media of the socialist period conveying representations of those rather imagined indigenous inhabitants of North America. One can trace

[7] The son of Tamás Szecskó, Péter Szecskó, has also become a graphic artist, making illustrations for childrens' books. He illustrated, for example, the Hungarian translation of Grey Owl's *The Adventures of Sajo and Her Beaver People*, published in 1975 by Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó (see Szürke 1975). The first Hungarian translation of this work was due to Ervin Baktay (1890–1963), painter, traveller, and Orientalist who did a lot for popularizing North American Indian culture in Hungary between the two world wars, and after WWII he initiated the first "Indian camp", a kind of hobbyist movement for Hungarian intellectuals in the 1930s. This "camp" was copied later on as well in different places in Hungary; one of the elderly contributors of my research had met Baktay in the 1960s.

the way of wandering—redrawn, reused, reconceived—images from novels to movies/filmstrips and back, from movies and filmstrips to book illustrations,[8] and from books and movies to doings, sayings, even objects. This dense intermediality makes the practice of *indiánosdi* a paradise indeed for cultural research, and not only for Hungarian scholars.

A significant complement to this richness is provided by the international character of the sources. Novels and movies, children's toys and filmstrips constitute a remarkable *ensemble*, a *textual and visual/figural repertoire* of the most varied linguistic and cultural origin, reuse, and re-adaptation. Without being exhaustive, let me put together some of the most notable examples. A number of those sources originated in West Germany (like the Indian films featuring Barker and Brice); some were East German (like those of Welskopf-Henrich, the publishing houses Altberliner Verlag Lucie Groszer and Kinderbuchverlag in Berlin, and the DEFA Filmstudio for which Mitić worked for years); some were Serb/Croatian (Mitić originally was a Serb born in southern Serbia, near to Leskovac but moved to East Germany); many of the Indian movies were made in West German and Yugoslavian co-production and filmed on locations now to be found in Croatia (e.g. the national parks of Plitvice, Paklenica, or the mountains above Rijeka), and the publishing house called *Mladost* ('Youth') in Novi Sad (today in Serbia) published children's books for Hungary as well as for Yugoslavia. Other ingredients of this cultural *mélange* were Czechoslovak (like this Indian outfit sold for children during the 1970s, which consisted of a colourful plastic headdress, a bow and arrows, and some other pieces of clothing),[9] while still others were Polish (such as the publishing house Czytelnik in Warsaw, which provided, as we will see, certain Indian books to translate abroad), and many were Hungarian or even Bulgarian. Among the latter two we find individual translations of the classical Indian novels of Cooper (1789–1851) and May and also several "original" works written in the wake of these authors.[10] By original I mean here Indian stories authored by European/east-central European local, domestic writers. Some of these books have even been *cross-translated* in our socialist countries, as I will return to it later.

What can we do with such a huge and complex amount of cultural material? How can we approach it; in what ways can we handle it? And, is it interesting at all? Are there any important—social, political, and so forth—lessons that its study would yield for us, eastern Europeans, and also, perhaps, for a wider audience? I attempt to answer these questions by presenting here the basic research questions

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[8] There was a certain overlap between the graphic artists of filmstrips and children's books during the 1960s. Ernő Zórád (1911–2004), for example, was active at both filmstrip drawing and illustrating children's books. He made, among others, the black and white illustrations for the Hungarian translation of Thomas Mayne Reid's novel *The White Chief* published in 1975 by Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó (Reid 1975).

[9] A friend from my generation remembers having had a complete set as a little girl.

[10] I would like to express my gratitude to Dobrinka Parusheva (University of Plovdiv) for her invaluable help and constant interest in this research.

and the first results of my own study concerning some of the material discussed so far. I have been working on the history and anthropology of *indiánosdi* in Hungary for a while; this is the first study that I will have published about it. It is far from complete. I think however that it is worth sharing a first mapping of the data and an outline of a possible approach to this particular *champs culturel*.

Ego-histoire: A Self-History, Personal History Contextualized

Let us start from a premise according to which the research of *indiánosdi* can be understood as an *ego-histoire* as it was called once in modern French historical scholarship (Nora 1987). With some modifications necessarily having been made, it can be pursued as a self-history, a personal history contextualized—that is, put back into its contemporary social-cultural contexts. What are the characteristics of such a research?

It consists first of all of an examination of my own library of childhood, especially of the books with Indian content. This constitutes a good three dozen different works, which are usually illustrated. I have pursued a content analysis of them (both texts and images), on the one hand, and, on the other, I have tried to get information about their popularity, their past and present readers, and the views and emotions such works generate even today. Uploading their front cover and frontispiece pictures on my profile on one of the social media websites, I have invited comments from my Hungarian and foreign friends, colleagues, and acquaintances, a good three hundred persons. Relying also on some more traditional, philological as well as sociological research methods, I try to place my individual collection of Indian books—and my personal, individual knowledge about the whole practice of *indiánosdi*—back into its common *sociocultural* and historical *web* or context. In the final analysis, it is about that particular sociocultural and historical context that I want to learn as much as possible, since my own past is embedded in it, so it might provide a knowledge that is more broadly relevant than the boundaries of one person's experience. That context and that knowledge was/is also relevant for a great number of my contemporaries, friends, acquaintances who belong to my generation and also those who were born some ten years later (during the 1970s). These are the perspectives that the kind of *ego-histoire* that I pursue could offer and that is why it is so exciting; it aims to find out—to identify—the "Social" in our individual experiences, in our subjective knowledge. And the purpose of all this would be a better understanding of how a certain *sociocultural* and also *representational reality* was (and still is) constructed around us—in the current case, a reality of "socialist Indians". Cultivating *ego-histoire* means that the researcher pursues an analysis—a *deconstruction*, as one would say with Jacques Derrida (greatly simplifying his philosophical approach for the use of an anthropological history)—of that reality (Derrida 1967; Rorty 1995). The aim of such a deconstruction would be to find a place for the practice of *indiánosdi* in the conglomeration of several other constructed and similarly complex representational realities that surrounded

us as social beings in certain periods of history. Those constructed, semi-real, semi-virtual realities make up the *representational repertoire* of a given historical period, age, social regime, social setting, or, for that matter, subculture, and it is the anthropologist's/historian's task to reveal them. It does not matter that he/she succeeds only partially, there is always a way to go further and deeper. The methodological approach outlined here is informed by the related works of Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Roger Chartier, and, as mentioned above, Pierre Bourdieu (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Chartier 1989). Considering our present times, the age of globalism and its impact on cultural encounters and research ethics, there are some contemporary *American Indian* scholars as well that I rely on for other important aspects of my approach. They will be mentioned later.

Figure 5 shows the frontispiece of the Hungarian translation of a Polish original story about *indiánosdi* for children entitled *Kosmohikanie* ('Cosmohicans'), written in 1967 by Polish author Ewa Lach and published in Hungarian already in 1970 by the children's publishing house Móra, in Budapest. A new, Hungarian title, *Micsoda kölykök!* was added to the work, which means "Oh, Those Kids!", and the image carries the basic visual stereotypes according to which the indigenous inhabitants of America were imagined and were expected to be visualized by the children of my generation—impressive headdresses, colourful body painting, tomahawks, and ritual shouting; one could even buy these kind of things, tools and toys in plastic or wood, in warehouses. By wearing such "regalia", one could indeed frighten or even "attack" the adults, one's parents, relatives, and so forth. Yes, one could, but *not without limitation*. An aspect of playfulness was also implied in those social games as a matter of fact: no one was expected to take things entirely seriously, neither the children nor the adults. As a consequence, after the attack, the little Indians were supposed to change back to proper, decent socialist children and go back to proper, orderly socialist schools—either in Poland or in Hungary.[11]

Let us now turn to the classical Indian novels and take a look at the illustrations included in their Hungarian translations to be found in my personal library. The majority of those illustrations are black and white drawings, while front cover and frontispiece images are normally in colour. A remarkable tendency of stereotypization can be located in these images: a reliance on a couple of characteristic *visual clichés* in representing North American indigenous people. I will discuss a selection of such clichés in the following paragraphs and I will try to demonstrate that the representation of the distant Other was *more* than just a neutral, or just a purely playful strategy, in socialist visual culture—likewise, its reception and appropriation.

Our book illustrations tended to *canonize* certain figures, appearances, postures, and gestures, suggesting that American Indians—all Indians in all times—looked

[11] Such an aspect of playfulness, amusement and fun is very much present in the memories that I have collected. And it seems only to some extent due to the reworkings of memory. Indian games were played as much seriously as for fun.

and acted as the book's illustrations depicted. Aimed to instruct a general, popular, and especially young, audience, these images have conveyed unifying, uniformizing, and at the same time simplified ideas of the native peoples of North America. Let us see some of the most common variations.

A Heroic, Pathetic Representation (Snapshots)

A heroic, pathetic representation of the American Indian is to be seen in Figure 6, the front cover illustration of the Hungarian translation of Cooper's novel *The Prairie*, published in 1973, and also in Figure 7, the front cover picture of the same author's *The Last of the Mohicans*, published in Hungarian in the same year. Both images were drawn by the already mentioned Würz, an artist frequently employed for the illustration of children's books in the period.[12] Figure 8 shows one of the numerous inner illustrations of Welskopf-Henrich's novel *The Return of Tokei-ihto,* which were conceived in the same spirit, and the Hungarian translation of which also released in 1973. Such a visual heroization of the North American natives is well known from the Indian movies of the age, both in their Western as well as Eastern "Red" versions (*Commies and Indians* … 2013). It is important to recognize however to what an extent our graphical representations suggest the idea of *snapshots*. They seem to have originated as much in the still images of movie culture as its precedents—and perhaps also afterlife—in visual technology, namely *photography*. The pathetic late romanticism conveyed in the photos that the American photographer Edward S. Curtis (1868–1952) had made of a number of Native Americans during the early 1900s could have exerted a direct influence in this respect; it reached in an indirect way the illustrations of our children's books as well (Curtis 2005; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004).

The Representation of Movement (Filmic Images)

Movie culture as such seems to have had an enormous impact on the imagery of our Indian books in another respect. Figures 9, 10, and 11 could give an idea of how *movement* appears in the graphical illustrations of those books—itself originating in the visual world of the Indian films of the period. Figure 9, the front cover picture of *Az Ezüst-tó kincse*, the Hungarian translation of May's *Der Schatz im Silbersee* ('The Treasure of Silver Lake'), published in 1973 in Budapest, depicts a wild racing in the prairie, as does Figure 10, the front cover picture of the same author's *A medveölő fia*, *Der Sohn des Bährenjägers* ('The Son of a Bear Hunter') published in 1975 in Budapest.[13] Figure 11, the last inner illustration of the former novel of May goes, however, even further. This drawing from *Der Schatz im Silbersee* shows

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[12] The Afterword of this edition of Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* were written by Ádám Réz (1926–1978), a well-known Hungarian literary critic of the age. It was he who executed the translation of both *Vadölő* ('The Deerslayer') in 1956 and *Az utolsó mohikán* ('The Last of the Mohicans') in 1973.

[13] The latter was made by another well-known painter and graphic artist of the age, Gyula Szőnyi (1919–2014).

not only a peacefully racking group of horsemen in an imagined landscape, but it provides clues for the reader/viewer to *identify* the mountains and cliffs in the background by a careful execution of the visual representation, the design, the shape, and the position of the cliffs. This is beyond doubt Monument Valley, lying on the border of the states of Arizona and Utah and to be found on the Navajo reservation in the United States of America, a typical scene for a great number of the "Wild West" movies from at least the time of the chief actor of the early Hollywood westerns, John Wayne (1907–1979). Just like Monument Valley represented, typified the "Wild West", or the "Land of the Indians" for Hungarian children, so the figure of the *prairie Indians*, especially the *Sioux* with their spectacular headdress, tipis, and nomadic bison hunting came to represent the Indian in the over-simplified, over-stereotyped world of socialist multimediality of our childhood, novels, filmstrips, movies, photo postcards, and so forth.

Taking a look behind the images, it is important to note however that the land and the tribe did not/do not fit at all. No Sioux Indians (belonging to the Siouan language group) have lived in Monument Valley (if not by force). Since at least the sixteenth century, it has been the homeland of the Dine (or Navajo) Indians (belonging to the Athapascan language group) (Pritzker 2000: 51–55, 103, 316–339). Native American scholars have long expressed their criticism of those Hollywood movies and the resulting images that confounded different characteristics of the native tribes and conveyed a never-existing, constructed world of showcase lands and Indians (Kilpatrick 1999; Mihesuah 2001; see also Sz. Kristóf 2007, 2008, 2012). These scholars surely would criticize the illustrations of our socialist Indian books for quite similar reasons. Contemporary Native Americans cannot identify with those pictures since they cannot recognize themselves in the exoticized, idealized, and/or homogenized, simplified images that the visual products of the dominant Euro-American culture has conveyed about them since at least the late nineteenth century (Fixico 1997, 2003; Mihesuah 2001; see also Sz. Kristóf 2004). Native Americans, being more heterogeneous both linguistically and culturally than it was suggested by those pictures, call the "natives" who appear in these images "celluloid Indians" (Kilpatrick 1999). As we see, celluloid Indians arrived in eastern Europe, too—they appear in socialist children's books.

Ethnographic Representations

It is undeniable however that there was an equally powerful tendency in our book illustrations to represent Native Americans with an ethnographic "accuracy". At least there were efforts to do so. Figures 12, 13 and 14 are good examples. Their purpose is to introduce the viewer to the peculiar way of life of the indigenous people of North America, down to its details. Figure 12 is a drawing from Cooper's novel *A préri* ('The Prairie'), depicting a scene of bison hunting with its various techniques, strategies, and tools. This is another Sioux scene, but this time placed in the appropriate locality, somewhere in the northeast of the North American

continent. Figure 13 is a drawing from the novel of Welskopf-Henrich's *Tokei-ihto visszatér* ('The Return of Tokei-ihto') (1973) and it represents a ritual speech inside a tipi: the specific clothes, tools, and ritual objects of the Dakota people as well as the wooden structure of the tent are all carefully shown. This also is a Sioux scene, but this time quite accurate, ethnographical, and "anthropological", one could say.[14] It is as if the viewer could observe *from inside* what would be happening in the tent. The drawing places the reader of the book in the role of a "participant observer"; she or he is supposed to share the anthropologist's position in gathering knowledge about the tribe. Figure 14 however is a drawing from *Sós sziklák völgye* ('The Land of Salt Rocks'), written originally by a Polish fake, or "wannabe Indian", Sat-Okh, alias Stanisław Supłatowicz, and translated into Hungarian in 1965. The drawings were made by a Hungarian graphic artist, Sándor Benkő, and they depict the way of life—in Figure 14, the ritual of initiation for young boys—of an *imagined*, never-existing Canadian Indian tribe, the so-called "sevanez" (probably a coined version of the name Shawnee).

Sometimes fake and sometimes closer to the real world, the ethnographic images in our children's books have contributed to the dissemination, and at the same time the acceptance and toleration, of those other ways of living that Native Americans pursued. Although many scholars of the latter would not perhaps agree (see Deloria 1988; Mihesuah 1998), these images managed to bring those distant cultures that suffered so much under Euro-American colonial rule closer indeed to Hungarian/east-central European readers. They have succeeded in turning—not only popular but also scholarly—attention and compassion towards them. Several of my colleagues who were fans of Indian books in their childhood have chosen the profession of ethnography/anthropology, and some still work either for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and/or one or another of our universities and museums.[15] Knowing it from inside, I would argue that anthropology functioned not so much as a science of cultural exploitation (Deloria 1988; Biolsi & Zimmerman 1997) in Hungary of the day but, rather, as a science of curiosity, sympathy, and solidarity for native people. And these positive emotions and motivations owed a lot to the images of our children's books.

Characters and Roles to Identify With: Warriors and Freedom

What conclusion can one draw in this rather early stage of research? Multimediatized *indiánosdi* seems to have been a rather complex phenomenon of our socialist past. From a political point of view or, more exactly, from the point of view of the authorities it constituted a kind of "strain gauge" that was used deliberately by

[14] Welskopf-Henrich made several trips to the United States of America and Canada during the 1960s and 1970s in order to study the native culture of the Dakota Indians.

[15] A number of them participated in this research, but not all of them agreed to cite their names in this study. This and some other considerations led me to not mention the names of the contributors at all.

those in power. One could argue, thus in line with a Foucauldian analysis, that people were *allowed*, even *encouraged,* to watch, read, and play "Indians". But only on condition that they do not revolt (Foucault 1975).

The practice of *indiánosdi* has however provided its audience with quite powerful characters and roles to identify with. And these characters and roles were those of the *warrior*. Derived from the image of North American Indian warriors (such as the Sioux in their battle for freedom from the 1860s to the 1890s) and founded partly on the international struggles for the cause of socialism (e.g. the campaign for Salvador Allende in Chile in 1970) and partly on the local, especially southeastern (Yugoslav), partisan culture of WWII,[16] the example of the "socialist Indian" warrior was addressed not only to little boys but also to little girls. Figure 15 is a drawing from *Tokei-ihto visszatér*, which suggests, as do almost all the pictures of that book, that rather a young male readership was addressed by the editors. Figure 16 shows however movie star Brice, as Winnetou, in a cut-out as it was distributed by a (West) German Jugendzeitschrift, a journal for the youth entitled *Bravo*, in the year 1964; a friend of mine—a woman!—had it in real size on the wall of her vestibule. The practice of *indiánosdi* affected both genders, indeed, as mentioned above, and images of female warriors also existed, circulated, and were acted out. They were even quite widespread; one example of this practice involving female warriors is shown in Figure 17. This drawing is from the front cover of a novel of Imre Kőszegi, *Tollas Konty* ('Feathered Bun'), a piece of youth literature for girls in Hungarian, published in 1971 in Budapest. The novel relates how a teenage daughter of an agrarian cooperative of the country—that is, a high functionary in the socialist era, struggles with growing up, founds an Indian camp in her village, finds her way in the end, and becomes the respected leader of her age group. I had a copy of this novel in my own collection of Indian books.

Having a certain insight into the microcontexts and the microhistory of *indiánosdi* in the 1970s (and also the 1980s and 1990s) in Hungary, I would argue that the fact that the practice *did* include the pattern and also the potential to *fight* and to counter the authorities provided its attendants with such potentialities as the same authorities did not expect. And these potentialities turned out to be, in certain cases, more important, more powerful than the intention of the authorities to channel violence and calm down political anxiety. The practice of *indiánosdi* could thus serve—and we know that in many instances it did serve—in Hungary during the 1970s and 1980s as an alternative to official socialist culture. Its venues, sites, and localities functioned frequently as a meeting place for those in *political opposition*. Not only do the memories of the contributors to my research testify to this but also the files of the Hungarian state security service, since the Indian

[16] The exact relationship among these three aspects of the image of the socialist Indian in central Europe is still to be studied, its local variations are to be described. As for Hungary, I plan to write a study about it in the near future. See also *Commies and Indians...* (2013).

meetings—a *counter culture par excellence* for adults—were frequently observed by secret agents (Szőnyei 2005).

It is for such "post-Foucauldian" reasons that I am convinced that *indiánosdi* had a different and perhaps more complex meaning in socialist Hungary—and probably also in other socialist countries—than just another form of "hobbyism", as it did in western Europe (e.g. in West Germany) or in the United States (Deloria 1998). For a lot of Hungarians of the day, multimediatized *indiánosdi* was a *dream* and a *game of freedom*. And perhaps that is why we were so much committed to it.

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https://www.google.hu/search?q=gojko+mitic&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiv3MCY7tTNAhXJ_iwKHa2UC20Q_AUICCgB&biw=1366&bih=677#imgrc=TuAnJrdwuExn-M%3A. 1

Pierre Brice as Winnetou

https://www.google.hu/search?q=pierre+brice&biw=1366&bih=677&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&sqi=2&ved=0ahUKEwjdqcO87tTNAhXlHJoKHTjlB_gQ_AUIBigB#imgrc=CXLYpv24oziOVM%3A.

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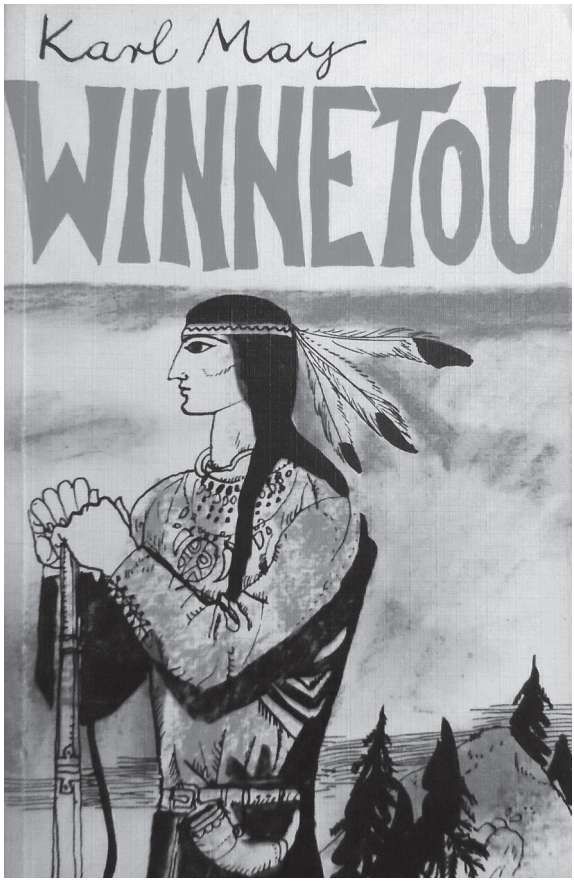

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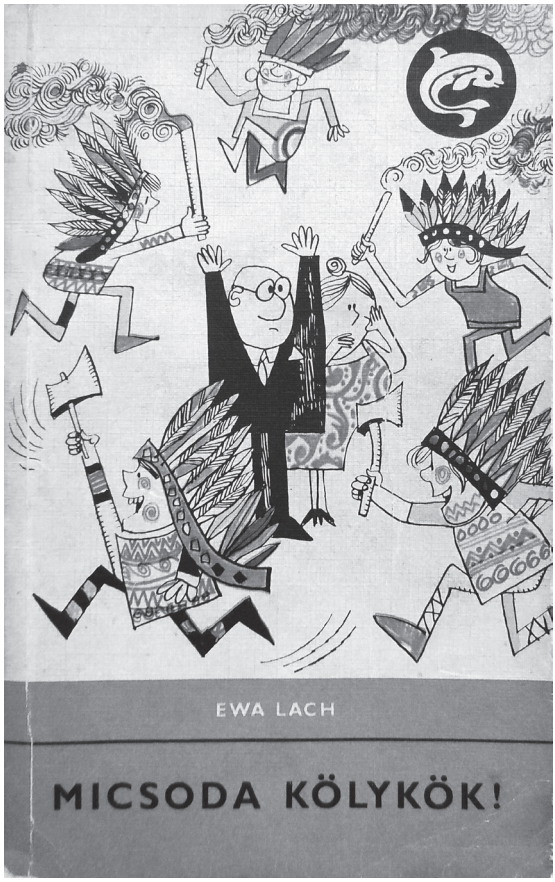

Oh, Those Kids!
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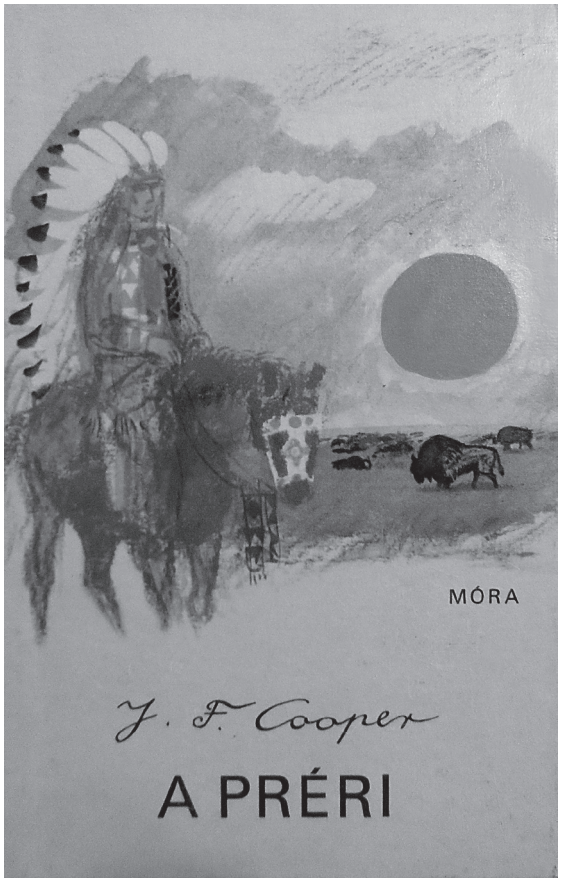

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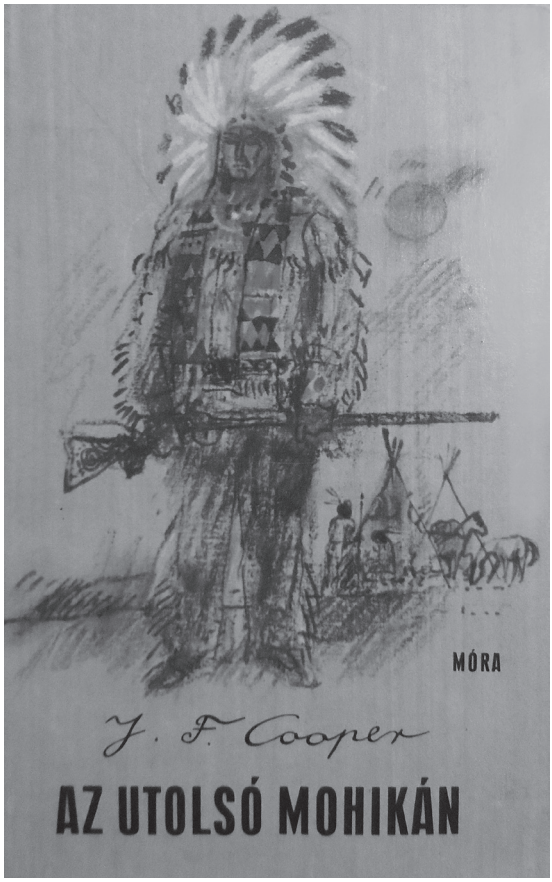

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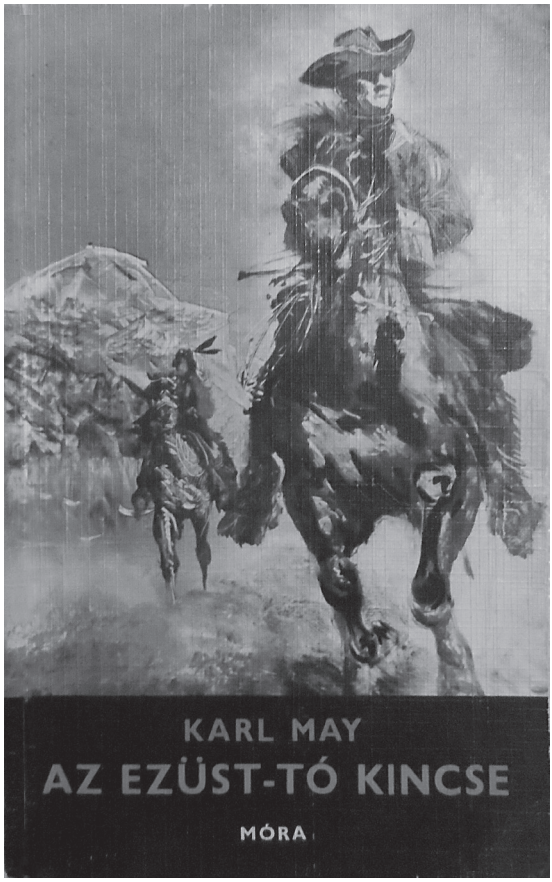

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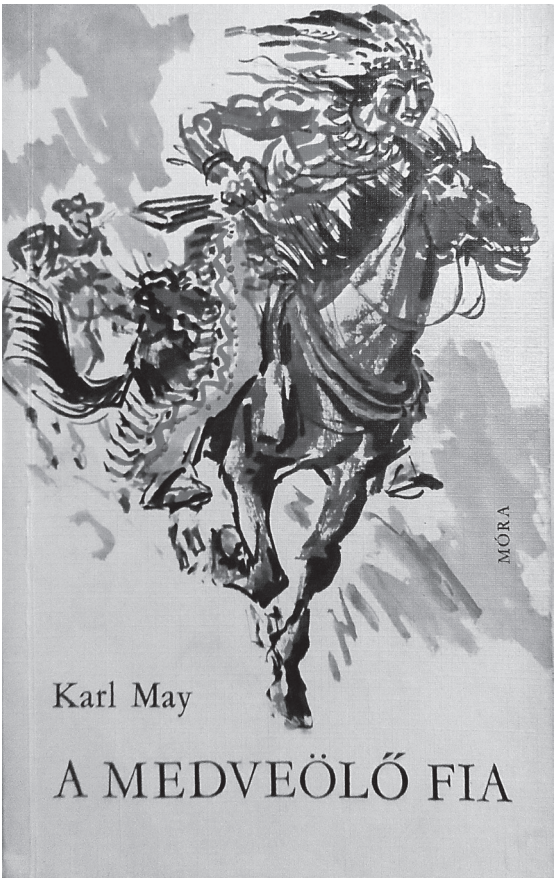

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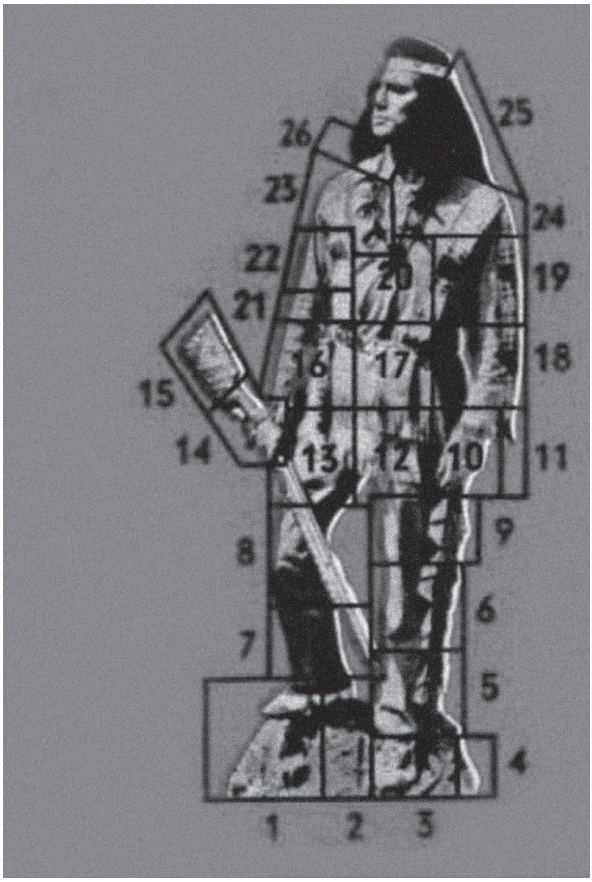

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Imre Kőszegi, 1971. *Tollas Konty. Regény* ('Feathered Bun. A Novel'), ill. by Lajos Kondor, Budapest: Móra Ferenc Könyvkiadó, front cover picture.

17

Tomislav Oroz

The Historical Other as a Contemporary Figure of Socialism—Renegotiating Images of the Past in Yugoslavia Through the Figure of Matija Gubec

The aim of this chapter is to problematize the historical figure of Matija Gubec from the perspectives of memory studies with special emphasis on popular culture and political discourse. By taking the figure of Matija Gubec as a focus of analysis, I wish to rethink socialist representations of the past, most notably the Peasant revolt of 1573 and its leader Matija Gubec. Diverse political agendas articulated through the figure of Matija Gubec in the socialist and the postsocialist arena reflect not just the relationship with the past, but also the self-image of the socialist period and visions of the future. Furthermore, there are also other questions that arise when thinking of the past and its effects on the everyday level. First of all, there is the question of disciplinary perspectives. Ethnographically inspired research does not refer to this figure of Gubec in a way that historiography does. The rhetoric of realism, truthfulness, or facticity is not part of the anthropologist's vocabulary. Anthropological perspective rather tends to seek the ruptures of naïve realism when representing the past or tends to question the "facticity of the fact" (cf. Thornton 1988: 289). This leads to the notion of the Other implied in the title of this chapter. Who/what is the Other in this case? Is it the historical figure from the past or maybe the contemporary meanings inscribed into this figure and then transposed to the realms of the present? The Other that I am addressing here is not the well-known anthropological Other but rather the anthropologically potent historical Other encountered in the realms of socialism and contemporary postsocialist perspectives. Clifford Geertz warned us many years ago in his article *History and Anthropology* on the distinction of these two conceptualizations of the Other. He was opposed to the commonly assumed perspective that "dealing with a world elsewhere comes to much the same thing when elsewhere is long ago as when it is far away" (1990: 323). According to Geertz,

> 'We' means something different, and so does 'they', to those looking back than it does to those looking sideways, a problem hardly eased when, as is increasingly the case, one tries to do both. The main difference is that when 'We' look back 'the Other' appears to us as ancestral. It is what somehow led, however vagrantly, to the way we live now. But when we look sideways that is not the

> case. (…) To the historical imagination, 'we' is a juncture in a cultural genealogy, and 'here' is heritage. To the anthropological imagination, 'we' is an entry in a cultural gazetteer and 'here is home' (Ibid.).

Defining this state of affairs as a professional ideal until his time, Geertz underlines the changes in the ecology of learning that has "driven historians and anthropologists, like so many migrant geese, onto one another's territories" (Ibid.). But far from the disciplinary perspectives of "we" situated in "now" and "then", and far from the diagnosis of *blurring the genres* that Geertz warns us about—in order to understand the never-ending fluctuations of the past, the present, and the future—we need to step beyond the linear conceptions of the time. In this case to answer the question of why has Matija Gubec, the sixteenth-century historical figure, so-called leader of the peasant revolt in Hrvatsko zagorje (north-western part of modern Croatia), made his way into the popular imaginings of the socialist period, we need to step beyond the situatedness of time and periodisational taxonomy. In the time of deterritorialisation, or as Arjun Appadurai notes, in the time of postblur blur (cf. 1996: 51), when the notions of culture, space, and identity have been uprooted from the traditional scenery on which they have been staged, when the antidote positions of the fantasy and the imagination have come together through the mass media—thus making the utopia of the possible the pragmatism of reality—the case of Matija Gubec as a socialist contemporary warns us of the importance of memory that operates in the "multiplicity of social time" (Halbwachs 1992: 53).

Having in mind this disciplinary perspective, the goal of this chapter is to analyse how the historical figure of Gubec has been articulated in the popular culture and political discourse in the socialist period in Yugoslavia. What are the perspectives of the socialist everyday life attached to the historical figure and how has the historical image of Gubec been transformed and adapted to the new social, cultural, and political contexts? How do these meanings interrelate and negotiate diverse perceptions of the past, the present, and the future? In what way has the socialist "state of mind" made the historical figure of Gubec an argument of the plausibility of its ideology? And further, how has the popular culture opposed or agreed with the ideologically orchestrated interpretations of the past? Was the popular culture a platform for social critics or a stepping stone for a political propaganda? The questions of historically inspired identities and diverse identification strategies highlight the concept of social memory that considers, problematizes, and negotiate different views of the past. Therefore, the notion of socialist contemporary that I address in the title does not limit itself to the socialism conceived of as a mere historical period. The story goes beyond the socialism usually perceived as periodisation category to postsocialist perspectives and cultural practices. Despite postsocialist reflections as the purpose of this chapter, I shall mainly consider socialism and its social, political, and ideological context. Finally, the aim of this chapter is to describe the dynamic transformations and renegotiations of socialist identities articulated through the character of Matija Gubec.

The Greatest Heroes of Our Times—Long Live Tito and Gubec!

In order to understand the socialist interpretations of Gubec's character and the place it holds in the pantheon of various heroes of the national liberation, one needs to consider the symbolic potential of its figure prior to the World War II period. The historical figure of Gubec as a socialist contemporary, which I wish to address here, made its way beyond the realms of the past long before the official declaration of a socialist Yugoslavia. The character of Gubec from the nineteenth century played an important role among various political parties and in popular culture in general. His rebelliousness, peasant origin, and esteemed sense of righteousness were the dominant character traits highlighted in local legends and stories of his life. Very soon they marked his appearance, thus, making Gubec a synonym for bravery and universal ideals. Gubec as a 1573 peasant revolt leader in Hrvatsko zagorje rebelled unsuccessfully against feudal lords such as Franjo Tahy and other noblemen. Historiography inspired by the peasant revolt made this topic very extensive while different historians focused on different aspects of the rebellion (Adamček 1968, 1986; Antoljak 1956; Durman 1936). Historiography emphasized the role of Gubec as a leader of the peasant revolt in 1573, highlighting his military skills, organization of the revolt, or some other details of his biography. Even though the peasant revolt was unsuccessful, the failure of the revolt made a path for future symbolic revolts and their potential "success"—namely, over the centuries Gubec as a martyr became a hero, a legend whose name was constantly evoked in oral literature, legends, and, in the nineteenth century, political ideologies and popular imaginings. These interpretations launched a cult of the hero that, despite the peasants' defeat, stood as prominent historical figure popularly perceived as ahead of its time. Matija Gubec began his life within political discourse long before the official declaration of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1945. By the end of the nineteenth century, and into the beginning of the twentieth century, his figure was constantly used as a reference in various speeches, public lectures, newspaper articles, public revolts against Hungarians, theatre shows, and so on. The ideas of equality and freedom ascribed to his character and political agenda several centuries later made him a prominent reference in various political parties that stood against "unfair" political decisions. From the Illyrian movement in the nineteenth century, through the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) at the beginning of the twentieth century, to the fascist Ustaša movement during WWII, Gubec figured as a prominent hero of national history, along with others who represented a vision of centuries-old struggle for Croatian independence. Whether it was a national liberation that the Illyrian movement emphasised, or his peasant origin highlighted by the Croatian peasant party, or his martyr death while fighting for Croatian independence (as it was seen by Ustaša movement), Gubec was recognized as a potent historical figure that could easily be used by various ideologies (cf. Oroz 2011). His visionary quest for equal rights despite a rigid feudal social structure, combined with his hard life, full of injustice, made his ideas easily comprehensible, thus, allowing

a vast majority of the population to identify with him. But despite these occasional, mostly uncoordinated attempts, to evoke Gubec's bravery, the first ideologically coordinated use of his symbolic potential started with the Croatian Peasant Party. Matija Gubec's peasant origin, together with his ideas of social justice, both for citizens as well as peasants, inspired the Croatian Peasant Party (which was the biggest political party of prewar period) leaders Stjepan and Antun Radić to position themselves as successors of Gubec's ideas, almost an incarnation of his idealism. Almost at the same time, Gubec stood as the ideal image of the Ustaša movement, which evoked his bravery, his martyrdom, and the blood he spilled for the ideal of "Croatian independence". It was his martyrdom that the fascist ideology of the Independent State of Croatia declared as an obligation for Croatian people in general—the youth needed to "follow his path"—while his sacrifice of blood obliged the citizens to participate in WWII. The illegal communist party of Yugoslavia also used the symbolic imagery of Gubec as an argument for their agendas and political goals. At the same time when the Croatian Peasant Party almost exclusively promoted the cult of Matija Gubec and their party leaders Antun and Stjepan Radić across the country, the illegal communist party started promoting revolutionary ideas by referring to Gubec. In a weekly newspaper, *Dom i Svijet* ('Home and the World'), published in 1921, communists named Gubec as the Croatian Spartacus, comparable to contemporary figures such as Ukraine hero Andriy Shevchenko. Just like Schevchenko, Gubec was defined as a martyr who fought for the just cause as all socialist revolutionaries do (cf. Brkić 1923: 123). Communist volunteers in the Spanish civil war evoked the Gubec character in their letter from 1937 addressed to the Communist party of Yugoslavia. The brigade invoked Gubec's revolutionary ideas and was committed to the fight for freedom and democracy just as Gubec did (Mardešić et al. 1958: 101; Pavlaković 2004). Furthermore, one of the first brigades that made coordinated attacks on the fascist regime in Yugoslavia was named after Matija Gubec. It was no coincidence that this brigade was founded in Hrvatsko zagorje, where the Communist party intended to evoke rebellious feelings against the fascist government and its racial laws. By employing the name of Matija Gubec, who according to the local legends was sleeping in the mountains, waiting for the right moment for his final return, the Communist party tried to resurrect his figure to point out the necessity of reviving Gubec's unfinished mission. Even the posters made during the war as well as partisan newspapers evoked Gubecs' revolutionary spirit who according to the author Pirnat Nikolaj "shouts from the darkness, calling for expulsion of the enemies". Both figures depict on his rebelliousness now incarnated in an visual appearance of contemporary partisan fighters (Fig. 1a).

Even though Gubec's charisma was already used by the various political parties, the strange coincidence is that Josip Broz Tito, like Gubec, was born in Hrvatsko zagorje. This made the communist claims to Gubec much more "realistic". Tito's ideas of social justice, regardless of nationality or ethnicity, very quickly became

associated with the centuries-old struggle for the "timeless ideas" of freedom and equality, which, by that time, were already seen as part of Gubec's biography. In addressing the Croatian communists, Tito highlighted the importance of Gubec's visionary quest for freedom, demanding that partisans should sing rebellious songs inspired by the peasant revolt and Gubec when passing through Croatian villages, thus, instigating a revolutionary spirit among the local population. In this way, ideas of social justice and freedom that people associated with Gubec could make a complex Marxist ideology and terminology more comprehensible for peasants and workers (Žanić 1998: 315). Furthermore, the partisan movement started to publish, illegally, the newspaper *Gubčev borac* ('Gubec's fighter'), with drawings of contemporary partisan fighters that continued Gubec's revolt and fight for freedom (Fig. 1b). The rooster as a symbol of rebellious serfs was replaced with the five-pointed red star of communists, while Tito was identified as the last of the great national heroes who stood against fascist tyranny.

By the end of WWII, state propaganda declared Tito as the living embodiment of Gubec's ideals—Tito's monumental role in WWII, alongside his unprecedented bravery and peasant origin, made him a hero, the one who succeeded against all odds. In his first official speech in Zagreb entitled "Brotherhood and Unity" on May 21, 1945, Tito addressed the citizens of the newly declared state of Yugoslavia, evoking the sanctity of the historic site at which the speech was delivered. The new Yugoslavia that Tito referred to in his speech was born and resurrected on this same historical site where Matija Gubec had been executed with a hot iron crown several centuries ago.

> Brothers and sisters, dear citizens of Yugoslavia. I am happy to welcome you today and to congratulate you on our liberation, here on this holy place where once was killed Matija Gubec, a famous son of the Croatian people. After four years of war I have the opportunity to be again with all of you in our beloved Zagreb (Stanojević 1959: 264).

The importance of Gubec's sacrifice and of those who stood up against the fascist regime during the war echoed from this site, thus, obligating everyone to respect the ideals of the People's Liberation War (*Narodnooslobodilačka borba* or NOB). But unlike the mourning and torture that echoed on this spot during Gubec's death coronation, the ideals of brotherhood and unity that Tito invoked in his speech were greeted with applause and cheering. The revolution that Gubec started several centuries ago had now been accomplished with Tito as the incarnation of Gubec's ideals. From this day on, the official propaganda started to promote the local cult of Matija Gubec and his successor Josip Broz Tito across the whole of Yugoslavia. In that same year in Belgrade, Tito was promoted as the modern Matija Gubec. Josef Korbel, Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Yugoslavia at that time, noted the enthusiasm in the first days of the war and reported on the gala

performance in the National Theatre in Belgrade. Matija Gubec, whose heroism and fight against the oppressors was obvious analogy to Tito, was the subject of the play performed that evening. "When the Gubec of the present time, Marshal Tito, entered the theatre, everybody stood up and the wild applause and rhythmical shouts of 'Tito, Tito, Tito', reverberated throughout the hall" (Korbel 1951: 41). This "ecstasy of fanaticism" that Korbel witnessed was a constant leitmotiv during the entire evening, so that "whenever Gubec on the stage spoke about the struggle for freedom, the performance was interrupted by a new wave of applause addressed to the Gubec in the box" (Ibid.: 41–42). Tito's popularity and Gubec's charisma transcended the boundaries of time and space, thus blending with the new socialist paradigm of brotherhood and unity that found its historical argumentation of the hills of Hrvatsko zagorje. The notion of Gubec as the historical Other made its way into socialist everyday life, with Tito as the living incarnation of his ideals.

In the almost half a century long life of Yugoslavia, the dynamics and configuration of the political discourse changed, thus, adapting to the specific cultural, social, and political transformations Yugoslavia went through. During the war and in the first years after the war, the political discourse focused on the Gubec and Tito analogy, the war sacrifices, and the ideals of the centuries-long struggle. The rhetoric of sacrifice and struggle is evident in political speeches such as one made by Miroslav Krleža, a well-known Croatian writer and prominent figure of intellectual life. In his speech delivered in Hrvatsko zagorje in 1951, Krleža reflected on the historical sacrifice of all Yugoslav nations from the Peasant revolt to Tito's days. In the "darkness of history", Krleža recognized Gubec's character as the spark that ignited the timeless quest for freedom and equality. The Peasant revolt of 1573 illuminated the course of communist fighting in the days of the war. Gubec, according to Krleža, was one of the figures who bravely led revolutionary masses from the darkness into the light. As a visionary ahead of his time, Gubec's ideas were doomed to fail but were accomplished several centuries later by Josip Broz Tito (cf. Krleža 1975: n.pag.). The political discourse tried to highlight the importance of Tito as a contemporary Gubec and in this way to avoid other possible (negative) identifications. "This enabled Tito, leader of a revolution that abolished the exploitation of peasant and workers to present himself symbolically as the resurrected Gubec, the one who had managed to finish off his work, to achieve the vision of the just society that the revolutionary peasants had died for" (Žanić 2002: 50). This decision is notable not just in the formal textual representations of the Peasant revolt but also in the visual scenery revolving around Tito. Scenes of the battle inspired by the Peasant revolt were displayed frequently in museum and state offices, but the figure of Gubec was often absent. In order to show that history is still very much alive in the person of Josip Broz Tito, the absence of Gubec's historical visual representation tended to avoid any other potential analogy with Gubec except that proclaimed by the official ideology (Fig. 2).

The central place in Tito's work cabinet as, shown in Figure 2, was reserved for Krsto Hegedušić's painting *Boj kod Stubice,* depicting the motif of the final battle between rebelling serfs and the feudal army. The painting was specially ordered in 1947 and, as a gift of the Croatian government, was given to Tito (Radić 2012: 75). The composition of the painting that emphasised the force of the masses and not Gubec himself, along with Tito's central spot in front of the painting doing important state jobs, reflects the ideologically desirable interpretation of continuity of class struggles. Peasants in the background, symbolizing the revolutionary thought, and living Tito as the contemporary Gubec in front of them allegorically connect two different historical periods that were organically connected by socialist ideals. The similar iconography of sacrifice and struggle can be seen in Raul Goldoni's wall painting in 25 May Museum in Belgrade. Art historian Ana Panić concludes that "the art represented [a] 'show-window' of the new post-revolutionary government" (2012: 264) serving to publicly display the new national identity based on the connections between the topography of the country, shared historical roots and thus shared memory. Goldoni's painting on the wall of museum was displayed in 1963 and was commissioned by the Secretariat for Education and Culture of the City of Belgrade to display the struggle and suffering of people from the middle ages to the days of world war (Ibid.). One side of the painting shows the serfs and rebels from the sixteenth century, while the other side depicts the motif of partisans and their war struggles.

The notions of a fight for equality and progressive socialist ideals so often encouraged during the war were transformed in the Cold War context. They were semantically reorganized and interpreted as the fight against the capitalism, social inequality, and underdevelopment. This shift from the Gubec character to the Peasant revolt, from individual to collective, from the charisma of one person to the strength of the working class has been especially evident during the 400th anniversary of the Peasant revolt (Fig. 3). In 1973, during commemorative ceremonies held in Hrvatsko zagorje, the changing paradigm reflected how the Yugoslav society saw itself several decades after the end of war. This was especially evident in the speech of Josip Broz Tito who on this occasion highlighted "the continuity of our people's struggle for a better life, social justice and freedom" (Broz Tito 1975: n.pag.), while behind Tito the monument carved into the hillside figuratively evoked the power of the revolutionary masses from Gubec's to Tito's days. The figure of a six-and-a-half-meter-tall Matija Gubec in front of the monument stands alone with arms wide spread symbolizing the "link between two worlds" (Krklec 1975: n.pag.). "Matija Gubec's ideals, which were ahead of his time, were manifested in the monument as a tangible expression of the utopia of egalitarianism that was ingrained in the socialist everyday life and in the visitors' experience" (Oroz & Škrbić Alempijević 2015: 171). Tito himself unveiled the monument while the cheering crowd approved this festive occasion with banners saying, "Tito—Gubec, Gubec vodi seljake—Tito vodi nas" ('Tito—Gubec, Gubec lead the peasants—Tito leads us') (Žanić 2002: 50).

Popular Culture and Matija Gubec

Despite these ideologically orchestrated interpretations of the past, the popular culture in Yugoslavia from the 1960s on altered the dominant view of the past through different medial platforms. In times of Yugoslavia's nonaligned status, popular culture began to make its own reality that could oppose and renegotiate the prevailing ideological visions of the past. The political crisis in domestic affairs, which even questioned the existence of socialism itself, was in contradiction with the significance of Yugoslavia in the West. In this "Coca-Cola socialism", as Radina Vučetić (2012) named it, the boundaries of the socialist project changed in favour of new cultural forms that enabled the emergence of different interpretations of Gubec than those offered by the official ideology. New visions of Matija Gubec appeared in comics, movies, and theatre shows, thus making his character much closer to everyday situations and real life problems. Through these new media forms people identified themselves with Matija Gubec, the oppression he fought against and the hard life he lived. Popular culture served as the platform that negotiated diverse meanings with reflections to the political, social, cultural, and economic aspects of everyday life. Popular culture with all of its expressions showed that the historical event from the sixteenth century, and Matija Gubec as its key figure, weren't just the realms that belong to the past, but rather they were imagination opportunities that exist as "scenarios of life possibilities" (Appadurai 1996: 53).

The first time when Matija Gubec appeared in popular culture in Yugoslavia can be traced to the 1950s. Even though the comics had an image of Western bourgeois cultural form, after 1951 the comics became popular in Yugoslavia and widely accepted. Within the historical comic series entitled *Nikad robom* ('Never a Slave') the comics of Ivica Bednjanec appeared. In several comics inspired by the Peasant revolt, Ivica Bednjanec explored the possibilities of different interpretations of the past than those proclaimed by the official propaganda. In 1966, Bednjanec published *Matija Gubec* ('Matija Gubec'), *Krvavi dani* ('Bloody Days'), *Veliki ratnik* ('The Great Warrior'), *Puntari* ('The Rebels'). In 1974 *Stubička avet* ('The Ghost of Stubica'), and *Sablast nad Medvedgradom* ('The Spook of Medvedgrad') were published. The feudal system in these comics was represented as oppressive, the feudal lords, as dictators—vicious, morally corrupt, and prone to abuses of power and to physical violence. On the other hand, the peasants were shown as god-fearing souls, gentile and unspoiled. This line of interpretation went along with the popular conceptions of Marxist interpretation of the feudal system. Furthermore, because the comics were considered a marginal art form, very often described as kitschy and irrelevant, the sarcastic remarks of their authors were something that could be tolerated. Regarding Gubec's character in the comics, there are two comics that depict a new emerging vision of Matija Gubec. These were *Stubička avet* and *Sablast nad Medvedgradom*. Gubec was represented as a superhero with extraordinary human strength, sometimes supernatural abilities, and extraordinary intelligence. An almost sacred image of Gubec, whose direct analogy

with Tito made him often untouchable, in Bednjanec's comics was enriched with new meanings and modern references. This image did not question the ideologically proclaimed interpretation of Matija Gubec, but it opened the way for new interpretations of the history that did not rely solemnly on "facts" but rather on imagination and subjective perspectives with which people could identify. Comics like these could be seen as the spaces of articulation of different interpretations of the Peasant revolt wherein historical facts, fantasies, and humour come into the play (Figs 4a and 4b).

Several years later, new interpretations of Gubec appeared in films and theatre plays. The festive occasions of the 400th anniversary of the Peasant revolt inspired Karlo Metikoš, Miljenko Prohaska, and Ivica Krajač to experiment with a new art form at the time—rock opera *Gubec beg* ('Gubec, the Lord') wherein the essence of Matija Gubec found its new existence. The goal of the authors was to articulate this historical event in the form of a rock opera with a new representation of Gubec as a rebellious young man. Even though Gubec was widely unknown across Yugoslavia in the first years after the war, he soon became a symbol of brotherhood and unity. Therefore it was considered almost blasphemy to put such a heroic historical figure, often compared to Tito, in a popular scene. The opera *Gubec beg* became very popular, while the critics compared it to *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Tommy*, and similar rock operas of the day. Newspaper reviews described the performance of the young and rebellious rock version of Gubec as "unique, unprecedented and spectacular", while the opera as the "unity of the truth, imagination, rhythm, sound and the collective".[1] The authors considered the rebelliousness of Gubec as an ideal that transcends the specificity of time and space. The newspaper reviews reflected on Gubec having come to life once more (cf. Štrok 1974: n.pag.), while the rock format of his rebelliousness was considered appropriate in order to articulate the ideas of protest against the old regime. Young, rebellious Gubec, who suddenly sings in a rock opera is different from any interpretation of Gubec before that time. Replacing the image of Gubec mostly perceived as a wise, old man with almost hippy-like appearance of a young man points to the shift from the official state-promoted cult of Gubec (Fig. 5).

The film of Vatroslav Mimica, *Anno Domini 1573*, was also inspired by the Peasant revolt, while the 400th anniversary gave it the opportunity to be realized. The film itself was focused on the Peasant revolt and the importance of this historical event, but the figure of Gubec was one of the main topics in newspapers just before the shooting of the film started. The big question at the time was who was going to have the leading role in film, that of Matija Gubec. This question was constantly addressed to Vatroslav Mimica by different people on various occasions: from passengers in the street to his close associates. In order to answer the question, Mimica

[1] The notes are based on the personal archive of Ivica Krajač given to me during our first meeting. The archive is housed at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Zadar.

proposed that there should be a wider debate on the question of how the people imagined Matija Gubec. During the interview, Mimica invited readers to send him their descriptions and drawings of Gubec. The interest was so high that within a few months people from all over Yugoslavia started to send in their letters explaining what Gubec meant for them, how they perceived him and imagined his visual appearance. Besides textual representations, there were numerous drawings, sculptures, and song recordings inspired by the character of Matija Gubec. Even school children sent drawings of Gubec, describing his strength, love for freedom, martyrdom, and heroism. Most of the descriptions imagined him with a moustache so some suggestions came that he should be played in the movie by famous Croatian actors that have moustaches or by popular singers such as Mišo Kovač (Figs 6a and 6b).

By inscribing their own experiences into Gubec's character—their social position, political opinions or (in)justice they felt, or knowledge they had of this particular historical episode—readers reflected their own visions of Gubec. Descriptions were so detailed that many readers imagined him with chestnut-brown hair or specific moral characteristics. Even though some interpretations went along with an ideologically appropriate image of Gubec, new interpretations emerged that compared him with common people from everyday life (Fig. 7). In this way the historical figure became a contemporary figure that could easily articulate the everyday problems most people dealt with. Gubec's rebelliousness soon became a metaphor for the hard life of workers and or everyday struggles. Finally, Mimica decided that the Croatian actor Fabijan Šovagović fit the best described characteristics of Gubec. His Gubec in the film was portrayed with a moustache, as a renaissance intellectual who played chess with his comrades and peasants.

Conclusion

The historical figure of Matija Gubec, whose heroism, sacrifice, and ideals in folk legends stood as everlasting values, made its way into the political discourse and popular culture of the twentieth century. The socialist interpretation of Gubec leaned on already existing interpretations of Gubec's heroism and martyrdom, often evoked by the Croatian Peasant Party ideologists and Ustaša movement. Nevertheless, the socialist ideology looked at Gubec as a predecessor of the socialist revolution and at the same time defined Tito's contemporary figure as an incarnation of Gubec's heroism. The political discourse tried to use Gubec's character to argue Tito's socialist ideals of unity and brotherhood and show their deeper historical roots in Gubec's search for equality, justice, and freedom. The rooting of Tito's contemporary vision of socialism 400 years earlier was not just a case of displaying historical traces of socialist revolution but rather of bringing the past to the current socialist reality, thus making it an integral part of everyday life. In this way, the link between the past and the present served to highlight the ahistoricity of ideals that transcend temporal coordinates. However, the interplay between the political discourse and popular culture shows that the character of Gubec in popular culture was not just a figure that could be used for the purpose of socialist ideology, but

rather it stood as a platform on which to negotiate different visions of the past that could justify and oppose the social, political, and cultural aspects of the socialist reality. By resurrecting Gubec in marginal visual art forms and experimental theatre shows, popular culture opposed the dominant narrative and made a way for different meanings that could be inscribed to Gubec's character. These meanings were not just textually proclaimed but were rather articulated and made into a practice of everyday life. They were evoked in the musical performances and visual representations, often on the borders of humour, irony, and critique. Ethnographically inspired research of these meanings shows that dynamic and renegotiated images of Gubec reflected the interplay of the official and the popular imaginings of the past and the present. By confronting these diverse interpretations, one can see they constitute a reality that negotiates visions of the past and the present, thus blurring their borders. In this way, the historical Other becomes a contemporary phenomenon of socialism, thus reflecting realities that exist as "possibilities, dreams, or nightmares" (cf. Thornton 1988: 289). Even though basic features of Gubec weren't questioned, his appearance, with whom popular culture experimented, opposed the ideologically accepted image of Gubec. For example, his rebellions weren't just indicative of the character traits that could be found in Tito but also was also indicative as a reflection of the younger generations' and their inspiration in rebellious hippy culture. In this way, contemporary Matija Gubec of socialism became a reference not just in political arena, but also in wider public discourse. His figure was a medium through which the socialist working class articulated their perspectives, dreams and desires through historical narration.

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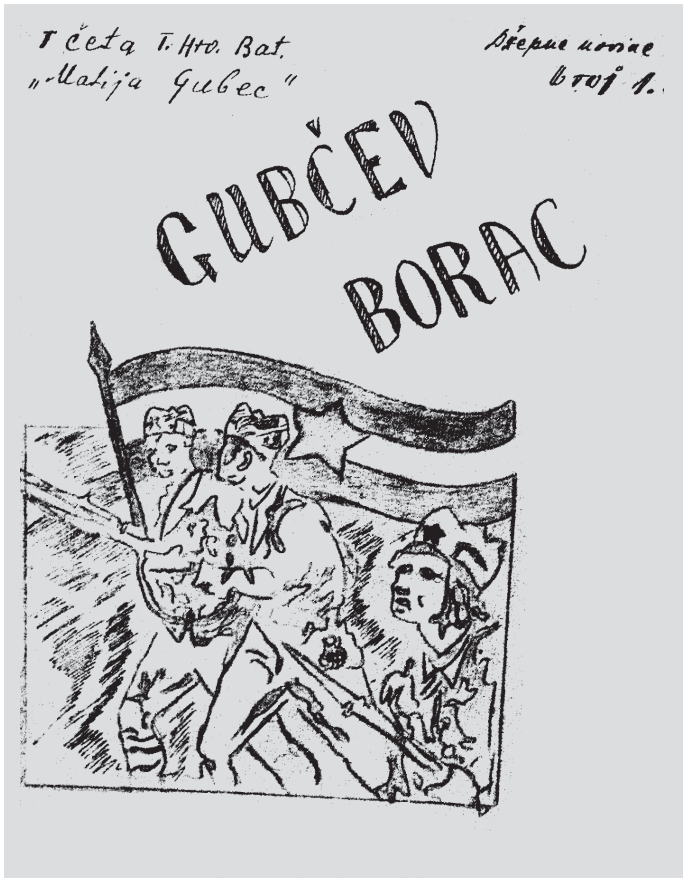
People! Matija Gubec is calling you from darkness of history: do not miss the hour!
With the last strength, assault the enemy on our land.
With the weapon in your hands, set firm boundaries of your country!

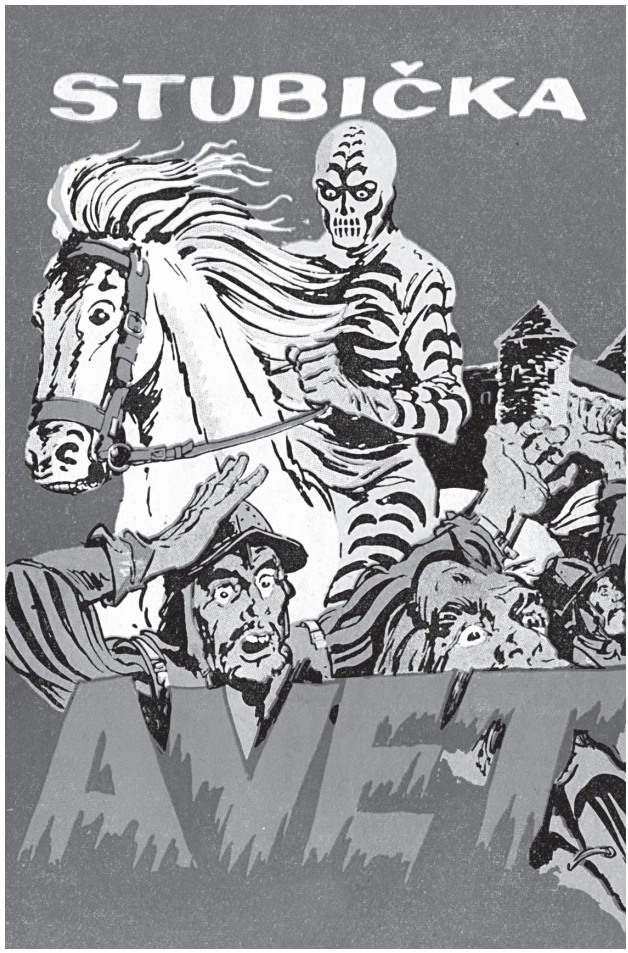
Pirnat Nikolaj, 1945, a poster published by Slovenian partisans in *Kočevski Rog: Partizanska tiskarna*, n.pag. The digital version is available at Digital library of Slovenia (www.dlib.si). 1a



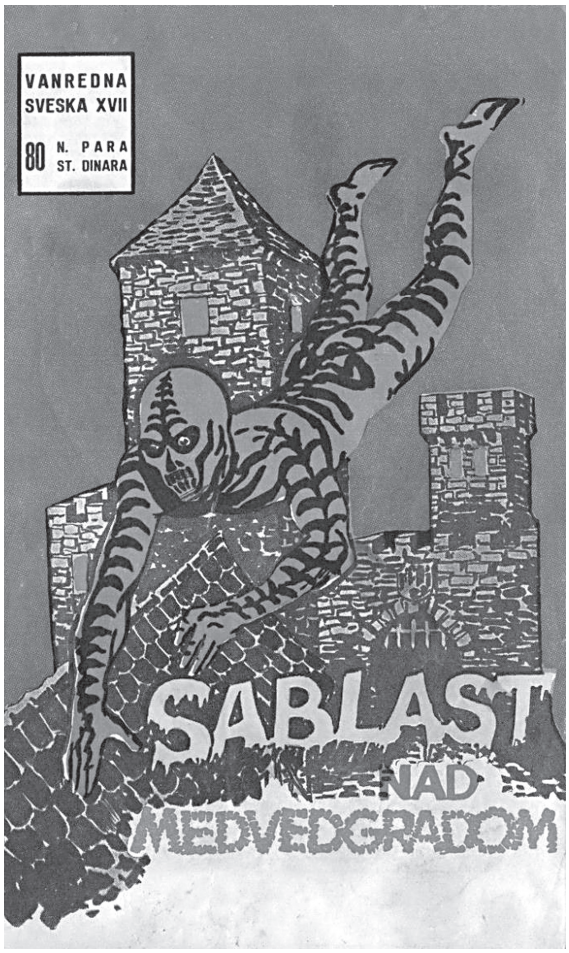
1b ***Gubčev borac* ('Gubec's fighter') wartime newspapers**
Reprinted in Ivanuša D. 1974, Partizanske jedinice imena Matije Gupca u Narodnooslobodilačkom ratu i revoluciji ('Partisan Units Named After Matija Gubec in People's Liberation War and Revolution'). *Kaj: časopis za kulturu i prosvjetu*, vol. 3/4, pp. 67–80.

Josip Broz Tito in his work cabinet in 1953 during shooting of a film *Scene iz kuće* ('Sequences from the house'). Krsto Hegedušić's painting from 1947, *Boj kod Stubice* ('Battle at Stubica') occupied the central spot on the wall behind the desk
Photo archive of Museum of Yugoslav history, www.mij.rs. 2

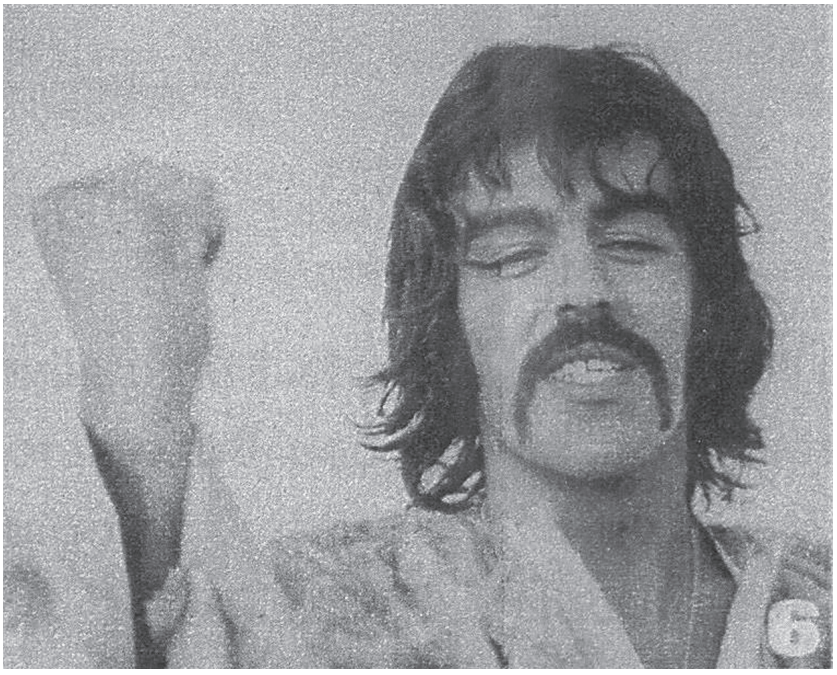
Josip Broz Tito's speech before the official ceremony of unveiling the Monument to the Peasant revolt and Matija Gubec on October 14th 1973
Reprinted in Zdunić, D. (ed.) 1975. *Matija Gubec: monografija o spomeniku Seljačkoj buni i Muzeju seljačkih buna u Gornjoj Stubici* ('Matija Gubec: Monograph on the monument to Matija Gubec and the Museum of Peasants' revolt in Gornja Stubica').
3 Gornja Stubica: Muzej seljačkih buna, Zagreb: Spektar, n.pag.



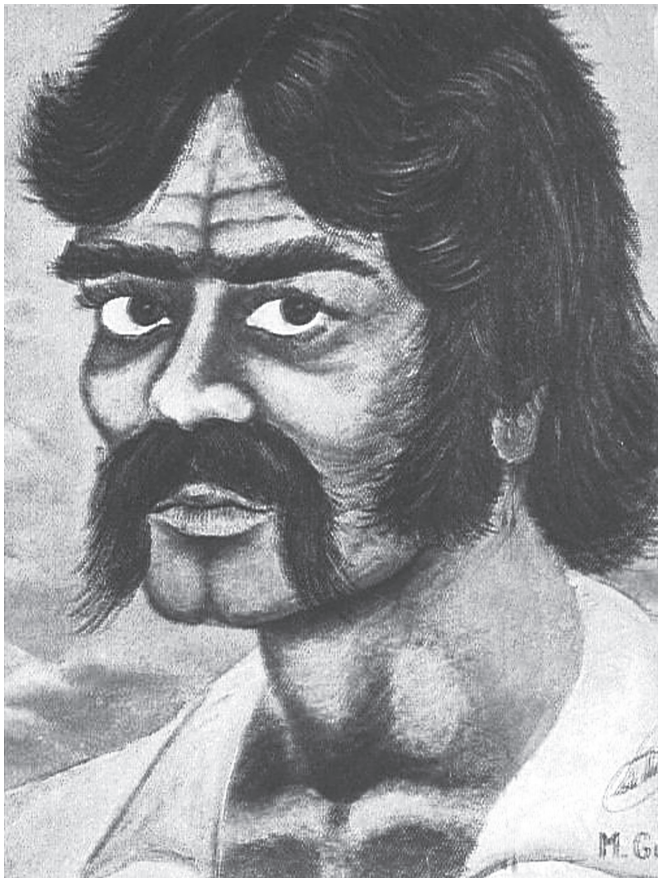
Cover of the comics *Stubička Avet* ('The Ghost of Stubica')
I. Bednjanec, 1974, *Stubička Avet*, Gornji Milanovac: NP Dečje novine. 4a



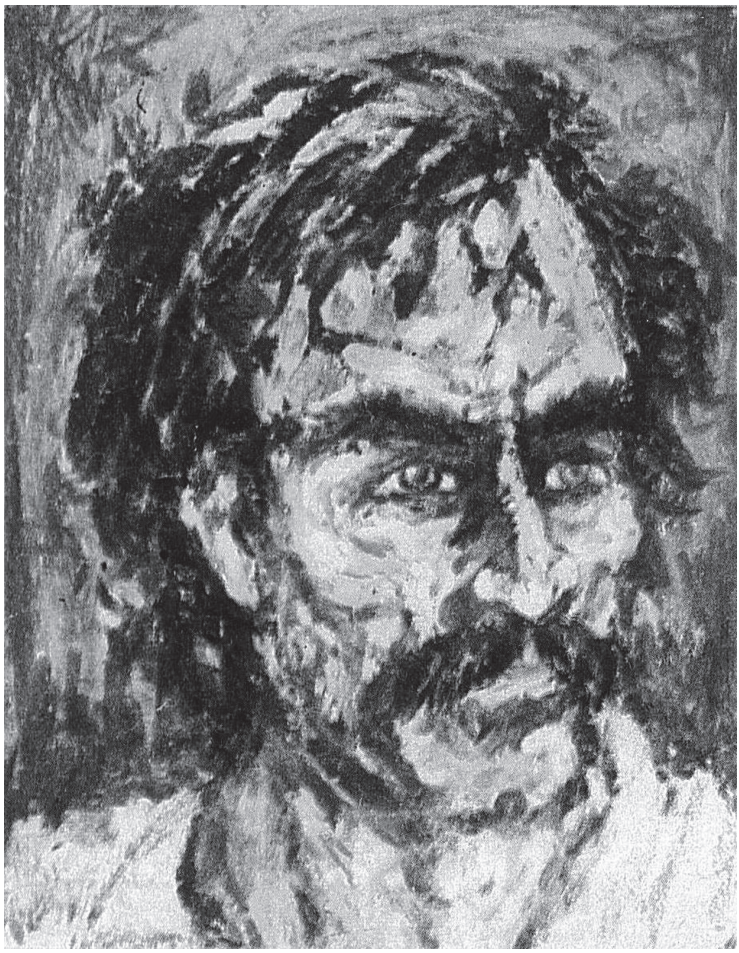
4b **Cover of the comics *Sablast nad Medvedgradom* ('The Spook of Medvedgrad')**
I. Bednjanec, 1974, *Sablast nad Medvedgradom*, Gornji Milanovac: NP Dečje novine.



Contemporary Matija Gubec of the 1970s, played by Zagreb actor Branko Blaće
Private archive and correspondence of Ivica Krajač. 5



6a **Drawings of Matija Gubec**
made by one of the readers from Dubrovnik, Croatia



Drawings of Matija Gubec
made by one of the readers from Dubrovnik, Croatia 6b

A photograph of a peasant from Hrvatsko zagorje, with Tito's and Gubec's portraits on the wall behind him
Personal archive of Vatroslav Mimica.

7

Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković

Multimedial Perception and Discursive Representation of the Others: Yugoslav Television in Communist Romania

This chapter offers insight into the way the Others, Yugoslav neighbours, were perceived by the Romanians watching Yugoslavian television in the 1980s in Timişoara, the biggest city of the Romanian Banat. This period of Romanian history, the last years of the totalitarian communist regime, was characterized by an ever-growing and ubiquitous personality cult of Nicolae Ceauşescu.[1] Romanians were forced to live in the self-sufficiency imposed by a ruler trying to prevent his citizens from any form of contact with the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, those living in the close vicinity of state borders had the privilege of watching foreign television, which had a strong signal in these regions, and thus of getting accustomed to the reality of the neighbouring countries, of learning their languages, and of finding out about the Western way of life and values. This chapter is based on a series of interviews with Romanians from Timişoara, who represented a fervent audience of Yugoslav television in the last decades of communist rule. I will analyse the way in which the image of the relevant Others, the Yugoslavs, is discursively constructed by the interlocutors who got acquainted with them by watching Yugoslavian television. In order to render a better image of the social and political context in which all this happened, I offer a brief review of Romanian television during that period, which has been characterized as the most absurd media in Europe, and I discuss the practice of watching foreign TV in socialist Europe. I draw upon the concept of otherness employed in human geography and also try to see to what extent the traces of these relevant Others can be detected today in Timişoara.

Romanian State Television in the 1980s, "The Most Absurd Media in Europe"

The history of Romanian state television (TVR) is so closely connected to Ceauşescu's era (the "Golden Age", as it was labelled by the official propaganda of that time) that, between 1965 and 1989, the two are almost inseparable (Matei 2013). After 1973, TVR becomes completely subordinated to the Romanian Com-

[1] Nicolae Ceauşescu was the political leader of Romania between 1965 and 1989, when he was overthrown and killed in the Romanian Revolution of December. He became the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965, then head of state in 1967. While following an independent policy as regards foreign relations, Ceauşescu kept a centralized administration in the country, drastically limiting free speech and the media and tolerating no internal dissent or opposition.

munist Party; it loses its institutional autonomy and becomes a party institution. Thus, "its role of a mediator between the party, on the one hand, and the citizens, on the other, comes to an end" (Ibid.: 41).

When Ceauşescu's regime becomes aware of the enormous potential of television and realizes that it has lost control over it, the government tries to limit broadcasting to a symbolical minimum. The extreme shortage of consumer goods is thus accompanied by a drastic reduction of TV broadcasting. After 1984, the broadcasting program of TVR is shortened to only two hours during weekdays (see Fig. 1). This radical reduction, in fact a return to conditions of the pre-1965 state, has two main reasons. The first is the energy-saving program that Ceauşescu initiated in 1984, which lasted until the fall of the communist regime in December 1989 and aimed at paying off the external debt of the country. The second is the unprecedented extent of censorship. A ten-hour daily broadcast was impossible to control, thus it had to be shortened so all TVR's administrative and political censors and the ideological department of the Romanian Communist Party could oversee the entire program (Ibid.: 34).

Apart from these severe limitations, radio and television shows, movies, theatre shows, and all other forms of artistic creation were to follow the guidelines in the *July Theses*.[2] The educational and ideological role of these artistic creations had to surpass their aesthetic value, so that they appealed to the masses, especially to the workers and peasants, and put an end to the influx of "decadent" Western products.

After 1984, the ideological and cultural (later economical) politics of the communist party turned TVR into the "most absurd media in Europe" (Ibid.: 53). Nevertheless, Ceauşescu's personality cult started to form earlier, after 1973, and definitely changed the broadcast profile of TVR. His personality cult was "unique in its absurdness and pomposity", suggests political analyst Vladimir Tismăneanu (1999: 159). The charisma of the "saviour of the nation" was, in fact, a "transitory, precarious and uncertain construction" (Tismăneanu 2012) and no other southeastern European leader in the post-Stalinist era managed to construct such a forceful, systematic, and theatrical cult of personality, except maybe for Enver Hoxha (Ibid.). Daniel Ursprung compares the personality cults of Stalin, Hoxha, and Ceauşescu and notices that, in Ceauşescu's case, "the element of social integration is not as important as with the other two dictators, and the central motifs of the Romanian leader's iconography are his deification and glorification" (Ursprung 2010: 71).

Ceauşescu's personality cult, "omnipresent, grotesque and noxious" (Tismăneanu 2012), was also built and imposed on the citizens by means of Romanian state television. This "huge ideological polyp with millions of antennas"[3]

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[2] The name under which Ceauşescu's speech from July 1971, in front of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Socialist Party, is known.

[3] Alexandru Matei quotes Dumitru Popescu, who was the subtle creator of the cult of personality of Nicolae Ceauşescu (Matei 2013: 58).

becomes the ideal means of enforcing the communist ideology and ethics. Dana Mustață, in an essay on the secret watching of foreign TV in communist Romania, notices that "the media played the key role in the turning of Ceauşescu into an idol to be obeyed" (2013: 155). His age was the age of television, where the shooting camera was ubiquitous: smile and enthusiasm were the compulsory features of the coverage and reports meant to depict the "new life"; the Party and its beloved leader were the shining faces which the TV screen would introduce into each and every household (Cernat et al. 2008: 261).

After the fall of the totalitarian regime in December 1989, numerous memoirs of everyday life under communism were published in Romania. Many discuss the scarcity of TV broadcast in the late 1980s. Paul Cernat, for example, remembers: "I was watching the entire TV program, even the most boring agricultural shows, everything was of interest to me. In Ploieşti, in my grandparents' house, I was watching with them, in an old fashioned manner, the entire broadcast" (Cernat et al. 2004: 24). Cernat describes the "satisfaction full of interest with which I would watch the funerals of important communist leaders" (Ibid.: 25), when TVR did not broadcast anything else.

Watching Foreign TV in Socialist Europe

As a legitimate reaction to the reduction of TV broadcast time and the ubiquitous and subversive communist propaganda, Romanians started to look for alternatives that would satisfy their need for information and entertainment. As the televisions of the neighbouring states had a rather strong signal in the border zones, watching Bulgarian, Hungarian, or Yugoslav televisions became a way of reversing the isolation and the self-sufficiency ideal imposed by Ceauşescu's regime. Furthermore, it became a way of parting the imaginary iron curtain separating communist Romania from the West and even from the communist, but far more liberal, countries of the region.

Alexandru Matei, writing the history of Romanian television in its glorious years (1965–1983), notices that, in the 1980s, TVR relinquishes all roles, except for the propagandistic one. Instead, its place is taken by the *para-television network*:

> The object of media studies in the monotonous 1980s in Romania should be the para-television network in the country: the practice of watching foreign movies on videotapes, the satellite dishes whose installation was, paradoxically, permitted (at least in Transylvania, where no channel of national television was in range), as well as massive watching, in the vicinity of the borders, of neighbouring televisions (the best known is the case of Bulgarian TV, everyday guest of Bucharesters) (Matei 2013: 58).

Watching the "bourgeois" televisions of neighbouring states was common practice in the border zones of the Eastern Bloc. The programs of Western televisions (mainly those of Italy and West Germany) allowed people from eastern Europe to

compare their life standard with that of capitalist states, which was usually much higher. The fervent watchers thus found out how democracy functioned and got accustomed to a freedom unknown under communism. It is believed that, in the long run, Western television programs encouraged prodemocratic attitudes and undermined public support of communism (Kern & Hainmueller 2009: 379), playing a significant role in the fall of communist regimes in southeastern Europe (Nye 2008).

The majority of East Germans were regularly watching the TV broadcasts of West Germany, which were far more popular than their own. A few authors notice that West German television was subject to a constant comparison of the life standard between rich West Germany and its much poorer neighbour East Germany, which in time destabilized the political legitimacy of the East German regime (Kern & Hainmueller 2009: 379; Kern 2011; Grdešić 2014). As West and East Germany had a common language and a similar culture, this probably increased the influence of West German television, which was also paying special attention to political issues in East Germany.

In situations in which neighbours did not share the same language, language acquisition frequently happened. Thus, the Romanians learned Serbian by watching Yugoslav TV (Sorescu-Marinković 2011), the Albanians learned Italian and Serbian, the Estonians learned Finnish, and so forth. Finnish TV, for example, was transporting the Estonians on the northern border of the Soviet Union to the coloured world of entertainment and consumerism, teaching them Western values and encouraging them to dream of a better future (Lepp & Pantti 2012: 76). The role of Finnish TV in enabling a transition to democracy in Estonia in the beginning of the 1990s has been analysed in both popular and public discourse. It is believed that Finnish TV was the main agent of change that supported the fall of the communist regime, as its programming presented the Estonian with Western values and thus served as a subversive means of destabilising the totalitarian regime (Ibid.: 77).

In southeast Europe, in Enver Hoxha's Albania, the televisions of neighbouring states (Italy, Greece, and Yugoslavia) became the main connection between the isolated Albanian society and the rest of the continent. Even if forbidden, watching foreign TV broadcasts was widely spread in the border zones of socialist Albania.[4]

[4] In his collection of essays *Monologue. Mass-Media and Totalitarian Propaganda*, Albanian sociologist Artan Fuga depicts the efforts of the Albanians to intercept the TV signal from neighbouring countries in the last years of communism: "TV receivers come out on the roofs at night, immediately after dusk, and vanish in the early morning, before dawn. They are hidden in the attics. People appear on the roofs like ghosts when night falls. They silently walk on tiles, like acrobats. The whole town is like full of vampires, the spirits of the dead who rampage in the night on the roofs. … Citizens are looking for the freedom of information climbing on the roof or like squirrels on the tree, where the TV receivers are hidden in the thick leafage. Their price goes higher and higher. Tin is stolen from factories. Craftsmen who can manufacture receivers are the most sought after, the most valued among friends, neighbours and relatives. That's a secret job, which earns well" (Fuga 2010: 141).

Unlike in other socialist eastern European countries, people in Albania caught installing TV receivers or watching foreign TV programs could be sentenced to 3 to 10 years in prison. After 1973, TV jammers were mounted in the border zones, but with minimal results as it was usually possible to watch foreign TV even without TV receivers (Idrizi 2016).

In 1982, the architecture of public places in Romania changed completely, Dana Mustață remarks, as TV receivers started appearing on the roofs of buildings after the interdiction of broadcasting the world football championship in Spain (2013: 156). This practice was tacitly accepted in Ceaușescu's Romania, where State Security (Securitatea) was controlling every aspect of its citizens' lives: "The public space of the country remained clear of suppressive measures against reception of foreign television, as well as of any (functional) infrastructures obstructing foreign radio signal coming into the country" (Ibid.: 157).

A TVR document from July 4, 1982, with the title *Information concerning the Reception of Foreign Television Programmes on the Territory of Our Country*, contains a map put up by Securitatea of the "reception zones" in Romania exposed to neighbouring countries' television (Ibid.: 162). A note to this document explains that in southern Romania 6 to 8 million people were watching Bulgarian TV; 3 to 4 million Romanian citizens were watching Yugoslav TV in southwest Romania, while those in the north and east were watching programs of Soviet TV. According to this document, Yugoslavia had the highest number of transmitters sending signal into Romania (Ibid.: 158). From the above mentioned televisions, Yugoslavia's was the most liberal and had the most interesting and diverse programs (Sorescu-Marinković 2015). Furthermore, its strong signal was covering the entire Banat, the highest regions of Transylvania, and parts of Muntenia and Oltenia, where it overlapped with the signal of Bulgarian TV.

The Others Across the Border: Mediated Memories

Even if one of the bloodiest borders of Europe in the 1980s, the Western border of Romania was, in the same time, very porous and greatly facilitated the circulation of goods, people, ideas, and images. As Badenoch et al. put it, "Broadcasting during the Cold War involved complex processes of circulation, appropriation and rejection of broadcasted content that were only ever partially circumscribed by the ideological blocs" (2013: 367). Yugoslav television played a main role in shaping the view on life of the Romanians in the Western part of Romania. This space functioned as a gateway for receiving TV broadcast from the "free world", introducing the Romanians into the Western world of consumerism, getting them accustomed to Western civilization but also to the Yugoslav system of values. Thus, the Yugoslavs became significant, relevant close Others, whom the Romanians admired and wanted to imitate. Those living near the western Romanian border became a "mass of population living in Romania, but feeling towards Yugoslavia" (Gheo 2006: 122).

If we were to employ Staszak's definition from the *Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, according to which otherness is "the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("Us", the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ("Them", Other) by stigmatizing a difference—real or imagined—presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination" (2009: 44), we would come across a paradox. In our case, the Others, discursively created by my interlocutors and many times stereotyped, are not stigmatized but presented in highly appreciative terms. Even if Staszak claims that the stereotypes used by the in-group to present the out-group that are "largely stigmatizing and obviously simplistic", as the out-group is coherent only as a "group as a result of its opposition to the in-group and its lack of identity" (Ibid.: 44), the stereotypes used by my respondents to depict the Others, the Yugoslavs, are mainly positive. They praise the courage, temperament, and decisiveness of the Yugoslavs, as we shall see, and moreover, the in-group, the Romanians, is constructed in relation to these Others, not the other way around. Thus, the stigma is bored by the in-group, which tries to imitate the out-group so as to become as similar as possible with the relevant and admired Others.

Otherness obviously comprises a geographical dimension, as cultural surfaces are divided by and into spatial blocs—regions, zones, countries, continents, and so forth—which are more or less homogenous. In our case, the respondents, Romanians from the western region of Romania, were divided from the Others, the Yugoslav, by the state border between the two countries, Romania and Yugoslavia, one of the most rigid borders of that time. Clearly, states need to control their borders as they are "their first lines of defence, institutions of social coercion, and symbols of a variety of state powers" (Wilson & Donnan 1998: 10). However, people living near the border are often members of "informal networks which compete with the state" (Ibid.: 10). The Romanians of Banat definitely inhabited a space "in between" in the 1980s, being anchored in the tangible territory of Romania but freely circulating in the "free world" presented to them by the Yugoslavs and Yugoslav TV.

Discursive Representation of the Others: The Yugoslavs

In order to discuss the way in which Romanians in the western part of the country perceived the relevant Others, the Yugoslavs, in the 1980s, I will resort to my research, started in 2010 in Timişoara. Initiated with the original aim of determining the degree of linguistic competence of the Romanians who learned Serbian by watching Yugoslav TV in the 1980s, the investigation developed over time so as to focus on aspects of everyday life under communism and the role of Yugoslav TV in shaping the world view of my respondents (Sorescu-Marinković 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2015). They form a real *affective community*, in Halbwachs's terms, a mnemonic group of people sharing the memory of the same experiences of everyday life

under communism.[5] The interviews on the social context in which my respondents learned Serbian represent valuable fragments of oral history, which reveal the unique perspective of the participants on the last years of the communist regime in Romania and the practices that shaped their everyday life. It is important to mention that the fifteen people I interviewed between 2010 and 2015 were in their teens during the last years of the communist regime in Romania, thus, when they talk about the 1980s, they talk about their personal maturation. The Others beside them in this process were the Yugoslavs, whom they came to know and admire mainly through watching Yugoslav TV. Apart from this practice, real contact with the Yugoslavs also existed. My respondents recalled the flea markets in Timişoara, to which Serbs would come during weekends to sell consumer goods; some of them had relatives on the other side of the border, while a few had friends belonging to the local Serbian diaspora. All these helped in circulating goods and images from Yugoslavia and from western Europe.

My respondents practically grew up with "the Serbs", as they call the Yugoslav TV, on which they watched everything: cartoons, music shows, entertainment programmes, sports, documentaries, news, educational programmes, movies, and series. They discovered consumer society through Yugoslav TV and for the few hours when they would watch it, they were granted escape from the gloomy Romanian socialism. Former Yugoslavia represented a specific civil space, based on the socialist culture of everyday life and closer to Western society than to the Eastern Bloc. The vision of Western culture and life and the encounter with its values (among which was the consumer mentality, governed by different laws: competition and predominance of personal interest, individualism as opposed to socialist solidarity, and so forth) brought about an important change in the view on life of my respondents. They could recall with incredible accuracy the wording, music, or images of TV ads they would watch on Yugoslav TV, which they loved, remembered, learned by heart and repeated, even when they did not have a clue what they were advertising.

The interviews conducted in Timişoara acted as a form of therapeutic confession that helped my respondents come to terms with the collective past, with a large swathe of history, by reconsidering and analysing their own smaller pasts. All were eager to talk about the period in question, and our conversations were frequently marked by their laughter and exclamations, indicating a high level of implication and the active process of remembering. The Others, the Yugoslavs,

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[5] For Halbwachs (1980 [1950]), individual memory can be understood only by connecting the individual to the various groups he or she simultaneously belongs to, groups that carry and support the collective memory. Collective memory encompasses thus individual memories, but it is different from them and develops according to its own laws. Therefore, only by recognizing the role of the *affective community* within which our thoughts and feelings originate can we understand how memories are reorganized and reconstructed and how the past can be better understood if we remember it together.

became part of an identity introspection, and the respondents' relations with them were looked upon as an important real and symbolic resource.

During the interviews, the Others were presented by my interlocutors in two manners: by generalization and by particularization. Thus, they talked of the Yugoslavs in general, about the people on the other side of the border leading a much better life and making the lives of Romanians brighter by offering them insight into their values and way of living. But they also recalled particular Others with whom they got acquainted by watching television, such as TV hosts and Yugoslav artists, actors, entertainers, politicians, and so forth. Sometimes, the TV-mediated knowledge of the Others was just an impetus for getting acquainted with nearby Others, the Serbs living in Timişoara or over the border. The interlocutors evoked these particular encounters and ethnic stereotypes circulating in the Banat about the Serbs and both reproduced them and tried to challenge or to explain them.

When generalizing, my respondents created an idyllic image of everything coming from Yugoslavia, including the people. Thus, the leitmotiv most of the narratives are based on is "We didn't have anything, They had it all". One of the interlocutors talks about "Them" in highly appreciative terms:

> We didn't have anything. We only had two hours of broadcasting, between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m., and then it was cut even more, and the news was only about Ceausescu. While here… Everything new in music was first aired on Serbian channels. After 1979 we didn't have anything any longer. They had sports, they had news, they had all the good music… (Mihai, male, b. 1969).

Yugoslav TV and radio hosts were remembered as having incredibly sensual voices. Smokers of cigarettes that Romanians could not buy, the voices coming from the Yugoslav ether were as vivid at the moment of remembering as they were in the 1980s:

> The voices of Serbian female speakers were something so sexy for Romanian men, incredible. All of us thought they were smoking all day long Vikend, Vek, Fik, Port and the rest, you know. Both the ones on the radio and on TV. All were the same, had incredible smokers' voices. My God, did they sound good on air! I get goose pimples now when I remember it (Romulus, male, b. 1974).

The Yugoslav and foreign music that my respondents had access to by watching the Yugoslav TV was filling a huge gap in Romania. Here, by the end of the 1970s, the state radio and TV almost completely ceased to broadcast any foreign music, while the number of politically suitable Romanian artists was constantly and drastically decreasing. The admiration for the Others on the other side of the border is also obvious in the interlocutors' veneration of Yugoslav artists. Zdravko Čolić, Oliver Mandić, Lepa Brena, Bijelo Dugme, Riblja Čorba, Bajaga i instruk-

tori, and Magazin are only few of them, whose songs my respondents knew by heart. Everybody I have talked to recalled with great delight the 1984 concert of Lepa Brena (see Fig. 2) in Timişoara, where more than 40,000 tickets were sold. It was a unique event in communist Romania, where no foreign artists were any longer granted permission to appear in front of the public:

> It was crazy with the Lepa Brena generation. She was very popular and in 1984 she came to Timişoara for a concert on the stadium. It was packed! … I was not there, I was too small, but I have some recordings and after that I found some videos from that concert on Youtube. It was extraordinary. Imagine a full stadium, I mean 50,000 people. There were folks on the grass, on the tribunes. It was all packed. And Lepa Brena on a crane for electricity, of the ones used to repair street lights, they put her up there, very high. She sang from up there. Crazy, crazy! She sang that song, you know it for sure, *Long live Yugoslavia* (Horaţiu, male, b. 1971).

Musicologist Ana Hofman talks about Lepa Brena in the context of repolitization of "musical memories" of Yugoslavia and considers her to be a Yugoslav mainstream cultural project, the first real Balkan star. The concerts she held in the 1980s in Romania and Bulgaria are thought to be not only exquisite music shows, but also political events par excellence, as "in these countries Brena and her music served as a specific 'window' to the west and a sign of the level of liberalization and democratization" (Hofman 2012: 24).

Apart from Yugoslav artists, the actors of the former federation were idols of an entire generation of Romanians, who watched all the movies and series broadcast on Yugoslavian TV. One of the TV series many of my respondents talked about in highly appreciative terms was *Vruć vetar* ('Hot Wind'), aired in 1980 on the Belgrade TV channel. The humoristic TV series follows the adventures of Šurda, a man in his mid 30s, who comes from a small town to Belgrade, the capital city, hoping to get rich (see Fig. 3). Romanians' fascination with this series went so far as trying to identify with the main character even by imitating his way of dressing—namely, wearing a hat similar to the one he was wearing. Šurda's hat became so popular in Timişoara that it made the local hat industry boom:

> Šurda, that's Şerban. Šurda comes from the main character of the TV series. From Šurda. It was a TV series, in the 1970s or 1980s. … Šurda was wearing a hat. The series was nothing special, it didn't have a special topic, it was not a police series, or love or horror. It was simply about life. And the main character was called Šurda and he was wearing a plaid hat. Sort of a communist Sherlock Holmes. And that hat immediately became a fashion icon. That very moment, the hat industry in Romania started producing Šurda's hat and everybody was wearing it. That hat was a real must those days. … The first one in our school to wear it was Şerban, this is how he got the nickname Šurda (Mihai).

The TV mediated contact with the Others also prompted real encounters with Serbs from the Romanian Banat, which is home to an important Serbian minority. Having a Serbian boyfriend was considered very romantic at that time, as Serbs possessed the language knowledge necessary to understand everything broadcast on the Yugoslav TV:

> When I was 16-17, I had my first boyfriend, his name was Vojte and he was a Serb. And so I found out about Bajaga, Magazin and the like, I can't remember all of them, but I know that Vojte would translate the lyrics for me. Boy, was it romantic! Because back then there was no Google (Laura, female, b. 1976).

My interlocutors also talk about meeting people from Yugoslavia after the fall of the communist regime. The short accounts about them emphasize the differences between the two cultures, and the Others are not idealized any longer. After years in which Romanians have learned Serbian to be able to understand what they were watching on Yugoslav TV, there is no greater satisfaction than teaching Serbs Romanian, in return:

> I got friends with some Serbs from Novi Sad who came to Timişoara to study, you know. To study medicine. And they didn't know a word in Romanian. I taught the Serbs to speak standard Romanian, you know. And this was a great satisfaction to me, for I succeeded. … The first thing I taught them was "I kiss your hands". The Serbs are no gentlemen, they are rather rough, do not offer flowers to girls, do not open the door for them, are not careful with their girlfriends or spouses. … And they do not have polite pronouns! Boy, that was hard! You can't say *you* to your professor! (Horaţiu, male, b. 1971).

As I have mentioned before, even if stereotypes are by their nature simplistic, they are not stigmatizing in this case. The Others, the Yugoslavs and the Serbs, are presented as courageous, temperamental, stubborn, nationalistic, emotional, and affectionate—qualities highly praised by Romanians, a people usually stereotyped as passive and inert:

> They are passionate, they express all their feelings and passions in a very obvious, exaggerate[d] way. What is said about Mexicans can also be said about Serbs: nobody is as sad as a sad Serb, nobody is as happy as a happy Serb, nobody is as mean as a mean Serb… You know, somehow the stereotypes go into the direction that Serbs live their life very intensely, emotionally and passionately. As well, there is a stereotype according to which they are big drunkards and break glasses at parties. That they are big nationalists and are very attached to every national aspect connected to Serbia, to Yugoslavia, whatever… And that they go forward if they have an idea, they don't have any dilemmas, they don't know what self-restraint is. If they want something, they go, they make

> noise, make a big fuss out of it, until they get it. But maybe they are normal in comparison with us, with most of the Romanians who lived under communism and are used to be quiet, not to make noise, to whisper, not to reveal our plans, nor directly, but beating around the bush, so we avoid possible problems (Şerban, male, b. 1969).

However, the nondissimulated admiration for the Others is challenged when stereotypes and real information on Serbian colleagues mingles in the discourse of some of my interlocutors:

> And I had Serbian colleagues in high school. Can you imagine, they have always had separate sport teams, they would not mix with us, they would not play football with the Romanians, but against the Romanians. All of them could play the accordion. That was a family thing. All had to learn how to play it. From early childhood. All the boys. And they were emancipated, because they came from a community which knew more, had more, was reading more and because of that they were more conceited and more aggressive. Aggressive and athletic. And obviously, our girls were madly in love with them. But some of them were really nice people (Mihai, male, b. 1969).

The Legacy: The Image of the Others Today in Timişoara

If in the 1980s the former Yugoslavia represented the most palpable image of the West for the Romanians living in Banat, after the fall of the communist regime this started to change. The stereotypes made room for a representation closer to reality, as the borders opened and the Romanians met the Others and had non-mediated contact with them. As well, Romania's prestige grew after it joined the European Union in 2007, and it was paralleled by Yugoslavia's disintegration and its symbolically being pushed away to the edges of Europe. However, the image of the relevant Others for the Romanians in the 1980s is today more present and palpable in Timişoara than ever. Undoubtedly, the multiethnic character of this central European city helped to incorporate the images of many Others in the city's imagery and consciousness. But the 1980s will probably be best remembered owing to the exquisite glimpse at the free Western world that Yugoslav TV offered to everybody in Timişoara and in the Banat, when Romania was crossing the darkest period of its recent history. The admiration and respect for the Yugoslav neighbours, which was engrained then has probably never ceased. Thus, in the last years, several Serbian restaurants have opened in Timişoara and they enjoy great popularity. Among them are Taverna sârbului ('Serbian tavern', Fig. 4) and Karadjordje restaurant (Fig. 5), names that undoubtedly have a special resonance for Timişoara's residents.

Another diner which makes direct reference to Yugoslavia this time, not to the Serbs in particular, is one called Lepa Brena (Fig. 6). Very popular in the beginning of the 2000s, this homage to one of the biggest Balkan stars of the 1980s is today

the meeting place of Yugonostalgics and turbo folk lovers—the same Yugonostalgics who were supposed to fill in the Timişoara stadium in 2012 at the long-awaited Lepa Brena concert (Fig. 7), 28 years after the first one in 1984, which was called off in the end.

Yugonostalgia—broadly defined as "nostalgia for the fantasies associated with a country, the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic or Yugoslavia), which existed from 1945 to 1991", where "no necessary relationship exists between the temporally and spatially fragmented memories of a Yugoslav past and the present desires, expressed by and through Yugonostalgic representations of this past" (Lindstrom 2006: 233)—is known to be strongest among ex-Yugoslav emigrants and diaspora communities, many of whom left the ex-Yugoslav region after the breakup of the federation at the beginning of the 1990s (see Marković 2009: 205). These individuals "produce nostalgic discourses as a justification of their Yugoslav pasts, experiences and memories, but simultaneously, these nostalgic discourses are to be seen as an answer to the nationalistic discourses many former Yugoslavs could not identify with" (Petrović 2007: 264). Paradoxically, many Banat Romanians are also—and still—Yugonostalgic, without having ever lived in Yugoslavia. Yugonostalgia, this recently highly debated and intensely criticized concept (see Petrović 2012: 122–154), as it is expressed in Timişoara, is to be understood not so much as identification with a political system or regime. People here are emotionally attached mainly to the consumerist facets of Yugoslavia, their nostalgia being directed towards different aspects of popular culture.

Instead of Conclusions

By now, it is widely accepted that the reception of foreign televisions in the border zones of the countries of the Eastern Bloc played an important role in getting people accustomed to the values of capitalism and a Western way of life. The same happened in Romania, and the influence of the Yugoslav TV in the 1980s in the Banat was a cultural phenomenon that deserves the entire attention of anthropologists, linguists, historians, and sociologists. The Yugoslavs became the significant, relevant Others, whom the Romanians admired and tried to imitate. Today, these Others are still alive in the discourse and consciousness of my interlocutors and, after twenty years, this image has become nuanced; but the admiration still persists. The mediated image of the Others, of the Yugoslavs, that Romanians received and perceived in the 1980s was by any measure a distorted one, which partly changed after the fall of communism. The propaganda that was also present on the Yugoslav TV seems to not have been perceived, or at least not to its full extent, by the Romanians, as it was far more diluted than the propaganda being broadcast on Romanian state television. Further research should focus on the way the Others, people on the other side of the borders, of the iron curtain, are represented in the accounts of the residents of the former Eastern Bloc. The widespread idea of two separate communication blocs, with almost no points of contact, will surely be contested

and challenged by their accounts about the Others, which will unquestionably prove that cultural, social, and economic exchanges and influences occurred during that period and were sometimes prompted by the foreign media.

Acknowledgements

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TELEVIZIUNE

Joi ★ 2 iulie 1987

20.00 Telejurnal

20.15 VIAȚA ECONOMICĂ — LA ZI ÎN AGRICULTURĂ

20.25 INVITAȚIE ÎN STUDIOURILE RADIOTELEVIZIUNII

Participă Maria Slătinaru-Nistor, Dan Iordăchescu, Florin Georgescu

Redactor Marga Huss-Crăciun

20.50 MEMORIA DOCUMENTELOR

NOI SÎNTEM RĂDĂCINA...

Documentar de Maria Preduț

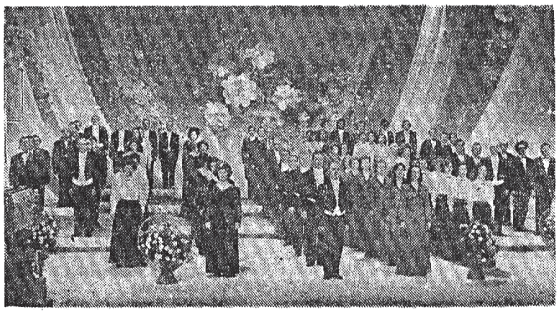
21.10 MARI ACTORI, MARI REGIZORI

Irène Papas

Redactor Eugen Atanasiu

21.50 Telejurnal

22.00 Închiderea programului



RADIO

1

6.00 RADIOPROGRAMUL DIMINEȚII
* **Buletin de știri**
6.15 Sfatul medicului.
6.30 LA ORDINEA ZILEI ÎN AGRICULTURĂ
7.00 RADIOJURNAL.
7.30 AZI, ÎN ȚARĂ
Răspuns comunist chemărilor tovarășului Nicolae Ceaușescu Acțiuni hotărîte pentru realizarea sarcinilor de plan la producția fizică, la celelalți indicatori, cu deosebire la export
Corespondențe din județe
8.00 **Revista presei**
8.10 Curierul melodiilor
8.55 Publicitate
9.00 **Buletin de știri**
9.05 RĂSPUNDEM ASCULTĂTORILOR
10.00 **Buletin de știri**
10.05 SUCCES, CUTEZĂTORI ! Ediție realizată în județul Hunedoara. Redactor Gheorghe Scripcă
10.35 Noi, ai țării pionieri. Cîntece de Ștefan Andronic
10.45 Publicitate
11.00 **Buletin de știri**

11.05 **POLITICA NOASTRĂ**
Congresul al IX-lea al P.C.R. — deschizător de epocă nouă, de măreție înfăptuiri. Dezvoltarea echilibrată, armonioasă a forțelor de producție pe teritoriul patriei — realizări și perspective
Documentar radiofonic
Redactor Ion Costea

11.35 Muzică ușoară de Richard Stein
11.50 Buletin hidrologic
12.00 **Buletin de știri**
12.05 **ȘTIINȚA SECOLULUI XX** Tehnologii nucleare în sprijinul industriei
Redactor Eugen Roibu
12.25 **Trăim decenii de împliniri măreție.** Cîntece patriotice
12.40 Din comoara folclorului. Mari interpreți de odinioară : Fănică Luca și Ion Luca Bănățeanu
13.00 DE LA 1 LA 3
* RADIOJURNAL.
* **1987 — Anul Conferinței Naționale a partidului. Muncă, responsabilitate, eficiență.** Reportaje și relatări.
15.00 Avanpremieră Radio-TV
15.15 Arii din operete cu Bianca Ionescu și Ioan Suciu

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PROGRAM OF THE ROMANIAN STATE TELEVISION OF JULY 2, 1987, BROADCASTING HOURS: 20:00 TO 22:00

Courtesy to http://tvarheolog.wordpress.com.

2 **Yugoslav music icon Lepa Brena in the 1980s**
Source: official Lepa Brena's Facebook profile.

YUGOSLAV HUMORISTIC TV SERIES *VRUĆ VETAR* ('HOT WIND'), AIRED IN 1980 3
Source: www.imdb.com.

SERBIAN RESTAURANT *TAVERNA SÂRBULUI*
('SERBIAN TAVERN') IN TIMIŞOARA 4
Photo credit: Lavinia Sorescu.

SERBIAN RESTAURANT *KARADJORDJE* IN TIMIŞOARA

5 Photo credit: Lavinia Sorescu.

RESTAURANT *LEPA BRENA* IN TIMIŞOARA
Photo credit: Lavinia Sorescu. 6

POSTER ANNOUNCING LEPA BRENA'S PLANNED 2012 CONCERT IN TIMIŞOARA: "AFTER 28 YEARS, I COME BACK TO TIMIŞOARA!"

7 Photo credit: Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković.

Katya Lachowicz

The Cultivation of Image in the Multimedial Landscape of the Polish Film Chronicle

> *What people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of a society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice. If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.*
> Keith Basso (1996)

In this chapter, I will be deliberately reframing the *Polska Kronika Filmowa* ('Polish Film Chronicle'), a Polish newsreel that existed from 1944 to 1995, as a multimedial landscape situated in the context of a nature/culture opposition. This will allow me to discuss the ways in which the chronicle constructed reality in terms of a cultivation of image, similarly to how landscape anthropologists may understand the social construction of real landscapes today. After a brief introduction to the surrounding theoretical framework, I will focus my analysis on one particular ten-minute sequence made in 1952 at a crucial time for the People's Republic of Poland (PRL).

The Cultivation of Image and Landscape

The perception of nature and culture as dichotomous has long gripped the minds of Western scholars and is still very much present in a contemporary vernacular understanding of the two terms. Commencing with an Aristotelian debate between figures such as Las Casas, Sepúlveda, and Vitoria of whether natives lacked autonomous rationality (Tierney 2001: 277), the nature/culture opposition was clearly based on classificatory domination. For Aristotle, "natural slaves" unlike their owners did not possess autonomous rationality and could therefore be enslaved without any moral considerations, as they were already slaves by nature (Pol. 1.5, 1254b20-23[1]). The possibility therefore of fostering a neat dualistic separation between the domain of the rational human and that of the irrational nonhuman was essential

[1] Aristotle, Pol. 1.5, 1254b20-23. I follow the standard method of citing Aristotle's work and have used *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. I refer to *Politics* as *Pol.*

to the moral justification of territorial occupation and that of the physical body itself—slavery.

For the purpose of this chapter it is perhaps important to keep in mind, that our contemporary understandings of nature evolved from a form of othering furthered by a theologically driven process of Cartesian rationalization: a universal split between *res extensa*, the external objective materiality of nature, and *res cognitan*, the thinking reality of God and human beings (Sagan et al. 2007: 195). Nature represented that which was alien, incomprehensible, and therefore in need of harnessing and deciphering according to the mathematical laws of God (Ibid.: 196). Here I am particularly referring to Susan Bordo's analysis of "The Cartesian Masculinazation of Thought", which regards Descartes's body of work as revolving around a fear of nature's wild abundance, associated with error, madness, demons, and ultimately the feminine (Ross 1998; Bordo 1986). Unquantifiable entities such as "place" and "landscape" were therefore never really considered a valid subject of scientific study for most of the twentieth century until Ulric Neisser spoke about "natural contexts" (Neisser 1982). The dichotomy created between nature/culture has often been taken for granted. In the following text, I aim to widen the debate on the construction of reality in east-central Europe from 1945 to 1980, through an exploration of how power and authority were accessed in the manipulation of a nature/culture dichotomy within the virtual landscape of film.

Adopting a Derridian stance (Derrida 1976), one could perhaps say that it was the inscription of a specific ontological knowledge *into* the landscape that marked a turning point in an otherwise age-old practice of land cultivation since the beginning of mankind. Certainly much can be said about the fear of nature and the subsequent investment in its structuralization when analysing the historical development of gardens, starting from the very sheltered design of the walled gardens of the medieval period to the gradual extension of the garden into nature through the infinite vistas of the mid-seventeenth century (Casey 2009: 158). In a fantastic analysis by the philosopher Edward Casey—who is perhaps best known for his emphasis on the role of the human body in the formation of place—by the seventeenth century, walled gardens, which previously aimed to represent paradise on earth (Ibid.: 154), evolved into a symbol of the king's power, in which landscape was encoded with an internalized moral social structure. A key argument that I propose and later expand upon in the context of film is that the nature/culture opposition depended on some very dubious yet powerful logocentric assumptions of origin: in assuming nature as primordial it became possible to justify the immutability and incontestability of a natural order of things without necessarily attributing it to human intervention. As Heidegger so poignantly put in his eponymously named essay[2], the modern age was defined by the conquest of the world as

[2] I refer here only to the title of Heidegger's essay *The Age of the World Picture* (1938), hence I do not list it in references.

a picture (1938). Captured, enframed, historicised, and at best uncontested landscape would become a canvas onto which fiction was written into reality.

One of the most illustrative examples exploring the bond between narration and landscape as a construction of reality is perhaps Joseph H. Miller's (1995) analysis of Thomas Hardy's novel *The Return of the Native* (1878). Based within a fictitious landscape, named Egdon Heath, the novel not only succeeded in binding the protagonists to the landscape but equally its impassioned readers. Mapped into reality, "Hardy's country" (Miller 1995: 19) can be visited in real life. Even the old Anglo-Saxon place-name Wessex has since been adopted as the official designation of a place with its own sociocultural identity. And the representation seems to be just as viable as the original fiction. Nature and culture feed into one another without a beginning or an end. For Miller, narrative and landscape are intertwined to the point that there is no a priori existence of landscape, no primordial state of purity, free from the grasp of culturalisation; in fact "the landscape exists as landscape only when it has been made human … Each is both prior to the other and later than it, causer and caused, inside and outside it at once" (Ibid.: 21). The original exists within its representation, in a timeless zone from which it is impossible to divide.

The coexistence of man and landscape is a theme that is also explored by Marc Augé (2002), where his personal landscape and that of the Parisian city become intertwined in a "mapped" territory. Here it is the metro stations that serve as "a reminder, a memory machine, or a pocket mirror on which sometimes are reflected" (Ibid.: 4). Implicit to the chapter is a sense of a self-winding clockwork universe, which continues to work *naturally* beyond the control of the creator, intrinsic to the landscape itself. Travelling through the Parisian metro is seen as a form of collective memory making, constructed through the unconscious celebration of experienced personal memories and a sense of unification through an unexperienced "original" national history, "brush[ing] up against the history of others … without ever meeting it", nevertheless, "imagin[ing] it to be [not] that different from our own" (Ibid.: 10). In this respect, landscape is perhaps the ultimate *trompe l'oeil*, capable of convincing man not only of its primordiality but of its moral righteousness, as though it were human itself. Nature, governed by human laws—human nature, resulting in at once, a location of comfort and familiarity to which one returns (a kind of Renanian *fraternité* in a displaced past-present), and a rightful code of conduct with which one is expected to engage (in a present-future).

Fred R. Myers's (1991) ethnography on the Pintupi Aborigines in central Australia reveals a similar scenario, where landscape is almost self-evidently understood in terms of both social identity and control. According to Casey (1996), however, this understanding has developed late in the Western world, where the assumption still reigns that nature is clearly divisible from culture: "For the anthropologist [commonly], Space comes first; for the native, Place" (Ibid.: 15). In the case of the Pintupi, dreamtime is the "process by which space becomes 'country', by which

a story gets attached to object" (Myers 1991: 67), similar to the "stalking landscape", described by Basso in the case of the Western Apache (1984). Social order is "reproduced … in some preexisting medium" (Myers 1991: 15). Landscape is a human-made phenomenon. It is an encoded and internalized social structure that is seemingly timeless, authorless, ever-changing, and yet deeply rooted into the fabric of human lives. The writing of a moral code into a virtual landscape of dreamtime provides a certain assurance against the fear that it could possibly be contested. In a similar manner, to name a newsreel a "chronicle" is to already historicise the present before it even enters history. And it is in this light that I would like to introduce the construction of the Polish Film Chronicle as an uncontested landscape. Not in the sense that it did not experience opposition, but that it certainly intended to pass as being beyond earthly contention.

The Uncontested Landscape of Film

The Polish Film Chronicle (1944–1995) was a very popular newsreel that was screened on a weekly and then bi-weekly basis from 1957 onwards in Polish cinemas before the projection of the main feature film. Each edition consisted of multilocational events, short narrations interwoven into the framework of a ten-minute sequence. These sometimes tied together a range of territories across a larger international Soviet project, seemingly, unrelated in theme but nevertheless reinforcing each other ideologically.

On the October 8, 1952, the forty-second edition of the year PKF 42/52[3] was shown in the cinemas, 18 days before the fraudulent elections of the People's Republic of Poland, which were conducted in an atmosphere of complete terror. The Polish United Worker's Party (PZPR) succeeded in gaining a majority along with its two splinter parties, ZSL and SD, after any oppositional movements had been sent underground, fearing imprisonment and torture. Of course if one looks at the footage, one gets an entirely different impression. At crucial historical moments, the Polish Film Chronicle had a tendency to reinforce symbols of power, through the representation of large-scale events, in contrast to other editions made during less significant periods, especially following the death of Stalin in 1953, when the chronicle started to gradually become sarcastic in tone (see *Krasnoludki są na świecie* ['Elves Exist on This Earth'] PKF 9b/63). The forty-second edition starts with a clip on the subject of the nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party, held in Moscow from the October 5–14, 1952. And the introduction could not be less regal. A few seconds before we even see the first frame, we hear an applause accompanied by the sounds of trumpets, only then do we see flags, youthful faces, and finally President Bolesław Bierut greeting the crowds (Fig. 2).

[3] PKF 42/52. I follow the standard method for citing the chronicles according to the Polska Kronika Filmowa (PKF). The first number represents the edition and the last number represents the year in which it was made.

Overlaid on top of footage from the president's send-off (taken a few days before the start of the conference in Moscow), we hear the narrator's voice announcing that the Congress has already started. He then elaborates that the whole of Poland is eagerly following such a historical event, sending warm greetings to the party, the "builders" of communism. The trumpets then continue as Poland's representative is offered ceremonial wreaths and bouquets of flowers, escorted by party officials into the train, and then waves goodbye as the film fades to black (Fig. 3). Construction is a theme that repeats throughout the newsreel, where communism is irrevocably linked to the rebuilding of postwar Poland, all the while maintaining a sense of patriotic independence. Along these lines, it is possible to see how the next clip entitled "Congress of the Technical Intelligentsia", which occurred in Warsaw (as described in the film) "a few days before" Bierut's send-off, derives a symbolic importance from the former, in a way that would not succeed if it were placed in chronological order (Fig. 4).

The second clip begins with an image of the congress hall, in which two portraits dominate the frame: Stalin is on the left, and Bierut on the right. The solidity of the symbolic occupation of the frame by the two leaders' portraits is animated by the earlier ceremonial send-off, in which the train plays a crucial role in communicating not only the ideological fraternity between Moscow and Warsaw, but the geographical proximity and physical reality of the two—a reality however that is naturalized and adapted to the landscape as a whole. In this regard, what may otherwise seem akin to a dictatorial domination of portraits—if one were to sit physically in the room itself—is softened through the materiality of film. The portraits are cut and pasted into a fluid sequence of frames, much like the linear trajectory of the train itself. The nature of film is that it does not simply locate an image in a (singular) given space (as would a photograph), instead, it provides the image with an extensive number of contexts and backgrounds relating to a reality already existent in a past-present. This in turn feeds back into the singular image, imbuing it with an even stronger incontestable sense of belonging. Much like Augé's mapping experience of the Parisian Metro (2002), it is a process of place-making, establishing and locating history out of an otherwise fluid and fugitive present.

Furthering this line of thought, one could consider the portraits as a form of internalization of the previous externally located report on the Moscow conference, much like a form of dreamtime, whereby specific places are imbued with a transcendental principle of order or *logos*. In this case it is the static nature of these portraits that confirms Bierut's place in the political landscape of the future, regardless of the real election results. As we see in the clips, exact dates are never announced, past events are viewed in the present, and in some cases are still continuing, but not necessarily in any chronological order. And so the camera shifts from the portraits to the image of a now seemingly omnipresent Bierut, repeating an almost identical start to the first clip, as he is once again applauded upon entering the hall, this time, of the technical congress taking place at home.

Following a speech, the camera takes us to the building site of the Palace of Culture in Warsaw, based on Moscow's own palace, which is already close to completion, as we will see at the very end of the edition. The music retains a classical flavour but becomes more melodious as the camera lyrically swings to the sound of violins, whilst displaying the vastness of the iron foundations. The narrator speaks of how the Palace of Culture is "an example of mechanization" and, in an optimistic tone, how the workers superseded the existing deadlines for the completion of the foundations by 25 days (Fig. 5). Returning to an earlier argument within the chapter, here we can explicitly see the construction of a sense of belonging in a displaced past-present, combined with a code of conduct, with which one is expected to engage, as a worker of the present-future.

Time seems to be accelerated through the workers' anticipation of progress. The next three clips that follow indirectly talk of three local candidates for the upcoming elections (who were all of course successfully elected). The editors first present the case of Bernard Bugdoł from Silesia, a "simple miner", who rose in rank to become a director of a mechanically advanced mine and now represents the PZPR as a candidate for parliament. The next candidates follow suit, one being a professor of physics and another being an army leader, two highly revered positions of work. The presentation of the candidates is then tied together with a clip of a sports race in which Polish runner Zdzisław Krzyszkowiak wins.

During the race the editing speeds up, jumping from one frame to the next, raising the adrenaline of the observers, as though one were present at the race. The narrator remarks that "no one can keep up with his [the runners] tempo" (Fig. 6). And indeed the same can be said of the edit, which suddenly bursts into the final clip, accompanied by the sound of trumpets, presenting an excerpt of news, "From the World", imprinted in speedy italics across the image of a turning globe. One would almost expect the ordinary mine worker himself to burst into space like Yuri Gagarin (Fig. 1).

This was no ordinary news service. It was a "sensation" (Cieśliński 2013). And much like the captivating storytelling of the Western Apache, wherein specific locations were used to maintain social order and announced at the beginning and end of every story (Basso 1984: 38), the editor returns to a previous image of construction, stability, and progress within the Soviet Union: the Moscow Palace of Knowledge. According to Evgeny Dobrenko, "Stalin introduced a new temporality: the concluded future (a kind of future pluperfect)" (2008: 7). And this could not be more true, as we bear witness to a long-distance shot of the Russian skyscraper, towering over a flat parkland accompanied by a similar romantic classical piece, before moving to the erection of an oversized clock face, which is impressively described as spanning across "three normal floor levels" (Fig. 7). Indeed nothing speaks more of a "concluded future" than that of the workers appearing, once again at great heights, completing the finishing touches. One such worker, Vassily, is represented as only recently having laid the foundations for this towering

construction, implicitly referring to the incredible speed and progress of his work. Soon the camera starts to rise even higher, above the buildings themselves, using footage taken from a plane. In a world of oversized clock faces and hyperproductive heroism, everyone is a master of their fears, including the audience.

While sitting on the other side of an immersive projection screen, it was not the material existence of the landscape but the experience of it on film, in a moving two-dimensional form, that became the viewer's very own "stalking landscape" (Basso 1984). Faced with the intimate closeups of people's faces, not only did the viewing experience echo a resemblance of oneself, but the person sitting next to you could very well have been featured in the film. All workers were among the audience, and in the same way that distance was overcome by bringing the external world to the feet of the cinema goers, there was no Other. Of course, this is not to say that the (antagonistic) Other did not exist—American imperialism was often featured in the international sections where the myth of the American dream was explicitly disbanded; however, the Polish Film Chronicle remained primarily an internal landscape, spanning across the Soviet Union and into other ideologically linked territories, transcending contemporary understandings of the Other in terms of race and national borders (see other "News of the World" clips from a variety of different nations: "Hands off Korea" PKF 30/50; "In the Defence of Peace" (France) PKF 49/52; "Winter" (Algeria) PKF 9/54). The editing of the film was therefore a process whereby unity could be constructed through the recognition of the Other within oneself.

In *The Future of Image*, Jacques Rancière describes image as "spirit made flesh, the absolutely other, which is also absolutely the same" (Rancière 2007: 8). By reproducing reality in the form of an image, an Other is created, but one whose essence is the same as that of reality. Film in Europe after the two world wars was imbued with a messianic desire for national unity (Hayward 1993: 103; Rattigan 1994: 148), and ordering the external world into a series of internally cultivated allotments was a way of making the world comprehensible—a lot like the paradise of the medieval walled gardens. The compartmentalized structure of the Polish Film Chronicle was as adventurous as it was comforting, providing much-needed respite to a country licking its wounds of war. Receding into its walled garden of internalized fantasies, the concept of the individual as represented by the chronicle in the first two decades of its activity was likewise of pre-Renaissance ideation. The individual was related to its collective status as part of a professional group (i.e. "The Work of Warsaw's Telephone Operators" (PKF 51/65). Only in the decades that followed the death of Stalin, with the intensification of protest movements and the subsequent expansion of the Polish Film Chronicle onto the private television screen, did the chronicle start to feature more autobiographical editions of celebritised individuals such as Irena Szewińska (PKF 52/74), Zbigniew Pietrzykowski (PKF 48/79), and Andrzej Cielacki (PKF 15/81).

Conclusion

> *At first I didn't realise that the Kronika Filmowa could lie, change history. And when I did, I felt contempt many times towards my parents, my school. Today however, from the perspective of an adult, I am thankful for those lies, because thanks to them I lived in a happy world that didn't exist in reality*
> Magda Umer, speaking on Radio Czwórka (2013)

One of the most defining qualities of the Polish Film Chronicle was its construction as a tautological mirror-space, where one could travel without having travelled, "perambulate" (Casey 2009: 155) through the seemingly borderless realm of a utopian fabrication, played out on the boundary line between reality and fiction. Perhaps even a place where one could cultivate one's own dreams. In fact many would go to the screenings for the chronicle rather than the film itself (Cieśliński 2013). Film could manipulate time, it could present the incomplete as complete, empty shops as full, and drunk workers as leaders of a socialist future. Yet even today, the chronicle is regarded with nostalgia rather than contempt. The key seems to be in the act of making the landscape somewhat "human" (Miller 1995), which by extension is culturally naturalized into the incontestable spirit realm of social structure. Regardless of whether the narration was real, a ritualized shared sense of truth was assumed, at least for the duration of the *séance*.[4] Having concluded that landscapes live more in narration than in material reality, then it is the visual reproduction of that reality in the form of an intangible landscape that is perhaps one of the most intricate manipulations of a nature/culture opposition. As such, it is possible to maintain that the Polish Film Chronicle had an extremely powerful ideological role in the construction of the *Homo Sovieticus*, even more powerful than the socialist realist urbanscape itself.

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[4] In French as in Polish *seans/séance* is used as *une séance de cinéma* ('a movie session/screening'); in English a "seance" is an attempt at communicating with spirits through a spirit medium.

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The edit is now in full speed, "News from the World" is imprinted in speedy italics across the image of a turning globe.

1 PKF 42/1952, Timecode 00:02. Filmoteka Narodowa.

The opening sequence—Bolesław Bierut makes a speech among trumpets, flags and youthful faces.

PKF 42/1952, Timecode 00:34. Filmoteka Narodowa. 2

President Bolesław Bierut is on his way to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party, held in Moscow, October 5–14, 1952.

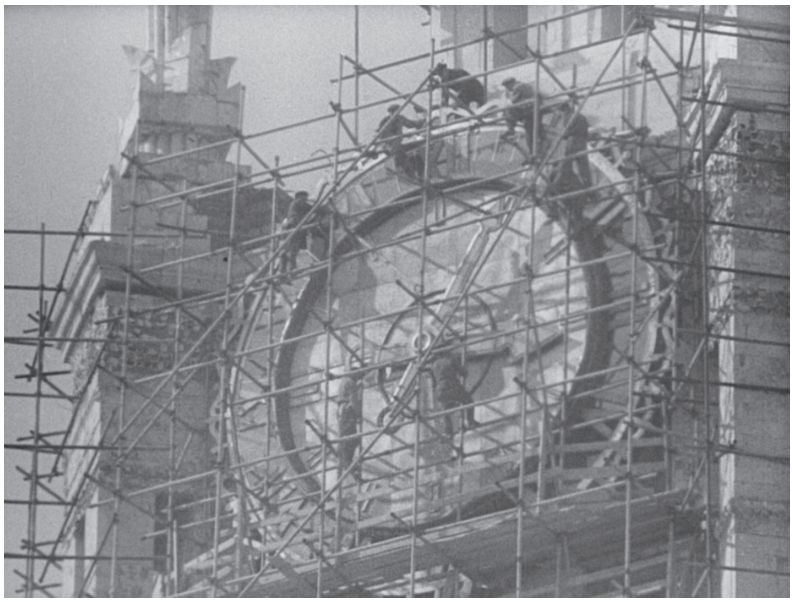
3 PKF 42/1952, Timecode 01:16. Filmoteka Narodowa.

"The Congress of the Technical Intelligentsia" in Warsaw held a "few days before" Bolesław Bierut's send-off to Moscow.
PKF 42/1952, Timecode 00:07. Filmoteka Narodowa.

The technical intelligentsia inspect the building of the Warsaw Palace of Culture, "a model of mechanization and a school for modern construction".

5 PKF 42/1952, Timecode 02:30. Filmoteka Narodowa.

Zdzisław Krzyszkowiak wins the race, "no one can keep up with his tempo".
PKF 42/1952, Timecode 01:28. Filmoteka Narodowa. 6



The clock face of the Moscow Palace of Culture "spans across three normal floor levels".
7 PKF 42/1952, Timecode 00:47. Filmoteka Narodowa.

Dominika Czarnecka

Otherness in Representations of Polish Beauty Queens: From Miss Baltic Coast Pageants to Miss Polonia Contests in the 1950s

From the end of the Second World War to the onset of the 1980s, all-Poland beauty pageants were held only twice, in 1957 and 1958. During several following decades, Miss Polonia contests were not organized, subject to a ban by the authorities, and they were revived as late as in 1983. The phenomenon of the two beauty pageants that were held in Poland in the 1950s has been, so far, neither acknowledged nor analysed in the scientific literature available. Despite the fact that in many respects Miss Polonia pageants were based on American and western European models and formed a part of a wider phenomenon that defies being limited to state or national borders, they were unique due to the context in which they took place. What is more, although the subject of beauty pageants in the United States and western Europe has been analysed from numerous perspectives (power relations, standardization, morality, ideology, local and national identity; see e.g. Cohen et al. 1996), the contests in the countries behind the iron curtain have not yet been studied from the point of view of the mechanisms of constructing otherness. This chapter is an attempt to fill this gap.

Although in the 1950s, the finals of the local and national contests in Poland took the form of live on-stage events, the present text is largely based on an analysis and interpretation of their accompanying visual materials—juxtaposing various forms of visuality and visual perception and, thus, a variety of the types of gaze. I devote a separate subchapter to the reflection on the gaze, as I consider it to form one of the basic mechanisms of constructing otherness with regard to beauty pageants and the emergence of the new Other. The chapter is also an attempt to present the ways in which the "New Woman"—a participant of postwar beauty pageants—was imagined and pictured within the framework of multimedial representations that developed in Poland in the 1950s.[1] In a parallel manner to live shows, it was precisely the media that generated additional spaces where the new Other was considered and constructed. In my analysis I used press photographs from the Polish newspapers *Kobieta i Życie* ('Woman and Life'), *Przekrój* ('Cross-Section'), *Dziennik Bałtycki* ('Baltic Daily'), *Express Wieczorny* ('Evening Express'), and *Gazeta Kujawska* ('Kuyavian Newspaper') and a fragment of *Polska Kronika*

[1] The visual material used in the present analysis comes from the period 1956–1958.

Filmowa[2] ('Polish Film Chronicle'), which presented a several-minute account of the Miss Polonia contest from 1958.

According to Karla Huebner, who analysed the visual representations of modern women in Czechoslovakia, "the New Woman, of course, was no more monolithic in her conception than she was anywhere else. She could encompass elements generally regarded as positive, elements admired by some and feared by others, and elements of dubious desirability. Some of these were international and others more local" (Huebner 2011: 235). The term *New Woman* has a slightly different meaning, depending on time and place, yet most frequently, "[the] New Woman refers to a nontraditional woman, often but not always feminist" (Huebner 2013: 440, footnote 1). Also in relation to the postwar Poland of the 1950s, the concept of the New Woman was not uniform and had at least several facets. In my opinion, the participants of the beauty pageants, who were in principle unrelated to the feminist movement, represented one of the facets.[3]

On the other hand, the dominant idea of femininity, promoted by the authorities in Poland after the end of the Second World War and connected with the image of the working woman, was not entirely antithetic to the prewar notion of the traditional woman.[4] Despite the official emancipation of women and new legislative solutions that made them equal with men from an economic and a social point of view, in practice, "they were trapped both by the new political system and the old system of tradition. … In the public eye the ideal woman continued to be a hard worker, a faithful wife and a good mother" (Moskalenko 1996: 64). The idea of womanhood promoted by the authorities after the end of the Second World War was mostly aimed at supporting the ideological regime. Although in the 1950s the official images of the working woman did not form an opposition to the visual representations of a participant of the postwar beauty pageants, an in-depth analysis justifies undertaking the subject from the perspective of the studies on cultural otherness.

Beauty Contests and Beauty Queens

The nineteenth century emergence of contemporary beauty pageants,[5] first in the United States and slightly later in Europe, has remained, from its onset, in a close

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[2] *Polska Kronika Filmowa* was the newsreel broadcast in Poland in the period 1944–1994 by Wytwórnia Filmów Dokumentalnych ('Documentary Film Studio'). The newsreel, which registered contemporary events, was an official government propaganda tool during the time of the People's Republic of Poland.

[3] A lot has been written about women in the People's Republic of Poland, e.g. in the context of the rights to education, vote, work, and many others. This article is an attempt to look at women from a different perspective and to give readers new insight into the situation of Polish women in the 1950s.

[4] On the subject of visual representations of the working woman in the Polish press of the 1950s and the manner of their reconstruction, see e.g. Sztandara 2015: 390–401.

[5] Some authors express the opinion that, historically, beauty contests have deep roots extending back into Greek mythology (see e.g. Pomeroy 1975; Berger 2008).

relationship with the development of consumer market and visual entertainment marked by continuous excitement. Photography, press, advertising, and film had a decided influence on the feminine visibility in the public space. Visual media also had a direct influence on beauty contests' coming into existence. The history of these events, which began overseas, has been studied by American scholars.[6]

Here it might be worth merely pointing out that when in 1854 a showman, Phineas Taylor Barnum, decided to organize a contest during which beautiful women would compete on stage, presenting themselves in front of a jury, he could not find any candidates who would agree to participate, despite an award intended for the winner (a dowry for an unmarried girl, a tiara for a married lady). In the end, Barnum decided to modify his idea and asked women to send in their photographic pictures instead. Barnum planned to present display cases with daguerreotypes as substitutes for live female bodies and the visitors to such an exhibition would choose "the most beautiful" one. Ultimately, he did not manage to finalize his project; the story, however, was far from over. Barnum's idea was picked up in the 1880s by editorial offices of newspapers, which in a short time managed to popularize photographic beauty contests and conducted them successfully over the next several decades. In the 1920s and 1930s, beauty contests began to be organized in other countries as well. Still, the Miss America pageant (the first such national contest was held in 1921) remained a kind of model for the organization of numerous national pageants, which in 1951 were unified as a result of the initiation of the Miss World pageant and, in 1952, of the Miss Universe pageant (Cohen et al. 1996: 3–5).

Other transformations that took place in the nineteenth century also affected the development of such contests. According to the research of Hannu Salmi, it was in those times that self-reflection became an important element of bourgeois lifestyle; reflection on a human being as a psychological and physical entity, which was expressed, among other ways, through an increased attention to appearance, behaviour, and the body. Apparently, it was no accident that the nineteenth century Europe noted a significant demand for mirrors. Mirrors, similarly as posing in front of a lens of a photographic camera, "taught" people to see "through the others' eyes", while the habit of composing family albums caused bodily identity to gain its historical continuation. All of these positively influenced the development of personality, the process of objectivization of individuality (Salmi 2010: 101–102).

On the other hand, easier availability of mirrors, photography and, later on, film images contributed to an increased acceptance for treating the subject (espe-

[6] On the subject of the history of contemporary beauty pageants in America, see e.g. Banner 1983; Deford 1971; Bivans 1991. At the same time, it is worthwhile to note that a resistance to beauty pageants has an almost equally long history and became one of the major means for the articulation of rules promoted by the American feminist movements (see e.g. Corrigan 1992; Deford 1971; Riverol 1992).

cially, female one) as an object for inspection: the view. According to Carla Rice the advertising market gradually deepened women's image consciousness by way of, for instance, reminding women of the critical gaze of others, especially men. "Positioned as objects of an outsider's gaze, female viewers of commercial culture were, for the first time, invited to see themselves as recipients of evaluative looks" (Rice 2014: 235).

Having traced the history of contemporary beauty pageants in the United States and Europe, one may notice their gradual development and the fact that over the years they gained increasing popularity, spreading in range from local to transnational contests. The social attitude towards this type of contests and their participants had also evolved (the interwar period and the Second World War were of particular importance; see Ibid.: 237), gradually creating increasingly more space for beauty queens to develop and articulate new meanings of womanhood.

History of Miss Polonia Contests in the 1950s

Against a broader background, the history of beauty pageants in Poland appears to constitute a fragment of a significantly longer process in the development of a certain phenomenon in the spirit of the modern times. Nevertheless, due to a special social and political situation that formed in Poland after the end of the Second World War, the history of Miss Polonia contests in the 1950s, not yet examined, and the related process of constructing cultural otherness are both worth noting.[7]

After the Second World War ended, power was taken over by the communist government and the war-ravaged country found itself in the sphere of the Soviet influence. Apart from terror and indoctrination, a process of intense reconstruction was initiated, accompanied by social and economic changes. Including the gender equality into the set of central rules of its ideological and political policy (legislative regulations were introduced in June 1945), rulers acted against the tradition

[7] The idea to organize Polish beauty pageant appeared for the first time in 1888 (during the suspension of sovereign Poland). It was organized in Warsaw as a photographic exhibition (*Tygodnik Ilustrowany* ['The Illustrated Weekly'], no. 279, March 10, 1888, p. 156). The history of Miss Polonia pageants (the name was chosen by a member of the jury, Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński) began in the prewar period. The first contest was initiated in 1929 by the editorial offices of three newspapers—*Express Poranny* ('Morning Express'), Światowid ('Svetovid'), and *Kurier Czerwony* ('Red Courier')—as a result of the need to select a Polish representative for the Miss Europe pageant. In 1929 and 1930, the eliminations were based on the evaluation of candidates' photographs—the newspapers published photographs sent by women and on the basis of the votes of the readers the contest's leaders were selected. Only the finals involved women's personal presentation in front of the jury. The candidates needed to meet specific criteria: age 18 to 25, unmarried, impeccable reputation. After the 1931 scandal, when Zofia Batycka vetoed the organization of the contest wishing to keep her title for one more year (the first winners of Miss Polonia did not receive the "royal insignia"—the tiara and the ribbon), in the following years (until the last prewar pageant in 1937), the choice of the most beautiful woman was made in France by members of the Miss Europe committee on the basis of photographs of women published on the covers of Polish magazines. Both during the Second World War and for many years after its end, Miss Polonia contests were not organized (Z Archiwum Miss, last accessed on: November 11, 2015).

and influences of the Catholic Church. In contrast to their own slogans, however, they did not reject the old social division based on gender stereotypes—they only reshaped it, attempting to reconcile the revolutionary promise of gender equality with the prewar tradition (Fidelis 2010: 23). In the early 1950s, due to rapid industrialization, women were encouraged to apply for positions that had been previously reserved solely for men. Yet, shortly afterwards, such positions started to be seen as discrepant with female nature. The year 1956 turned out to be a groundbreaking moment: in effect of "the October Thaw", Poland experienced a change of top authorities, combined with an announcement of future reforms. Although "the Thaw" did not last long, Poles hoped for liberalization of the system also in the sphere of social freedom. Meanwhile, gender differences were accentuated much more strongly than only several years before. In my opinion, the approval of the government for a temporary reactivation of beauty pageants (in 1956 the editorial offices of the *Dziennik Bałtycki* and *Express Wieczorny* dailies announced the organization of a local beauty contest and, in January 1957, the editorial offices organized a regional Miss Baltic Coast pageant) was not arbitrary and served to emphasize a different model of femininity—such contests promoted an ultrafeminine image. "Gender politics was a powerful instrument in negotiating the political and national legitimacy of communist regimes" (Ibid.: 3).

In 1957, *Dziennik Bałtycki* announced the reactivation of the Miss Polonia contest, taking on all the efforts related to organization of the event.[8] The finals were held in the assembly hall of the Gdańsk shipyard (the birthplace of the later "Solidarity" movement), with the participation of an audience of many thousands. In effect, in order to be able to enter their own candidates for Miss Polonia, many (though not all) regions of the country had held their own local beauty contests. The winner of the contest was an acting school student, Alicja Bobrowska. Thanks to the high organizational and artistic level of the all-Poland event in Gdańsk, but also as a result of its enormous popularity among the Poles, the Miss Polonia pageant was repeated in 1958.[9] This time, the finals were held in Warsaw's Torwar Hall (an ice-skating rink) and the event watched by over eleven thousand "very unruly" spectators—as noted by the newspapers of the time—turned into a fiasco: people started throwing tomatoes at the new miss, Zuzanna Cembrowska, a dancer from Warsaw Operetta. The Citizens' Militia had to intervene and part of the audience left the hall even before the coronation took place (*Przekrój*, no. 702, September

[8] The jury consisted of Janina Jarzynówna-Sobczak (choreographer), Magdalena Samozwaniec (writer), Elżbieta Duńska-Krzesińska (sportswoman), Kazimierz Krukowski (theatre director), Anatol Kobyliński (filmmaker), Leszek Verocsy (sculptor), Władysław Jackiewicz (painter), Mieczysław Martula (vice-editor in chief of *Express Wieczorny*), Tymoteusz Ortym (jury's secretary), Włodzimierz Mroczkowski (vice-editor in chief of *Dziennik Bałtycki*) (see *Dziennik Bałtycki*, no. 185, August 6, 1957, p. 3).

[9] The jury consisted of, among others, Kazimierz Rudzki (actor), Jan Brzechwa (writer), Jerzy Kawalerowicz (director), Adam Hanuszkiewicz (actor, theatre director), Magdalena Samozwaniec (writer) (AleHistoria, ep. 100, last accessed on: November 16, 2015).

21, 1958, pp. 20–21). After 1958 events, the reputation of the contest was ruined. The communist authorities had already been looking for an excuse to ban the organization of such pageants—which is precisely what finally happened. Another reason for abandoning the pageant was the rumour, which spread all over the country three months after the contest, claiming that the audience's favourite, the second runner-up, had been murdered. It was suspected that some of the rumours were spread by members of the government of Władysław Gomułka (AleHistoria, ep. 100). In 1978, attempts were made to reactivate the contest, with the support of Bobrowska. Finally, however, the authorities did not allow the gala evening to take place, despite all the advance preparations and regional eliminations that had already been completed.

Otherness in Polish Multimedial Representations of Beauty Queens

Multimedial representations created in the 1950s served to construct popular visual imagery of the New Woman—a participant of the postwar beauty pageants—often making her a sign of modernity. The Polish press, from 1956 to 1958, published photos of the candidates for the Miss Polonia pageant (apart from photos from the local contests), oftentimes juxtaposing them with the reprinted photos of beauty pageant participants and winners from other countries (mostly from Europe and the United States). Photographic images were during that period one of the most significant means of imagining Polish beauty queens' style, elegance, sensuality, and energy. The very reference to the western standards and the model of femininity promoted in countries characterized by liberal democracy and the free market already testified to an attempt to break with the image of the working woman, in whose construct "physical beauty was never a subject for competition" (Moskalenko 1996: 74, footnote 8).

According to Gillian Rose, when analysing visual representations it is worth paying attention to two spheres of creating meaning—the sphere of *the image itself* and the sphere of its *reception* (Rose 2010: 138). Among the press titles I analysed, *Gazeta Kujawska*, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, and *Express Wieczorny* were daily newspapers, covering both the news and journalist features. They had all been published since the mid 1940s and had a readership of thousands, especially in the area of Pomerania (a northern region of Poland). In these black and white dailies, the pictures and information on the subject of the beauty queens was published among photographs and articles on domestic and international events. What is interesting—only the daily newspapers published photos of Bobrowska in a national costume (typical for Cracow area), taken during the Miss Universe pageant in the United States in 1958 (Fig. 18). This was related to the politics of national identity. The sociocultural weekly *Przekrój* was first published in 1945. It constituted one of the major culture-forming factors during the time of the People's Republic of Poland, promoting western culture and providing many Poles with "a window to the world around them". *Przekrój* published colour photographs of women who competed

for the title of most beautiful in different countries, juxtaposing them with photos of exotic people or illustrations of Polish patriotic and religious celebrations, thereby creating a mix that formed a look that was both modern and sophisticated. On the other hand, high circulation weekly *Kobieta i Życie* was first published in 1946 and was directed mostly at women, focusing on social and cultural subject matter. Apart from the photographs from Miss Polonia pageants, this glossy magazine often republished photographs from foreign beauty pageants that were frequently accompanied by critical textual commentaries (e.g. *Kobieta i Życie*, no. 17/425, June 10, 1958, p. 16, no 18/426, June 20, 1958, p. 16).

In the Polish press of the 1950s, the participants of beauty pageants were presented as self-confident women who posed in front of the camera lens. Their images in swimsuits, high heels, and sleeveless dresses created an image of women who were modern, proud of their physicality and slightly coquettish (Figs 8 and 15). The majority of photos presented the participants of beauty pageants on stage. In front of the camera lens, they posed in costumes, with the prerequisite smile, exposing their femininity for public viewing (Figs 1, 4, 5, 19). Photographs from "behind the scenes" (the changing room, the corridor) showed women preparing to go on stage, the candidate's tiredness, or their relaxed poses in underwear or dressing gowns (Figs 2, 16, 17). Such types of presentations significantly differed from the previous ones, as they presented women who were putting a lot of effort into prospective victory and who were determined to achieve their goal. The photographs illustrating the life of Miss Polonia created the image of independent women who travelled abroad, established international contacts, and participated in meetings and promotional events (Figs 10, 11, 13). However, in contrast to the images of working women, beauty pageant participants were rarely photographed against their families or when performing their professional activities (Fig. 9). In the photos they were presented individually or in the company of other contestants or men.

Despite seemingly positive aspects that could result from such a representation, a proper reading of such image making should be related to the distinctive context of Poland in the 1950s, including its dominant ideology, mechanisms of patriarchal control and organization, social convention, and, finally, the manner in which media operated through visual codes. Constructing cultural otherness with respect to the new womanhood took place in at least several ways—through juxtaposing the photos of beauty queens with the photos of working women, devoid of physiognomic femininity, labouring hand in hand with men, and raising children.

The media, forming one of the most important tools of the propaganda, actively participated in the process of othering.[10] "Just as images are both representations and producers of the ideologies of their time, they are also factors in relations of

[10] Reproducing the images that present specific norms of beauty and aesthetics often becomes an element of the "normalizing gaze" (see Foucault 1979).

power" (Sturken & Cartwright 1983: 72). Within the sociopolitical system, whose proponents (conversely to what they declared officially) attempted to maintain the existing institutions, the model of the new womanhood, with all its consequences, was an undesirable element.

In the sphere of *reception* of the image, visual representations never offered the viewer an insight into the world seen from the perspective of beauty queens. The contestants were shown exclusively as persons who are being looked at. Meanwhile, according to Mieke Bal who examined images through analysing the visual relation of gazes and perspectives of seeing, a strong identification of a spectator with an image may take place only when the external viewer (focalizer) can look at the same things in the same way as the focalizer in the picture (Bal quoted in Rose 2010: 69). A lack of such a possibility led to objectification of the watched figure and, in effect, to situating it in a position subordinate not only to the creator of the image but also to the viewer. This was one of the mechanisms supporting the existing gender power relations and depriving the woman of her "voice".

The film *Polska Kronika Filmowa* added the element of movement, imposing specific sequences of gazing onto the viewer through montage. In the case of *Polska Kronika Filmowa*, the construction of the gaze was based on the same conventions of seeing as in the case of press photography. Meanwhile, camera movement and the points of view it assumed during individual takes allowed the gaze a fuller and more sophisticated structure in comparison with an immobilized photographic image. The montage evolved to include sequences of close-ups, which began to appear frequently, revealing individual parts of a female body. "The film suggests that beautiful women are composed of legs, arms, faces, and torsos that work together" (Grout 2013: 60). It had influence on the power onto the bodies of participants of beauty pageants. On the other hand, such a manner of representation resulted from new technological possibilities and formed a part of a different convention that influenced the process of othering but also served to constitute a model of femininity different from the dominant one.

Power of the Gaze[11]

According to such scholars as Michael Argyle and Mark Cook, the gaze can be interpreted in three (combinable) ways: in terms of information (the gaze informs), in terms of relation (gazes are exchanged), or in terms of possession (by the gaze, I touch, I seize, I am seized). Moreover, the gaze plays an important function in establishing and maintaining social hierarchies (Argyle & Cook 1976: 3).

I devote this subchapter to the gaze because it played a significant role in the context of beauty pageants (since they were first initiated). The concern, however,

[11] Although in the common sense, *to gaze* means to look or stare, in psychoanalytic film criticism, "the gaze is not the act of looking itself, but the viewing relationship characteristic of a particular set of social circumstances" (Sturken & Cartwright 1983: 76).

is not limited merely to the fact that such contests began to develop as visual entertainment for the masses.[12] In my opinion, the gaze was one of the most basic mechanisms for constructing otherness and for the emergence of the new Other as a nontraditional woman.

The changes noticeable in the long term and related to the organization of beauty pageants, attitudes of women who were their participants, and the social reception of such events constituted one of the manifestations of the development of the modern era. Miss Polonia pageants, while taking into account their distinctness, ought to be treated as a stage in the development of a broader phenomenon, which in the 1950s was in its transition phase—the phase of a struggle for women's right to a public display of female physicality.[13]

Contemporary beauty pageants formed a perfect example of providing an audience with a possibility for gazing at female bodies and for conscious exposure of femininity to the evaluative gaze of others. John Berger analysed the cultural construct of male gaze. Such a way of looking was based on an assumption that the man is an "ideal" spectator and that an image of a woman is supposed to cater to his visual pleasure, an assumption that reflected the social relations of power and the process of establishing and maintaining the difference between the sexes (Berger 2008: 47). The concept of a male gaze (at least in its basic assumptions) dominated in patriarchal Polish society of the 1950s. According to this perspective, looking at the participants of beauty pageants can be associated with the multidimensional process of objectification (see e.g. Grout 2013; Figs 6, 7, 12). However, what is more significant, the male gaze was written into not only the majority of male/female relationships but also into women's attitudes towards themselves. A woman brought up in a patriarchal society and taught since childhood that physical beauty is not a real value, that she should not stand out, that a woman ought to be modest, kind, and submissive, had this male gaze stamped into/onto herself. This gaze was continually nurtured and confirmed by the environment, which supported the existing social institutions and structures (both by men and by women). In this context, a woman who decided to present herself on stage, opposing the dominant conventions of looking, had first to perform a huge work herself. Her effort required self-dialogue that would lead her to oppose the officially relevant criteria constituting a position from which she was judged by herself and others—required exposing and integrating the elements that used to be unappreciated, turning them into something of value and, finally, manifesting this change to the outside world. In this context beauty pageants were one of the forms of legitimization of the female gaze.

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[12] Beauty pageants formed one of the parallel spaces that were developing during the modern era, where the New Woman was imagined and pictured (other such spaces are e.g. film and advertising).

[13] Although feminist organizations continued to protest against such events, the true breakthrough accompanied the Miss World pageant in London in 1951. Since then, presentation of the candidates in swimsuits became an obligatory element of every beauty pageant.

In Poland in the 1950s it was no longer surprising that the contestants participated in presentations in swimsuits, subjecting their physicality and femininity to the judgment of the jury and the audience. For the ordinary, attractive women to appear on stage, it required courage, awareness, overcoming social models and stereotypes imposed from the outside and constituted a manifestation of female modern thinking and independence (additionally constituting a prerequisite for meeting their rivals on the European and American stages). The New Woman embodied the desire to see and to be seen. Thus, beauty queens were not only the passive objects of party-state or gender policies. The beauty pageants enabled them a new articulation of meanings of womanhood (Figs 3 and 14). For numerous young women the beauty pageants became a powerful vehicle of identity transformation, providing them with an opportunity to establish their personal autonomy via emerging from the confinements of traditional communities and the model of a disciplined individual (mother, wife, activist, worker).

Conclusion

The process of constructing multimedial representations of the New Woman in the context of Polish beauty pageants in the 1950s was of short duration (1956–1958), yet it deserves attention. The emergence and evolution of beauty pageants and attitudes related to them, treated from the perspective of a phenomenon that crossed state and national borders, allows us to see Miss Polonia pageants (including the local and regional contests) as one of the elements constituting a much longer process, and possessing local particularities. Within this process, in which beauty pageants formed one of its numerous possible manifestations, nontraditional women were undertaking a struggle against structures and standards that limited them and were developing a new female agency, frequently contributing to the construction of other, new norms and standards, which also came to limit them (although in a different manner).

The case of the Polish beauty pageants is interesting because it concerns an iron curtain country. Visual imagery of Polish beauty queens from the 1950s has not evolved, due to the short period over which it appeared. Beauty pageant participants were imagined and pictured as modern young women. As it was suitable for the communist authorities' immediate interests to start emphasizing a different model of femininity, the official images of the New Woman did not emerge in opposition to the images of the working woman. Nevertheless, their juxtaposition in the media of the time formed one of the mechanisms for the construction of a new Other. This role was played by the nontraditional woman who opposed the standards supporting the to-date social structures and the ideological regime.

In conclusion, the development of the concept of the New Woman in the context of Polish beauty pageants held in the 1950s was a process within which it is possible, in my opinion, to distinguish three basic phases. The first phase consists in the emergence of the New Woman, who attempted to escape the structures

existing in the patriarchal and ideologized world. The second phase relates to the struggle in which the New Woman, as nontraditional woman, was perceived as the new Other by those who relied on the older standards. The last phase should end with the establishment of the New Woman and her agency; yet in the context of the Miss Polonia pageants in the 1950s, this last phase was interrupted. The ban on organizing beauty contests, sustained in Poland for the following several decades, was aimed at a further strengthening of the dominant ideological and patriarchal structures.

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Faces of candidates for Miss Polonia contest
S. Makowski, *Przekrój*, 1958, September 21. 1

2 **Candidates for Miss Polonia contest behind the scenes**
A. Wiernicki, S. Makowski, *Przekrój*, 1958, September 21.

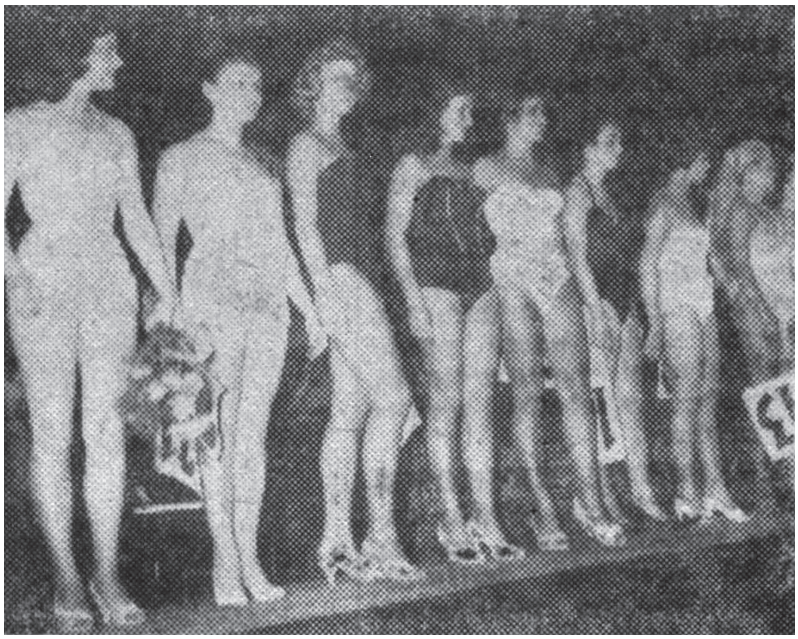
Candidates for Miss Polonia contest
3 A. Wiernicki, S. Makowski, *Przekrój*, 1958, September 21.

Alicja Bobrowska, Miss Polonia 1957
Z. Kosycarz, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1957, August 6. 4

Czytelniczce
Bałtyckiego
Alicja Bobrowska

Alicja Bobrowska during Miss Universum contest in USA

5 *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, August 8.

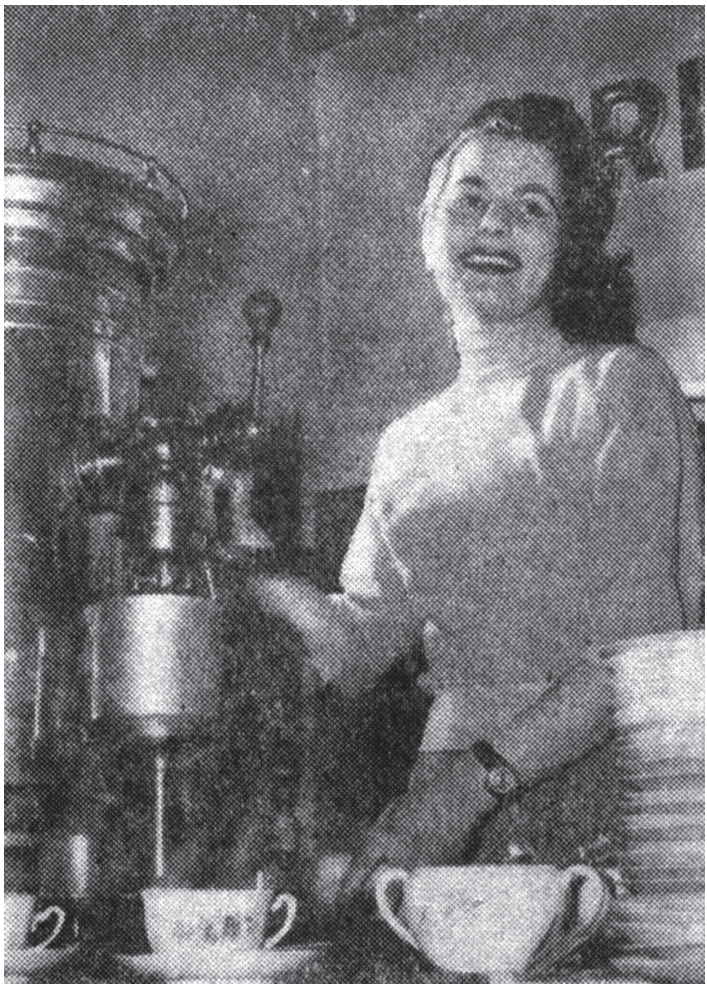


Candidates for Miss Polonia 1957 on stage
Z. Kosycarz, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1957, August 6. 6

The audience

7 Z. Kosycarz, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1957, August 6.

Alicja Bobrowska during Miss Polonia contest
J. Kopeć, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1957, August 7. 8



Vice-miss Warsaw at work

9 Wdowiński, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, March 29.

Alicja Bobrowska in USA with Karl Larsen
Przekrój, 1958, September 28. 10

Alicja Bobrowska in California

11 *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, August 23.

Miss Polonia 1958 accompanied by I and II runner-up
Matuszewski, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, September 9. 12

Alicja Bobrowska and representatives of Polska Firma Filatelistyczna in Chicago
13 *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, October 19–20.

Alicja Bobrowska during photographic session in Gdańsk
J. Uklejewski, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, November 23–24. 14

15 **Candidates for Miss Baltic Coast pageant**
Dziennik Bałtycki, 1958, January 4.

Candidates behind the scenes
16 W. Nieżywiński, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, January 7.

Candidates behind the scenes 17
W. Nieżywiński, *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, January 7.

Alicja Bobrowska in national costume in USA
Dziennik Bałtycki, 1958, January 7. 18

Miss Katowice

19 *Dziennik Bałtycki*, 1958, March 20.

3. The Functioning of Socialist Media: Shaping Society Against the Outside World

Raymond Detrez

Rivals and Collaborators. The Image of the West in Albanian Anti-Soviet Propaganda

This chapter deals with how the media in communist Albania in the 1960s and the 1970s used the image of the West to criticize the Soviet Union. As a case study, we chose the political cartoons produced by Zef Bumçi. Since they were published in a separate volume, they may be assumed to be somehow representative of the "party line" regarding both the West and the Soviet Union. To Enver Hoxha, the leader of the (communist) Labour Party of Albania, the West, and more specifically the United States, and the Soviet Union equaled each other in many respects. Bumçi's cartoons graphically display both superpowers' alleged interchangeability.

Before the end of the 1950s the image of the West in the Albanian media did not differ essentially from that in the media in other communist countries. According to that image, in western Europe and the United States the ruling capitalists exploited the working class both in their own countries and in the Third World, pursued a militarist foreign policy hostile to the peaceful socialist states, and propagated a decadent bourgeois culture in order to demoralize the youth. After Albania broke with the Soviet Union in 1960, the customary image of the West did not change essentially, but now many of the negative features of the West were ascribed to the Soviet Union as well. More precisely, the Soviet leadership was accused of revisionist violations of the Marxist-Leninist principles, especially as its economic and social policy and relations with its communist allies were concerned. The Soviet Union was accused of introducing free market mechanisms into its economy, of opening its borders to foreign capital, and of following an expansionist policy labeled "social imperialism" by the Albanian party ideologists. Briefly, in their opinion, the Soviet leadership had become a "new bourgeoisie", similar to that in the West. The Albanian leaders claimed that, at variance with the "apostates" in the Kremlin, only Albania had remained faithful to the pure Bolshevist line set out by Lenin and Stalin—along with China, its new and sole ally—until 1978. Copying Mao Zedong's ideological attacks on Moscow, Albania to a large extent also adopted China's perception of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power equaling that of the United States when interfering in the postcolonial states in the Third World.

In fact, there were more-substantial political considerations that induced the Albanian party leadership to choose this dogmatic line, as for instance Nikita Khrushchev's insistence on a collective leadership, which jeopardized the position of power of Enver Hoxha and—maybe more importantly—the improving rela-

tions between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Albania and Yugoslavia were in conflict over the Kosovo question. Anyhow, there was a great deal of rhetorical perfidy in the Albanian communists' dealing with the Soviet Union and the West on an equal footing, as they must have been perfectly aware of the many differences, but there was no better way to irritate the Soviet leaders than by blaming them for all the evils the Soviets themselves blamed on the hated West.

Not unpredictably, Enver Hoxha's criticism of the Soviet Union was slavishly mirrored also in literature and the arts. The celebrated Albanian writer Ismail Kadare, who happened to be a student at the Maksim Gorki Literature Institute in Moscow when the rupture between Albania and the Soviet Union took place, devoted several novels to the event. Among them *Dimri i madh* (1977, 'The Great Winter') and *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës* (1978, 'The Twilight of the Eastern Gods') are probably the most famous. Eventually, Kadare wrote a number of historical novels in which the detested Ottoman Empire stood for the Soviet Union, thus killing two birds with one stone.

In this chapter, we focus on the work of the artist Zef Bumçi—or Zefir—who, less inspired than Kadare, transmuted Hoxha's criticism into rather insipid cartoons. The entry "Karikatura" ('Caricature') in the *Albanian Encyclopedia* points out that cartoons are one of the most appropriate tools to criticize "the foreign petty bourgeois concepts and manifestations in man's consciousness, and to unmask imperialism, social imperialism and all the enemies of the people", and among the two cartoonists who are considered worthy to be mentioned by name is Zef Bumçi (*Fjalor Enciklopedik Shqiptar* 1985: 458). His name is also mentioned in all surveys of Albanian graphic art, published during and after the communist regime. Even today, he is often referred to with great esteem by young Albanian artists and intellectuals. Ahmet Collaku calls him *një artist me shumë finesë* ('an artist with a lot of finesse/ refinement') (Collaku 2013).

In spite of his fame, Zef Bumçi has remained a rather mysterious personality. No biography of him is available; I was unable to discover even when he was born and when he died.[1] According to a blogger whose information cannot be verified, Bumçi studied law in Montecatini in Italy (where as far as I know there is no law school), but he did not finish his studies due to the outbreak of World War II (*Stafa* s.d.).[2] Under communist rule, he worked as a cartoonist, contributing chiefly to *Hosteni* ('The Sting'), a communist satirical review comparable to the Bulgarian *Starshel* ('The Hornet') and the Polish *Szpilki* ('Pin-Pricks'), and as an illustrator

[1] Robert Elsie, who is one of the finest experts on Albania and has access to an incomparably larger number of Albanian sources than I do, could not help me either. I am grateful for his reassuring me that there is indeed hardly any information available.

[2] "Zef Bumçi karikaturisti me i njohur shqiptar gjate regjimit komunist, ka studiuar ne Montekatini (Itali) per drejtesi pa arritur ta perfundoje universitetin (ka mbaruar vetem 3 vitet e para) per shkak te luftes se dyte boterore."

of children's books (*Biblioteka Kombëtare e Shqipërisë*).[3] The Albanian National Library in Tirana possesses seventeen books whose author or coauthor is Zef Bumçi. The first of these books was published in 1957, the last—possibly posthumously—in 2000. Bumçi was awarded the title of *Artist i Merituar* ('Honoured Artist'). According to the same unverifiable blogger, Bumçi was persecuted by the communist regime and subjected to electroshocks in a hospital in Tirana, in which treatment some of his family members are alleged to have played some part, but it is not certain whether the electroshocks were the cause of his death (*Stafa* s.d.; see also the comments to "Përcillet Ferdinand Poni, Basha: Na iku kapiteni i PD në pushtetin local" ('The funeral of Ferdinand Poni, Basha: The leader of the Democratic Party dealing with the local power left us'), *Dita*, 2014).[4]

In 1976, a selection of Bumçi's cartoons was published in a separate volume, *Maska të çjerra* ('Torn Down Masks', Fig. 1), with comments in Albanian and in English (Bumçi 1976). The introduction points out that "[h]is works, inspired by the great ideas of our time, by the teachings of the Party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, hit hard at everything out-dated, regressive, reactionary, and hostile, and build up revolutionary optimism and action" (Bumçi 1976: 5). It is not clear which time span is covered by the cartoons in Bumçi's book. They are neither ordered chronologically nor dated. The first cartoon, *Moscow, November 16, 1960. Flashes on the betrayal!* (Fig. 2) deals with the notorious meeting in Moscow in 1960, during which Enver Hoxha criticized Khrushchev in his allegedly "epochal" speech that caused the rupture between Albania and the Soviet Union. However, it is possible that the cartoon was created after 1964 given the fact that Leonid Brezhnev, who came to power in 1964, is represented in it as well. In 1960, Brezhnev was chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the nominal head of state, but the real power resided with Khrushchev as first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. Other cartoons, in which Khrushchev figures alone, most likely have emerged prior to 1964.

Another cartoon that can be dated precisely refers to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February—March 1976—the same year that *Torn Down Masks* appeared. Albania and China then ostentatiously did not send any observers to the congress. Probably *Torn Down Masks* was published as a kind of comment on the congress (which by the way most "kremlinologists" consider of minor importance). Not accidentally, the volume opens with a cartoon (Fig. 2) showing the impact Enver Hoxha's speech, delivered fifteen years before the

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[3] *Hosteni* was launched in 1945 as a fortnightly, according to other sources a monthly political review of humour and satire. It was particularly popular in the 1960s and 1970s, when it sold up to 30,000 (*Wikipedia*, "Hosteni" n.d.; "Hosteni" in *Fjalor Enciklopedik Shqiptar* 1985).

[4] "Ka vdekur i persekutuar jo vetem nga regjimi komunist (eshte shtruar ne spitalin psikiatrik te Tiranes ku i eshte nenshtruar kurave te elektoshokut) por edhe nga familja Elda (motra), Shtjefni (vellai) e kunati Toptani."

book appeared, had on the Soviet leadership. In Bumçi's imagination it went over like a clap of thunder, whose resonance is still perceptible in 1976.

The Soviet Union's deviation from the right Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist line is blamed on Khrushchev in the first place, as Bumçi tries to make obvious in the cartoon *The cap fits* (Fig. 3), denouncing Khrushchev's good relations with the United States. Brezhnev is often represented as Khrushchev's "partner in crime", as his "offspring" or "mouthpiece". The latter is exactly the case in the cartoon *The tribune of the 25th Congress* (Fig. 4), in which Brezhnev actually speaks from Khrushchev's mouth. Significantly, the congress delegates do not look very much like workers: Bumçi deliberately dresses them as typical Western bourgeois.

What interests us in particular in Bumçi's cartoons is how he visualizes Enver Hoxha's identifying the Soviet Union and the capitalist West as equal evils. In the cartoon *Tales that don't go down to the workers* (Fig. 5), the two are represented as doomed to be destroyed by the working class. Bumçi took care that the representative of the West carries the placard with the inscription "against strikes", as he must have been aware that strikes were not allowed in the Soviet Union (neither, to be sure, in Albania).

One of Bumçi's techniques to equate Western capitalism with Soviet revisionism consists in representing them graphically in exactly the same way. In eastern European communist cartoons Western capitalists were traditionally represented as "Uncle Sam" or "John Bull", wearing a top hat and a tailcoat. That is the outfit of both Brezhnev and his (unidentifiable) American colleague in *Tales that don't go down to the workers* (Fig. 5) and even more strikingly in *In search for the victim… for aid* (Fig. 6): Brezhnev wears a capitalist tailcoat as does his capitalist counterpart, but rather than a top hat he wears a Russian *shapka*.

In order to emphasize their interchangeability, even if they are not wearing the same bourgeois clothing, they are represented in the same way. In the cartoon *Talks and smiles over … "disarmament"* (Fig. 7), Brezhnev and his American counterpart are shown literally as "birds of a feather"—peacocks with missiles instead of tail feathers—epitomizing both super powers' militarist and imperialist foreign policies. Significantly, they are not threatening each other, but, as the title too suggests, they seem to be good friends or allies, participating in a joint criminal venture.

Another major theme in Bumçi's work is the Soviet Union's economic system's increasingly displaying the features of a capitalist free market economy. Bumçi's cartoons again echo Enver Hoxha's criticism of "the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet economy". In January 1969, Hoxha declared in an article in the party newspaper *8 Nëntori*:

> The process of restoration of capitalism in the economy began on a large scale. The proclamation of "profit" as the fundamental criterion and incentive of economic development, the decentralisation of some vital links of the management of the economy, the encouragement of tendencies towards private property, the

> transformation of socialist property into a means of exploitation of the working people and of ensuring large profits [to] the party of the leading section of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the opening of the doors to the free penetration of foreign capital and, as a consequence of all this, the ever more powerful operation of the laws of capitalist economy, anarchy in production and competition between enterprises, the considerable revival of the black market, profiteering, abuses, graft, etc.—such are some of the fundamental features of the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet economy (Hoxha 1969).

Bumçi "translates" Hoxha's message into cartoons. In *The revisionist bourgeoisie opened all doors to Western capital—Come in, don't be shy …* (Fig. 8), a well-fed, happily smiling Brezhnev, embodying the Soviet Union, is stuffed with dollars. Another cartoon (Fig. 9) shows Brezhnev bathing in dollars that are willingly poured into the tub by enthusiastically laughing capitalists. The second part of the long title of the cartoon, *Western capital is penetrating more and more deeply every day into the Soviet Union—Customs that are revived in our century …*, refers to the generous loans Russia obtained from the West in the nineteenth century. The lackey in the background waiting with a towel suggests that Brezhnev as a new tsar resumes the degrading tsarist policy of financial dependency. Bumçi rather anachronistically adds to the moneylenders a soldier with a Nazi uniform. The assumption of a pre-

ordained link between capitalism and fascism was typical of the Stalinist perception of the West.

Another favourite theme of both Hoxha and Bumçi is the moral decadence of the West, ascribed also to the Soviet Union. In 1965, in an open letter to the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Enver Hoxha pointed out that

> the Khrushchevite revisionists have flung the doors open to the penetration of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois way of life, bourgeois decadence in art, literature and culture, to the enlivenment of all kinds of anti-Soviet, anti-socialist tendencies, to the spreading of decadent Western trends. They loudly propagate bourgeois individualism and selfishness, bourgeois humanism and pacifism (Hoxha 1964).

Again, Bumçi almost literally "translates" Hoxha's message into the graphic language of the cartoon. In *Christmas gifts in Russia* (Fig. 10), there are references to foreign currency, pop music, drugs, and religion (in this case surprisingly Catholicism)—all "Christmas gifts" that are represented as typical of the moral degeneration of both the West and the Soviet Union. Obviously, the Catholic priest is added on behalf of the Albanian Catholics in the framework of the Albanian communist party's campaign to eliminate religious life in Albania. Catholicism was insignificant in the Soviet Union. The message on the sack explains the basic causes of that degeneration: The "new economic setbacks" allegedly compel the Soviet Union to open its doors to Western capital and Western decadence. Figure 11, *In the streets*

of Moscow, also explicitly points at long hair (for men), miniskirts, music, bell-bottoms, platform shoes, and religion—here embodied by an Orthodox priest—as the major symptoms or causes of moral degeneration. The main culprit, however, seems to be pop music, judging by the headgear of the youngsters, which has the shape of a gramophone record. In Figure 12, *New Moscow panorama*, pop music, religion, US currency, consumerism, and criminality are incarnated in a hippy-like, obviously intoxicated, specter, wandering above Moscow.

A feature that may strike a reader of Bumçi's book is the unquestioning way the party leader's ideological opinions are transmuted into drawings. Pandeli Pani in an article with the revealing title "'We are dancing in front of the wolf's jaws.' Communist Albania and his capitalist and revisionist enemies" relates the rather unsophisticated and vulgar way in which "the enemy" is represented by Albanian cartoonists to the vocabulary used by Enver Hoxha in his diaries and pamphlets, and he compares Hoxha's "style" to Nazi propaganda (Pani 2004: 539–540). To put Bumçi's cartoons into perspective, one should keep in mind that in communist Albania making fun of the regime was absolutely taboo. According to Shannon Woodcock (2007), in Albania political jokes did not exist at all. One could make fun exclusively of those declared "enemies" by the regime.[5]

One might think that Albanians experiencing living conditions that were much harsher than those offered by "actually existing socialism" elsewhere in communist eastern Europe must have nourished at least to some extent a skeptical attitude towards cartoons like those of Bumçi. They probably did. However, equating the Soviet Union with the West was probably more than merely communist ideological demagoguery. It may in some respects have appealed to the Albanian mind-set.

To the Albanian party ideologists, "sex, drugs, and rock'n'roll" might have been representative of the alleged moral degeneration of the West—to be sure, there were too many people in the West as well; but they were not very characteristic of the Soviet Union as a whole in the seventies. However, one can imagine that these social and cultural phenomena were particularly repulsive to people in a traditionally and patriarchally minded and overwhelmingly rural society such as Albania. Therefore, these concepts were particularly suitable to be used as propaganda tools, enhancing not only the Albanians' aversion to the West and the Soviet Union but also their satisfaction with Albanian leaders' protecting the nation from such aberrations.

In addition, Bumçi's representation of the Soviet Union and the West may also have appealed to a kind of Albanian national paranoia, resulting from the country's historically conditioned political and cultural isolation and from communist xenophobic indoctrination. An Albanian political cartoon from 1913 representing Albania defending its borders against Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece with

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[5] However, not all enemies were foreigners. Party members also could be "enemies". As the hilarious novel *Shkëlqimi dhe rënia e shokut Zylo* ('The Rise and Fall of Comrade Zylo', 1973) by Dritëro Agolli illustrates, it was allowed to make fun of e.g. ambitious party bureaucrats and slackers (Agolli's novel was translated into Bulgarian as *Velichieto i padenie na drugarya Zyulyo.* Sofia: Narodna kultura 1978).

the caption, "Flee from me! Bloodsucking beasts!" (Fig. 13) reflects a more or less comparable, though admittedly more justified distrust of and hostility towards the outside world. The Albanian philosopher Fatos Lubonja (born 1951) told a journalist of the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza* ('Election Newspaper') that when President George Bush Senior and Mikhail Gorbachev met in Malta for the first time, the inmates in the labor camp where he was detained "believed [the leaders] had convened solely for the purpose of deciding what to do with Albania" (Woodcock 2007: 54–55). Although an iron-fisted dictator, Hoxha obviously was considered even by his victims as the man who defended Albanian independence against its many external enemies. Bumçi's cartoons may to some extent reproduce the image many Albanians actually had of the West and the Soviet Union as the main representatives of a hostile outside world.

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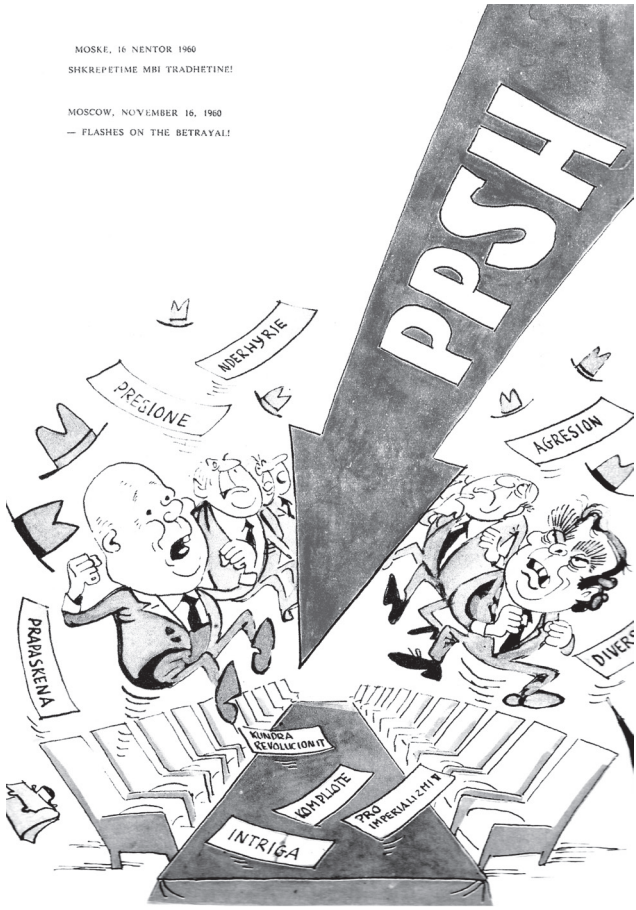

MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 16, 1960—FLASHES ON THE BETRAYAL!

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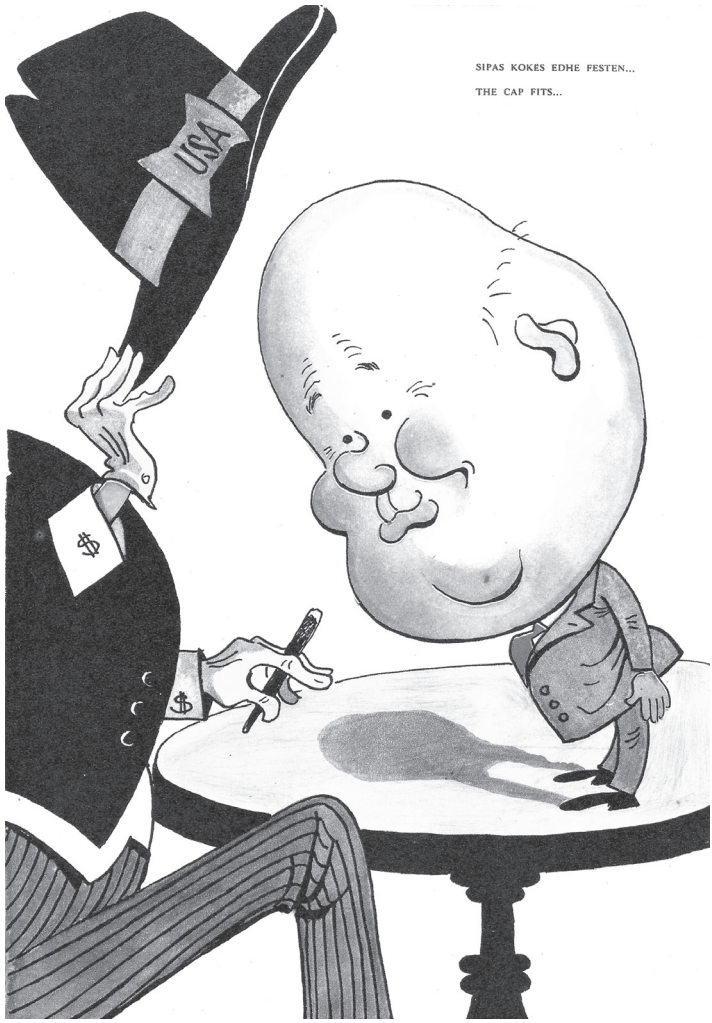

THE CAP FITS...

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TALES THAT DON'T GO DOWN TO THE WORKERS...

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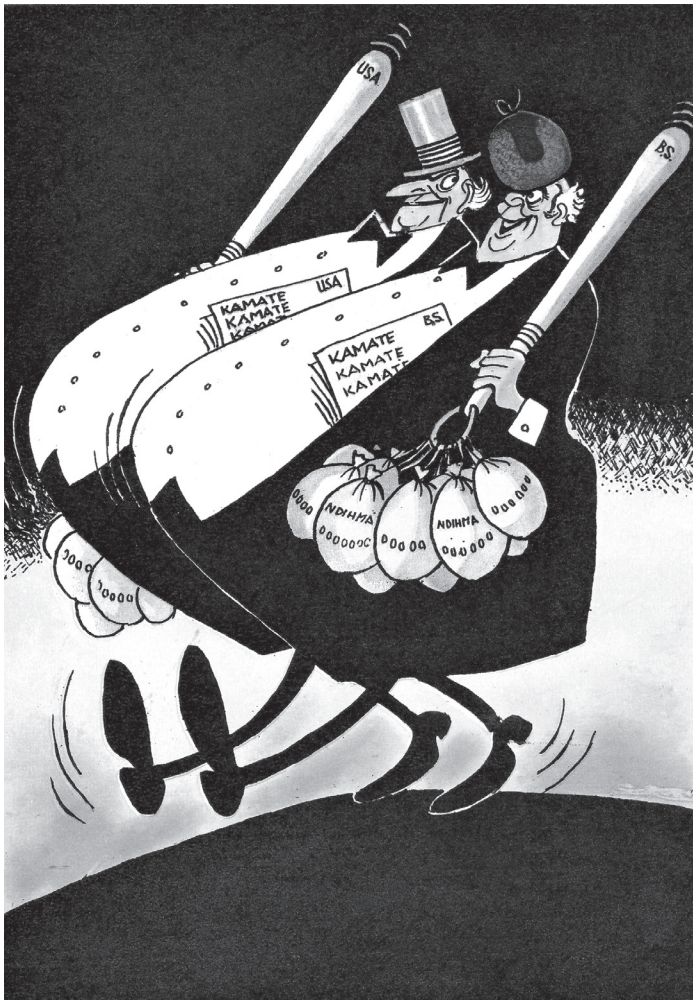

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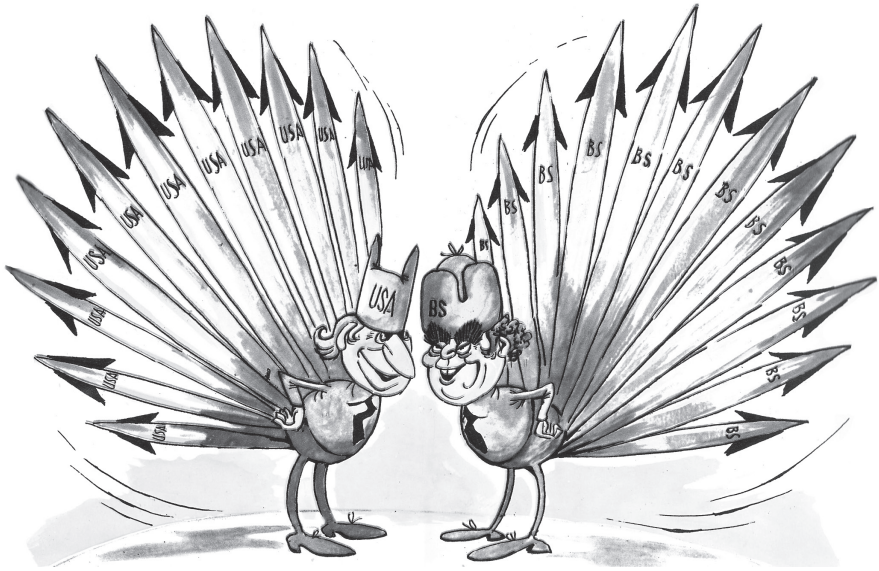

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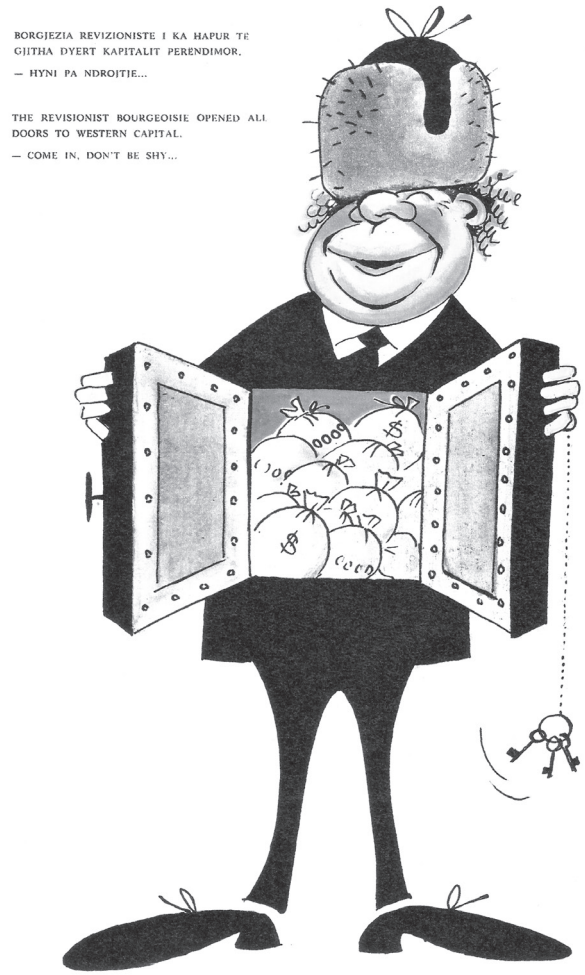

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PANORAME E RE MOSKOVITE...

NEW MOSCOW PANORAMA...

NEW MOSCOW PANORAMA...

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"FLEE FROM ME! BLOODSUCKING BEASTS!"
A 1913 Albanian political cartoon

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Petko Hristov

"Tito's Gang—an Instrument of the Imperialists": Images of the Yugoslav's "Revisionism" in the Bulgarian Newspapers of the Early 1950s

As early as the mid-nineteenth century and as late as the 1999 NATO bombing campaign, relations between Bulgaria and Serbia/Yugoslavia changed often, varying between "*philia*" and "*phobia*", between "warmed" relations and sharp confrontations, between friendship and rivalry. The frequent waves of proclamations of brotherly love between politicians on both sides, often blessed by Slavophilic Russia, crashed in the battle cries of the Serbo-Bulgarian War in 1885, the Balkan Wars, and the First World War, as well as during Bulgaria's occupation of eastern Serbia during the Second World War. And although the Bulgarian resistance movement, dominated by the communist Bulgarian Labour Party, successfully interacted with the antifascist resistance of the peoples of Yugoslavia led by the later leader of Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito, in many respects these stereotypes of mutual perception of Bulgarians and Serbs, which had formed over the years, remained in currency within Bulgarian society even after the war. The communist propaganda in Bulgaria in the beginning of the 1950s also made an important contribution in this respect.

As a result of cooperation between the Bulgarian and Yugoslavian antifascist resistance movements, an agreement of friendship, collaboration, and mutual help was signed in 1947, attempting to pave the way for a (socialist) federation between Bulgaria and Tito's Yugoslavia. Under the benevolent but carefully fixed gaze of Joseph Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, the then communist leader of Bulgaria, maintained the warm "brotherly" feelings that had arisen between him and Tito since their stay in communist Moscow. The Agreement of Bled (today in Slovenia) foresaw the formation of a broad socialist federation of the south Slavic nations by integrating Bulgaria with Yugoslavia. According to the terms of the agreement, the region of Pirin had to be ceded by Bulgaria to the newly founded Federative People's Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria was supposed to receive back the regions of eastern Serbia known as the 'Western Outlands' that had been taken over from Bulgaria after the First World War and annexed in 1919 to the then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In accordance with the agreement, the Pirin region received cultural autonomy; teachers and journalists from Yugoslavia were sent there to propagandize a new "Macedonian" identity among the local Bulgarian population.

The negotiations for federation were already in an advanced stage when in1948 an ideological split between Tito and Stalin occurred. It was followed by a rapid shift in the relations between the communist leaders of Yugoslavia and the other socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc and with the leaders of the international communist movement. In Bulgaria the warm relations between Tito and Georgi Dimitrov also lasted until the Cominform Bureau's 1948 resolution and Yugoslavia's transformation into a "revisionist country", enemy of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist bloc. It was not a coincidence that people living under socialist totalitarian regime in Bulgaria later on spoke of "brotherly Algiers and neighbour Yugoslavia" (Pantev 1999: 9). And, whereas in Tito's Yugoslavia the ideological apparatus inflated the fear of external enemies and "neighbourphobia was used as glue for a country that would sooner or later have to be unglued" (Stefanov 1999: 11, 14), for decades Bulgaria became the dangerous "eastern neighbour" who planned to attack the peoples of Yugoslavia who were building their "bright socialist future". The early death in 1949 of Georgi Dimitrov, the then leader of the Bulgarian communists and the head of the state who signed the Bled Agreement with Tito, led in 1950 to the election of Vulko Chervenkov as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and as prime minister of Bulgaria. Vulko Chervenkov adopted a policy of denunciation of "Tito's revisionism" and for decades the legend of Stalin poisoning Georgi Dimitrov in order to frustrate the preparation for the South Slavic Communist Federation circulated within Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

In such an ideological environment, a number of socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc began legal proceedings against leading communist figures accused of maintaining relations with "Tito—Ranković fascist gang" and planning a coup d'état against "the leader and teacher of the people, Comrade Stalin". Bulgaria was no exception: a legal proceeding against one of the main organizers of the antifascist resistance in Bulgaria during the Second World War, Traycho Kostov, and other leading figures of the Bulgarian Labour Party began; in a few months there were already death sentences. One of the accusations stated, "The accused Traycho Kostov had secretly agreed with the governing Tito's clique upon changing the course of Bulgarian foreign policy, detaching Bulgaria from the USSR and the countries with people's democracy and transforming it into a colony of the American and British imperialism" (*Protzesat* 1949: 15) (Fig. 1). The sentence was implemented and Traycho Kostov was hanged on the night of December 16, 1949.

In this atmosphere in Bulgaria, and in eastern Europe in general, in 1951, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party published a collection of documents, resolutions, and declarations of the Cominform Bureau and the individual communist parties in eastern Europe, entitled "Tito's Gang—an Instrument of the Imperialists" (*Titovata banda* ['Tito's Gang'] 1951). Parallel to this, a propaganda *Exhibition About Tito and His Retinue* (Figs 2 and 3) was displayed whose main goal was to present Tito and the then

leaders of Yugoslavia as "spies of the British and American imperialism", "a deadly enemy of the Bulgarian people", "a fascist gang" turning Yugoslavia into a "prison for the Yugoslavian people" (Fig. 4). The exhibition was composed by Mircho Pashaliyski, later a director general of the Bulgarian National Radio and after that of the State Circus. The exhibition was published by the national publishing house Nauka i izkustvo ('Science and Art') and today can be seen in the Central State Archive (TsDA 1953, F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17).

The exhibition consisted of twenty-eight cardboard panels with caricatures, photographs, and propaganda captions. The caricatures predominated but their authors were not indicated. The Cold War was at its height, so in order to prove the "betrayal" of "Tito's camarilla" regarding the interests of the international labour movement, the exhibition included pictures of meetings between Josip Broz Tito and a number of English and American figures, among whom was Winston Churchill. The exhibition was meant to be presented in the clubs of the Bulgarian Communist Party all over the country, but in fact it visited only some of the bigger towns in western Bulgaria and the region of Pirin Macedonia.

The use of caricatures for propaganda purposes was not accidental it was a method of the propaganda war of the communist regimes in eastern Europe and especially in the USSR. Many of the images in the caricatures of the early 1950s have the specific features of the wartime propaganda from the period of the Second World War: invective, satire, and humour (Kozintsev 2015: 84). Neither is this that it is the same propaganda apparatus and the same circle of caricaturists employed by the regime of Stalin during the war. The propaganda "experts" of the rest of the totalitarian states took full advantage of the arsenal, the images and techniques of the Soviet Politprop. The use of caricatures for propaganda purposes was a well-known method throughout the twentieth century as far as "the symbols of a caricature are simpler, more understandable, and more effective for the audience" (Tamás 2013: 280). In the political propaganda of the Cold War of the 1950s the caricaturists employed well-known symbols and stereotypes from the wartime (for the Balkan Wars, cf. Ibid.: 278–279) in order to be easily recognizable and the messages, quickly decoded. That's why the ideological clichés and symbols used for exposing Hitler's Germany and fascist Italy became widely employed in order to discredit the recent comrades and strategic partners including Bulgaria's neighbour countries Turkey and Greece. After 1949, Tito's Yugoslavia joined the above-mentioned two states.

The exhibition intended to visualize various evaluations of Tito and his close associates from the leadership of the Yugoslavian Communist Party, which had already appeared in the documents of the Cominform Bureau, and many prominent figures of the international communist movement (Fig. 5). Discreditation was in two directions: verbal clichés and visualization; for example, one of the fiercest critics of Tito was the Spanish communist Dolores Ibarruri, heroine of the Spanish Civil War. She spoke of "Tito, the Judas", of "the spy of Gestapo"

and of the spiritual kinship of Tito and Franco (*Titovata banda* 1951: 231–234). Something more—in the caricatures related to the preparations preceding the Second Balkan Pact between Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece (1953–1955), Tito is displayed among the leaders of Greece, Turkey and the United States, while all of them are labelled with Nazi symbols—*swastika* ("gammadion cross") and a skull and crossbones (Figs 6 and 7). Some of these cartoons were published in the satire newspaper *Starshel* ('The Hornet'), and others are used as individual propaganda posters (Fig. 16).

The resolution of the Cominform Bureau of November 1949 entitled "The Yugoslavian Comparty in the hands of assassins and spies" stated the following: "This [Tito's] spying group expresses the will of the Anglo-American imperialists rather than the will of the Yugoslavian people and because of that it betrayed the interests of the country and killed Yugoslavia's political and economic independence" (*Titovata banda* 1951: 90) (Figs 8 and 9). Many of the panels in the exhibition were dedicated to this topic, sharply emphasising the difference between "prosperous socialist Bulgaria" and the Yugoslavian agriculture and economy subsiding in the "claws of imperialism". One of the display boards is even specifically demonstrating the differences between the prices of the main food products in the two countries, while another one lists the contrasts in the constitutional texts of the not-so-long-ago "brotherly socialist" countries (Figs 10 and 11).

The same resolution stated that "the Yugoslavian Communist Party" in its present strength, fallen into the hands of people's enemies, assassins and spies, lost its right to be called communist party and now represents only an apparatus carrying out the spying orders of the Tito-Kardelj-Ranković-Djilas clique. Because of that the Informational Bureau of the communist and labour parties thinks that "the fight against Tito's clique—the hired spies and assassins—is an international duty of all communist and labour parties" (*Titovata banda* 1951: 90). Calls for such a fight were also present in the exhibition (Fig. 12). When compared to propaganda posters and caricatures from the period of the Second World War, it is obvious that the Bulgarian exhibition used on a large scale images and techniques of the Nazi propaganda of the Third Reich as well as of the Agitprop in the USSR (Figs 13 and 17).

The Bulgarian Communist Party and its propaganda apparatus kept up with the rest of the parties "faithful to USSR" and Comrade Stalin. In the resolution for the traitorous and provocative activity of Tito's clique, adopted in June 1949, the activity of the leadership of the Yugoslavian Communist Party is, according to *Titovata banda*, "received with disgust", "stigmatized as betrayal to the achievement of Marxism-Leninism"; furthermore, it stated, "The enemy, slanderous and provocative activity of Tito's clique orientated against our people, our country, our party is harshly reproached" (*Titovata banda* 1951: 60). The future secretary-general of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov, prepared a special report on the grave economic conditions in Yugoslavia indicatively entitled "Yugoslavia—police

state of fascist type" (*Titovata banda* 1951: 331–337). And the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party concluded with the ideological incantation: "Our party and our working people in towns and villages stood with all their activities and with all their strength and will continue to stand even more firmly on the side of the Yugoslavian people fighting for their freedom [from the yoke of Tito's clique]" (*Titovata banda* 1951: 61). In the exhibition this was turned into a call for nationwide vigilance: "Let's make our borders inaccessible for Tito's bandits!" (Figs 14 and 15). As early as 1948 the border between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was actually closed, and the last meeting between my grandfather and his relatives on the maternal side took place in a small Serbian village in Crna Trava in 1947.

The aggressive propaganda didn't stop not until the visit of Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin in Belgrade in 1955 and Tito's return visit to Moscow in 1956. Although for a short time, the demonstrative "rapprochement" between the countries of the Eastern Bloc and Tito's Yugoslavia was perceived by the new leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a sign of normalization of the relations between the two sides. However, the mistrust on both sides of the Bulgarian-Yugoslavian border persisted for a decade; after the changes in the communist leadership in Bulgaria, in 1956, Todor Zhivkov inculcated full informational blackout on everything happening west from the frontier line. Consequently, under the conditions of tabooed official information, Yugoslavia became a symbol of the West, evoking jealousy among the common Bulgarians "because of the *chalga*/*turbo*[1] folk, *kafana* ('pubs') culture and the pleasures" related to them (Aleksandrov 1999: 8).

In conclusion, I could say that in only five years the ideological propaganda of the Bulgarian Communist Party turned Tito and the rest of the leaders of Yugoslavia from the closest allies, with whom a new federation was being negotiated, into one of the most notorious enemies of the Bulgarian people and state, who sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialism, i.e. USA and Great Britain. This cliché was recreated for decades. The emergence of the *Exhibition About Tito and His Retinue* shows how in the early years of the Cold War the verbal ideological messages were visualized by the use in caricatures of symbols, images, and techniques from the time of the Second World War. In these messages the ideological opponent and "enemy of the people" are not only the "Anglo-American imperialists" but also the recent allies in the fight against fascism.

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[1] A kind of popular music.

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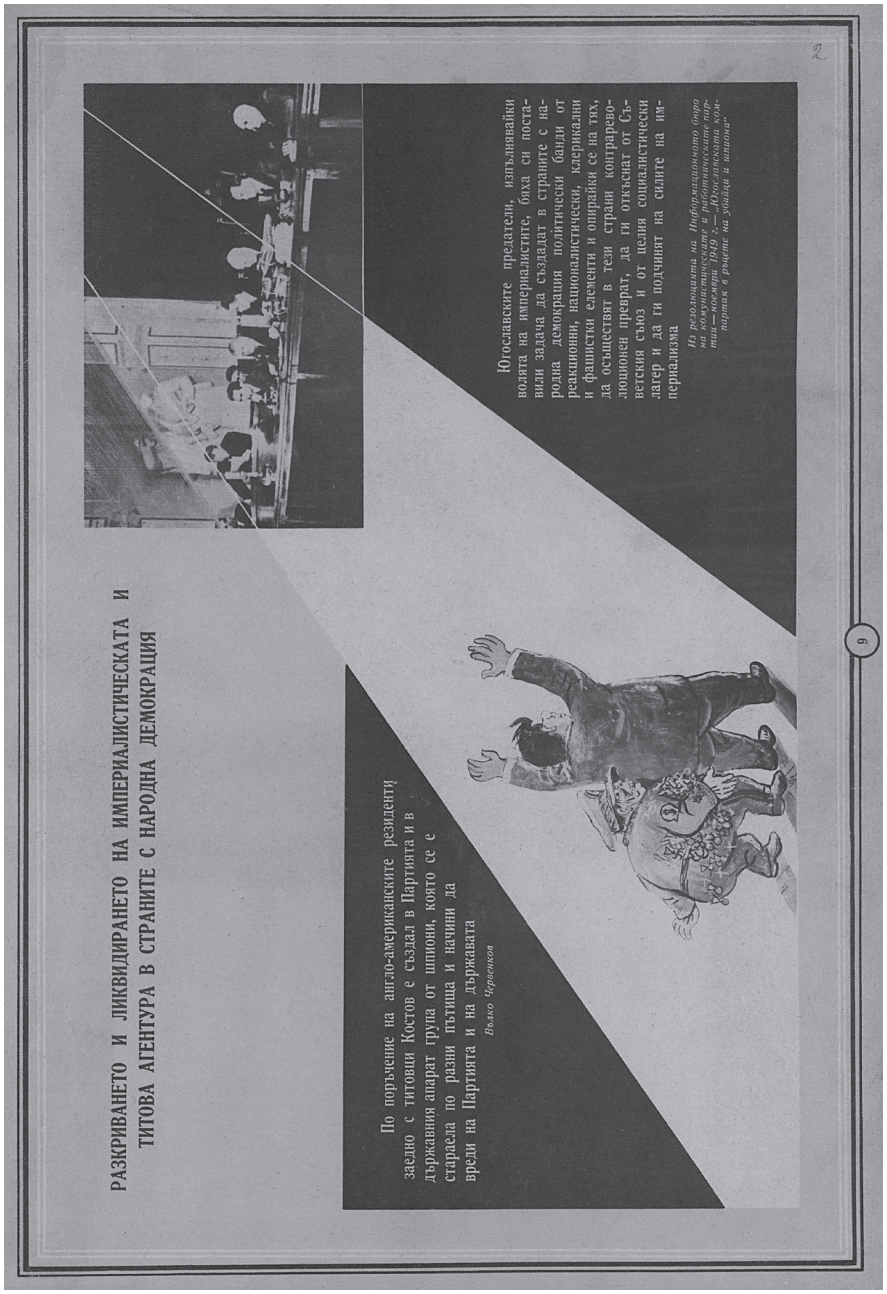


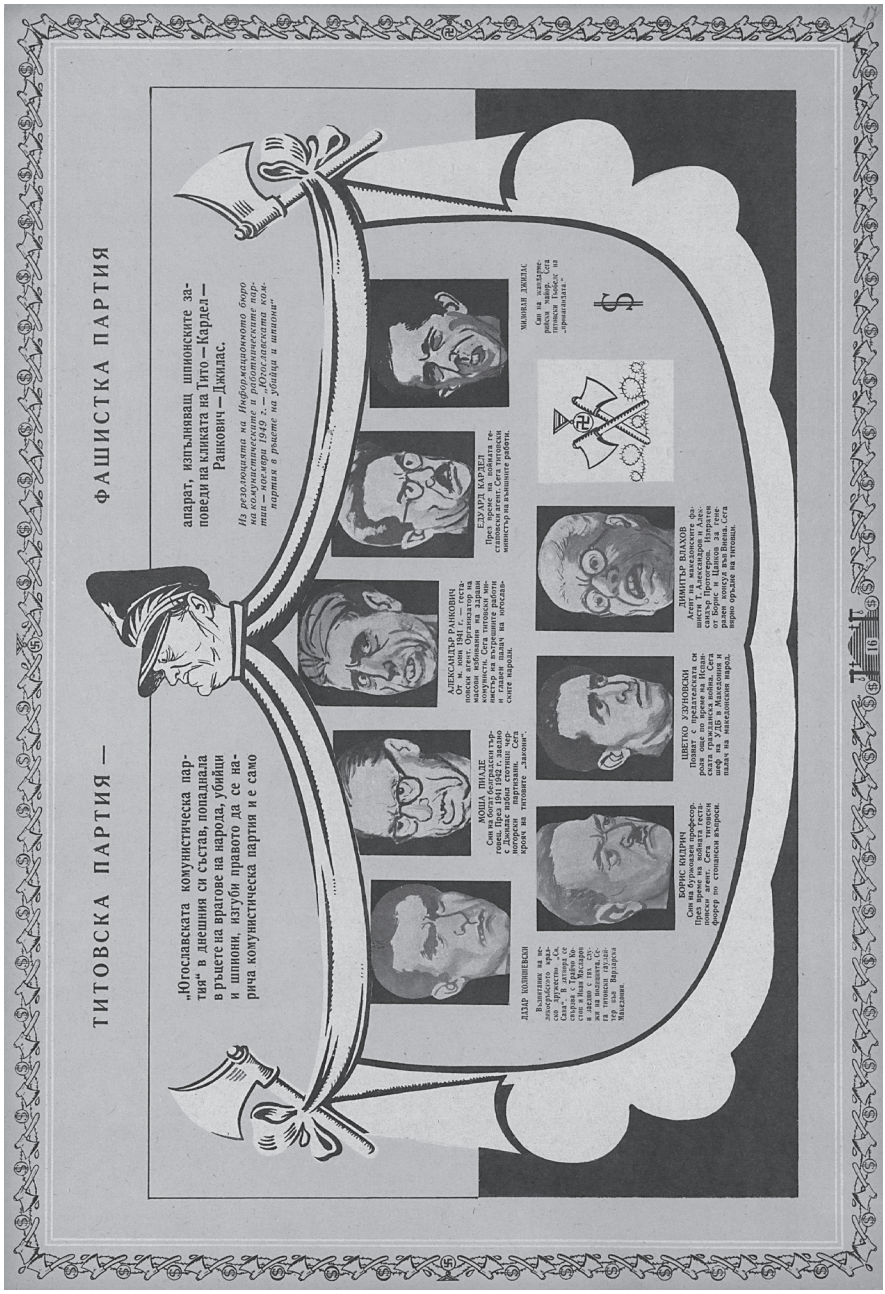
THE REVEALING AND LIQUIDATION OF THE IMPERIALIST AND TITO'S AGENTS IN THE COUNTRIES WITH PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Picture 2 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17. 1

EXHIBITION ABOUT TITO AND HIS RETINUE

Picture 1 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated),

2 TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



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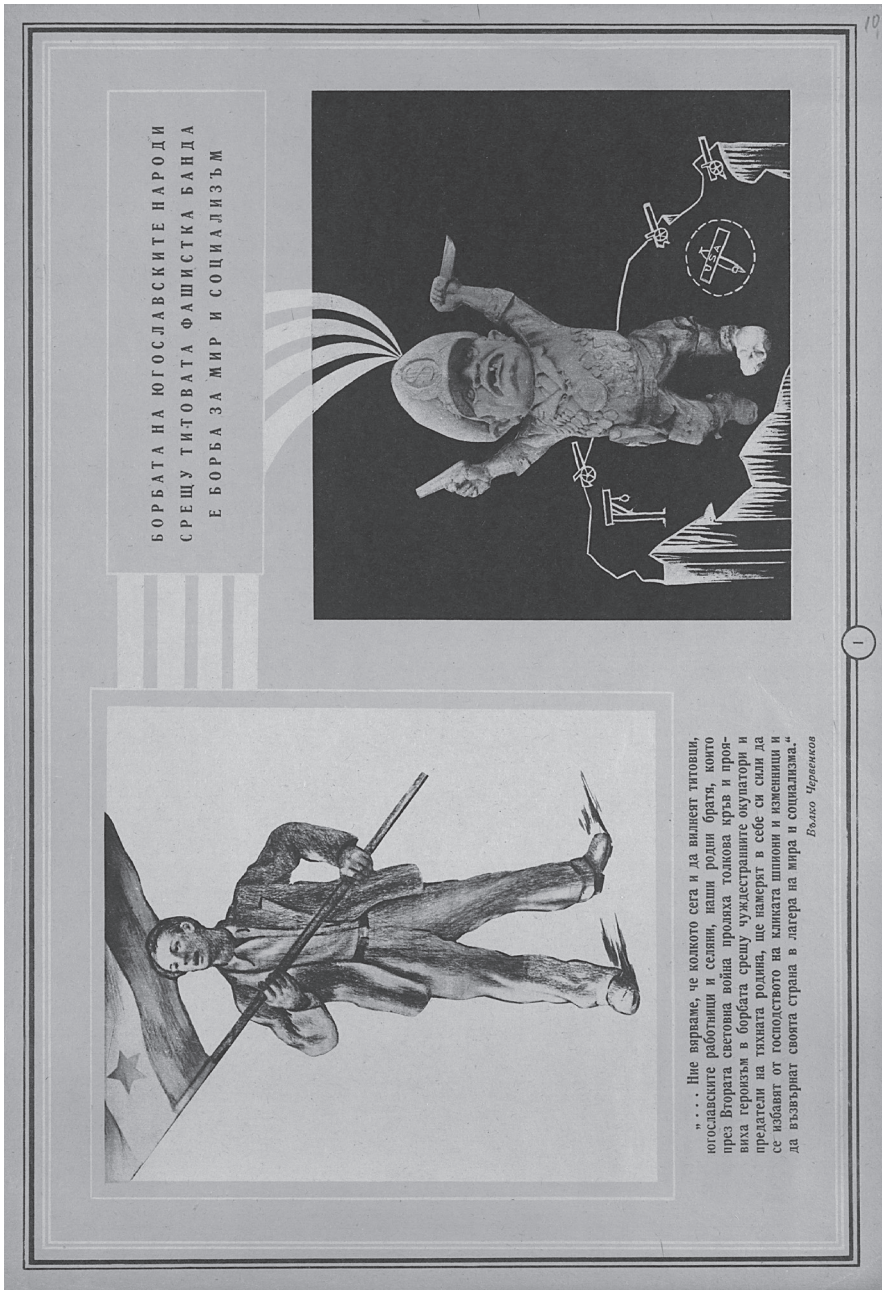
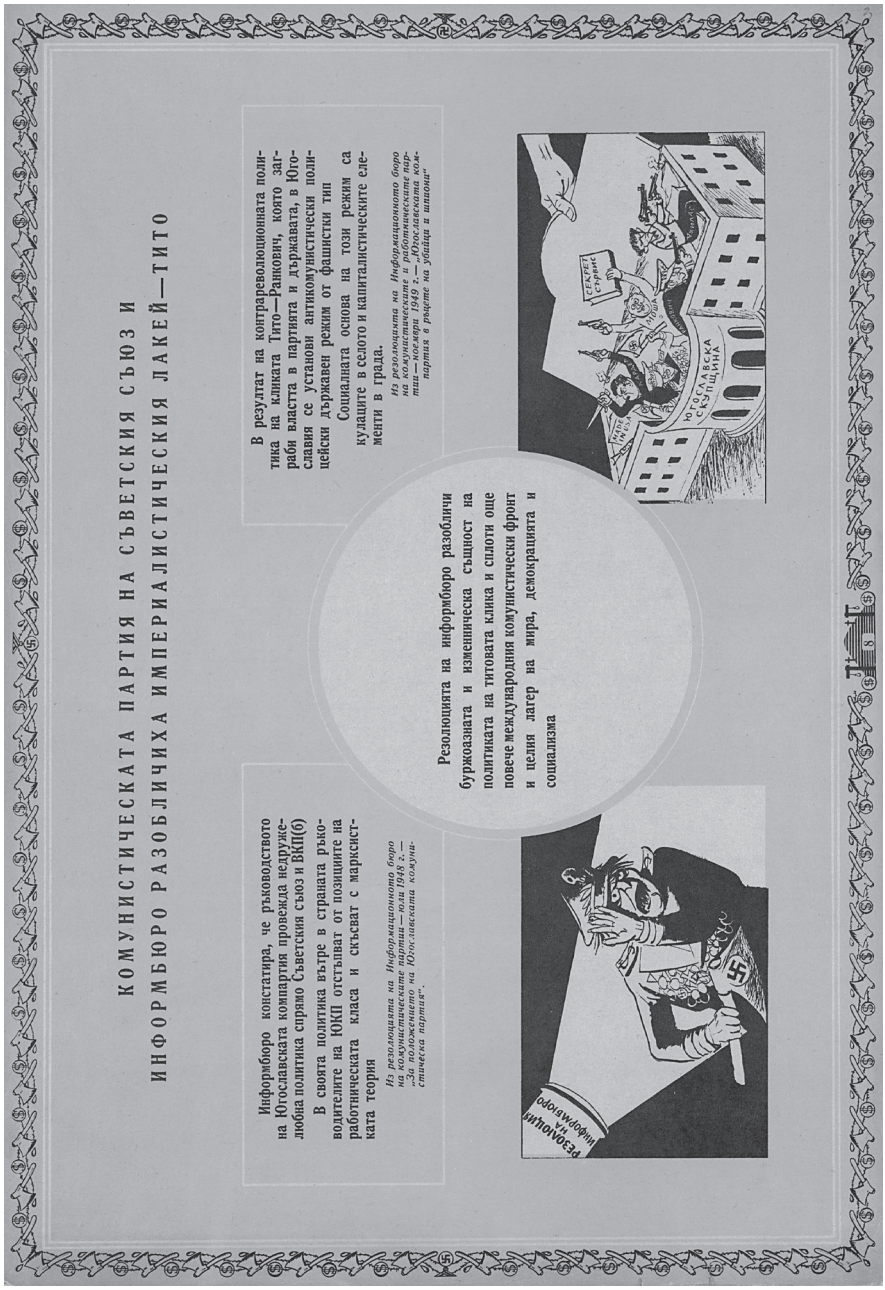
TITO'S PARTY—FASCIST PARTY

Picture 17 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



THE FIGHT OF THE YUGOSLAV NATIONS AGAINST TITO'S FASCIST GANG IS A FIGHT FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Picture 10 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND INFORMBUREAU EXPOSED THE IMPERIALIST FLUNKEY

Picture 3 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

TITOVISTS—TOOL OF THE AMERICAN-ENGLISH WARMONGERS IN THE BALKANS

Picture 28 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

БАЛКАНСКИЯТ СЪЮЗ—ВОЕННОПОДПАЛВАЧЕСКИ СЪЮЗ

КАРТА НА БАЛКАНСКИЯ ПОЛУОСТРОВ

За подготовка и попадване война на Балканите вашингтонските управници построиха в Югославия, Гърция и Турция въздушни и морски военни бази, стратегически шосета и железопътни линии. Армиите на тези страни се снабдяват със стандартизирано оръжие и военни материали. Чрез своите военни мисии, инструктори и специалисти, американските агресори командуват югославската, гръцката и турската армии. Югославия се вече агресивният военен съюз Белград—Атина—Анкара.

Титова Югославия, който „не желаеше" да участвува във военни съюзи е вече включена в скалъпения от американците военен съюз на Балканите.

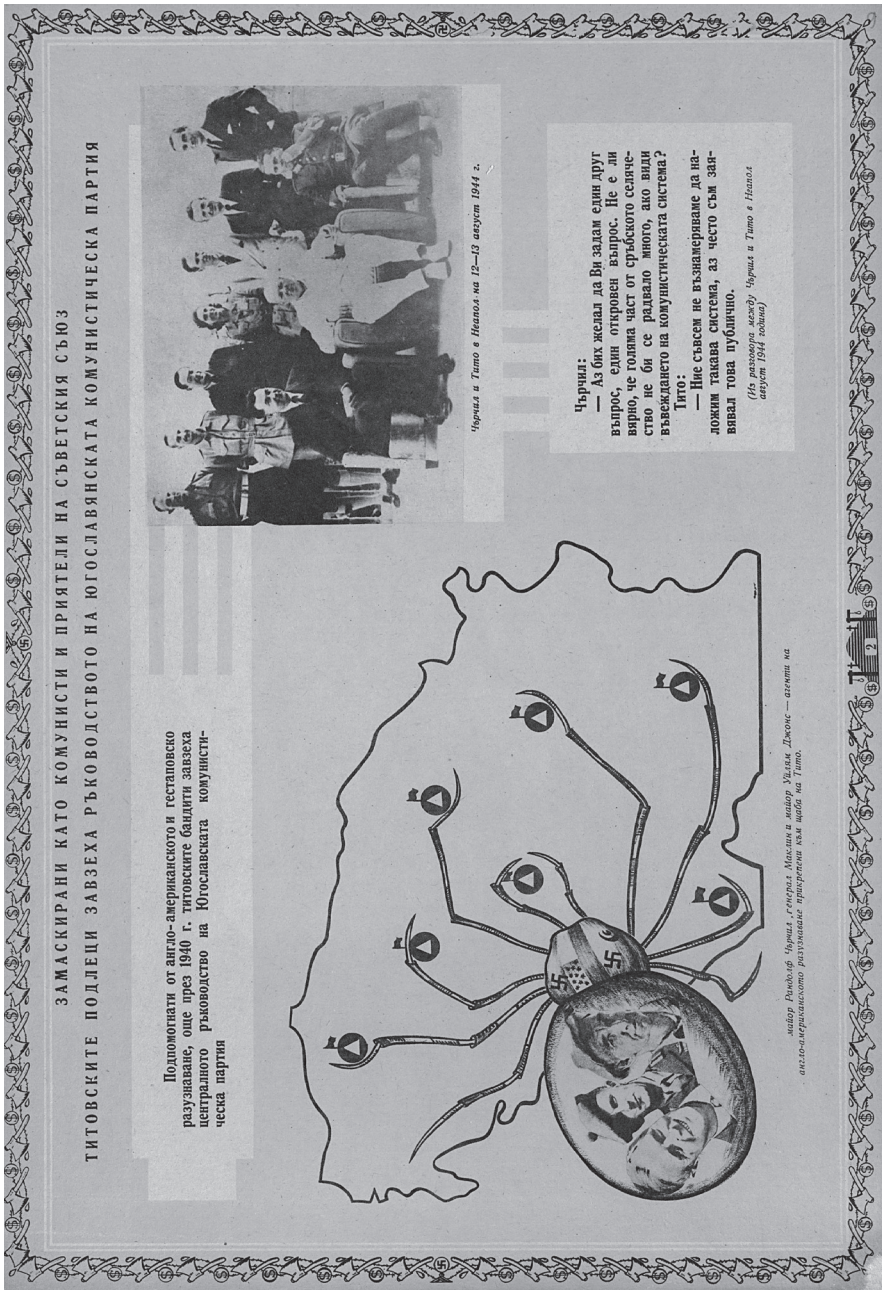
Тито и неговата съпруга в разговор с Антони Идън

Тито сред гръцката парламентарна делегация, пристигнала в Белград да преговаря за сключване на военен съюз

Американският министър на войната Франк Пейс с ген.-полковник Иван Бошняк и американският пълномощен пълномощник Джордж Алън на аеродрума в Батайница

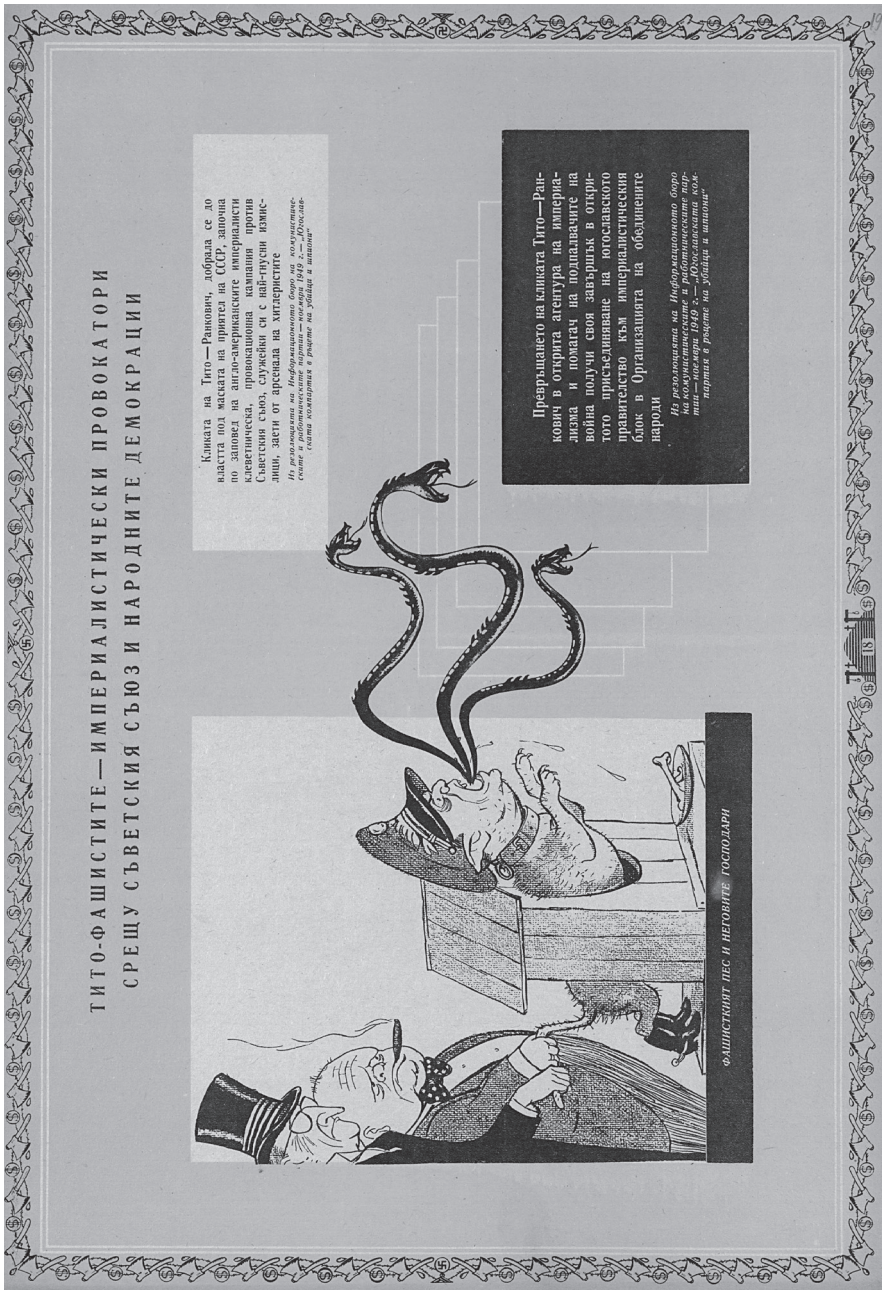
THE BALKAN UNION—WARMONGERING UNION

Picture 27 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



DISGUISED AS COMMUNISTS AND FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION, TITO'S BASTARDS SEIZED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY

Picture 9 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

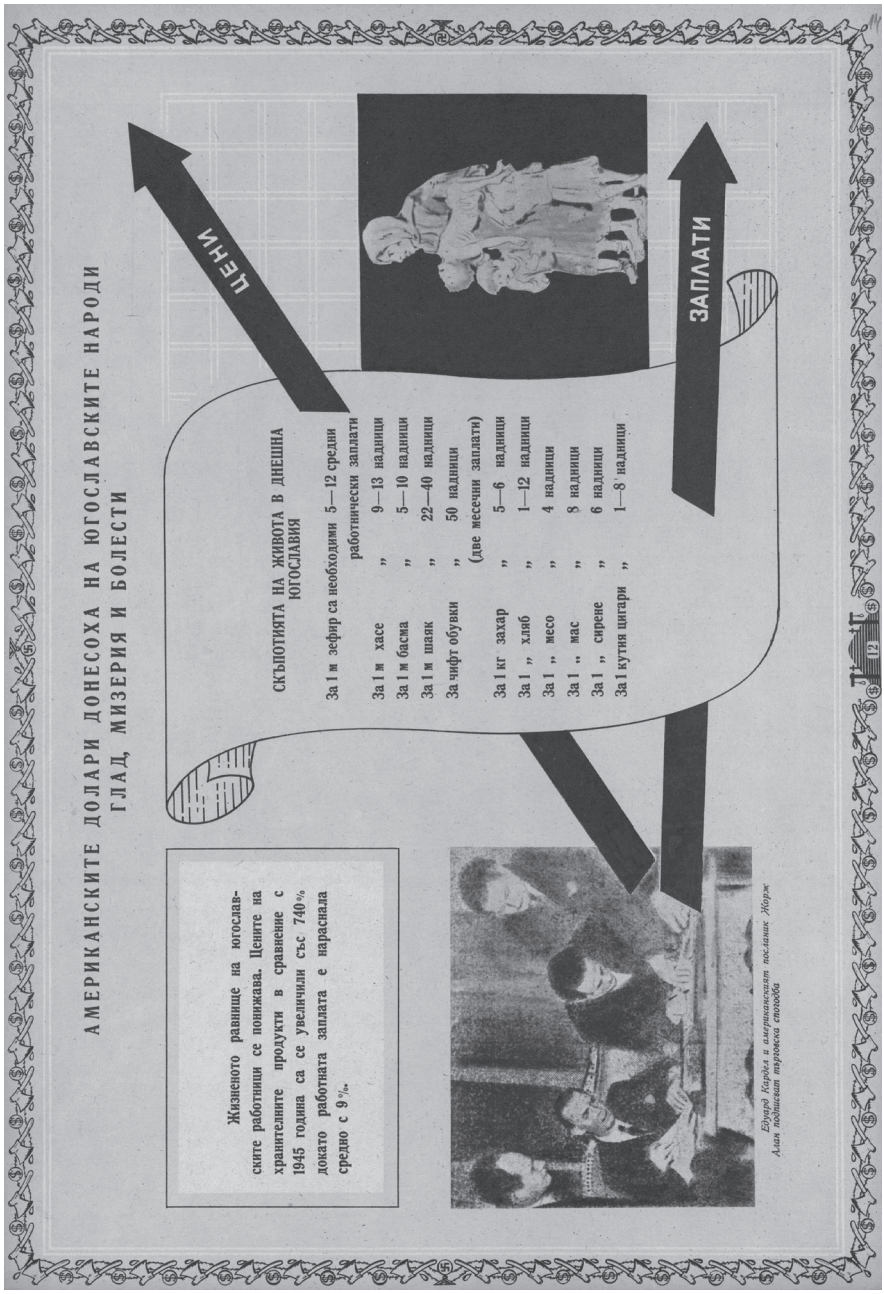


TITO FASCISTS—IMPERIALIST PROVOCATEURS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

Picture 19 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

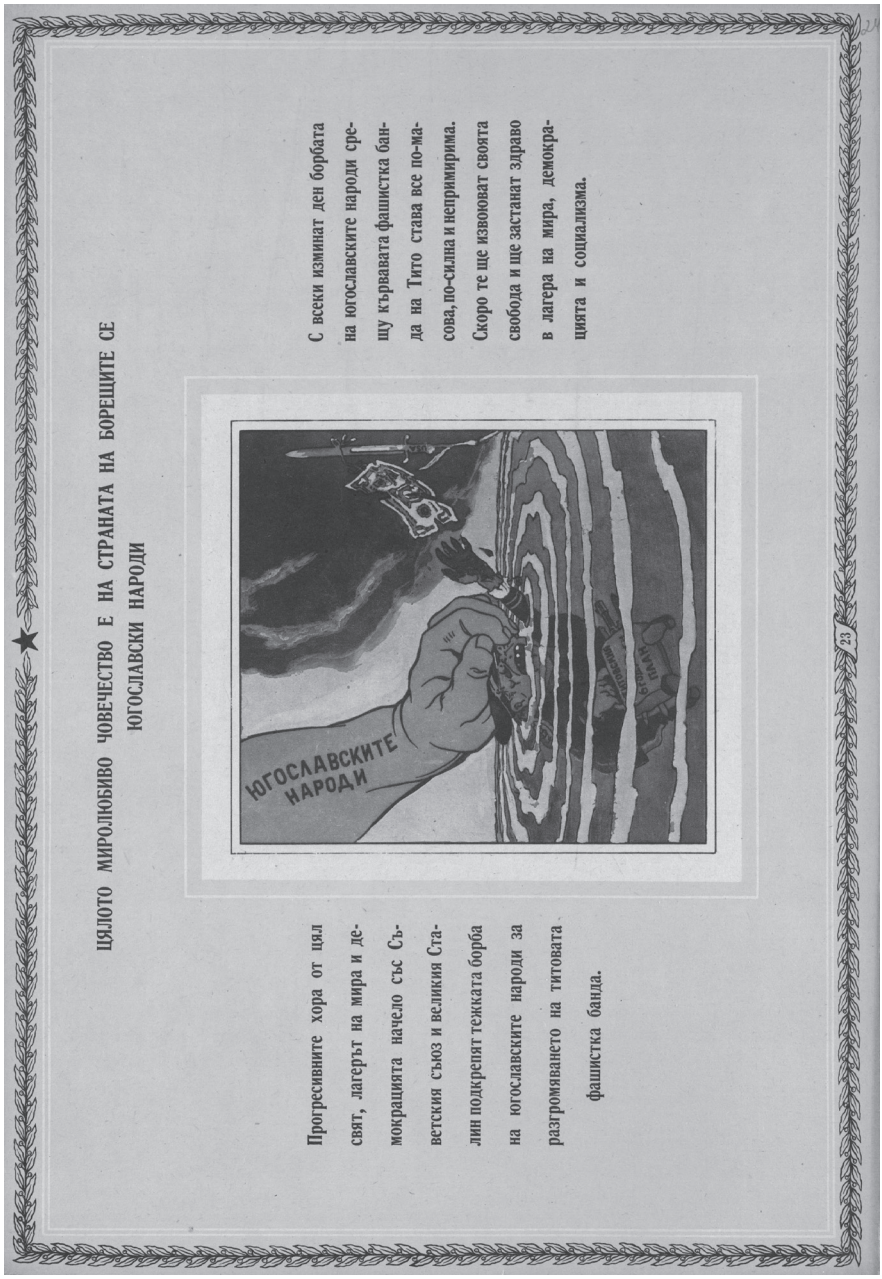
TWO CONSTITUTIONS

Picture 11 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



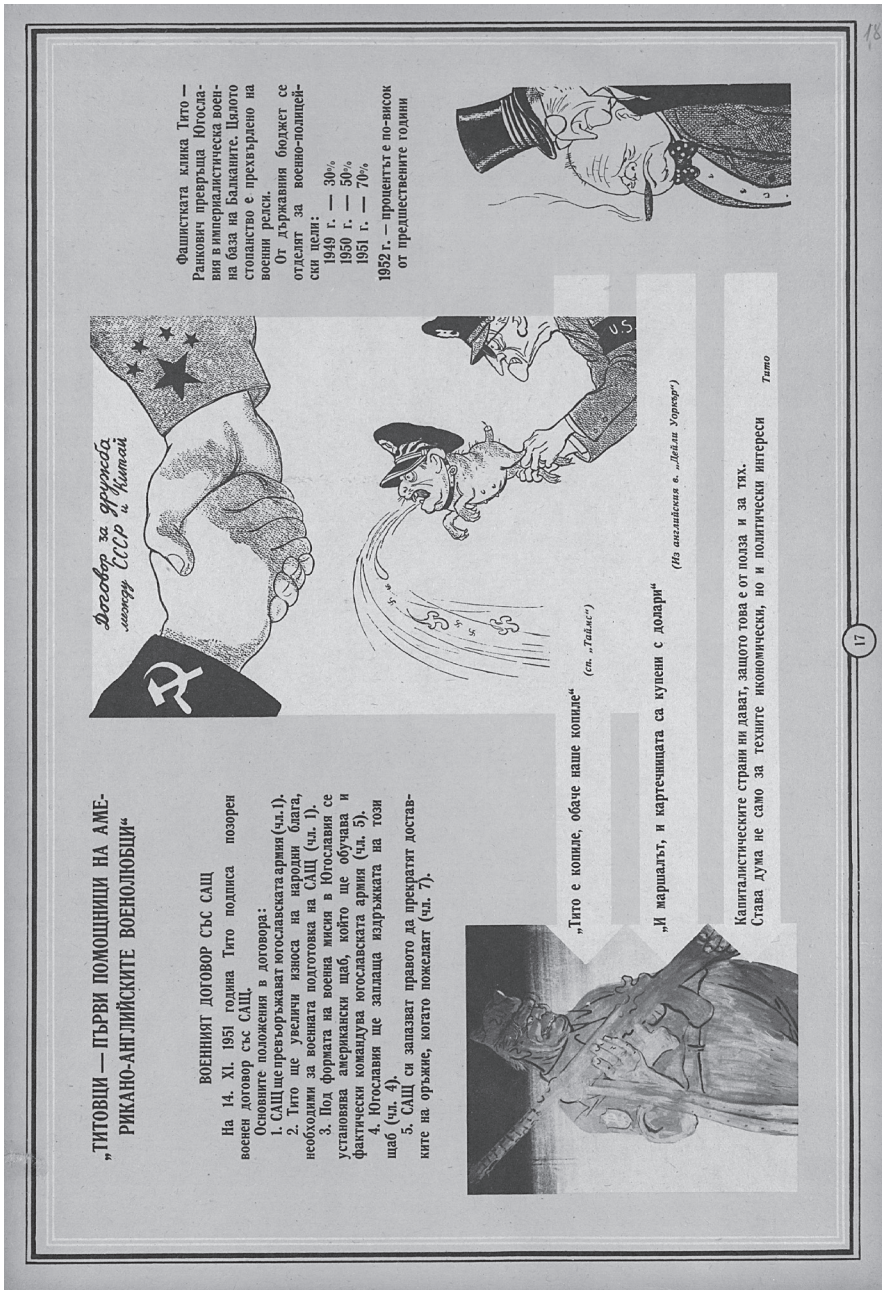
AMERICAN DOLLARS BROUGHT THE YUGOSLAV NATIONS HUNGER, POVERTY AND DISEASES

Picture 14 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



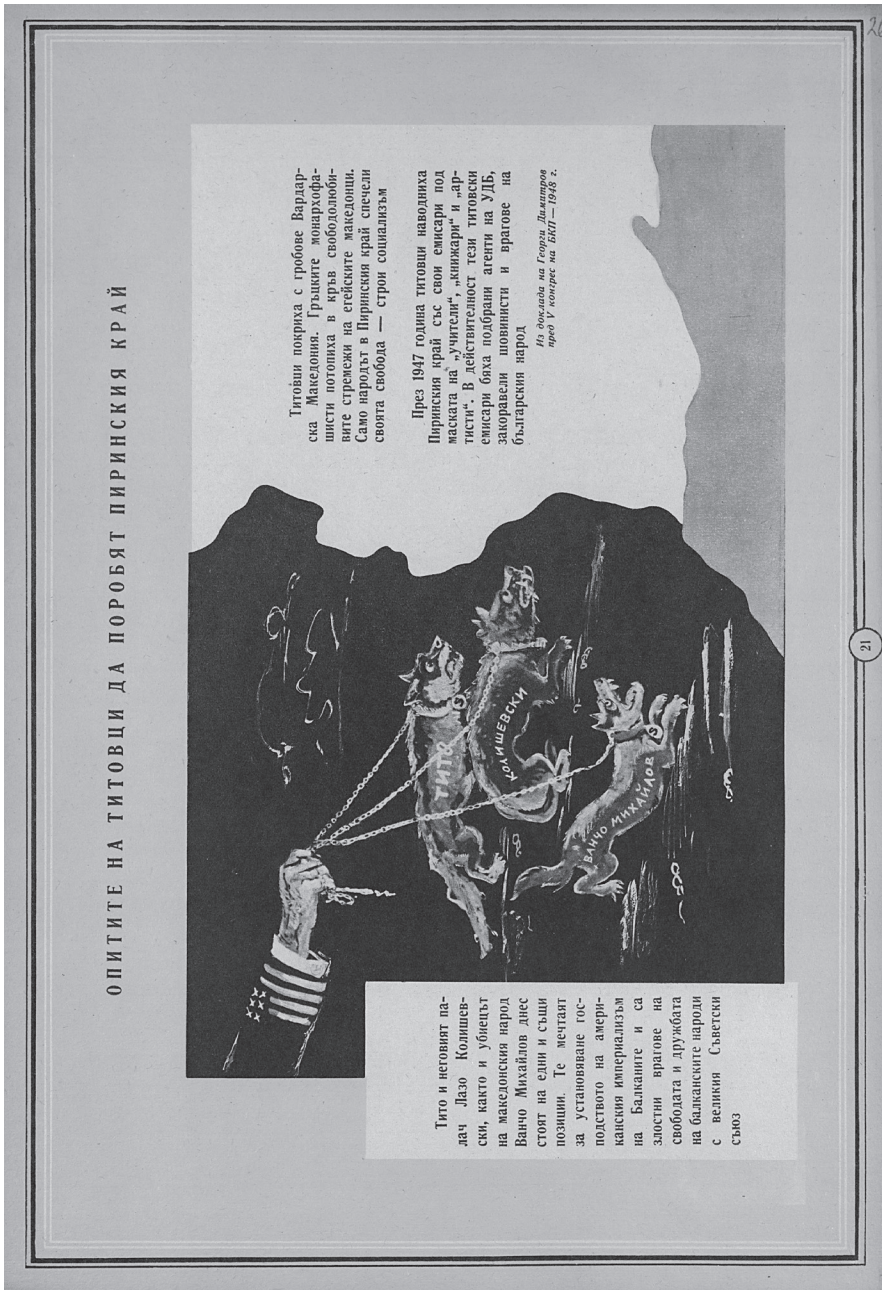
THE WHOLE OF PEACE-LOVING HUMANITY TAKES THE SIDE OF THE FIGHTING YUGOSLAV NATIONS

Picture 24 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

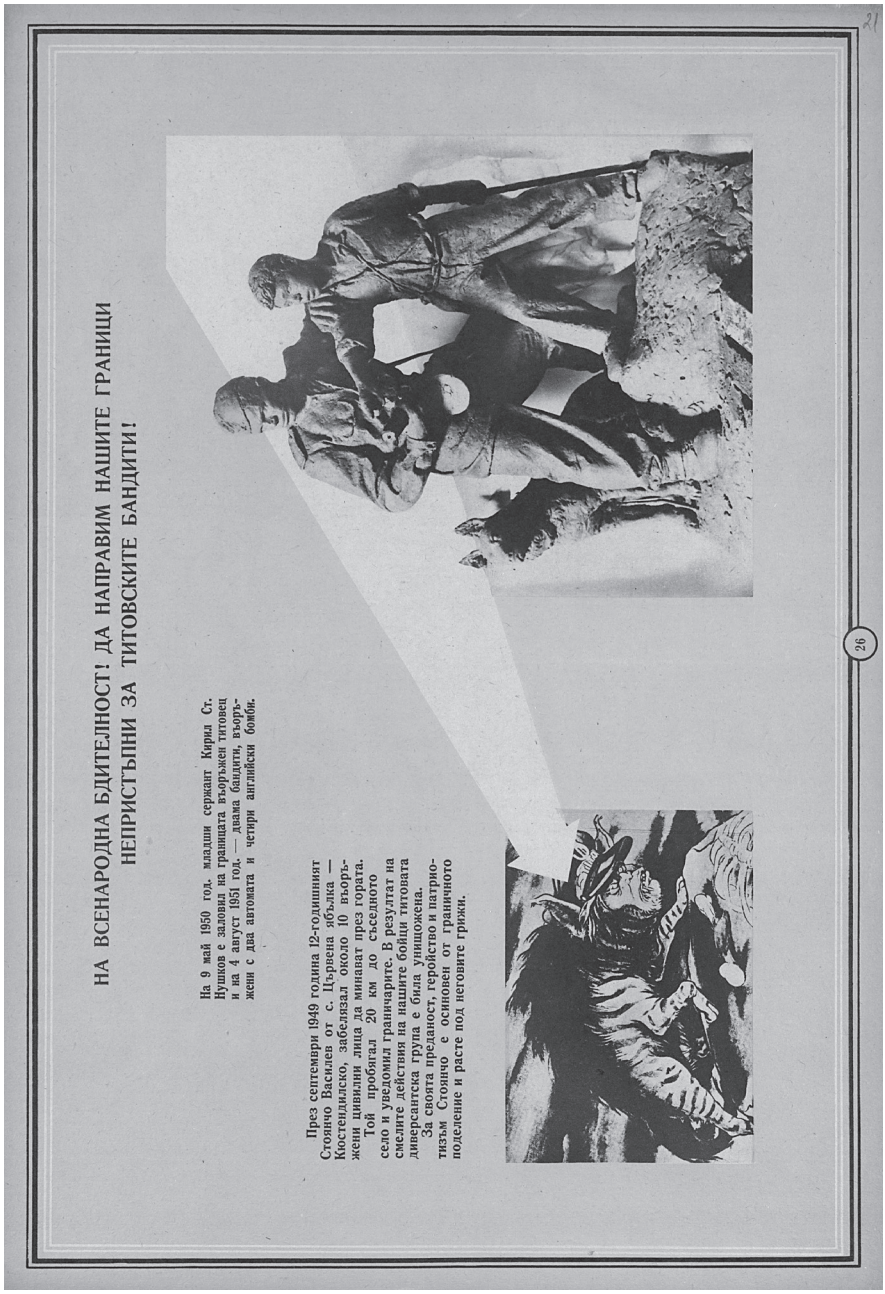


TITOVISTS—FIRST ASSISTANTS OF THE AMERICAN-ENGLISH WAR LOVERS

Picture 18 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



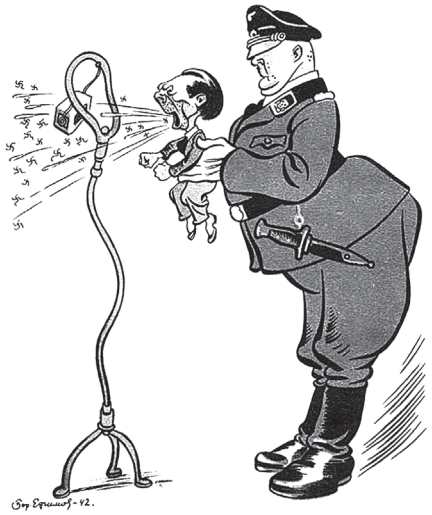
THE ATTEMPTS OF TITOVISTS AT ENSLAVING THE PIRIN REGION
Picture 26 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated),
TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.



NATION-WIDE VIGILANCE! LET'S MAKE OUR BORDERS INACCESSIBLE FOR TITO'S BANDITS!

Picture 21 from the 'Exhibition about Tito and His Retinue' (undated), TsDA 1953. F. 2, op. 2C, ae. 17.

16 **PORTRAIT OF YUGOSLAV HITLER**
G. Valka, 1951, later reprinted in *Starshel* and the USSR's newspaper *Krokodil*.
http://lib.sudigital.org/record/110 (last accessed at: December 23, 2016).



GIANT OF ARYAN THINKING
Reich Minister of Propaganda Goebbels in his full height
B. Efimov, 1942, later reprinted in the USSR's newspaper *Krokodil*.
https://www.historyworlds.ru/gallery/raznye-temy-iz-istorii/sssr1/gitler-i-ego-svora/10732-foto-2.html
17 (last accessed at: December 23, 2016).

Valentina Nedelcheva

"Bulgaria Beyond the Barbed Wire"—The Politics of Shaping the Image of the Other in Yugoslavia (1948–1953)

The contradictive situation that the end of WWII brought on the Balkans incited the rise of many ideological rivalries. Their formation, itself, inevitably forced out the notion of the Other and turned it into an everyday reality. The current volume deals with the problem of visualizing the Other and otherness and, thus, with constructing a specific reality in times of separation such as the period of the Cold War.[1] This chapter will contribute to the volume by presenting a case of visual representation; it will reveal the mechanisms through which a particular image of an Other is constructed on the pages of a newspaper—the journal *Glas na Balgarite v Yugoslavia* ('Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia').[2] It was published in Bulgarian between 1949 and 1955. The chosen media represents a very unusual case, since it introduces a specific discourse the main purpose of which is to disaffiliate a national minority from its homeland. Using various illustrative means of impact (such as caricatures, powerful speeches, influential articles, pictures), the journal aims at exemplifying the process of othering. It is designed to legitimize certain notions and ideological constructions in favour of the Yugoslav idea and at the same time to blacken and degrade Bulgaria especially with regard to its commitment to Stalinism.

The focus of the study is Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations after the Tito-Stalin split in 1948 and their impact on the minority issues in Yugoslavia (officially referred to back then as Federal People Republic of Yugoslavia—FPRY).[3] The chronological frame of this study is specifically chosen; it delineates a concrete period of Balkan history, with its own peculiarities. During that time the antagonism between the two states flourished and led to the development of interesting processes. In the

[1] This research was made during several field works in Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad and was conducted as dissertation research in 2014 and 2015. My stays in these two towns enabled me to follow a participant observation approach, conduct tens of interviews, and carry out extensive work in the libraries of the two town, where the sources relevant for this study were available.

[2] The citation in the title of this chapter is a title of an article in the newspaper, no. 133, March 13, 1951.

[3] The years 1948–1953 are those of the most severe and aggressive confrontation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia or FPRY). The cause was a conflict between Tito and Stalin (called "the Tito-Stalin split") and the following resolution of the Cominform (the common organization of the communist parties under Soviet direction) that excluded Yugoslavia in 1948. After 1948, Bulgaria continued to be loyal to Stalin and the USSR and that became a significantly problematic issue in terms of bilateral relations with Yugoslavia.

"centre" of this "silent rivalry" between these two sides was the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia[4]—the majority of whom are situated on the border, in Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad[5]. The text will try to answer the following main questions and, thus, contribute to the topic: (1) What was the role of the media in creating and constructing otherness and determining in what context it appeared; (2) What was the message the media was trying to spread and why was it important for the chosen period; and (3) How was media reflecting the reality?

The Other—Theoretical Aspects

Otherness can be created and exists through constructing and maintaining borders—different kinds and with different mechanisms of control. Tangible or not, the border often plays a role in the process of othering, since it delineates the own and the other "spaces". Its product actually very often is the Other. The topic of the Other, otherness, and othering is vast and here I will outline only several elements that are important for my case study.

Otherness and, more precisely, the creating of otherness is a process, studied by the social scientists in its complexity and especially in regard to intergroup relations and the formation of identity (Demski & Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010). Despite having in mind Allport (1954) and Dovidio (2005), who tend to emphasize in-group attachment over out-group differences and oppositions, the more broadly held idea is that the notion of the Other is a tool for creating, sustaining, or hardening the homogeneity or stability of a group. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1999) is one of the key studies regarding the construction of the Other as based on differences. Said's ideas and impact on the studies could be summarized by one statement: "The creation of the Orient as the 'other' is necessary so that the Occident can define itself and strengthen its own identity by invoking such a juxtaposition" (Ashcroft 2001: 62). In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha tackles the issue from a postcolonial point of view. Lacan (Miller 1998: 206) and Foucault (2005) regard the Other as an indispensable part of the self and its formation (Ibid.: 351–371). Othering is a central topic in Marilyn Brewer's optimal distinctiveness theory and as a tool for boosting positive characteristics of one's own group

[4] It is situated mainly in the border region between the two countries—in Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad. Representatives of the Bulgarian minority also live in Vojvodina, Nis, and Surdulica, but their number is relatively small. What is important to emphasize is that these towns became part of Yugoslavia (before WWII, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; later Kingdom Yugoslavia) with the end of WWI and the signing of the Neuilly treaty. However, during the interwar period Bulgarians were not recognized as a minority. This status was granted to them officially by the new regime after WWII.

[5] Until 1950 the name of Dimitrovgrad was Tsaribrod. Its renaming is another example that could illustrate the scale of the ideological scope of the Yugoslav state. It was named after Georgi Dimitrov, Dimitrovgrad, to "commemorate the memory of Georgi Dimitrov—a significant fighter for a better life of the working people, for liberty and independence of the small peoples, for brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples" (*Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, no. 59, February, 27, 1950). For purposes of consistency in the present article Dimitrovgrad will be used.

on behalf of the Other (Brewer 1991, 1999). Second, an important aspect of the current study is the assumption that the Other and otherness are often produced by the authorities (public or local) or by the community leaders. This means that the masses are expected to be the "recipients" and executives of these ideas that come from "above" (Tripathi 2016: 10–11). Of course, when talking about the Other, it is important to mention a third main characteristic of the process of othering—*essentialism*—which implies the objectifying and generalizing of this Other/these Others as a main tool of its/their construction.

These three aspects are crucial for understanding the processes that appear in the current case study. They define the main elements of the politics regarding the Bulgarian minority in the studied period and could be used for explaining the main actors' policies.

Borders and Others

Borders are usually thought to create otherness by their most common function—to divide; they are instantly associated with a continuous process of othering. In the period before the Cold War, borders are an example of differentiation and are often associated with alienation (Ratzel 1897; Hartshorn 1933, 1936; Jones 1945; Minghi 1963; Popescu 2012). The complexity of their functions is further studied during the second half of the century and new thematic fields are added. Discussions are concentrated on the border region as a research object (Martinez 1994), on the relationship between the local community and the state, the border, and those beyond (Cole & Wolf 1974); and on the borders as processes (Anderson 1996). These new discussions enrich the content of border studies, adding a view to the "one of the other side"—the Other and its role.

The delineating of borderland realities is the cornerstone of understanding the identity formed in this region. Their complexity results in the existence of multiple levels of identities. That is why a closer look at the relations that are built is essential. Mainly they are centre-periphery, local-global (political), and us-them (Popescu 2012: 23). This chapter will concentrate on the last of these, which is bound up with the idea that the basis of group identity is the construction of an opposition. This notion is further developed and studied and thus another typology of relations is elaborated—that of otherness.

Historical Background

The arising disagreements between Josip Broz Tito and Stalin resulted in the proclamation of the Cominform Resolution on June 28, 1948, which made official the expulsion of Yugoslavia from both Cominform organization and the Soviet sphere. This act had an inevitable effect on Belgrade's relations with its neighbour states. Staying on Stalin's side, Albania, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria had to disregard their relationships with Belgrade. This freeze was followed by the denouncement

of the bilateral agreements, signed within the last several years (Andersen 2004). The split brought changes not only on an international level but also to Yugoslavia's internal affairs. The centripetal authority system was reconsidered and assessed as inapplicable for the current conditions. This led to its redefinition at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. Last but not least—a new concept was going to differentiate Yugoslavia from the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics (USSR)—the new doctrine was called "self-managing socialism", as the ideologists in Belgrade aimed to oppose it to the bureaucracy in Moscow (Mishkov 2002: 90–96). Thus the authorities created a new actor in the social sphere—the social community of the working people in Yugoslavia.[6] Following from that development of international relations, the minority issue also evolves.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav bilateral relations were also influenced. The treaty with Bulgaria was denounced by Sofia on October 1, 1949, and along with that any further ideas for cooperation between the states were put on hold. These years were filled with constant accusations of espionage, arrests on the border, strengthening of the regime. Good-neighbour relations were replaced with severe propaganda and blaming the other side for any ideological sin possible (Petkov 2008: 41–43).

Confronted with the need to justify and defend its new politics, FPRY began to use all means of influence in order to create a rather obnoxious image of the surrounding ideological rivals. Moreover, having the Bulgarian population situated on its southeastern border, the state was challenged to target these people and reinforce the propaganda in order to make Bulgaria, beyond the border, indisputably Other and at the same time consolidate a specific group identity, loyal to Yugoslavia.

Media and Othering

Media was a crucial tool for the authorities during this period, because it was the mechanism through which all the views of the ruling communist party could be mass distributed among the population and thus control its opinion. Press was still the most popular media in the country since the radio broadcasting began shortly before World War II and television was far from common (Antal 2012: 20–26). In charge of the propaganda and therefore responsible for all the media censorship was Agitprop ("agit" stands for agitation and "prop" for propaganda) (Vukelic 2012: 13). After 1948, it was especially active in designing a campaign against Informbiro[7] "through articles in newspapers, magazines, etc., and through songs, sketches, reviews, etc." (Ibid.: 7–8).

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[6] The new politics was actually that of the workers' self-management as stated in the Law for Management of Public and Economic Manufactures and Economic Organizations by the Workers' Collectives (1950). Later on the local organizations called *narodni odbori* ('people's councils') became the main actors. Additionally, at a Congress in 1952 the party was renamed to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

[7] Informbiro is the Yugoslav term for Cominform.

Media was a suitable means of impact, because it could provide visual representations to emphasize a point whenever needed. Additionally the newspaper *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia* was very a specific example, because, as stated, it was the first newspaper published in Bulgarian by Yugoslavia. Of course, judging only by this fact, the newspaper was a huge step forward for the Bulgarian minority, because it was the first media tool available in their mother language since the Neuilly treaty.[8]

Having in mind the dynamics that characterized the region and the specifics described above, the situation on Yugoslavia's southeastern border after 1948 represented a challenge at all levels. The objective to expose "the truth" about who is who here and across the border and, thus, to justify the country's recent political decisions, was taken seriously by the Belgrade authorities. Having in mind the fact that media is a mean by which propaganda could be easily distributed, Yugoslav politicians came up with the obvious decision to establish the *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*.

The first issue of *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia* was published on January 17, 1949 in Belgrade, and it was officially distributed in eastern Yugoslavia, mainly in Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad. The editorial board consisted of representatives from both towns, of course adherent to the party. It was a weekly newspaper until 1954 when it began to be issued once every two weeks. It was issued biweekly until July 1955 when it published its last issue (Nikolov-Prisoyski 1969: 20).

The newspaper's main aim was clearly stated in the first issue: "to confront and reveal the enemy Stalinist propaganda of Informbiro toward Yugoslavia"[9] (Lazarov 1984: 4). It had a variety of content—articles with political purposefulness, describing either different news from the Yugoslav political stage or from Bulgaria, speeches of Tito and local (for the Bulgarian minority) leaders, such as Ivan Karaivanov or persons who had fled Bulgaria after 1948, and economic news stating the progress of Yugoslav society and the success of the two Bulgarian towns, in particular.

A very important question that should be discussed regards the concerns group of the media. First, if we regard the newspaper's distribution, two groups should be delineated: (1) the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia—for them the newspaper was easily accessible if not even gratis, and (2) the people across the border, for whom

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[8] After being joined with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes by the Neuilly treaty, Bulgarians in Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad (and in the country as a whole) did not have a newspaper in their own language issued by the state. The first was the newspaper *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia* that began to be published after the Second World War. A comprehensive list of all the printed media of the Bulgarian minority from the 19th and 20th centuries can be found in Georgiev 2014. Titles cited below originate from this newspaper, when not indicated otherwise.

[9] The original version of the citation: "да се супроставе и разобличе душманску стаљинистичку пропаганду Информбироа против Југославије". *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, no. 1, January 17, 1949.

the journal was sometimes illegally distributed. Second, it is important to stress the illiteracy level of the Bulgarian minority[10]. The pages of the journal were full of photos, pictures, caricatures—the visual equivalent of the articles, but with one very important function, i.e. to be easily understandable by everyone, even the illiterate "readers". These two points show the aspiration for spreading the journal to as broad an audience as possible: on the one hand, not only the minority but also the Bulgarians across the border who were "aggressively economically exploited by the anti-people regime in Bulgaria"[11] and on the other, by its wealth of visual content, not only the literate recipients of the paper could be influenced but practically every member of the minority community.

So, it is clear that the notion of the minority's belonging and identity was reconceptualized in context of the ideological rivalry. Having changed the perspective, it turns out that neighbouring Bulgaria and its authorities, the mother country for the Bulgarian minority within Yugoslavia's borders, is no longer the partner, the brother, and comrade, it has become an Other—unfriendly, menacing, and disloyal. And it was important that all this be properly conveyed in the *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*.

Shaping the Image of the Other

The media was trying to create a very pleasing image of Yugoslavia and thus easily incorporate the Bulgarian minority into the ideological and political reality of the country. It is clear, having in mind the theoretical discussion above, that such an aspiration for consolidating a community could not do without clearly delineated, strongly distinguishable and negated Others who would help in establishing an obvious borderline of differentiation. This aims to bring to the foreground a specific time- and space-contoured area of the Own and Ours that later in the text I will refer to as "here" (in Yugoslavia) and "now" (during the new regime).

In order to define the "here" and "now", the media uses two main approaches of othering; I call them the "praising" (of the Ours) and the "blackening" (of the Others). I refer to these approaches as objectives, through which the set goal could be achieved. The first approach is the one that creates the positive image by praising the situation in Yugoslavia after the World War II. It strives to show and prove the advantages for the Bulgarian minority of staying on this side of the border in other words, to show the best of "here" and "now". The second approach creates a negative

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[10] Illiteracy at that time was massively spread—this was recognized even in the newspaper, while emphasizing the educational policy of the state "Although the illiteracy in this region was massive, today it is overcome!" ("What Did the Bulgarian Minority Gain in the Brotherhood Community of Equal Peoples?", *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, no. 62, March 20, 1950). In this case one could doubt the plausibility of this statement and question if it really was possible to eliminate illiteracy once and for all in only a few years.

[11] "A Mockery with the Rights and Interest of the Bulgarian People", *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, no. 45, November 21, 1949.

picture by sketching a very hostile image of Bulgaria and the regime there[12]—in terms of the apprehended terminology, to show the worst of "not-here" and "not-now".[13]

The "Praising" Approach

The first aspect that will be discussed is the one that creates a positive image of Yugoslavia. The main topic of this approach is the current situation in Yugoslavia. Its aim is to assure the public "how well the life in Yugoslavia is, how successful many of the economic or cultural undertakings are, how socialism is being built; the successful fulfilment of the 5-year plans and the objectives set by the Fifth congress of YCP".[14] This goal was put into practice (a) *through examples of local achievements* in various spheres of public life (education, economy, minority rights, agriculture and infrastructure)—the aim was to assure the minority that improvements were taking place in the border region—and (b) *through comparison* with Bulgaria across the border and with the previous regime in the country.

Examples of local achievements were actually the main emphasis of the journal; articles dedicated to such topics dominated the content in general. Every issue of the paper informed about different successful enterprises of the communities in Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad, and the Yugoslav state as a whole. The titles are always loud and clear and are often comprehensive about the topics discussed (Fig. 1).

In this group should be mentioned also the speeches of Tito or Ivan Karaivanov that usually praised the achievements of the government and the regions.[15]

Sometimes pictures were added to the articles that helped readers to visualize the *engagement*, *efforts*, *and achievements of local people* (Fig. 2).

Another important theme was the participation of the minority in state politics and activities such as local and parliamentary elections, demonstrations, mass public events, and participation in the initiative People loan[16]. Coverage of these events was always illustrated with photos and aimed to demonstrate the engagement of the local people in the state's internal initiatives (Fig. 3).

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[12] An additional differentiation between the attitude of the newspaper towards Bulgaria and Bulgarians should be made. The latter is thought and clearly described as a victim of the Stalinist rule of the country.

[13] These two approaches will be discussed in the following analysis, and despite being exhaustive in their content, they do not claim to cover all the instruments that this media uses. A thorough study on this certain period and newspaper could develop further and more exhaustive conclusions on the matter.

[14] *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, no. 1, January, 1949.

[15] "The Agricultural Station in Dimitrovgrad Finished Its 5-Year Plan for 3,5 Years" (no. 54, January 23, 1950); "We Are Successfully Fighting Illiteracy in Bosilegrad Region" (no. 83, August 14, 1950); "Economic and Social Care for All Workers" (no. 128, June 26, 1951); "The High-School Brigade Hristo Botev Was Pronounced a Strike Brigade" (no. 130, July 10, 1951); "The Standard of Living Is Increasing" (no. 46, November 28, 1949); "1500-km New Railways Are Built After the War in Yugoslavia" (no. 51, April 1, 1950); and many others.

[16] The so-called People loan was initiated by the Yugoslav state and represented a money contribution from the Yugoslav citizens to the state for the purposes of industrialization, electrification, construction of public buildings and utility equipment.

The *comparison aspect* is also a very strong one. It is used to emphasize the "here" (in Yugoslavia) versus "there" (in Bulgaria) and the "now" (the new regime) versus "then" (the previous regime). It focuses on (1) how good it is to be a Bulgarian (or a minority in general) here, in Yugoslavia and on (2) how good it is to be a Bulgarian (or a minority in general) now, during the new regime. Both of these ideas are implemented in different publications that combine the praising of the idea of Yugoslavia and at the same time marking the differences with Bulgaria and the regime before World War II. Often unspoken (though in some cases directly stated), the "rivals" could be easily figured out by the suggestions implemented in the texts.[17]

Through these pictures and articles the publisher aims at constantly displaying the favourable circumstances in Yugoslavia, visualizing every piece of information that is shared with the audience. This approach reinforces the impact of the propaganda, implemented in the journal, and uses visual perception as a complementary option for influence.

The "Blackening" Approach

The "blackening" approach refers to two objects—the old regime in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The practical fulfilment of this objective is based on one very actively used method—active propaganda that tried to reveal all "sins" of both Bulgaria and the old regime. Thus, it is again emphasized how living "here" and "now" is the better, if not the best, option. Bigger emphasis is put on Bulgaria, with respect to the fact that the media is specifically orientated to the Bulgarian minority.

Examples of propaganda *against the old regime* could be found relatively less than the propaganda against Bulgaria. Articles, orientated clearly to the outlining of the unfriendly conditions in the Kingdom Yugoslavia do not prevail. Construction of this negative image is often made by means of a comparison that suggests that minorities enjoy rights "now" and that minorities did not enjoy these rights in the past.

This is not the case with the propaganda *against Bulgaria*. There was a whole new set of purposeful negative publications that represent the mechanisms for creating a negative image of the Other. In the case of the Bulgarian minority, having this Other at their "front door" (having in mind the proximity of the border for the two towns), such an approach is especially needed. Various types of publications are used to create the desired impact. First of all, there are *articles concerning the political and economic situation in Bulgaria.* They reveal the dependence on Stalin and the USSR and satirize the subordinate position of Bulgaria (Fig. 4).

Caricatures constituted a huge part of this negative propaganda. They are included in almost every issue of the newspaper and do actually visualize the image that is intended for the audience to internalise. They usually show fragments of

[17] "National Minorities in FNRY Are Enjoying a Variety of Rights" (no. 48, December 12, 1949), "What Did the Bulgarian Minority Get in the Brother Community of Equal Nations?" (no. 62, March 2, 1950).

different aspects of political life in Bulgaria, emphasising and condemning the relationship with Stalin and the USSR. The aim is to point at the dependencies of the Bulgarian economy and politics and judge this relationship as a whole (Figs 5–7).

The second category of articles and caricatures are dedicated to the bilateral relationships between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.[18] Special emphasis is placed on the hostile border relations and conflicting situations that originated in the borderlands. Additionally, the expressions that are mainly used are "anti-Yugoslavian propaganda", "provocations", and "stressful atmosphere". Such caricatures aim to reveal the "plotting and libelling" nature of Bulgarian attitude toward Belgrade[19] (Figs 8 and 9).

Reports and stories of people who illegally emigrated in Yugoslavia from Bulgaria are also an interesting tool in this negative stream of information. It is used as firsthand proof for constructing an othering image. The stories focus on the mass arrests of people who did not agree with the new Informbiro politics of Bulgaria.[20] Such role could also be attributed to the publication of the reports from the conferences of the Union of Bulgarian Political Emigration in Yugoslavia. As could be expected, these reports described the situation in Bulgaria as "slavery under the lashes of own and alien masters".[21]

Conclusions

In general all the aspects mentioned above delineate one idea—each and every judgmental position towards Bulgaria was tied to or justified with the shadow of Stalin. At the same time, as stated, the newspaper had a favourable attitude towards the Bulgarian people, who were often presented as victims. So, having this in mind, the question that suggests itself is clear: Who is the actual Other? And judging by all said, what the media is trying to suggest is that Bulgaria was only being othered because it was an Informbiro loyal state.

The newspaper *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia* functions as a legitimizing and popularizing agent of a new ideological order. It could be well said that its func-

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[18] They should also be regarded within the context of the so-called Informbiro process, which is also known as the process against Traycho Kostov who was condemned as a Yugoslav spy (Ognyanov 2008: 54). This topic is often included among the discussions about the interior affairs of Bulgaria. Also this created a nickname for the Bulgarian authorities, called on the pages of the newspaper *Informbirovtsi* ('Informbiroists'). "Informbiro Process in Sofia" (no. 48, December 12, 1949); "The Aims and the Inevitable Collapse of the Sofia Process" (no. 50, December 26, 1949); "Second Informbiro Process in Sofia" (no. 64, April 3, 1950).

[19] "New provocation of the Bulgarian Authorities" (no. 60, March 6, 1950).

[20] A set of titles, indicative of the topic, is the following: "A Mockery with the Interests of the Bulgarian People" (no. 45, November 21, 1949); "Another Group of Bulgarians Escaped in Yugoslavia" (no. 84, August 21, 1950); "Startling Statements of the Refugees from Bulgaria" (no. 114, March 20, 1951), "Here and There" (no. 179, June 17, 1952).

[21] "Second Conference of the Union of Bulgarian Political Emigration in Yugoslavia" (no. 185, July 29, 1952).

tion is not to inform, as the most important function of the media is, but to form and guide. So, to answer the first our original questions: the general role of the media depends on the context it appears in. In the case of the *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, the journal's role was particularly clear—to teach the Bulgarian minority (using very explicit and clear-cut images of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia), who was the "actual" Other. It was specifically designed to play a significant role in this process. When it comes to the importance of the message of the media, political and ideological factors should be involved—they are the main driving forces for the intended impact of the newspaper. Ideology was the factor that was representative for this period, and thus it was the main generator of the messages that the medium was charged with popularizing. Undoubtedly it was indicative of the period, and its significant mark was the strife for othering. Reality was reflected on the pages of the newspaper but, again, through the prism of ideology. It was presented with an engagement with the current situation and the objectives set by the party. All these researches, however, reflect a reality that is only one side of the coin, because it only "looked" from above. In order to complement this research, future study should deal with the impact this newspaper and its ideas actually had on the minority.

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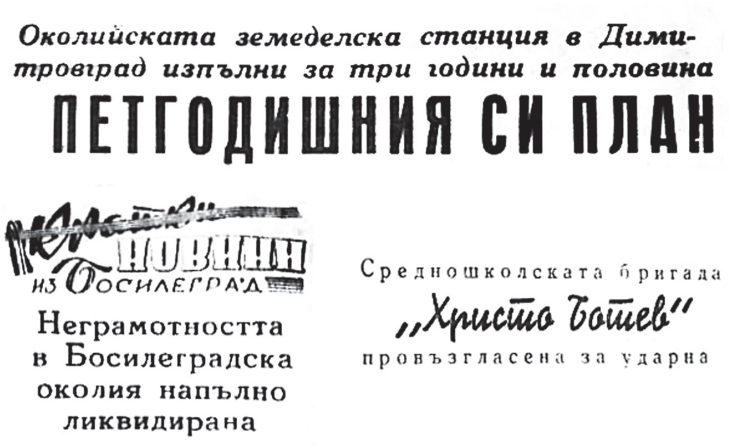
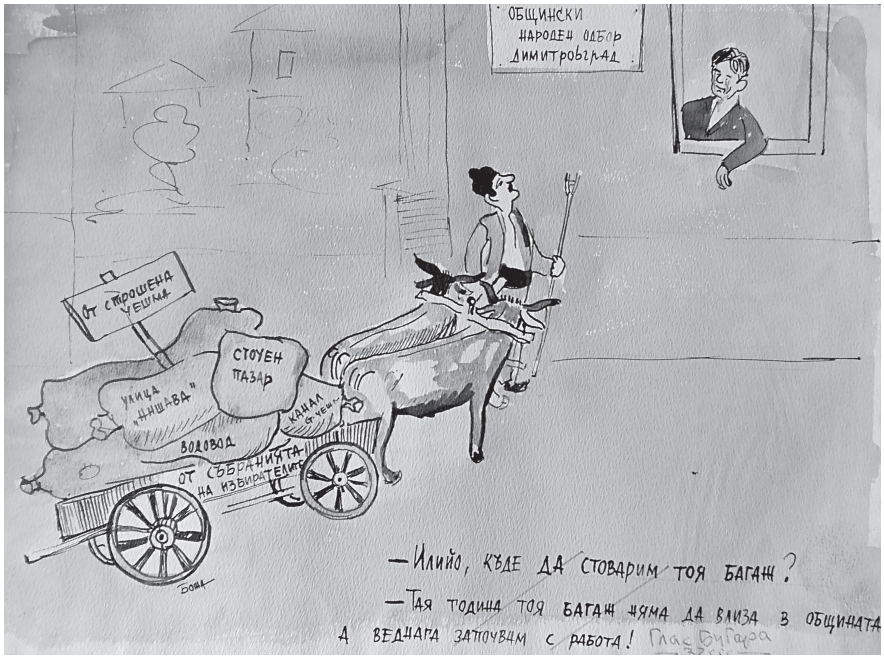

Околийската земеделска станция в Димитровград изпълни за три години и половина
ПЕТГОДИШНИЯ СИ ПЛАН
НОВИНИ из Босилеград
Неграмотността в Босилеградска околия напълно ликвидирана
Средношколската бригада „Христо Ботев" провъзгласена за ударна

EXAMPLES OF TITLES OF ARTICLES

The District Agricultural Station in Dimitrovgrad Finished its 5-year Plan for 3,5 Years"
Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1950 , January 23, no. 54.
Below, left:
We Are Successfully Fighting Illiteracy in Bosilegrad Region
Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1950, August 14, no. 83.
Below, right:
The High-School Brigade Hristo Botev Was Pronounced a Strike Brigade
1 *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1951, July 10, no. 130.



THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL—THE CART IS LOADED WITH SUGGESTIONS AND COMPLAINTS OF THE VOTERS IN DIMITROVGRAD

- Iliyo, where should I put these?

- This year we won't deposit it at the city-hall. We'll begin to work on it right away!

Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1951, March 13, no. 113. 2

The population voted massively for the People's front at the elections. The election-day in most of the villages was celebrated as a holiday.

3 *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1949, December 19, no. 49.

SOMEWHERE IN BULGARIA 4

- The Russians took everything we produce…

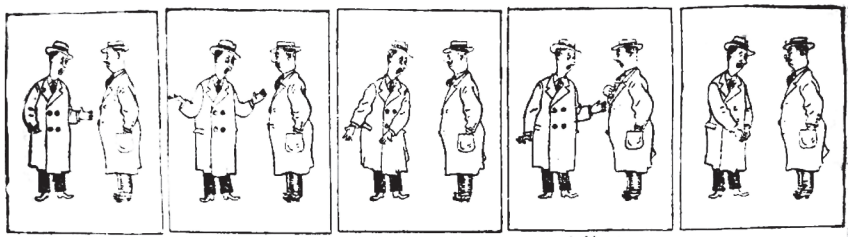
- …the industrial raw materials…

- …the agricultural production.

- …Oh, really? I am from NKVD (Peoples Commissariat for Internal Affairs of USSR)!

- …so we are glad that they appreciate our goods!

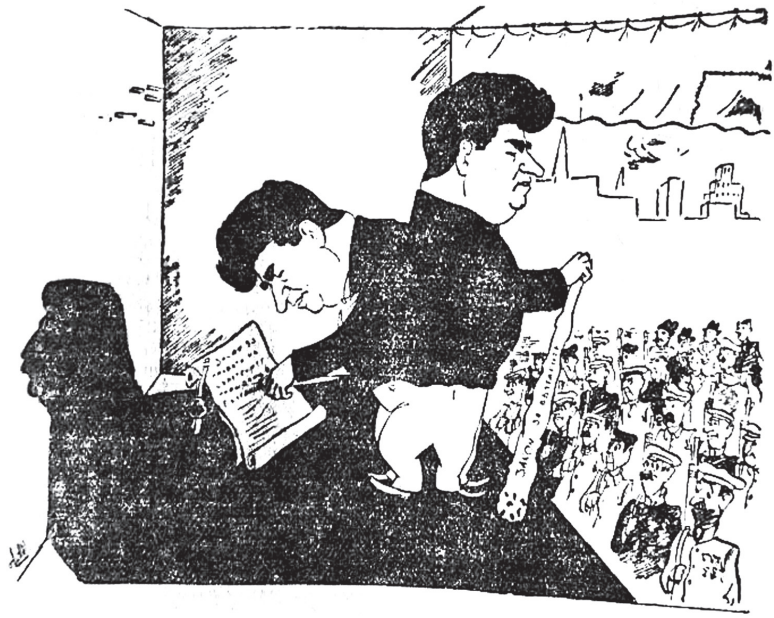
Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1949, December 12, no. 48.



FROM THE COOPERATIVE LIFE IN BULGARIA. THE SELF-APPLYING FOR THE LCAF (LABOUR-COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL FARM) IS REINFORCED IN BULGARIA

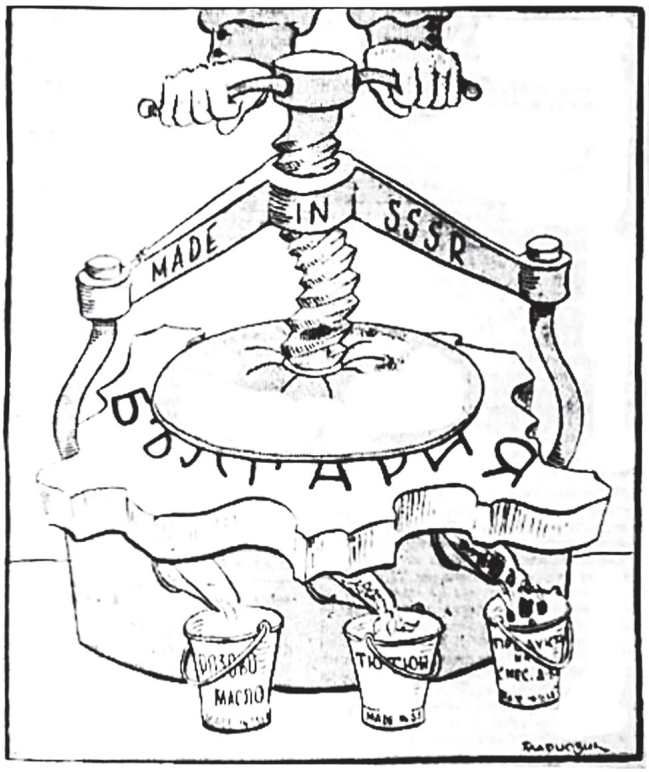
- I am so glad that I am volunteering for the LCAF.

Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1951, March 20, no. 114. 5



Today's Laws in Bulgaria—Bulgarian lawmakers and the shadow of Stalin

6 *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950, August 14, no. 83.

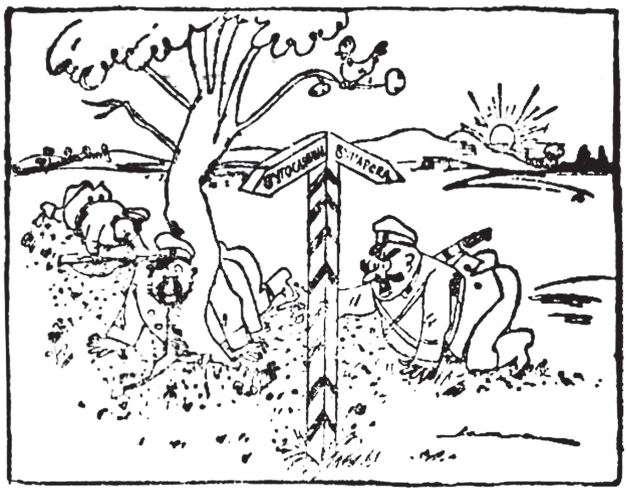


Made in SSSR (USSR) Bulgaria is being drained from resources —rose oil, tobacco and different products
Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1950, January 16, no. 53.

8 **THE "NERVOUS" DEAL**

- This tree is suspicious. Its nerves are also on Yugoslav side of the border.

Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, 1950, May 8, no. 69.



IN BULGARIA. BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED A NOTE AGAINST OUR EMBASSY, CONCERNING THE DEATH OF TWO BULGARIAN BORDER GUARDS

- Mr. Capitan, we have done "that"... there are no witnesses.

- Great! Now I am going to inform the Ministry that it should issue a note against Yugoslavia and by then "that" should be already buried underground.

9 *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950, March 13, no. 61.

4. The Functioning of Socialist Media: Shaping Society by Inner Divisions

Karl Kaser

Cinema in the Balkans in the 1950s and 1960s: Ideology and Mass Consumption

From its very beginning, cinema was conceived as visual mass entertainment. It was the result of the industrial modernity that emerged in the North Atlantic hemisphere in countries such as Great Britain, France, and the United States, and it constituted the primary instrument of modernity's visualization (Charney & Schwartz 1995: 1–10). This original embeddedness in industrial society, characterized by mass consumption, affected cinema cultures in countries with weaker economic development, such as the Balkan states. Here, cinema did not emerge as a mass spectacle since the preconditions of modern industrial society in terms of communication and infrastructure—massive capital investment in film production, advanced laboratories and studios, and the commitment of relatively well-educated social groups and experienced cinemagoers—were missing until the mid-twentieth century. In the second half of the 1940s, first indicators pointed towards a turn to mass-produced popular entertainment. In the Balkans, cinema became a mass phenomenon just as its appeal in the highly industrialised countries began to wane.

This was also the era of an emerging international political confrontation between the Soviet Bloc and the so-called free world, led by the United States. For both parties, cinema as a cultural "soft power" began to play an enormous role, since the border between the two blocs passed through central and southeast Europe. Cold War tensions also constituted a "cinema cold war". Countries on both sides of this geopolitical fault line undertook significant investments to improve industrial infrastructures. So-called cinefication, understood as the establishment of nationwide cinema networks, became an element of ideological confrontation. In the communist countries, Soviet film predominated, while in Greece and Turkey, U.S. productions continued to be the driving force of emerging visual mass entertainment.

This chapter aims to analyse the temporal coincidence of the emerging mass consumption of feature films and the intensified ideological confrontation between East and West. In doing so, the first section will provide a closer look at developments in mass film consumption, while the second will show how highly ideologised the cinema business was. Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia will serve as empirical examples for three different ideological positions.

Cinema as a Mass Phenomenon

Until World War II, the Balkan countries were poorly equipped with cinemas. Statistics indicating the number of cinemas in European countries in 1931 (Trumpbour 2002: 5) show that Germany, Great Britain, and France had the most cinemas. Almost half of Europe's cinemas (approximately 13,000 out of 28,000) were located in these three countries, while only 1,111 cinemas were registered in the Balkan states,[1] a figure that roughly equalled that of Sweden. Absolute figures, however, do not reflect the density of national cinema networks. Correlating the number of cinemas per country with the size of its population shows that in a European comparison, the Balkan countries had the lowest number of cinemas.

Table 1. Average population per cinema in the Balkan countries in 1939

	Albania*	Bulgaria	Greece	Yugoslavia	Romania*	Turkey
Population	1,003,097	6,319,000	7,221,900	15,703,000	20,045,000	17,370,000
Cinemas	14	155	280**	413	372	130
Population per cinema	71,650	40,768	25,793	38,022	53,884	133,615

Source: Ramsaye 1938: 1115; Kosanović 1966: 78; Toeplitz 1992b: 346, 421; Nelson 2009: 295; Karalis 2012: 33.

*Number of cinemas in 1938, census year 1930; **Open-air and indoor cinemas

Table 1 shows that the relative number of people per cinema varied from 26,000 (Greece) to 134,000 (Turkey). In comparison, Germany had 5,057 cinemas in 1931 (Trumpbour 2002: 5), and, with a population of 65,362,115 in 1933, had 12,925 people per cinema. While the result for Greece seems to approach the German figure, we must take into account that the number of cinemas comprised approximately 50 percent open-air and 50 percent indoor cinemas.[2] Therefore, we can assume that around 50,000 would be a more realistic figure, reflecting the population per cinema. Cinema density in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria was three times lower, and in Turkey was ten times lower than in Germany. Turkey and Albania shared a low cinema density, low economic development, and a Muslim majority population.

Going to the cinema was an almost exclusively urban phenomenon. Only seventy-three of Bulgaria's 213 cinemas registered in 1944 were located in the countryside (Grozev 2011: 213). In the region of Gorna Džumaja (Blagoevgrad) in 1944, there were only nine cinemas, and of these only three were in the countryside. A mere 5 percent of the local population had the opportunity to go to the cinema (Vuchkov 2012).

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[1] Albania, with approximately five cinemas, was not included in the statistic.

[2] In 1936, 153 indoor cinemas were registered in Greece (Ramsaye 1938: 1129).

From the 1950s and, in the case of Greece, the 1960s, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia saw rapid economic growth and massive internal migration from the countryside to urban and industrial centres. In Greece, the percentage of workers in the primary sector decreased from 53.8 in 1961 to 40.5 in 1971, while the percentage of employees in the secondary sector increased from 19.0 to 25.6 in the same period (Pirgiotakis 1994: 197). In Yugoslavia, the percentage of workers in the primary sector decreased from 61.9 in 1961 to 48.9 in 1971, while the percentage of secondary sector employees increased from 23.9 to 29.6 within the same ten years (Höpken & Sundhaussen 1987: 874). In Bulgaria, the share of gross national income earned in the primary sector decreased from 40 percent in 1948 to 14 percent in 1970, whereas the share from the secondary sector rose from 42 percent to 65 percent in the same period (Brunnbauer 2007: 259). Former traditional agrarian societies turned into industrially advanced, developing states.

The socialist countries put great efforts into increasing the number of cinemas as soon as the communist parties came to power. Special attention was paid to the countryside, where the rural population was generally rather sceptical of the new state power. The aim of these efforts was clear: cinema constituted a perfect instrument for political propaganda. On the other side of the iron curtain going up across Europe, the United States was highly interested in the establishment of more cinemas in Greece and Turkey and the massive screening of Hollywood films. The superpower invested a significant number of U.S. dollars in improving the infrastructure and economic capacities of both countries, which included boosting the circulation of U.S. movies.[3]

These efforts were made at a time when in the industrialized world the number of cinemas and sold tickets had already begun to drop due to the emerging importance of television. In Britain, the number of sold tickets increased until 1946 and began to drop drastically from 1955 onwards. Between 1955 and 1960, the number of sold tickets halved (Film Distributors' Association n.d.). A similar tendency could be observed in the United States, where the number of sold tickets began to decrease in 1947, while the number of sold TV sets increased from 3.9 million in 1950 to 30.7 million in 1955 (Pautz 2002).

In Yugoslavia, where cinema was nationalized in 1946, cinefication was concluded first. Between 1939 (de facto 1946) and 1953, the number of cinemas and cinema seats increased threefold. The figures did not change significantly until the mid-1960s (Table 2). This means that the country was comprehensively equipped with cinemas within seven years.

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[3] Greece received U.S. economic and military aid amounting to US$2,280.9 million between 1944 and 1951. Of this, US$750 million was Marshall Plan aid (Höpken & Sundhaussen 1987: 944). From 1946 to 1964, overall U.S. aid to Greece totalled US$2.8 billion (Cassimatis 1988: 209).

Table 2. Number of cinemas and cinema seats in Yugoslavia, 1939–1964

Year	Number of cinemas	Number of mobile cinemas (included in the overall figure)	Number of seats	People per cinema
1939	413	27	132,346	37,763
1953	1,326	57	395,543	12,857
1960	1,588	65	528,413	11,588
1964	1,675	100	553,930	11,510

Source: Kosanović 1966: 78; Kosanović 2011: 32–34.

The number of sold tickets almost doubled for the whole of Yugoslavia between 1953 and 1964, while in the less-developed republics such as Bosnia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, ticket sales more than doubled. In the more developed republics such as Croatia and Slovenia, cinema attendance began to decrease slightly in the early 1960s (Table 3).

Table 3. Ticket sales in Yugoslavia by republics, 1953–1964 (in thousands)

Year	Yugoslavia	Bosnia	Croatia	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia	Slovenia
1953	68,442	6,676	20,461	4,042	994	25,285	10,984
1954	85,046	8,605	23,791	5,041	1,082	33,718	12,809
1955	96,997	9,847	27,124	5,838	1,354	39,065	13,769
1956	101,392	10,734	28,518	5,928	1,515	39,615	15,082
1957	108,110	10,759	30,474	6,393	1,751	43,620	15,110
1958	114,282	11,805	31,892	7,116	1,891	45,637	15,941
1959	125,080	13,553	34,848	8,129	1,882	49,486	17,182
1960	130,124	13,640	37,133	8,652	1,947	51,563	17,189
1961	129,464	14,345	35,605	9,203	2,144	51,647	16,520
1962	121,810	13,886	32,740	8,997	2,140	48,428	15,619
1963	116,885	13,731	32,185	8,844	2,429	44,231	15,465
1964	123,143	14,382	33,282	9,161	2,597	48,133	15,588

Source: Kosanović 1966: 79.

Bulgaria nationalized its cinema companies in 1948 and established a central agency to coordinate the systematic cinefication of the country with a focus on the rural areas. Mobile cinemas screened films in villages not yet supplied with electricity. The result was considerable: between 1944 and 1973, the number of cinemas increased sixteen times (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of cinemas in Bulgaria, 1944–1973

Year	Number of cinemas
1944	213
1950	764
1960	1,515
1970	3,170
1973	3,586

Source: Toeplitz 1992a: 346; Paramentić 1995: 280; Garbolevsky 2011: 41, 120.

Bulgaria's emphasis on the cinefication of the countryside is reflected in Table 5. While the number of cinemas in cities increased modestly from 140 to 197, the number of cinemas in rural areas saw a tremendous rise from 73 to 567.

Table 5. The cinefication of Bulgaria, 1944–1950 (urban and rural areas)

Year	Cinemas	Urban areas	Rural areas
1944	213	140	73
1950	764	197	567

Source: Garbolevsky 2011: 41.

On the other side of the iron curtain, Greece's biggest problem in regard to the number of cinemas was the slow electrification of the countryside. While the metropolitan area of Athens-Piraeus was completely electrified in 1961, the comprehensive electrification of the countryside only got underway in 1962. It was no coincidence that one third of Greece's indoor cinemas operated in the metropolitan area of Athens. In addition to indoor cinemas, 559 open-air cinemas were registered by 1969, adding up to almost one thousand (Table 6).

Table 6. Number of indoor cinemas in the metropolitan area of Athens, 1946–1970

Year	Number of cinemas
1946/47	59
1950/51	59
1960/61	152
1969/70	347

Source: Hadjikyriacou 2013: 71.

Cinema became the most popular form of commercial entertainment. Within the twelve years from 1956 to 1968, the number of tickets sold increased threefold. From 1963, more than one million entrance tickets were sold annually (Table 7). In relation to the population, this was the highest percentage in Europe (Hadjikyriacou 2013: 65–66).

Table 7. Annual ticket sales in Greece, 1956–1975

1956	56,918,637
1960	84,164,611
1965	121,137,252
1969	135,275,538
1975	47,927,821

Source: Hadjikyriacou 2013: 65.

There is no doubt that cinema constituted the favourite form of mass entertainment in the two decades before television took over this role. It became an integral part of the popular culture of emerging industrial and urban societies. Cinema exceeded the boundaries of the cities to include the rural population. The tremendous increase in cinemas and sold tickets went hand in hand with increasing tensions between the Western and the Soviet blocs. No wonder that cinema was strongly ideologised along a geopolitical fault line.

The Cinema During Cold War

Film production in the United States and the Soviet Union was exposed to the requirements of the Cold War. Both countries produced a series of more or less explicit and subtle propaganda feature films, but the majority remained without the sheen of explicit political packaging. In the cinema cold war, the function of film was not to convince the political adversary of one bloc's superiority, since propaganda films made by the "other side" were not shown to cinemagoers anyway. Its primary function was to establish visual hegemony within its own political bloc. In this regard, Hollywood was at an advantage because its film production had only to confirm that the Western world was the better one, whereas "Soviet Empire" films had to convince its audiences that despite many problems, the Soviet system not only functioned but was superior to the capitalist system (Shaw 2007: 218–220).

On the other hand, in the countries orbiting the Soviet Union it was easier to establish hegemony in the cinema hall. The respective ruling party and its cinema functionaries decided in a paternalistic manner which feature films had a positive ideological, or at least neutral, impact on audiences. In addition, the communist parties established mass organizations, such as the Komsomol. At the age of 14,

young people should become members. Membership in this "school of communism" was necessary in order to secure a satisfying professional life in the future (Brunnbauer 2007: 361–363). Organized cinema visits were part of the organization's activities.

On the western side of the iron curtain, the establishment of hegemony in the cinema hall was more challenging. The U.S. organization, entrusted with film distribution abroad, the Motion Picture Export Association (MPEA), collaborated closely with the State Department. Both shared many views about the role of Hollywood in the Cold War. The State Department was concerned about the distribution of films that depicted the United States in a negative way: populated with gangsters and rife with corruption, sex, and youth crime. Since there was no systematic control of the films exported by Hollywood, films of this kind sometimes came into circulation, causing irritation at the department (Shaw 2007: 168–169).

The only way to establish ideological control was when a country collaborated with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). This powerful propaganda organization produced films especially suited for U.S. aims in the Cold War. One of its suborganizations was the Information Media Guaranty (IMG) (Ibid.: 174–175). IMG was allowed to sell films cheaply to selected countries such as Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Poland. However, countries participating in this programme could not freely select any film, but were obliged to choose from a list that depicted the United States in a positive light. I will come back to the IMG later.

The USIA also employed academic research, specifically sociological studies. Thus in 1952 German sociologist and film theoretician, Siegfried Kracauer, who had spent his exile in the United States, was commissioned to conduct the comprehensive study, *Appeals to the Near and Middle East. Implications of Communication Studies along the Soviet Periphery*. Among other things, he studied the opportunities and limitations of U.S. film propaganda and other media in the countries bordering the Soviet universe. His study included Turkey and Greece.

Hollywood searched for and finally defined its role in the cinema cold war. The magic formula was not to produce antisocialist and anti-Soviet feature films because they turned out to be relatively unsuccessful (Shaw 2007: 48; Shaw & Youngblood 2010: 25–28; Vučetić 2010a: 40–43). The best formula proved to be the production of feature films emphasising American values and dreams, such as packed refrigerators, dishwashers, glamorous cars, large villas with swimming pools and well-stocked supermarkets. The message of "folk capitalism" signalled that everybody would profit from a free-market system, not only a few rich individuals (Shaw & Youngblood 2010: 25–28).

In the political turmoil on the Balkans at the end of World War II, cinema programmes reflected the corresponding political configurations. Until September 9, 1944, when the Red Army reached Sofia, German, Italian, and Hungarian films had dominated Bulgarian cinema screens due to the country's alliance to the Axis

powers. With the establishment of a new government, the screening of these films was prohibited. In order to fill the gap, films had to be imported from other countries. In 1945, more than 50 percent of the 316 imported films originated in the United States and seventy-eight in the Soviet Union. In 1946, the communist-led coalition passed a new "law on cinema culture", which enabled the government to control the production and distribution of films. Britain and the United States reacted by withdrawing all their films playing in Bulgarian cinemas. In order to stop this new shortage, 104 of the previously prohibited Italian and Hungarian films were re-admitted (Garbolevsky 2011: 29–29).

In the following year, the import of Soviet films increased remarkably. Almost half of sold tickets were for films of Soviet origin. In 1950, two years after the establishment of the one-party dictatorship, 87 percent of screened films were of Soviet origin (Petrova 2006: 7; Garbolevsky 2011: 41). Table 8 shows that the popularity of Soviet films decreased significantly in the early 1960s, while films from other communist states and Western countries gained in popularity. The screening of Hollywood films was prohibited until the late 1970s. Their arrival was frequently heralded by press reports on the alleged hollowness of Hollywood show business and the weaknesses of American society (Taylor 2006: 101).

Table 8. Origin of feature films and audience figures per year in Bulgaria, 1956–1970 (in millions)

Origin	1956	1960	1962	1965	1967	1968	1969	1970
Bulgaria	6.7	12.5	15.6	10.7	9.6	9.0	11.2	11.5
Soviet Union	35.1	49.7	48.1	27.4	26.2	25.1	26.0	25.6
Other communist countries	19.0	20.6	31.6	38.0	38.6	28.2	30.0	31.8
Western countries	21.0	27.1	23.0	41.2	37.4	45.5	37.5	37.6

Source: Garbolevsky 2011: 104.

The situation was completely different in Greece where American films had dominated since approximately 1930 (*Motion Picture Almanac* 1931: 306). Their prevalence continued due to the USA's role in ensuring the stability and economic welfare of the country after World War II and the disastrous civil war between U.S.-backed government and irregular communist forces (1946–1949). Table 9 shows the number of films screened in cinemas in Athens between 1960 and 1970. U.S. films clearly dominated.

Table 9. Feature films screened in Athens cinemas, 1960–1970 (by country of origin)

Country	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	1968/69	1969/70
USA	266	253	297	309	253	224	216	247	245	243
Greece	62	69	96	90	84	88	86	76	80	80
France	55	87	63	61	62	58	54	65	55	37
Italy	31	39	51	54	49	51	96	77	83	58
West Germany	35	33	27	30	22	19	16	11	8	5
Great Britain	48	50	55	52	20	34	39	35	26	–
Soviet Union	27	19	13	10	16	19	15	1	5	4

Source: Hadjikyriacou 2013: 70.

The most interesting case, however, is Yugoslavia, one of the most faithful allies of the Soviet Union from the liberation of the country from Nazi domination until 1948. The relaunch of film production in the country occurred under the guidance of Soviet specialists, and socialist Yugoslavia's first feature film, the partisan story *Slavica*[4] (1947), was a Soviet-Yugoslav coproduction in which the Soviet partner clearly dominated (Volk 2001: 96–99; Wurm 2015: 186–192). From 1944 to 1948, only eleven films were imported from the United States, while 212 arrived from the Soviet Union. However, the historic break between Tito and Stalin in 1948 altered the situation completely. Already in 1949, nineteen American and only eighteen Soviet films were imported. Between 1950 and 1954, the import of Soviet films was stopped completely, whereas the import of films from the USA increased year by year until 1956 (Table 10).

Table 10. Import of feature films to Yugoslavia, 1944–1964 (selected countries)

Year	USA	Soviet Union	France	Italy	Great Britain	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	West Germany
1944	–	15	–	1	3	1	–
1945	–	50	15	3	2	8	–
1946	1	64	34	4	–	7	–
1947	9	48	14	–	1	12	–
1948	1	40	1	1	3	4	–
1949	19	18	4	3	8	–	–

[4] Slavica is a South Slavic female first name and it derives from the noun *slava* which means 'glory'.

Year	USA	Soviet Union	France	Italy	Great Britain	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	West Germany
1950	33	–	2	5	11	–	1
1951	26	–	12	8	17	–	2
1952	32	–	20	9	20	–	4
1953	61	–	10	13	14	–	5
1954	51	–	20	8	33	–	3
1955	92	18	22	18	24	4	2
1956	107	16	11	23	8	6	3
1957	49	7	15	15	12	5	1
1958	40	21	26	19	7	8	2
1959	77	10	24	32	13	4	9
1960	45	25	18	15	3	4	12
1961	18	18	24	26	6	3	9
1962	35	48	29	30	17	2	9
1963	47	32	33	31	21	9	21
1964	35	30	13	12	13	12	4
	778	460	347	276	236	89	87

Source: Kosanović 1966: 84.

The initial import of U.S. films was supported by Marshall Plan funds. Yugoslavia joined the programme in 1950 and received direct subsidies earmarked for the purchase of American goods. Estimates suggest that Yugoslavia received between US$1.5 and US$2.5 billion in economic aid from the United States, which was used to cover approximately 60 percent of its trade deficit. From 1953, the pace of film imports accelerated due to the country's access to the USIA's IMG programme mentioned above, which enabled the relatively cheap purchase of American cinema releases. Imported films were paid for in Yugoslav dinar on the basis of an official exchange rate that was double the actual one (Marković 1996: 444–445; Vučetić 2010a: 46–47).

However, Yugoslavia was not only a passive recipient. It was unsatisfied with the "politically correct" films listed in the IMG's programme, and in 1956, the country for the first time demanded the right to freely select films. After a long dispute, USIA agreed to deliver to Belgrade the film *The Docks of New York* (1928) that included socially critical elements (Marković 1996: 444–445).

U.S. films were extremely popular in this communist country. In 1967, the previously existing import restrictions were lifted. This resulted in the significant increase of films imported from the United States. By 1970, imports had risen by 44.2 percent compared to 1966, and 316.6 percent compared to 1961 (Nemanjić 1991: 174; Vučetić 2010a: 47–48).

Yugoslavia was a significant indicator for the winner in the cinema cold war: a communist country with an economic system that included elements of a market economy. The mood of cinemagoers clearly favoured U.S. productions and rejected cinema from the communist countries. As mentioned above, the import restrictions on U.S. films were lifted in 1967. However, political considerations demanded a 2:1 ratio of imported U.S. movies to films from eastern Europe. This stipulation turned out to be quite unrealistic since audiences did not approve it. People neither liked to watch Soviet films nor did they want to see the Soviet Union portrayed on the screen. In a survey conducted in the second half of the 1960s, Yugoslavs were asked which parts of the world they would most like to see in the cinema: 247 responded that they preferred the United States; 110, Africa; fifty-eight, Europe; thirty-five, Japan; thirty-three, Hawaii; and only six, the Soviet Union. This negative attitude towards eastern European cinema was aggravated by the fact that the import of films from these countries was significantly more expensive than imports from America. As already mentioned, the import of U.S. films was based on a dinar exchange rate that was double its real value. A film purchased from the United States cost an average US$4,000 and earned a profit of between US$16,000 and US$23,000. Eastern European films, however, created deficits. The import of films from these countries was four to five times more costly and grossed only US$3,000 to US$4,000, on average (Vučetić 2010a: 51–53).

Based on the existing regulation, seventy-eight films from eastern European countries were imported in 1967. Only ten of these were screened in Belgrade cinemas. Among the fifteen most viewed feature films in 1965 and 1966 were seven American ones. In 1968, four of the five most viewed films were American, and in 1969, eight films of U.S. origin were among the top ten. Hollywood's dominance was also reflected in Belgrade's cinema programmes. In August 1965, twenty-three out of forty-nine cinemas showed U.S. productions, seven showed British, six showed French, and three screened a Soviet, a Japanese, and a Mexican movie, respectively (Ibid.: 48–53).

Nevertheless one of the most popular, if not the most popular, foreign film screened in the former Yugoslavia was the Mexican melodrama *Un día de vida* ('One Day of Life' 1950). In Mexico, *One Day of Life* saw moderate success and was soon forgotten. The film is set during the Mexican Revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century. The protagonist, Belén Marti (played by Columba Domínguez), is a Cuban journalist who is there to get a clear picture of the events. The film's success was related to the fact that it was screened in the shadow of the break between Stalin and Tito. It represented the independent revolutionary spirit of a country allied neither with the Soviet Union nor the United States, reflecting the predominant mood in Yugoslavia of the early 1950s. Yugoslav film distributors renewed the screening rights three times (McKee Irwin 2010: 152–153).

The break between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had additional consequences for Yugoslav cinema. Socialist Realism as an exclusive aesthetic style of

filmmaking in line with the Soviet example was officially banned in 1949 (Vučetić 2010a: 45). The emerging problem was how to develop an aesthetic language that was related neither to Socialist Realism nor to Hollywood. One of the paradox outcomes was the so-called partisan-western or Kosovo-western, which received this name by being set in Kosovo. The pioneer of this genre in the second half of the 1950s was Serbian film director Živorad-Žika Mitrović. Audiences and the ruling communist party enjoyed his movies. The party appreciated them because they made the People's Liberation Struggle more easily accessible to the population—especially the younger generation—than the partisan films produced until then, by wrapping socialist contents in a popular form (Vučetić 2010b: 140–149).

In conclusion, the partisan-westerns were indicative of the search for new forms of cinematic expression in a country that had broken with its former ally but did not want to switch to the other Cold War camp. They also document to what extent visual mass entertainment was politicized in the 1950s and 60s. At the end of World War II, it was not yet foreseeable that within ten or twenty years cinema would become a mass medium that would not only attract millions of people but also be a crucial instrument in the ideological battles of the Cold War. Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece—these three neighbouring countries represented three ideologically different positions within a relatively small space: Yugoslavia with its own variant of communism and the Non-Aligned Movement that grew in momentum in the 1960s, Bulgaria's "real socialism" patterned on the Soviet Union, and the capitalist system of Greece. What united the three was the longing of their populations for cinema that let them dream of a better life.

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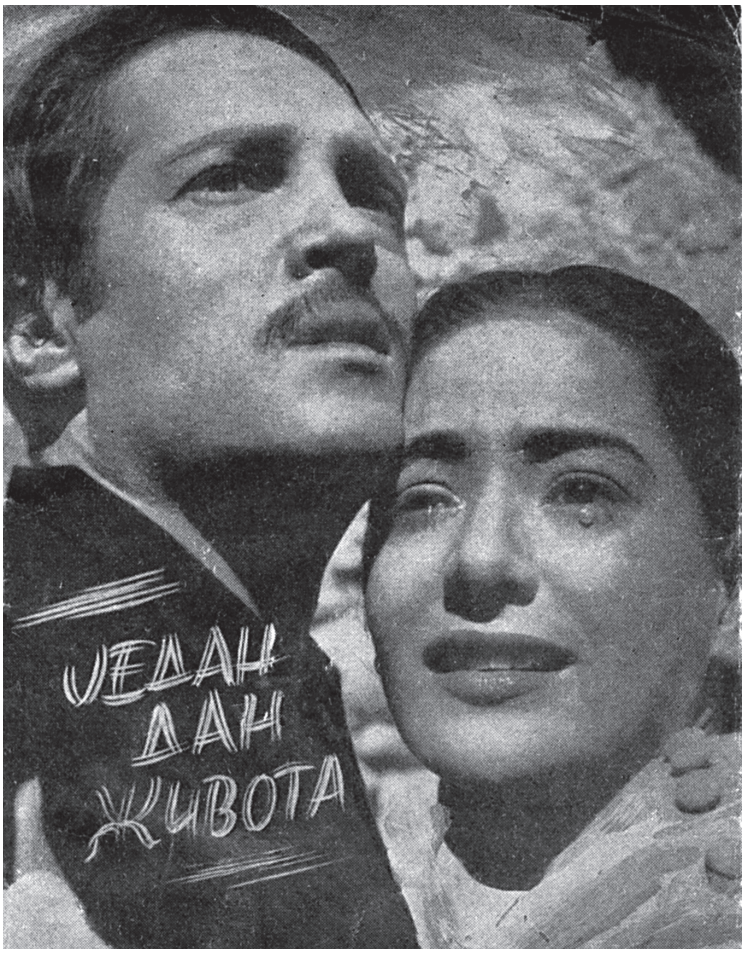
Slavica, 1947
Advertisement for the first feature film production in socialist Yugoslavia
Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka. 1

Treći udar (**'The Third Strike'), 1948**
Advertisement for one of the Soviet movies screened in Yugoslavia
2 Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka.

Na granici (**'At the Border'**), **1938** 3
Advertisement for one of the Soviet movies screened in Yugoslavia
Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka.

Sneg na Kilimandžaru (**'The Snows of Kilimanjaro'**), **1952**
Advertisement for one of the American movies screened in Yugoslavia
Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka. 4

Veselo iskrcavanje ('All Ashore'), 1952
Advertisement for one of the American movies screened in Yugoslavia
Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka.



Jedan dan života (**'Un dia de vida'), 1950**
The most popular foreign movie screened in Yugoslav cinemas
Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka.

Serbian film director Živorad-Žika Mitrović

7 Photo credits: Jugoslovenska kinoteka.

Ágota Lídia Ispán

Cultured Way of Life Depicted in the Hungarian-Language Press

The communist system considered cultural revolution to be part of the radical transformation of society. The goal was to make all the values of the socialist culture (based on a scientific materialist worldview and Marxist-Leninist ideology) a so-called public domain of the people in place of the old bourgeois culture and to increase, as was claimed, "the standard of mass education and culture in a degree never seen before". Apart from the overall transformation of the educational system, the new Soviet system of out-of-school cultural and political education served this purpose. Besides the red corners, reading halls, workers' clubs, cultural houses, moving libraries, and so forth that sprang up in great numbers, also press, radio, cinema, and theatre became, according to the slogans, "the means of communist education and enlightenment of the working masses". The cultural revolution was expected to gradually reduce the distance between the cultural life of physical and mental workers and to abolish the differences between the town and the village, bringing about their cultural equality (Kim 1961: 738–745).

The head secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, Mátyás Rákosi, in his speech announcing the introduction of co-ops, outlined the future in the following terms in 1948:

> Our aim is that working people could benefit from the blessings of culture not just in the city but also in the village: their house should be hygienic, fit for humans, electricity and water pipes should be installed. Their children could go to secondary school or university. If they are ill, they should receive good doctors, if their wives give birth, a clinic or a maternity ward should be at their disposal. They could read books and newspapers, listen to the radio, the village should have a cinema—all the machines saving labour and increasing productivity should be at their disposal. In simple words: the difference between the town and the village should disappear (Rákosi 1952: 240).

The description of the past and the present in the culture, the education, and the infrastructure of villages and the changes in the village-town relations became a trope in political speeches, newspaper articles, and literary interviews of that era. Besides the "victory" reports on the fast construction of the infrastructure of cultural institutions in villages, the reports on peasants using these facilities intensively and continuing their self-education at home were emphasized equally.

Just to highlight a few elements from the complicated process of folk and self-education, I intend only to investigate who were considered cultured and uncultured people—namely, those Others, who were different from the system's officially advertised self-image—by the communist regime at the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s, the way it was represented in the press, and what measures were taken to promote the behaviour it supported. The latter intent suggests that the definition and propagation of the criteria of cultured behaviour was emphasised primarily, and—despite showing specific examples to avoid—these criteria make it possible to unveil, almost as dichotomic variables, the characteristics of behaving in an uncultured way. My primary sources were *Szabad Föld* ('Free Land'), the weekly paper published by the Hungarian Communist Party from 1945 on (whose first editor in chief was Imre Nagy, the prime minister of Hungary in 1956 at the time of the revolution, who died as a martyr) and *Északmagyarország* ('Northern Hungary'), the central daily paper of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, the region my research was focused on. Both papers were under strict control of the ruling party, but in spite of the similar column layouts (for example foreign affairs, party affairs, home affairs), there were also differences. The national weekly paper was covering news mainly about the life of the farmers and agricultural phenomena, while the county daily paper was publishing writings for the residents (workers, farmers, co-op workers) of different kinds of settlements (cities, towns) of the region. The tone and contents of the articles were quite schematic, which was a feature of both newspapers.

The Reading Village

Reading was part of the image of a cultured, educated man, although during the organisation of communism, reading was not considered a value in itself. According to Lenin, illiteracy was an obstacle for political education. Its elimination was not a political aim but a prerequisite for talking about politics. Illiterate person was a political outsider and could only rely on rumours, tales, and prejudices (Kenez 1985: 72). Literacy was a tool in the hands of the regime, which can use it to spread its ideology and to move masses according to its interest, and after stabilizing its power, this tool could play an important role in building a modern economy because a literate person's productivity is much higher than an illiterate's, as was stated by a contemporary survey (Ibid.: 83, 145–146).

While in the Soviet press between the two world wars, or the Yugoslavian press after 1945, a strong campaign was going on to eliminate illiteracy, which mainly concerned village people. In the Hungarian peasant paper few courses were announced where adults were taught how to write and read. The causes of the differences between those countries can be explained by the different dates of the instalment of the communist ideology on one hand and the dissimilar levels of

illiteracy in the respective regions on the other.[1] In the Hungarian adaptation of communism, eliminating illiteracy was not considered to be a cardinal issue, as in 1949, 94 percent of the population above age 6 could read and write.[2] From the beginning, the campaign in Hungary was focussed on encouraging people to read instead of propagating literacy as such. With reducing illiteracy in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the emphasis had shifted to promotion of reading in those countries too.[3]

When popularizing reading, books were depicted as "the truest friends of working people", which teach, educate, and entertain like papers. In his 1950 editorial popularizing reading papers, Prime Minister István Dobi referred to reading newspapers as the most important tool to gain education, to widen one's perspective. By wide perspective he meant understanding the worldwide political importance of the struggle for building socialism and gaining professional knowledge ensuring the increase of material wealth. He was also intent on changing the negative attitude shown by village people towards reading, which was explained by earlier conditions. Refuting their supposedly characteristic objections Dobi emphasized that in the current fast-developing world one could not insist on their fathers' backward conceptions. By the decrease of the working hours anyone could find time for reading if they wanted to and the prices of newspapers could not hinder them anymore.[4] Complying with Lenin's thoughts, books and press, like a lot of other folk-educating activities such as educational lectures, were considered to be means for helping peasants who had been intentionally kept in a state of ignorance in the previous regime. Reading the newspapers also helped to raise political awareness. This is indicated by the metaphor of the book/newspaper as a weapon and its depiction in pictures[5] (Fig. 1).

Infrastructure was reorganized to popularize reading (Fig. 2). As part of this, to replenish the supply of the library system largely destroyed in World War II, libraries were reorganized; the communists aimed to provide each community with a library. Weekly papers brought regular reports on the openings of village

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[1] According to the official statistics, in 1926 in the Soviet Union 56.6% of the population was literate, in 1939 their percentage increased to 87.4%; among village people the literacy rate was lower, 50.5% and 84% respectively; *A Szovjetunió* ('The Soviet Union') 1979: 47. In Yugoslavia, according to the 1948 census, 25.4% of the population was illiterate, which mainly concerned Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo (Miljković 1986: 198).

[2] *1949. évi népszámlálás 9*. 1950.

[3] This is underlined by the fact that in the Soviet Union the meaning of the expression "cultured" went through a change in the 1930s, since in the beginning it meant literacy but later became the synonym for "educatedness" (Volkov 2000: 223–224).

[4] Dobi I. "Újságolvasással—a művelt faluért" ('Reading Newspapers—for the Educated Village'), *Szabad Föld*, December 3, 1950: 1.

[5] "A könyvnapok előtt" ('Before the Book Days'), *Szabad Föld*, May 28, 1950: 1; "A könyvek a mi jóbarátaink…" ('Books Are Our Friends…'), *Szabad Föld*, May 20, 1951: 7; "December 18: *Szabad Föld* sajtónap!" ('December, 18: *Szabad Föld* Open Press Day!'), *Szabad Föld*, December 18, 1949: 5.

libraries and on the villagers who borrowed books from them; sometimes the papers featured stories about the problems such as negligent librarians or unsuitable library rooms that was caused by a sudden increase in the number of libraries (Fig. 3). "Book days", held in June from 1929 onwards and, later, book weeks, book sessions, reader-writer meetings, and various thematic book fairs, which were extended to villages and factories, were meant to make people buy books (Fig. 4). In villages, books were sold in the stores of agricultural cooperatives, but sales was impeded by the fact it was usually considered a secondary task, and on top of that, the supply of the books in demand was not adequate. The hardships coming from the underdeveloped system of village shops were relieved by introducing "rolling bookshops", following the Soviet example (Halász 2013: 143).[6]

Readers' clubs and farmers' clubs, which were banned in 1948 and re-established in 1950, organized the cultural and public life of the local community like their predecessors. According to the articles presenting the life of readers' clubs, choosing the correct works and establishing their ideologically correct interpretation were facilitated by the fact that literary and agricultural works and those covering the theory of socialism were discussed under the leadership of a local party activist.[7] The organization of the readers' movement to discuss in public the book based on the 1925 trial of Mátyás Rákosi served a similar purpose[8] (Fig. 5). According to the papers, a well-functioning farmers' club provided facilities for discussions about the world's and the village's affairs, offered educational and professional lectures, courses, entertainment (chess, billiard, radio, skittles) and made professional and literary books, newspapers, and magazines available for the members.

The regime that defined itself by always comparing the progressive present to the underdeveloped past in all areas of life contrasted the new with the old in readings too. It reprimanded popular pulp fiction, horror stories, and religious writings that "dumbed people" and were to be replaced by cheap, educational, and serious works.[9] However, calendars, which had been favoured by peasants for a long time

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[6] "Falusi könyvnapok" ('Village Book Days'), *Szabad Föld*, June 12, 1949: 11.

[7] "Tótkomlóson is megkezdték munkájukat az olvasókörök" ('Reading Clubs Have Been Started in Tótkomlós Too'), *Szabad Föld*, January 22, 1950: 4; "Politikai- és olvasókörök a DISZ-szervezetekben" ('Political and Reading Clubs in the DISZ Organizations'), *Szabad Föld*, January 7, 1951: 11; "Közösen tárgyaljuk meg a Szabad Föld cikkeit. A Szabad Föld olvasókör munkája Petrikeresztúron" ('We Discuss the Articles of *Szabad Föld* Together. The Work of *Szabad Föld* Readers' Club in Petrikeresztúr'), *Szabad Föld*, December 9, 1951: 6.

[8] "Szervezzük meg a 'Rákosi-per' olvasómozgalmat!" ('Let's Organize the Readers' Movement of the Rákosi Trial'), *Szabad Föld*, July 16, 1950: 4; "Olvasómozgalom indul a 'Rákosi-per' tanulmányozására" ('A Readers' Club Was Started to Study the Rákosi Trial'), *Szabad Föld*, July 2, 1950, 4; Urbán E. "A falusi népművelés frontján" ('On the Frontline of Village Folk Education'), *Szabad Föld*, February 12, 1950: 5.

[9] "Száz népkönyvtárat…" ('A Hundred Folk Libraries'), *Szabad Föld*, April 20, 1947: 3; "Bealkonyodott már a Bogár Imre-féle vásári ponyvának. Olcsó és tanulságos könyveket árusítanak a szövetkezetek" ('The Days of Street Pulp Fiction are Over'), *Szabad Föld*, December 12, 1948: 7; Urbán E. "Könyvet a kézbe" ('Take a Book'), *Szabad Föld*, February 26, 1950: 11.

and were of varied quality, were retained. The predecessor of *Kincses Kalendárium* ('Treasure Almanac'), which was published by the newspaper called *Szabad Föld* from 1946 on, was started in 1896 for the middle class with traditional taste and for the petite bourgeoisie. Gábor I. Kovács's research showed that after World War I, with the increased possibilities of gaining information, calendars lost their prominent position in peasant households. However, they played a more important role in spreading agricultural knowledge between the two world wars. Calendars, whose target audience was made up of peasants, contained an increasing amount of practical knowledge, mainly agricultural and, as a new element, sales-related economic information, reflecting the modernization process of peasant farming (Kovács 1988). In the new issues of *Kincses Kalendárium*, besides poems by Hungarian and international poets and writers, the most important monthly duties in agriculture, a calendar, a list of fairs, entertaining readings, crosswords, colour pictures, and stories for women and children were also included. In the agricultural articles of the calendar, as in the papers, the propagation of co-ops was emphasized. This work that was published in a million copies was said to serve the reading demands of the family members of all ages and sexes.

Numerous cheap series of books were started. The series called *Szabad Föld Könyvtár* ('Szabad Föld Library') was made up of 20- to 30-page-long booklets published weekly, which discussed the current issues of politics, social sciences, history, literature, and agriculture.[10] Literary works were published in great numbers from 1954 in the series called *Olcsó Könyvtár* ('Cheap Library') and from 1956 in the series called *Szabad Föld Kiskönyvtár* ('Szabad Föld Small Library'). Mór Jókai, Kálmán Mikszáth, and Zsigmond Móricz, who wrote in a romantic and realist style depicting the world of peasants, and the romantic poets of the nineteenth century Sándor Petőfi and János Arany were the writers whose works were published in the greatest number and which were the most popular with villagers. Among Soviet writers, Mikhail Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned* and *The Mother* by Maxim Gorky were published in the greatest number.[11]

Apart from literary and Marxist-Leninist works, the professional books on the latest achievements of Soviet and Hungarian agrarian science were popularized, and their number increased greatly following the establishment of socialist publishing houses. The new farmers and co-op workers who had been given plots recently and who learnt farming by reading books on agriculture, who educated themselves on their own, and who produced extraordinary results were a recurring motif in

[10] "Olcsó, hasznos olvasnivalót a falunak!" ('Cheap and Useful Reading for the Village!'), *Szabad Föld*, February 2, 1947: 1.

[11] For more on popular literature, see Romsics 2010: 288.

newspaper columns[12] (Fig. 6). At the same time, expert works aimed at both agricultural experts and uneducated farmers, which resulted in the latter being unable to understand the technical terms and missing a clear and understandable explanation of the new methods and the presentation of practical experiences. Moreover, in connection with book distribution, it was mentioned that the local peculiarities were ignored and that availability was poor.[13]

The role of the press in building the communist system is well known. As *Szabad Föld* was assigned an important role in agitating peasantry, it tried to reach a huge circle of readers. The first *Szabad Föld* campaign was started in January 1949, in accordance with the establishment of local organizations of the new peasant mass movement called Dolgozó Parasztok és Földmunkások Országos Szövetsége ('Working Peasants and Landworkers' National Alliance'), which aimed to gain tens of thousands of subscribers. The motto of the campaign was "*Szabad Föld* should be on the table of each working peasant family".[14] In the paper, numerous "methodological" articles were published on the increase in the number of subscribers. It was thought that the effective way would be if village party members, the representatives of mass organizations and mass educators could carry out agitations in houses addressing each family in the village.[15] According to an article,

[12] For example: "Ilonkának fényes csizma, Lajcsinak meleg kabát. Mit jelent a *Szabad Föld* Erdősék számára?" ('Shiny Boots for Ilonka, Warm Coat for Lajcsi. What is *Szabad Föld* for the Erdős Family?'), *Szabad Föld*, December 25, 1949: 11; "Tót Jánosnak jóbarátja, segítőtársa a könyv" ('Books are János Tót's Friends and Helping Hands'), *Szabad Föld*, June 4, 1950: 12; "A csányi 'Kossuth'-tszcs tagjai sokat tanulnak a *Szabad Föld* szakcikkeiből" ('The Members of 'Kossuth' Co-op in Csány Learn a Lot from the Professional Articles in *Szabad Föld*'), *Szabad Föld*, April 22, 1951: 6; "Jobban megy a gazdálkodás, mióta szakkönyveket olvasok" ('Farming Has Become Easier for Me since I Have Been Reading Professional Books'), *Szabad Föld*, November 25, 1951: 7; "Sokat tanultam a pályázaton nyert könyvből" ('I Have Learnt a Lot from the Book I Won at the Competition'), *Szabad Föld*, June 15, 1952: 6; "Szorgalmasan tanulmányozzuk a szakkönyveket" ('We Are Studying Professional Books Industriously'), *Szabad Föld*, July 13, 1952: 6; "Érdemes szakkönyveket olvasni!" ('It is Worth Reading Professional Books!'), *Szabad Föld*, April 19, 1953: 7; "Izsákon nagy az olvasási kedv—csak kevés a szakkönyv" ('In Izsák There Is a Great Demand for Reading—But There are Only a Few Professional Books'), *Szabad Föld*, February 13, 1955: 5; "Szabó gazda 7 szakkönyvet vásárolt" ('Mr Szabó, a Farmer, Bought 7 Professional Books'), *Szabad Föld*, February 27, 1955: 6.

[13] "Ötszázan vettek részt a nyírlugosi *Szabad Föld* olvasóértekezleten" ('Five Hundred People Took Part in the Readers' Session in Nyírlugos'), *Szabad Föld*, December 21, 1952: 6; "Több és jobb szakkönyvvel a mezőgazdaság fejlesztéséért!" ('With More and Better Books for the Development of Agriculture!'), *Szabad Föld*, April 11, 1954: 4; "Több hasznos mezőgazdasági szakkönyvet a falunak!" ('More Useful Scientific Books on Agriculture for the Village!'), *Szabad Föld*, January 30, 1955: 5.

[14] Szűcs F. "Tegyük a *Szabad Földet* a falu legolvasottabb újságjává!" ('Let's Make *Szabad Föld* the Most Popular Paper in the Village!'), *Szabad Föld*, January 16, 1949: 4.

[15] "A Szabad Föld-kampány sikerének titka: a jól megszervezett háziagitáció!" ('The Secret to the Success of the *Szabad Föld* Campaign is Well-Organized Home Agitation!'), *Szabad Föld*, February 13, 1949: 5; "*Szabad Föld*-kampány záró agitációs hete!" ('The Finishing Agitation Week of the *Szabad Föld* Campaign!'), *Szabad Föld*, February 27, 1949: 1.

a village mass educator who was set as an example "goes and sees the families who in his/her area, reading out the most interesting articles from the latest issue of *Szabad Föld* every morning and evening. In many places they don't want to let him/her go!" Five thousand books were given as rewards to mass educators who acquired a lot of subscribers, and ten lucky subscribers won study visits to the Soviet Union; as the newspaper put it: "It is a secret desire of each working peasant to visit the Soviet Union to study the most advanced agriculture in the world"[16] (Fig. 7). A great number of photo articles were published on the process of collecting subscribers and the happy purchasers; they were even depicted in the column called "Children, let's draw" (Figs 8 and 9).

After the mailmen were allowed to register new subscriptions (they were even given a commission according to the number of subscriptions),[17] postmen appeared as recurring positive figures in newspapers; numerous pictures of them were published showing them as they were struggling to deliver *Szabad Föld* to their readers on the godforsaken dirtroads in the farmlands.[18] Due to these large-scale campaigns, the circulation numbers of *Szabad Föld* increased fast. According to the data published in this paper, in 1955, 460,000 copies were published, but the official statistics show that circulation peaked at 457,000 in 1961. Afterwards, the number of copies declined continuously, sinking below 400,000 copies by the end of the 1960s (*Kultúrstatisztikai adattár 1962*: 100; *Közművelődési adatgyűjtemény*: 82).[19] All in all, in the 1950s, only the central daily paper (*Szabad Nép* ['Free People'] and later *Népszabadság* ['People's Freedom']) had bigger circulation.

From time to time, the newspaper tried to determine what people thought about *Szabad Föld* with the help of reader sessions in which some editors also

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16 "A *Szabad Föld* tíz előfizetője tanulmányútra megy a Szovjetunióba!" ('Ten Subscribers of *Szabad Föld* Go for a Study Tour in Soviet Union'), *Szabad Föld*, December 4, 1949: 5; "5000 jutalomkönyv a *Szabad Föld* legjobb előfizetőgyűjtőinek" ('5000 Book Rewards to Those Who Acquired the Most Subscribers of *Szabad Föld*'), *Szabad Föld*, December 11, 1949: 5.

17 "Köszönjük a postásoknak!" ('Thank You, Postal Workers!'), *Szabad Föld*, August 7, 1949: 5.

18 "Beszéljünk a tanyai kézbesítésről" ('Let's Talk about Deliveries to Farms'), *Szabad Föld*, January 11, 1950: 6; "A falusi postás a sajtó fáradhatatlan munkatársa" ('Village Postmen are the Tireless Co-workers of the Press'), *Szabad Föld*, November 25, 1951: 7; "A tanyavilág fáradhatatlan apostola" ('The Tireless Apostle of Farms'), *Szabad Föld*, January 6, 1952: 7; "Aki naponta 46 kilométert fárad a tanyavilágban…" ('Who Toils 46 Kilometres in the Farmlands'), *Szabad Föld*, October 12, 1952: 8; "Szipli György tabi postás öt vasárnap 358 új előfizetőz szerzett a *Szabad Földnek*" ('György Szipli, the Postman in Tab Gained 358 Subscribers to *Szabad Föld* in Five Sundays'), *Szabad Föld*, November 16, 1952: 4; "Köszönjük postásainknak" ('We are Grateful to Our Postmen'), *Szabad Föld*, February 1, 1953: 6; "A pártsajtó fáradhatatlan terjesztője. Tíz éve kézbesíti Mezőhegyesen a Szabad Földet Morár Antal postás" ('The Tireless Promoter of Party Papers. Postman Antal Morár has Been Delivering *Szabad Föld* in Mezőhegyes for Ten Years'), *Szabad Föld*, August 28, 1955: 6.

19 "Hogyan növekedett a *Szabad Föld* olvasóinak és levelezőinek tábora?" ('How has the Readership and Correspondent Numbers of *Szabad Föld* Grown?'), *Szabad Föld*, August 28, 1955: 5.

participated or surveys that were published in the paper[20] (Fig. 10). The editor's summary of the answers sent to the surveys of 1948 and 1954 brought similar results. According to them, readers require the articles that sum up the essence of the decrees. In accordance with the readers' letters published in the paper and the intentions of the editors, agricultural texts are mentioned among the useful writings that were read most together with the correspondence column discussing the varied topics of everyday life. Although it was published in the yearly calendar, a list of the weekly fairs was needed; moreover, the readers wanted to be informed about the weather, market prices and the radio programme. Readers generally asked for more stories, poems, and funny stories, and women readers expected more recipes, health advice, descriptions of handicraft, and methods of child care. These requests may have mirrored the real wishes of the readers in general. Young children asked for more fairy tales and other youngsters wanted a longer sports column. As criticisms, surveys mentioned that editorials were too lengthy and that articles contained too many clichés. As can be seen, the newspaper, which defined itself as a family magazine, underperformed in those topics that might have attracted the attention of the other members of the family, not just the head of it.

The Visual Representation of the Consumption of Culture

In the visual representation of the aforementioned forms of consuming culture, *Szabad Föld* published mainly figures showing development and future plans, the advertisements of particular products, caricatures focussing on contradictions, and photos suggesting an idyllic atmosphere. In this chapter these idyllic images are discussed.

Photography was also defined by socialist-realism in the 1950s; the photos emit optimism and harmony, showing either hard-working people or carefree children playing. Nevertheless, contemporary pictures resemble the so-called Hungarian style that dominated in the years before the war, which was characterised by a happy, idyllic mood, the romantic depiction of peasant life, and the Hungarian landscape (Simon 2000: 221).[21] This resemblance can partly be explained by the fact that some photographers who became well known before the war could carry on working with various Hungarian photo and editing companies. While the theme, the message and the point of view of the pictures changed, the technology of pho-

[20] "Hűségért hűséget!" ('Faith for Faith!'), *Szabad Föld*, May 23, 1948: 3; "Megfogadjuk olvasóink tanácsait" ('We Take our Readers' Advice'), *Szabad Föld*, February 14, 1954: 6; "A *Szabad Föld* olvasókonferenciák tanulsága" ('The Conclusion of *Szabad Föld* Readers' Conferences'), *Szabad Föld*, February 19, 1950: 5.

[21] The expression was used for collections sent to foreign exhibitions from Hungary. They were named "Hungarian style" collections due to their topics. One of the most defining features was making photos in backlight, showing the air and sunrays (Stemlerné Balog 2009: 137).

tography (such as under-cabinet lighting and the application of many grey shades) remained the same for a long time (Stemlerné Balog 2009: 190, 199).

Books were published by contemporary photo artists and press photographers, which gave advice on how to take good photos and contained good interview photos that helped those interested to understand the change in content and conception of photos. In a book published in 1955 by Jenő Sevcsik, he mentions that it is an important task of contemporary art to depict social changes; for example, the way the socialist system, unlike other societies, cares about the welfare, rest, and entertainment of workers. According to Sevcsik, the message to be highlighted is that a socialist culture provides an experience of a higher level, while the number of visitors to theatres, museums, and exhibitions multiplies and even the cultural needs of the remotest villages are satisfied:

> Museums and theatres are full of people who had neither opportunity nor wish for such entertainment in the past. Travelling exhibitions, operas and village theatres were intended to satisfy the cultural needs of the remotest villages. In our pictures we do not only have to present works of art and performances of higher quality, but also the changed new audience. … After a careful observation we should choose those members of the audience whose faces reflect the experience in the most striking way and therefore they have an even more amazing effect. … We can see readers everywhere, at home, in the parks, while traveling and in libraries. Reading people express our new life the best and therefore they constitute one of our most beautiful topics (Sevcsik 1955: 146–147; Fig. 11).

What about reality, which was not completely identical to the world depicted on the photos? The author also emphasized that a photo cannot be considered an identical image of reality as it can vary according to the photographer, the photographer's purpose, and what means he or she applied (Ibid.: 135). The photo artist Károly Escher considered the photos showing social topics, such as shanty towns, taken before the war, as critical, revealing reality; whereas those taken after the war were seen by him as educational, drawing on the new social order. As Escher wrote, "Contemporary society is not a 'static' topic by far. Its topic is not (only) the existing reality, but also what is going to be. … We must aim to take photos of the changing and developing reality, society as it is changing, the new type of human, man who can use the technological advancement and constructions, who controls them and considers them natural." However, in his book, written at the end of the 1950s, he warns us of the monotonousness that was dominating contemporary photography: he thought there were too many documentary photos of nursery schools, bridges, factories, and heroic workers that hid the dirtiness of real work (Escher 1959: 54, 62–70).

Listening to the Radio and Watching Television

Besides the peasants reading newspapers, radio listening was also encouraged to a growing extent because, as an article put it in 1949, "Listening to the radio is included in the concept of modern cultured man as well as reading newspapers or using soap".[22] However, according to a 1948 survey, only 7 percent of radio listeners were peasants.[23] In accordance with the daily routine of husbandry (starting work early and going to bed early), a lot of people listened to the radio only on Sundays, therefore, in the readers' letters they articulated their dissatisfaction with the amount of the monthly radio tax, as these country people had limited possibilities for listening to the radio.[24] The price of radios also deterred many peasants from purchasing them. Most of the elderly people I interviewed remembered the names of those people who were the first to purchase radios in their villages in the period before World War II. The radio broadcasts of some significant events (such as the funeral of the son of Governor Horthy Miklós or the occupation of some northern parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary, today part of Slovakia, in 1938) attracted masses of people: "So when the radio broadcast the occupation of the northern territories, about 80–100 people sat around in the yard of the cantor's house listening to the radio [laughing]. … So 3–4 people had such radios" (Interview with Mr O. Mihály, Tiszapalkonya, November 15, 2008).

Following an order of the Supreme Council of Economy in 1948, the first cheap public radios were manufactured that could be paid in instalments (and only broadcast inland programmes); moreover, it was ordered that farmers' clubs, cultural houses, and the headquarters of other village organizations were to be equipped with radios; and in those places where electricity had not yet been installed, it was suggested that landline radios should be installed.[25] A similar process was repeated when watching TV caught on[26] (Fig. 12).

A huge campaign was launched to promote the organization of so-called radio clubs in the press.[27] According to reports published in the newspapers, the participants had a lively discussion of what they had heard after listening to the programmes, for example, on the three-year plan or the obligatory delivery led by

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[22] "Hallgassuk csoportosan a Magyar Rádiót. Rádió hallgatókört a DéFOSz-ban" ('Let's Listen to Hungarian Radio Together! A Club for Radio Listeners in DéFOSZ'), *Szabad Föld*, April 17, 1949: 7.

[23] "Olcsó rádiót a falunak!" ('Cheap Radio to the Village!'), *Szabad Föld*, May 30, 1948: 5.

[24] "Örömmel hallgatnánk a rádiót, ha fele lenne az adója" ('We Would be Glad to Listen to the Radio if the Tax on it Was only Half as High'), *Szabad Föld*, March 28, 1948: 1.

[25] "Rádiót kapnak a falusi gazdakörök és kultúrházak" ('Village Farmers' Clubs and Cultural Houses Will be Furnished with Radios'), *Szabad Föld*, May 1, 1948: 3; "Olcsó rádiót a falunak!" ('Cheap Radio to the Village!'), *Szabad Föld*, May 30, 1948: 5.

[26] For more details on see Pušnik 2010.

[27] "Hallgassuk csoportosan a magyar Rádiót!" ('Let's Listen to Hungarian Radio Together!'), *Szabad Föld*, June 13, 1948: 6.

a "progressive minded farmer" or a local intellectual, similarly to discussions that took place after common book or newspaper readings.[28]

Although the readers' letters mainly described the agricultural educational programmes as useful, the content of the programmes broadcast on the radio did not nearly satisfy the requirements of the village listeners. According to criticism in the correspondence column in 1948, most programmes were not understood and the village listeners enjoyed only *Falurádió* ('Village Radio'), the Voice of the Village, the newsreel, some lectures, and gypsy music. The author of the letter said that villagers would like to listen in the mornings to things "which would draw our attention to the daily tasks and provide us with useful advice concerning not only agriculture, but also our behaviour and consciousness". The "singsong" music broadcast at lunchtime was turned off, and neither did they enjoy operas and the more serious plays and poems because, as the writer of the letter, put it, "First we have to learn to delight in them". Instead of this type of programming, the writer asked for more theatrical comedies and easy entertaining music in the evening.[29]

Thirteen years later, a 1961 report on the programmes of the Hungarian Radio and Television intended for the village[30] still recounted similar experiences, and they tried to revise the programming in line with the peasants' taste and way of thinking (attempting to shape their tastes at the same time). In the case of information genres, the most popular radio programme, *Téli órák—hasznos mulatságok* ('Winter Hours—Useful Pastimes'), was considered to be a modernized version of the calendar format popular with peasants. Compared to other groups in the society, in the case of peasants, a greater stress was laid on the format and clever genre-related solutions: the personal tone and the sensational way of performing contributed to the popularity of radio-play biographies, personal narratives, and information programmes. However, popular literary and musical programmes with regular listeners were required to propagate a more modern way of thinking and display a higher standard of content. To decrease the role of Hungarian

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[28] "Kövessük példájukat! Így hallgatják a Falu Hangját a jászberényi gazdák" ('Let's Follow Suit! This is the Way Farmers in Jászberény Listen to *Falu Hangja* ['The Voice of the Village']'), *Szabad Föld*, August 8, 1948: 7; "A közös rádió művelje, szórakoztassa a falu egész dolgozó parasztságát!…" ('Common Radio Should Educate and Entertain the Working Peasants in the Village!…'), *Szabad Föld*, March 6, 1949: 7; "Hallgassuk csoportosan a Magyar Rádiót. Rádió hallgatókört a DéFOSz-ban" ('Let's Listen to Hungarian Radio Together! A Club for Radio Listeners in DéFOSZ'), *Szabad Föld*, April 17, 194: 7; "A gépállomások járnak az élen a közös rádióhallgatás megszervezésében" ('It Is the Machine Stations that Are the Vanguards of Organizing Common Radio Listening'), *Szabad Föld*, April 24, 1949: 11; "Kedvezményes rádióelőfizetési lehetőség a dolgozó parasztságnak! stb" ('A Possibility for Discount Radio Subscription for Peasants! etc.'), *Szabad Föld*, May 1, 1949: 7.

[29] "Mit kíván a parasztember a Magyar Rádiótól?" ('What do Famers Want from Hungarian Radio?'), *Szabad Föld*, April 18, 1948: 4.

[30] *A Magyar Rádió és Televízió műsorainak szerepe a falu kulturális színvonalának emelésében* ('The Role of Hungarian Radio and Television in Elevating the Cultural Level of the Village'), National Archives of Hungary M-KS 288-22; MSZMP, *Agitációs és Propaganda Osztály iratai* ('Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Documents of Agitation and Propaganda Department') 1961, box 7.

songs, their amount was reduced to the benefit of folk music, especially in the main programme time (as was noted, a lot of peasant listeners complained about the reduction), and Hungarian songs were almost completely missing from the TV programmes. Special attention was paid to promote classical music (e.g. with symphonic versions of folk songs), and the writers of the reports had high expectations concerning opera broadcasts on television, hoping that the attractive staging would overcome the aversion shown towards classical music. In the letters sent in by the villagers concerning the news programmes they missed the clear style, simple way of writing and language that the writers of these reports considered important to counterbalance the style of the radio programmes of the "enemy", this way dissuading them from listening to those programmes.[31]

Cultured Behaviour

The concept of being cultured favoured by the communist system did not only include mental culture. According to the writer of a 1959 article, being cultured must include all segments of our lives and those people "limiting it to a wide education, literary knowledge and theatre" interpret it poorly.[32] The author stresses that being cultured also included bodily cleanliness and moral purity; it can be discovered "in the nicely washed shirt, the neatly clothed children, the clean and sunny parks—and even more in the clear, meaningful, interesting and honest human relations".

The background of this wide interpretation of culture can be seen in the concept of *kulturnost*, which appeared in the Soviet Union in the 1930s conveying the normative rules of cultured behaviour to the groups of worker-peasant origin. According to the research, although culture has never been defined exactly, it meant proper clothes and appearance, personal care, cleanliness, and tidiness in the beginning, and later the influence of culture spread across everyday life, the objects surrounding a person, which were hoped to change the old elements of customs and behaviour. By the end of the 1930s, the emphasis gradually shifted from the outer characteristics to the inner features of people—first to the linguistic (correct, literary speech, education) then to the political aspects (Catriona & Volkov 1998; Volkov 2000).

In Hungary, linguist József Erdődi, in his article published in 1964, based on the experiences of the previous years, thought that the word "cultured", which had only been used in connection with the knowledge and mental abilities of people following the German concept of culture, took up a wider meaning including to a greater extent the behaviour of people. Such collocations caught on as cultured trade, cultured appearance, cultured way of getting around, cultured way of din-

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[31] The most known ones—though the source didn't name them—were Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and the Hungarian programmes of the BBC. Regular radio programmes in Hungarian were also broadcast from Paris, Madrid, Italy, the Vatican, and Turkey (Vámos 2005: 124).

[32] "A mindennapok kultúrája" ('The Culture of Everyday Life'), *Népszava*, June 21, 1959: 4.

ing, cultured way of providing services, and so forth, replacing the word "polite" to some extent. In his opinion, this change can be traced back to the appearance of the word "culture article" borrowed from Russian. The meaning of the Hungarian word *kultúra* for culture was modified in accordance with the Russian word *культура* for culture, which comprises the notions of education and civilization, and according to Erdődi, this explains the fact that the carelessly adopted collocations do not fit the Hungarian word for culture, which had only signified spiritual education (Erdődi 1964: 136–138).[33]

The word cultured became a recurring element of contemporary language use. The observations I made when I surveyed the press seem to support the observations made by the linguist.[34] Nevertheless, besides politeness, the word cultured was used synonymously with the words *tasteful* (e.g. for cultured clothing, a cultured flat)[35] or *clean*, *tidy* (e.g. for cultured environment)[36]. On the one hand, the requirement of cleanliness referred to the environment. The 1953 educational slide show called

[33] The overall picture could be elaborated through conceptual historical examinations. The supposed first appearance of the Hungarian expression *kulturáltság* ('being cultured') in the press in 1912 was the topic of an article published in *Magyar Nyelvőr*, a Hungarian linguistic journal, in 1913. In this paper the author expressed his displeasure with this word because it occupied the place of another word *műveltség* ('being educated'), which means knowledge obtained by education (Alexander 1913). The overall picture could be elaborated through conceptual historical examinations. The supposed first appearance of the Hungarian expression kulturáltság ('being cultured') in the press in 1912 was the topic of an article published in Magyar Nyelvőr, a Hungarian linguistic journal, in 1913. In this paper the author expressed his displeasure with this word because it occupied the place of another word műveltség ('being educated'), which means knowledge obtained by education (Alexander 1913). The oral history interviews were done for my dissertation "The Countryside of the Town. Lifestyle change of the rural society after 1945 under the influence of urbanization" (2014). The majority of the interviewees were born in the 1920s and 30s in the southeastern part of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County and were socialized within the frames of the traditional peasants' world. I made life-course and semi-structured interviews (for example about the transformation of consumer habits and the spread of household technology). The names of the interviewees have been altered to protect their privacy.

[34] The workers of the Miskolc Bus Company (mainly the conductors) started a competition to establish more-cultured travelling conditions, which was defined as "a competition of politeness" in an announcement that was aimed to involve passengers too: "A kultúráltabb közlekedésért" ('For More Cultured Code of Conduct in Traffic'), *Északmagyarország*, February 23, 1960: 3; On the cultured way of travelling (on trams): "Csak kultúrember módjára!" ('Just Like Cultured People!'), *Északmagyarország*, May 12, 1957: 2.

[35] "A divatról, az öltözködésről" ('On Fashion and Clothing'), *Északmagyarország*, December 11, 1959: 2. According to this short piece of news, it is the Dress Makers' Cooperative that plays a leading role in shaping cultured clothing in Miskolc, enabling us "to get dressed in accordance with good taste": "A dolgozó ember kulturált lakása" ('The Cultured Flat of Working People'), *Északmagyarország*, July 29, 1962: 6. In this case, besides the stylish layout, "modern household machines, the fashionable furniture, carpet and ornaments" are inseparable from the concept of a cultured flat.

[36] "Kulturáltabb környezetet a mezőkövesdi Utasellátóban!" ('A More Cultured Environment to Utasellátó [a catering organization] in Mezőkövesd!'), *Északmagyarország*, July 21, 1959: 3. In place of the rundown "crowded, unfriendly environment", the passengers deserve a "friendlier and cleaner environment": "Gyorsabb és kulturáltabb a vasúti közlekedés" ('Faster and More Cultured Railway Traffic'), *Északmagyarország*, May 15, 1963: 2.

Cleanliness is Halfway through Health, besides drawing attention to the importance of keeping homes, workplaces, and public places clean, stressed that it was also important to keep the rules of hygiene in shops and catering. The press campaign became especially strong in April, when "clean weeks" and "clean months" were sponsored by the socialist competition movement (making houses, yards, streets and communities compete with one another).[37] On the other hand, cleanliness could also refer to good personal hygiene. Thus, the importance of washing hands and brushing teeth was propagated, but even in the promotion of drinking glasses where the hygienic advantages of using separate glasses were emphasized (Figs 13 and 14). Moreover, village volunteers were trained to be health care inspectors in one- or two-week long courses (later these were extended to six and eight weeks), whose task was to enforce the health care and hygienic rules in their villages.[38] In 1949, *Szabad Föld* started a health care advisory column, in which Dr Buga, who was well known in the socialist era for his educational work, taught the importance of hygiene and basic health care knowledge. Moreover, by organizing an educational lecture series were held to fight superstitions and quackery.[39]

Similar to the Soviet example, inner traits of people (as the example below goes to show, the ability of being moderate and self-possessed) were seen as important as external features. These were also included in the concept of being cultured.

[37] "Tisztasági hét lesz április 16–23-ig" ('There Will Be a Week of Tidiness Announced Between April 16 to 23'), *Szabad Föld*, April 16, 1950: 11; "A tornác is ragyog a tisztaságtól…" ('The Veranda Shines with Tidiness'), *Szabad Föld*, April 23, 1950: 4; "Csinos, tiszta lakásban jobban érzi magát,—s boldogabb az ember. Tisztasági verseny Hajdúnánáson" ('You Will Feel Better in a Tidy, Clean Flat—and You Will Be Happier. A Tidiness Competition in Hajdúnánás'), *Szabad Föld*, December 4, 1949: 13; "Tisztasági verseny a csongrádmegyei termelőszövetkezetek között" ('A Tidiness Competition Between the Co-ops in Csongrád County'), *Szabad Föld*, February 5, 1950: 6; "Kié lesz a legtisztább ház?" ('Whose House Is the Tidiest?'), *Szabad Föld*, June 3, 1956: 2; "A tisztasági hónap után" ('After the Month of Tidiness'), *Szabad Föld*, May 8, 1955: 7; "Fokozottabb gondot a tisztaságra" ('More Care for Tidiness'), *Szabad Föld*, March 30, 1958: 9.

[38] "Népi egészségőrök vigyáznak a falu tisztaságára és egészségére" ('People's Health Care Controllers Are Watching the Tidiness and Health of the Village'), *Szabad Föld*, November 16, 1947: 8; "Legnagyobb kincsünk: az ember. Így küzd a demokrácia a falu egészségéért" ('Our Greatest Treasure: Man. This Is How Democracy Struggles for a Healthy Village'), *Szabad Föld*, May 8, 1949: 2; "Asszonyok őrködnek népünk egészsége felett" ('Women Are Watching the Health of Our People'), *Szabad Föld*, February 15, 1948: 5; "Így dolgoznak a szolnokmegyei egészségőr-lányok" ('This Is How Health Controller Girls Work in Szolnok County'), *Szabad Föld*, April 11, 1948: 7; "A falu egészségének őre" ('The Guardian of the Health of the Village'), *Szabad Föld*, September 18, 1949: 10; "Szilágyi Marika, a falu egészségének őre" ('Marika Szilágyi, the Guardian of the Health of the Village'), *Szabad Föld*, October 14, 1951: 7.

[39] "Hadüzenet a babonának és a kuruzslásnak. Hatezer felvilágosító előadás a falvakban" ('War on Superstition and Quacks'), *Szabad Föld*, September 26, 1948: 7. The Ministry of People's Welfare published eight booklets in 1949 on the most important daily health care issues of the village that were all translations of works by Soviet authors; "Filléres füzetek az egészségről" ('Penny Booklets on Health'), *Szabad Föld*, May 22, 1949: 11; "A Magyar Vöröskereszt felvilágosító munkája a szolnoki tanyavilágban" ('The Educational Work Done by Hungarian Red Cross in the Farmlands Around Szolnok'), *Szabad Föld*, January 15, 1950: 12.

In 1960, an article commenting on a theatrical performance watched mainly by people working in big factories discussed cultured behaviour, appropriate clothes and manners at cultural events. Reflecting on the latter, the writer mentioned,

> In this field there is a lot to do. It still happens many times that visitors who arrive late argue loudly with the usher. They take out their anger on the usher or the cloak room assistant who are at hand …, they make noise disturbing the audience's enjoyment of the play. They discuss the possible twists and turns in the story in a lively conversation. In the cinemas they often interfere with the viewing of the movie with loud comments and tasteless remarks. … A collective participation in the performances requires discipline from each visitor. Discipline and cultured behaviour.[40]

Further following the use of the word "cultured", it turns out that due to its widened use propagated through decades, in the present day, Hungarian usage has completely absorbed the word "cultured" in referring to behaviour and it even appears in new collocations. One of the villagers I interviewed, who was born in 1933 (Mrs István K.), used this word in the sense it was invented for people with an agricultural background in the 1950s–60s, when she was talking about how she ironed the shirt and prepared a tie for her son, who lived in a student hostel, for Sunday.

> Well, my son attended a vocational school for the electric industry …. Then they were taught that they were cultured people, as the headmaster of the vocational school for electric engineering said … 'You should learn that you are cultured, the whole world is looking at you because it is electricity that will elevate Hungary!' They had to wear a tie at school, so I knitted a tie for him, I put nice things, rubber on it [below it], and then … a jacket had to be had on the shirt… and the like …. [They said], it is them who carry culture. They do, do they. With knives and forks, the clothes had to be neatly folded in the wardrobe, oh, there was such an order there … (Mrs István K., Tiszapalkonya, July 28, 2011).

The successful integration of the word cultured into colloquial speech was probably facilitated by the fact that it lacked any direct ideological concept, unlike the concepts of the socialist man or woman and the socialist way of life, which partly overlapped but constituted a bigger category.

Conclusion

The communist regime considered different media highly important due to the role they played in forming public opinion, mediating culture, and educating peo-

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[40] "A kulturált magatartásról" ('On Cultured Behaviour'), *Északmagyarország*, February 19, 1960: 5.

ple, which was a significant element of the process in which social and demographical differences between village and town were reduced. In practice the elimination of these differences meant that the characteristic lifestyle and taste of the peasants was adapted to those of the townspeople, and the criteria were summed up in the Soviet normative concept of kulturnost, culturedness. The articles published in the newspapers about cultured people constituted a kind of code of conduct with guidelines for cultural expectations and rules for behaviour.

Transmitting culture and its propaganda becomes effective only if a wide range of society consumes it, therefore peasants who were the least involved in its consumption were the target group of campaigns in various types of media (books, press, radio, television) in organized to persuade them to become regular consumers. Newspaper articles and reports discussing this topic provide examples of the contact points and fine transitions between the different forms of communication and varied technological background used in the process.

Although there were some differences in the ways the various media were used (in accordance with the work schedule of peasants, winter reading, weekly papers and listening to the radio and later watching TV daily was propagated), they remained largely the same. By developing the technological and infrastructural background necessary for consuming culture (e.g. electricity and cultural facilities such as libraries, culture houses, cinemas) relatively quickly in the countryside, it was thought that equal accessibility to culture was provided (e.g. electricity was called "light that brings culture" in the papers). However, it can be seen that the availability of various forms of media did not necessarily modify the traditional interests of peasants instantly and did not provide the ability to take everything in. Although the former characteristics of peasants' consumption of culture were rejected, their needs had to be taken into consideration so that they could become the audience. Besides the programming content (in radio and print) thought to be valuable, popular content (e.g. Hungarian songs) had to be tolerated too. Moreover, to transmit new content, the adaptation of certain genres (calendars) and language styles (sensational reporting, simple wording) seemed to serve the purpose instead of neglecting such content.

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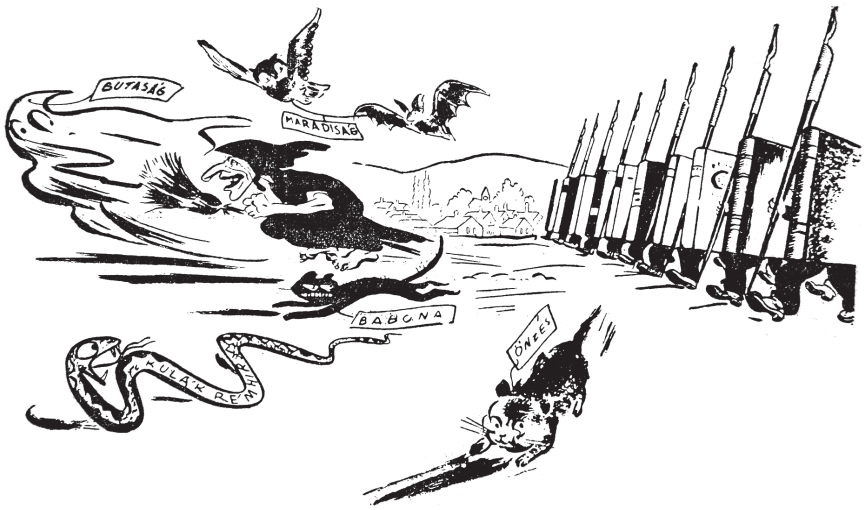
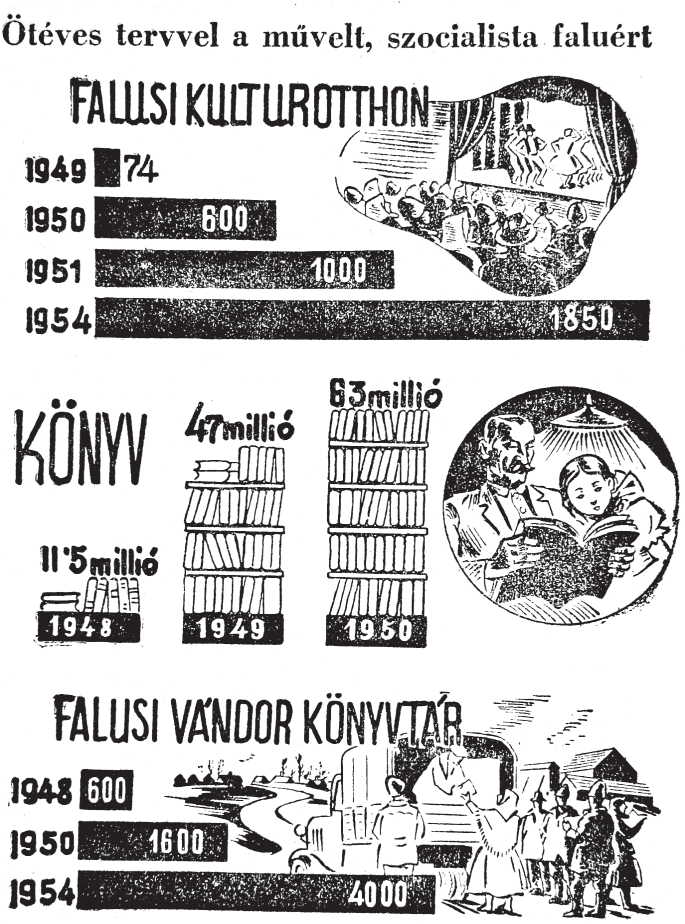


A good book is a weapon in the hands of the people! This is the end—the books are coming! (against stupidity, backwardness, superstitions, scaremongering kulaks, selfishness).

1 *Szabad Föld*, 1951, September 9, p. 2.

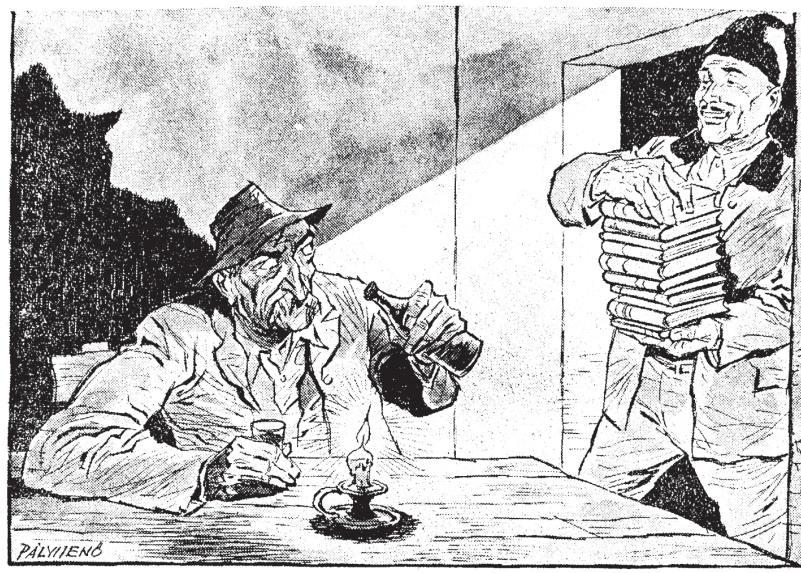


Five-year plan for the educated, socialist village (village cultural houses, books, moving libraries).
Szabad Föld, 1951, April 1, p. 8. 2

Culture for the village! Opening the 500th people's library in Véménd.
- Put aside that lamp! Now this will truly glow.

3 *Képes Szabad Föld*, 1948, January 11.

Book day in the village
Szabad Föld, 1949, June 12, p. 6.



Join the readers' movement! You brought such a bright light inside!
My eyes are playing tricks on me!
- If you were reading, there would be light in your head as well!

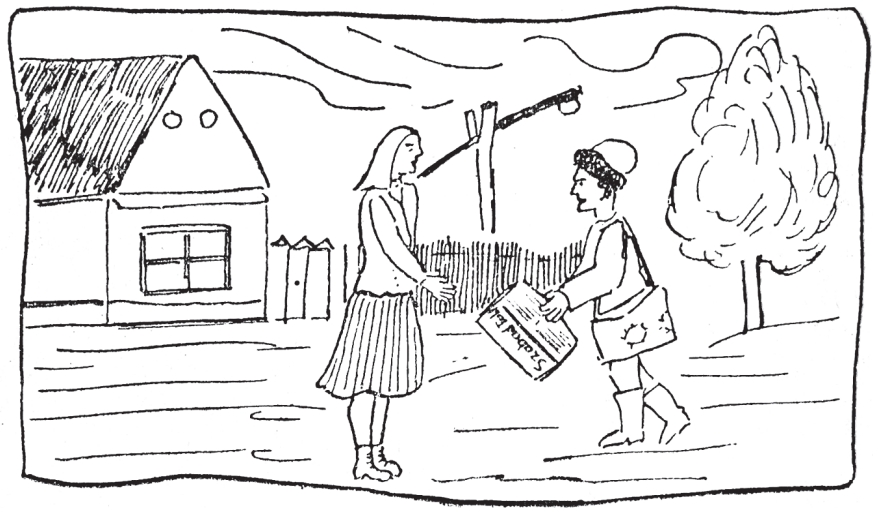
5 *Szabad Föld*, 1949, February 19, p. 14.

I'm better with farming, ever since I've been reading specialist books. How the Kocsis family learns and gets educated.
Szabad Föld, 1951, November 25, p. 7. 6

Do you want to go on a study trip to the Soviet Union? You can! if you subscribe to *Szabad Föld*! The editorial staff of *Szabad Föld* will draw 10 of its subscribers to send them on a study trip to the Soviet Union in the spring! Take the opportunity! Subscribe to *Szabad Föld*!

7 *Szabad Föld*, 1949, December 4, p. 14.

The neighbours are gathered together: talking, debating.
The previous issue of *Szabad Föld* is there too, they are talking about it right now.
Szabad Föld, 1954, February 28, p. 6.



Let's draw, children! News vendor. Drawing of Eszter Hajdú, 8th grade student from Tápiószőlős.
9 *Szabad Föld*, 1949, February 6, p. 11.

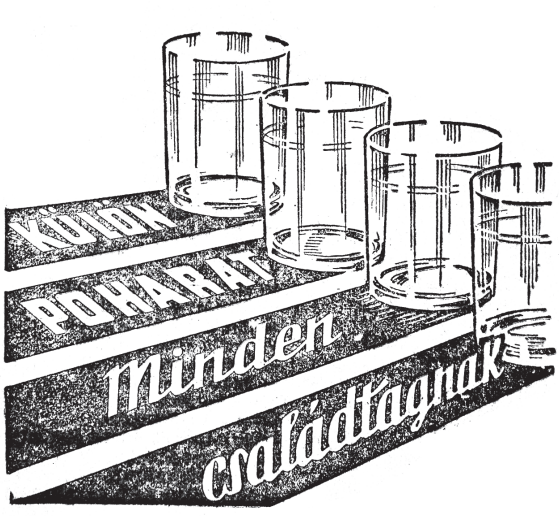
Working farmers in Regöly municipality welcomed wholeheartedly the reader conference held by *Szabad Föld*.
Szabad Föld, 1950, February 19, p. 5.

Winter Evening in Pátka (performance of the Village Theatre)

11 *Szabad Föld*, 1958, December 25, p. 6.

It brings the town closer to the city. Public radio.
You can use vouchers, purchase it on credit and in instalments.
Szabad Föld, 1950, July 16, p. 12.

13 **Mother teaches in this way too… Every day twice with toothpaste.**
Szabad Föld, 1950, July 9, p. 12.



Own glass for each family member.
14 *Szabad Föld*, 1950, August 27, p. 9.

Georgeta Nazarska

The Image of the Religious Other Through the Eyes of Bulgarian Cartoonists (1960s–1970s)

This chapter provides an overview of the religious Others, who are different from the majority nonaffiliated people and criticized and ridiculed by the atheistic propaganda. I will review specifically the building of the image of religious people in Bulgaria by Bulgarian cartoonists in the 1960s to 1970s.

This process is analysed from the perspectives of both history and visual culture studies (Harvey 2011: 504; Morgan 2005: 31–32) and is placed in the context of (a) the atheistic ideology of the communist regime; (b) the antireligious propaganda, which grew in the 1960s under the influence of the USSR and as a result of decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (CC of BCP); and (c) the social engineering in this period, which aimed to destroy the middle class and create new classes of laborers, cooperative peasants, and "people's intelligentsia" (intellectuals).

The main sources for the study are cartoons published in several periodicals, in albums with the works of Bulgarian cartoonists and propaganda collections. The research process focused on such periodicals that are either highly specialized, e.g. *Starshel* ('The Hornet') or that express the position of mass organizations, e.g. *Vecherni Novini* ('Evening News') or that seek to influence a specific audience—peasants, e.g. *Kooperativno Selo* ('Cooperative Village') and Bulgarian Turks, e.g. *Yeni Işık* ('New Light'). Caricatures are studied in their sociocultural aspect—as social and cultural constructions, as sources of their production and reception, and as works of art, humour, and politics (Demski & Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010: 13; Morgan 2005: 31–32).

The topic of religious Others through the perspective of their visual depictions in cartoons has not been a subject of scientific works so far. There are publications about the development of religious communities and how they were placed under state control during this period (Eldarov 2002; Kalkanzhieva 1997; Kulichev 2012; Metodiev 2011). The stages, goals, and results of the cultural policy in the 1940s to 1980s and particular cultural institutions are reviewed in several monographs (Chichovska 1995; Elenkov 2008; Kalinova 2011). The processes of constructing a new class—a "people's intelligentsia"—and support or opposition to it by the totalitarian regime have also been studied (Boyadzhieva 2010; Hristova 2005). Some publications have analysed the use of cartoons by internal political propaganda at the end of 1940s and how the authors of such cartoons were repressed by the Com-

munist Party in the late 1960s (Hristova 1995, 2016; Paraskevov 2012; Velcheva 1988; Nikolov 2015). Unfortunately, studies on atheistic propaganda performed by the totalitarian state and mass organizations as a deliberate process, modeled after the USSR and serving the needs of the communist ideology, are completely absent.

This study consists of two parts. The first part presents the political and cultural environment in which Bulgarian artists created their cartoons. Examples include working mechanisms of the totalitarian state and how it held the intellectuals in subjugation, the role of art and particularly of caricatures as an ideological tool of the regime, and deployment of atheist propaganda in the 1950s to 1970s.

Political and Cultural Context for the Work of Bulgarian Cartoonists from 1944 to 1970s

After the coup d'état of September 9, 1944, Bulgaria was controlled by the left coalition Fatherland Front (FF), dominated by the Bulgarian Workers' Party (communists) (BWP (c))[1]. From 1944 to 1949, Bulgaria was under Soviet military occupation and the government forcefully destroyed right-wing opposition parties, limited civil rights and liberties, carried out repressions against the political, economic, and cultural elite in the country, and created a totalitarian communist regime. After 1949, only two political parties remained, mass organizations were built, and full control over the population was imposed (Crampton 1997; Kalinova & Baeva 2001, 2002: 39–44).

Since the late 1940s, the totalitarian regime used culture, including art, as a powerful tool for propaganda of the communist ideology. Using social engineering, the regime created a people's intelligentsia. This new social class was specifically designed to serve the regime and to obediently carry out its instructions. Formal associations of writers, artists, painters, musicians, and so forth were created. Therefore by the middle of the 1950s the intelligentsia was subjected to political power and controlled by various cultural institutions (Boyadzhieva 2010; Hristova 2005; Zlateva 1993).

Bulgarian artists were no exception. In the 1950s the Communist Party promoted "Sovietization" of the artistic life, which was achieved through denial of "bourgeois formalism" and the introduction of "socialist realism" characterized by schematics and ideological dogmatism (Doynov 2011; Mozejko 2009: 27–74). Between 1949 and 1951, a group of professors, "reactionaries", were dismissed from the Academy of Art because of their disagreement with the "Stalinization". The famous painter communist Alexander Zhendov was excluded from the artistic life and the communist leader Valko Tchervenkov highlighted the "partiality" of art (Avramov 1993; Hristova 2015a: 46–53, 73). Artists had gradually become an obedient stratum, managed by its Union of Bulgarian Artists (UBA) and by

[1] This is its official name until adopting the name Bulgarian Communist Party in 1948.

a system of state purchases and contracts (Avramov 1993; Zlateva 1993). In April 1954, a Stalinist-style discussion on Bulgarian cartoon art was held at the National Conference on caricature (Central State Archive coll. 405: inventory 1, archival unit 176, f. 24, 115). Todor Dinov and Tenyu Pindarev, two main rapporteurs and Soviet graduates, affirmed that "caricature ... mobilize[s] the people against the forces of everything rotten and low void" and that it "is a powerful means of propaganda in the hands of our Party". They concluded, "In the struggle to expose imperialism and its servants, our culture has accumulated significant experience and the greatest success" (Ibid., f. 24, 101, 102).

These principles and ideas were brought to life primarily in the content of the satirical newspaper *Starshel*. Founded in 1946 by the BWP (c) to counter the right's opposition press, by the end of the 1950s, *Starshel* was publishing predominantly political cartoons (Anastasov & Pindarev 1971; Hristova 1994; Paraskevov 2012; Velcheva 1988; Hristova 2015b). From 1950 to 1989, the newspaper was directly subordinated to the CC of the BCP, which governed the execution of the party's decisions. This was particularly true in the 1950s and 1960s, when the newspaper was constantly monitored and required to publish "conceptual" humour and serve the party's political goals. For this reason some of its editors and contributors were repeatedly sanctioned. The pressure became especially strong after 1968 when a Moscow-led initiative started "intimidation" of the intelligentsia across the "socialist camp" (Hristova 1995: 59, 2000: 45–50, 2016: 36; Migev 2005: 148–182).[2]

One of the main tasks of the "people's intelligentsia" (including artists) in the late 1950s and especially in the 1960s and 1970s was the fight against so called "bourgeois ideology" and "ideological subversion". These issues were discussed at the party's plenums and national meetings and were regulated by many official documents. According to these, religion was an expression of "bourgeois ideology" because it was a means of exploitation by clergy and a stagnate factor that hampered social life. Religion was conceived as an element of ideological subversion carried out by the "imperialist camp" during the Cold War or the Arab countries and neighbouring Islamic Turkey.[3]

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[2] Only in the late 1970s *Starshel* newspaper began to shake off the Party's control and in the 1980s became a cultural institution that had over 820,000 readers and a good reputation. At that time it focused on so-called positive (nonpolitical) humour that referred to social problems such as careerism, waste, corruption, and others. Significantly, until 1989 it was considered by the authorities as "a social stafety valve" (see Hristova 1995: 89–109).

[3] Central State Archive coll. 1Б: inventory 1, archival unit 419, f. 2–19, 32–40; inventory 5, archival unit 496, f. 1–223; archival unit 398, f. 11, 27, 30; Central State Archive coll. 325Б: inventory 1, archival unit 87, f. 1–5; archival unit 61, f. 1–7.

After 1957, these ideas were implemented through a massive atheistic campaign[4] in Bulgaria carried out by cultural institutions and mainstream totalitarian organizations.[5] In the 1960s many houses of atheists were established with the purpose of showing antireligious exhibitions and guiding the activities of special lecture groups against "religious remnants". A new ritual system which aimed to replace religious rituals like baptism, marriage, and funeral was developed (*Rabotnichesko Delo* 1963; State Archive, Sofia coll. 352: inventory 2, archival unit 33, f. 3–32). Soviet atheistic books and periodicals were imported, translated, and widely distributed. Books and teaching materials of domestic authors were promoted too. The national representative survey (1966) showed the preservation of religiosity among the population, particularly among peasants, youth, women, Turks, Pomaks (Slavic Muslims), and Roma (Krastev 1974a, 1974b; Protsesat 1966), and became the reason for further improvement of atheistic propaganda (Central State Archive coll. 1Б: inventory 8, archival unit 7466, f. 7–9; inventory 5, archival unit 389, f. 11, 27, 30). Traditional methods such as direct criticism, revelations, insults to clerics, and perversions were replaced by new initiatives that involved the use of radio, TV, movies, periodicals, education, and local authorities. A particular focus was put on the development of a new civil festive and ritual system and on stepping up against Islam and Catholicism. At the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s a huge atheistic campaign was carried out. The campaign resulted in confiscation of religious properties, prohibitions of public rituals, destruction or obstruction of the restoration and renovation of temples, conversion of temples into museums (Lefterov 2015; Metodiev 2011: 238–246, 317–324), circulation of antireligious literature[6] and so forth.

[4] In the 1940s and 1950s the Fatherland Front took steps against religious communities: the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (BOCh) was separated from the state and it became almost completely subordinate; real estates and worship places of religious communities were confiscated; the state appropriated their competence in matrimonial and charitable matters and in the educational sphere; the clergy was put under the control of the repressive authorities. Repression was a priority used in state regulation of religious diversity: some of priests and leaders of the Orthodox, Protestant (1949) and Catholic churches (1952), and leaders of the White Brotherhood (1960s) were arrested and prosecuted, a few of them lost their lives in labor camps, a prohibition of public religious ceremonies was issued; citizens who manifested their belonging to a religious community were penalized. See Kalkanzhieva (1997) and Metodiev (2011).

[5] It was inspired by external factors as well. The Soviet practice, and in particular the Khrushchev's antireligious campaign (1958–1964) after the Twentieth (1956) and Twenty-second Party Congresses of USSR (1961) played a fundamental role. The aftermaths of the Hungarian Uprising, actively supported by the Catholic clergy (1956), and the decisions of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) raised in the communist countries concerns about the possible offensive of the Catholic Church in the East. See Powell 1975, and Anderson 1994: 98–144.

[6] In the 1970s, besides the Soviet press, some Bulgarian newspapers were issued: *Atheistichna Tribuna* ('Atheist Tribune') (1972–1988), *Byuletin za Ateistichna Propaganda* ('Bulletin of Atheistic Propaganda') (1972–1973), *Mlad Ateist* ('Young Atheist') (1976–1979), and *Byuletin na Doma na Ateista* ('Bulletin of the House of Atheist') (1974).

The Image of the Religious Other in Bulgarian Cartoons in the 1960s and 1970s

Before 1944, Bulgarian cartoonists were sporadically interested in religious topics. They were mainly interested in the class category. They characterized priests as accomplices of the plotters, as instigators of wars, and as "cutting partisan's heads" in the 1940s; they usually ridiculed bishops for their outrageous lifestyle (Karikaturata 1967). In the late 1940s, the old generation of Bulgarian cartoonists hardly dealt with religion. Some of these cartoonists were killed by the communists; others were sentenced by the so-called People's Court and were prohibited from art activities and excluded from the UBA (Avramov 1993; Zlateva 2011: 279). One exception was Iliya Beshkov, who made a series of thematic sketches (Beshkov 2015: 322, 331–354).

In the 1960s and 1970s, following the Communist Party's directives to strengthen atheistic propaganda, Bulgarian artists exhibited thematic cartoons in several exhibitions: the *Twenty Years of Bulgarian Caricature, 1944–1964*, Jubilee Exhibition, the Sixth Joint Exhibition of Caricature (1966), the Third Exhibition of Bulgarian Culture (1966), and the retrospectives of Stoyan Venev (1964, 1974). Cartoons were also published in the press[7], albums, collections, and books. One example of atheistic propaganda in the field of fine arts is the *Caricature Against Religion* album (Karikaturata 1967). It aimed to expose the "class nature" of religion "as a weapon in the hands of bourgeoisie against progress and liberation ideas of Communism" (Ibid.). The album included 48 cartoons, 26 of which were created before 1944 and tendentiously included. The works of the older generation cartoonists rather than that of younger ones dominated the album (Ibid.).

For the purposes of this study the author has gathered 104 cartoons. The vast majority of these are excerpts from newspapers, issued by organizations mainly engaged in atheist propaganda: *Starshel* (1962–1971), edition of the CC of BCP; *Kooperitivno Selo* (1962–1965), edition of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the Central Union of Cooperatives; *Vecherni Novini* (1962–1968), edition of the National Council of the FF; and *Yeni Işık* ('New Light') (1975), edition of the CC of BCP. Cartoons from thematic albums, books, and collections have also been included[8]. This database was processed and analysed using quantitative and qualitative methods.

The data shows that the majority of the cartoons were printed in specialized weeklies and, more specifically, in *Starshel* newspaper (2/3 of total) within frequent intervals. The *Kooperitivno Selo*, *Yeni Işık*, and *Vecherni Novini* newspapers pub-

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[7] In the newspapers: *Starshel*, *Trud* ('Labour'), *Vecherni Novini* ('Evening News'), *Kooperativno selo*, *Otechestven Front* ('Fatherland Front'), *Narodna Mladezh* ('National Youth'), *Yeni Işık*, and in the magazines: *Mladezh* ('Youth'), *Zhenata Dnes* ('Woman Today'), and *Izkustvo* ('Art').

[8] Album 1958; Anastasov 1965; Anastasov & Pindarev 1971; Besedi 1960; Dimovski 1965; Dinov 1965; Donev 1969; Grozev 1964; Karandash 1963; Karikaturata 1967; Kyuljavkov 1966; Mangov 1961; Marinov 1966; Pindarev 1963; Stoykov 1970; Vargulev et al. 1961; Venev 1974, 1977.

lished cartoons occasionally. The largest number of publications was between 1964 and 1967 and the lowest, after 1968.

The works that prevailed were those of Stoyan Venev, Tsvetan Tsekov-Karandash, Tenju Pindarev, Boris Dimovsky, and Ljubo Marinov. Individual works were occasionally created by other artists: Georgi Chaushov, Georgi Anastasov, Georgi Chavdarov, Boris Mengishev, Kiril Majsky, Todor Dinov, Panayot Gelev, and others. The largest number of artists were born from 1921 to 1930 and 1931 to 1940 (75% in total), and the smallest number were born from 1901 to 1910 and from 1911 to 1920 (25% in total). At the same time, the oldest generation created the main portion of the cartoons (35.6%). Two-thirds of the cartoonists came from big cities and small towns, and one-third came from villages. One cartoonist was of Turkish origin.

The main subjects of the cartoons were the Orthodox denomination and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (BOCh). The cartoons rarely had Catholics and Muslims as subjects. Other religious groups like Protestants, Armenians, and Jews and the New Religious Movements (including the White Brotherhood), were completely absent. Perhaps this was owing to several reasons: according to the Communist Party perceptions, Catholicism and Islam were "enemies of the government"; in the Cold War the Vatican was a part of the so-called Western camp, and finally, in the 1960s the government started an offensive against the religious identity of Muslims in the country. Despite it's small size (15,000 believers), the Protestant community was also repressed at that time but did not become an object of cartoons (Central State Archive coll. 165: inventory 11, archival unit 748a, f. 1).

The cartoons presented the Orthodox clergy completely negatively. It should be noted that in the 1960s and 1970s, Bulgarian artists deliberately followed the iconography of their predecestors before the Second World War. They depicted the Orthodox priests as elderly, ill-dressed, repulsive, and grotesque. This fueled an already strong negative stereotype, created in the 1870s by Bulgarian writers and further developed later on by Bulgarian literary classics, drama, and cinema.[9] This stereotype was skillfully used by the atheistic propaganda in the 1950s and was adopted by the cartoonists in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Orthodox clergy was depicted as primarily sinful, bearing almost all "mortal sins": greed, lust, and gluttony. The main emphasis was put on its propensity for drunkenness but priests were also shown as thieves and traitors (Figs 1 and 2). After the launch of the first artificial Earth satellite (1958) and especially after Yuri Gagarin's first flight in space (1961), another permanent feature of clergy, backwardness as regarded the achievements of science and technology, was highlighted (Fig. 3).

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[9] Before 1944, this negative image was launched in the works of Christo Botev, Elin Pelin, and Iliya Volen. In the 1950s it was interpreted in several movies—*Tajnata vecherya na Sedmatsite* ('The Last Supper of the Sedmaks') (1957), *Siromashka radost* ('Pauper's Joy') (1958), and so forth—and in the theater—*Chichovtsi* ('Uncles') (Satirical Theatre, 1960). See Dushkova 2004.

The image of the Orthodox Other was complemented by cartoons that showed religious feasts as places of drunkenness and carousing. Rural churches were depicted as desecrated and closed and those in the cities, as crumbling or converted into hotels and exhibition halls (Fig. 4). Special attention was given to nonbelievers, children, and young people, who drank alcohol, ridiculed the clergy, and were interested only in fashion (Figs 5 and 6).

At the end of the 1960s religious personages were sometimes subjected to another propaganda image—that of "ordinary men" who prevented the creation of a strong socialist society. This is why the January church feasts[10] were regularly depicted on the pages of newspapers as an obstacle to the implementation of annual plans. The saints (St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. Athanasius, and St. Elias) were typically described as drunks, but the angels as workers in the "factory of the Lord". Similarly some cartoons of the national saints (St. Cyril and St. Methodius and St. Kliment of Ohrid) appeared completely detached from the religious context and presented a counterpoint to the conformist and consumer behavior of modern Bulgarians at the time.

The image of religious people was described as multifaceted. On the one hand, older women and peasants were portrayed. Usually painted by Stoyan Venev, they were presented as an outnumbered community, highly susceptible to retrograde ideas of the rural parish priests. A suggestion of backwardness and ignorance beckoned in their grotesque and ridicule images (Fig. 7). On the other hand, the urban religious people, consisting of "still alive bourgeoisie", "scum of the country capitalist society" (Fig. 8), and so called *zozas* and swings (young people susceptible to "harmful Western influence"), were presented in their typical attire and appearance (makeup, hats, jewelry, and crosses) (Fig. 9) (cf. Taylor 2006; see also Angelov, this volume). Finally, the image of foreigners appeared in the 1960s, and those were depicted looking at the icons in their appearance considered as "shameful" by the communists (long hair of men, short skirts for women, sunglasses, etc.) (Fig. 10).

The Catholic Others were presented either by using the image of the Pope as a supporter of capitalism and anti-Communism (Fig. 11) or by depicting the Catholic clergy. They were described, like the Orthodox, as greedy, rich, lustful, and "parasitic", living off their followers (Fig. 12). Bulgarian artists did not have a finished iconographic model for the image of the Catholic clergy, because this topic was very rarely treated prior to 1944. However, they used the established negative stereotypes about Catholics as "non-Bulgarians" and "traitors". These stereotypes were strengthened in the second half of the twentieth century by Bulgarian fiction and cinema.[11]

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[10] In January are the feasts of Eastern Church Fathers (St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom) and of St. John the Baptist, St. Antony, and St. Euthymious. They are traditionally celebrated by people as their name patrons.

[11] In 1945, Dimitar Dimov published his novel *Osadeni dushi* ('Doomed Souls'), which strongly criticized the Catholic Church in Spain. In 1975 it was filmed by Valo Radev.

The image of Muslims had not had iconographic analogues in the previous period, but Bulgarian cartoonists used existing negative stereotypes, permanently established in the national literary canon. In the 1950s and 1960s these stereotypes were reinforced by numerous propaganda books and movies (cf. Vrina-Nikolov n.d.).

Cartoons rarely depicted Muslims, but when they did the image of a Muslim generally fell into one of three main categories. The first is clergy. Imams were shown as extremely conservative—spreading superstitions, healing with exorcism instead of with drugs and pills. Muslim clergy were criticized for promoting prayer and celebrations of religious holidays that diverted workers from the execution of the production plans. Muslim clergy were described as key supporters of the so-called *baba hakki* ('father's gift')—a ransom, given by a groom to his father-in-law before a wedding—and as instigators of the killing of Christians (Fig. 14). The second category was Muslim women, who were ridiculed because of their attachment to veiling and traditional costumes. The cartoonists derided the Muslim women's subordination to the elderly people in the family and to spouses and for their inclination to solve problems through magic (Fig. 13).[12] The third category of Muslim image that appeared in the cartoons was religious believers. They were most often presented as men, poor peasants with traditional livelihoods, subordinated to their exploiters. Their opposites were the nonbelievers—socialist men, members of cooperative farms, living in new houses and reading the press.

Conclusions

In the works of Bulgarian cartoonists the image of the religious Other was an image of "different", marginalized people, but it was not an image of an enemy. So the cartoonists preferred banal and template stories as a plot and usually drew familiar characters (Orthodox priests, nuns, imams, etc.). The targets of ridicule were the Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic clergies, accused of collaboration with the former "old regime" and of being superstitious. The Orthodox clergy was associated with debauchery, drunkenness, gluttony, and ignorance. The Orthodox Christians were associated with the "still alive" bourgeoisie, old people, women, and peasants. Religious minorities were scarcely presented in the works of cartoonists. Some communities like Protestants, Jews, and Armenians were completely ignored. More attention was given to Catholics and Muslims, probably because of their compactness and determination not to change their religious identity, despite strong pressure from authorities, but also because of the realities of the Cold War and the resulting state policy against them. They were portrayed as religious fanatics and conservative people who stood against change.

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[12] Obviously, these accents have a connection with the campaign for the removal of the veils of Muslim women that began in the late 1950s and culminated in an unsuccessful attempt to rename Bulgarian Muslims in the village of Ribnovo (1964). It is connected as well with the sociological survey in 1962, which indicates Muslims as one of the most religious groups (see Gruev & Kalionski 2008; Pashova & Vodenicharov 2010).

This study found also that Bulgarian cartoonists obeyed the Communist Party's order and were part of the atheistic propaganda during the second half of the 1960s. Thus caricature, a popular and accessible art, became one of the means to combat religion and reinforce negative stereotypes that existed in Bulgaria before the middle of the twentieth century. Visual images became the sole mediator of communist propaganda because most periodicals, which published cartoons, had high circulations. During the study period *Starshel* had circulations between 80,000 (1950) and 240,000 (1972); *Vecherni Novini*, 90,000; *Kooperativno Selo*, 167,030; and *Yeni Işık,* 20,000 (Balgarski periodichen pechat 1975: vol. 1, 127, 416; vol. 2, 275).[13]

However, it is difficult to argue that this was successful in the fight against religion and in changing the views of religious people. They used differentiated strategies to attract the attention of their readers to atheistic themes,[14] but it cannot be claimed with certainty that they had substantial success.[15]

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[13] Taking into account the subscription system, clutching a large number of institutions and families, these data should be multiplied at least by 3 to understand the number of readers. Indeed, a study from 1972 shows that *Starshel* had 820,000 readers and was in second place after *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the semi-official organ of the Communist Party. A similar poll on *Kooperativno Selo* (1980) showed that it was read by at least 900,000, mostly men (see *Izvestia* 1980: 48, 66; Hristova 1995: 99).

[14] In *Starshel* almost all artists prepared atheistic caricatures, but the topic was not a priority, only peripheral. In *Yeni Işık* few cartoons were published, but they were oriented to literate Turks and some of them were even in Turkish. This greatly limited their audience.

[15] A study of police by the end of the 1970s shows increasing participation of believers, including young people, in religious holidays and services, a growing number of baptizing services, church marriages, consecration of homes, establishment of church boards and Christian fraternities, and the building of new temples (see Migev 2008: 111–113).

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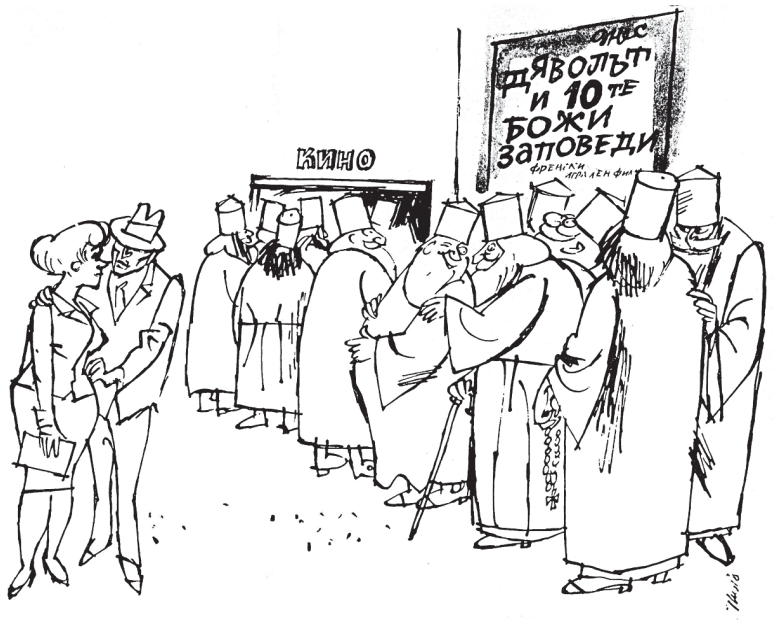
Spor **('A Dispute')**

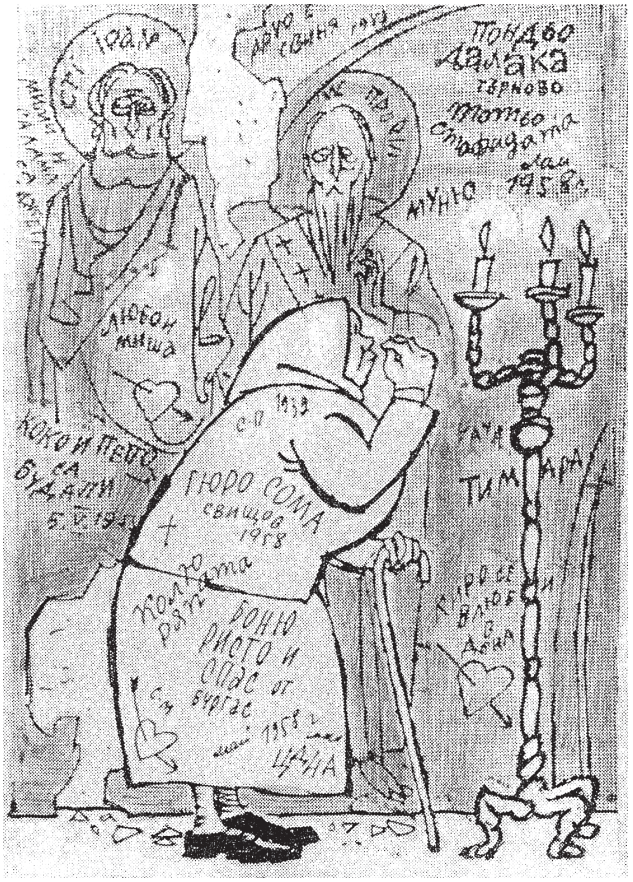
1 Stoyan Venev, 1977.



Djavolat I desette Bozhii zapovedi (‘**Devil and the Ten Commandments**’)
Tenju Pindarev, *Karikaturata* 1967: 44. 2

Jazak za gorivoto! Dnes pak njaama da vidim Gospoda. Dnes Bozhiata kantselaria ne raboti
('Alas for fuel! Today we will not see the Lord. Today, God's office does not work')

3 *Karandash* 1963: 31.



No Comment

Tenju Pindarev, *Starshel*, 1959, April 24, no. 689. 4

Otche, a ti imash li zapisi na tvoja Bog?
(‘**Father, do you have records of your God?**’)

5 Georgi Chavdarov, *Starshel*, 1966, October 14, no. 1079.

Au, tozi e Bog!
('Wow, this man is a God!')
Georgi Chaushov, *Starshel*, 1964, February 21, no. 941. 6

Ekskurzia
(**'Excursion'**)
7 Stoyan Venev, *Karikaturata* 1967: 31.

Provintsialisti
(‘**People from province**’)
Stoyan Venev, 1960s, printed in Venev 1977. 8

Edni ot redovnite posetiteli na cherkvata u nas sa otrepkite ot staroto kapitalistichesko obshtestvo, starite babi i segashnite zozi i suingi **('The regular visitors of our churches are dregs of the old capitalist society, the old grannies, and current *zozi* and swings')**

9 Kiril Majsky, printed in *Album* 1958.

Kurortniat sezon e veche otkrit. Parvite gosti veche pristignaha
(‘**The holiday season is already open. First guests have already arrived**’)
Stoyan Venev, 1970, printed in *Starshel*, 1990, May 22, no. 1267. 10

Vseki s krasta si
(‘**Everyone with his cross**’)
11 Georgi Anastasov, 1957, printed in *Karikaturata* 1967: 50.

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Katolicheskiyat sveshtenik K. Toskovat ot selo Miromir (Plovdivsko) e obrazuval tsarkoven hor s detsata na miryanite. Za tezi grizhi toij poluchava vsjaka esen ot 400 do 700 trudodni ot kooperatorite, polovin runo valna ot vsyako semejstvo I vsjaka prolet vsichkoto mljako, koeto se izdojava za edin den ot dojnite zhivotni v seloto

('Catholic priest K. Toskovat from Miromir village (Plovdiv district) formed a children's church choir. For their provision he receives each autumn 400–700 workdays from the cooperative farmers, half fleece wool from each family, and every spring all the milk of all the dairy animals in the village on one day')

Stoyan Venev, *Album* 1958. 12

13 *Modern cift*
('**Modern couple**')
Veli Sevkedov, *Yeni Isik*, 1975, October 18, no. 124.

Hodjite: Bereket versin. Dobri pari vzehme
('**Imams: Thank heavens, we took good money**')
14 Anonymous, *Besedi* 1960: 160.

Władysław Chłopicki

Comrade Ragball and a Slimeball as Unique Visions of the Other in Postwar Poland

The focus of the present contribution is on the period of the 1970s in Poland, where democratic, anti-communist opposition started to expand. They developed the free, although clandestinely published press: e.g. *Robotnik* ('Worker'), *Tygodnik Mazowsze* ('Mazowsze Weekly'), *Hutnik* ('Steelworker'), and underground publishing houses proliferated: such as *Aneks* ('Annex'), *Nowa* ('New'), both aiming at spreading the uncensored news and disseminating a wide range of literary and nonliterary works banned by the authorities. According to the available data, the number of illegal press titles published in the period 1976–1989 was 4,338,[1] and 6,315 books were also published[2] (see also Ash 2002). The publications, although focusing on distributing practical information and legal advice, also displayed a satirical strain, which served the purpose of ridiculing the authorities, thus slowly undermining their public image.

In order to understand the reasons behind the explosive growth of illicit publications, the story of communist Poland after the 1956 political thaw and before 1980, when Solidarity was founded, needs to be taken into account as well as the successful story of the Polish underground state from the time of the Second World War (see, e.g. Korboński 1981). Poles generally have had a long tradition of strong opposition against the oppressive state, be it Russian, Soviet, Austrian, or German. At the same time, it has been a peculiarly Polish habit to look at most local, Polish representatives/administrators of the oppressive powers rather leniently as people who strayed away from the path of righteousness and must be helped to get back on it (perhaps via reprimand or ridicule). Thus they were considered to be familiar Others, well-known in terms of their motivations but still unacceptable. This attitude definitely has to do on the one hand with strong national pride of the Poles and on the other with the Polish Catholic tradition and specifically the assumption that everyone can confess their sins (such as betraying their fellows) and repent. The present chapter discusses the special ways of othering those who have strayed, or fallen, by labelling their behaviours in satirical representations and thus keeping distance from them (cf. Demski 2013: 71).

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[1] The data are available at http://www.13grudnia81.pl/sw/kultura-niezalezna/bibula/6010,34Bibula34.html (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[2] The data are available at http://www.13grudnia81.pl/sw/kultura-niezalezna/ksiazki/6710,Ksiazki.html (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

It is particularly important to bear in mind the specific political context of these representations. The 1960s was the time of the ruthless and at the same time mindless rule of the Polish United Workers Party leader Władysław Gomułka, who personally denounced anti-communist writers in his public speeches and was also responsible for the infamous anti-Sionist campaign of 1968. As a speaker he was very distinctive in both intonation and style and thus was often parodied by satirists at the time and later,[3] and the whole period was famously referred to as "dictatorship of the dimwits" by the writer Stefan Kisielewski.[4] One of the artists who is the focus of the present chapter, the satirical poet and writer Janusz Szpotański (1929–2001), was one of those publicly denounced by name in Gomułka's speeches broadcast by the state media. The specific subject of the denunciation was his mock-opera *Cisi and Gęgacze* ('The Quiet and the Gaggers', 1964), which consisted of popular songs with new words, and aimed at ridiculing the communist policies. Gomułka in his speech on March 19, 1968, in the middle of the political turmoil of 1968, describes "some Szpotański, who was sentenced to three years in prison for a reactionary lampoon which oozes the sadistic venom of hatred against our party and against organs of state authority. The work at the same time includes pornographic foulness, which can only be yielded by a man who is stuck in the sordidity of the gutter, a man of the moral status of a pimp"[5] (Gomułka 1968).

Comrade Szmaciak (Ragball) as The Familiar Other

Szpotański developed the unique character Comrade Szmaciak, whose name was derived from the Yiddish word *szmata*, meaning clothes and having many pejorative connotations in Polish, as *szmata* is simply a rag and could only refer to worn out, formless clothing normally used for wiping the floor as the last stage of its life cycle. Metaphorically it refers to a spineless character, not able to withstand any pressure from outside, deprived of a moral backbone; the character was used by Szpotański broadly as an embodiment of People's Poland. His perspective then was that of moral majority, the morally strong, prewar independent nation and those who still subscribe to it in spite of the communist rule. The term could be meaningfully, although only approximately translated into English as *ragball*, which emphasizes its formlessness, although according to *Urban Dictionary* it primarily refers to a person who is drunk, unconscious and lying on the floor, as well as to a person doing stupid things.

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[3] The best known satirical rendering of Gomułka is the skit by Wiesław Dymny in the Piwnica pod Baranami cabaret in Cracow (see the original voice recording at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPt1kzewBVw, last accessed on: September 5, 2016).

[4] He said that during a meeting of the Polish Writers Association on February 29, 1968, in the middle of the government anti-Sionist campaign. He then made a speech to his fellow writers, some of whom were communists or opportunists while others were strongly anti-communist, on hearing that Janusz Szpotański had been sentenced to 3 years in prison. The political divisions among writers led to the splitting of the writers organization in the 1980s and 1990s.

[5] All the translations from Polish are made by the author.

The character of Comrade Szmaciak was developed by Janusz Szpotański in his subsequent publications (e.g. 1977, 1979, 1983), which appeared in underground circulation and were later reprinted in collections of his works (e.g. 1981 and 1990). Some of the publications appeared without illustrations, others were illustrated by anonymous artists. In this chapter I have used illustrations published mainly by Wydawnictwo Myśl in the 1980s and also by Wydawnictwo Nowa in the 1970s and 1980s. There exist other sets of illustrations published by Nowa in their other editions (e.g. Szpotański 1983), but because of space limitations, I have ignored them here.

Comrade Waldemar Szmaciak resides in the town of Pcim (the embodiment of a provincial small town, in fact an actual small town located to the south of Cracow) and is of low social background, which is the cause of his sense of inferiority[6] (in Figure 1 his working class background is illustrated by the caption with the title Comrade and the last name first—the epitome of provinciality: Comrade Szmaciak Waldemar). He is part of the provincial establishment though and serves his party bosses, regardless of the current party line; he is not only malleable but fearful of the stronger and to such a grotesque extent that when physically kicked he falls on his back and raises all fours in a demonstration of helplessness. This is precisely what happens in the mock story of a professional football player that Szpotański includes to illustrate the mind-set of his character. The footballer arrives in his Mercedes on a local field when village boys are playing and shows them his skills, but in the process it turns out that he has very little skill—when confronted by the boys he lies down on the ground, all fours in the air, and apologizes to them, mentioning his difficult childhood and other attenuating circumstances.

Szmaciak's ugly character comes out in his various dreams, which Szpotański's poems describe in detail, contributing to the grotesque nature of the events and images. Szmaciak has many unpleasant features; for example, he is mildly, passively anti-Semitic. Here is a quotation from Szpotański's poetic verse that expresses Szmaciak's unsophisticated beliefs about Others (in my prose translation), while Figure 3 aptly illustrates Szmaciak's own disreputable nature:

> Riffraff gathers all over town
> the question is who is behind.
> Revisionists raise their ugly heads
> no doubt the Jew has sneaked in here
> and can now pull strings.

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[6] It must be borne in mind that the social base of the communist rule in Poland were peasants and the working class, who appreciated and supported the new regime for giving them social advancement. Even though they now had higher, social status they often felt socially inferior to intellectuals not having much formal education. Their frequent reaction to that cognitive dissonance was aggression and alcoholism, just as Szpotański describes it in the character of Szmaciak.

He is also ruthless and ready to sacrifice (*gnoić*; literally, manure) his friends and subordinates. One of them is a semi-illiterate but stubborn peasant character called Deptała ('Trampler'), whom he persecuted and even tortured once with his party comrades. In Figure 4, Deptała is depicted as a peasant wearing rubber boots and overalls, he is also shown as smaller than Szmaciak and leaning forward to show his humility. When Deptała, now a foreman in the plant, comes to see Szmaciak in a dream, Szmaciak reacts in a defensive way because he is afraid that somebody stronger is behind the peasant, and he listens for clues.

Szmaciak would have long slated him
And kicked him out of the door fast,
But the thought keeps pestering him
That someone hid behind the bastard
And sent the imbecile in here
To throw him off his office stool.

Szmaciak thinks hard how to destroy Deptała and hatches a scheme to blackmail Deptała and at the same time use him to ruin the career of the local militia head, whom Szmaciak dislikes intensely. In the end Szmaciak dreams that Deptała and his worker companions gain the upper hand over him, laugh at him, and threaten to slaughter him for meat. When thus threatened, Szmaciak shows his spinelessness and blames his party comrades for all the excesses, thus living up to his name again.

Thus onto his knees he fell
And begs: You won't do that to me!
I'm innocent, I wanted good
But THEY kept forcing me!
How could I have resisted THEM
When I had a pistol against my head?!

At the same time he has grand, although totally surrealistic, plans for his small town—a motorway, industry, an airport, a harbour, a university, museums—all to amaze the world. His plans fall through as might be expected and he has to save his skin. A ragball as he is, Szmaciak does not shy away from more or less illicit businesses—in fact, he is ready to deal with anyone, including the church, if that helps him out. Since the factory he helped build in Pcim has difficulty selling the unnecessary sheet metal, he is planning to start the production of religious paraphernalia, thus showing his opportunism again.

He is also keen to seek pleasure: drink, smoke, and most importantly women. He is particularly keen on the daughter of one of his comrades, whose name is

Rurka ('Little Pipe'; steel plant director) but he fails to win her affection due to his slimy manners:

Mariolka has a mini skirt
Szmaciak excitedly secretes saliva,
so greatly it arouses him
the curvy bust, the shorty outfit
now with a fast, quite rural movement,
he catches her best female part
"Fuck off with your hands, old pig"

Szmaciak's own wife, Helka, is highly pretentious, and also a resentful anti-Semite. At a drunken party with the Rurkas, she gets into a fight with Rurka's wife over the honesty and beauty of their daughters (Fig. 2):

Terrible screams, fingers in hair
In relentless struggle they are panting
Got separated with greatest effort
Szmaciak pulls Helka to the exit
She drags her resistant legs

And shouts: Bitch! Bitch!
He serves her a hefty beating
To force her home.
He tries to sleep and in the bed
her poisoned whisper he can hear:
Rurkowa is a dirty Jewess
her daughter is an all out whore.

During martial law (1981–1983), the actual event was introduced into Szpotański's later poems (1983). Szmaciak becomes an officer and tries to defeat the striking workers in the Pcim factory, who have turned it into a "fortress". While trying to seize the factory, he slips in the mud and falls through a large opening in the factory wall and, as a result, ends up in a pile of rubbish and slime—a symbolic event (Figs 5 and 6).

One of the most characteristic scenes in the poems is a terrible dream of Comrade Szmaciak in which he looks into a mirror and sees a pig snout in it (Fig. 7).

This cannot be, he rubs his eyes,
Thinking that it must still be the hangover
Then drives his nails into his body.
But nothing changes! The snout's still there!
Looks at it critically in the mirror—

no, it is not so tragic after all!
It does not differ from the face that much
So if you pour some Yardley on it,
Put on some cream, and then some powder,
It would be hard to make the distinction
But anyway, what does he care!
In his own Pcim he has respect …
He's got a snout—but of his own will!

Thus we can see that Szmaciak is on the one hand an embodiment of a communist apparatchik of a low level, but on the other he does not care much about ideology and is keen only to serve his own interests. His vices are very much the familiar vices—drunkenness, womanizing, anti-Semitism, inflated ego, opportunism, spinelessness, and so forth. So he is theirs and ours at the same time. This brings him in line with the slimeball of the next section, who takes opportunism one stage further in constructing the reality to meet his psychological needs (Fig. 8).

***Gnida* (Slimeball)**

Indeed the writer Piotr Wierzbicki (b. 1935), who authored the concept and the whole classification of *gnida*s (cf. *Traktat o gnidach* 1979), was under the influence of Szpotański. Literally *gnida* is the egg of a louse laid in the hair of an animal or a human, but in the metaphorical sense it refers to a nondescript individual who is scheming against somebody to damage the person—in other words a *slimeball* (referred to as a slippery, slimy person by *Urban Dictionary*). Gnidas as Wierzbicki defined them were "mainly intellectual characters placeable between red communists and anti-communist opposition. In fact, the majority of the Polish nation". These were defined as "servile non-communists who inhabited Poland from the autumn of 1956 till December 12, 1981"[7] (Wierzbicki 1986 [1979]).

The characteristic feature of a slimeball was not just submissiveness, but using his brains to serve his master in a highly refined way. He serves them with the quiet work of his brain cells. A slimeball stands on two paws and thinks how to justify the situation he has found himself in; in other words, he wants to prove things should be the way they are. He must convince himself his actions are right and in the process he continuously violates his own soul. Importantly, as Wierzbicki argues, a slimeball does what he does mainly out of fear. Serving the reds, he is at heart white, counterrevolutionary, prewar, reactionary, pro-Western, hostile.

[7] On December 13, 1981, martial law was introduced in Poland by General Wojciech Jaruzelski and the communist regime. Thousands of active opposition members were imprisoned and many people died during strikes and in clashes with the police. This constituted a turning point for many people, so far coping with the regime and trying to coexist with it peacefully as "slimeballs" in Wierzbicki's terms. Many then decided to join the opposition and stopped cooperating with the authorities.

If American soldiers entered Warsaw one day driving their tanks, the slimeballs would welcome them with great enthusiasm.

The classification of slimeballs Wierzbicki offered was of interest for its sheer intellectual sophistication. He saw them mainly among the educated city dwellers—the artists, journalists, politicians—regardless of the age and religion. He lists three kinds of artistic slimeballs: a venerable humanist and aesthete, a young avant-gardist, and a middle-aged realist. He also saw slimeballs among communist party members, among loyal citizens in the centre of the political stage, and even among apparent nonconformists and victims of repression. The description and classification is no doubt satirical and exaggerated, but it generally draws upon the behaviour of many Polish intellectuals in the 1950s who, whether under pressure or not, embraced the regime and used their intellectual powers to extol its virtues at a time when many former Home Army soldiers were imprisoned, tortured, and executed.

The slimeball, regardless of its type, was not presented visually as it was a rather complex mental construct, which reflected the complex reality behind it, definitely not of a black-and-white nature. The rare visual presentation on the cover of the book by Wierzbicki (1991) was obviously ironic and metaphorical (see Fig. 10). The book title, *Rozkosznisie* ('The Bliss-Seekers/Sweeties'), was in obvious contrast to the image of a wolf on the cover.

Simultaneously with denouncing slimeballs, Wierzbicki admits that "this is a tragedy of Polish intelligentsia, Polish culture and Poland simply … that we all or almost all are, at least partially, or used to be partially, slimeballs" (1979). Wierzbicki himself was a party member in the 1950s and became a dissident in the 1960s. He recalls his own slimeball behaviour—as a "non-conformist slimeball" he wrote strong essays, often unpublished, and was afraid of being sacked and not being able to publish his book (much more than of being thrown into prison). He was asked to sign an open letter of the intellectuals targeted at the government a month before the book was to be published—and could not refuse to sign it, as much as he would have liked to refuse, since he was visited at home and wanted to save his face in front of a colleague—the "slimeballish" reasons (cf. Wierzbicki 1991: 64).

Familiar Others and Others

Apart from the slimeball/ragball character, which was the familiar Other in terms of being Polish, local and our own, while also being an opportunist-communist and thus "red" and unacceptable, Szpotański also writes about the real Other, sketching "a representation of the limit of our identity, knowledge and perceptions" (Demski 2013: 72) in his mock poem "Tsarina Leonida and the Mirror" (1979), where the main character, Leonida, is a surreal narcissist, very keen on her appearance. Her characteristic behaviour is her insistence on kissing passionately all of her male guests and then complaining bitterly of their betrayals.

Suddenly a drop of bitterness,
A hideous thought emerges: Sadat![8]
The cold Egyptian pederast,
The cunning and venomous adder!
Didn't he bite my lips with passion?!
Didn't he pretend to be so excited
and put his *ruki*[9] in my pockets?!
And when he took everything out,
The thief showed me the door in the Middle East.

The character was obviously based on that of the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, grotesquely distorted of course. Indeed, Brezhnev had a habit of kissing all communist dignitaries on the lips in greeting them. The poem's culmination comes when Leonida is so delighted with her reflection in the mirror, or so drunk with her self-proclaimed infatuation with Dick (a reference to Richard Nixon), or with cognac, that she strips off all her clothes and stretches in front of the mirror in bliss. When the mirror is asked the ritual fairy-tale question, "(Mirror, mirror, on the wall) Who's the fairest of them all?", her reflection in it suddenly becomes yellow and ugly and the mirror mentions Tsarina Mao. Upon hearing this Leonida experiences such a shock that the whole Kremlin starts trembling as she wriggles naked on the floor in despair. Her subjects start coming in totally confused about what is happening, from which Leonida (Fig. 9) concludes bitterly that the dumb subjects never understand their ruler and must be dealt with severely:

the people are the *svolotch*[10] and shit,
and must be whipped, whipped, and whipped!

Conclusion: Ragballs and Slimeballs in the Contemporary Polish Press

The concepts of *Szmaciak* and *gnida* have gained popularity in Poland over the decades since their first occurrence in the public space. For many dissidents in the 1980s and 1990s, *Szmaciak* was a synonym of an opportunistic grassroots communist party activist and was most frequently loaded with contempt. Nowadays the term is used essentially as a term of abuse in the political struggle between two parties of anti-communist origin—both right-wing: the nationalist, strongly Catholic, and socialist Law and Justice party (in power in the years 2005–2007 and since October 2015) and the liberal, promarket, largely conservative but nonideological Civic Platform (in power in the years 2007–2015). The term *Szmaciak* is mainly

[8] Anwar Sadat, president of Egypt 1970–1981, who is known for loosening close ties with the Soviet Union after the initial rapprochement.

[9] 'Hands' in Russian.

[10] 'Scum' in Russian. In this context the term could also be understood to be labelling people as swines.

used by the right-wing press (especially bloggers) in Poland, who sometimes refer to ragballs when they mean any grassroots opportunistic communists as well as any Civil Platform politicians in order to emphasize their essential leftness (in fact only one faction in the Civic Platform could be called left-wing in ideological terms if at all, although it would perhaps be more appropriate to call it pragmatic). For instance, in the article entitled *The Government of Citizen Ragball*,[11] the journalist denounces the alleged policies of the Civic Platform government of Ewa Kopacz, which consist in using the old, servile party dignitaries, referred to as *szmaciak*s, to achieve her propaganda goals.

The concept of a *gnida* (slimeball) is even more popular and is used by all sides of the political spectrum, naturally, as a term of abuse too. The stimulus for its rise in popularity was Wierzbicki's aforementioned attempt to classify *gnida*s in Polish political life (e.g. 1979). The press occasionally refers with contempt to slimeballs as those (numerous) politicians who change their views to suit those of the winning party—those who don't mind contradicting themselves if that helps their interests and who are ready to put down others to promote their careers. Slimeballs are also terms of abuse of those (again numerous) journalists who lie to manipulate the public—again, to benefit themselves and win support of the powerful. Sometimes, however, it is just a term of abuse; below are three examples from the right-wing press. For instance, in the article *Polish Slimeballs on the Example of Boni, Kurski and Chazan*,[12] the author denounces three figures from across the political spectrum, one of whom is a doctor, for showing a lack of character and various forms of opportunism, although since the paper in which the article appeared is a tabloid, the argument is also rather populist—what matters is to appeal to the public taste by labelling people slimeballs. In another article, a blog entry entitled *Journalist Slimeballs*,[13] the blogger expresses his contempt for those journalists who use lies and manipulations to achieve their goals or those of their editors. Another blogger, in the entry *Media Slimeballs Attack*[14] warns of the approaching years of severe media attacks on the new Law and Justice government in Poland, naturally to be carried out by the spineless slimeballs employed in various commercial media.

Commentators of the other side of the political barricade are subjected to the same type of abuse. One forum user in his entry entitled *To the Pro-Law-and-Justice Slimeball Nicknamed Loosac* accuses his opponent of not knowing the law, the term being used simply to hurl abuse too.[15] A Law and Justice politician was labelled a slimeball in a forum thread that discussed the court rejecting his appeal against the ruling that had said he was guilty of lying about the former President Bronisław

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[11] http://niepoprawni.pl/blog/763/rzad-obywatelki-szmaciak (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[12] http://angora.blog.pl/2014/07/13/gnidy-polskie-na-przykladzie-boniego-kurskiego-i-chazana/ (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[13] http://contestator.blox.pl/2015/05/Dziennikarskie-gnidy.html (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[14] http://naszeblogi.pl/57235-gnidy-medialne-w-natarciu (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[15] http://www.4lomza.pl/forum/read.php ?f=1&i=38809&t=38739 (last accessed on July 15, 2016).

Komorowski (2010–2015) being politically involved in a bankrupt and corrupt financial institution.[16] The term *slimeball* was also used in reference to an actor, a Law and Justice supporter, who had fallen prey to a media provocation, as he was called on the phone by a journalist who introduced himself as a staffer in the Presidential Office and asked the actor to confidentially provide the names of his fellow actors who had been critical of the president so that they could be sent to an earlier retirement. Unfortunately for the actor, he indeed did provide a few names and as a result was labelled a slimeball.[17] Still another blog entry quotes the Civic Platform politician known for his strong, colourful language, who claims that "with the advent of Law and Justice, a golden period has arrived for the slimeballs". Further he argues, very much in line with Wierzbicki, "Slimeballs have always given support and always pointed out they did not belong to the party" and then lists the names of journalists who support the Law and Justice and thus are slimeballs.[18]

Perhaps the most remarkable application of the term *gnida* can be found in the poster (see Fig. 11) prepared as part of the right-wing-inspired boycott campaign launched against the allegedly anti-Polish film *Ida* after it had won an Oscar. The poster plays on the film title, implying that someone in the film or maybe the director himself is a slimeball. The poster says:

> I will not go for/watch **GnIDA**. Ida is a film which falsifies Polish history. Ida is a film from which we *will not find out* that in the years 1939–1945 Poland was occupied by Germany. Ida is a film from which we *will find out* that it is not Germans, but Poles who were guilty of the Jewish Holocaust, that Poles of their own will murder Jews for material gain, that the Stalinist prosecutor Helena Wolińska-Brus was not a murderess, but a victim of the communist system.

Overall, it could be briefly concluded that both terms for the familiar Other, originally introduced by Szpotański and Wierzbicki in their works, have developed and have recently been used much more flexibly than originally, sometimes as general terms of abuse. Thus the labelling strategy (Demski 2013) seems to have lost its initial purpose of keeping distance to those who have strayed but instead has been used indiscriminately to express dissatisfaction.

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[16] http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,28,157173274,157173274, Sad_oddalil_zazalenie_ politycznej_ gnidy_.html (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[17] http://www.pudelek.pl/artykul/84828/aktorzy_i_dziennikarze_o_zelniku_kapus_klamca_i_gnida_ czy_ofiara_mistyfikacji_s/foto_4#s1 (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

[18] http://blogpublika.com/2016/02/20/prof-niesiolowski-o-przeciwnikach-politycznych-gnidy-wszynada-sie-do-hejtstop/ (last accessed on: July 15, 2016).

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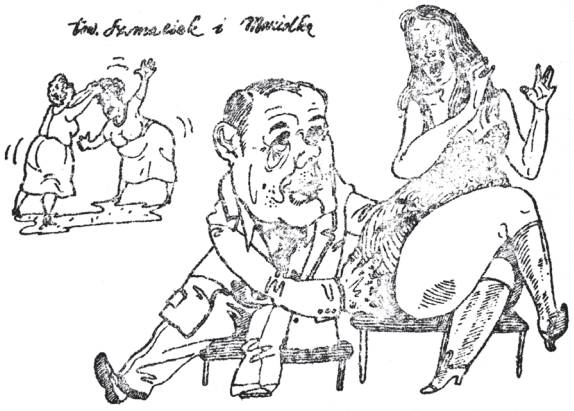
[19] Underground publisher, later Wydawnictwo Myśl.

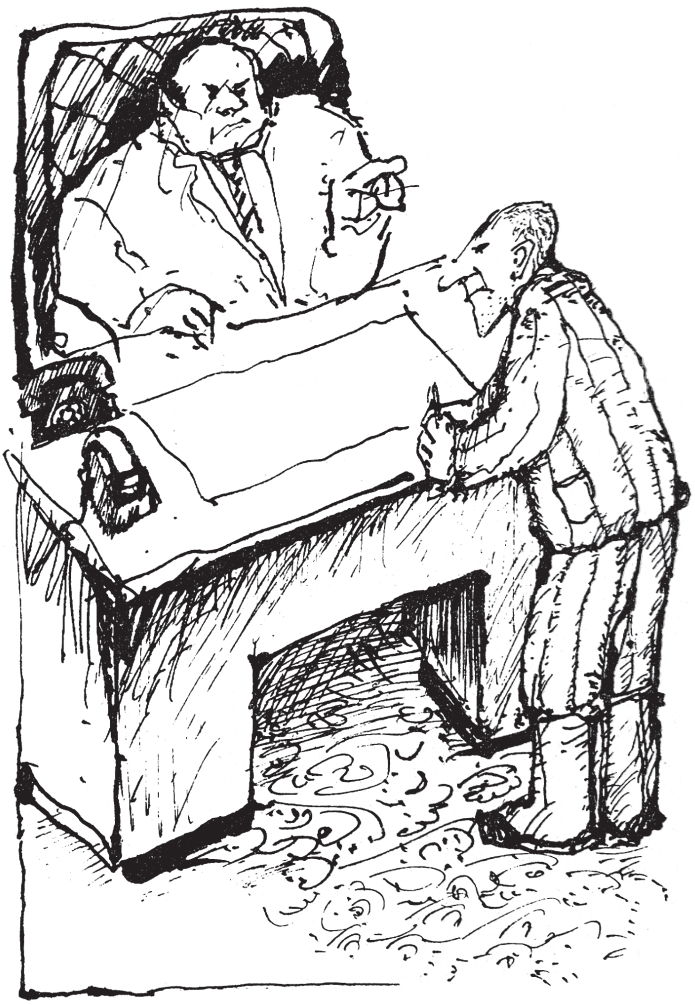
[20] Underground publisher, official since 1990.

1 **COMRADE SZMACIAK IN HIS OFFICE**
Comrade Szmaciak Waldemar
Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański ca 1989).



SZMACIAK HARRASES MARIOLKA
Comrade Szmaciak and Mariolka
2 Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1979).

SZMACIAK THE ANTI-SEMITE
Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1979). 3



DEPTAŁA VISITS SZMACIAK'S OFFICE

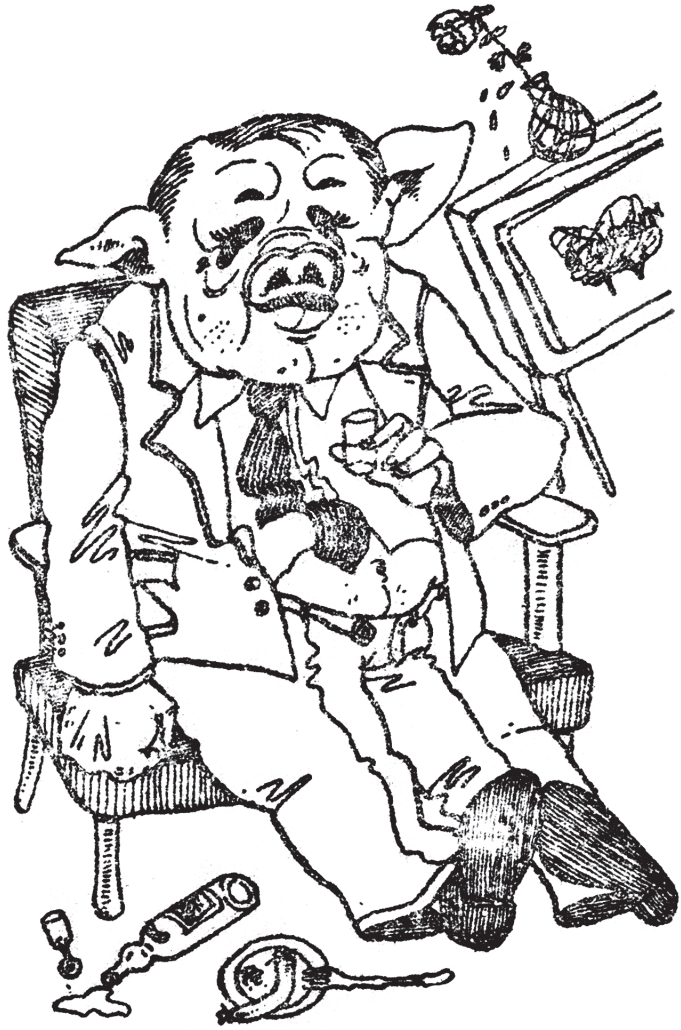
4 Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański ca. 1989).

SZMACIAK AS A MARTIAL LAW OFFICER
Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1989). 5

SZMACIAK THE OFFICER FALLS INTO THE MUD

6 Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1989).

SZMACIAK SEES "HIMSELF" IN THE MIRROR
Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański ca 1989). 7



SZMACIAK THE DRUNK PIG

8 Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1979).

400

TSARINA LEONIDA
Anonymous illustrator (in Szpotański 1979).

10 **SLIMEBALL VISUALIZED AS A WOLF THE BLISS-SEEKER**
Marianna Marek Jaromski, Wierzbicki 1991.

ANTI-IDA POSTER
Anonymous author, http://www.solidarni2010.pl/30271-akcja-nie-ide-na-gn-ide.html, 2015
11 (last accessed on: September 5, 2016).

5. The Construction of Marginals and Outsiders

Christoph Lorke

Constructions of (Non-)Belonging: The Visualization of Marginalized Social Groups in "Actually Existing Socialism"

In the context of the Cold War, the existence of a formative imaginary dimension can be assumed, which determined symbolic and societal interpretative patterns regarding different spheres of the involved Eastern and Western societies (politics, culture, social issues, and daily life; see Eugster & Marti 2015). Taking into account this assumption, this chapter will concentrate on the processes of social and moral engineering in three different socialist states: the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. These processes were mainly orchestrated by the state within the context of the mass media, where the circulation of certain social images can be observed. Through their performativity, they represent the result of the struggle for interpretative dominance over the "appropriate" and socially accepted classification, presentation, and performance of social differences. Thus, the integration of the concept of social images into a historical analysis may offer new insights into the processes of the establishment and mediation of meanings and interpretation. The following discussion seeks to illustrate the relationship between semantic and visual strategies regarding the (desired) social order in the period between the 1960s and the late 1980s. The communist ideal of an egalitarian society was persistently and enthusiastically espoused in the official political culture of the countries in the Eastern Bloc. The Marxist-Leninist approach had no place for social grievances, let alone poverty, and in fact they were even considered as "alien" to socialism. However, certain marginal social groups were constantly present in the socialist state (Lorke 2015). After the phase of de-Stalinization, an orientation towards inner social problems in the decade of the 1960s can be observed in most of the eastern European socialist states due to an economic and political consolidation. As a result, many scientific studies—internal and never widely published but rather "under lock and key"—took a look at the margins of society with the aim to finding out where and why the enforcement of political targets regarding the process of social reproduction were not satisfactorily solved. In the case of the Soviet Union, in spite of all the social improvements under Nikita Khrushchev as the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 30 percent of all blue- and white-collar workers' households could be, relative to Soviet standards, considered to be poor in the year 1965 (Matthews 1972, 1986; for an overview see Neutatz 2013: 445–447; Ivanova & Plaggenborg 2015). In the GDR at the beginning of the 1970s, every third household was living

close to an unofficial, scientifically derived poverty line; amongst old-age pensioners, this figure was 65 percent (Manz 1992: 86–87). For the People's Republic of Bulgaria, where a similar noticeable absence of any reference to poverty as a social phenomenon is remarkable, a few studies have involved social minima and their consequences—even though the term *poverty* was taboo and instead in contemporary analysis one might refer to certain "income differentiations" (e.g. Atanasow 1994; Todorova 1999).

Subsequently, I would like to focus on the politically accepted, forced, and initiated forms of visual representation in the mass media of three different social groups between the 1960s and the late 1980s: old-age pensioners, large families, and the "undeserving poor". As further explained below, in all three societies a substantial part of these groups can be described as social marginalized groups within the investigation period. Therefore, widely circulated official photographs in mass media platforms such as newspapers and magazines have been systematically evaluated and analysed.[1] To determine whether the presented ways of communicating the social were unique for the GDR, it is considered potentially fruitful to provide transnational perspectives comparing deviation from the social norm, ways of imaging it and the expression thereof in symbolic forms across state borders. Taking into account a random sample of visual representations from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria[2] may help to outline bloc-wide modes of visual cultures and discourse logics. Thus, the chapter furthermore examines how similar the visual cultures have been in the whole bloc. In doing so, this chapter considers

[1] The following GDR magazines, journals, and newspapers have been completely reviewed (the main selection criteria being the circulation figure): *Neues Deutschland* ('The New Germany'), *Neue Zeit* ('The New Time'), *Berliner Zeitung* ('The Berlin Newspaper'), *Neue Berliner Illustrierte* ('The New Berlin Illustrated'), *Wochenpost* ('Weekly Mail'), *Für Dich* ('For You'), and *Junge Welt* ('Youth's World'). For media usage in the GDR, see Meyen 2003; Fiedler 2014.

[2] For the Soviet Union, apart from the monthly illustrated magazine *Sovyetskaya Zhenshchina* ('Soviet Woman'), edited by the Committee of Soviet Women and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (published in the GDR in 1971–1990), the monthly and internationally published magazine *Sowjetunion Heute* ('Soviet Union Today') was also analysed. The latter was a highly positive and propagandistic publication, which was published from 1956 to 1991 by the press department of the USSR's embassy in Bonn/West Germany. The giveaway *Sovetskiy soyuz dnes*, printed on high-gloss paper, was one of more than one hundred Soviet self-portrayal magazines abroad and it sought to inform readers about the USSR's culture, economy, science, technique, and sports. For the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a very similar format was systematically reviewed: the German issue of *Balgaria Dnes*, i.e. *Bulgarien Heute* ('Bulgaria Today'), which was published from 1952 until 1986 by Sofia Press. The project was published in many languages and was distributed in more than forty countries. The main task was to inform foreign readers about "our homeland's achievements and natural beauties" (see "Antwort auf Leserbrief eines Lesers aus Dresden", *Balgaria Dnes*, no. 7, 1969) and thus to introduce Bulgaria and its population as hospitable, pleasant, modest, and economical. Due to their idealized representation of the desired social order and the direct propagation (and visualization) of social, political, and moral aspiration, these media are suitable as historically relevant sources for the "actually existing socialism".

itself explicitly as an intellectual suggestion, which may generate further research questions and deeper analysis.[3]

Old-Age Pensioners: Promoting Social Respectability

The most elementary form of social differentiation within the context of state socialism was that based on work activity. There was an expectation that, in regard to the old-age-pensioners, the audience should constantly be aware of their importance as crucial members of society, in order to express gratitude to these "veterans of work". While in the first years after World War II not a few of the elderly were seen by the regime as bearers of the old, 'backward' way of life, this attitude has strikingly changed since the 1960s, not least because of the intensified competitive constellation between the Eastern Bloc and the West. The Cold War was already in full swing and being the more "successful" side in offering more "appropriate" strategies and protection against social risks had an immense importance in this context. Thus, in the mass media soon narratives were established that had to "prove" the pensioners' submissive and humble attitude towards the state authorities. The strong emphasis on work was essential in the GDR "workfare states" (Hockerts 1998: 21) and was obviously addressed to working people. Active and busy old age—this was the central expression strongly underlining the position of honest and long-standing labour. This was nothing other than a reinterpretation of the high rate of pensioners who continued working in the GDR after their retirement, because this was necessary for them to ensure a reasonable standard of living. As a result, work during old age was romanticized and certain stable images could develop—for example, that of the sewing elderly woman.[4] But even "free-time"-activities were supposed to be spent actively, leisurely, and—ideally—collectively rather than alone. This included celebrations, reader circles, dicing, or parlour games.[5] The image of aging collectively as a continuation of the "socialistic community of people" and thus overcoming social isolation was visually outlined in contemporary GDR self-help literature, too (e.g. Eitner 1979) (Fig. 1).

Another important recurring pattern was the constant "inter-generational" visualization—thus, obviously, it should be symbolically proven that older people have excellent knowledge and experience in life and labour, which can be passed on to the youth. By contrast, grandmothers were presented as an important factor in

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[3] For example, it is possible to include the analysis of more local publications, such as daily, weekly, or monthly newspapers and magazines, e.g. the Bulgarian women's magazine, *Zhenata Dnes* ('Woman Today').

[4] This work does not seek to present the full range of all the photographs found but rather to offer a selection of "typical" visual representations. For this case, see H. Hein, "Mit 85 noch nicht zum "alten Eisen"" ('At 85 Still Not on the "Scrap Heap"'), *Berliner Zeitung*, October 30, 1960; R. Scheel, "Erfülltes Leben" ('Fulfilled Life'), *Solidarität* ('Solidarity') 1966.

[5] P. Reinke, "Die aus dem früheren Scheunenviertel feiern Weihnachten" ('Those from the Former Scheunenviertel Celebrate Christmas'), *Solidarität* 1964; M. Freund, "Im Feierabendheim" ('In the Retirement Home'), *Solidarität* 1966.

child care.[6] Altogether, these highly positive forms of depicting pensioners were to take away the fears that could be connected with aging. Idyllic representations like sitting on a park bench together and thus spending the remaining years together were to promote old age "as a new beginning".[7]

A remarkable glossing over of social problems and a notable trivialization of daily life for pensioners during this period can be observed in the TV production *Rentner haben niemals Zeit* ('Pensioners Never Have Time'), with the couple Anna and Paul Schmidt as the main protagonists. The idea of this series was to emphasize the importance of work, permanent helpfulness, and the relevance of old people as central elements for the socialist society in a very humorous way. The production, which was first screened in 1978, was very popular and could always attracted an audience rating much higher than average, and thus it was repeated three times until the year 1990 (Viehoff 2004). Criticism of the symbolic policies regarding the belittlement of the old-age pensioner's life did not hold an important position in the state-controlled media landscape. One of the very rare examples was that of the journalist Barbara Faensen. In her article from the year 1980, she openly belaboured the fussy "biddy" and "granny" language used in the official political context. These forms of communication—including the construction of the "hospital atmosphere" in the retirement homes—would not refer to social care but rather to arrogance, condescension, and disregard towards old age and, thus, would create a dishonest image of this social group.[8]

Apart from that very remarkable exception of strongly ritualized propaganda, one essential feature of the imaging of age—not only in the GDR but in the Eastern Bloc in general—and therefore the construction and media appropriation of self and Other were the permanent and mantra-like repeated contrasts with the demonized "capitalistic West". This imagined opposition becomes strikingly clear in an example from the year 1982. The image is situated on a single page in the main medium of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), *Neues Deutschland*: the one side portrays elderly GDR citizens, active, respected, and salvaged by the state and the rest of the (still working) population, and the other side portrays the experience of being old within the capitalistic sphere, visualized by an older man, seemingly homeless, lying (and/or sleeping) on a park bench in Glasgow[9] (Fig. 2).

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[6] For male pensioners as "teachers" of the youth, see S. Wolff, "Arbeit im Alter" ('Work in Old Age'), *Wochenpost*, September 22, 1972; for women as an inherent part of the children's education see M. Heinrichs, "Oma, was machst'n Du?" ('Grandma, What Are You Doing?'), *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*, vol. 22, 1982; for the Bulgarian case, see Iliev 2001.

[7] G. Skulski, "Das Rentenalter—ein neuer Anfang" ('The Age of Retirement—A New Beginning'), *Neue Zeit*, August 30, 1975.

[8] B. Faensen, "Die niedlichen Alten" ('The Cute Elderly People'), *Weltbühne* ('World Stage'), April 1, 1980; for contemporary observations, see Helwig 1980: 162, 188–189.

[9] K. Wühst, "Ältere Bürger in unserer Republik—aktiv, geachtet und geborgen" versus "Altsein im kapitalischen Alltag …" ('Older People in Our Republic—Active, Respected and Saved', 'Being Old in the Capitalist Everyday Life'), *Neues Deutschland*, February 13, 1982, p. 9.

These characteristic visual and semantic structures may be found in the Soviet Union, as well. As in the case of the GDR, social problems amongst old-age pensioners were not to be shown in the public sphere (for living conditions, see Mücke 2013). Instead, pictures from an Estonian retirement home from the year 1983 should serve as proof of the spacious facilities and generously designed homes (Fig. 3).[10] The sunshine in the photographs further underscores that imagination. Furthermore, libraries and concerts were depicted here as well as in many other examples,[11] as symbols of useful free-time activities. Moreover, parallel comparable forms of visual arrangements are noticeable—pensioners were either photographed alone or, slightly from above, in a group sitting around a table, conversing, or dining together. Any potential problems like loneliness or isolation, not to mention material or monetary difficulties, were by necessity visually absent.[12] In this sense, it can be seen that there was a continuation of the former symbolic forms of depicting old age in the Soviet Union. In particular, the factor of "work" experienced an ideological upswing after 1945 (Lovell 2013). This idea was ideologically and subsequently visually transferred to the Eastern European satellite states. This also included the connection between age and youth: "Misha", appearing in an article from the year 1973, is visiting a circus with his grandfather, and "Alexey", who is doing his mathematics homework, is getting help from his "most important consultant", his grandfather. Other examples focused even more on physical activities such as dancing and gymnastics with the grandchildren. These images should emphasize a carefree life with sufficient pensions and meaningful, socially beneficial occupation without solitude and boredom.[13] The very fact that for many pensioners working in the age of retirement was not merely a joy but very often an absolute necessity was thus transfigured by the state-controlled propaganda (Fig. 4).[14]

A quick glance at Bulgaria, where pensioners also have been a socially suspended group in many regards,[15] may indicate further analogies. A report of a retirement home in Sofia from the year 1961, which is explicitly described and thus contrasted with "the earlier days" as capacious, hygienic, and sunny, with a dining room like an "exquisite restaurant" and noble, lusty, calm, and carefree residents, introduces

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[10] N. Baraschkowa, "Wenn der Lebensabend kommt" ('When the Sunset Years Are Coming'), *Sovyetskaya Zhenshchina* ('Soviet Woman'), no. 5 (1983).

[11] N.N., "Sorgenfreier Lebensabend" ('Carefree Eventide'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 19, 1971.

[12] Virtually an icon for the topic of aging under socialism in general, see N.N., "Begegnung am Lebensabend" ('Meeting in the Old Days'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 2, 1977.

[13] E. Gussewa, "Tätiger Lebensabend" ('Busy Old Days'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 4, 1973; A. Blinow, "Tätig bis ins hohe Lebensalter" ('Active Into the Old Days'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 25, 1980; N.N., "Wenn ein Sowjetbürger in Rente geht" ('When a Soviet Citizen is Going to be Retired'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 5, 1984.

[14] C. Dyson, "Berufstätig auch im Rentenalter" ('Employed Even in the Age of Retirement'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 26, 1981; for further discussions, see Thane 2005: 274–277.

[15] Pensions reached only a value of 25 percent to 50 percent of the amount regarded as necessary to satisfy all basic needs; see Popova 2007: 119; Konstantinov 2001; see also Minkov 1978.

the reader to Maria, who is still "a very interesting conversation partner", in spite of her age. Another woman is presented as the oldest resident at almost 100 years, but "still very strong and sprightly". Examples of working can be found, too: e.g. sewing was obviously transnationally regarded as the most typical female activity for retired persons in state socialism.[16] Previous research has shown that this mode of visualization of different types of "state homes" was undergoing remarkable changes in Bulgaria (Kassabova 2016). The discussed images represent forms of typical standardized ways of staging and thus symbolically upgrading this social group within the public sphere. The blatant public glorification refers to comparable symbols and visual rituals that illustrate attempts at social self-assertion.

Large Families: Between Promotion and Social Scepticism

Until the end of the GDR, various empiric, internally published—and thus only known by a small and selected number of scientists and functionaries—studies concluded that large families were one of the most underprivileged sections of society (for examples, see Lorke 2013, 2015). As an early prototype of an attempt to influence and regulate the social image of large families, one article in the popular *Wochenpost* appeared in 1968, shortly after the initiation of the broad sociopolitical programme meant to benefit families with many children. The presentation of an "ideal" eight-member family combines all the desirable features these families were expected to show. The parents are described as modest, diligent, and orderly; all the children appear happy, intelligent, and musical and are voluntarily helping in the household. The visual arrangement and staging of an intact family life should underline a perfectly standard life following socially expected norms; accordingly, a "worthy" life had to be illustrated by harmony, cleanliness, virtues, and order (Fig. 5).[17]

Apparently, these presentations were meant not only to spread the newest sociopolitical accomplishments and thereby amplify the message itself but also to provide meaningful reference points for the future-oriented, optimistic conviction of the transformability of society under socialism. This campaign was continued and even intensified in the 1970s. The message of the images demonstrated the fundamental value of large families for society by emphasizing their prestige and social respectability. The parents are often introduced as activists with above-average political dedication; without exception they are recruited from the privileged working class.

But this is only one side. Behind all these state-regulated attempts we should not forget that these sources reflect a pro-natalist implication. Since the end of the 1960s we see a significant decline in live births—and not only in the GDR but rather bloc-wide. A look at the birth rate may illustrate the urgency of correspond-

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[16] L. Stanev, "Im Altersheim" ('In a Retirement Home'), *Bulgarien Heute*, no. 12, 1961.

[17] U. Fröhlich, "Sonntagskinder sind sie nicht" ('They Are Not Sunday Children'), *Wochenpost*, March 29, 1968.

ing measures. On the other hand, all the various sociopolitical measures for large families had to be promoted in the public sphere, not least because of a negative attitude amongst the population: images of "good" families as new homeowners were depicted,[18] as well as helpful and very obliging children. The aim was to present the parents of these families as responsible, educated, hardworking, busy, and tidy persons. Other accentuations were important, too, such as cleanliness, edifying leisure and sobriety, norms of sexual behaviour, childrearing, a solid secondary level of education, and an obsession with efficient labour, which was never understood as an individual right under socialism but always as everyone's duty. We also find visual requests for new gender ideas. Fathers are very frequently presented as essential family members when it comes to domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, or buying food, which refers to the imagination of new and ideal gender models in the 1970s and 1980s.[19]

These forms of representation can be understood as an attempt not only to upgrade the public social image of large families and thereby construct a powerful image of a societally accepted "self"; these positive model biographies may also be interpreted as a highly symbolic, didactically presented reference for the Other: the socially deviated families or individuals. Placing these observations in the context of the Cold War, the representations of the Other were often connected with a negative attribution of the "other side", above all decadent, superficial, and materialistic life style, consuming so-called trash and pulp literature and other "typical" Western products, which are "poisoning" young people's minds. Hence, the permanent reference to the situation of large families in the "capitalistic countries" had to be omnipresent—especially representations of West German homeless shelters were often used in order to demonstrate social injustice and inequality and, thus, drastically to outline the mercilessness and drawbacks of the capitalistic system.[20]

The combination of pro-natalist policy and clumsy propagandistic affirmation was not a feature specific to GDR society. We may find many similarities to textual, visual, and symbolic representations of this social group in other societies of

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[18] N.N., "Unsere Bewährte Politik: Soziale Geborgenheit für alle" ('Our Well-Proven Policy'), *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*, no. 41, 1976; H. Behrend, "Kinderreich" ('With Many Children'), *Neue Berliner Illustrierte*, no. 19, 1976; for the sceptics among the GDR population, see Lorke 2015.

[19] A. Döpke, "Eine junge Frau, fünf Jungen und die Post" ('A Young Lady, Five Boys and the Post'), *Berliner Zeitung*, July 2, 1972; "Eine kinderreiche Familie und ihre Bilanz der letzten fünf Jahre" ('A Family with Many Children and Their Balance of the Past Ten Years'), *Neues Deutschland*, October 9 and 10, 1976; C. Wiedl, "Das Sechste meldete sich dreifach an" ('The Sixth Came Three Times'), *Berliner Zeitung*, February 21 and 22, 1981; G. Sindermann, "Vier plus sechs—eine große Familie" ('Four Plus Six—a Large Family'), *Für Dich*, no. 29, 1983; J. Tronicke, "Vierlinge" ('Quadruplets'), *Für Dich*, no. 45, 1985.

[20] E.g. see N.N., "Eine halbe Million Obdachlose für Bonn normal. Bunker, Baracken, Nissenhütten—Attribute der Wohlstandsgesellschaft" ('Half a Million Homeless People for Bonn normal. Bunker, Barracks, Nissen Huts—Attributes of the "Affluent Society"'), *Neues Deutschland*, October 17, 1968; G. Böhme, "Die Verlorenen in der Domstadt" ('The Lost in the Cathedral City'), *Neues Deutschland*, February 28, 1970.

the "actually existing socialism". Analogies to GDR practices of imaging this social group—promoting them as "cultured" and grateful citizens—are astonishingly similar in the Soviet Union (Fig. 6).[21] The politics of the Soviet Union tended towards a glorification of women with many children (Inkeles & Bauer 1961: 202)—a practice that was honoured with awards in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Here social measures were enabled in order to react to the decline in the birth rates and to boost the birth rate among the general (ethnic Bulgarian) population. These measures were intended to support the systematic regulation of society (Ribarski & Velchevska 1969; Brunnbauer & Taylor 2004; Vidova 1987: 27). These processes of "social engineering" have always been associated with a moral dimension. The example of a mother of ten children, who was decorated with the medal of "Maika Geroinia" ('The Heroine Mother')[22] in the year 1970, united all the typical features of staged domestic stories like this. Herself young at heart and "youthful in appearance", her children were introduced as busy and excellent pupils. The oldest daughter graduated from secondary school with honours and is now a student of chemistry—in a way inevitably equipped with a scholarship. Furthermore, the father was presented as an exemplary worker, who was awarded the people's silver medal "Georgi Dimitroff" (Fig. 7).[23]

"Undeserving Poor": Between Visual Absence and Media Omnipresence

The aforementioned examples of visual cultures needed a symbolic counterpart. But how to analyse things, which according to the state propaganda simply do not exist? Detective series provide a very fruitful approach to gain an idea about the "undeserving poor". One remarkable example is the contemporary crime serial *Polizeiruf 110* ('Police Call 110'). Thanks to its authentic presentation, the Sunday evening show regularly attracted audience numbers that were far above average. In the serial, images of criminal and social otherness were remarkably consistent, even perhaps monotonous. Without exception, they were always connected with the attribution "asocial" or "dissocial". Since 1968, the label "asocial" could even have led to prosecution. These—all in all very rare—television images as well found their usually only verbal, exceedingly rarely visual, expression in contemporary press articles. Since the end of the 1960s, when the new penal code was established, a close

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[21] "Sieben aus Wolgograd" ('Seven from Volgograd'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 7, 1962; M. Jessaulowa, "Wie der Staat für die Familie sorgt" ('How the State Cares for Families'), *Sovyetskaya Zhenshchina*, no. 2, 1976; "Brigadierin, Hausfrau, Mutter von vier Kindern" ('Brigadier, Housewife, and Mother of Four'), *Sowjetunion Heute*, no. 3, 1989; for more background information regarding the processes of staging these families and the concept of Kulturnost, see Lorke 2016.

[22] The honorary title "The Heroine Mother", established in 1950, was given to mothers with ten and more than ten children. Mothers with eight and nine children were awarded the medal "Maternal Glory". I thank Anelia Kassabova for this note.

[23] D. Kolev, "Mutter von zehn Kindern" ('Mother of Ten'), *Bulgarien Heute*, no. 3, 1970; S. Sarev, "Eine reiche Familie" ('A Rich Family'), *Bulgarien Heute*, no. 5, 1976.

cooperation between the Ministries of the Interior, the judiciary, and media professionals could be observed. The result was an increasing amount of legal propaganda: in daily newspapers, 3,000 to 4,000 law reports were published per year. Audio broadcasts and television detective shows completed those efforts (Helwig 1985: 144).

The role of the media was to establish and transmit a consistent image of unworthy, lazy, and uncultivated antisocial individuals. The perpetrators presented in the media possessed only limited verbal skills, and they had certain job profiles that situated the characters at the lowest rung of the social structure. Backgrounds and motivations that could lead to juvenile delinquency were outlined frequenty: broken families, bad role models, and an ethos and morality of "non-socialist origin". Moreover, the overconsumption of alcohol played a key role in the construction of social otherness. The pub as a meeting point or bacchanalian house parties symbolized undisciplined, unrestrained behaviour (Korzilius 2005; Lindenberger 2008; for social dissent in GDR detective series, see Lorke 2017).

The presence of social "parasites" has also been a very important feature of the Soviet and Bulgarian media landscape since the 1960s. In press articles, social and juridical documentaries, or crime movies, hooligans *huliganstvo* ('hooliganism'), *tunejadstwo* ('social scroungers') or other forms of "antisocial" behaviour patterns allegorized ex negativo socially undesired and inacceptable conduct (Ustinov & Gledov 1973; Hofmann 2016; Miteva & Giurova 1987). While the textual descriptions of these forms of social otherness were strikingly similar, the "other side" was visually almost absent. Thus, it can be stated that certain "filthy rites" (Greenblatt 1990: 59–79) were, on the one hand, the permanent presence of the "social outsider", who represented individual violations of the "socialist norm" and, on the other hand, were to be kept more or less hidden from the public sphere. Presumably, this contrast was intended to illustrate and subsequently mobilize the audience to believe that crime and social problems are societal atavisms, exceptions, and absolutely "foreign" to socialist nature.

Conclusion

Even in the "advanced socialist societies", noteworthy forms of marginalized groups tended to survive. They were closely associated with their work and with the rung (and the possibility to take part) in the process of social production and reproduction. In addition to the entertainment aspect of mass media, they also contained meaningful symbolic material. From the perspective of the state and party leaders they had to fulfil a "social mission" by communicating shared socialist values, norms, and habits. Based on the aforementioned observations, the constant circulation of certain social images in mass media was as a "transmission belt" and thus could be regarded as a microcosm of the production and reproduction of social inequality. Identity-forming images like those described in this chapter symbolized the "ideal" and politically desired social order. Mass media communicated the preferred patterns of individual behaviour and functioned as socially authoritative

guidelines. Symbolic and real affiliation and nonaffiliation were regulated via language and depictions, which helped to identify internal and external enemies, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to conjure social images of a collective of "orderly" citizens (Jessen 2011). In this context, the visual culture in relation to the social dimension was highly ritualized and morally oriented in the analysed three societies. In this sense, certain social images and their circulation as a media ritual with immense symbolic value could act as "social cement", which stabilized and harmonized the process of collectivization within an imagined socialist community.

Such sources make it possible to deconstruct not only the perception of underprivileged social conditions but also the process of creating the demarcation line between the "self" and the Other. Moreover, they show how social order was negotiated in state socialism—by transmitting positive heroic narratives on the one side and displaying negative deviant biographies on the other. The political intention was to establish socially accepted, "normal" models (Niedermüller 2004: 29) of living in order to regulate, discipline, and control society. On this premise, if the individual behaved properly and proved loyal, he or she was rewarded with the promised social security. Citizens who forfeited this symbolic advancement due to deviant and "incorrect" behaviour had to bear the consequences: verbal-symbolic exclusion, stigmatization, and criminalization. To that effect, one of the key aims of the discussed social and symbolic policies was to create positive images of socially vulnerable but salvaged people in order to offer biographical ideals that could serve as role models and, simultaneously, deter "inappropriate" and deviant lifestyles. Examining how the audience did in fact act is another dimension of this field that needs further study. The noticeable increasing occurrence of certain "subcultures" especially in the last phase of state socialism might suggest a reduction of persuasiveness and the penetrating power of social promises (e.g. Fenemore 2007; Pullmann & Zimmermann 2014). Lastly, social images help us to scrutinize the contemporary schemes for interpreting the social, which often remained unquestioned after the fall of the "iron curtain" and, in many aspects, until today (e.g. for Bulgaria, see Ivanova 1990).

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Illustration to Ruth Scheel's text "Erfülltes Leben" ('Fulfilled Life')

1 *Solidarität*, 1966, pp. 26–28.

Im Blickpunkt

Neues Deutschland / 13./14. Februar 1982 / Seite 9

Ältere Bürger in unserer Republik – aktiv, geachtet und geborgen

Aus der Bilanz der Volkssolidarität in der DDR

In der Volkssolidarität finden ältere Bürger Rat und Hilfe, sie mit der 12. Zentralen Delegiertenkonferenz am 5. & Juni 1982 in Berlin abgeschlossen werden. In rund 14 000 Ortsgruppen werden die Aussprüche ge- und Aufgaben zur weiteren Gestaltung der Solidaritätsarbeit beschlossen. Während der Versammlungen werden 60 000 Bürger in gemeindliche Leitungen gewählt.

Zu Gründungsjahr 1945

Die Volkssolidarität wurde 1945 als Selbsthilfeorganisation zur Überwindung der Kriegsfolgen und geistigen Folgen des Faschismus und Krieg gegründet. Aufträge dazu waren solche Aufgaben wie „Rettet das Kind" in den ersten Land Brandenburg, „Heim der Arbeit" in Mecklenburg sowie Volksküchenhilfe gegen Winternot" sowie „Auf einer Parteiarbeiterkonferenz in Dresden sagte Hermann Matern am 24. Oktober 1945: „Volkssolidarität – das ist der Kampf des gesamten Volkes zur Überwindung der Schwierigkeiten beim Neuaufbau und bei der Neugestaltung unseres Lebens." Der Volkssolidarität gehörte heute über zwei Millionen Mitglieder an. 170 000 Helfer sorgen in Wohngebieten mit für das Wohl und Wohlergehen der Arbeit und Rent-

„Mach mit!"-Taten

Zehntausende ältere Einwohner sind sich noch rüstig fühlen, leisteten weiter Jahr fast 20 Millionen Stunden im „Mach mit!"-Wettbewerb. Sichtbare Ergebnisse wurden beispielsweise bei der Betreuung von Einzelpersonen, der Sammlung von Sekundärrohstoffen und der Pflege von Grünanlagen erreicht. Gegenwärtig sind in etwa 4900 Kennverfolgungen; diesem Jahr sollen weitere 200 abschließen.

Zusatzarbeit in Klubs

Für geselligen Stunden der Rentner gibt es 860 Klubs und Treffpunkte der Volkssolidarität. Sie sind in Ortsgruppen der Organisation oder im Verbund mit 287 000 Veranstaltungen ein, wo zu Veranstaltungsprogrammen, Aufklärungsveranstaltungen, Zehnjahresfeiern Bürger sind in rund 3200 Zirkeln, Interessengemeinschaften, Chören und Singegruppen selbst nach Interesse tätig.

Hilfe für die Nachbarn

Auf dem Konto der Nachbarschaftshilfe, die von Helfern, der Volkssolidarität organisiert beziehungsweise selbst geleistet wird, standen im vergangenen Jahr 23 Millionen Stunden. Dies sind im Vergleich zu 1976 9,6 Millionen Stunden mehr. Von 42 000 Hauswirtschaftsschülern – Mitarbeitern der Organisation – werden gegenwärtig 700 Schwerpunkte älteren Einwohner betreut. Sie versorgen den Haushalt bettlegeter Menschen, erledigen Wege, bringen Mittagessen ins

Mittagessen ins Haus

Von Zahl der täglich durch Klubs, Küche oder Schulen ausgegebenen Mittagessen erhöhte sich von 164 000 im Jahre 1976 auf 180 000 im Jahre 81. Mindes vor fünf Jahren lediglich 36 000 Portionen in die Wohnungen der Rentner gebracht, so ist es derzeit 43 000.

TÄTIGSEIN – ist der erste Grundsatz für die Arbeit der Volkssolidarität. Ein Teil der Rentner unserer Republik erfüllt auf eigenen Wunsch noch berufliche Aufgaben. Dazu gehört der 67jährige Maschinenschlosser Ernst Bäßler vom Kollektiv „Clemens Thiem" im VEB Zahnradbearbeitungswerke in Potsdam. „Geburtstagsfeiern des Monats", bei denen auch das Tanzbein geschwungen wird

GESELLIGKEIT – das zweite Motto für das Wirken der Organisation – bedeutet insbesondere Abwechslung und Freude. Stunden für die betagten Bürger. Beliebt sind wie im Klub der Volkssolidarität Hermsdorf in Potsdam „Geburtstagsfeiern des Monats", bei denen auch das Tanzbein geschwungen wird

FÜRSORGE – diese Seite hat als dritter Gesichtspunkt für die Volkssolidarität besonderes Gewicht. Die Hilfe, in Zimmer spezialisierter Schwestern, gilt sich beispielsweise darin wider, daß Rentnerwohnungen wie die von Willy Zieke im Schwerter Wohnbezirk 17 von ältegenen Einwohnern renoviert werden

Foto: ND/Bönner, Eckstein, Rother, Schmidt, Schmidtke

Von der uneigennützigen Phantasie des Rentners Herbert Schroeter

Besuch bei einer Ortsgruppe der Volkssolidarität in Berlin-Treptow / Von Karin Wühst

An einem frühen Januarfreitag läuft ein kräftiger Mann die Hagedornstraße in Berlin-Treptow entlang. Er ist in Eile, denn im Bezirksamt ist ein Mann anzumelden. Bassmannstraße ist nämlich ständig auf dem Kopf. Fenster werden geöffnet. Es ruft „Tag, auch Kommste mal wieder rein?!"

Eine Frau, mit prallen Beuteln und Netzen beladen, bleibt stehen, fragt, ob es bei der Fahrschule bleibt. Der Mann nickt. Eine zweite stellt sich hinzu, sagt: „Mit der Tünnfrühe klappt das jetzt ausgezeichnet." Der Mann lacht. Er heißt Schroeter. Nicht Schröder wie sonst. Darauf legt er Wert.

Schroeter will zu dem Rentnerehepaar Conneth in der Hagedorn-Rundfunkstraße. Aufgrund seines hohen Alters, Conneth war seit sechs Jahren nicht am Arm, müssen sie noch oft ans Bett gefesselt bleiben. Und Frau Wieting, die bei ihnen nebenan wohnt, kennt den Palast der Republik auch nur vom Fernsehen her. Schroeter will die Gehbehinderten für die Fahrt gewinnen, die vom Kreisausschuß der Volkssolidarität organisiert wurde.

Sozialpolitik im Haus gebracht

Herbert Schroeter ist seit 1979 ehrenamtlicher Vorsitzender eines Ortsausschusses in Berlin-Treptow und Leiter der Ortsgruppe 041. Territorial exakter: im historisch bekannten Fluggeländeviertel Johannisthal. „Damals, vor drei Jahren, war ich auf der Straße Volkssolidarität doof wie Stulle", sagt er. Man hat es also mit einem Urberliner zu tun.

Zum Bereich der Ortsgruppe 041 gehören 1 200 Rentner, Frauen und Rentner. Ein Teil von ihnen sind 70 Volkshelferinnen benannt. Unter letzteren sind einige Rentnerinnen, aber auch jüngere werktätige Frauen, für die „es allerdings heißt, noch Feierabend noch einmal tätig zu werden. Sie bringen Schroeter in eine sympathische „Fascha-Rolle" und lernten ihn sonnigen an. Vor allem Jene, die zur Leitung des Ortsausschusses gehören. Viele von ihnen sind eingebunden, sie tragen ehrenamtlich seit Jahren den alten Leuten sozialpolitische Maßnahmen unseres Staates gewissermaßen ins Haus.

Das Schroetersche Betreuungsobjekt ist in Bereiche aufgeteilt, jede Volkshelferin hat ihre Straßen und Gebäude. Noch sind sie zu wenig. Man braucht mehr Betreuerinnen. Deshalb ist das ganze Kollektiv laufend am Drücker. Ende 1982, so steht es im Plan des Ortsausschusses, wollen sie insgesamt 30 sein, „denn", sagt Schroeter, „in unserer Gesellschaft wird der Fürsorge für die Alten immer umfassender. Ein Ausdruck der Achtung vor ihnen."

Wie Volkshelferwerbung erfolgreich betrieben wird, verstand Schroeter schon in seinem Betrieb, dem Kabelwerk Oberspree, wo er 1979 Parteisekretär wurde. Dort gelang es ihm, die Zahl der Volkshelfer von 12 auf 30 zu erhöhen. Dabei kam ihm zugute, daß er selbst Rentner ist. Er weiß, was Rentner bewegt, was sie wollen, was sie können. Und er weiß, daß sie sich gebraucht fühlen wollen.

Wir verlieren nicht aus dem Auge, daß die Deutsche Demokratische Republik das Werk von vielen Generationen ist. An ihrer Entwicklung haben unsere älteren Mitbürger einen großen Anteil. Sie verdienen die besondere Fürsorge unserer sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Mit der Entwicklung der Republik wird ihr Lebensabend noch stärker als bisher von sozialer Sicherheit und Geborgenheit geprägt sein.

ERICH HONECKER

Die 88jährige Martha Starl aus Leipzig im Bezirk Leipzig

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Die Timuri Horda Zimmermann und Sören Tastaki sind bei Marie Stoebner gern gesehene Helfer

oder den „Geburtstag des Monats". Für die Skier ein Novum: Die Geburtstagsfeier im Klub findet aber vierzehn Tage statt. Ab März wird den hochbetagten Jubilaren ab 70 über den Rundfunk gratuliert. Traditionell am Morgen.

Nicht zu vergessen, wenn am *Gründungstag* der DDR, am 11. Rentner erhalten jeden Tag durch die Volkssolidarität warmes Mittagessen ab 20 Pfennige. „Die Differenzen zu 2,50 Mark? Staatliche Mittel", erklärt Herbert Schroeter.

Wie die Leitung des Ortsausschusses eigentlich nichts angetzt, sind die neun Hauswirtschaftspflegerinnen, die in dem Viertel 19 Rentner täglich versorgen. Die Frauen sind hauptamtliche Mitarbeiterinnen des Kreisausschusses der Volkssolidarität und kochen, waschen, bügeln, kaufen ein für besonders Hilfsbedürftige und solche, die keine Kinder haben. Schroeter hat die Frauenbrigade in den Klub eingeladen, auf gute Zusammenarbeit angestoßen, allen seine Telefonnummer in die Hand gedrückt und gesagt: „Bei Schwierigkeiten gleich anrufen!"

Möglichkeiten für Rührige

Fällt eine Hauswirtschaftspflegerin für kurze Zeit aus – es sind ja vielmals Mütter kleiner Kinder –, ist die Ortsgruppe Mitinitiator für eine „einspringende" Volkshelferin. Die bewährte Nachbarschaftshilfe wird angekurbelt, auf deren Konto 1981 knapp 7000 Stunden gebucht werden konnten. Eine Möglichkeit für Rührige, im vergangenen Jahr waren es Charlotte Grap und Esther Schulz, das „Ehrenzeichen für vorbildliche Nachbarschaftshilfe" zu erhalten.

Eine weitere Variante. Den Alten helfen Junge. Timuri, Man kann sie durchaus als außerordentliche Werktätige bezeichnen. Sie bringen Fischen weg, Müllemer Hunter, Kohlen hoch, Wünsche zu REWATEX. Hardo Zimmermann, 19 Jahre, ist seit letztem September im Einsatz bei der Rentnerin Marie Stoebner. Er kennt Schroeter, natürlich. „Alle kennen Herrn Schroeter", sagt Hardo Zimmermann, „der begleitet doch jeden Pionier das erste Mal zur Pflegestelle."

Kulturell Treff im alten Konsum

Herbert Schroeter hat einer Ader fürs Besondere", bestätigen seine Gäste im Klub in der Greifstraße. Er verfügt über ölüberigen, knorrigen Humor und förmerliche Phantasie. „Der hat uns soweit für die Kultur gefangen", gesteht Rentner Alfred Wallat. „Mondmal will man zu seinem Glück gezwungen werden." Zum Glück sind sie Kultur stillen bei Ihnen „Dampferfahrten auf der Havel und Kahnpartien durch den Spreewald, Tierparkwanderungen. Dabei werden Filme gedreht. Beim Vorführen im Klub liegt sich dann der ganze Saal vor Vergnügen. Es ist in der Tat ein Vergnügen, wenn sich Rentner selbst mitbringen mit neuer Videotechnik ins Schaufenster: „Club Gendwaiser Kirsch", Fritz und Franz Kirsch waren Johannisthaler Artistenkinder.

Dort treffen sich donnerstags dreißig bis vierzig Leute, schätzen zufrieden Kaffee, ab und an mal festen Wässerchen. Auch schon deshalb, weil Frau Mindhalke, 82jährige Stammgast im Klub, verbreitet: „Jeden Tag einen Kognak, immer in Bewegung und in Gesellschaft, dann hält man sich jung." Genau hören die Alten naturwissenschaftliche URANIA-Vorträge, praktische Ratschläge von Ärzten und Juristen. Tage der Frauenbrigade mit Helga Hahnemann und Schlagerstar Frank Schöbel sind beliebt. Einen Feierabend und Einkehr mal einen Skat klopfen, tanzen, einen Film ansehen – das alles macht den Klub in der Greifstraße zum kulturellen Treff für vitale Johannisthaler nach schaffenswerten Arbeitsstationen.

Schroeter ist kein Einmann- und schon gar kein Privatbetrieb. Er ist von Anfang an ein gewichtiger Mann und stahl und fällt mit den Volkshelferinnen, Hauswirtschaftspflegerinnen, Timuri, Seinen aktiver Gründerzeit: „Etwas aufbauen, dann abspringen, um der Routine zu entgehen", hat ihm von dieser Mission nicht abbringen können. Die Wahlen der Volkssolidarität sind im Gange.

Altsein im kapitalistischen Alltag...

Mit einem ermutigenden Ausblick auf das kommende Zeitalter für jüngsch Chilcote aus Arizona, USA-Bundesstaat mit 700 000 neuen Jahr begonnen. Dem täglichen Kampf der Rousch Hall". Seine Perspektive ist für die Bezahlung der immens steigenden Kosten. Besonders eine Gruppe gewerkschaftlich Organisierung überaltert seine finan-

Unterhalb der Armutsgrenze

Dr. Peter Andrietzki, Washington

Hilfen. Möglichkeiten. Chilcote schuftet eine regelrechte ärztliche Behandlung sowie eine spezielle Ob. Obwohl er über 23 Jahre lang Ingenieur bei der Marine gewesen hat, reicht seine Altersversorgung für die entsprechende Behandlung nicht aus.

Das ist bereits so, obwohl bereits unterhalb der amtlich festgesetzten Armutsgrenze. Wie die Gewerkschaftsleitung „Solidarität" dazu schrieb, registrierte die USA-Statistik von 1978 bis 1979 unter den rund 26 Millionen älteren Bürgern den krassesten Armutsanstieg, der jemals innerhalb der USA verzeichnungsgruppe aller USA verzeichnet wurde. Alle Anzeichen deuten darauf hin, daß sich die Tendenz im vergangenen Jahr fortgesetzt habe, schreibt das Blatt.

Dollar vom Programm der Gesundheitsfürsorge für ältere Bürger streichen will.

Das gemeinsam mit der Schweiz bestehende Eigentum verkaufte Chilcote vor einem Jahr, weil die Unterhaltung des Hauses zu kostspielig wurde. Er zog in ein Altersheim in der Hoffnung, einen bescheidenen Lebensabend verbringen zu können. „Ich weiß nicht, wo wir jetzt gehen sollen", sagte Chilcote. „All unsere Freunde sind inzwischen von hier fortgezogen. Ich bin sehr in Sorge."

Wie Joseph Chilcote bangen gegenwärtig Zehntausende ältere Bürger der USA um ihre Heim- und anderen Wohnunterkünfte. Die Regierung will unter anderem 52 000 Menschen im Rentenalter staatliche Beihilfen für Mieten streichen. Die Mehrzahl der Betroffenen ist gesundheitlich angeschlagen.

Rund fünf Millionen Menschen, über 13 Prozent aller Senioren der USA-Bevölkerung, leben heute bereits unterhalb der amtlich festgesetzten Armutsgrenze. Wie die Gewerkschaftsleitung „Solidarität" dazu schrieb, registrierte die USA-Statistik von 1978 bis 1979 unter den rund 26 Millionen älteren Bürgern den krassesten Armutsanstieg, der jemals innerhalb der USA verzeichnet wurde. Alle Anzeichen deuten darauf hin, daß sich die Tendenz im vergangenen Jahr fortgesetzt habe, schreibt das Blatt.

Bettelstab für Vereinsame

Frank Wehner, Lissabon

Januarine Julia, 82 Jahre alt, genannt „Tante Joaninha", kriecht zu Bett. Im Schatten des „Sonnenparadieses", als das die Alpgywkolonie im Süden Portugals gepriesen wird. Tief gebückt, das Kopftuch halb über das Gesicht gezogen, um eines ihrer Augen, das blind ist, zu verdecken, betet sie in den Straßen der Stadt Olhão und durchstöbert die Müllcontainer nach Brauchbarem. Ihre „Wohnung" ist nicht Herr werden kann. Enzymnisse erfüllte der Hungerlohn nicht. Nachdem ihr Mann vor zehn Jahren zu einer Operation nach Lissabon gebracht worden war und Monate danach per Telefon die lakonische Mitteilung kam, daß er leider verschieden ist", lebt Joaquina Julia völlig allein. Lediglich mitleidige Nachbarn helfen hin und wieder.

„Tante Joaninha" Schicksal ist nur eines von jenen der 1,7 Millionen Rentner Portugals, die in ihrer überwältigenden Mehrheit, wie „Dr. da Lisboa" schrieb, „von einer Gesellschaft, die ihre Energien aufgesaugt hat, zu Elend und Einsamkeit verdammt sind". 80 Prozent beziehen als Rente nicht mehr als 4500 Escudos (etwa 160 Mark), oftmals weniger. Finanzielle Beihilfen für Wohnung, medizinische Betreuung oder die Benutzung der Verkehrsmittel sind unbekannt. 700 000 Personen, die ehemals in der Landwirtschaft tätig waren, „leben" von einer Pension Rural, einer Landrente, die knapp über hundert Mark liegt. Wenn davon die offiziellen Kosten für den Lebensmittelkorb abgezogen sind, konstatierte der Sozialverband Murgi, macht die Restsumme gerade 60 Mark aus, zu verwenden für Miete, Strom, Wasser, Transportkosten, Kleidung, Medikamente, Unterhaltung. Wer ohne Angehörige ist, wer das Fest der Rechnung, den bleibt nur der Bettelstab.

Nachtquartier im Freien – keine Seltenheit in Ländern des Imperialismus. Unser Foto zeigt einen Obdachlosen in Glasgow (Großbritannien)

Foto: ZB/Mittelstaedt

Ohne Bleibe, ohne Heizung

Reiner Oschmann, London

Vor beinahe fünf Jahren – er war soeben 60 geworden – hatte John Barrett sich Glück gehabt. Dem Londoner Metallarbeiter, für den es gleich vielen seiner Jahrgangs immer schweriger geworden war, „in seinem Alter eine Stelle zu finden", bot sich die Gelegenheit, einen kleinen Gemüseladen zu betreiben.

John Barrett fiel es nicht leicht, auf seine alten Tage umzusatteln, zumal sich die Arbeit bei Wind und Wetter in der kleinen Seitenstraße nahe der belebten Oxford Street doch als recht strapaziös erwies. „Morgens um vier Uhr stehe ich auf, um Viertel sieben beginne ich mit dem Verkauf und bin bis abends noch stehe hier. Nur um die Mittagszeit weed' ich für 'ne Weile von meiner Frau abgelöst. Sie ist arbeitslos, hat Zeit."

Mr. Barrett bekommt ein Viertel des Verkaufserlöses. „Sehr viel davon geht für Kommunalsteuern, Miete und Heizungskosten drauf", sagte der Verkäufer. „Allein die Miete für den Stand ist in den letzten 20 Jahren von 2M Pfund auf 132 Pfund (umgerechnet 550 Mark) gestiegen."

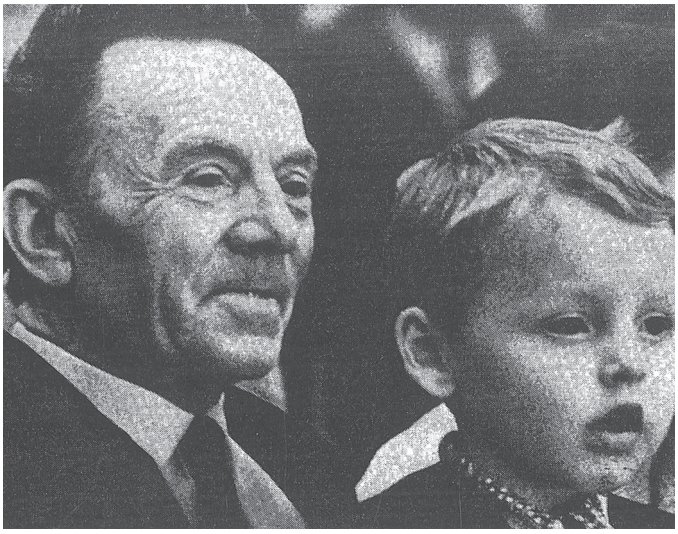
Die noch wachsenden Rechnungen für Miete, Steuern und Heizung sind auch nach Angaben der Organisation „Age Concern", die sich um die Betreuung der älteren Leute bemüht, heute die Hauptsorgen für viele der rund 10 Millionen Rentner Großbritanniens. Besonders dramatisch wirken sich im Winterhalbjahr die Heizungskosten aus. Immer wieder kommt es vor, daß sich Rentner außerstande sehen, die Heizung überhaupt anzustellen. Dies ist der Hintergrund einer Nachricht in der „Times". Die zunächst gemeldete Zahl von 19 Menschen, die allein am Weihnachtstag 1981 erfroren seien, habe sich Ärzten zufolge als „erschöpfte Unterschätzung" erwiesen.

Illustration to Karin Wühst's article "Ältere Bürger in unserer Republik—aktiv, geachtet und geborgen" and "Altsein im kapitalischen Alltag" ('Older People in Our Republic—Active, Respected and Saved' and 'Being Old in the Capitalist Everyday Life')

Binner, Eckstein, Rother, Schmidt, Schmidtke; ZB, Mittelstaedt, *Neues Deutschland*, 1982, February 13, p. 9.

Illustration to N. Baraschkowa's article "Wenn der Lebensabend kommt" ('When the Sunset Years are Coming')

3 N. Belezki and P. Estna, *Sowjetfrau*, 1983, no. 5.



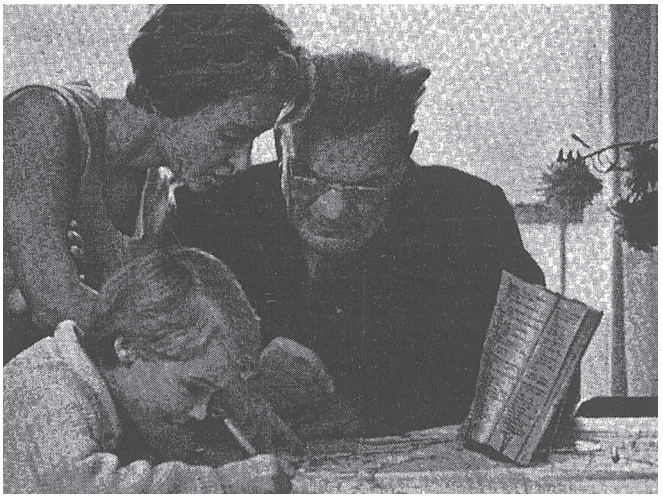


Illustration to E. Gussewa's article "Tätiger Lebensabend" ('Busy Old Days')
A. Makarow/APN, *Sowjetunion Heute*, 1973, no. 4.

Illustration to U. Fröhlich's article "Sonntagskinder sind sie nicht "
('They Are Not Sunday Children')

5 Jagla, *Wochenpost*, 1968, March 29.

Illustration to the article "Brigadier, Hausfrau, Mutter von vier Kindern"
('Brigadier, Housewife and Mother of Four')
V. Tschernov/APN, *Sowjetunion Heute*, 1989, no. 3. 6

Illustration to S. Sarev's article "Eine reiche Familie" ('A Rich Family')

7 W. Gjultai, *Bulgarien Heute*, 1976, no. 5.

Anton Angelov

Zozas, Swings, Hooligans, and Other Personages of "Inappropriate" Behaviour in Caricatures—Bulgaria, 1940s–1960s

Studies of entertainment under the socialist regime in Bulgaria suggest a particular point of view of the time, related to the concepts of popular culture, subculture, leisure, and consumption. The intensive social development after the Second World War resulted in the disappearance of the old sociocultural stratification (Elenkov 2013: 135–136) and the appearance of a new urban society, which, although it pretended to be "socialist" and therefore egalitarian, constructed new hierarchies of power and prestige (Znepolski 2008: 395–402). In this new situation, cultural trends from the old "bourgeois" reality become suspicious and punishable. Moreover, some deviating phenomena, derived from the new status quo in Bulgarian cities, also stirred authorities' attention (Gruev 2014: 59–60). The sensitivity of the authorities towards informal entertainment can be understood through Gramsci's concept of "cultural hegemony"—the rise of a leading social group based on the control of economics and the presence of an attachment to the group of intellectuals that "convince" the society of its ideas (Gramsci 1976: 33–41). In the role of convincing intellectuals in this case would be newspaper editors and caricaturists suggesting the image of "normality". Following this paradigm, the questions this research aims to answer are: What were the visual projections of the official perceptions of inappropriate styles of behaviour? and What were the concrete symbols of improper entertainment and how did they change through the years? The answers would show the means by which mass propaganda could shape the behaviour of the new citizen and would suggest implicitly the regime's own concept of leisure.

The text lays emphasis on the visual representations of the Others' entertainments in the first two decades of socialist development in Bulgaria. The period was characterized with the initial coming to power of the new regime and intensive social changes—nationalization, forced land cooperation, fast industrialization and urbanization. All these were accompanied by new official requirements of morality and behaviour—a spirit of collectivism and devotion to the construction of a common utopia, restriction of individualism, neglecting the individual body and sensuality, and so forth. The pages of the print mass media from those days are good indicators of the attempt to shape people's behaviour, the perception of ethics and etiquette. One of the main techniques for this was the satirization and condemnation of "inappropriate" behaviour and styles of entertainment.

In comparison to the first two decades of the regime, during the second 20 years, Bulgarian society was already primarily urbanized, and a specific form of mutual negotiation between the institutions and social practice took place (Znepolski 2009: 395–480). The representation of the Other in this new situation requires a separate research, observing its specificities in the relations between the authorities, intelligentsia, and society.

The object of this research is to describe the official vision of those kinds of entertainment that were incompatible with the criteria of the regime. For this purpose, published images from the satirical issues of the time will be applied and analysed. As a main source of images we chose *Starshel* ('The Hornet')—a new illustrated satirical newspaper, published since 1946, supporting the official positions of the government of every aspect in its internal and international policy. Its pages were taken up mostly with caricatures, representing in a humoristic manner the dominant discourse on different social and political problems of the day. Through the years, among the pictures on the new changing political, economic, and social reality, some images present "inappropriate" behaviour, lifestyle, and entertainment. Though hyperbolized and manipulative, these pictures can be used as evidence of trends in the social development in the years after 1945. Since the late 50s, the daily *Narodna mladezh* ('People's Youth'), the monthly magazine *Mladezh* ('Youth'), and the weekly *Puls* ('Pulse') also started to publish such satirical pictures concerning entertainment, and they were also used for this research.

The representations of "inappropriate" entertainment in the years until the early 1950s satirize the lifestyle of the former urban elites, accused for relations with or participation in the pre-1944 governments, often qualified as "fascist" by the new authorities, due to its collaboration with the Third Reich. Often appearing in the caricatures are the so-called *zozi* and *suingi* (*zozas* and swings)—stereotype personages of urban youngsters with an emphatic interest in leisure, consumption, fashion, Western jazz music, and so forth. In the Bulgarian context, the word *zoza* comes from *Zazou*—the French youth subculture during the time of the Nazi occupation and the Vichy regime. Those boys and girls preferred American fashion and jazzy music, which was punishable in those days. "Swing" derives from a similar subculture in Nazi Germany (Gadzhev 2010: 94). In Bulgaria of the late 1940s, both words appear to represent the fashionable urban youth—*zoza* for a girl and swing for a boy.

In the images from the second half of the 1940s, these personages are obviously rich—hypothetically, children of influential capitalists and bourgeois. In fact the artists much prefer to depict *zozas*. Most of them are wearing provocative expensive dresses, uncovering their crossed legs, with enormous gingerbread hats and high-heel shoes. They have some coffee or tea, indignantly commenting on the end of the old status quo. These scenes usually take place in wealthy interiors with cushioned armchairs and sofas and heavy curtains (Fig. 1). Some caricatures suggest that these spaces separate and hide the old elites from the masses, the latter mani-

festing on a workers' parade down the street. In fact, they don't recognize the new holidays, such as Labour Day, 1 May Day and Women's Day, March 8. *Zozas* are often in the company of their fat mother or father under whose influence they live.

One of the most popular suggestions in the pictures is also *zozas*' and swings' incapability of doing manual work. In August 1946, the great construction project began for building the national industrial and transport infrastructure using youth brigades. In this context, the stereotype of the not-working children of the former elite is confronted to the "enthusiasm" of the young construction brigade members (Fig. 2). *Starshel* satirizes *zozas*, depicting them working in the brigades with high-heel shoes and heavy makeup or keeping livestock in their bourgeois outfits (Fig. 3). This gloating "revenge" can be associated with the repression and marginalizing of many representatives and whole families of the former elite in rural regions in the country or sending them not just in brigades but to labour camps, which was a reality for some people at that time. Thus, the pictures are not only for fun for the mass public but also a kind of psychological threat and warning for the former high classes.

Though the majority of the caricatures from the second half of the 1940s were concentrated on the *zozas*, the figure of the swings can be also found—usually as young men in smart suits with tight trousers, a hat, small moustaches, sunglasses, a cigarette in mouth. One of the few such pictures presents two swings with their suitcases, entering the army. The picture suggests the contrast between their outfit and behaviour with the reality and purpose of the people's army barracks and, again, their inability to move the body for efforts, for labour, or for defence.

In the drawings from this first period it is hard to find any pictures of what was promoted as "normal" and tolerated by the official discourse entertainment. In the first years after the war, entertainment, the satisfaction of any individual wishes and delivering pleasure seemed to be "inappropriate" as it was opposed to the pathos of the deep social changes, the construction of the new material and moral world, which needed the total mobilization of the masses and the participation of the individual only as a part of the collective. The only possible joy should have been the labour given for the national community, represented by the state.

In 1952–1953 new protagonists stir the renewal of the leisure and entertainment discourse. By the early 1950s in the atmosphere of the great political and social dynamics the relicts of the old world have been already marginalized. But the urbanization, the mass migration from village to the city, gives birth to a new problem for the regime, related to the behaviour and tastes of some of the new, young city dwellers. In contrast to the *zozas* and swings, that category of youngsters is not regarded as relicts from the former urban high classes, though they have some of their features. They are young people in the city, mainly boys in small groups, who can be found in the parks, in the streets, having fun singing loud, playing the guitar, speaking in their own slang, drinking spirits, and smoking cigarettes. The official discourse, which accuses them of disturbing the social order, calls them *huli-*

gani ('hooligans'). One of the first caricatures of hooligans represents such a singing and playing group of boys surrounding and alluring a girl on a bench in a park. In the background a businessman from the old regime and his wife comment approvingly that the boys' behaviour resembles that of their own children. However, these are not their children. They are just personages from the urbanized environment, though not predicted to appear in the socialist urban landscape (Fig. 4).

The stereotype for a hooligan's outfit is a shirt and tight trousers with rolled up sleeves and leggings, specific sneakers with thick flat soles; the hair has been styled. The hooligan is always wearing an acoustic guitar on his back, and sometimes is holding an accordion. The hooligans' expressiveness with gestures, speech, noises, music, and dressing style is obviously outside the prescriptive standards for modest personal behaviour of the time. As a result, they are often compared to exotic animals and birds for their eccentricity, noisiness, and "primitivism" (Fig. 5). The female hooligans are presented mostly as young girls with a specific hairstyle called "pony tail", which was regarded as a kind of revolt against modesty and collectivism (Fig. 6). Sometimes the hooligans' repertoire compete for the official cultural and propaganda channels—for example in one of the pictures, the nonworking radio loudspeakers at the central swimming pool in Sofia redirect the attention of the public to the songs and anecdotes of the hooligans (Fig. 7). This is a case that reveals the striving of the regime for minimizing the intimate, informal cultural exchange in public and to replace it with the official and institutionalized cultural values.

In the second half of the 1950s the hooligans' representation focuses on their antisocial and criminal activities. Beatings in the streets, aggression at dance parties, destroying public property, noisy strolls in the night, and so forth are the context of the caricatures. This trend in the images is a reflection of real events in the big cities, an unexpected result of the great urbanization process following the mid-1950s (Fig. 8). In January 1958, the "Campaign against the hooligans" is initiated by the authorities. The direct occasion for the campaign was an assassination committed by a hooligan in a Sofia tram in late 1957. Then over a thousand persons, who were accused of hooliganism in its quite broad meaning (acts of vandalism, wandering, laziness, moral corruption, alcoholism, provocative outfit, and dancing new Western dances) were arrested and most of them sent to the newly open labour camp near the town of Lovech. The campaign was not hidden from society—on the contrary, it was demonstrated as a necessary measure in maintaining public security by the authorities.

The images in this second period from 1952 to 1958 represent only the Bulgarian folk music and dances as an appropriate kind of entertainment (Fig. 9). Bulgarian folklore at that time was perceived as the culture of the crowd (in fact at that time Bulgarian society was still a prevailingly rural society). Folklore was opposed to the products of the old bourgeois cosmopolitan urban culture—the so called urban folklore and jazz, accused now of being perverse and kitschy.

After the campaign, the hooligan topic in the satirical pictures practically disappears for about 2 years, but the debate on the Western influence among the youth becomes more and more intense—dancing the twist and rock'n'roll around a tape-recorder, singing fresh hits of the West in foreign languages. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the tape recorder becomes a symbol of youth home parties, known in the urban slang as *kuponi* (parties) (Fig. 10). The propaganda starts to use the phrase *magnetofonna mladezh* ('tape recorder youth') (Vuchkov 1963), which was a light version of the hooligans but this time having fun mainly in the private space of the home, because they would be sanctioned to do so in public (Fig. 11). Thus their activities were much more hidden from the public and the authorities, which made them more difficult to control. From the late 1950s and early 1960s, together with the strengthening debate on consumption, leisure, style, fashion, and entertainment, the regime began to focus on the development of a legal national popular culture to replace the foreign pop models, meanwhile releasing to some extent the physical and administrative repression known from earlier times. Some images demonstrate the need for new attractive (but not "decadent" and "twisted") music and dances, to be performed in public places for leisure, especially restaurants. The idea here is to bring the youngsters out of the private spaces of the *kuponi* and to bring their behaviour out in the open so that authorities could keep an eye on the youngsters and their activities.

But the attractiveness of pop culture coming from the West seems to have spread like an epidemic throughout Bulgarian society—even children caught the disease of Westernization, singing Rocco Granata's "Marina" instead of the special children's songs written by the Bulgarian composers. Youth's interest in pop culture was not the only style of entertainment, which was problematic for the official discourse. The specific local traditional culture of the Bulgarian rural pub and its specific atmosphere and tunes were also unacceptable according to the new values. The pub was then formally often related to laziness, low culture, kitschy music, and primitivism. The case of transformation of a rural cinema into a pub is an example of the struggle between the official culture and propaganda on the one hand and the natural tastes of entertainment of the mass public on the other (Fig. 12).

In the new supplement *Puls* to the main youth newspaper *Narodna mladezh*, in the mid-1960s, one can see caricatures and images of Western origin that also satirize the pop culture in the West. In addition to their humoristic and critical content, the very act of publishing of such images suggests to the Bulgarian public the existence of a "progressive, realistic" and maybe even "anticapitalist" critique within Western societies with similar ideas that is not related to the socialist regime. Thus the official anti-pop critique gains a kind of "objectivity" from abroad (Fig. 13).

By the late 1960s, Bulgarian society has already received a strengthening urban profile. This fact and the regime's stability result in a new social situation, a new routine of everyday living (Znepolski 2008: 221–222). The dynamics in modern tastes and expectations from life, especially among the youth, separates them from

their official representative institution—the Comsomol. That makes youngsters further alienated from the regime and the ideology. All this was strongly catalysed after the World Festival of Youth and Students, which took place in Sofia in the summer of 1968, when young Bulgarians were in direct informal contact with youngsters from abroad, including leftist representatives from Western capitalist countries (Gruev 2014: 51–57). That is why we could recon the late 1960s as a turning point of a new page for the youth subcultures in Bulgaria and their visual representations, which deserve a separate research.

What can we conclude from the development of the representations of leisure and entertainment? In the first period, which took place in the second half of the 1940s and the very beginning of the 1950s, there was no pure entertainment to show, but rather an exposure of the stereotypical "sins" of the former elites, which had to be isolated from the political and economic life. The caricatures, of course, tune up the negative public opinion against those classes, but also present the "deserved" revenge on them—doing hard physical labour. In fact the caricatures suggest the need for total mobilization of the masses and do not reveal any correct form of leisure.

In the 1950s, after the marginalization of the remnants of the old elites, the propaganda emphasized some representatives of a new, young urban generation, expressive in their entertainment, having nonconformist and sometimes deviant behaviours, as a result of the mass migration from rural to urban environments, from tradition to modernity connected with acculturation. Though they appear in the pictures in the 1950s as hooligans, we could suppose that they have inherited similar subcultures of earlier times—for example the so called *tarikati*[1] ('dodgers, crooks') on the Bulgarian interwar urban landscape, but because of their lower social origin they weren't in the focus of the new regime's repression, unlike the upper class.

At the time of neutralizing the hooligans in the late 1950s and the perceptible processes of urbanization, there arose the problem of the considerable orientation of the urban youth towards the products of the popular culture of the West. The regime starts to give new nationalist arguments against it, realizing the need for a new modern national form and conformism to its suggestions for entertainment and culture. The latter has the aim to bring the youth out of the private spaces of the home parties and to divert its interest in the West. The development of the new Bulgarian mass culture is a long-lasting process during the 1960s. By the end of the decade its institutions have already been built. From now on they try to replace the models of the West with some adapted for the official values.

[1] A slang for male representatives of the lower and working class in the interwar Bulgarian cities, dodgers, and crooks, showing off with attributes of the upper classes.

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Mladezh = *Младеж* ('Youth'), 1957–1969.

Puls = *Пулс* ('Pulse'), 1963–1970.

Starshel = *Стършел* ('The Hornet'), 1946–1970.

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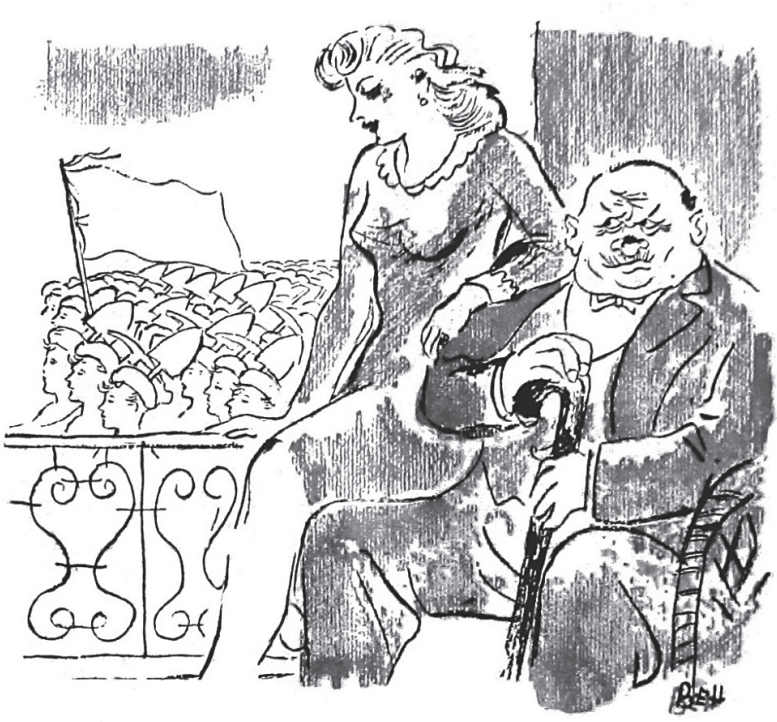
8TH MARCH
- What kind of holiday is this—with banners and posters?
- I associate holidays with liquors and Johnny Walker!

1 Nik Mirchev, *Starshel*, 1947, March 7.



THE YOUTH IS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT

- What are you looking at, Olichka?

- Dad, I am looking at the brigade members, they are so athletic!

- If I grab the walking stick, you will see a *udarnik* as well…

(*Udarnik* means a superproductive worker, the word derives from the Slavic *udar*—'hit')

Starshel, 1947, April 25. 2

EVERY BEGINNING IS DIFFICULT

- Damn it! How strong is the Bolshevik propaganda!

3 S. Venev, *Starshel*, 1947, May 7.

ALL OF A PIECE 4

The former businessman:

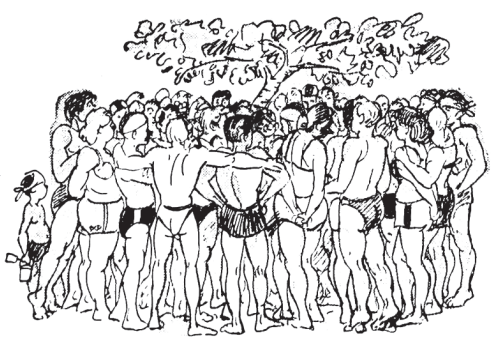
- Look at them, Viki, they are so kind! As if they're our children…

G. Stamboliyski, *Starshel*, 1953, October 16.

A corner in the zoo. **And a corner in one of the parks in Sofia.**

G. Anastasov, *Starshel*, 1953, August 21. 5

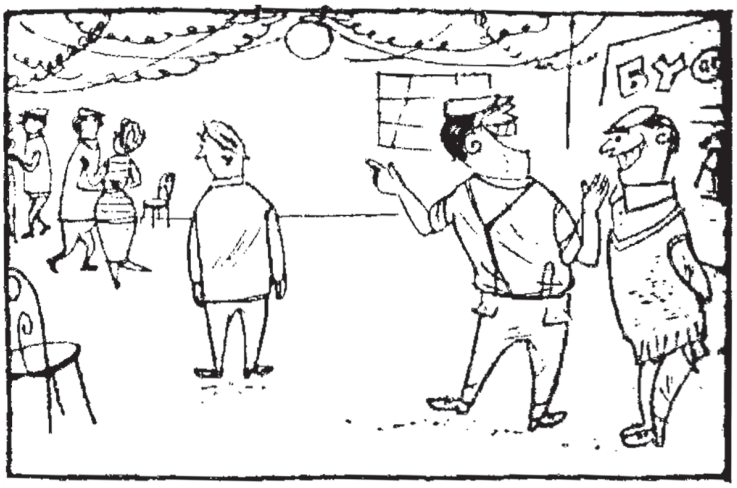
6 **NO COMMENT**
Starshel, 1956, August 31.



As the radio speakers at Sofia central swimming pool are out of order, swings and hooligans often attract public by singing indecent songs.
Leisure… **…without culture**

7 G. Anastasov, *Starshel*, 1951, July 31.

Ha ha ha! Look at him! He's come to the party without a knife… 8
G. Simeonov, *Starshel*, 1958, February 7.

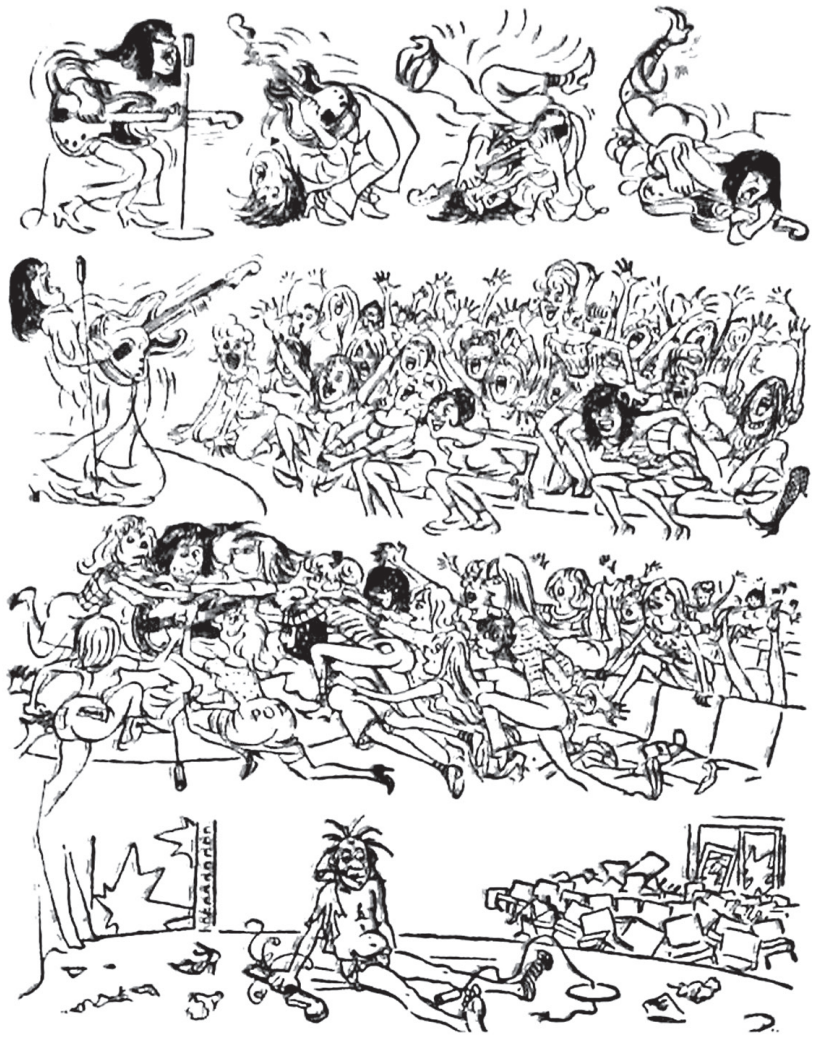


Look at what these Indians dance…
Starshel, 1954, May 14. 9

10 *Mladezh*, 1961.

11 A. Denkov, *Mladezh*, 1961.

THE CINEMA IN THE VILLAGE OF LYAHOVO, PAZARZHIK REGION, TURNED INTO A PUB
- Kino—vino ('cinema—wine'), it's all the same, cheers!
Schmayzer, *Starshel*, 1957, September 27. 12



AN ULTRAMODERN CONCERT THROUGH THE EYES OF THE ARTIST BIDSTRUP

13 *Puls*, 1966, January 25.

Anelia Kassabova

Visualizations of "Hooligans". A Bulgarian Film of the 1960s

On September 13, 1965 the film *Valchitsata* ('The She-Wolf')[1] was screened in Sofia. The subject of the film were the attitudes towards the Other— the "difficult", the "bad and dangerous" youth. For the very first time the topic of a correctional boarding school, *trudovo-vazpitatelno uchilishte* ('labor-educational school', LES), for juvenile offenders became visualized in socialist Bulgaria.

Although the critics noticed "shortcomings" and "weaknesses" of the film, the experts evaluated it as a high achievement of the Bulgarian cinema (Andreykov 1965: 41). Viewed by 1.27 million people (Yanakiev 2003: 299), the film was undoubtedly a success of its time. The critiques indicated the complicated fate of the film and its long road to realization. Less discussed in the 1960s, and nowadays, is the fact that the film was based on a "true story".[2] Scriptwriter Haim Oliver was inspired for the topic and the main characters by real facts, so the film led me to the prototypes.

I shall consider the movie from a cultural-historical perspective that treats films not only from an aesthetic, artistic-creative point of view as visual and textual products but also from a social perspective. The interesting circumstances around the film allow it to be seen in the light of the complex interconnection between visual representation and social reality (Garbolevski 2011). From this perspective the article will offer insight into both the functioning of the complicated process of film making in socialist Bulgaria of the 1960s and the reality of an LES of the same period.

With a view to complement the existing literature, the article is based primarily on archival documents to be found in the Bulgarian Agency State Archives: on the one hand, the minutes of the meetings of the artistic council and, on the other hand, archival materials of the prototype of the school in the film, LES Vranya Stena.

The Long History of the Film Making

The power of images—verbal and visual, static and moving—to transmit certain (political, ideological) messages is used by any government. Authoritarian and totalitarian regimes intensify the pressure on artists, tending to use art as an

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[1] Script-writers Haim Oliver and Rangel Valchanov, director Rangel Valchanov, and operator Dimo Kolarov.

[2] Words of scriptwriter Oliver at a meeting of the artistic council in 1964 (TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 59).

"emotional cannon" for the legitimization of their power and as a powerful means of political education. Because of the high impact of visual images, the different forms of art had to be carefully discussed on many levels by decision makers. With the establishment of the socialist regime in Bulgaria, a state monopoly was formed and put in charge of the production and distribution of films.[3] In Bulgaria, the newly established state production company, D.P. Bulgarska Kinematografia, was placed under the authority of the Committee for Science, Arts, and Culture.[4] The discussions of thematic plans and the decisions whether films should be released or shelved became the responsibility of the so-called *hudozhestveni saveti* ('artistic councils'). The councils comprised the representatives of the various branches of the profession—scriptwriters, film producers, and members of Bulgarska Kinematografia's leadership. Responsible for overseeing the production process, "They soon established themselves as both collaborative institutions and instruments of (self)-censorship" (Ragaru 2015: 106). The minutes and reviews of the film *Valchitsata* yield useful insights for a differentiated picture of these institutions at the beginning of the 1960s—a period of "tangible liberalization of spiritual life" (Hristova 2014: 22; 2005).

Harsh Critique of the Script

The first meeting of the artistic council on the literary script *Valchitsata* took place in May 1963. The script became negatively evaluated by most of the attending film directors and film editors because of "a lack of conception". The script revolved around three main characters: Ana, a 17-year-old adolescent of divorced parents, who—as conveyed through flashbacks—had spent years in correctional schools. In order to find a job after her release, Ana faked her résumé as she says in the movie, "With the forged piece of paper they accepted me at the factory and even promoted me as a shock-worker" (Oliver 1963). But the forgery was discovered and Ana as a minor was sentenced to placement in a labor-educational school. From the courthouse in the capital of Sofia to the correctional school in a remote village, Ana was convoyed by the educator Kirilov—the second main protagonists in the scenario. The first collision between them occurred on their way to the school: provoked by the reckless behavior of Ana, the educator struck her. Violence as educational tool, embodied in Kirilov, was a leading theme in the script. The main conflict was between Kirilov, for whom the students were criminals, and the elderly director of the school, Kondov, who was meant to typify a positive Makarenko-type director, defending the principles of education through trust, introducing the method of self-government, and insisting on respect for the students. For him there are no "other" children, all are "our children". According to

[3] On this process: see Iordanova 2003; Stanimirova 2012; Bratoeva-Darakchieva 2013; Elenkov 2008.

[4] The committee was founded in 1947 with the rank of ministry, and was closed in February 1954. Its main authorities were transferred to the Ministry of Culture.

the scenario, Kondov had been sentenced as a teenager to spend time in the "Home of Humanity",[5] where "children were bound and beaten with whips" (Ibid.: 53). In his character, the clear opposition "before the socialist revolution"—"now, under the new progressive government" was embodied. The clashing attitudes of the director Kondov and the educator Kirilov regarding the treatment of the juveniles and the educational methods were revealed through a series of dramatic situations (fire in the school and police investigation; escape of Ana and another schoolgirl; theft of chocolates from the organized by the students "Collective Honour" shop, which operated without a seller; voluntary return of the runaways and "comrades court"[6] to adjudicate the theft). In the battle between Kondov and Kirilov, Kirilov achieved temporary superiority. Kondov was removed from the post of director. But in defense of him, the schoolgirls escaped collectively from the school and went to the Ministry of Education in Sofia to support their director. Kondov was granted relief by the authorities—prosecutor and militia—and by the Ministry of Education. At the end, the Good triumphed: Kondov continued his mission as director and realized his dream—breaking the fence of the school. Ana found the good way in life and remained in the school.

The nickname of Ana "The She-Wolf" bears the main idea of coming to the school with the identity of a "lone wolf"—drinking, smoking, and rule breaking—at the end Ana becomes a good member of the students' collective. From today's perspective, the scenario leaves the impression of meeting the requirements of "socialist realism", presenting the desired as that which actually exists, with a simple morality—good vs. evil characters—and glorifying the communist values of collectivism. One could expect that the critiques of the artistic council had ideological reasons. Despite the optimistic flavour, the script turned its attention to contemporary juvenile delinquency and the problems with the structure and life of a socialist correctional boarding school. This topic was a contradictory and delicate one, because the Bulgarian Communist Party postulated that crimes and social problems would be eradicated in the new socialist society. Especially, problems in the state socialist institutions for children and youth and the use of violence and humiliating behavior, which in the 1960s could not be explained as "old remnants from capitalism" (presented as having been caused by the previous

[5] The first society for the protection and correction of juvenile offenders in Bulgaria was founded in 1906 by a lawyer in Plovdiv with the aim to protect juvenile offenders by separating them from adult offenders. The first reform institution, *Dom na choveshtinata* ('Home of Humanity'), was founded in 1924 as a preventive institution for children with "criminal predispositions".

[6] The so-called "public" or "comrades'courts" were established in Bulgaria and in the other socialist states in the late 1950s and 1960s, following the Soviet policy (Knuesli 1978). These courts, although they differ in meaning, organization competencies and procedural prescriptions for each socialist country still had the same goals: to provide statutory justice to sanction deviant behavior and to pursue educational impact on the guilty defendants. On the comrades courts in Bulgaria see Brunnbauer 2007; Pimpireva 2003; Pashova 2014.

political system), were until then totally invisible. But contrary to the expectations, the artists examined in their commentaries the literary techniques used to create the aesthetic effects and the messages of the script as schematic, oversimplifying, and over didactic. Film director Lyudmil Kirkov (1933–1995), drawing the attention to the French New Wave and pointing out the 1959 French drama film *The 400 Blows*,[7] labelled the script as "unserious".[8] The critique was a professional one, directed to the dramaturgy of the script—it was not the topic per se that was judged as unserious, but the "didactical and scholastic character and forethought"[9] of the script. Film director Binka Zhelyazkova (1923–2011) and scriptwriter and film director Hristo Ganev (1924–)[10] refused to participate in the making of the film owing to these criticisms. Yet, two artists supported the author: "I feel that if I were the director, this scenario, with all its flaws and imperfections, would incite my enthusiasm and I would work together with the author to complete it." With these words, the poet, writer, and scriptwriter Valery Petrov declared his readiness to work with the author on the script. Film director Valchanov and cameraman Dimo Kolarov, who had already collaborated with Petrov on several movies, took responsibility for making the film *Valchitsata*.

A dozen of meetings in connection with the script of *Valchitsata* took place; the numerous "obligatory and semi-obligatory recommendations" to the script and the atmosphere resembling a "sword of Damocles" (according to Petrov)[11] hanging over the heads of the filmmakers cannot be completely reconstructed since not all minutes of the artistic council are preserved.[12] It took almost a year and a half to get permission to begin shooting the film.

Emotion comes from the excitement and the sincere conviction of the author Oliver, expressed at the meeting of the artistic council in July 1964: "I started writing this script in quite odd circumstances. I visited a school for such children, which is located in Pernik. I was extremely moved by the human fates I met there and just started writing, having nothing concrete on my mind."[13]

From the Script to the Reality

The main scenes in the film *Valchitsata*, such as the scenes showing the work of students at the school; the "Collective Honour" shop, which operated without a seller;

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7 French: *Les Quatre Cents Coups*, a 1959 French drama film, the debut by director François Truffaut.

8 TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 56.

9 Ibid.: 53.

10 Both were committed communists from the 1930s and 1940s, but with already censored films by the socialist regime because of their innovative approaches that did not follow the narrow requirements of socialist realism. On the intellectual's complex relationship with the régime at the end of the 1950s–1960s, see Hristova 2005: 177–218; Stanimirova 2012.

11 TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 47.

12 In the Central State Archives there are only three minutes preserved.

13 Ibid.: 59.

runaways from school; the "Comrades court"; the battle between the school director and educators regarding the pedagogical methods used in the school, were all based on actual conditions and systems in the LES "Violeta Yakova" in the village of Vranya stena.

The girls' LES "Violeta Yakova"[14] in the village of Vranya stena, Pernik region, West Bulgaria—the model for the school in the film— was founded in 1961 after *Zakon za borba sreshtu detskata prestapnost* ('Law for Combating Juvenile Delinquency') was passed (*Darzhaven Vestnik* ['The State Gazette'], February 14, 1958). The enactment of the law followed mass arrests in the winter of 1957–1958 known as "Hooligan action"—code name "Thunderbolt event". During the late 1940s to 1950s, the leaders of the Communist Party and the Bulgarian state, following the Soviet policy, used repression as a tool for securing the functioning of the socialist system for defeating the opposition (Skochev 2012; Gruev 2015). These policies became relatively liberalized during the de-Stalinization in the so-called Thaw of Khrushchev rule, but the uprising in Hungary 1956 reinforced repressive measures. As a formal reason for the "Hooligan action", a murder committed in a metropolitan tram at the end of December 1957 was given. On January 21, 1958, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party decided that the Ministry of Interior would isolate in forced labor camps "the hooligans, blatant and harmful for the public order and tranquility; thieves-recidivists and other decomposed element"[15] (Skochev 2012). Hooliganism was a concept widely used in the propaganda of the Soviet Union during Khrushchev's rule in the second half of the 1950s. The meaning of the term expanded and replaced "class enemy" (Gruev 2015). Former "contra revolutionists" and intellectuals who opposed the regime were labeled hooligans, as were criminals and all youth oriented to Western values—dressing in Western styles, listening to or performing Western music, wearing trendy hairstyles, listening to Western radio stations and so forth. None of the detainees was interned as political prisoners; all were declared hooligans. Intentionally, very different categories of people were put together in the forced labor camps. One of the ways to stigmatize people opposing the regime and to try to force them into obedience was applying to them the fabricated, undifferentiated image of Other, as hooligans, and for girls and women, as the image of immorality, of hussies and prostitutes.[16] Of the 1,328 detainees of the January–February 1958 Hooligan action, 1,145 were sent to forced labor camps, the so called "labor-educational hostels" (*trudovo-vazpitatelno obshtezhitie*), where forced labor was considered the leading "method of reeducation". Of these, 167 were minors; the youngest inmate was 12 years old and 34 were girls (Skochev 2012).

[14] Violeta Bohor Jacob was a partisan and a member of a battle group of the Workers' Party during World War II.

[15] The operation was led by the Deputy Minister of Interior Mircho Spasov; mobilized was the whole staff of the Ministry.

[16] On the politics of the Bulgarian socialist state towards prostitution see Gruev 2015.

According to Bulgarian penal law at the time (the Law from 1896 and the following laws and codex), there were special rules excluding children and minors from criminal responsibility. But the minimum age changed over time—from 10 years in the first Bulgarian criminal law of 1896 (Art. 42) to 12 years in 1943 in *Zakon za sadilishta sa malovrastni* ('Law for Courts for Underage'). The communist regime raised the minimum age for criminal responsibility to 14 years (*Nakazatelen zakon* ['Criminal Codex'] of 1951); youth age 14 to 18 years were excused from criminal responsibility if they lacked the capacity to form the *mens rea* of an offense. Differentiation within two categories, minors (*maloletni*), age 8 to 14 years, and adolescents (*nepalnoletni*), age 14 and 18, was preserved also in the passage in 1958 of *Zakon za borba sreshtu detskata prestapnost* (Art. 10).[17]

The legislative framework reveals many issues. In the period before World War II, the efforts of the Bulgarian Child Protection Union (founded 1924) aimed to put all children at risk, including children with "criminal predispositions", in the full glare of publicity, to evoke wide social sympathy for children's life, to unite the efforts of the institutions, on which the improvement of children's living conditions depended (Popova 1999). This became radically changed with communist legislation. The law for combating juvenile delinquency from 1958 defined the LES as a place for serving sentences and as an "institution for compulsory education" (*zavedenie za prinuditelno vazpitanie*) with the aim "to prevent various forms of crime, violations of legal order and deviations from proper development and education of minors (*maloletnite i nepalnoletnite*)" (Art. 1). This quite unclear definition did not list the acts that might be considered deviant, potentially including everything that someone might consider improper or immoral. The state established a continuous chain of quasi juridical institutions that totally encompassed childhood: specialized commissions, pedagogical rooms for children, LES, homes for temporary accommodation, penitentiary houses. Measures of surveillance over minors were expanded, executed by a semivisible network including the educational institution[18], the *Narodna militsia* ('People's Militia'—police), the juridical institution, the prison institution, and mass organizations as the *Otechestven Front* ('Fatherland Front'), and the *Dimitrovski komunisticheski mladezhki sayus* ('Dimitrov Communist Youth League, Komsomol').

The LES were created as disciplinary total and closed institutions (Goffman 1961; Foucault 1975) according to a uniform model. The schools were gendered (non-coed) and hierarchically structured—power was centralized in the hands of the director. A stated rationale for labor educational schools was that they provided for hooligans a means of reeducation to enable them to become good members of

[17] In 1961 the Law was renamed in *Zakon za borba sreshtu protovoobshtestvenite proyavi na maloletnite i nepalnoletnite* ('Law for Combating the Antisocial Acts of Minors and Adolescents').

[18] The LES were under the authority of the Ministry of Education, the administration of the schools was assigned to the Department of National Education—"Special Schools".

communist society. The children and adolescents had to participate in productive work seen as a key factor in their development. Generally the LES did not provide sufficient preparation for further education at universities. The focus in labor educational schools signified that the Other children were trained to be prepared for manual and industrial work and to become part of the working class. Consequently, these schools were administered inexpensively. All LES were on state budget, but additional resources were needed for meeting the most basic needs of food, clothing, and firewood. Productive labour was combined with school education; preparation in a strict daily regime from 06:00 to 22:00 with tight timing in organized activities was obligatory. Each activity had to be done collectively, in supervised groups. The juveniles were divided in classes according to age and level of literacy. The school programme in the 1960s followed polytechnic school regulations. It followed Todor Pavlov's educational idea that only historical materialism was capable of revealing the true "objective" meaning of historical development, and the current socialist reality is a necessary outcome of the history of the Bulgarian people.[19] In order to promote socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, a class-and-party standpoint (*partiynost*) had to be taken in all school subjects. Not individual but group work predominated in the organization of the LES. Education in vertical collectivism with a strict chain of command was the primary principle, derived from ideas of the most influential individual at that time in Soviet space educational theory and practice, Anton S. Makarenko.

Considered and presented in the public as "dangerous" and as "bad role models" Bulgaria's own Other had to be hidden from public society and be out of sight. The correctional schools were surrounded by fences, walls, or other barriers to prevent escape and to protect the local community. In the 1950s–1960s the trend was to establish these institutions away from cities—in the suburbs and mostly on the outskirts of villages (for girls there were only two LES—in the village of Vranya stena and in the village of Podem, Pleven region. For boys—Rakitovo town; village Godlevo, Blagoevgrad region; village Ivancha, Targovishte region; village Kereka, Gabrovo region; village Kazichene, Sofia region; village Slavovitsa, Pleven region; village Boychinovtsi, since 1974, a town; etc.).

The Concrete Reality

The centralized hierarchical power structure defines the important role of the personality of the director. In order to better understand this role, one needs a thorough insight into both the social conditions under which the school functioned and the life of its director.

Sources of information about the school are official documents (protocols of the meetings of the pedagogical council of the LES, annual plans, reports of the

[19] On the ideology and philosophy of Todor Pavlov see Daskalov 2011.

school inspectors, etc.) and the personal archive of the first and long-term director of the school, Metodi Grancharov (1928–2003), which includes personal documents, correspondence with students, photographs, and his retrospective autobiography, written in 1991. The image built on these sources remains one sided; nevertheless the top-down perspective allows insight into the practices of the LES.

Both Metodi and his wife Nevena Grancharova (1930–2016) lived their childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood in a period of political turmoil and in poor living conditions, both working as teachers at village schools. The Grancharov family were attracted by revolutionary ideas and strongly supported the new regime. At the end of the 1940s, Metodi became a member of *Obsht studentski naroden sayuz* ('Common People's Student Union') and in 1954 entered the Bulgarian Communist Party. Quite probably such membership in the party was a precondition for being appointed to the teaching post of director, for in the same year (1954) Metodi Grancharov was nominated director of the junior high school in the village of Kalotintsi, Pernik region, and he held this position until 1961. In 1961 he was asked by the Bulgarian authorities to become director of the new institution for homeless and delinquent youth. He accepted the position and was transferred as director to the boarding school in Vranya stena. Nevena started working as an educator at the same school. Both worked at the school until 1977 (Grancharova & Dencheva 2003).

The LES was located in a storehouse of a *trudovo-kooperativno zemedelsko stopanstvo* ('agricultural co-operative farm', TKZS) with enough outdoor space. However, the building was old and dilapidated. "The yard was buried in weeds and mud, scattered trees, a broken winnower, piles of manure and stones. ... In the bedrooms [with 23–24 beds, also used at the beginning as classrooms] there are bare walls and half-covered beds. In the refectory there are large tables and wooden benches like in old barracks."[20]

Together with the first few teachers and educators, the Grancharovi made efforts to restore the building. However, poor financial resources limited what could be accomplished. After a few weeks, the first juveniles aged 11 to 18 arrived. Over the years the number of students fluctuated between 60 and 150 per school year. The girls were sent with dossiers from the court or the local commissions for combating the antisocial acts of minors and adolescents—crimes (theft), vagrancy, abuse of alcohol and other substances. Quite often "immoral acts", such as "in friendly relations with coincidentally met youth and men" or "spend[ing] time in restaurants with dubious companions and debauchery",[21] and need of care and protection were reasons to deprive the girls of liberty in the correctional school. Data for the social background of the girls for the first period 1961–1969 are not preserved. Information provided the general data on youth delinquency from the

[20] DA Pernik, F. 1017, op. 1, ae. 1: 12.

[21] Ibid.: 13.

first half of 1963: 57% were working class children, 24% were members of the *TKZS,* 16% were children of staff/officials; 2.5% were children of private craftsmen and private farmers. The political affiliation of the parents is underlined in following way: "13%, members of the Bulgarian Communist Party; 2.9%, members of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BZNS); 1.8%, *bivshi hora* ('former people') [i.e. members of the so-called fascist and bourgeois-parties, former policemen, etc.]; 82%, non-party members; 7.9%, children of moral decomposed families; and 5.4%, children of criminals."[22]

For the period 1969–1974, a statistic shows the following composition of the student population in LES "Violeta Yakova" in the village of Vranya stena: 54% working class children, 16% peasant children, and 30% "children of intellectuals".[23] The generalization of being hooligans, hussies/prostitutes became easily affixed to the whole group of students. The stigma of immorality strengthened the prejudice of the surrounding environment and influenced the identity and the behavior of the inmates of the school. "The rumor of their arrival in the village and the whole region brought much turmoil. [The neighbors] began to lock the doors of yards and houses in the early evening. Everything possible was talked about regarding their hooligans acts, about their antisocial behavior. … Unscrupulous people young and old … adversely affected the behavior of the girls. White-haired drivers rolled cynical heads and stopped near their cars offering services to help the girls to "escape" from the school, offering them money for the journey, and when they managed to convince them, they took advantage of those girls who were perceived as having abnormal sexual behavior. […] The help of the militia was insufficient, and in some cases irresponsible. Many of our pedagogical staff ran often the risk of physical and psychological harassment,"[24] stated the school director Grancharov in his autobiography.

The staff comprised some twenty-five to twenty-seven teachers, educators and craftsmen, and support staff. The difficult working conditions, the work overload, and low pay caused the constant shortage and turnover of the staff. This affected the quality of teaching and hindered proportionate and individualized work with the students.

Gradually the young people started participating in productive work—the fields were utilized for food production (fruit and vegetable garden, livestock breeding) under the guidance of a trained agronomist.[25] At the school workshops were built, where craftsmen trained the juveniles (in sewing and applied electrical engineering).[26] The juveniles worked in the local agricultural co-operative farm

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[22] TsDA, F. 1283, op. 1, ae. 3: 50.

[23] DA Pernik, F. 1017, op. 1, ae. 1: 15.

[24] DA Pernik, F. 1017, op. 1, ae. 1: 13, 21. About the methods of the Ministry of Interior and the People' Militia concerning prostitution see Gruev 2015.

[25] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 1: 111 gr.

[26] Ibid.: 11 gr.

(*TKZS*) and in the forest. The incomes from the production of the different labour activities formed the so-called off-budget account, which was allocated partly for meeting the basic needs of the school, partly for organizing leisure activities, for celebrations of birthdays, for small gifts on various occasions, for the purchase of radio sets and so forth, and partly for personal use of the juveniles after their release (each student had a savings bank account in the *Darzhavna spestovna kasa* ('State Savings Bank').[27]

The aim of behavioral and cognitive indoctrination through the establishment of a normative socialist culture was served through regular lessons such as "Our Future and Communism", "The Socialist Discipline and Its Meaning", and "Moral Purity"[28] and also through concerts, plays, and celebrations on occasions of political state holidays. Patriotic and political-educational excursions and trips around the country were organized in cooperation with the Bulgarian Tourist Union (Fig. 1). Despite clear ideological intentions, these excursions provided the juveniles from the closed institution with both recreational time and new insights.

The retrospective autobiographical narratives of Nevena and Metodi Grancharovi, as well as the archival materials from the 1960s, show the intertwining of theoretical knowledge and practical elements borrowed from the officially recognized, and dominant at that time in Bulgaria, pedagogical systems of Makarenko and Vasyl Sukhomlynsky and also of teachers such as Janusz Korczak[29] (Grancharova 1966; Grancharova & Dencheva 2003). The educational program involved sensitising the students to the beauty of nature, and art—a drama circle, a choir, and a workshop on artistic speech were organized in the very first year. The students were encouraged to find a place near to the school for an annual celebration of a specific school feast on March 22, which was given the name of *Vecher na mechtite i mladostta* ('Evening of dreams and youth').[30] At this place, called *Ezero na mominite tayni* ('The lake of girls' secrets') the students, under the supervision of a master, built a "sun palace" and staged plays of historical content and others such as Cinderella (Fig. 2).

The state politics included meetings and mutual visits to the LES schools throughout the country; since 1962, LES festivals were held annually. These meetings were confined largely within the institution of LES. Despite the restrictions,

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[27] Ibid.: 14.

[28] Ibid.: 8 gr., 9. Combining the philosophy of Todor Pavlov with the implementation of the classical conditioning theory of Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849–1936) a necessary requirement for all subjects was the permanent underlining of the *partiynost* ('class-and- party-standpoint' which meant 'communist party standpoint'). The lack of qualification and training of the teachers led often to ridiculous claims, such as: "The *partiynost* ('class-and-party-standpoint') is violated when precise data are not given, for example, in the story for the 3rd class 'War'. In this story should be explained that the fight between different kinds of weeds and plants is possible but not inevitable as the struggle between the two classes is" (Ibid.).

[29] Korczak's pedagogy was recognized in socialist Bulgaria because of Janusz Korczak's resistance to fascist Germany.

[30] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 1: 6 gr.

the school management was trying to broaden the students' contact with the outside world. Grancharov negotiated special agreements with the theatre in Pernik and the Youth Centre in Radomir to provide the necessary props and clothes for the school activities and tickets for productions at the theatres. In the summers, Grancharov and his colleagues organized summer tent camps at the Black Sea. Although the main contacts remained within the group of students and staff, there were attempts to "demolish the barriers" and to overcome stigmatizing attitudes towards the students.

Collectivism—Personality

The main objective of the LES system was the re-education of students. Following the ideas of Makarenko, Grancharov introduced the principles of self-government in the school. The students had to submit to specific leaders, called commanders, selected by the pedagogical Council (i.e. the school staff of teachers and educators). The juveniles were divided into detachments consisting of ten to twelve persons. The detachments were expected to "take care" of their members while individuals were expected to "take care" of the respective group. The commanders attended a council, which made decisions on important matters. Some decisions were taken at a general meeting at which all the inmates could meet. Different school committees were formed—for cultural activities, for the learning process, for hygiene, for economic issues etc. "Everyone assumes an obligation according to her taste, strength and abilities, but once she assumed it she is obliged to observe it."[31]

In the "struggle against theft and lies", a so-called student cooperative corner—*Kolektivna chest* ('Collective Honour'), a shop without a seller, was established.[32] The comrades' court was used both as a preventive and a corrective penal instrument. A main tool in the establishment of socialist discipline, its major function was to encourage compliance with the leading social-political norms through the use of the pressure of "public opinion". It represented vertical collectivism, based on hierarchical structures of power, that had to lead to moral and cultural conformity. For Grancharov, "the meaning of the comrades' court was a huge thing—through it a sense of responsibility for 'judging', a desire for better understanding the actions and deeds of their companions, and a fear of making mistakes when condemning were cultivated. Condonation, efforts to argue, joy of forgiving others—this is what the Comrades' court teaches."[33] Through the system—a copy of an imagined socialist order of society, with strict order and discipline, and severe limits

[31] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 2: 17–18.
[32] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 1: 5 gr.
[33] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 2: 18.

of time and space—the juveniles had to become genuinely interested in the general running of the boarding school and to internalize the socialist discipline (Fig. 3).

Based on the views of Korczak, an important component of self-government was the establishment of rules to be followed by both staff and inmates. Thus, in 1963, the Council of commanders (12 pupils) suggested that all the staff make a journey and leave the students alone for three days. After discussing it within the council of the pedagogues, the director accepted the proposal, even if the regulation stated that the students in the LES must be under constant supervision. When they returned to the school, the pedagogues were surprised: "The completely cleaned area around the memorial fountain, the gardens, and the whitewashed farm building appealed to us. The dining room was festively arranged. The young cooks had prepared a delicious dinner."[34]

The director, following the prescribed (educational) theories and methods, tried to organize a curriculum of differentiated educational and correctional work with the children, which aimed at establishing positive behavioral models and insisting on showing respect toward every student. But respect and confidence in the students—seen by some of the staff as "others", "hooligans", "immoral"—were not unequivocally accepted. Too much trust was perceived by some members of the staff as hindering the establishment of strong enough discipline.[35] The biggest controversy was the system of self-government and the imposition of "the comrade's court" as educational measures. The comrade's court was a penal practice, but at the same time it aimed to discontinue forms of physical violence inflicted by the staff, such as beatings, closing in the basement, depriving children of food, and by the children themselves. Grancharov was criticized for letting the youth make important decisions through the court and the student's council.

The reality in LES "Violeta Yakova" in the first half of the 1960s was a contradictory one—the strict centralization and hierarchy paradoxically allowed the implementation of (limited) alternative decisions according to the personality of the director.

From the Reality Back to the Film

The reality of the above described real LES provoked Oliver to write the script. The director and the educator had their prototypes, as did the main student character, Ana.[36] The film allows insights into better understanding how a social critique was

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[34] DA Pernik, F. 1017, op. 1, ae. 9: 26–27.

[35] DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 1: 17 gr., 18, 41, 43.

[36] Unlike the information in the archival documents of the boarding school about the director Grancharov, prototype of Kondov, the information about the student-prototype of Ana is scarce, mentioned is only that with 18 years in 1967 (two years after finishing the film), "the prototype of the *She-Wolf* lives and works in the town Yambol" in southeast Bulgaria (DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 1: 19).

raised in an "Aesopean language",[37] which filmmakers had to adopt in order to avoid censorship. *Valchitsata* followed the innovative line characteristic of R. Valchanov, attempting to break with the aesthetic codes of socialist realism. Valchanov worked within an aesthetic and conceptual mode that was decidedly figurative; his work was located in the context of a more general cinematic turn to allegory in the second half of the twentieth century—beyond East and West. There is a narrative to be followed in the film, presenting the main moments in the LES; but it leaves the "true-to-life" storytelling to evoke cinematic parable, operating with such structural elements as black-and-white, the privileging of the fragment, and use of metaphor. The LES boarding school became decontextualized from the concrete situation, thereby, preparing it for "emblematic purposes". The literary scenario was revised—direct ideological messages referring to the progressive role of the Communist Party congresses and the Soviet October revolution, the demonization of capitalism, and others were cut.

Hooliganism

The film was the first attempt to give wider visibility to the problem of hooliganism. Taking into consideration the context in communist Bulgaria at that time, dismantling the communist policy towards the hooligans and questioning the stigmatizing societal attitudes was a statement of high political importance.

The massive building of the courthouse in the capital's centre formed the background for the opening scene of the film. The relatively long scenes and sequences of the court process visually conveyed the power of the state and the lack of respect to the individual as did also the official, strict spatially divided court setting, with the judges in front on a podium and Ana (The She-Wolf) in the dock (Figs 4 and 5).

The adolescent Ana has no opportunity to be heard or to contest any of the allegations against her. Her only way to react is to be insolent, representing by this, symbolically, the idea of independence and freedom. The characters of all students in the LES, especially Ana (the character viewers could positively identify with), were developed in order to undermine the official political image of the "immoral" girl. It is typical of the Bulgarian cinema of the 1960s that the social critique was embedded mostly in female characters.[38] Ana was constructed as a strong character,

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[37] Aesopean language is defined as "a form of literature, like Aesop's animal fables, which veils itself in allegorical suggestions, hints, and euphemisms so as to elude political censorship" (Tyrrell 2000: 3–4). A quotation from an interview in 2006 of director Nikola Korabov: "There was a lot of Aesopean language used, a lot of ambiguity, and our films resembled very much the famous phrase of Jean-Claude Carrière 'the invisible film'. We presented one thing, the public perceived another. The other thing was hidden 'under' the movie". http://www.filmmakersbg.org/art-culture-Nikola-Korabov2.htm (last accessed on: March 7, 2016). For a detailed analyses on art in the 1960s see Hristova 2005; Stanimirova 2012.

[38] An example is the banned film *Ponedelnik sutrin* ('Monday Morning'), directed by I. Aktasheva & H. Piskov, script by N. Tiholov, 1966.

but not in the sense of the ideology. Even her outlook and gestures are polysemantic—her femininity is emphasized through the choice for this character of the delicate actress Ilka Zafirova (Fig. 6).

The gifted, smart and good young girl, easily rejected and stigmatized by the regime as "hooligan", was designed as a character who could uncover the false morality and challenge the system with her behavior. The richness of her character gave the nickname *She-Wolf* additional meanings—liberty and strength. For the role Valchanov chose the student from the *Vissh institut za teatralno izkustvo* ('High School for Theatre Art') Ilka Zafirova, who personally had problems with the authorities because of her nonconforming behavior and way of dressing. So Valchanov could rely on her instinct and spontaneity for playing the role.

The music in the film served several purposes. In important scenes Ana sings contemporary songs (Italian ballad, rock and jazz as for example songs of Rita Pavone, etc.), defined by the regime as decadent. The music allows getting into the emotions of her character and expresses the impulse of Ana to spirituality and nobility. In the same way the music, with its references to the social and cultural "West", was to evoke certain emotions in the audience, criticizing albeit indirectly the narrow norm of the restrictive regime.

Though the main clash between the director Kondov and the educator Kirilov followed a true conflict in the school between director Grancharov and some teachers and educators, in the film it was symbolically raised as conflict between the constructive power/will and the destructive one, between humanity (Kondov) and regression of humanity (Kirilov) (Fig. 7).

The battle between them was polarizing; the main protagonists did not experience a character development in the course of the film. The depth of the conflict is visualized through dialogues and the composition of the dynamic film scenes. Significantly, in this contradictory "duel", the young educator Kirilov, just graduated from university—who as a "product of the new system" should bear the ideas of communism but in fact supported violence—embodied ruthlessness and the formal-bureaucratic pupil-teacher relationship. Personification of the brutal, aggressive careerist, the negative protagonist Kirilov was in the final version of the film complemented by another, also negative, character, the figure of the sports teacher—weak, a non-person "meek, faceless and spineless" (Andreykov 1965: 42)—and also young, a product of the new socialist society (Fig. 8). In the scenes of the "comrades court" in the LES, the stress is on showing its problematic nature, how it evokes feelings not only of guilt but of humiliation and can lead to encapsulation of the self (Fig. 9).

The critique of state politics to isolate the LES is visualized through the symbolism of the fence. In the film, Kondov fights for respect for the students, for the destruction of the fence. The demolition of the fence is one of the many visual allegories in the film. These scenes give an optimistic end to the film; not only direct

political and social critique but also an "intensification of the dark colours" in presenting the socialist society in a pessimistic way could lead to sanctions, so the use of allegories was one possible way to circumvent the censor's vigilance. Allegories are inherently dialectical for the fact that they may present two or more opposing views by appearing to say one thing (Benjamin 1936). The destruction of the fence was a symbol for a necessary internal opening. "This final—the destruction of the fence, the first spontaneous joy …—the question is not about the external destruction of the fence but about the internal opening which is the bigger problem. … For me a sentimental intonation is needed here to let us think in this perspective. The very destruction of the fence is only a request to remain thoughtful, to light a cigarette."[39]

More than 4 minutes of film time were dedicated to the images of the combined efforts of director and students pulling down the fence (Fig. 10). In a short scene, the educator Kirilov and his other incarnation, the faceless and spineless sports teacher, both strong supporters of the school as a prison, both not respecting the students, were both shown shouting "Hurrah" most of all. "This scene is a warning: People, be aware! Learn to recognize them," emphasized one reviewer (Andreykov 1965: 42).

To "remain thoughtful", to "learn to recognize" is an important goal for the film director Valchanov; a goal that he achieved through different artistic techniques. Valchanov was aware of the symbolism of nature—the fence separates the school from the railroad tracks and the road (which can be read as perspectives, openness) and the outside world; it "blacks out white nature so unpleasantly" (Valchanov n.d.: 131). The importance of nature predetermines the shooting of the film in the Cherepish Monastery, situated in the picturesque Iskar Gorge, by the shore of the Iskar River, in the Stara Planina Mountains. With an artistic eye to frame shots, filmmaker Valchanov describes the last shots, when the school director Kondov together with the students fulfil the dream and pull down the fence: "The fence falls and opens up powerful white rocks, now whiter than ever, illuminated by the snow and the sun of laughter. Until now, these rocks were cut by the fence, were terrible, and now ... And the railway is in front of us; and not one but three ... it belongs now to us, to the school ... And the rocks, and the sky—they belong to the school ... To us ..." (Valchanov n.d.: 211–212). The rhythm and pattern of the camera's movement is influential in the film, due also to the master of the black-and-white camera Dimo Kolarov (Fig. 11).

The film can be seen as expressing the faith and hope of the authors for a possible positive development (of the LES, of the cinema process, of the socialist state as a whole). "I dreamed of an exciting film to come out from this script, but it became a belligerent film. It became an honest film, one that fights," stated scriptwriter Oliver.[40] The film is fighting perhaps not against the system but for a more human

[39] Valchanov, TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 50.

[40] Valchanov, TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 48.

version of socialism, which in a totalitarian regime was a political statement. *Valchitsata* is an evidence of a lyrical humanism, but not an idyllic one. The authors of the film were attempting to enrich the society by bringing out into the open and elevating such concepts as freedom, human rights, respect, and hope. The critics of the film in the 1960s give reason to assume that most of the reviewers supported the allegorical style of the work. Having in mind films banned by the authorities because of being classified as "dangerous", one possible way not to evoke doubts in the censorious authorities was to emphasize the (political) "benefits" of the movie for the regime. Therefore cliché phrases were used: "*Valchitsata* is actually an anti-cult [of personality] film; actively fighting for communist morality". At the same time the reviewer stresses the crucial critical moments in the film, which the readers/viewers should analyse and look at in depth; and pointed out that "the idyll of the literary script is destroyed" (Andreykov 1965: 42).

The film *Valchitsata*, which was initially based on a true story shows the complex interplay between art and the reference social reality, between the reference real and the depicted artistic Other. The film directs attention to the reality of an LES and offers the viewer possibility to draw a differentiated picture of the hooligans, their own Other children in 1960s Bulgaria. The film intensifies also the picture of socialist cinema: a picture in which there was censorship, and self-censorship, but also auteur cinema, which, according to the words of film director Valchanov, makes people "remain thoughtful".[41]

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[41] Valchanov, TsDA F. 404, op. 4, ae. 290: 50.

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Excursion to the Rila Monastery
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2 **Theatre play in front of the "Sun palace", 1965**
DA Pernik, F. 705, op. 1, ae. 19.

On the road to Rila town, 1968
3 DA Pernik, F. 1017, op. 1. ae. 18.

The court sentence over a juvenile
Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka. 4

5 **The court sentence over a juvenile**
The actress Ilka Zafirova in the role of Ana, the She-Wolf
Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

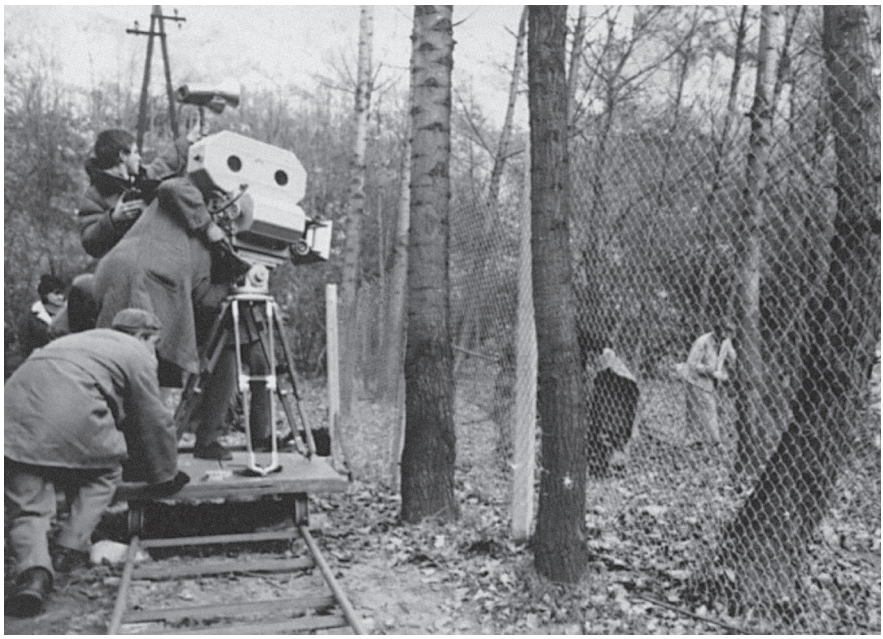
The actress Ilka Zafirova in the role of Ana, the She-Wolf
6 Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

The actor Georgi Kaloyanchev in the role of school director Kondov (in the centre) defending the students against the accusations of educator Kirilov (with white shirt, actor Naum Shopov), who—on the base of their dossiers—saw them only as hooligans
Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka. 7

The actor Boris Sharlandzhiev in the role of the snooping around sports teacher
8 Album of the Film “The She-Wolf”. © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

The comrade's court for theft 9
The actress Krasimira Apostolova in the role of Dalgata Mara ('Tall Mara')
Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

The demolition of the fence
Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka. 10



Film team at work

11 Album of the Film "The She-Wolf". © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

Anssi Halmesvirta

No Unfriendly Facts. The Image of "Blacks" and Soviets in Finnish Caricature 1956–1990: The Case of Kari

Introduction

To begin with, it may be amiss not to define what is meant by a political caricature in this chapter. It is a snapshot, or sharp analysis, of a politically heated moment in time. It shows in real time social and political controversies and reveals their sensitive core. In caricatures, there is no need for explanations or excuses, no watering down the message, as they more often than not express what is usually politically incorrect in a political culture.

This chapter focuses on the caricatures of the most famous caricaturist in Finland, "Kari" (Kari Suomalainen, 1920–1999), who published in the leading, liberal-progressive Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat* ('Helsinki News'), and who was notorious because of how he saw the peculiar character of Finnish political culture from the end of the 1950s until the 1990s. Being politically independent and not tied to the political line of his paper, he was free to ridicule leaders of all political parties, and popular public figures, without inhibition.

As the title *No Unfriendly Facts* suggests, there was a peculiar and an imbalanced relation between Finland and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The countries had signed the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in 1948, whose literal interpretation presupposed that the two nations would, after the Finns had lost the wars (1939–1944), transform from former enemies to "friends"—as if nations could become friends. It was an unwritten law that no unfriendly facts about the status of psychiatry in the Soviet Union or condition of political prisoners or dissidents, for example, in Estonia should be reported and analysed in Finnish media and debated by the public at large. This "friendship" on the Finnish side was guaranteed by President Urho Kekkonen (served 1956–1982) and on the Soviet side, first, by Nikita Khrushchev and, later, by Leonid Brezhnev. This understanding led to the tacit and covert self-censorship in Finland (Lilius 1975) that was a distinct phenomenon of "internal finlandization", meaning not only that Finnish politicians took into account Russian demands in their policies and attitudes but that they used the Soviet card against their political opponents (Halmesvirta 2009a; Kallenautio 2005: 383). In official media and broad sections of popular culture, closely watched by the Kekkonen regime, romanticized and

idealized images of the Soviet Union were cherished. Lenin was made a cult figure, appearing in history writing and in Kekkonen's speeches as the "founding-father" of Finland, and Stalin was called a friend of Finland. In Tampere, there still is the only Lenin museum in Western Europe, mostly visited by American tourists (Halmesvirta 2009b: 417–421).

It is remarkable how this voluntary self-censorship not only was used in depicting Finnish-Soviet relations but was quite widespread in the formation of images or stereotypes also of other foreigners towards whom official Finland was presupposed to be friendly or "helping"—for example, asylum seekers from Africa (Somaliland) or representatives of the so-called developing countries with which Finland had established relations (Tanzania). This policy was vociferously advocated by the greens and the leftists (SDP, Finnish People's Democratic Alliance, Communists) but satirized by Kari as naïve, stupid, and wasteful, because it took away money that could be better spent helping poor Finns.

In Finland, political caricatures became standard material in the leading newspapers when they replaced popular humorous magazines in the 1950s. Readers found the caricatures suiting their political opinions in the paper of their party or other organ of allegiance. This meant also that the rare profession of a salaried cartoonist, a caricaturist, was born. Some party rags and independent papers had their own caricaturist who submitted a caricature at least three or four times a week (Ylönen 2001: 262–263). A skilful caricaturist could become a kind of trademark of the paper, giving it a special flavour, encapsulating otherwise obscure and double-edged political matters in a humorous and easily intelligible way without necessarily following the political line of the paper. Occasionally, a cartoonist could express something the editorial of a paper dare not say.

All main political parties had their own caricaturist from the 1950s on. The Conservative Coalition Party's (Kokoomus) paper *Uusi Suomi* ('New Finland') hired Olavi Hurmerinta (OH); the extreme left had Ilmari Nykänen (Ilmari), propagating communism for Finland; Social Democrats (SDP) had Tapani Kovanen (Stefan); and the Agrarians (Keskustapuolue) had Georg Engeström (Gee). The party-independent paper with the widest circulation in Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat*, enlisted Kari in 1950 (Ylönen 2001: 263). He was in a remarkably independent position, not aligned to any party ideology, and remained in the paper until 1990 when he resigned because one of his cartoons, commenting on the flow of asylum seekers from Somaliland, appeared to insult the Finnish official policy line at the time and was shelved by the editor. Defying official reprimand, the (in) famous Kari was free to have quite a few critical and humoristic caricatures of the "Blacks" and the Soviets published (see illustrations to this chapter and their explanations).

Kari Drawing the Blacks

The task at hand, in this chapter, is to disentangle the messages in Kari's caricatures of the Blacks[1] to reveal how far criticism of "sovereignly democratic" political culture of Finland could go during the period under scrutiny.[2]

Kari made Finnish authorities look ridiculous in showing the way they appeared to deal with specific groups of Blacks. One conspicuous group towards whom official Finland was supposed to be friendly was the Somalis who arrived in the country at the end of the 1980s, fleeing a continuous internal warfare that existed in Somaliland. There were at times also strong and not entirely unfounded suspicions about the rationale of so-called financial help to developing countries like Tanzania, where the money appeared to be used for other than civilian purposes.[3] All such help was pure waste to Kari, who was ideologically a die-hard patriot. He defended such values, dear to the man-on-the-street Finn, as hard work, responsibility, trustworthiness, and truthfulness. He insinuated in the caricatures that asylum-seeking Blacks were insidious-and-deceiving Others, concealing their true motives, blatantly lying, or leaving much unsaid. They were no fools or simpletons for they seemed to know how to cheat the credulous and naïve Finnish officials. Kari caricatured these asylum seekers in such a way that the readership could interpret the messages as true—the opposite of the official truth. What follows is a selection of the most representative caricatures.

Explanation of the Figures

Figure 1

Here one can see Finnish naïveté and credulousness described. The scene is from the reception office for the asylum seekers. The office lady confronts a Somali woman who is telling her story of why she left her home: "An angry wolf hunted me and I had to flee in a chariot made of pumpkin and drawn by mice." The office lady starts crying and says: "Asylum granted."

Figure 2

Two African militiamen discuss. Another one says: "Instead of cutting aid to the developing countries, the Finns cut their defence budget—now we do not have to cut ours." There were some educated left-leaning and green intellectuals in Finland who found Kari's caricatures of Blacks insulting and offensive, and the chairman of

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[1] Kari himself did not use the term *Black/Blacks*, he drew "Blacks" and did not have to name them. At the time his readers would often call Africans either, pejoratively, Negroes (*neekeri*) or, more neutrally, Blacks (*mustat*). The term *Black* is used here neutrally to resemble convention of the epoch.

[2] Sovereignly means here that according to the Finnish democratic form of government the president had considerable powers, e.g. he could dismiss the Parliament and order new elections.

[3] There were widespread but uncorroborated suspicions that the money was used for corrupt purposes and for buying weapons. This kind of material was very attractive to caricaturists.

the Society of Foreigners in Finland, Ahti Tolvanen, submitted a complaint to the Finnish Media Council in late 1990. He stated that the caricaturists had "insulted foreigners living in Finland and also one section of the readership of the paper" (i.e. *Helsingin Sanomat*), evidently referring to green MPs Pekka Haavisto and Heidi Hautala, who had raised the issue in Parliament. Several caricatures from the end of the 1980s did not, in Tolvanen's opinion, represent the views of the majority population and they "instigated prejudices" against asylum seekers by not telling why they had to find refuge in Finland. Tolvanen bluntly classified Kari as a "racist", because he presumably had disseminated the idea that the Blacks were the ones who had contaminated Whites with HIV and were connected to drug dealing and trade of falsified passports.[4] All this offended the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights as it undermined the human dignity of the Blacks. Tolvanen picked up one caricature in particular (December 2, 1990), in which Kari showed how the Blacks were welcomed by the Finnish authorities while poor, homeless, and sick Finnish citizens did not get anything, as most of the provisions had gone into the pockets of the asylum seekers. There was also in the caricature the insinuation that the Blacks had reached Finland via human trade routes. For Tolvanen, the caricature made the asylum seekers the scapegoats for Finnish economic and social problems (Ahti Tolvanen's complaint May 6, 1991. Archives of the Finnish Media Council). This cartoon is depicted in the Figure 3.

Figure 3

On the left, one sees poor Finns and a woman from the Red Cross stopping them from approaching two policemen. In the middle there is a naïve Swedish-speaking Finn expressing the idea that the Somalis should be accommodated in hotels. There are two policemen to whom the Somalis say: "They are friendly here, we have arrived in a land of fools" (in Finnish, *hölmölä* in the caption). On the right we see a foreigner selling falsified passports and trips to Finland. The caricature was based on the suspicions that asylum seekers had come via Moscow, where they had been given money to travel to Finland.

Tolvanen's complaint tested the limits of the Finnish sense of humour versus self-censorship, as it was put before the Media Council, the independent institution controlling the ethics of journalists.[5] The council's decision created a precedent to be followed in future cases of this kind. As its principle was *audiatur et altera pars* (listen to the opinion of the opposite party), it asked from the chief editor of the *Helsingin Sanomat*, Janne Virkkunen, his reply. Virkkunen was able to refer to the journalists' rules specified by the Media Council, according to which a caricaturist like Kari could criticize "sharply and sensationally" any sphere of life and could

[4] Kari called himself a racist in the sense that there were in his opinion intelligent and stupid races, honest and dishonest races, as well as developed and wild races—among dogs (*Helsingin Sanomat*, October 1, 1989).

[5] The author of this chapter was a lay member of the council from 2009 to 2014.

ridicule anybody. Even Blacks were not immune. It was not Kari's art to be "kind or soft". Actually, by his caricatures he revealed the double standard of Finnish public morality, which did not allow the representation of unfriendly facts. Virkkunen pointed out that letters to the editor contained even "worse" (i.e. not publishable) views of Blacks than Kari could express through his caricatures. In conclusion, Virkkunen stated—again following the rules of journalism—that Kari's caricatures belonged to the sphere of "wide freedom of expression", reserved just for caricaturists and columnists. He emphasized that Kari was not a reporter or a research journalist, who had the responsibility to disseminate objective truth. In view of this, neither *Helsingin Sanomat* nor any official authority could censure Kari (Janne Virkkunen's reply May 6, 1991. Archives of the Finnish Media Council).

It is remarkable that the Media Council's decision essentially accepted and even enhanced the argument put forward by the editor of the *Helsingin Sanomat*. The council said that Kari had the "right" to caricature "sharply and sensationally" any current issue in society. Obviously those who had submitted the complaint had underestimated the intelligence of the readership of the *Helsingin Sanomat* since the council added to its decision this concluding clause: "As the readers immediately realized that they were looking at a caricature which expressed the opinion of the caricaturist, Kari's caricatures did not break the good manners (*hyvä tapa* in Finnish) of journalism". The council emphasized that it did not deal with matters of opinion but only kept an eye on the media to ensure that it complied with the council's rules (Decision no. 1702/SL/90, May 6, 1991, Archives of the Finnish Media Council).

After the decision of the Media Council became public, many newspapers in Finland hurried to defend the decision from their own points of view. To cite just one example, the paper *Lapin Kansa* ('Lapland People'), published in Rovaniemi, the capital of Lapland, expressed that the persons who had handed in the complaint had made themselves ridiculous and that the whole matter was tragically comical. The paper hailed Kari as the "truth-teller" who did not conceal unfriendly facts. And even more straightforwardly, the paper said, in his work he fulfilled "the demands of Finnish ethics" *(Lapin Kansa* June 17, 1991). Kari himself commented on the issue with a caricature in which he reacted to the way twenty-eight judicial experts had submitted a complaint to the Ministry of Justice—they were not satisfied with the Media Council's lenient verdict. They wanted the ministry to clarify whether Kari's caricatures of the Somali violated the Law of Printing Rights and whether the caricatures constituted agitation against any distinct ethnic group. In the ministry, the matter was dropped without further ado. Kari himself would have liked to have been heard in court in order to create a precedent for a caricaturist being sued in Finland. Nevertheless, he drew a caricature in which he is standing in front of the court and judges, who are sentencing him "to life-long punishment for expressing opinions" (Kari in *Helsingin Sanomat* January 11, 1991).

Notwithstanding, the *Helsingin Sanomat* finally got enough of Kari. One rather simple caricature of the Somalis overstepped the limit of its line of decency and the caricature was shelved. In consequence, Kari resigned, after 37 years of service, and started a career as a freelance caricaturist in 1991. Figure 4 shows the notorious (shelved) caricature.

Figure 4

Two Finnish policemen come across two Somali refugees. Seeing the Somalis laughing their heads off, one of the policemen is baffled and comments: "I only asked for their visas" (explanation: the Somalis laugh, because they think that asking visas is stupid: they do not need them).

Kekkonen and Khrushchev

Kari could be characterized as deeply conservative. He railed against pornography, sexual freedom, pacifism, and all aspects of feminism and green ideology. He was in a position to overstep the limits of good taste and innocent ridicule, limits that a politician, a political scientist, or a commentator did not dare overstep. This applied also to the Soviets: in Kari's caricatures they used Finns as puppets in their political machinations. Finnish foreign politics appeared to be subjected to Soviet expectations, and their primacy in dealing with power relations also in the internal politics of Finland made him disgusted. Experiences in the wars against the Soviet Union enhanced Kari's anti-Russian attitudes, and he opposed all friendly, brotherly gestures and co-operation with the "Old Foe", thus positioning himself in sharp opposition with the official political line. In addition, he criticized the lowering of the defence budgets and castigated peace movements and ridiculed the "artificial" European Union (it would not help Finland when the Soviets threatened Finnish independence).

During the 1950s there existed the unwritten rule in Finnish media that presidents of Finland could not be drawn in caricatures. When Kekkonen was elected president in 1956, Kari hesitated to start drawing him, but because *Helsingin Sanomat* was not a party paper it allowed him to do so and, thereafter, Kekkonen became Kari's favourite object of ridicule, which he did not only in humorous but also in incisive ways. In many such caricatures Kekkonen featured with "friends", the Soviet leaders; one of the most controversial of such caricatures dates from the time of the so-called Night Frost Crisis in 1958–1959 (Kallenautio 2005: 93–99). It shows Kari at his best, using a caricature to communicate something that cannot be put into words. The context of the crisis was as follows: it started in August 1958 when the government of Finland was "unaccepted" by the Soviet Union. It was because in Finland's government there were right-wing social democrats (nominated by the war-criminal and party leader, Väinö Tanner), and because the Communist Party, which had won the elections, had not gained any portfolios in it. Also one

minister from the Conservative Coalition Party, Niilo Kosola, was persona non grata to the Soviets for he was the son of the late fascist and Russian hater Viljo Kosola (Jussila, Hentilä & Nevakivi 1999: 255–256).

In order to "melt the frost", President Kekkonen and his wife made an unofficial tourist trip to Leningrad in January 1959, supposedly, accidentally when Khrushchev and Gromyko also happened to be there. During a postnegotiation lunch, Khrushchev named the social-democrats in the government "bad boys", adding that though Finland had a right to nominate governments, the Soviet Union had the right to think what it pleased about Finnish governments. After returning to Finland, Kekkonen took all the credit for diffusing the crisis by dismissing the government and saying in his TV-radio speech that the crisis had been "deeper" than the Finns realized (Ibid.: 276–277, 285, 289). He also referred to some caricatures by Kari concerning which he asked the Soviets' understanding. One of these is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5

Kari's caricature *Second Days of Cultural Negotiations?*, reflects the solution of the crisis. When analysing the caricature we find peculiar features: Kari insinuates that Khrushchev and Kekkonen had secretly agreed to meet in Leningrad and that Kekkonen had again played a trick of camouflage (i.e. the real purpose of the meeting was concealed to the Finnish public). To prove this Kari should have had some evidence to back up his insinuations but as a cartoonist he did not need it. Its message could well have been true. The wink of the eye of Khrushchev indicates that the men had a common understanding about what was going on: this was usually the image of the Soviets in connection with Finnish politics—a double-dealing, friendly face. In this case the crisis suited both leaders: Kekkonen could make political points at home and Khrushchev, in the international arena. Both were happy. What Kari did not have to say was this: there is a plot behind the meeting titled "Second Days of Culture", Kekkonen seeing the "best sights" in Leningrad. Kari made of this meeting a well-staged play; there is the opera, the empty chair, and some acting from both players in the political game. Kekkonen is saying, "What a surprise!". These elements hint at the import of the meeting that a thousand words couldn't express. The image is ambiguous but tells more than any document could. There is Kari's insinuation of Kekkonen's arrogant lust for power (alleged without mention of real reasons)—which contradicts the Western ideals of Finnish democracy—using almost dictatorial gestures (Ylönen 2001: 297). The Soviet Union reinstated diplomatic relations with Finland in February 1959.

Similarly irritating to Kekkonen's regime was Kari's caricature titled *Satu porkkanasta* ('The Tale of the Carrot'), which deviously referred to the occasion of celebrating the tenth anniversary of the returning of the Porkkala peninsula to Finland in 1966. Porkkala had been leased to the Soviet Union, according to the peace treaty in 1945, for 90 years, but Khrushchev gave it back to Finland in 1955

as if to confirm the unproblematic and friendly relations between the countries. Finns should have then realized how much the Soviet leaders trusted Finland and have been thankful. However, Kari's caricature caused a rift in this trustworthiness, ridiculing the whole episode. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahti Karjalainen, who was Kekkonen's assistant in matters of self-censorship, reprimanded the chief editor of the *Helsingin Sanomat* for its publication. Kari's point in the caricature was to imply that Kekkonen falsely took all the credit and gained political points, although it was a surprise gift and one of Khrushchev's gestures of detente towards the West.

Figure 6

The name of the Porkkala peninsula is close to Finnish word *porkkana* ('carrot'). In the caricature one can see a soldier and a boy. The text explains that the soldier (i.e. the Soviet Union) snaps *porkkana* from the boy (i.e. Finland) but gives it back because he does not really like it anymore. He has already eaten so much "Karelian pastry" [*Karjalan piirakka* in Finnish], a popular snack in Finland, referring to the fact that the Soviet Union had ceded Karelia from Finland according to a peace treaty and forced over 400,000 Karelian people to find a new home in Finland. However, the boy became so very happy about the *porkkana* that he celebrated its return even after ten years' time.

Figure 7

One of Kari's caricatures (Fig. 7) caused an international stir. It borrowed its setting and theme from Ilya Repin's painting *Barge Haulers on the Volga* (1873). Kari transformed the painting into a wide caricature that parodied Khrushchev, who shouts to the Western leaders (Prime Minister MacMillan and President Eisenhower): "Shame on you, you imperialists!" They seem dumbfounded and unable to react, reminding the readers of the situation of the 1956 Hungarian uprising when the Western powers did not intervene. President Kekkonen, hardly recognizable, is lurking behind them as a smaller figure in politics with no influence. The caricature was a sensational masterpiece of the caricature exhibition titled "Great Challenge", held in London in autumn 1958 for twenty-four artists. It was circulated and commented on in the international press. In the United States, some commentators could not believe that a Finnish cartoonist dared draw such a caricature, which revealed the hypocrisy of the international relations. Kari was invited to the United States and to Canada where he received several prizes for his caricature. There is an uncorroborated story that some people from the United Nations had the idea that Kari's caricature should be enlarged into a twenty-meter long, two-story high picture to be hung on the wall opposite the United Nations' main building.

In the Soviet Union, the caricature was regarded as an insult to friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, and Kekkonen hastened to apologize, referring vaguely to "our cartoonists and short story writers" but everybody—Kari

among them—certainly knew whom he meant. In Finland the caricature was published only in 1985 in a collection of over one thousand caricatures titled *Maxi-Kari* (*Maxi-Kari* 1985: 87). Evidently Kekkonen's demise in the early 1980s had paved the way. Thereafter Kari's caricatures were published in pictorial albums almost yearly so that others besides the readers of the *Helsingin Sanomat* could acquaint themselves with his humour of revelation—humour that ridiculed the Finnish authorities themselves. It is possible that it did not arouse so much laughter but rather suspicion and anger in Finnish society toward the Others (Blacks and Soviets) and the officials dealing with them.

To conclude, Kari's view of politics could be described as a distorted mirror of Finnish political culture. From a distance, opened for him by the *Helsingin Sanomat*, the softly dictatorial rule of Kekkonen appeared circus like, the president being the ringmaster and others acting as clowns and conjurers (see the analogy by Kari: Czechoslovakia = Kekkoslovakia). To Kari, the Soviet leader Khrushchev was the friendly but devious Other, a political player who knew how to monitor the public arena from outside Finland, sending warning messages—do not approach the West (the EEC, Nordic co-operation)—that alarmed the Finnish political elite. And its representatives had to bow down quite deep and, occasionally, make Canossa trips to Moscow (i.e. to explain and apologize for their unfriendly political line in order to restore trust between the countries), the lowest humiliation of Finnish pride to Kari. It is hard to imagine any other way the Finns would have been informed of the other side of coin of friendly pretensions of Finnish-Soviet relations. Regarding Kari's depiction of Blacks as culturally distant and devious Others, one cannot imagine that any caricaturist would dare today, when there is again a flow of asylum seekers into Finland (approximately 35,000 in winter 2016), to use the same kind of poison brush as he did. Any art that might arouse so-called hate speech or prejudice against asylum seekers or other foreigners is now forbidden by law, and the Media Council and police monitor social media for any cases of slander or hate speech. Softening the hot issue somewhat, quite recently the president of Finland, Sauli Niinistö, used a low-key TV interview to teach asylum seekers proper behaviour: "In Finland, do as the Finns do!"—reminding us of the classic Roman model ("When in Rome, do as the Romans do").

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RECEPTION OFFICE FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS

- An angry wolf hunted me and I had to flee in a chariot made of pumpkin and drawn by mice...

- Asylum granted!

Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1991, January 11. 1

- Instead of cutting aid to the developing countries, the Finns cut their defence budget—now we do not have to cut ours.

2 Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1990, November 28.

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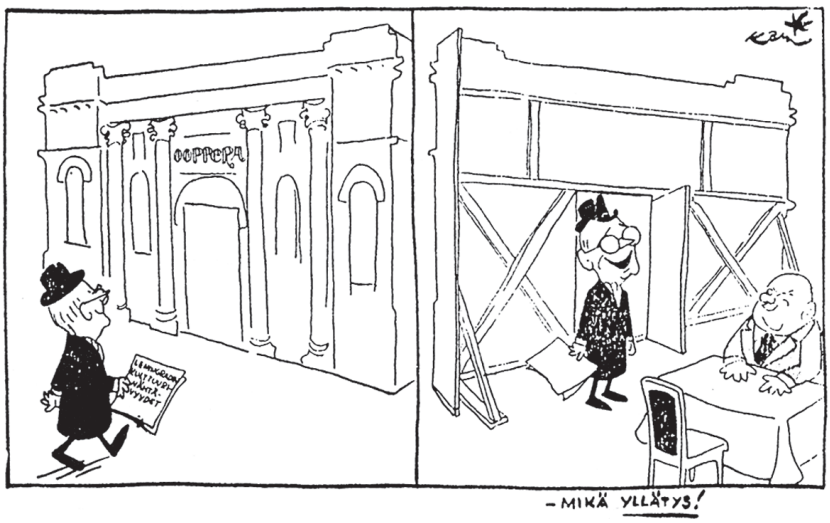
Signs (from left to right):
The homeless, the people dying in hospital queues, locked in the poverty trap, etc.
RKP (The Swedish People's Party of Finland) election slogan: Compulsory Swedish lessons in school, compulsory Somalis in hotels!
Forged passports + trip 2000 $. International human trade.
- Foreigners first!
- They are friendly here, we have arrived in a land of fools.
Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1990, December 2.

- I only asked for their visas.

4 Kari, censored from *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1991.



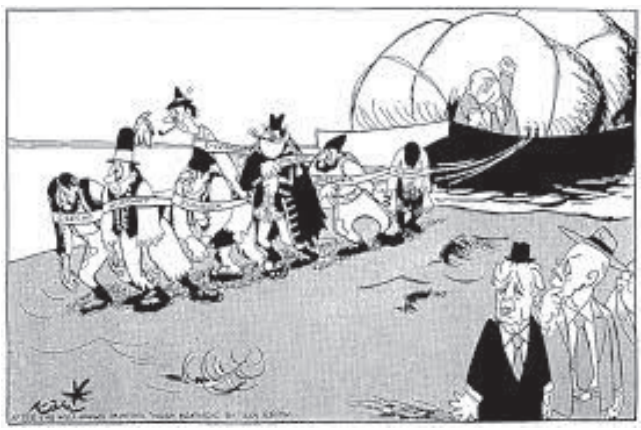
SECOND DAYS OF CULTURAL NEGOTIATIONS

- What a surprise!

Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1959, January 23.

6 **THE TALE OF A CARROT**

Once upon a time there was a small boy who had a carrot. Then came a bigger boy...
...He took the carrot but after having bitten it he realised he no longer cared about the carrot because he had already eaten...
...He had already eaten so much *Karjalan piirakka* ('Karelian pastry'): he gave the carrot back, saying the little boy can keep the carrot. And the little boy became...
...So happy that he celebrated it even after 10 years had passed and remembered the big boy with huge gratitude. And they lived happily ever after.
Kari, 1966 (published in *Maxi-Kari* 1985: 164).



BARGE HAULERS OF THE VOLGA RIVER
- Shame on you, you imperialists!
7 Kari, 1958 (published in *Maxi-Kari* 1985: 87).

6. Mediating Sites and Localizations: Images and Movement

Lilia Uzlowa

The Postcard: A Visual and Textual Form of Communication

The sent postcard, a classic instrument of communication related mainly to travel, leisure and tourism, is a complex visual and textual product of a group of identities: the photographer/publisher's, the sender/addresser's and the receiver/addressee's. The pictorial otherness in the communication process has two standard roles. The postcard has two sides: image (landscapes, hotels, personalities, sightseeing, monuments, etc.) and text. On the one hand, it is "sent" to the receiver: "I arrived. This is the place. Look where I am!", and on the other, the sender comments on it with the textual message: "Look how I feel here, at the other place! It is a postcard—not photography. Somebody has seen this place like that. Not I. I bought the postcard and the image expresses my choice."[1] The "equation" that constructs the main thesis contains two known and two unknown quantities: the reality of the stay and the identity parameters in the context of the visit versus the addressee's identity in the context of residence. Known and unknown variables are rarely in conflict with each other. Most often, they are mutually complementary and create a symbiosis, which is both multifaceted and logically justified. The postcard is "born" for the needs of everyday life and very soon after that it already has two equally important sides, through which not only quick and short messages between the addresser and the addressee are transferred, but they also contain the codes of modern identities and realities. Pamela E. Arkarian-Russell studies the holiday-postcard—"these bits of social—and philatelic history" as a presentation of "the similarities as well as the differences in these holidays, both imaginary and celebration, are an important part of our social history. These cards document the what and how of another time. Historians, architects, and costumers are just a few of the people who turn to postcards to authenticate and date styles and events" (Arkarian-Russell 2001: viii). The main thesis of this paper is otherness, accepted individually, identity or group of identities and their individual choice (not "our social history", as Arkarian-Russell studies). We understand the postcard first of all as an individual adventure not as a social phenomenon. Alison Rowley concurs too: "Picture postcards are tantalizing objects, central to understanding the social history and visual culture ... that have the power not

[1] The object of the research is only used postcards, i.e. chosen, bought, and sent to more or less a known receiver. Only in this case do they serve their purpose as a means of individual communication. It is a connecting link between the motif on the face of the postcard and the message on the back of it.

only to reflect popular culture, but also to shape it. Through picture postcards it is possible to discern the multiplicity of the often-contradictory attitudes, beliefs, and values swirling through popular culture of the time" (Rowley 2013: 4) and study the social role of postcards as a visual, open, short message. For Bruce McCraw postcards are "storytellers", and "were the only unexpensive and fast way for the tourist and the local resident to keep touch with family and friends, [and were ensured by] rapid mail travel, well suited to the simple format of the postcard" (McCraw 1998: xiv). He underlines some physical features/characteristics of postcards as a paper product and its use, which are interesting for deltiologists, postcard collectors. Holzheid deals with the essential characteristics, functions and uses of the postcard (Holzheid 2011: 66–68). Different from Holzheid's thesis this chapter considers its role as an intermediary between identities, self-expression, otherness and images. The objectives and tasks of the article are limited to the individual choice of images or otherness, based on and connected to the dynamics of the identity. The postcard is understood as a mediator between the well-known or less known otherness and the identities of the parties. It is not the main object of our chapter but a agreeable tool with which to study it. In this sense, it simultaneously reflects the dynamics of identities and other unknown reality both as a purpose and content of the message that is not only an epistolary tool, but a visual document as well (Fig. 1).[2]

The visualization of the well-known and the familiar, of the otherness and the unknown, or the less known, which is on the front side of the postcard, becomes the logical basis for the textual message on the back side, thus blending private correspondence, photography, and art into one. The proportion between the communicative function of the postcard and the individual orientation of the private message is a variable and depends on both the time the message is sent and the identity of the authors.

The postcards and photographs in the role of mediators between the known, the familiar, and the otherness, visualize the link between the other reality and the individual attitude. The objectives and tasks of the chapter are limited to this thesis. The postcard is understood as a mediator between the "world outside", the otherness and the dynamics of identities. Or, as a general definition[3] of the postcard's individual combination "face + back of the card": "Photographs are beautiful, useful and incite different emotions. Our visual memory

[2] Postcard no. 79, August 4, 1972; private archive of postcards 1950–1990, author's property.

[3] For my thesis I need a definition that stresses the emotional and individual "back-side" of a visual image. The postcards are photographs, produced in great number. I don't need a definition like this: a printed card with space on one side for an address and a postage stamp, used for sending a short message through the mail.

functions by memorizing different images of the events rather than films that remain in our thoughts" (Ziehe & Hägele 2006: 1).[4]

The visualization and the choice of the motifs on the face are both an objective and a subjective reflection of other reality. Which objects are to be photographed and what combinations they will be used in for the postcard depends on the state of the affairs in society and on the targeted user. The creation of positive notions of the cultural model and its "advertising" is one of the main social functions of the postcard (Rowley 2013: 31). In the personal domain, the postcard fulfils the same functions, known from everyday life, most strongly presented in "tourist" correspondence, travel, leisure, and family life. They, the postcards and the photographs, on their part, influence the type, form and mood of the message.

Postcards, today a dying form of communication (owing to an abundance of other communication formats and platforms—Internet, e-mails, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp) have features that automatically turn them into an indispensable source of authentic information about the modern cultural model and personal priorities. These features are the visualization, and respectively, the subjective choice of the right motif, the link with the point of time, the individual expression, the contents of the texts, the intransience and so forth. Postcards can exist "forever", unless deliberately destroyed by us their creators and authors. In the texts, the autobiographical element predominates; especially when postcards address relatives and friends—the message is within the broad context of the time (Figs 2–4).[5] At the time of institutional regimes and dictatorship the autobiographical character is shifted, almost forcibly erased, so that no information about the existing other conditions is revealed. A "third" message, manipulated with propaganda purposes is created, which has nothing to do with the personal experience, nor with the environment (Fig. 5).[6]

In the beginning (introduced in Germany 1870—Austria 1869—England 1843, Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*[7]), the presence of the postcard was restricted to the function of communication. It lacked colour, charm, and individuality. Monochromatic illustrations were photographs of engravings, etchings, different kinds of graphic prints, black-and-white photography and so forth.[8] Through colour photography, postcard's visual "self-esteem" increased

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[4] Original text: "Fotografien sind schön und nützlich, sie provozieren Gefühle: Freude, Trauer, Aversionen und sentimentale Stimmungen. … Unser visuelles Gedächtnis von öffentlichen Ereignissen funktioniert weniger mit Filmen als vielmehr mit stehenden Bildern, die sich in unseren Gedanken einprägen."

[5] Postcards nos. 99, December 19, 1957; 20, July 3, 1965; 6, July 7, 1986.

[6] Postcard no. 43, July 25, 1980.

[7] John Calcoll Horsley designs lithographs for "A Christmas Carol" and hand-coloured the first Christmas card for Sir Henry Ode (Arkarian-Russell 2001: 2).

[8] Archive of family Amirchanjanz, author's property (Uzlowa 2010).

and it began to be courted by generations of collectors. The "flirtation" continues even today, the focus of attention falling on staid old "ladies"[9] with a past. Town views, monuments of culture and other attractions are often depicted on colour photographs. They could be individually consumed. A tinge of individuality is added using different decorations such as punches, fragrances, sounds or images that change with orientation in space. These postcards have two main disadvantages: they are hard to be preserved in their original condition and are not printed in large numbers.

More abstract, complex and dependent on the moment of sending is the symbiosis between modernity, history, and the messages on the back of the card, in illustrated postcards with portraits of famous people/celebrities of art, and politics, monarchs, athletes/sportsmen and so forth. It is assumed that their purpose is to capture messages of events related to the depicted person, country or time. The confirmation or negation of this assumption largely depends on the moment of sending, the identity and the social and political orientation of the addresser (Fig. 6).[10]

The textual and visual context of each sent illustrated card puts its classic function as a means of communication in the background. With time, it turns into complex interdisciplinary evidence of everyday life and the cultural model, related to personal experiences, projected in the time and the great ambitions of history. The photographs, illustrations, motifs on the postcards, understood as different types of images, "visualize" the moment, objects and personality. Over the years, interest in them grows. The grounds for their different positioning against the present time, and the otherness are different: new attitudes towards the visualization of the past and today, a striving to visualize the interdependencies and the processes of globalization, so that the contexts will be better understood—and "the strange and otherness" to be rediscovered. The complex needs of the demand, the specificity of the objects, the purposes of production and the potential consumers determine the forms of visualization in illustrated postcards (Fig. 7).[11] They articulate common notions about different realities and facilitate the interpretation of the texts, if thematically related to the illustration.

In a broader sense, the social presence of otherness in the motifs/messages of the postcards is revealed through these aspects:

- what the image on the postcard is, its meaning and why a particular motif has been chosen;
- who made the postcard, when, and with what purpose;
- how the Others use this motif, how they understand it.

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[9] I compare old postcards with "old ladies" who have had an interesting life.

[10] Postcard no. 85, August 3, 1986.

[11] Postcard no. 14, July 28, 1979.

These aspects are complemented with the context of the message, which often answers one or more of these questions.

The birth of mass tourism at the end of the 1960s to the 1980s means a peak in the spreading of landscape-postcards. This dependence, mass-tourism und spreading of landscape-postcards, which has gone through some metamorphoses, is still alive today.[12] The tradition of sending postcards with greetings and impressions from the visited places, holidays, or travel, has been preserved as a fashion, an expression of good taste and behaviour. "The distant and the other", positively or negatively filtrated through the personal experience, are related through the messages with the familiar and the experience of everyday life. In this case, it is not only a gesture of attention to relatives and friends, but a spontaneous documentation of different expressions, identities, and cultural models. The functions of the postcard change and become "individualized". The postcard's "privatization" becomes stronger and gradually leads to a differentiation of its functions, tending to messages of a more intimate, that is familiar nature (Lecerc 1986: 5).

It is logical that the type and genre variety of the motifs is consistent with the needs of the market. The product should respond to the demand. In addition to the mentioned postcards with images of famous and exotic places there are those sent on holidays and special private and public life events[13] (Till 1983: 32, 46). Such are greeting cards for Christmas, Easter, birthdays, anniversaries, engagements or weddings, childbirth, or condolences in the event of death of a relative and so forth. The lifestyle—the holidays and the everyday life—determines the genre variety of the motifs in that group (Holzheid 2011: 15).[14] Sending of messages written on open postcards in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is not particularly popular due to the intimacy of the messages, the individual character of the correspondence and the nature of the epistolary culture (Till 1983: 32, 46). Letter writing became an art, a sophisticated pastime that can be compared with diary keeping. A culture of secularism gradually embraced the postcard: "As a favourite epistolary tool, not only as a document, the postcard becomes a literary fact. It is obvious that the

[12] It should be noted that sending electronic cards and messages via the Internet is increasing, which restricts to some extent the classic function of the postcard.

[13] As far as is known, greeting cards have existed ever since the beginning of the 17th century, when they were sent in bulk quantities in sealed envelopes. Their manufacture then was manual, more difficult and labour intensive, which makes them small pieces of art. Many of these old techniques like collages, applications, pull-out mechanisms, and bending are still used today in the manufacture of unique postcards or postcards produced in small numbers (Till 1983: 32, 46).

[14] Original text: "Im Alltag versiert zu kommunizieren, bedeutete im ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert vor allem auch, die bürgerliche Maxime gepflegter Unterhaltung mit ihren inhaltlichen und formalen Vorgaben für mündliche und schriftliche Formen zu befolgen und diese zur eigenen Persönlichkeitsdarstellung in eloquenter Rede oder Briefform geschickt zu inszenieren." See also Ettl 1984: 55.

illustrated card builds a peculiar type of artistry based on the relation between text/image, in which case the image is called to generate a bundle of polysomic meanings. Its choice reveals the ambition of the writer to turn the text into a message above the popular customs, which may fit into the higher registries of cultural life" (Raycheva 2002).

Let us turn back to the European tradition of postcard publishing, that can be characterized by small publication numbers and more a "personal" presence not only of the publisher, but also of the buyer-sender, the author of the message. A popular type of postcards for sending individual messages includes the cards with jokes, proverbs, aphorisms, lyrics, literary texts and so forth. Even with the choice of the text on them, the sender "informs" about some features of their own identity and their relation/attitude to the addressee or their understanding of the otherness of the event or the place where they are at the time of writing the message. The intensity of the textual and visual analysis of the personal and the individual distinguishes a small range of postcards with images of women, children, love couples and other motifs conveying a romantic mood. We assume that one of the purposes of such postcards is to emphasize the beautiful side, the romance in everyday life and the postcards are intended for such moments. The colours are mild, pastel and there is a lot of light. Their message is: "People, life is wonderful! Forget there are hunger, pain and disasters!" (Uzlowa 2014: 269).

The postcard connects and divides parallel "worlds", first, transferring the conditionally objective visual information about the existing reality, and secondly the subjective experiences. Why conditionally objective? Classic examples about a "dictated" illustrativeness are the postcards with images of the Bulgarian Black Sea coast from the period between1950 and 1990 (Fig. 8).[15] Irrespective of whether the postcard presents socialist propaganda or tourist advertising, the objects are being photographed the way they should be presented. We agree with Kürti's view that postcards represent a combination of their own "selves" and the Others, crossing different localizations and offering the visual opportunity to seek disappeared or questionable identities. According to him, postcards may create a feeling of the reality we are in, the one we have travelled in and the changed social context of our stay at the moment. "Similarly, anthropologists just like anyone else also send postcards when they are at "home" to those who are not with them. For many these picture postcards represent the combination of self and other, traversing between various locations, and a visual possibility of searching for identities lost or questioned. … We tend to buy and send postcards feeling satisfied that these miniature images, and the few hastily written words, reconnect us through the often highly stylised forms

[15] Postcard no. 152, July 19, 1966.

of visual and textual narratives" (Kürti 2006: 47). They gather in one territory and cultural model, connected in time and space with the social group and identities, which they are intended for. This thesis is a wonderful complement to Kürti's view that they reflect "a multitude of parallel worlds existing together with us in the common environment" (2006: 47). Here should be added another advantage of the postcard: it transfers and preserves a visual snapshot of the other reality, limited only by the physical destruction of the so-called "hard copy".

The thematic variety of the motifs simultaneously links the individual or the group with the territory, subjects the identities to the momentary feeling and specifies the efforts to relate elements of the lifestyle with the contemporaneity of the community. Through the postcard, an attempt is made to unite phenomena and realities around one temporal axis. Whether the relations between the contents of the message and the illustration could be explained in that way, more precisely, is a question, that cannot be answered with one general formula or statement. The notions of "time", "history", and "space" are functions of the reality and are configured according to the tastes of the users. The latter define the subjective space between the experience, identifying themselves with everything that is close and familiar, and the striving to learn about the distant and the unknown. Illustrative evidence of the last statement is found in the analysis of postcards sent by East German tourists during their holidays in Bulgaria (Fig. 9).[16] They see and experience the "institutional" south not as casual "institutional" south. It can be "seen" in the texts of the postcards: heat, sun, wild men, beautiful girls, endless beaches, lots of fruits and vegetables and so forth.[17] The Bulgarian socialist resort reality is visualized by the motifs of the colour photographs. This is reflected in the thesis of Ruth Phillips, claiming that the postcard is in essence a tourist's disposable merchandise but also a marker of the tourist experience (2006). We can add that the messages and the "greetings" of the addressers are shared personal observations and impressions from events and a characteristic of the "authentic" social otherness, in which they exist in at the moment (Fig. 1).[18] The meeting between locals and non-locals: "The study of any visual art tradition is limited by the nature of the object record that survived through extant example, graphic or photographic depiction, and verbal description … Cultural evolutionism was neither a fix nor a homogeneous discourse" (Phillips 2006: 431, 437; Orth 2003: 6[19]). It happens in another national cultural model. What is peculiar—is that the socialist reality is not

[16] Postcard no. 6, July 7,1982.

[17] The texts are translated and added at the end of the article.

[18] Postcard no. 79, August 4, 1972.

[19] Orth, E. W. "… Kultur ist doch ein Korrelatbegriff demjenigen des Menschen".

different socially, politically, or ideologically from their own everyday life.[20] They, local reality and the socialist tourist, differ in their ethnic identity, traditional culture and memories. The local identities are confronted with the other identities under the lid of the unifying striving of the we-identity and the collective. That the messages are testimonials of the preserved I-identity, defended from the attempts of the "developed socialist person", is still a topical question with plenty of answers. Should the generations, who have survived the socialist dictatorship, be considered as "Lost Generations", or the niches and the gaps in the system prepared us for the otherness?

In the interpretation of the messages, the main focus is on the *other reality as experienced*, on the conditions, in which their authors find themselves: observing holydays, staying in modern hotels or in homes of labor union, enjoying nature and so forth. This is not done as an aim in itself but is related to the visual side of the postcards, showing *what the reality should be.* Often face and backs of the card are not covered, i.e. there is a difference between the actual (is-statement) and the normative statement/proposition (must-statement[21]). In this case, the visualization includes the subjective content of the evidence and connects it with information about the normative or actual statement/proposition.

Photography, in particular in postcards, is a tool for visualization, accessible for anyone, irrespective of whether they are the "creator" (photographer) or the "consumer" (buyer, receiver). The popularity and accessibility of photographs and postcards create problems as far as the appropriateness and the visualization in the exploration of realities are concerned, that is as far as the choice of the motifs is an objective reflection of reality or a product of subjective "presence" of the photographer/publisher. MacDougall's thesis—that rather than the lack of interest in the visual, the problem has always been what to do with visualization—confirms this (1997: 276). The "wordlessness" of the visual material leads to the ungrounded neglect of the pictorial with the exception of cases in which it supports the depicted object.

In the process of work with postcards and photographs, the objects are specified by tracing several interdependent lines: the relation of sender/receiver, the presence of the contemporaneity, the social use of the text, the localization of the message and so forth. Jay Ruby's thesis that exploring images as objects with their real meaning is a wrong method if we are interested in the ways in which people give meaning to other images (1995: 5–7) pays attention to the subjective and to the otherness at the same time. It is observed how the opinions

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[20] Here Mauer's statement is applicable: "who says "culture" also says "human", and who says "human" also says "culture". Travel and leisure are human activities and segments of the cultural model of social reality. They are related to the material culture and are subjected to the current conditions" (Maurer 2008: 13).

[21] Ist-Aussage und Soll-Aussage (Habermas 1990).

are expressed and whether they correspond to the views and outlooks of the majority, that is—how much the "acquired" otherness of the new environment fits into the characteristics of its own socialness. Marcus Banks states: "Clearly it is not merely a question of looking closely but a question of bringing various knowledges to bear upon the image. While such a reading way helps us towards understanding what the image is of, it still tells us nothing about why the image exists. To do that, we must move beyond the content, and consider the image as an object. It is in fact a postcard, printed upon relatively thick and rather coarse card" (2015: 3). A person or a family sends a large number of postcards at different times and reflects a changed reality or other events. Dealing with impersonal conventional congratulations is not the aim of this chapter.[22]

In this sense, the texts on the postcards document the experience, conveying simultaneously the individual, personal character of the messages, the complex symbiosis of I-identity/collective and its ideological image twisted with the time. The genesis of the complex of identities is limited to the level "product" of continuously inculcated educational persuasions, the main purpose of which is a transfer of values towards collectiveness/community. Or if we use Kottak's words: "By means of an ideological system we build an identity and make ourselves secure through knowing that our proper code of behaviour is when relating to others. Consequently, we create a code which defines a reality shared by its participants" (1987: 11).

The texts of postcards became unique carriers for travel communication and presentation of Bulgarian culture, nature, and everyday life in connection with self-expression. This is perhaps less obvious from today's perspective, because the postcards in the archive present only well-known motifs (Black Sea, Golden Sands, Sunny Beach, Nessebar, Pirin, Rila, etc.). Bulgarian reality in tourist messages is more connected to the tourist experiences, less to the everyday life or people. A large group of tourists doesn't usually move from place to place and send postcards of the same place. Bulgarian reality is missing in the texts because guests most often stay at a spa resort and rarely drive through the country to know people, culture, and everyday life.

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[22] Presented archive doesn't include such examples.

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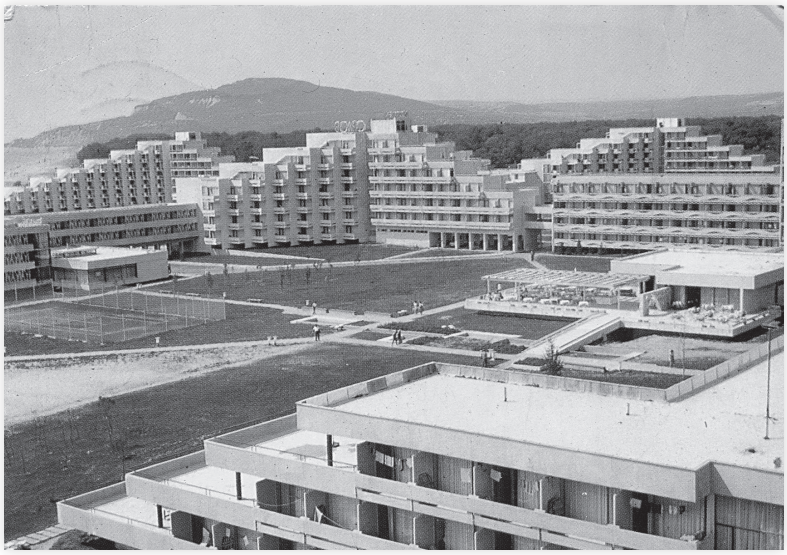
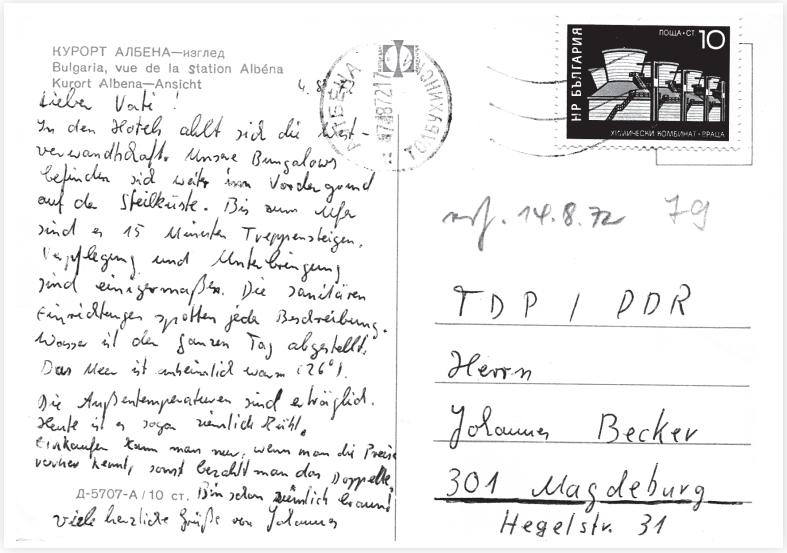




Dear Daddy,
The relatives from the West laze in the hotels. Our bungalows are further in the foreground, down the steep coast. It's 15 minutes to the coast by the stairs. Catering and lodging are more or less all right. The sanitary facilities defy description. Water is turned off for the entire day. The sea is awfully warm (26°C). The outside temperature is endurable. Today it's even rather chilly. It is possible to go shopping only in case you know the prices beforehand, otherwise you'll pay double. I am already quite sun-tanned. Many warm regards. Johanna.

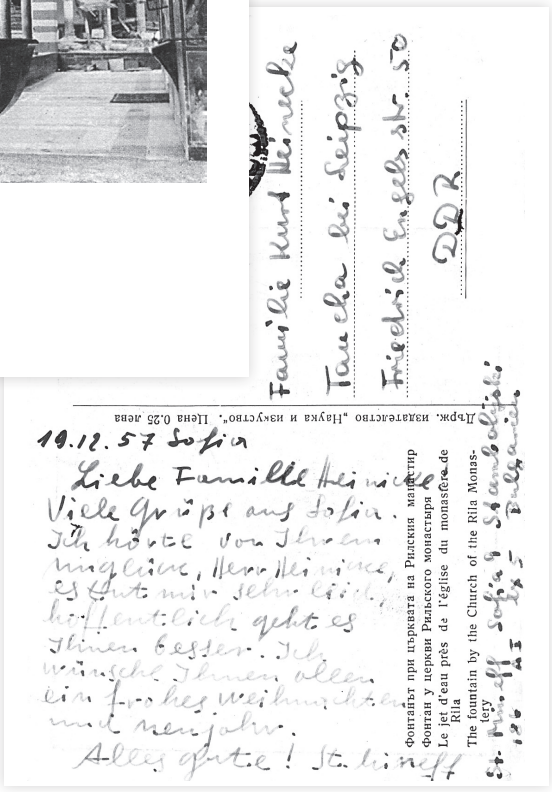
1 1972, August 4, postcard no. 79.

Dear Mrs Holdik, Warm regards to you, to your dear husband and to Lisa from Nessebar, where I am spending my holidays in the best weather. I like it very much here, too. Only it's not so comfortable to get to the beach as it was in Mamia. It's now harvest time of strawberries, cherries + green cucumbers. We get fresh potatoes every day.
Once again best wishes, your Gretel Schmid.

n.d., postcard no. 56.

Dear Family Gloge,
In this scorching heat, am sitting in the protecting shade.
Because we both already have a "nice" sunburn, we couldn't go to the beach today.
The Bulgarian "devil's water" tastes quite well and is relatively cheap. We live together with friends from the SU (Soviet Union), Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Africa in a marvellous holiday home of Bulgarian trade unions. Every second person on the beach is a German (from both states). The rest orally. Sending you warm regards, Herbert and wife.

3 Varna, 1965, July 3, postcard no. 20.



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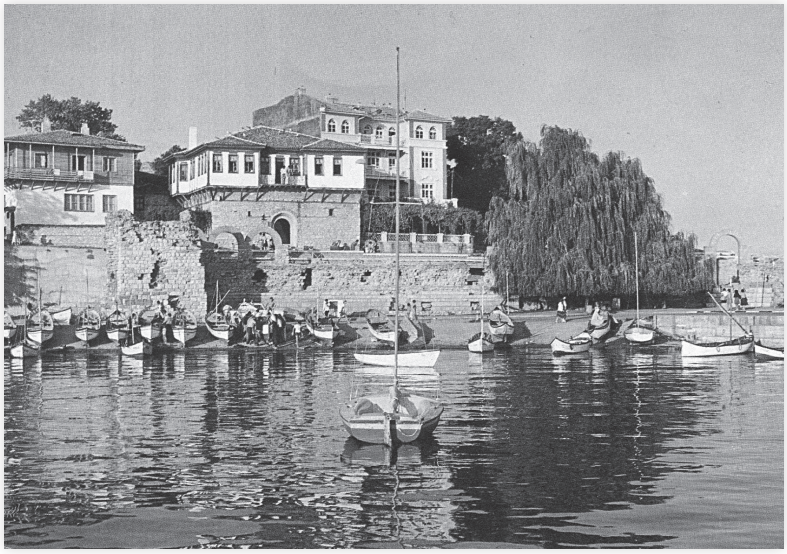
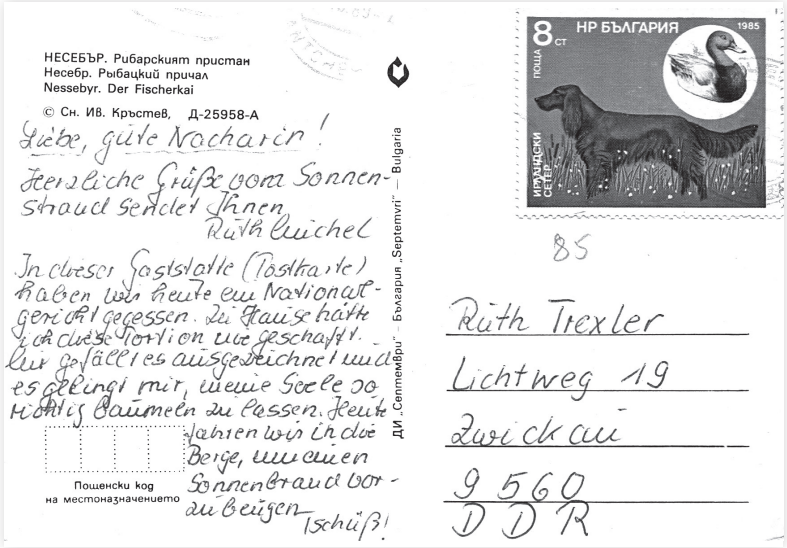
Dear Family Heinicke,
Many kind regards from Sofia.
I heard about your misfortune, Mr. Heinicke, I am very sorry and hope you feel better.
I wish you all Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. All the best, St. Mineff.
Sofia, 1957, December 19, postcard no. 99.

My dears! We got through everything well. The travel by the airplane was wonderful. During those few days that we have been here, we have already had many nice experiences. One of the first trips—300 km to Balchik in the mountains and along the sea. Many modern hotels! No lack of experiences and impressions. A nice room and food—everything excellent. Maybe it will be over too fast. Warm regards. Your niece. Many greetings from Leni. Greetings to family H.

5 Karl-Marx-Stadt, 1980, July 25, postcard no. 43.





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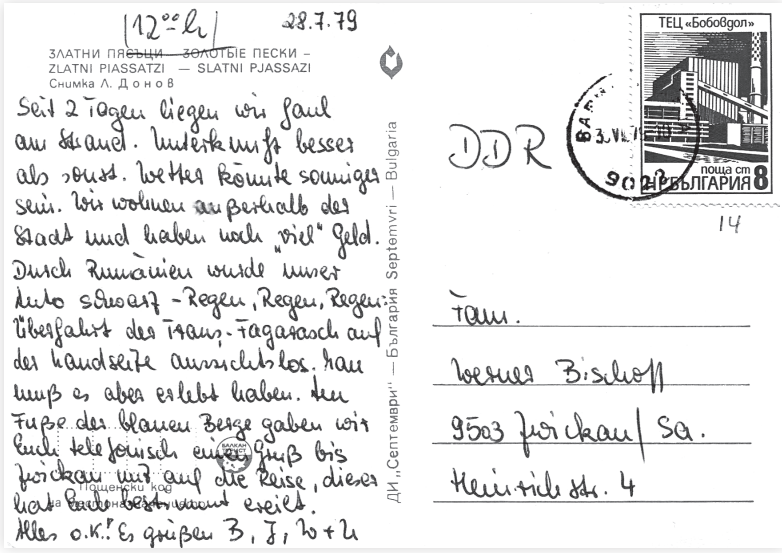
Dear good neighbour!
Warm regards from the sunny beach sends you Ruth Michel.
Today we had a local national dish in this restaurant (postcard). At home I would never been able to eat the whole plate. I like it very much here and I succeed in relaxing and unwinding completely. Today we go to the mountains to avoid a sunburn.
Bye.
1986, August 3, postcard no. 85.



For two days, we have been laying lazily on the beach. Lodging better than other times. Weather could be sunnier. We live outside of town and still have "lots" of money. Through Romania our car got black—rain, rain, rain. No chance to trespass the trans-Fagarasch [PG: Făgăraş] from landside. But one should have experienced this. At the foot of the blue mountains, we gave a telephone greeting to Zwickau, for your trip, hopefully it reached you. Everything O.K.! B, J, W + U.

7 1979, July 28, 12.00AM, postcard no. 14.

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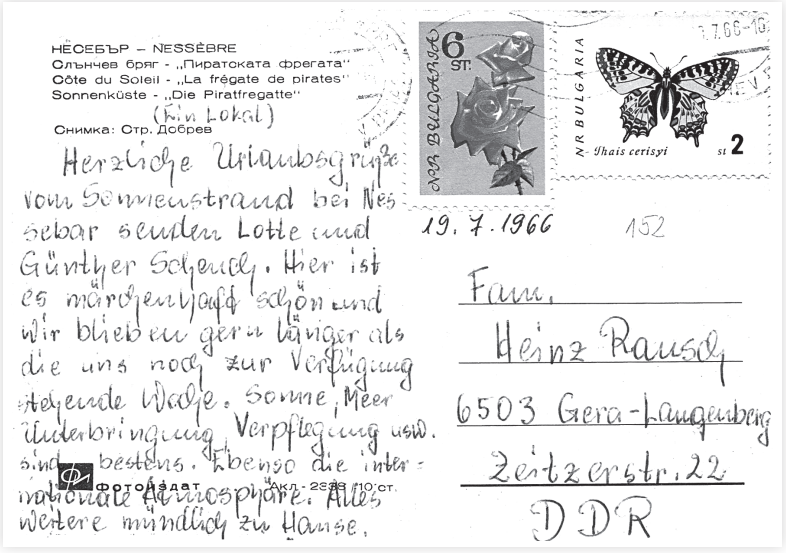
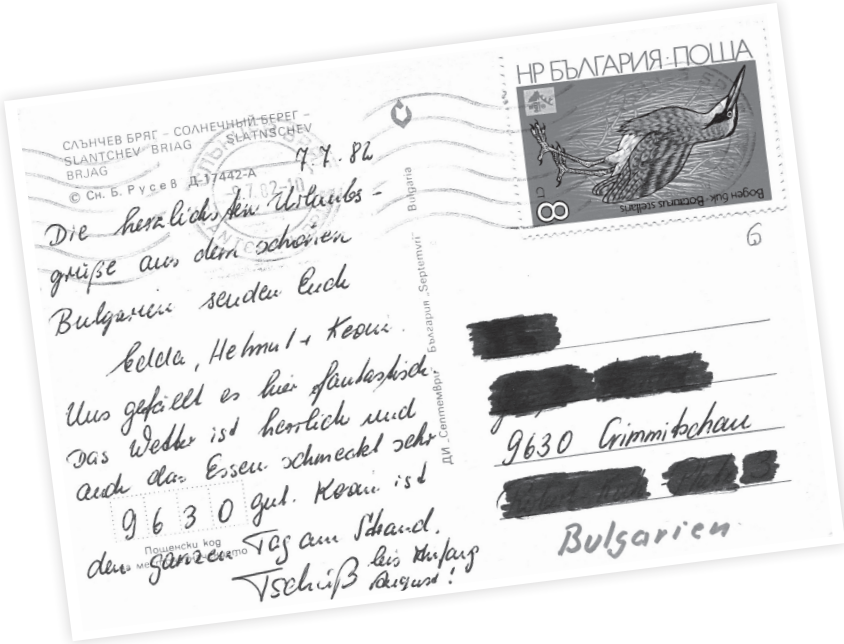


Warm regards from the sunny beach at Nessebar send Lotte and Günther Scheuch. Here it is fabulously beautiful and we would very much like to stay longer than the one remaining week. Sun, sea, lodging, meals etc. are perfect. Also the international atmosphere. The rest orally at home.

1966, July 19, postcard no. 152.



The warmest holiday greetings from beautiful Bulgaria send Edda, Helmut + Kevin. We like it very much here, it's fantastic. The weather is marvellous and the food also tastes very good. Kevin is at the beach almost the entire day. Bye! Until the beginning of August.

9 1982, July 7, postcard no. 6.

Elo-Hanna Seljamaa

Socialist in Form, Nationalist in Content? The Others and Othering in Visual Representations of Soviet-Era Song and Dance Festivals in Estonia

The question posed in the title of this chapter[1] reverses the famous Soviet formula, "Nationalist in form, socialist in content", in an attempt to draw attention to intricate relationships between cultural forms and contents as sites of agency, collaboration, and submission in (post-)Soviet Estonia. Soviet nationality policies regarded native languages, native dress, and other native cultural forms as temporary vehicles for spreading socialist ideology on the way to communism. Nationalist form was to be secondary to socialist content. However, when the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, it did so along the lines of former union republics with the new or newly independent nation-states. With hindsight, it seemed that the socialist content rather than the nationalist form had been skin-deep and temporary.

Much has been written about contradictions inherent in Soviet nationality policies and their post-Soviet legacies.[2] A growing body of scholarship draws on colonial and postcolonial theorisation in order to explore new hybrid forms that emerged in the Soviet Baltics from intersections between Soviet, pre-Soviet and Western discourses.[3] The present chapter seeks to contribute to these discussions by looking at Soviet-era visual representations of song and dance celebrations, ethnic Estonians' most cherished collective performances that date back to pre-Soviet years and have continued their existence in the Republic of Estonia, restored in 1991.[4]

Song festivals in particular have been considered to epitomise Estonians' resistance to Soviet oppression. Guntis Šmidchens (2013), among others, has analysed how songs and singing served not only Estonians but also Latvians and Lithuanians as a means of nonviolent anti-Soviet political action. At the same time, however,

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[2] See e.g. Brubaker 1996; Cordell et al. 2013; Gorenburg 2006; Hirsch 2005.

[3] E.g. Annus 2012, Annus 2016 and other contributions to *Journal of Baltic Studies* 2016 special issue, *A Postcolonial View on Soviet Era Baltic Cultures* (vol. 47), and to the 2011 special issue of the journal *Methis. Studia Humaniora Estonica* (vol. 7).

[4] Ojaveski et al. 2002, and Arraste et al. 2009, provide overviews of individual song and festivals, respectively.

Soviet-era song and dance celebrations were prime venues for elaborate displays of a Soviet Estonian culture "nationalist in form, socialist in content". The flourishing of these festivals had to testify to Estonia's and Estonians' thriving in the socialist brotherhood of peoples.

This chapter traces these contradictory goals and meanings in posters, booklets, and coffee-table books published on the occasions of song and dance celebrations held in the 1940s–80s.[5] Discussion of the 1940s–50s zooms in on hand-drawn posters and illustrated booklets that would accompany the festivals of the first post-war decades. Juxtaposing visual representations of the first three Soviet-era song and dance celebrations held between 1947 and 1955, the chapter explores strategies used by the Soviet regime—in the immediate postwar years, an Other from the point of view of the general population—in order to establish itself vis-à-vis Estonia and Estonians and to instil into the masses a new political system and way of life.

The mid-1950s are said to have constituted a turning point with the majority of Estonians starting to collaborate with the Soviet system (see discussion in Annus 2012: 36). In the words of Epp Annus (Ibid.), "This happened not because of any growing faith in communist ideology, but because of a growing realization that the new regime was incontestably established and would be in place for the foreseeable future". This period of Estonia's "achieved incorporation into the Soviet Union" (Ibid.) is analysed by looking at coffee-table books published in the 1960s–80s.

Typically of this genre, coffee-table books dedicated to song and dance celebrations were richly illustrated with photographs, of unusual shapes and sizes, and bound in stiff covers. Containing very little text, these books were meant for entertainment and light reading. Similarly to posters, booklets, and other printed matters, they were published by state publishing houses in large quantities and had to pass censorship. Their contents were thus designed to convey a politically correct picture of contemporary Estonia as a prospering Soviet country. As bound picture books of decent quality, coffee-table books on song and dance festivals made an appropriate present for foreigners. Most volumes explored in this chapter were aimed simultaneously at local and international audiences, containing text in Estonian and in Russian as well as in English, Finnish, and/or German.

The chapter discusses different visual strategies used in coffee-table books to represent song and dance festivals during the period of late socialism, arguing that more complex interactions between the Estonian Self and the Soviet Other, national form and socialist content had emerged by the 1960s in comparison with the top-down monologues of the immediate postwar years.

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[5] Topics explored herein correspond to recurrent themes in Soviet-era documentaries and video films about song and dance celebrations. Discussion of these materials had to be omitted from this chapter due to space restrictions. For the same reason, the analysis here focuses on all-Estonian celebrations and does not include the tradition of youth song and dance celebrations established in 1962.

This discussion will bring us back to the title of this article and to nationalism. Nation building in post-Soviet Estonia has conceived of Estonia as the land of ethnic Estonians, a community of descent that has been living on this territory for thousands of years. Though the following analysis focuses on the Soviet era, its underlying aim is to contribute to a better understanding of present-day Estonia and the workings of nationalism: links between Soviet-era visual representations and the production and perpetuation of static truths about Estonia and Estonians as national entities (cf. Handler 1988; Herzfeld 2005). However, we take an excursion into the format and history of Estonian song and dance celebrations before proceeding with the analysis.

Estonian Song and Dance Celebrations

The first choirs consisting of Estonians have been dated to the 1810s and were organized in parish schools by Lutheran ministers (Vahter 1965: 7).[6] The popularity of choral singing began to grow in the middle of the nineteenth century and came to be inseparable from the national movement that reached its peak in the 1860s to 1880s. The first gatherings of Estonian choirs took place in the 1850s–1860s through the initiative of Baltic German ministers, who were inspired by similar joint singing events organized since the 1850s in Germany, Switzerland, and also in Estonia and Livonia by local German male choirs (Kuutma 1998; Ojaveski et al. 2002: 239).

The first all-Estonian song celebration was held in Tartu in 1869 with forty-six choirs and five brass bands—878 men altogether—from different parts of Estonia. Since then, at least one song festival has been organized every decade. Since the sixth festival in 1880, song celebrations have taken place in Tallinn; from 1928 onwards at Tallinn song festival grounds where a choir stand was erected for this purpose. The current modernist choir stand with an arch-shaped roof designed for choral singing was completed in 1960 for the fifteenth song festival. Female singers were first admitted in 1896, children's choirs in 1910 (Mesikäpp et al. 1969; Ojaveski et al. 2002).

Folk dancing took off as a hobby in the 1920s and as part of the process whereby earlier folk culture, including peasant attires and ways of dancing, were transformed into national symbols representing national culture. Voluntary associations of various kinds organized dance classes and people dressed in folk costumes started performing folk dances for audiences in different venues (Arraste et al. 2009; Kuutma 2009). Following the example of Nordic countries, folk dancing was introduced

[6] What is today Estonia consisted at the time of Estonia and Livonia and was part of the Russian empire. However, German nobility governed local life and the court system with the evangelical-Lutheran church playing an important role in the society. The majority of people of Estonian descent were peasants and until 1816 (in Livonia until 1819) serfs who depended on Baltic German landlords. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, peasants would identify themselves by their home region rather than by membership in an abstract national category.

"as an ideology for improving the physical vitality and preserving the cultural heritage of the people" (Kuutma 2009: 304; cf. Kapper 2016: 98–99).

The first dance celebration is thought to have taken place in 1934 going by the name of the First All-Estonian Gymnastics and Sports Games.[7] While this event gave prominence to gymnastics, it also included performances by 1,500 folk dancers. According to dance scholars, the First Estonian Games included characteristic elements of dance festivals: "There were folk dance groups from all over Estonia, the dances were performed in national costumes and dancing patterns were created on the stadium grass" (Arraste et al. 2009: 308). Since 1955, dance festivals have been held in a stadium created for this purpose in downtown Tallinn.

The tradition of organizing song and dance celebrations at the same time was established in 1947 when the first festivals in Soviet Estonia took place. Though several song and dance festivals have been held separately since, the two celebrations have come to constitute a whole. Held approximately every five years and lasting from three to four days, they bring into the nation's capital tens of thousands of singers, dancers, and spectators of all ages from all over the country and across the border.[8] Nearly all performers take part in the festival procession from the city centre to the song festival grounds. The tradition of festival processions dates back to the first celebration in Tartu (Vahter 1965: 30).

For performers and spectators alike, song and dance celebrations are an occasion for wearing national costumes. If such clothes could still be habitual during the first song festivals, they disappeared from everyday usage gradually, only to return as symbols of national culture (Kuutma 2009). Since the 1920s, people in national dresses have been one the most persistent elements used in posters and other visual representations of song and dance festivals (see Ojaveski et al. 2002; Arraste et al. 2009).

Song and dance festivals are very much a sensory and bodily experience that participants seek to relive from one celebration to the next. Though professional musicians and choreographers put together the programme and are included in performances, amateur choirs and dance ensembles make up the bulk of singers and dancers. Similarly to many other regularly repeated collective celebrations, these festivals nurture the sense of "a bounded group of people connected over time to a bounded place" (Noyes & Abrahams 1999: 79; cf. Handler 1988). It is a tradition that "brings the group together and communicates about the society itself and the role of individual in it" (Kuutma 1998). As essentially modern phenomena, song and dance festivals are venues for the articulation of national symbols and

[7] Arraste et al. 2009: 306–308 gives an overview of events that could be regarded as predecessors of the modern dance celebration.

[8] The 2014 festival is said to have been the largest in history, featuring 33,000 singers, 10,000 dancers and nearly 154,000 audience members (Kahu 2014).

heritage: elements selected from the past and rearranged and presented according to the needs of the present (cf. Kuutma 2009).

These needs of the present are shaped, though not controlled, by the ambitions of those in power. Given Estonia's turbulent history, it is obvious that the tradition of song and dance celebrations could not have been sustained without the intervention and support or at least tolerance of authorities. The first song festival was dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of Livonian farmers' liberation of serfdom, while most Soviet-era celebrations marked various Soviet jubilees (see Ojaveski et al. 2002). It does not follow from this that the festivals and participants thereof would have been subjugated to the wishes and messages of any given regime, but neither have they been detached from them. It is precisely this interplay between the official and vernacular, communication by means of symbolic forms, that has turned song and dance celebrations into a key public arena for representation and claim making.

Establishing Trust by Means of Continuity of Form: The First Soviet Song and Dance Celebration

When the Soviet rule first established itself in Estonia in 1940, it disbanded pre-Soviet song and dance associations. However, this existing know-how was used to create a new centralised network of choirs and dance ensembles that were to implement the distinctive Soviet doctrine of folk culture as the collective creation of the working masses (see Kuutma 2008). If socialist realism was art *about* the proletariat, Soviet amateur art was art *by* the proletariat (Kargin 1988, quoted in Ristolainen 2008: 102).

The organizing of Soviet-era festivals took place at the highest state level. The proposal for resuming the cycle of song celebrations was made already in 1944; the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars confirmed it in 1945. There was a wide gulf at the time between reality and representations thereof in official Soviet discourses, as Eda Kalmre (2013) makes clear in her monograph on rumours about human sausage factories in postwar Estonia. To the extent that the song festival would bring people together in a familiar location to engage in familiar activities and forms, it must have held a promise of creating a sense of continuity and normalcy in a situation in which so many Estonians had perished, emigrated, and lost their loved ones, homes, and their former way of life.

It is no wonder, then, that continuity between earlier festivals and the first Soviet celebration was emphasised by various means.[9] The 1947 celebration was announced to be the twelfth of its kind and number "12" was highlighted in visual representations of the event. Every song festival since the very first had been accom-

[9] Ojaveski et al. 2002, and Arraste et al. 2009, give an overview of continuities and discontinuities in repertoire, among organizers and performers as well as other aspects not directly linked to the topic of visual representations.

panied by an emblem that was used in breastpins and in the design of guidebooks and other memorabilia. This tradition was continued with a crest that resembled the emblem of the 1938 song festival: both featured oak leaves and a zither. The latter, a symbol of music, had been used in the emblems of nearly all of the earlier song festivals; in 1947 it was complemented with a five-pointed red star (Figs 1 and 3).

The festival and visual representations thereof laid special emphasis on folk costumes. While this, too, contributed to an impression of continuity, it also was in keeping with the principle of developing cultures that would be nationalist in form and socialist in content. Information booklets published in the run-up to the celebration urged and instructed participants to make and wear folk dresses, while also introducing them to the new Soviet approach to folk culture (e.g. Adamson 1947).

The hand-drawn cover of the celebration guide (artist Aleksander Koemets (1912–1988); *XII üldlaulupeojuht*) depicted optimistic, self-confident men and women in folk costumes, as did the posters designed by the artists Alo Hoidre (1916–1993) and Siima Škop (1920–2016), (see Figs 3 and 4).[10] Young women in richly decorated national dresses dominated both placards. The women are smiling, holding flowers in their hands and waving; their long blond hair is loose. Red flags are included but not foregrounded: the main message seems to be that it is time to relax and rejoice. Overall, from the official point of view, the 1947 celebration had to look and sound Estonian in order to serve as a token for the Soviet regime's care for and nurture of Estonian national culture and the Estonian people. For the same reason, the event had to be truly massive and feature more performers and participants than any of the previous celebrations (Ratassepp 1965: 135). While the Soviet system was eager to salvage the form of song and dance festivals, it had to state its opposition to previous political systems and, most of all, to the capitalistic, bourgeois Republic of Estonia, which according to Marxist-Leninist doctrine had oppressed the working people and their creative potential.

The 1950 Song and Dance Celebration as a Tool of Sovietisation

If the 1947 celebration aimed to convince the Estonian people that they and their culture were to be safe under the new rule, the 1950 festival came to be used to state a clear break from the past and a forceful implementation of sovietisation. As such, it sent out the same message as forced collectivisation, deportations, and other Stalinist repressive measures carried out in Estonia and many other parts of the Soviet Union during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The status of the 1950 celebration as a watershed was made clear by various visual means. Pre-Soviet numeration was discontinued "as something 'outdated

[10] The authors of posters discussed in this chapter were born in the 1910s and 1920s and graduated from art schools either before or during WWII (Hoidre, Raunam, Viilup) or in the 1940s and early 1950s (Škop, Soans, Vender). Several of them (Hoidre, Raunam, Škop, Viilup) were mobilised into the Red Army or spent the years during WWII in the Soviet rear.

from the bourgeois period'" (Ojaveski et al. 2002: 251). Visual symbols and representations of the festival avoided references to earlier celebrations and emphasised instead links between the 1950 song celebration and Soviet power. The 1950 celebration was to be dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR), the fifth anniversary of restoring Soviet power in Estonia, and to the successful, early completion of the first Five-Year Plan. With hindsight, it was argued that the 1950 song and dance celebration signified the victory of socialism in Estonia (Ratassepp 1965: 154).

The emblem of the festival (Fig. 2) depicted a red-starred zither in between the icons of Moscow and Tallinn: the alarm bell tower of Kremlin and the tower of Tall Hermann. Tall Hermann is part of the medieval Toompea Castle complex that in the 1920s was rebuilt to house the Estonian parliament and is used to this day to hoist the state flag. On the emblem of the 1950 celebration, a red flag was shown to be flying at the top of the Tallinn tower, while the Moscow tower was topped with a red star. The inscription read "ESSR 10 1950", and the insignia also made references to the coat of arms of the Estonian SSR.

Similar explicitly political symbols dominated the posters of the festival. People depicted on the placard designed by Olev Soans (1925–1995) and Aleksei Viilup (1916–1978) (Fig. 5) wear Estonian folk costumes, but instead of flowers, which had abounded in visual representations of the 1947 festival, they carry in their hands red flags and other Soviet symbols. The poster by Škop (Fig. 6) shows a row of identical young men blowing trumpets embellished with red flags—a significant change from the old bagpipe player on the poster designed by the same artist in 1947.

The cover of the guidebook featured a smiling couple in national costumes carrying a portrait of Joseph V. Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union. Marching at the head of a procession, the man and woman are followed by demonstrators with red flags and banners (*Nõukogude Eesti 1950. a. üldlaulupeo juht*). This image is essentially identical to a poster designed by Raunam on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the ESSR (Fig. 7). The slogan "Long live the 10th anniversary of the ESSR" was included on every poster of the 1950 song and dance celebration. People were shown engaged in marching, demonstrating, expressing political views, rather than celebrating.

The permeation of Soviet slogans and symbols through song and dance festivals, on the one hand, and the use of national costumes and other elements of folk culture in Soviet rituals and representations thereof, on the other, made these two types of events look the same. Posters of song and dance festivals from the 1940s to 1950s look the same as posters celebrating the First of May, anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution or yet another jubilee of Soviet Estonia (Figs 8 and 9).

Overall, the 1950 song and dance celebration was designed to make a forceful political statement, depicting Estonia as a Soviet country and its people as members of the international family of Soviet nations. In years and decades to come, this picture was to become more and more refined and detailed in some ways, but also

stylised and clichéd in others. While the ideological pressure eased somewhat after the death of Stalin in March 1953, it is also likely that the need for strong political statements dwindled as Soviet reality kicked in gradually and ceased to be an Other in need of explanation and proof.

Emergent New Normality

Visual representations of the 1955 song and dance celebration are already indicative of this new situation characterised by collaboration between the national/Estonian Self and Soviet Other. At the centrepiece of the emblem designed for the 1955 celebration was a zither with the inscription "ESSR 15" and the flag of Soviet Estonia; gone were references to the central government in Moscow. The emblem can be seen on a placard designed by Raunam. The poster depicted a dancing couple and an old man playing the zither against a backdrop of the masses standing on the choral stand of the Tallinn song festival grounds (Fig. 10). The cover of the guidebook by Asta Vender (1916–2014) and Soans featured a boy blowing a shepherd's horn (and not a trumpet!) and behind him a young blond woman with flowers in her hand (*Nõukogude Eesti 1955. a. üldlaulupeo juht*). Raunam used a similar motif in another poster he created for this occasion. People on these drawings appear to have made peace with the surroundings circumstances: they are no longer demonstrating and marching. However, their body language is restrained and somewhat circumspect in comparison to exaggerated gestures on posters of the 1947 celebration.

Self and Other in Coffee-Table Books of Late Socialism: Juxtapositions and Mergers

Even more complex, mutually constitutive relationships between the Estonian/national Self and Soviet Other emerge from coffee-table books published in the 1960s to the 1980s, the period of late socialism. Depending on the selection of photographs and their arrangement principles, song and dance festivals could be used to showcase the ESSR as a model Soviet republic or represented as a local, Estonian phenomenon.

This latter strategy can be seen in several books compiled and designed by the artist Aarne Mesikäpp (b. 1939). His approach is reminiscent of the cinematographic concept of montage: the creation of new meanings by means of juxtaposition and "alternation between the author's fragmentation and the reader's integration" (Huttunen 2005). While Mesikäpp has designed and/or compiled several coffee-table books on this topic, the analysis here will have to focus on the black-and-white *Laulusajand* ('Century of Song'; Mesikäpp et al. 1969) and the coloured multilingual *Land of Song* (Mesikäpp 1985).

'Century of Song', dedicated to the hundredth anniversary of song festivals, begins with images of Estonian landscapes, fauna, and flora; moves on to peasant architecture and past and present craftsmanship; and finally to images of choirs

and song celebrations. The very last pages display photographs of industry, modern agriculture and industrial fishery (Figs 11 and 12). This sequence of images tells a story of progress from nature to culture, agriculture and manual labour to industry. Yet while the text, too, is structured chronologically, proceeding from the first song festival to the most recent one, the photographs are not: images of leading Soviet Estonian conductors are placed side by side with photos of organizers of the very first song celebrations and singers of the bygone days are juxtaposed with contemporary choirs (Fig. 13). This creates a sense of permanence and self-sufficiency of the festival tradition.

Land of Song, the other book by Mesikäpp analysed here, begins and ends with images characteristic of Estonian nature and climate. Nested inside these nature photographs are smaller black-and-white photos of the very first song festivals and of modern celebrations and folk musicians. Images of singers and dancers, on the other hand, are juxtaposed with small coloured photos of birds, berries, butterflies, and flowers native to Estonia (Fig. 14). No reference is made to new buildings, machines, and other markers of socialist advancement. Rather, the juxtapositions of nature and culture bring to mind the Herderian view of national groups as units of a natural kind. Seen as living organisms, national groups are inseparable from particular natural environments, which over the course of many centuries have given rise to unique national cultures. These ties between local nature, people, and culture are understood to be direct and unshakeable, bound to outlive any political, human-made systems.[11]

Yet both books also abide by the rules of official iconography, demonstrating the friendship of peoples and the central role of the communist party: included are photos of performers from other parts of the Soviet Union, of army choirs and Soviet officials. 'Century of Song', in particular, includes collages demonstrating the diversity of Soviet-era song festivals and modernisation: men and women, old and young, black and white, Europeans and Central Asians, peasants and urban dwellers, people in folk costumes and smarts suits are all shown to be participating together and, for example, listening to the Soviet cosmonaut Gherman Titov, an honorary guest of the 1969 jubilee song festival (Figs 15 and 16).

Both books represent song and dance festivals as a distinctively Estonian phenomenon by means of grounding this tradition in local nature and emphasizing its continuity. However, there also is no confrontation with Soviet ideology. Subtle, ambiguous interpretations enabled by this representational strategy become more easily discernible when it is juxtaposed with coffee-table books where the Estonian and Soviet are visually coalesced.

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[11] Cf. an excerpt from the text accompaniying the images: "The songs born on the edge of the land fly out to the sea; the wide expanse of the sea will melt them into its roar or its silence; the fields, the forest and the meadow, too, *will take back the songs they gave*. Yet something will remain with the people: beauty" (Mesikäpp 1985, unpaginated, emphasis added).

The coffee-table book titled *Sulle, kodumaa* ('To You, Homeland') (Laido 1976; compiler Maie Laido, designer Valli Lember-Bogatkina [1921–2016]) was published on the occasion of the 1975 song and dance celebration that was dedicated to the 35th anniversary of Soviet Estonia and the 30th anniversary of Soviet victory in World War II. Interestingly enough, it contains no photographs of local nature. The book begins with a set of images that places Estonia firmly within the context of the Soviet homeland: men and women in Estonian national costumes holding hands against the background of the Long Hermann tower, flags of all the Soviet republics, Lenin statue in downtown Tallinn. Then comes an overview of new collective farms, state farms, and sanatoriums demonstrating Estonia's progress under the Soviet rule and the Soviet power's care for the working people (Fig. 17).

The next section commemorates Soviet victory in World War II: photos of war monuments in different Estonian towns and ceremonies that take place there on the 9th of May or Victory Day; a procession of Red Army veterans from downtown Tallinn to song festival grounds to commemorate the end of war. Only after these compulsory topics are readers presented with images of the 1975 song and dance celebration. Inserted in-between them are photographs of new monuments erected in Tallinn on the occasion of recent Soviet jubilees. Song and dance celebration and commemoration of World War II become interrelated—visually indistinguishable from each other—when the torch of the festival fire is shown to be lit from an eternal flame at the feet of a monument dedicated to Soviet soldiers (Figs 18 and 19).[12]

Form Becomes Content

All of the coffee-table books discussed here are rich in photographs depicting people in national costumes of different Soviet republics (Fig. 20). As such, they elucidate the use of folk dresses as national uniforms and indicators of diversity. Estonians' ethnic Others had to be present at song and dance celebrations for their presence and participation testified to the multiethnic makeup and broad geographical scope of the Soviet Union and to Estonians' openness to internationalism. The Others had to be easily recognisable and their performances were thus highly stereotypical, especially at dance celebrations: Ukrainian folk culture was often represented by hopak or kozachok, Romanian folk culture by hora, and so forth (Arraste et al. 2009). Dancers performed to symphonically rearranged musical accompaniment and wore colourful stylised costumes that corresponded to the needs of large-scale open-air performances rather than conveying regional folk traditions.

According to dance scholars (e.g. Kapper 2016), such choreographies had more in common with ballet than with peasant ways of dancing. Official rhetoric emphasised the equality of different Soviet peoples and their cultures, yet they were

[12] The tradition of igniting the festival fire was established in 1960 when the new choral stand with a tall fire tower was completed. Most fires of Soviet-era celebrations from 1965 onward were lit from eternal flames that were kept burning at Tallinn's two major World War II memorials.

all supposed to evolve along a predetermined path towards "high culture" (see, e.g. Kuutma 2008, 2009: 305). In the field of folk dancing, this was to be achieved by means of performances that mimicked classical ballet: Estonian and other folk dances were to be "ennobled" by means of applying to them body discipline, graceful movements, complicated patterns, and synchronicity "specific to Russian and other Slavic stage folk dance since the beginning of twentieth century" (Kapper 2016: 99).

Curiously enough, these representations of ethnic diversity at dance festivals were gradually invested with greater attention to authenticity as Others came to represent themselves. It sufficed in the 1950s if Estonian dancers performed the folk dances of their Soviet and socialist neighbours. Next came the stage when Estonian dancers performing the folk dances of Others would dress for the occasion: for a Russian dance, they would put on Russian folk dresses. From 1963 onward, dance celebrations would feature performances by guests from other Soviet republics and socialist countries and by Russian ensembles from Estonia (Arraste et al. 2009). Consequently, ethnic otherness became gradually more pronounced in visual representations of dance festivals.

The distinctiveness of the dances, costumes, and tunes of Others testified to the particularity of Estonian national culture and vice versa. The ideological requirement to display diversity forced, or enabled, Estonians to see themselves through the eyes of Others and to spell out what they thought was characteristic of them—what made them unique. Kapper has shown how Estonian dance instructors, dancers, and spectators adapted to this particular understanding of folk dance provided by the Soviet Other and, moreover, how the ballet-based standardised movement style has remained unchanged *after* the end of the Soviet era.[13] It is now perceived "as a representation of 'Estonianness'" and "as a valuable national tradition" that reinforces national feelings (Kapper 2016: 101–102).[14]

Conclusion

Visual representations discussed in this chapter elucidate how the form of Estonian song and dance celebrations was filled in the Soviet era with contents that spoke of and to the surrounding political and cultural conditions and, moreover, came to shape Estonians' notions of the Estonian national form. While Soviet authorities led the way in the 1940s–50s, co-opting a festival tradition that Estonians knew and identified with, their orders were carried out by artists, performers, and various other actors on the ground. Over the years, it became increasingly difficult to tell the difference between visual representations of the national/Estonian Self and Soviet Other as one would feed on the other. Diverse representational strategies

[13] In the 1960s, an opposite folklore movement also emerged in Estonia that promoted indigenous dance and an individually variable performance style (see Kapper 2016: 103–104 and Kuutma 2009: 306).

[14] While the first post-Soviet dance celebrations featured only Estonian dances and dancers, since 2004 they have again included performances by guests from neighbouring countries.

employed in coffee-table books from the period of late socialism are indicative of this coexistence as well as of its capacity to allow for different, even ambiguous messages. Depending on the images that were selected to contextualise song and dance celebrations and their arrangement principles, the festival tradition could be represented as a Soviet achievement or, on the contrary, as an almost natural phenomenon independent of ideological struggles. While in the former case, the Soviet rule was represented as a guarantor of Estonia's progress and development, it emerged from latter representations as surface phenomena bound to leave the national essence intact.

The relationship between national/Estonian form and socialist content was thus more complex than one of simple subordination. Examples discussed here illustrate how forms tend to outlive contents and how the permanence of form can obscure shifts in contents. By controlling forms, one can modify contents and ultimately change the reality. As Michael Herzfeld notes (2005: 20), "The more fixed the semiotic forms, the greater is the play of ambiguity and the more surprising are the possibilities for violating the code itself". New shifts in the content of song and dance celebrations began already in the late 1980s before Estonia had restored independence. The permanence of form, once again, conveyed a sense of continuity amid drastic political, social, and economic changes and what appeared to have been the form, turned out to be the content.

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1 **Emblem of the XI song festival held in 1938 in Tallinn**
Estonian National Museum, ERM D 37:11/1-3, http://muis.ee/museaalview/603304.

Emblem of the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival
2 Estonian National Museum, ERM D 106:695, http://muis.ee/museaalview/571176.

Poster "XII all-Estonian song festival, Tallinn song festival grounds, June 28–29, 1947" along with the emblem of the celebration
Designer Alo Hoidre, printed in 1947. Art Museum of Estonia, EKM j 52753 GD 1867, http://muis.ee/en_GB/museaalview/1458998.

4 **Poster "Folk art evening in Tallinn stadium on June 27, 1947"**
Designed by Siima Škop, printed in 1947. Estonian History Museum, AM F1581:36.

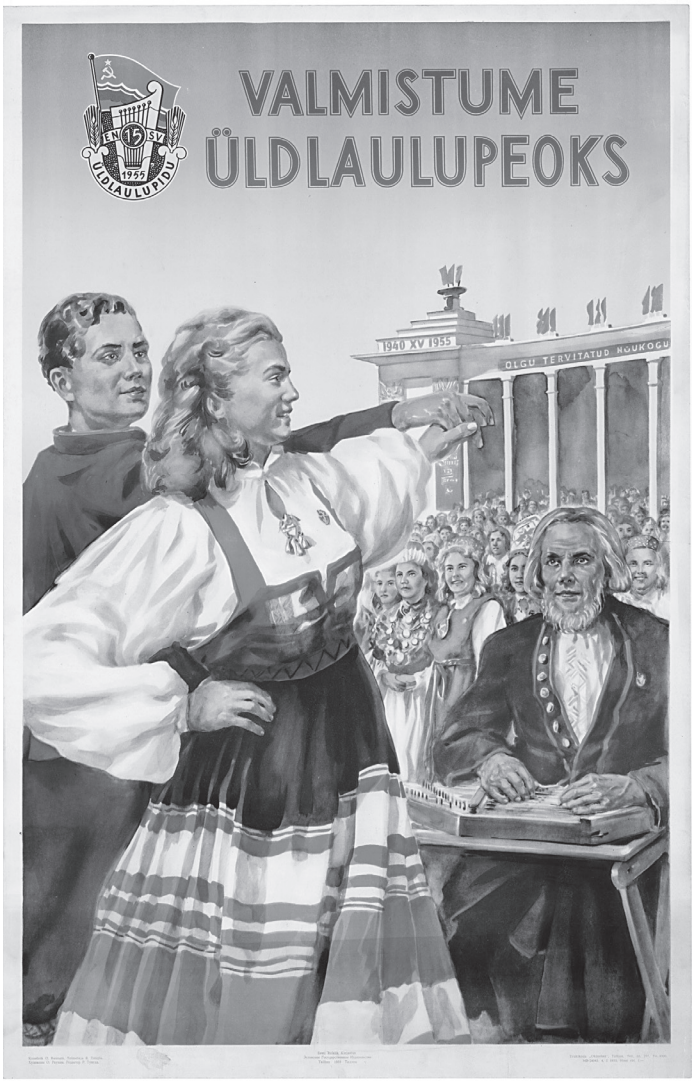
Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR! Everybody to the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival!" by Aleksei Viilup and Olev Soans, printed in 1950. Estonian History Museum, AM_3225 F158 1:37, http://muis.ee/museaalView/2233707.

**Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR!
Everybody to the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival!"**
by Siima Škop, printed in 1950.
6 Estonian History Museum, AM_3226:1 F158 1:38, http://muis.ee/museaalview/2233714.

Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR! Everybody to the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival!" designed by Oskar Raunam, printed in 1950. Estonian History Museum, AM_3224 F158 1:31, http://muis.ee/museaalview/2233608.

May Day poster "Welcome, May 1!"
designed by Asta Vender and Olev Soans, printed in 1952. Art Museum of Estonia,
8 EKM j 52404 GD 1565, http://muis.ee/museaalView/1378478.

Poster "Welcome, the eighteenth anniversary of the ESSR!"
designed by Siima Škop, printed in 1958. Art Museum of Estonia, EKM j 52535 GD 1693.



Poster "Let us prepare for the all-Estonian song festival" with the emblem of the 1955 song festival
by Oskar Raunam, printed in 1955. Art Museum of Estonia,
EKM j 52584 GD 1742, http://muis.ee/museaalView/1382504.

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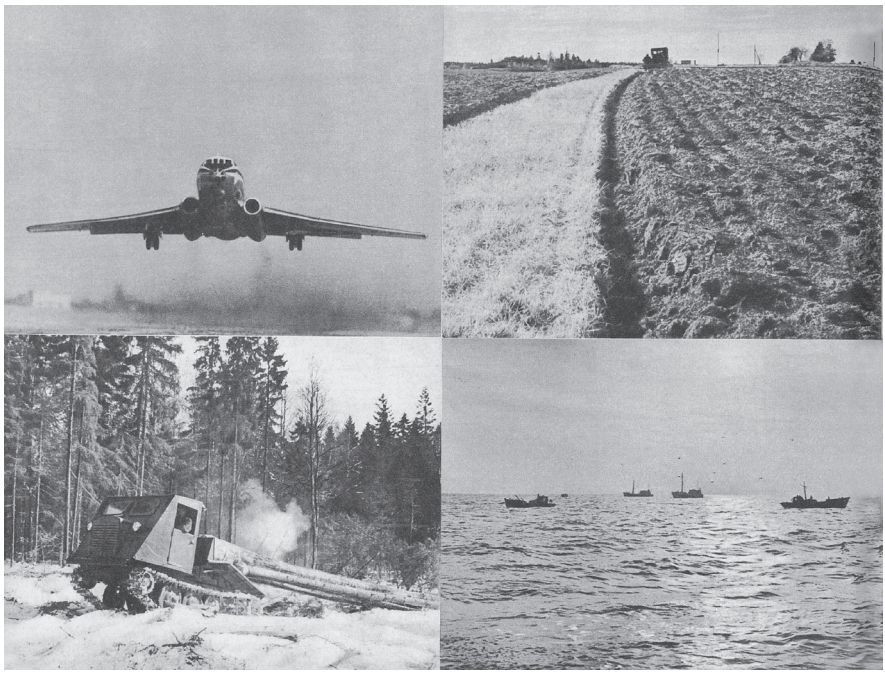
The book *Laulusajand* ('Century of Song') begins with images of ageless local nature ...
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969,
Laulusajand 1869–1969, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat. 11



... and ends with photographs of modern mechanized utilization of these same landscapes.
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969,
12 *Laulusajand 1869–1969*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

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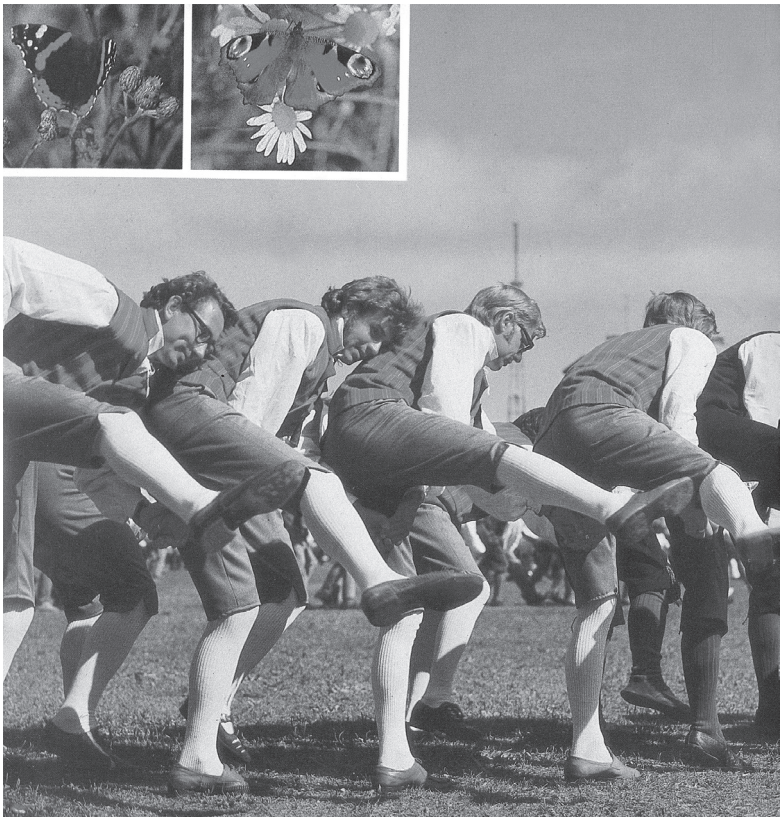
The linear narrative of progress gets disrupted when old-time images are juxtaposed with images of participants of latter-day song-festivals.
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969, *Laulusajand 1869–1969*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.



In the book *Land of Song*, participants of song and dance celebrations are juxtaposed with the flora and fauna of Estonia.
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1985,
14 *Land of Song*, Tallinn: Perioodika.

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Song and dance celebrations as showcases for the friendship of peoples and socialist progress: Soviet officials, foreign guests and locals ...
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969, *Laulusajand 1869–1969*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

... listening to the Soviet cosmonaut Gherman Titov.
Compiler and graphic designer Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969,
16 *Laulusajand 1869–1969*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

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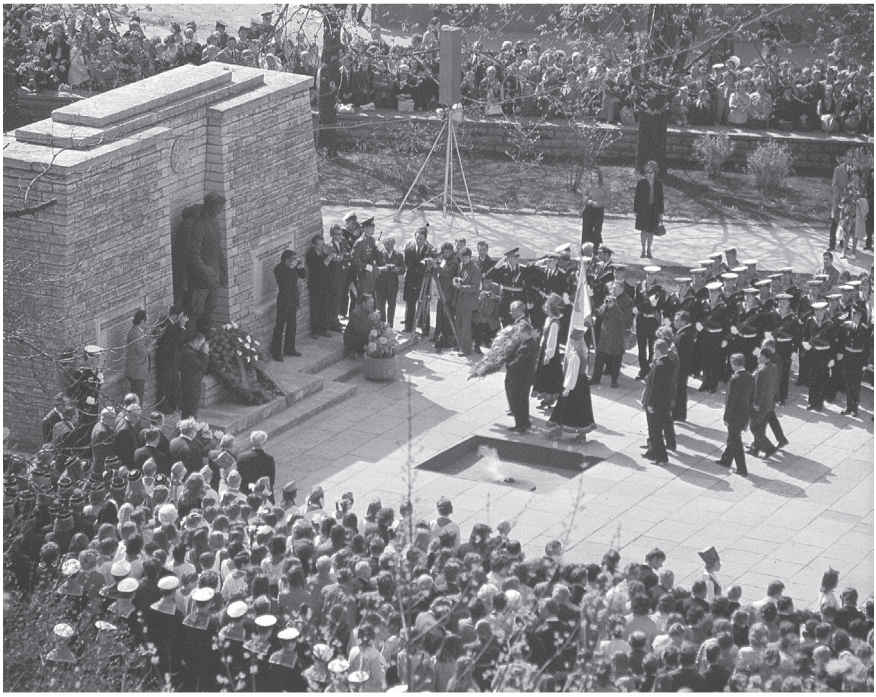
The book *Sulle, kodumaa* ('To You, Homeland') begins with images of sanatoriums, recreational facilities, dwellings and town centres erected under the Soviet regime, placing the tradition of song and dance celebrations firmly in a Soviet context.
An image from the book by Maie Laido, 1976, *Sulle, kodumaa*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.



A festive gathering at the Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn on the thirtieth anniversary of Soviet victory in World War II

18 An image from the book by Maie Laido, 1976, *Sulle, kodumaa*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

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Heinrich Hindreus, recipient of the honorary title Hero of the Soviet Union, lighting the torch of the 1975 song and dance festival from the eternal flame at the Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn.
An image from the book by Maie Laido, 1976, *Sulle, kodumaa*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Estonian participants of the 1975 song and dance celebration and their peers from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic

20 The concluding image of the book by Maie Laido, 1976, *Sulle, kodumaa*, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.

Katerina Gadjeva

Bulgaria Through the Eyes of Foreigners During the 1960s: Photographic Representations of the "Tourist Paradise"

"I have never before seen such a place … A town of hotels, embedded in the beautiful scenery, a town enjoying foreign public—it is rare to find so many different nationalities in one place: French people stretched on chaise-lounges under blue and white umbrellas, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Germans resting on the balconies of their hotel rooms. A couple of English people go out of the hotel foyer. Two dozens of Russians seated at two tables at the fish restaurant …" (Kalinkov & Doychev 2007: 19). This is what an Austrian journalist wrote in his article for *Völkischer Beobachter* upon visiting the Zlatni Pyasatsi ('Golden Sands') resort in 1957, only a few months after the first eight hotels had opened. His observations came not from France or Spain but from Bulgaria, a country ruled for almost a decade in the spirit of the harshest socialism imaginable, that of the Stalinist type. How did the coast of the previously unknown and tourist-unfriendly country gain popularity as the Florida, Cannes, or Saint Tropez (Lapiérre & Jarnoux 1963: 28) of the Black Sea? And what was the role of photography in the state plan for turning Bulgaria into a fashionable tourist destination?

In the late 1948, under the direct presidency of Georgi Dimitrov,[1] the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was held in Sofia, which set the building of communism in Bulgaria as an overarching goal. A clear course was outlined for the development of the country which had to follow the main features of the Soviet organization. Soon after the Fifth Congress, a centralized economic policy was in place as well as total control over all spheres of life. Bulgaria was now one of the closest and most loyal allies of the USSR. Earlier in the same year, on the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov, the Balkantourist[2] state enterprise was established. Among its main objectives were "to be responsible for the overall organization of international tourism in the country, to attract a growing number of foreign tourists, to receive and provide service to all foreigners, delegates, groups and interna-

[1] Georgi Dimitrov (1882–1949) was a hero in the trial for the setting of the Reichstag fire in 1933. He was a close to Joseph Stalin; a key figure of the international communist movement; secretary general of the Comintern (1935–1943), secretary general of the Bulgarian Communist Party and prime minister of Bulgaria from 1946 to 1949. After his death in 1949, his body was embalmed and placed in a specially erected mausoleum in the centre of Sofia (see Vaseva, this volume).

[2] Balkantourist is the oldest tour operator in Bulgaria. It was a state-owned government monopoly that was privatized in 1995.

tional guests, to ensure broad promotion with respect to international tourism, etc." (TsDA 1948: 1). To this end, the number of well-equipped hotels and restaurants had to increase, as well as that of ticket sales, information, and propaganda outlets, and the enterprise had to put in place its own fleet of vehicles and prepare selected individuals to be guides and interpreters by ensuring proper foreign-language training. Immediately after 1948, Bulgaria signed tourist agreements with other socialist countries Czechoslovakia, Albania, Romania, the USSR, and the GDR but it still lacked the well-developed infrastructure and personnel to provide adequate service to the incoming tourists. In the 1950s, the atmosphere in the country was rather hostile to them, and the term "foreigner" was often associated with the term "spy". The setting up of Balkantourist in the harsh political situation at that time served purposes other than tourism: the company's connections with State Security, from the onset until 1990, were a public secret, and its employees, regardless of their position, were all trustworthy, reliable, and loyal to the authorities (Ghodsee 2005: 92–96).

The political situation in Bulgaria slowly began to change after Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 and especially after 1956, the year of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where Nikita Khrushchev read his famous paper "On dealing with the personality cult and its consequences". Soon after, a similar paper was delivered at the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party by Todor Zhivkov.[3] Even though at the April Plenum itself no decisions were made for any drastic or purposeful steps toward overcoming authoritarianism in government or in political and cultural life, this was nevertheless seen as the starting point in the so-called defrosting process introducing a certain degree of liberalization in the political regime. Zhivkov began introducing a new generation of leaders in the mid-1960s, and political repression eased noticeably. After consolidating his power, he made special efforts to change the policy of the "stick" with that of the "carrot" in an attempt to attract the intelligentsia to the government. The communist regime in Bulgaria paid attention to the consuming of goods and services which had never happened during all the years since the establishment of its power. The country gradually began to open up to the world and one of its main goals became the export of products, which, in the spirit of socialist competition and the idea of impressively demonstrating the achievements and potential of the socialist system, had to be of the highest possible quality. In the 1960s, the country became one of the biggest growers and exporters worldwide of fruit and vegetables, silkworms, tobacco, and rose oil. However, one of its most precious commodities—the fine sand along the Black Sea coast—could neither by packed nor sold. The 200 kilometres of beach line, mostly virgin and unpopular

[3] Todor Zhivkov (1911–1998) became first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1954. He ruled the People's Republic of Bulgaria for 35 years, until his ouster in 1989. He was the longest serving leader in any of the Soviet-bloc nations of eastern Europe.

among the Bulgarian holidaymakers, the long and moderately hot summer, and the coolness of the shady places among the luxuriant vegetation were the factors that could turn Bulgaria into a fashionable tourist destination. For the citizens of socialist countries it was hard to travel beyond the iron curtain, and the conditions offered by the Bulgarian Black Sea coast were ideal for a summer holiday. Within the socialist camp, these could only be rivalled by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Adriatic coastline, but the country never assumed a course of dependence from the USSR; it remained an unpopular destination for socialist citizens and attracted instead more tourists from capitalist countries. The authorities set themselves the task of turning Bulgaria into a "Red Riviera"—the most desired holiday destination in the socialist world.

In the summer of 1956, the first sod was turned for the Golden Sands resort. The terrain was a wilderness full of snakes, for the extermination of which 200 hedgehogs were brought in from Albania (Kalinkov & Doychev 2007: 12). Nevertheless, for the start-up of the tourist season in the following year of 1957, eight hotels, as well as several bungalow areas, five restaurants, and one pastry shop, were built and ready for use (Ibid.: 15). Work started also on the Slanchev briag ('Sunny Beach') resort and the expansion of the Druzhba ('Friendship') complex. Some of the country's top architects were invited to design hotels that would naturally fit into the surrounding landscape. "Simple, beautiful, refined, colourful, tranquil and modern—these are only some of the architectural qualities of the Golden Sands resort. The soft colours of the facades, the elegant lines of the balconies, the green areas contrasting the black of the roads and alleys—this is the background against which the people who have come here from near and far stand out. Everything is organized in a single meaningful composition which has preserved the beauties of nature." This is the description of the Golden Sands provided by one of the most representative photographic albums[4] of the 1960s advertising the Bulgarian seaside (Dimchev & Shterev 1964). A US-American travel guide published in 1968 enthusiastically declared: "What the Bulgarians have done and are doing with their stretch of Black Sea coast is one of the phenomena of the international tourist industry. … The Bulgarians have created pleasure resorts that, despite the hundreds of thousands jamming them in season, are miraculously devoid of a honky-tonk quality. They have paid considerable attention to the need for shady spaces, for parks and gardens, for a variety of places to eat, drink, and amuse oneself, for sightseeing tours—inexpensive and well-organized—to both immediate and distant points, for rapid transport (direct flights to the coast from abroad, for example) and at least to as great an extent as possible, for pleasant, efficient service" (Kane 1968: 55–56) (Figs 1 and 2). To develop the new Black Sea resorts and attract tourists from abroad became one of the country's top priorities in the long run (Beyer & Hagemann 2013). But in the 1950s the inflow of foreign tourists

[4] Other representative albums in English are Rashev (1968); Boev (1966); Popov & Dimchev (1961).

was still unsatisfactory—while in 1955 there were only 2,000, in 1957 the number had increased to 16,800 and to 80,000 in 1958 (Bulgaria's Relentless Progress 1964: 1). Much more was needed to make Bulgaria a popular and fashionable tourist destination comparable to Western resorts and to ensure its attractiveness not just for holidaymakers from socialist countries. No doubt, improved services and the development of new and increasingly attractive hotels, restaurants, parks, and bars would be the steps required to attract more international guests. Of no less importance, however, would be to transform the notion foreigners had of Bulgaria as a country still seen as gloomy, frightening, and harsh. A British teacher who had visited Bulgaria for the first time in the early 1960 described this negative attitude: "I wanted to organize a school trip to your country but the parents were too scared to let their children there. They kept insisting that the children would be locked up in prison without bread or water. And so I was full of "information" when I left for here. … My family saw me off with tears, as though they were about to bury me. … Although I only spent 20 days in Bulgaria, I can tell about it for months. … People in Bulgaria are marked by something peculiar, individual and unique" (Sirakov 1971: 265).

In addition to socialist countries, Balkantourist opened offices in Vienna, Frankfurt, Stockholm, Washington, Beirut, Paris, London, and Brussels. These were meant to disseminate advertising materials, organize tourist groups, sell tickets, and reshape the country's image by promoting its sunny modern resorts, beautiful nature and mountains, and ancient history. All of this would be unthinkable without high-quality, convincing pictures. But was Bulgarian photography prepared to produce such visual propaganda? In the 1950s, it adhered strictly to the directives of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics, not seeking to depict the reality as it is here and now but instead offering a picture of the world as it should be. Photographers were not tempted to record simple everyday activities or just the aesthetic beauty of their objects. To conform to the spirit of socialist realism, a photographic image had to possess more than the sheer ability to mechanically reproduce the visible world; it also needed to have an ideological spirit. Only what was heroic deserved to be photographed: portraits of distinguished workers, photographic stories about heroes of labour, and impressive factories, canals, hydropower plants and all sorts of production processes (Gadjeva 2012). The country's new priorities in the 1960s called for a new course of development in photography. To become an object of desire, Bulgaria had to be depicted as seen through the eyes of foreigners and not of the Communist party. Although landscape was essentially missing in the photography of the previous decade, now it became a major topic: sunrises and sunsets, archaeological sites, rocks, and mountain peaks. The woman, too, came to be shown differently. One of the emblems of socialism, she had been a major object of photo reporting even before (Gadjeva 2015) but never had she been beautiful, elegant, or playful. The temptress, with her luring glance, did not fit the socialist ideal, which left no room for sexuality or appeal. But in the new photographs re-

vealing Bulgaria to the world one sees fine, tanned bodies, bold swimsuits, playful glances, and a frivolous manner (Fig. 3).

To create representative images of the country, the best Bulgarian photographers of the period were engaged: Nikolay Popov,[5] Nikola Stoichkov,[6] Vladimir Dimchev,[7] Petar Bozhkov,[8] and so forth. The new themes of these "promotional" images also permeated the everyday repertoire of Bulgarian photography, completely transforming its harsh imagery. Although many cultural and aesthetic tendencies of the period also contributed to this, it is important to note that the process seemed rather driven from the outside, from the imposed idea of what Bulgaria's image should be and the close link between photography and the state plan for cultural and tourist development. One indicative fact is that upon the launch of the first Bulgarian specialized photography magazine in 1966, *Balgarsko Foto* ('Bulgarian Photo'), the point was made explicitly that one of its main tasks would be "to promote Bulgaria's image as a destination for international tourism" (Editor's Note 1966: 1).

As a country wishing to attract as many holidaymakers as possible, Bulgaria would rely on the promotion of nature, pleasure, and temptation in shaping its advertising campaign. But this would not make the country a different or more desirable destination than other well-known quality resorts. Something else was needed, a specific distinguishing feature to appeal to the curiosity of tourists seeking new attractions. It turned out that most appropriate to this end would be the foreigners' lack of information about the country's location, its past, and what it actually looked like. Could Bulgaria be depicted as an exotic country of lush tropical vegetation, where unbelievable fruits grew and huge sand dunes could be seen, crossed by camel riders against the sunset? Countries that could actually offer such experience were distant and inaccessible to socialist citizens. Why should Bulgaria not occupy this free niche, why not create a new, although imaginary image, which photography could render "realistic"? Susan Sontag wrote: "Photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we're shown a photograph of it" (Sontag 1979: 5). André Bazin notes that the aesthetic world invented by the artist is dissimilar to the surrounding reality. A photographic image depends on the existence of the model, has been extracted from it and resembles

[5] Nikolay Popov (1914–1973) graduated as an architect in Zagreb in 1941. His background and profession largely influenced his style as photographer. He was a highly successful contributor to a number of international photography exhibitions.

[6] Nikola Stoichkov (1917–2003) was one of the most prominent Bulgarian photojournalists.

[7] Vladimir Dimchev (1899–1979) was one of the pioneers of socialist photography and cofounder of the State Photographic Archive. He is the author of several photography albums revealing various parts of the country. His photos were published in a number of Bulgarian magazines, especially those meant for circulation abroad.

[8] Petar Bozhkov (1915–2003) is winner of a number of international awards. He was a master of landscape and portrait photography.

a fingerprint (Bazin 2005: 15). Even when staged, the situations captured by camera would acquire the status of absolute truth; they would now have the authority of evidence and could confirm any textual content, no matter how remote from reality. "A very faithful drawing may actually tell as more about the model," Bazin wrote, "but despite the promptings of our critical intelligence it will never have the irrational power of the photograph to bear away our faith" (Ibid.: 14). Thanks to its technical nature, which predetermined the absence of the distinguishable mark invariably left by the artist's hand, in socialist society, photography was firmly established as the realist method of depiction. It was assumed that the camera had the ability to produce a truthful, objective, and unbiased image of the world. Photography became the metaphor for rational knowledge as separated from a subjective and imperfect sensory perception.

To develop even further the notion of Bulgaria as an exotic destination, the advertising materials disseminated by the Balkantourist alone would not suffice. A periodic publication was also needed for the aims of propaganda, a magazine that would promote in words and pictures the country's new image. Like neatly arranged shop windows, magazines "exhibited" visual evidence of the socialist state's prosperity in an attempt to create a more attractive image of socialism for the public in Bulgaria, the USSR, and the rest of the world. In 1964, the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria* began to be published in Bulgarian, English, German, Russian, and Esperanto. Richly illustrated, from the very beginning it featured sections like "As Visitors See Us", "Books on Bulgaria", "Foreign Press Comments on Bulgaria", "Veni, Vidi, Scripsi", "Tributes from Our Visitors", and so on. Articles in these sections described a fantastic land of extraordinary nature and a remarkable population. In the advertising photos showing Bulgaria's resorts, often we can see curious objects such as palms (which do not grow in the country due to the cold winter), lush vegetation (which is there but far less exotic than in the illustrations), and an abundance of fruit—peaches and apricots (traditionally grown) but also coconuts, bananas, oranges, and pineapples (which do not grow in Bulgaria, nor could be bought there) (Fig. 4). Elephants were never delivered, but one purposeful detail in the creation of an exotic image for the resorts were the camels, not only used as an attraction for tourists but also shown by photography while crossing the natural dunes of Sunny Beach as if they were on a long and tiresome journey across the desert (Figs 5 and 6). To all of the above one should also add the tourists' impressions from the hospitality and erudition of the socialist citizens (represented as uncommunicative and cheerless beyond the iron curtain), which were published abroad and republished in the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*: "Coming into contact with the Bulgarian people is for every serious-minded Scandinavian a real revelation, something we cannot experience within the confines of our own borders," wrote Heinrich Karlsson, a foreign journalist touring Bulgaria in 1963. "In buses, on trains and other means of conveyance Bulgarians attempt to converse with me in German, French, English or Esperanto, and that is how I made many interest-

ing acquaintances" (Karlsson 1963: 27). In fact, the learning of foreign languages (except for Russian, of course) was accessible to a very limited circle, almost entirely connected to the authorities and the Communist party functionaries. In smaller towns it was almost impossible to meet someone able to speak any of the languages mentioned in the foreigner's account. Equally questionable was the responsiveness of the Bulgarians he describes, having in mind the strict control to which citizens of the socialist society were subjected and the possible problems that might arise for them as a result of a seemingly innocent conversation with a foreigner.

The efforts of the authorities to hurriedly turn Bulgaria into a "Red Riviera" were crowned with success. According to Balkantourist statistics, in 1960 the country was visited by about 250,000 foreigners; in 1963 these were already 736,608; and a year later over 800,000 visited, of which 46 percent came from socialist countries and 54 percent from other countries. In that same year, 53,600 cars crossed the national border, of which 43,118 came from nonsocialist countries—and only 10,482 from socialist countries. Most tourists came from the German Democratic Republic (35,672), Czechoslovakia (29,066), Federal Republic of Germany (22,067), USSR (16,376), Poland (15 554), followed by Austria and the United Kingdom (Bulgaria's Relentless Progress 1964: 1). Publications in foreign press were eloquent: "Throughout the Communist world, Bulgaria occupies a position roughly equivalent to that of Florida in the United States: it is a place to go for a seaside vacation. This Iron Curtain country has other attractions, but for land-locked northerners or touring Americans longing for a tanning sun and warm seas, the Black Sea cost of Bulgaria is the principal lure" (Underwood 1963: 29); "Sunny Beach, the newest Bulgarian seaside resort, is much like Miami and Cannes, if not St. Tropez" (Lapiérre & Jarnoux 1963: 28); "Sunny beaches with modern bustling resorts; impressive mountains with delightful little villages; … wonderful architecture and historical features and modern excellent roads; … excellent new hotels, open air theatres, night life; musical festivals, forests, lakes and mineral springs with therapeutic power – there is no end to the holiday attractions of just one small country. And I am not talking about any place you know! No, it is not Switzerland, or Italy, or Spain or any of the usual holiday countries. I am talking about Bulgaria. … The beautiful Black Sea coast is rapidly becoming one of the most popular pleasure spots" (Berry 1963: 28). Positive reviews of the Bulgarian coast were republished in every issue of the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*. The magazine introduced the regular photo section "In Their Eyes", highlighting photos from foreign amateur photographers taken in Bulgaria. Beautiful girls, portraits of children, sunbathing on the beach, old houses, and ancient sites prevail among the published images. Admittedly all of them were meticulously selected to serve the ideology best. In contrast to film, which had a more powerful but rather short-lived effect on viewers, photography could incessantly hover in public space and flow into every sphere of life. A photo is an image ad infinitum, capable of being looked at, reproduced, and circulated again and again, speaking everyone's

language. Its apprehension takes no time as it need not be contemplated: a single glance is enough for the information contained therein to be grasped. And this was also the aim of the authorities—to keep viewers on the surface of images, relying on their sensory and emotional perception rather than on a logical and thorough examination of facts. Those photos regarding which one is considerably more open and trusting compared to other types of illustrations would far more quickly and smoothly sink into the subconscious. This is how they became one of the most meaningful and powerful agitation and propaganda tools developed and controlled by the party.

A slightly different idea of how foreigners saw Bulgaria can be found in travel guides written by foreign authors and published abroad.[9] Most Bulgaria guides used government-approved illustrations from the Bulgarian State Photo Archive. Some authors, however, opted to use their own pictures, thus avoiding the trap of standard and predictable imagery. What mostly impressed them was not the new, modern Bulgaria but the remains of the past and the oriental influences—all themes that socialist photography deliberately ignored: mosques, elderly men and women in national costumes, gypsies, basket makers, bear trainers, and so forth (Figs 7 and 8). Compared to this, resort life seemed unreal and insular. The Red Riviera presented itself to the world in a capitalist form (Neuburger 2013) but with the inevitable socialist content. Seemingly human but not accessible to everyone; beautiful but full of conventions and hidden traps; posing as frivolous but in fact constantly controlled and manipulated—reality and its image were dramatically inconsistent. The socialist authorities had the practice of using the credibility of photography to create illusions that easily could be turned into truths. Unnoticeably, many of the real, unattractive facts from the reality came to be replaced by their more perfect images. Socialist ideology needed faith and confidence in the realism of the photographic image. But this realism was not grounded in reality—it was something better and far more perfect than reality. It was meant to inspire people and lift the spirit. An artist adhering to the directives of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics would not reproduce the world as it was in the here and now. Every image, photographic image included, should possess something more than the ability to mechanically render the visible world; it has to also be endowed with an ideological spirit. It was not enough to merely capture the exploits of the new system with a camera, because socialist photography was valuable not only as documentation but also as a means to create and shape reality. I would say that we could compare photography, in its attempt to meet the requirements posed by socialist realism, to distorting mirrors. In front of the camera, people tend to act as if they were standing in front of a truth-telling mirror. Then all of a sudden they realize that what the mirror returns is an unreal image, showing them as something they know they are not (Eco 1986). Looking at their own portraits, they become susceptible

[9] For instance, Bàcs 1972; Chataigneau et. al. 1968; Jepsen 1967; Johnson 1964.

to a "theatrical illusion" that makes them take a pure fiction as something true and real, allowing an artistically created reference world to manifest itself as real. And this delusion was what the authorities used, having understood well that "the ideal subject of totalitarian rule", as Hannah Arendt wrote, "is not the convinced Nazi or the convinced Communist, but people for whom the distinction between fact and fiction (i.e., the reality of experience) and the distinction between true and false (i.e., the standards of thought) no longer exist" (Arendt 1962: 474).

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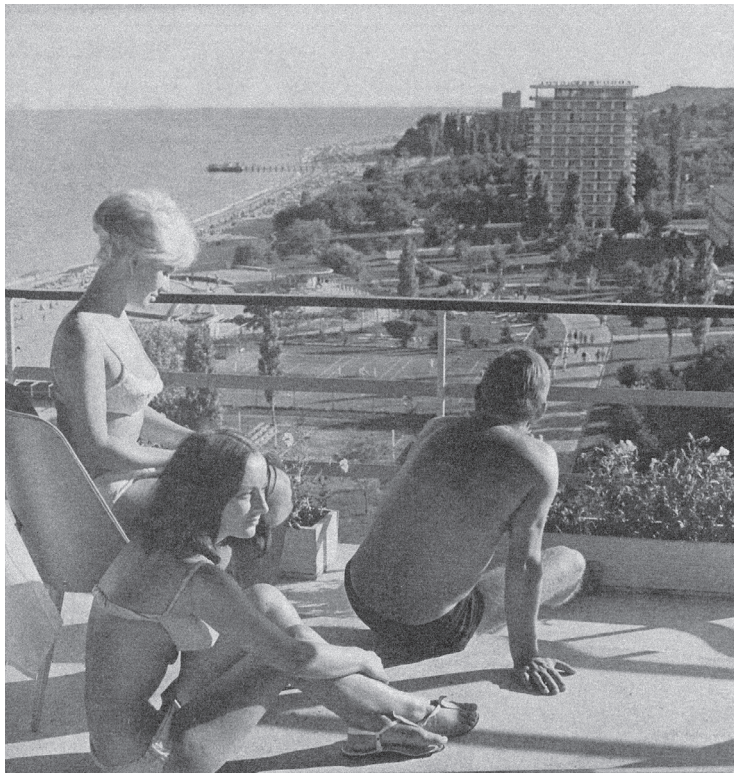


View from the terrace of the hotel
P. Boev, 1966, from the album *Golden Sands*, Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo. 1

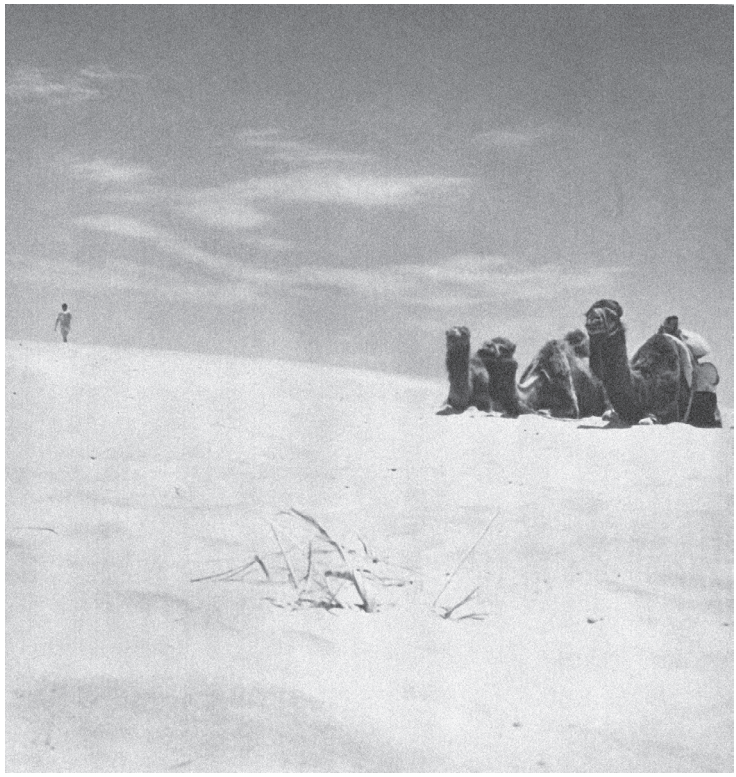
Restaurant "Palma" on Sunny Beach

2 V. Dimchev & N. Shterev, 1964, from the album *Bulgarian Black Sea Coast.* Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo.

Illustration from the magazine
Author unknown, 1963, from the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*, vol. 3, cover page. 3

Illustration from the magazine

4 Author unknown, 1964, from the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*, vol. 5, cover page.



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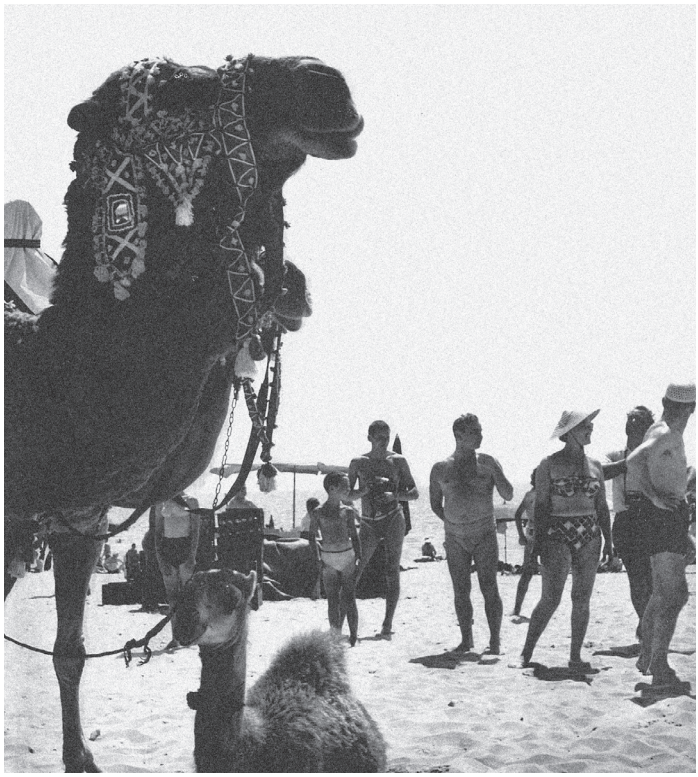
Dunes
V. Dimchev, 1961, from the album *Bulgarian Resorts*, Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo.



Camel on the beach

6 V. Dimchev & N. Shterev, 1964, from the album *Bulgarian Black Sea Coast*, Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo.

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Gypsies from Novi Pazar
S. Johnson, 1964, from the travel guide *Gay Bulgaria*. London: Travel Book Club.

Basket Seller

8 G. Bàcs, 1972, from the travel guide *Bulgaria*. Budapest: Panorama.

7. Media and the Creation of Cultural Memory

Evgenia Troeva

Representations of the Medieval Past in Socialist Bulgaria

The present study analyses the way in which socialist Bulgaria talked about the medieval past—that is the socialist discourse on medieval history. The past is the referential "other" in relation to the present and is not called "a foreign country" (Lowenthal 2002) by coincidence. At the same time, every present has its relationship with the respective past defined in a new way, the notions of the past being changed by motives that reflect current needs (Ibid.: 493). As a result, the national history is always written from the perspective of the future (Nora 2005: 28), and representations of the past are an expression and a source of power (Bond & Gilliam 1994).

Bulgarian science and culture from the socialist period (1945–1989) developed under the strict control of the Communist Party and its institutions. In the years after 1944, the humanities and historical science, in particular, were undergoing radical ideological rethinking in terms of the imposed Marxist-Leninist ideology. This process affected the university and academic networks, the school system, and cultural institutions. The late 1940 saw the reorganization of the Archaeological and Ethnographic Institutes with museums at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the opening of the Institute for History (Kossev et al. 1972: 24). Control over the cultural sphere was carried out by the Committee for Science, Art and Culture (since 1963, the Committee for Culture and Art) (Elenkov 2008: 137–139, 198). The institution had the main purpose of producing new, socialist science and culture that would meet the planned goals of the Communist Party.

The focus of historical research also changed. The dominant topic for Bulgarian historians before the wars (1912–1918) had been the April Uprising against the Turks in 1876, while in the interwar period their focus of attention fell on the Middle Ages (Hranova 2011b: 199). Medieval Bulgaria was seen as an ideal for the territorial unification of all lands inhabited by Bulgarians—a national ideal that remained unfulfilled during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Although the focus of attention of historical research in the first years of communist rule was directed mainly to the re-evaluation of the recent past with an emphasis on the manifestations of the class struggle in modern Bulgarian history, the medieval past was also under reconsideration.

Bulgarian Middle Ages covered the period from seventh to fourteenth century. The medieval Bulgarian state was founded in 681 by the Bulgarians of Khan Asparuh and Slavic tribes in the region of the Lower Danube. Gradually the state expanded to the south at the expense of Byzantine territories, one of the most

successful Bulgarian rulers being Khan Krum (800–814). In 864 under Prince Boris I (852–889) Bulgaria was Christianized and adopted the Slavonic alphabet. The greatest territorial expansion of the First Bulgarian Kingdom was achieved by Tsar Simeon (893–927). Under his successors a political decline followed and Bulgarian lands were conquered by Byzantium in the second decade of the eleventh century. After two centuries of Byzantine rule the Asen dynasty (the brothers Asen, Petar, Kaloyan) restored the Bulgarian state in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The Second Bulgarian Kingdom reached its political heyday under Tsar Yoan Asen II (1218–1241). In the late fourteenth century during the Shishman dynasty, Bulgarian lands fell to Ottoman control.

After 1944, the Marxist medievalists were given the task "to abandon the bourgeois view of the role of historical figures", and the focus of research was redirected to Slavic history and archeology (Kossev et al. 1972: 7, 22). In 1948, the First National Meeting of Historians made the decision to discard the "falsification", "chauvinist layeres" and concepts of "bourgeois historians" (Elenkov 2008: 166). The presented programme paper stressed that the Slavs had taken a leading role in the formation of the Bulgarian state in 681. At the meeting, Tsar Simeon (893–927), who seemed ideal for state ruler in the interwar period, was declared the first Bulgarian ruler who led wars of conquest, while his predecessors were given merit for having led wars for the unification of the Slavs within the Bulgarian state. Positive evaluation was given to the rulers of Asen's dynasty, who restored the Bulgarian state, and in this sense their objectives coincided with the interests of the Bulgarian people (Mutafchieva et al. 1995: 244, 248, 252).

The Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1948 set the task of a "scientific" rewriting of history, which resulted in the publishing of two academic volumes *Istoria na Balgaria* ('History of Bulgaria') in 1954 and 1955. They were subsequently revised and edited in the 1960s (1961, 1962, 1964), expanding to three volumes (Elenkov 2008: 371–372). Earlier in 1951, however, *Kratka istoria na balgarskia narod* ('A Brief History of the Bulgarian People') (Mitev 1951) had been published, in which the Middle Ages were paid significantly less attention than the subsequent historical periods. The ninth and tenth centuries' development period of the Bulgarian state were characterized by the formation of a feudal system, a process facilitated by Christianization and the wars of Tsar Simeon (Ibid.: 36). A particular emphasis in the presentation of the Middle Ages in The Brief History of the Bulgarian People was placed on a heretical religious movement, Bogomilism, viewed in the Marxist perspective of people's resistance against feudalism.

In the academic *History of Bulgaria* from 1954 (Milchev et al. 1954) the Middle Ages as a whole were presented within the paradigm of the socioeconomic formations and, in particular, of feudalism, with an emphasis on the class conflict in medieval society. The revised edition of *History of Bulgaria* from 1961 (Milchev et al. 1961) followed the same scheme and largely repeated the text from the previous edition.

The same ideological trends can be observed in the history books from the period after World War II, where Tsar Simeon's rule was evaluated negatively with an emphasis on feudalism and the conquest wars. Bulgaria during the Asen dynasty was used as a positive example of the liberation of Bulgarians, and it was with Asen's dynasty and the Second Bulgarian Kingdom that the nationalistic tendency continued after 1944 (Hranova 2011b: 246–247). The textbooks emphasized the key role of the Slavs in the formation of the Bulgarian state. In the Stalinist period, schoolchildren were taught that the Slavs on the Balkans had their own state, and that the Bulgarian Khan Asparuh only helped and united them (Ibid.: 248–249).

In 1966, the Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party assigned the task of writing a new multivolume *Istoria na Balgaria* ('History of Bulgaria') and a decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party from May 1968 outlined its basic underlying principles (Elenkov 2008: 372–373). The second volume of the new multivolume *History of Bulgaria*, dedicated to the First Bulgarian State, however, was published as late as the Jubilee year 1981, marking the 1,300-year anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian state.

A boom in the interest in ancient Bulgarian history and heritage was noticed from the 1960s onwards (Doynov 2009: 581). In the late sixties and early seventies, governmental decisions launched national programmes for archaeological research and conservation of the medieval Bulgarian capitals of Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Tarnovo (Elenkov 2009b: 627). As a result, they gradually became popular tourist sites that had an impact on public notions about the medieval past of Bulgarians.

The sociopolitical context in socialist Bulgaria determined the development of the Bulgarian historical novel. In the interwar period, the Karapetrov brothers' popular series of historical novels *Drevna Balgaria* ('Ancient Bulgaria') was edited with the support of state institutions (Hranova 2011a: 234–235). In the same period, Fani Popova-Mutafova wrote historical novels devoted to the rulers of the Asen dynasty. Subsequently, she was persecuted by the communist authorities and rehabilitated in the sixties, when she reissued the novels with some corrections (Ibid.: 247–292).

A number of novels featuring medieval stories were published during the socialist period. The first of them represented the era of the Asen dynasty: *Probuzhdane* ('Awakening') by Anton Donchev and Dimitar Mantov (1956), set in the time of Tsars Asen and Petar; *Kaloyan—tsar na balgarite* ('Kaloyan—Tsar of the Bulgarians') by Dimitar Mantov (1958); and *Ivan Asen—tsar i avtokrat* ('Ivan Asen—Tsar and Autocrat') by Dimitar Mantov (1960). The historical novels published in the sixties addressed key periods from the development of the First Bulgarian State. More and more historical novels were published in the following years, diversifying the presented historical periods and ruling figures. Literary works were dedicated also to the celebrations of the 1,300-year anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state. For example, Vera Mutafchieva wrote the novel *Predskazano ot Pagane* ('Foretold by Pagane'), which served as a basis for the screenplay *Han Asparuh*

('Khan Asparuh'), and Anton Donchev published the series *Skazanie za han Asparuh* ('Saga of Khan Asparuh') (Penchev 2012).

While in the historical readings before the forties the story revolved around the ruler's character, later, the tsars were negative characters and only the rulers Simeon and Ivan Asen II were presented in a positive light (Stoyanov 2002: 42–43), because under them the First Bulgarian Kingdom and the Second, respectively, reached a maximum territorial expansion, uniting the Bulgarians in one country. Such an example is the novel *Moyata drevna i mlada rodina* ('My Ancient and Young Country') from 1965. The number of printed copies of historical novels was increased; for example, the copies of E. Konstantinov's *Moyata drevna i mlada rodina* ('My Ancient and Young Country') was 51,000, a significant increase over the number of historical editions in the interwar period, which ranged from 5,000 to 10,000 (Stoyanov 2002: 40).

The new "look" of the medieval past in the socialist period led to a change in its visual representations formed through various media. The ideological rethinking after 1944 affected both the traditional means for visualizing the past, such as painting and sculpture, and the developing of new ones such as cinema and television. Their functioning in the context of a totalitarian state led to the unification of messages. In this chapter, I will present some of the trends in the representations of Bulgarian medieval history during the socialist period from the end of the World War II until the early 1980s and the changes that occurred then.

During the interwar period, artist Dimitar Gyudzhenov created numerous paintings with historical subjects devoted exclusively to the medieval Bulgarian grandeur (Bozhkov 1978). After 1944, the medieval themes lost their predominance in science and art and it was ten years later when Gyudzhenov created a painting dedicated to the ruler of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (*Ivan Asen II detronira Borila* ['Ivan Asen II Dethrones Boril'], 1955). Another ten years passed before a picture with a storyline from the First Bulgarian Kingdom with the image of Prince Boris I, the Converter of the Bulgarians (*Tsar Boris i pokrastvaneto na balgarite* ['Tsar Boris and the Conversion of the Bulgarians'], 1965) was created (Angelov 1969). A year later, in 1966, there appeared the picture of Petko Zadgorski[1] *Krakra Pernishki* ('Krakra of Pernik'), dedicated to one of the major figures of the medieval noblemen fighting against the conquerors of the Bulgarian lands.

Similar processes occurred in the development of Bulgarian historical film. Before the eighties, there were no films about rulers of the First Bulgarian State. This was due in part to the fact that the Middle Ages was seen by the socialist ideology as the era of feudal oppression and exploitation of the working classes. Another significant factor was the fact that the names of two of the state's most significant rulers, Prince Boris and Tsar Simeon, coincided with the names of the last tsars of the Bulgarian monarchy in the twentieth century. Ideologically, their images in the

[1] P. Zadgorski was a student from D. Gyudzhenov.

decades after 1945 were avoided because of the associations, which was undesirable for the Communist government.

Before 1980, the Bulgarian historical films about the Middle Ages were dedicated to the rulers of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom between the late twelfth century and the late fourteenth century (*Kaloyan* ['Kaloyan'], *Shishman* ['Shishman'], *Svatbite na Yoan Asen* ['The Weddings of Yoan Asen'], *Knyazat* ['The Prince'], *Ivaylo* ['Ivaylo']). These films had features characteristic of the tragedy genre as their characters were depicted in crisis situations (Milev 1982: 42–60). The first film, *Kaloyan* (1963, director Dako Dakovski), presented the international recognition of the restored Bulgarian state, its expansion and the victory of the Bulgarians ruled by Tsar Kaloyan over the knights of the Latin Emperor Baldwin in 1205. The second film, *Ivaylo* (1964, Nikola Valchev), was dedicated to the leader of the peasant uprising, who defeated the Tatars, opposed the boyars and ascended the Bulgarian throne in 1278. In the film, the image of the tsar is romanticized and interpreted in terms of sacrifice (Doncheva 2012). Next came a movie about the last medieval Bulgarian ruler, Ivan Shishman (*Shishman*, 1969, director Yuri Arnaudov), characterized by film critics as a theatrical piece of filmmaking based on a play bearing the same name (Milev 1982: 63–64). *The Prince* (director Petar Vasilev) was filmed in the same year (1969) and was about Svetoslav Terter, who put an end to Bulgaria's dependence on the Tatars in the early fourteenth century. The last medieval-themed movie from this period, *The Weddings of Yoan Asen* (1975, Vili Tsankov) was dedicated to the most successful ruler of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. The film showed common elements with previous historical movies: a tragic image of the hero sacrificing his personal happiness for the interests of the state (Milev 1982: 68–69).

The screen images of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom's rulers were of loners who were in conflict with relatives, with boyars, with diplomats, with clerics (Milev 1982: 102). The affirmation of Bulgarianness in the historical films was realized through the opposition to foreign people (Byzantines, knights, Cumans, Tatars) (Doncheva 2012). The boyars were often portrayed as traitors, allying with foreign forces, while the positive characters came from the common people (Milev 1982: 104). The historical films from the period aimed to present the common people as the "engine of history" (Bratoeva-Darakchieva 2013: 221).

The screenings of these historical films attracted millions of viewers. The viewers of the film *Kaloyan* were 3,392,100; of *Ivaylo*, 2,723,857; of *The Prince*, 1,226,207; and of *The Weddings of Yoan Asen*, 2,414,550 (Yanakiev 2003: 298–301). These counts significantly exceeded the usual number of visitors to a movie and reveal the significant impact of historical moviemaking on the formation of ideas about the Middle Ages among Bulgarians during the socialist period.

Public spaces such as squares and parks have been a common place for the erection of monuments and sculptures of figures important to the history of the national community. The installation of these monuments has an ideological function, which is directly dependent on the respective policies for heroiza-

tion and memorialization. Sculptures, busts, and monuments of medieval rulers and high priests appeared in Bulgarian cities during the first half of the twentieth century. One example is the statue of Patriarch Evtimiy in Sofia (1939, sculptor M. Markov) (Ivanova 1978: 92). However, medieval images were missing from the monumental sculptural complexes in the first decades of socialist Bulgaria, a period of a massive construction of monuments of participants in the antifascist and partisan movements. Only in the seventies did sculptures of medieval figures begin to appear. For instance, a monument *Kamennata strazha na Ivaylo* ('Stone Guardians of Ivaylo') was erected near Kotel (1972, sculptor Lyuben Dimitrov) dedicated to the victory of Tsar Ivaylo over the Emperor Mihail in 1279. Nowadays, this monument is perceived by some people to be a representation of Khan Krum in honour of his victory over Emperor Nikephoros. In 1976, a statue of Kliment Ohridski (sculptor Ivan Kolev, architect L. Lozanov) was built in Preslav and a monument to the creators of the Slavic alphabet, Cyril and Methodius, was built in Sofia in front of the National Library (sculptor V. Ginovski) (Ivanova 1978: 228, 335). In Kavarna, a monument to the local ruler-despot Dobrotitsa was erected in 1977, and a year later a statue of Patriarch Evtimiy (sculptor Boris Gondov, architect Dimitar Krastev) was erected in Veliko Tarnovo (Fig. 1). The boom in monumental representation of medieval Bulgaria was associated with the 1,300-year anniversary of the founding of the state. The large-scale celebration of the anniversary was accompanied by a distinct historicisation of the official culture (Elenkov 2009a: 554).

Preparations for the celebration began in 1976 with the decision of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Elenkov 2008: 359). Special attention was paid to the region of the medieval Bulgarian capitals of Pliska and Preslav and to the regional centre, Shumen. The year 1977 gave birth to the idea of building a memorial complex named *Sazdateli na balgarskata darzhava* ('Founders of the Bulgarian State') above the town of Shumen (Fig. 2). The complex was built between 1979 and 1981 and was designed by the sculptors Krum Damianov and Ivan Slavov and the architects Georgi Gechev and Blagoy Atanasov. Twenty-one sculptures presented the historical development of the First Bulgarian State. Here were the figures of the founder, Khan Asparuh, and his successors—the khans Tervel, Krum, and Omurtag. Emphasis was placed on the Golden Age, during the reign of Tsar Simeon in the tenth century, and the development of writing. It depicted runic, Glagolitic and Cyrillic characters.

The anniversary was an occasion to build monuments related to the medieval past in a number of settlements in Bulgaria. The monument *1300 godini Balgaria* ('1,300 Years of Bulgaria') from 1981 by sculptor Valentin Starchev, was built in front of the National Palace of Culture in Sofia. Buildings honouring the 1,300-year anniversary were the memorial to Khan Asparuh in Dobrich (1981, sculptor Velichko Minekov, architect Ivan Nikolov) and the monument *Samuilovite voini* ('Samuil's Warriors') in Sofia (1981, sculptor Lyubomir Dalchev), the monument

to Asparuh on the road from Kaspichan to Pliska (Fig. 3) and the monuments to Khan Krum in Krumovgrad (1981) (Fig. 4) and near Targoviste.

Historical reenactments were other impressive presentations of the past that contributed to the formation of notions about the past and represented the policies of the authorities in the respective fields. One of the first reenactments of the medieval past in socialist Bulgaria was made in the fortress of Markeli (known as Krumovo Kale), close to the town of Karnobat. The fortress played an important role in the struggle between khans Krum and Kormisosh and the Byzantine Empire in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. In 1969, the vicinity of the fortress became a field of a reenactment of the battle between Bulgarians and Byzantines (Troeva 2015). The city's communist organization, with the help of the pioneers' centre in Karnobat, organized a reenactment called *Operation* '*My Ancient and Young Country*' and a military game, *Krum's battle* (Chakarova 1969). The events were dedicated to the 1,300-year anniversary of the Bulgarian state and to the twenty-fifth anniversary of "the socialist revolution" (the transfer of power on September 9, 1944) in the country. All pioneer units in the city took part in them. The participants in the "military game" included 1,500 pioneers, Komsomol members, and soldiers led by the military. A headquarters for conducting the game was formed within the Pioneers' House, led by a colonel. The event was reported in the local and national media. An announcement in the local press provided by the director of the Pioneer's House ended with the phrase "the pioneers are waiting for the day on which they will reenact one of the heroic battles of their ancestors" (Ibid.). The same issue of the newspaper *Karnobatska Pravda* ('Karnobat Truth')[2] contained a letter from an eighth-grade student from the local high school in which he expressed his excitement about the event and details about the preparation: the founding of the headquarters in the pioneer organization and the uniforms made for the Bulgarian and Byzantine soldiers, four pictures of which were shown in the newspaper. The letter of the student reported that the start of the game was given on the Day of the Soviet Army at a solemn meeting in the presence of the military and that pioneer units and battalions learned a song about Khan Krum and studied materials about his battle with Emperor Nikephoros. The same issue of the newspaper[3] published a report under the headline "The Preparation Began", in which it described meetings held with participants in the resistance movement, competitions, recitals, contests, and friendship evenings. The pioneers' organization Dimitar Blagoev from Hristo Botev school also published a report, which commented on the pupils' interest and disputes over who would play a Bulgarian and who, a Byzantine. A corner with models of costumes for and materials about the battle was arranged in the school. The pupils were trained for their roles by soldiers. A conference on the topic "The Image of the Fighter against Fascism Re-

[2] Карнобатска правда, 1969, March 25, no. 5, p. 2.

[3] Карнобатска правда, 1969, March 25, no. 5, p. 2.

flected in the Bulgarian Literature" and a festival entitled "Dear Party" were held. On March 3, the Day of Liberation from Ottoman rule, the "followers of Khan Krum" from the school participated in a "parade of the Blue Ties" and paid homage to those who died for the liberation.

Just before the reenactment, the newspaper *Karnobatska Pravda* published an announcement that the "pioneers eagerly wait the day June 15, when the battle near the fortress Markeli will be reenacted".[4] The reenactment was held on June 15, after which the organizers released two photographs in the local newspaper—"The grandchildren of Krum in front of the Markeli fortress" and "From the military game 'Krum's Battle'".[5] The report of the city's pioneer organization to the city committee of the Communist Party in Karnobat said that 1,200 pioneers were involved in the "military game" and that they had reenacted "the struggles of our ancestors to strengthen the Bulgarian state" and that 508 pioneers participated in the competition about the "glorious past" named Khan Krum.[6] Thus, the reenactment of Krum's battle was an instrument in the policy of the socialist state towards adolescents, in which nationalistic and class-political messages were interwoven. It was carried out near a military base in the context of strained relations of the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO forces because of the invasion of the Soviet bloc in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In the field research conducted in 2014, a female respondent from the village of Krumovo Gradishte talked about her participation in the reenactment of the 1969 battle in Markeli. The woman was at that time a schoolgirl in Karnobat in the eighth grade. She remembered that the school pupils were sewn blue tunics for the battle. The battle took place among the ruins of the fortress and was led by members of the real military forces, who gave instructions to the pupils on how to act and what to do. The respondent was one of the attackers; she had to be killed and fall down but could not remember whose role she actually played. However, she remembered well how after the reenactment all pupils were sitting on the lawn and were treated with soup from the cauldrons of the soldiers from the nearby military base.

A similar reenactment, also called "a military game", was held in 1973 in the fortress of Pernik. Photographs from this event have been stored in the state archive in Pernik. The participants were pupils from school named after Vasil Levski, one of them still keeps an armour made of jar lids.

These representations of the medieval age outline trends in the interpretations and uses of the past in socialist Bulgaria. In the first decades following 1945, the official historiography and the policies of representation were focused on the struggles of the Bulgarian people for liberation from Ottoman rule in the nineteenth

[4] Карнобатска правда, 1969, June 12, no. 9, p. 1.

[5] Карнобатска правда, 1969, July 4, no. 10, p. 2.

[6] Карнобатска правда, 1969, September 25, no. 14, p. 1.

century and on the revolutionary class struggles in the first half of the twentieth century, while the medieval past remained in the background. This is a kind of counterthesis of the emphasis on the Middle Ages from the previous interwar period evaluated negatively during socialism.

In the 1960s, the Middle Ages gradually returned as an object of monumental presentation. Several films and sculptures on medieval themes appeared, almost all devoted to the period of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and the Asen dynasty. The emphasis was placed on figures of rulers and clerics who were perceived as leaders of the Bulgarian people against external and internal enemies (e.g. Tsar Kaloyan against the Latin knights; Tsar Ivan Asen II against the Byzantines; Tsar Ivaylo against the boyars, Tatars, and Byzantines; Tsar Svetoslav Terter against the Tatars; Tsar Ivan Shishman and Patriarch Evtimiy against the Turks). The first Bulgarian state and its rulers were returning to the public stage in the context of the growing nationalistic trend in the 1970s, culminating in the celebrations of the 1,300-year anniversary of the Bulgarian state in 1981. The large-scale campaign for the jubilee made use of works of film art, painting, and sculpture, which left a significant footprint in the Bulgarian culture of the late socialism.

The interpretations of medieval history were strongly influenced by the official Marxist-Leninist understandings of the class struggle and about the common people as a moving element of the historical process, especially in the first decades of communist rule. In the years to come, the socialist state started to use increasingly the medieval past as a "symbolic capital", using Bourdieu's term, in its policies for constructing the notions of continuity, of identity, and of self-esteem among the Bulgarian citizens.

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1 **The sculpture of Patriarch Evtimiy in Veliko Tarnovo**
B. Gondov, D. Krastev, 1978, photograph by Evgenia Troeva, 2014, September 3.

Memorial complex *Founders of the Bulgarian State* in Shumen
G. Damianov, I. Slavov, G. Gechev and B. Atanosov, 1979–1981, photograph by
2 Evgenia Troeva, 2010, August 22.

The sculpture of Asparuh on the road from Kaspichan to Pliska
Photograph by Evgenia Troeva, 2014, September 27.

4 **The monument to Khan Krum in Krumovgrad**
1981, photograph by Evgenia Troeva, 2013, June 15.

Violeta Periklieva, Ivaylo Markov

Visualization of Policies of Cultural Memory Construction

Introduction

According to Anthony Cohen, history is extremely malleable and its recalling is based on interpretative reconstruction (Cohen 1995: 99–101)—that is on the creation of "cultural memory", in the terminology of Jan Assmann (2011). Cultural memory refers to the collective memories of a shared past transmitted from generation to generation within a bigger or smaller social group and to the collective recollection and the process of remembering an event or person from the past (Misztal 2003: 13). The process of remembering is inevitably influenced by the specific context—this is what Maurice Halbwachs (1925) calls a "social framework" of collective memory. In this sense, remembering depends on the "space" in which it occurs, therefore on the momentary aspirations of the remembering subject. Hence, memory is a function of social power, and its expression varies with the social settings in which people find themselves (Bourdieu 1986: 69–72).

Thus, cultural memory is not only what people really remember through their own experience but it also incorporates the constructed past, which is constitutive of the collectivity: it refers to human memories constructed from cultural forms and to the cultural forms available to the people when constructing their attitudes toward the past. These cultural forms are transmitted through various media—social institutions and cultural artefacts, such as memorial complexes, monuments, paintings, souvenirs, movies, music and so forth (Misztal 2003: 12–13). Cultural memory is also related to specific cultural practices, commemorations, ceremonies, festivals. In reference to this, Pierre Nora coins the term *lieu de mémoire*, which may refer to any place, object, or concept vested with historical significance that denotes, simultaneously or separately, the three aspects of memory: the material, symbolic, and functional (Nora 1989). In addition, the importance and the role of teachers, writers, painters, and even researchers as bearers and distributers of cultural memory should be stressed. Therefore, the memory for the past emerges in strong connection to the communication and interaction in the frame of a social group. Upon their transmission, the cultural forms, objects and sites of memory most often take visual form or material expression. Visualization is one of the most powerful mechanisms for transmitting messages and ideas, for emotional impact and suggestion, for constructing cultural memory and attitude towards the past.

Based on this theoretical frame, the chapter presents an example of construction and maintenance of cultural memory through purposeful cultural policies transmitted through various media and having diverse visual and material ex-

pressions. The problem of the role of state policies in the construction of cultural memory and of the use of the cultural memory in various state policies has an important place in the frameworks of nationalism and cross-border studies. This applies particularly to the case of the Balkans, where, in historical aspect, identity has often been a target of speculations and propaganda and of more or less forcible substitution, while the boundaries have reshaped the territory of the peninsula more than once. Thus, quite often the population of two or more neighbouring countries shares the same cultural and historical heritage. This heritage could become a basis for the construction of different cultural memories according to the specific national context.

The case in point in this chapter is the construction of the cultural memory of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion of 1014 in the region of Petrich, in southwest Bulgaria. The study is based on the authors' fieldwork conducted in July 2014 for the project "Study on the Memory of the Events Related to the Reign of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion"[1] and on an analysis of various visual art materials: paintings, sculptures, monuments, illustrations, and so forth. All these materials have been popularized through reproductions in schoolbooks, encyclopaedias, historical literature, print media, and posters.

King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion: Brief History

Samuel was the king of the First Bulgarian Kingdom in the period from 997 to 1014. His rule was characterized by the struggle to preserve Bulgaria's independence from the Byzantine Empire and, thus, by constant warfare. During his time the capital of the Bulgarian Kingdom moved to Ohrid (today in the Republic of Macedonia), which more than nine centuries later became grounds for the Republic of Macedonia to claim that King Samuel was a Macedonian ruler. Today, in the collective memory of the people, King Samuel is mainly related to two military events.

The first battle dates back to the time when, after the Bulgarian King Boris II and his brother Roman were taken captive by the Byzantines, Samuel ruled Bulgaria together with his three brothers. The event is referred to as the Battle of the Gates of Trajan. The battle between Bulgaria and Byzantium took place in 986 in the Gates of Trajan Pass in the Sredna Gora Mountains, near Ihtiman. After an unsuccessful siege of Sofia, the Byzantine Emperor Basil II and his army retreated to Thrace but were surrounded in the pass by the Bulgarian army under the command of Samuel. Thus, the Battle of the Gates of Trajan became the largest defeat of the Byzantines under Emperor Basil II.

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[1] The project is part of the initiative for the commemoration of 1,000 years since the Battle of Kleidion and the death of King Samuel. The project has been financed by the Council of Ministers.

Although unsuccessful, the most famous battle is the Battle of Kleidion (also known as the Battle of Belasitsa),[2] which took place on July 29, 1014, between the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom. It was the culmination of the nearly half-century struggle between the Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The result was a decisive Byzantine victory.

The battle took place in the valley between the mountains of Belasitsa and Ograzhden near the modern Bulgarian village of Klyuch in the region of Petrich. The decisive encounter occurred on July 29 with an attack in the rear by a force under the command of Byzantine general Nikephoros Xiphias, who had infiltrated the Bulgarian positions. The ensuing battle was a major defeat for the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian soldiers were captured and reputedly blinded by order of Emperor Basil II, who would subsequently be known as the "Bulgar-Slayer". King Samuel survived the battle but died two months later from a heart attack, reportedly brought on by the sight of his blind soldiers. The heirs of Samuel could not subsequently hold off the Byzantine advance and in 1018 the Bulgarian Kingdom was finally destroyed by Basil II.

Cultural Memory

Today, King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion exist in the memory of the population of the region of Petrich mainly in the form of toponyms and related legends told by the local people. However, except for the villages of Samuilovo (possessive form of Samuel) and Samuilova krepost (Samuel's fortress), which have borne these names for a relatively short period of time, there is no other toponym in the region of Petrich that refers directly to King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion. In fact, each toponym could be associated with any other tragic and bloody event—for example from the Ottoman period. In confirmation of this assertion is the example of the etymology of the name of the village of Skrat. Today, there are two legends related to the origin of the name. According to the most widespread, the name Skrat derives from the Bulgarian word *skrăb* (grief, sorrow); that is it is associated with the grief over Samuel's soldiers having been blinded and killed in the Battle of Kleidion. In fact, the first registrations of the legend on the field were made after Bogdan Filov[3] scientifically introduced the etymology in 1915 (Filov 1993: 80). The second legend, which is rarely registered, refers to the older form of the village name (Iskrit) and to the Bulgarian word *skrit* (hidden)—that is the hidden Byzantine forces that attacked the Bulgarians from the rear. The latter legend has

[2] The battle is referred to by two names. The first one, the Battle of Kleidion, derives from the Greek name of the gorge where the battle took place. In Bulgarian *kleidion* is translated as "klyuch" meaning a key. One of the villages near the scene of the battle is also named Klyuch. The second name, the Battle of Belasitsa, is related to the name of the mountain at whose foot the battle took place.

[3] Bogdan Filov was a Bulgarian archaeologist, art historian, and politician. He was prime minister of Bulgaria during World War II.

one more version among the local population that relates the name of the village to the period of Ottoman rule when, under the threat of conversion to Islam, the local people were hiding in the woods above the village. For the most part, the etymology of the toponyms was first introduced in 1915–1916 by the Bulgarian historians Bogdan Filov, Yordan Ivanov, and Vasil Zlatarski, participants in the scientific expedition in Macedonia and the Morava Valley organized by the general staff of the Bulgarian Army in the course of the First World War[4] (Petrov 1993).

It is worth mentioning an important historical and demographic fact. In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, a significant part of the population of the villages in Podgorie was Muslim (Ethnographie 1878: 41–42). However, in the course of the Balkan Wars and the First World War the majority of this Muslim population migrated (mostly to the Ottoman Empire). As a matter of fact, today's population of the Podgorie's villages is not native but is constituted of descendants of migrants from the villages in the Ograzhden Mountains or from Aegean Macedonia. Having all this in mind and taking into consideration the fact that an entire period of 1,000 years separates us from the events related to the Battle of Kleidion, it is hard to accept the idea of the existence of preserved "authentic" cultural memory transmitted from generation to generation.

All this makes us see the cultural memory of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion as a construct that, according to our (the authors') hypothesis, is a result of a series of cultural state policies which date back to the beginning of the twentieth century but whose culmination is in the period from the mid-1960s to the 1980s.

Policies of Cultural Memory Construction and Their Visualization: 1912–1944

With the emergence on the Balkan map in the nineteenth century of new national states, the region of Petrich as part of the geographic area of Macedonia became a scene of various political claims and a bone of contention among the Balkan states. The ethnic origin of the population in the region was a subject of constant disputes, which continued even after its incorporation into Bulgaria in 1912 (when the region was liberated from Ottoman rule). In this context, Bulgaria aimed to prove the contested Bulgarian ethnic origin of the population in the region and to strengthen its Bulgarian national identity. Part of this strategy was the above-mentioned project of the general staff of the Bulgarian Army to conduct a scientific expedition in Macedonia and the Morava Valley during the course of the First World War. We could assume that precisely the visit of B. Filov, V. Zlatarski, and Y. Ivanov during the expedition marked the first stage of mass and purposeful subsequent

[4] The expedition was a scientific and reconnaissance mission within the areas in Macedonia and the Morava Valley conquered by the Bulgarian Army. Most probably, the aim of the general staff was to obtain scientific data for the future peace negotiations and for proving Bulgarian claims regarding the western Bulgarian ethnic border.

introduction of the population to the historical events related to King Samuel and the Battle of Belasitsa and of construction of cultural memory among the population that in the 1920s migrated to the region from Aegean Macedonia and the villages in the Ograzhden Mountains. Perhaps this is when the historical studies gradually began to lay upon existing legends and to objectify themselves through already existing toponyms. This could also explain the simultaneous existence today of similar legends related to the same toponym but referring to two different epochs—the time of the Battle of Kleidion and the Ottoman period. In addition we could also mention the existing confusion among some of the local people who think that the army of King Samuel engaged in a battle with the Ottomans.

In the context of the First World War, in a time of increased aspirations for a national union of all lands inhabited by Bulgarians and for a revival of the Bulgarian state from the time of its glory (that is to say the medieval period), the first Bulgarian artistic interpretations of King Samuel appeared. Some of the painters took part in the military operations as military men. This is the case of Petar Morozov, who fought in the Balkan War and the First World War. During this wartime period he artistically recreated the daily round of the soldier but also historical figures and events. Thus, in 1916 he painted *The Shadow of Samuel* (Samuel Hails the Triumphant Bulgarian Troops) (Fig. 2). The painting's propaganda idea is perfectly clear as suggests the second part of its name—the spirit of King Samuel appears to the victorious Bulgarian solders who reached Samuel's Fortress in Ohrid in Macedonia, in order to support them in the battle for these lost Bulgarian territories (Moutafov 2014: 13–14). Thus, in accordance with the patriotic heroic spirit needed in wartime, in artistic aspect the theme of King Samuel was interpreted as "the glorious medieval Bulgarian past", whereas the dramatic events of the Battle of Belasitsa and the blinding of the Bulgarian soldiers remain out of the scope of the painters' interest.

During the interwar period, as a result of the Bulgarian defeats,[5] the painters temporarily dropped the theme of King Samuel; however, the policy of strengthening his glorious memory remained. It was then that the first toponyms referring directly to Samuel appeared in the region of Petrich—the newly founded in 1926 village of Samuilova krepost and the village of Samuilovo, which until 1935 bore the name Dimidovo. The additional strengthening and encouragement of the cultural memory of King Samuel and its materialization through the naming of these two villages transformed them into a symbolic expression of the Bulgarian ethnic origin of the population in the region and of its Bulgarian national identity. This cultural policy reverberated throughout the country; in the first half of the twentieth century, four more villages named Samuilovo appeared in other regions of Bulgaria (in Stara Zagora, Sliven, Dobrich, and Razgrad).

[5] With the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 Bulgaria was required to cede various territories. This marked the end of Bulgaria's aspiration for national unity and the so-called second national catastrophe.

In the course of the Second World War and in the context of establishing Bulgarian administrative authorities in Vardar and Aegean Macedonia, new paintings describing King Samuel's victories (and also those of other medieval Bulgarian rulers) appeared; for example the painting of Boris Angelushev *King Samuel Defeats the Byzantines at the Gates of Trajan* (1941) and the painting of Evgenii Poptoshev *King Samuel Defeats the Troops of Byzantine Emperor Basil II at the Gates of Trajan* (1942) (Fig. 3). In times of war victories and partial accomplishment of the Bulgarian ideal for national unity it is no surprise that the artists resorted to the theme of King Samuel's most famous victory (the Battle of the Gates of Trajan). The battle is also known as Byzantium's biggest defeat during the reign of Emperor Basil II. This fact refers to the events of the Second World War (the period between 1941 and 1944) when Bulgaria and Greece were enemies as members of the two belligerent powers (the Axis and the Allies). Understandably, the theme of the tragic Battle of Kleidion and King Samuel's blinded warriors continued to be of no interest for the painters (Moutafov 2014: 17–18).

Policies of Cultural Memory Construction and Their Visualization: 1944–1950

As early as the years before the Second World War, on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the so-called Yugo-Macedonism,[6] which clearly discriminates between Bulgarian and Macedonian ethnicity, on the one hand, and between Macedonian

[6] The emergence of the so-called Macedonian question—that is the question of the belonging of the territory, population, and historical heritage of the geographic region of Macedonia during and after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th century—laid the beginnings of the formation of different types of Macedonian identities or forms of Macedonism. The process became particularly tangible after the wars of 1912–1918 and the establishment of a border between different parts of the Macedonia region. Various clearly expressed diachronic forms and stages of Macedonism began to emerge and develop. In fact, they represented different levels of awareness of the population in the geographic region of Macedonia in relation to its specificity and distinction compared to the neighbouring Balkan countries and people. In the years before World War II on the territory of former Yugoslavia began the development of Yugo-Macedonism. It stuck to the policy of Comintern for creating a world proletarian state and laid the stress on the common cause in the struggle for freedom and social justice in which national specifics were not of primary significance. At the same time however, although as a secondary idea, this type of Macedonism clearly discriminated between Macedonian and Bulgarian ethnicity, on the one hand, and Macedonian and Serbian ethnicity, on the other hand. During the 1940s and 1950s the Bulgarian authorities pursued a policy of purposeful dissemination of Yugo-Macedonism in the territory of Pirin Macedonia. This was the process of the so-called Macedonisation of the population in Pirin Macedonia. Studies in "Macedonian language" and the "history of the Macedonian people" were introduced in the Bulgarian schools in the region and the population was forced to declare "Macedonian nationality" in the censuses. This policy of socialist Bulgaria was part of the preparations for the annexation of Pirin Macedonia to Yugoslavia and the subsequent formation of the Yugoslavian-Bulgarian federation. In the 1960s, as a result of the split between Tito and Stalin, Yugo-Macedonism began to shake off the communist doctrinality and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the civil (non-communist) Macedonism gradually began to develop in Yugoslavia. In this type of Macedonism the idea of ethnic and national differentiation of the Macedonian population came to the fore. For more information on the different forms of Macedonism and Macedonian nationalism, see Gruev 2011 and Maxwell 2007.

and Serbian, on the other hand, started to develop (Gruev 2011: 51–53). In the 1940s and 1950s, the Yugo-Macedonism also spread in that part of the geographic region of Macedonia that was part of Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia), including the region of Petrich. During the period 1944–1948, as part of the preparations for the formation of the Yugoslavian-Bulgarian federation, the new Bulgarian authorities forced the so-called Macedonisation of the region of Pirin Macedonia. This process continued until 1948 when after the Tito-Stalin split the Yugoslavian Communist Party was expelled from the Cominform Bureau and thus the project for federation was brought to an end.

For a short period of time between 1944 and the late 1950s, Bulgaria dropped the cultural policies aimed at strengthening the Bulgarian identity among the population of the region of Pirin Macedonia, including the construction of the cultural memory of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion. The recognition of a Macedonian minority in Pirin Macedonia turned King Samuel, whose state had been situated mainly within the region of Vardar Macedonia, and his Bulgarian ethnic affiliation into taboo. The proclaimed socialist internationalism put aside the national identity. It all suited the socialist idea that the ordinary work-worn masses of the people, and not the kings, were the engine of history (Moutafov 2014: 19). At the same time, in Macedonia, the way for "civil Macedonism" had been paved. With regard to this, during the 1960s the idea for the "Macedonian King Samuel" was born (Gruev 2011: 54–55).

Policies of Cultural Memory Construction and Their Visualization: 1960–1989

After the Tito-Stalin split, Bulgaria renounced the project of "Macedonisation" of Pirin Macedonia and pursued a policy of gradual "re-Bulgarisation" of the region. In this very period the figure of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion appeared once again in the cultural policies of the state. In the 1960s the Institute of Archaeology with Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Historical Museum of Blagoevgrad began joint excavation works of Samuel's fortification system in the Gorge of Kleidion near Petrich.[7] At the same time, a purposeful introduction of the population to the historical events began. Teachers gave open lessons in the locality of Kufalnitsa (today Samuilova krepost) and lectures on history were organized for adults. Along with the work of archaeologists and historians, there appeared scientific and local historical literature and publications in the regional

[7] Until the 1930s, the locality where the excavations took place bore the name Kufalnitsa (derived from the Bulgarian word *kuh* meaning hollow, empty). According to some local historians the name derives from the hollows in the ground formed by the dugouts of King Samuel's soldiers. After in 1915 and 1916, V. Zlatarski and B. Filov began speaking of the place as the scene of the Battle of Kleidion, gradually, the locality became known as Samuilova krepost (Samuel's fortress). The new name definitely won recognition in the 1970s and 1980s when the excavation works took place and a national park-museum was established. Before these events the locality was never referred to in a legend related to King Samuel or the Battle of Kleidion.

press, texts and images that additionally contributed to the dissemination and confirmation among the local population of legends and etymological interpretations of local toponyms. As a result of the archaeological researches, gradually the locality of Kufalnitsa became known as Samuilova krepost. In this period were composed "folklore" songs praising King Samuel and events related to the Battle of Kleidion. The songs contributed even more to the construction of cultural memory among the population of the region of Petrich. According to many of our respondents, these are authentic folk songs that the people in the region always used to sing.

Meanwhile, artistic interest in King Samuel was greatly stimulated by the trilogy *Samuel* (1957–1960) written by one of the most popular Bulgarian writers, Dimitar Talev. The painter Boris Angelushev created a series of illustrations for the books (Fig. 1). A number of Bulgarian painters began once again to exploit the theme: in 1963 Grigor Spiridonov painted *1014* (*Samuel and the Blind*) (Fig. 4); in 1973 Dimitar Kirov painted *Requiem for Samuel's Warriors* (Fig. 5); in 1975 Svetlin Rusev painted *King Samuel's Warriors* (Fig. 6); in 1977 the sculptor Lyubomir Dalchev created the statuary *King Samuel's Soldiers* (Fig. 7), now residing in Sofia, in a small garden near the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, (Moutafov 2014: 18–20). Obviously, during that period the emphasis of the artists was laid on the dramatic Battle of Kleidion and the blinding of the Bulgarian soldiers at the order of Emperor Basil II, "the Bulgar-Slayer". The theme of "Bulgar-slaying" and the self-victimization reflected the idea of Greece, successor of former Byzantium, as a symbol of the national and ideological enemy of socialist Bulgaria and the socialist world as a whole. The example of King Samuel represents the development of a strategy for evoking a sense of patriotism and national pride by creating a martyr's image of the Bulgarian people.[8] On the one hand, martyrdom as a form of suffering and death on account of adherence to a certain cause suggests heroism, bravery, and strong mind in the face of life's hardships and on the other hand, puts a halo of sanctity around the subject of martyrdom as well as around its cause. Thus, although the Bulgarian people have been through a lot of suffering, they have managed to survive in time and history and to protect their "sacred" cause, the Bulgarian state and identity.

Reflecting the idea of the enemy Greece is the case of the monument of King Samuel in Kresna (Fig. 8).[9] It was created in 1983 by Georgi Tanev, a man from Petrich, who was assigned there to serve his time as a soldier. The monument was placed in front of the military base. It was ordered by a major and two generals who had the idea to name the regiment after King Samuel and to turn the monument into its visual symbol. Having in mind that this was a military base, moreover one

[8] Undoubtedly, the most popular story of the martyrdom of the Bulgarian people is the one of the time of the Ottoman period. The constructed cultural memory about it sees it as a period of yoke and tyranny, of self-sacrifice in defence of the Orthodox Christian faith, of heroic and dramatic attempts at gaining freedom.

[9] Kresna is a small town in southwest Bulgaria, situated some 60 kilometres from the town of Petrich.

of the biggest military bases in the socialist period, whose purpose was to protect the south border or to advance in case of need against northern Greece, the idea to relate it to King Samuel is understandable. It is also understandable that in contradiction to the tendency of self-victimization the image of Samuel on this monument has a heroic rather than a dramatic character. In this case the artistic representation had the aim of raising the military spirit of the soldiers in the base.

The culmination of state cultural policy of the period for constructing the cultural memory of King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion found its visual expression through the building of the memorial park "Samuel's Fortress" in the locality of Kufalnitsa. The memorial-park was inaugurated in 1982. The event was related to the celebration of 1,300 years since the establishment of the First Bulgarian Kingdom[10] and represented one of the best examples of the striving of the state authorities to remove all traces of forced "Macedonisation" and for creating a sense of patriotism and national pride. It is no accident that some of the first people in the state were present at the inauguration and the local people flocked to the park. At the same time, keeping in mind that until the beginning of the 1990s the region was accessible only with the so-called safe-conduct pass (*otkrit list*),[11] there were hardly any visitors to Samuel's Fortress from other parts of Bulgaria. Thus, it's obvious that the park-museum was created for the local people and it was part of the cultural policy of the state for "re-Bulgarization" of the region.

The focal point of "Samuel's Fortress" is the museum, the monument of King Samuel and four pylons. The museum is situated at the foot of a hill, which represents the main part of a fortification system located in the Gorge of Kleidion. Behind the museum, there are four concrete pylons rising from the top of the hill and marking the ruins of a medieval tower. The pylons form a watchtower from which visitors can see the entire park from above. For the building of the museum in the memorial park "Samuel's Fortress", the sculptor Boris Gondov made nine bronze reliefs with images of Samuel's warriors. Gondov is also the author of the bronze monument of King Samuel positioned in front of the museum (Fig. 9). The artistic interpretation of the events related to King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion in Gondov's works emphasizes their tragic nature—Samuel's soldiers are represented in their suffering as blind men, and Samuel himself, heartbroken by the sight,

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[10] In the 1970s Bulgaria began preparations for the celebration of the 1,300-year anniversary of the establishment of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (861). A State Working Committee 1300 was established which was later renamed the National Co-ordinating Commission 1300 Years of Bulgaria. The president of the Commission, Todor Zhivkov's daughter Lyudmila Zhivkova, had the idea to celebrate the anniversary with a series of cultural events held throughout the year 1981. During the next several years, Bulgaria was engaged in hectic preparations. There were historical movies shot, various exhibitions made, and imposing monuments built.

[11] During the socialist period in Bulgaria the bordering regions with Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia belonged to the so-called border zone which was accessible only with special permission in the form of a document called *otkrit list* issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

casts a sad glance towards the sky. At the same time, the imposing character of the memorial, typical of socialist art, aims to create a sense of intransient grandeur and vigour. Until 1989, the newly established memorial park was a scene for several celebrations of anniversaries of the Battle of Kleidion in whose frameworks there were historical re-enactments emphasizing the heroic yet tragic character of the events that had taken place in the locality. Thus, once again martyrdom meets strength of mind in order to create a sense of national pride.

Conclusion

This chapter did not present all the works of art and literature related to our topic; this was never our goal. The research was also limited in time, until the end of the 1980s; the emphasis was placed on the socialist period and its similarities and contrasts to the previous period. However, in the future, the study could be extended to cover the post-socialist period.

Our main goal was to show how cultural policies regarding the memory of historical events find their expression through various visual media. The approach we have chosen required the consideration of some key works in their specific historical, political, social, and cultural context. This enabled us to examine the artistic views on the past and the interpretations of that past by correlating them to the dynamics of the context. The analysis proved the important role of images which such artistic works create during the course of construction and maintenance of cultural memory for the past on a national and a local level. As the text showed, the state policies for cultural memory construction dealing with the historical events related to King Samuel and the Battle of Kleidion were pursued mainly in two specific contexts: the period of the Balkan Wars and the First World War and the period after the late 1950s. Both periods are related to state policies for national awakening and strong national self-awareness. The first period is the time of intense struggle for national unity while the second one represents the time of emancipation of socialist Bulgaria from the Cominform Bureau's policy of internationalisation and of the striving for re-Bulgarization of Pirin Macedonia. During these two periods, we find state cultural policies in various artistic expressions and that these expressions serve as an instrument for the dissemination of the policies. The link between, on the one hand, the dynamics of the context and, on the other hand, the interpretation of the past through the construction of a specific cultural memory and the key role of art and the visual images in this process became visible in the period between 1944 and the late 1950s when Bulgaria pursued the policy of "Macedonisation" of the Pirin Macedonia region and thus dropped the strategy of constructing the cultural memory of King Samuel and Battle of Kleidion. This model of interpretation could be applied and verified in studies of other examples from the near or the more distant past, including by comparing cases from different geographical areas.

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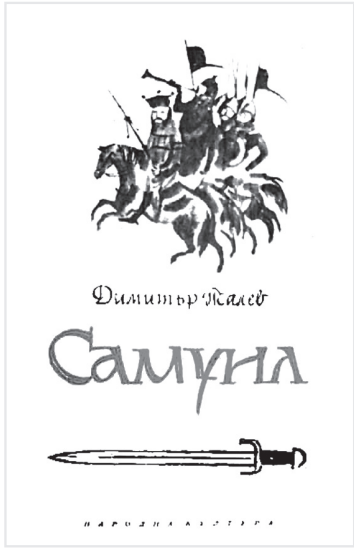

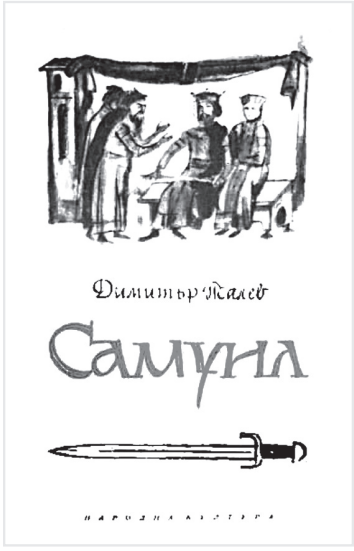

***Samuel*, Books 1–3**

1 B. Angelushev, 1957–1960. Illustrations to D. Talev's trilogy *Samuel*.

The Shadow of Samuel (Samuel Hails the Triumphant Bulgarian Troops)
P. Morozov, 1916, reprinted in Moutafov 2014. *The Age of King Samuel as Treated by Bulgarian Artists. Catalogue*. Sofia: Institute of Art Studies—BAS, p. 44. 2

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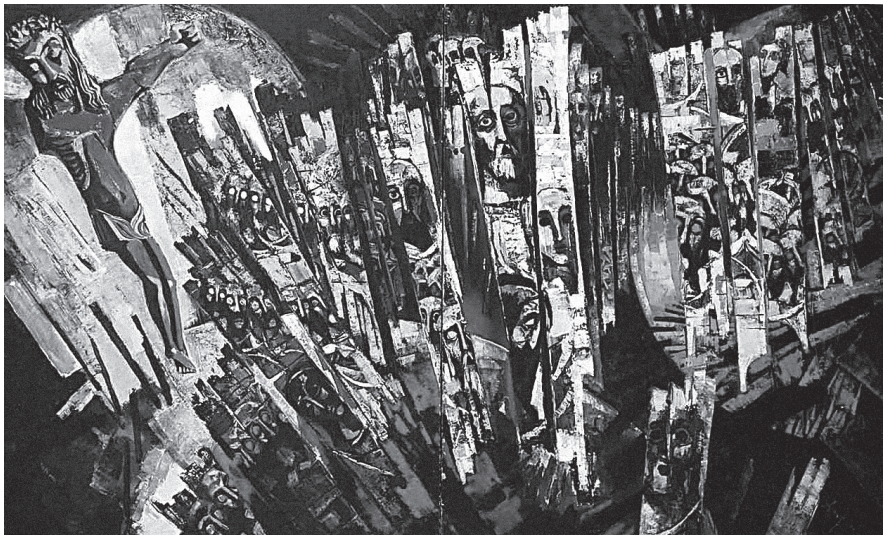
E. Poptoshev, 1942, reprinted in Moutafov 2014. *The Age of King Samuel as Treated by Bulgarian Artists. Catalogue*. Sofia: Institute of Art Studies—BAS, p. 62.

3

584

1014 (Samuel and the Blind)

G. Spiridonov, 1963, reprinted in Moutafov 2014. *The Age of King Samuel as Treated by Bulgarian Artists. Catalogue*. Sofia: Institute of Art Studies—BAS, p. 37. 4



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5

King Samuel's Warriors

S. Rusev, 1975, reprinted in Moutafov 2014. *The Age of King Samuel as Treated by Bulgarian Artists. Catalogue*. Sofia: Institute of Art Studies—BAS, p. 21.

7 **King Samuel's Soldiers**
L. Dalchev, 1977 (photograph by I. Markov).

King Samuel
G. Tanev, 1983 (photograph by V. Periklieva). 8

The bronze monument of King Samuel and part of the bronze reliefs of the blinded soldiers in park-museum "Samuel's Fortress"

9 B. Gondov, 1982 (photograph by I. Markov and V. Periklieva).

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Historical Reenactment in Photography: Familiarizing with the Otherness of the Past?

The historical reenactment movement[1] is related to photography in multiple ways. One way is that the photography is a kind of self-representation of historical reenactment itself. Almost all reenactment events are captured in photographs. The photos serve as documentation of an event or a particular test of the quality of reenactment in terms of historical accuracy. Thus photos that demonstrate proficiency in re-creating the past are especially valued among reenactors. Such photos are often posted on the internet, their content is discussed by reenactors (directly or online), and the details of replicas of clothes, armour, and equipment become points of interest. The photos become a reminder of an event or even a form of advertisement of the reenactment movement or of a particular group within it. Yet, there is one more kind of photography related to the historical reenactment event, one that is a subject of re-creation itself: such photographs can serve as reminders of events, can constitute a subject of discussion on historical accuracy, but above all, taking them is perceived as reenactment practice itself.

In this chapter, I will focus on the question of reenacting photography dealing with WWII. The context for my study is the Polish reenactment movement[2] (Kwiatkowski 2008; Szlendak et al. 2012). War photography is the most visible branch of this field, whereas there are significantly fewer pictures representing civilian life. Thus the re-created reality of the discussed photos is wartime military his-

[1] Research for the present article was financed by the grant of the National Science Centre, Poland (project no. UMO-2011/03/B/HS3/04686).

[2] The historical reenactment movement in Poland dates back to the 1970s. It started with knights' tournaments and also Indians' villages reenactment. Over time, Indian reenactment separated from historical reenactment and the second phenomenon began to develop rapidly. Simultaneously various branches of historical reenactment appeared: from representations of ancient times, the Romans and barbarians, through the early middle ages with Slavic and Viking tribes; the high middle ages with knights, tournaments, and quasi-sport combat leagues; the 17th century with Polish gentlefolk; the 19th century with Napoleonic battles and Polish uprisings; and finally the extremely complex 20th century reenactment with both World Wars and the Polish-Soviet war between them, with anti-Communist opposition, and reenactments of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Piotr Kwiatkowski, who tried to count the number of reenactors in Poland, boldly states that every fifth person has an acquaintance that belongs to a reenactment group (2008: 113), but it is difficult to verify his estimations. Today the historical reenactment movement in Poland is a very popular phenomenon, visible in the public sphere; however, it is also severely criticized for oversimplifying history. The potential of encountering the past present in historical reenactment is acknowledged very rarely. It is perceived mostly as a kind of entertainment. This is partially true since reenactors undertake this activity for pleasure and their own satisfaction, but it is also a way of touching the past (see Gapps 2009; Johnson 2015; Schneider 2011).

tory. The foreignness of the past represented in them (to refer to the often-abused slogan of David Lowenthal, 2011) is strengthened by the otherness of the war itself and by the frequently raised issue: the separation of contemporary viewers of war photography from war experiences (Berger 1999; Sajewska 2013; Sontag 2010). Nevertheless, the feeling of otherness does not paralyze reenactors' will to cognize the past. History in this perspective is seen rather as a different culture, which can be understood within the general human condition (see Domańska 2005: 61, 76–77). Moreover, war photography, though it presents a foreign (to use Lowenthal's notion) reality, is a convenient material to imitate, since there are many pictures preserved that were made by war cameramen working at various fronts and within various armies. Imitating those photographs allows us to simulate the aesthetics of war pictures, however, reenactors are often more ambitious in this respect and want to represent more than aesthetics.

The analysed activity is enumerated in Vanessa Agnew's definition of reenactment: taking photographs may be an act of reenactment (2007: 300). The phenomenon I am going to describe refers only to historical periods when photography was in use. Photographers take pictures that imitate or simulate the past; sometimes they even reenact the whole practice of taking photographs. In their work they refer to form, content, and aesthetics of the original pictures they have access to. They learn how photographs were produced and composed, what was their subject in a particular epoch and what was deliberately ignored in the iconoclastic gesture of a photographer (see Demski 2015; also Mitchell 2005). Having some knowledge about original photography, the reenactors try to create their vision of the past themselves by means of photography, capturing scenes from re-created reality. This kind of photography has to be considered within the wider framework of historical reenactment as such, since, as I will show further, it is closely related to the general goals of re-creating history—namely, performing, experiencing, and immersing in the past (Gapps 2009).

There are various media through which touching and narrating the past in historical reenactment is possible. They—just like Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (1989)—include movement, gesture, historical sources, and memorial sites: indispensable and interconnected elements of the reenactors' practice. What is more, representations of the past embedded in those elements are frequently transferred from one medium to another. I am particularly interested in the process of turning images into gestures, which are subsequently transformed into image once again by reenacting war photography. I focus on the crucial relation between photography and practice or, in other words, the embodiment of the photography-related knowledge based on static images of the past and the performance of it. Performing and constructing visions of the past, as experiencing history itself, relies on the interplay of these factors, and due to the powerful ability to create new interpretations of history and new ways of experiencing it, the performance seems to be the strongest of all media representing the past involved in reenactment (Johnson

2015; Schneider 2011). Moreover, performance itself becomes an archive of historical gestures and practices (Schneider 2011). The same performance can be, however, subsequently captured, by either a bystander or a reenactor engaged in the performance of history, using photography to visualize the remote past.

The particular activity analysed in this article is usually referred to as "reenacting photography". It has many variants and no established codex or rules, as these are still in the making, since the activity is a quite new phenomenon that appeared only a few years ago as a further development of historical reenactment. Usually however, it is realised in two main ways or in their certain combination. The first way focuses on taking photos of reenacted events or reenactors, using digital cameras, and editing them to make them look as if they were from a particular historical period. The second way is a reenactment practice, re-creating the work of war photographers. In such a case, contemporary photographers use cameras and wear uniforms from the historical period to be able to make pictures on the reenacted battlefield and, subsequently, if possible, develop pictures in period-like conditions—sometimes (although rarely) even in a tent next to the battlefield.

The fundamental aim of making photos using both of these techniques is to imitate pictures from the past through capturing reenactment events in them. Photographers undertaking this task are often reenactors themselves (in the case of war cameramen these are exclusively men, since women generally were not allowed to be on a battlefield; however, women also make photographs of reenactment events, from a distance), but they focus mostly on taking photographs and capturing in them the reenacted ambience of the historical period. This practice brings the other and distant past to the present in a particular way. In order to achieve it, contemporary photographers deconstruct the image of the past, dividing it into pieces in order to build a photographic representation of history. They thus create a new image of history—in the form of a picture taken and edited by themselves (Figs 1–4). The Other—the past—reenacted and preserved on photography—cropped and modified according to the contemporary imagination about historical periods—is designed by photographers. It is construed either by means of modern technology or by a meticulous re-creation of past photographic techniques. Whichever the mode of production may be, the resulting photos resemble contemporary imagery of a particular period.

Research on Reenacting Photography

The data for this article came from various sources. I have browsed Second World War pictures on over twenty reenactment groups' websites and websites dedicated to war photography. It was not a rigorous query—I merely wanted to grasp the character and the mood of war photographs. In my research I focused above all on the "reenacted" pictures posted on websites, which are the most common space for displaying those photographs. I observed the work of photographers on reenacted battlefields and I talked with them about their work. I spoke with reenactors about

the work of reenactment photographers.[3] Furthermore, I conducted formal interviews with two of them, both popular and recognised "reenacting" photographers within the WWII reenactment movement. What is more, fan pages on social networking sites administered by the two photographers, which contain their photos, are widely renowned within the WWII reenactment world. The sites are "Reenacting Photography",[4] administered by Łukasz Dyczkowski and "Mołdaw Reenacting Photography",[5] administered by Grzegorz Antoszek. There are, of course, many more reenacting photographers who make high-quality photos, but I decided to focus mostly on the work of Dyczkowski and Antoszek, because they represent the two variants of reenacting photography mentioned above, because they use a variety of techniques for making pictures, and finally, because they use a particular medium—the internet—to share their work with others. Sometimes they exhibit their photographs or use them for books covers, museum leaflets, and calendars, but the internet is the main medium from which they display their works.

The two chosen cameramen have various backgrounds in which they began reenacting war photography. Both are reenactors themselves and both originally were members of groups dedicated to representing Nazi Germany units. They both devised the idea of sharing the effects of their work on the internet around 2013, when their Facebook fan pages appeared. Łukasz Dyczkowski is an archaeologist and a professional photographer, while Grzegorz Antoszek, a historian, is not a professional but started to learn photography in order to be able to reenact its wartime version. Their general aim as reenacting photographers—the same for both—is to grasp the ambience of the past and to make people look at their photographs and wonder whether these are contemporary pictures or period ones, although they realise this aim in different ways[6] and using different technology.

Reenacting WWII Photography

Generally, the images that are meant to re-create photographs from the past are taken during battle reenactments, historical spectacles, group manoeuvres during so-called reenactment events (in Polish *rekonstrukcje* 'reenactments' or *inscenizacje*

[3] I conducted research on historical reenactment from 2013 to 2015. It appears that photography is an extremely important element of the whole phenomenon, and it started to be one of the subjects of my research and, as such, it was present in most of the interviews conducted with World War II reenactors. However, it was not a separate topic of my study. I also talked, formally and informally, with eight photographers who take pictures of reenactment events, although not all of them deal with reenacting photography. The people I talked to about photography were of various ages, most were in their forties, and they were also of various professions. I talked to both men and women, although to men more frequently as more men than women are involved in the World War II reenactment movement.

[4] https://pl-pl.facebook.com/ReenactingPhotography (last accessed on: October 10, 2016).

[5] https://www.facebook.com/MoldawReenactingPhotography (last accessed on: October 10, 2016).

[6] Which is only partially true, since Łukasz Dyczkowski works also with a digital camera and a project with analog one lasts for circa two years. However, for the purpose of this description I have chosen his analog pictures.

'battle performances'), reenactment groups reunions (in Polish *zloty* 'meetings'), or during photographic sessions that involve both male and female reenactment (Figs 1–8), which often accompany the mentioned events. In the case of battle reenactments, a photographer cannot influence the subject of the photography directly. He or she captures events as they unfold and the dynamics of the reenactment and can modify only the form of the image—crop it, change the light; later he or she can edit the image using computer programs. However, some photographers, especially those using analog cameras, avoid "postproduction". What is more, when organizing a photo session, the photographers have significantly more to say in terms of photo composition, and the whole subject of such photographs is more susceptible to the photographer's imagination.

This kind of rendering imitates actual war photographs by original war pictures. Photographers make efforts, through taking photos of reenactors and their actions, to give an impression of the past (Fig. 9). There is an intriguing ambiguity in their activity. In some way, the photographers should overcome the otherness of the past[7] by re-creating it in images, yet simultaneously, they should reflect this otherness in photographs to make them look authentic, similar to those of the past. This interplay between original war images and their contemporary re-creations constitutes the core of reenacting photography. The constant tension between the past and the present is thus inalienably inscribed in contemporary visual representations of history. Today's images of reenacted war would not affect viewers if no original war photographs existed—without originals they would not be understandable. Therefore, these modern images are not only a commemoration of a social (reenactment) event, but they are seen and experienced within the context of original war photography and general imagery of WWII and also as affected by the reenactors' practice, which is embedded in the imagery, as is the whole WWII reenactment scene.

Reenacted photos are also made within the very same context. Photographers want their photographs to be typical of the reenacted period and perceived as such. In this sense they try to make *studium*-type photographs, to employ the Barthesian (1981) notion, in a way that they would like them to be a part of historical narration.[8] This manner of taking pictures of war, learned and embodied by reenactors and also the photographers themselves (in the discussed cases mostly employed by people making impressions of German *Kriegsberichters*—war photographers), as well as their aesthetics, becomes a tool in reenacting WWII photography. However, only some contemporary photos effectively imitate the pictures from the past, and making them into credible replicas (Fig. 10) is a task not only for the photographer but also for reenactors who are depicted in those images. They have to collect all

[7] This problem is relevant for the majority of activities in the reenactment movement (see e.g. Agnew 2007; Cook 2004; Crang 1996; Decker 2010; Gapps 2009; Handler & Saxton 1988).

[8] On *studium* and historical narration, see Jay 2011.

the items needed to re-create such an image: uniforms, weapons, equipment. Most of the photographs are, nonetheless, made in a "style" of WWII photos. Photographers experiment with visual language, they refer to original war pictures, and "quote" them in their work.

However, John Berger points out that the language of photography is a language of events (Berger 1980: 293). In the presented case it is worth noting that reenacted photos generally should not speak the language of the reenacted event but of the war itself. In this sense reenacted photography remains in some opposition to art that focuses on representing war which, as Katarzyna Bojarska states, "does not rest on situating events, giving icons, but on eliminating the present boundary between an event and its "established" images, feelings, memories and even results"[9] (2013: 9). Reenactment photography, on the contrary, works through icons and established images of war, although it still tries to evoke reflections and emotions.

Therefore, other reflections concerning visual art devoted to war are also valid for re-enactment of photography. Drawing on a reflection of Bojarska (Ibid.: 10–11), contemporary images are statements about the past not only because they present its images but because they evoke emotions directed towards history. I believe this is exactly the objective of reenacting photography: to speak about the past by re-creating its ambience, the details that have to be recognized in a contemporary context as the essence of war,[10] and, at the same time, to speak through experiences triggered by looking at those images. For reenactors those emotions are strong. Although historical reenactment is their hobby and a way of spending leisure time, they are aware of the horrors of war, of the daily suffering and brutality during that time. They empathize mostly with soldiers, since in the Second World War reenactment the military aspect is the most developed one, but they also sometimes depict and reflect on the fate of civilians who also were influenced by the extreme cruelty of the war. One of the photographers I talked with tried to explain difficulties with reflecting upon tragedy of war.

> I started to wonder how far can I go, is it ethical at all. I don't want to laugh at dead, I don't, this is too serious and I don't want to laugh at the fallen, I don't, I'm full of respect for them. But I also know that I should make those pictures, because it is an only way to move someone. And although I separate myself from this reality—I have lenses, they separate me from it, I won't go crazy because of those emotions, because I have to leave a sign (Photographer, male, age 25, Łabiszyn, 2015).

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[9] All translations from Polish literature are mine: K. Baraniecka-Olszewska.

[10] Here I refer to the conviction that representation evoking authentic experience should contain an essence of the represented (see Reisinger & Steiner 2006: 74).

For reenactors, photographs imitating war photos are another means to engage with the history. Reactions of non-reenactors can be completely different, because they do not have the experience of immersing into the past (however, they did not become a part of my study).

Thus I argue that reenacting photography should be analysed not only in terms of photography and its representational and evocational potential but also in terms of Hayden White's historiophoty (1988). The opinion that we cannot perceive photography as "true" representation of reality and that it is always filtered by the photographers' view and his or her political or social aims has already become a truism. With regard to reenacting war photography, it is even more evident that we do not deal with a representation of war but a kind of restaged representation, a sophisticated fake. Moreover, debating ways in which reenacted photos cannot represent the "true" past is fruitless and, as I show further, in this process of merely skimming over the "representation crisis" (see, e.g. Greene 1994; Lutkehaus & Cool 1999); I see a certain interpretative potential here, which can be explored with the help of the category of historiophoty.

Reenacting Photography as Historiophoty

Historiophoty is a term introduced by White (1988) to define "the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse". White derives his considerations from Robert Rosenstone's article about the reliable representation of history in film (1988). Notwithstanding that both authors reflect mostly on films, they both see dangers of giving visual representations too much credit for describing the past. Furthermore, White underlines that reading visual data of the past requires different tools than the critique of written documents (1988: 1193), thus historiophoty and historiography tend to be separate phenomena, although they are perceived as bound together, since visual representations—for example, photos—are expected to be deprived of their own narration. And such conviction according to White is inconsistent with the whole idea of historiophoty as an autonomous kind of narration of the past. Thus, White proposes a way of representing history in parallel with and supplemental to historiography (not only complementing it, as visual data is granted some autonomy here).

Consequently, instead of focusing on reading visual representations of history, I would like to develop a practice of historiophoty. White (Ibid.: 1194) notes that some aspects of history can be more accurately presented by visual media than by writing. Also Bojarska pays attention to form and its adequacy in presenting historical content in her analysis of visual arts representations of history (2013: 8). The conviction that in some circumstances visual media work better is commonly shared. Despite some trust placed in this form of historical representation, White reminds us that "no history, visual or verbal, 'mirrors' all or even the greater part of the events or scenes of which it purports to be an account, and this is true even of the most narrowly restricted 'micro-history'" (1988: 1194). This is true of reen-

acting photography as well, but perceiving it as a part of historiophoty allows the viewer to see the voice of reenactors in the discussion of history in those images. Reenactors try to depict war history through the prism of particular types of biographies—for example, to underline bravery or contrary depression of the soldiers of a particular unit in a particular moment of the Second World War. Reenactors would like to attract audience attention to details, to microhistories (see Domańska 2005) and not to global processes.[11] Photography is in their opinion one of the means of expression that can draw attention to a detail—despaired sight, madness, to a single death that was forgotten in a chaos of war, or to a determination with which soldiers fought, though they had no chance to survive. This perspective of a detail was what photographers I talked to wanted to grasp. They have the ambition to show war as a sum of microhistories, of particular stories that melted into a history of global, macro processes. Some choose to do it through photography.

Analogous to historiography, which operates with words, historiophoty is understood to work on images. I sustain, however, the conviction expressed earlier that in reenacting photography there is more than a mere attempt to represent the past in images. This particular historiophotic practice involves evoking emotions and experiences directed towards history, since reenactment is a kind of affective history (Agnew 2007; McCalman & Pickering 2010), based on a personal engagement with history (Carnegie & McCabe 2008).

Referring to art, Bojarska writes that when reenacting the past from a historical distance, we make history irreducible to a particular historical event, making the past involved in a game of memories, associations (2013: 10). I believe this is relevant for reenacted photography. Although it uses the language of WWII pictures, it inevitably involves the language of later wars, as well as of contemporary photography and the whole of contemporary imagery of war. Moreover, nowadays those pictures cannot be seen, read, or interpreted within the historical context of WWII. Historiophoty, just like historiography, depends on the condition of the present.

Simulating War Photography

Reenacted photography is a part of historiophotic practice; it gives or at least should give us an image of the past. At the same time it does not bear witness to the past, it simulates it. As one of the photographers put it:

> I have my own satisfaction, that I'm, well, close to the original to the degree that someone who also deals with history takes my picture and says—look it is an original one. But I never make those pictures thinking that I'm going to

[11] This kind of perspective of a detail embedded in reenacted photography usually allows a photographer to escape the more general discussions on the visions of history, which are present also in the reenactment movement and are inevitably connected with historical policy. Photographers I talked to agreeably stated that they try hard not to get involved in politics.

> promote them as originals, never. That's not an idea of everything, but to make a good photo, yes (Photographer, male, age ca 40, Poznań, 2015).

The "crisis of representation" is evident here, but the idea of reenacting photography is to go beyond it, to simulate the past in order to add something to the present knowledge about it, but also to express the photographer's feelings about the past.

> That [image in a photograph] is not my vision of reenactment. It is my vision of the past. But it is a vision which starts in my head. It is mine. Of course, I read a lot, I browse original pictures etc., but it is my vision of the past, constructed of what I have in my head (Photographer, male, age ca 40, Poznań, 2015).

To some degree it is consistent with White's thesis that history exists only in representations—for example, narrations (1973; Domańska 2005). Images of the past could be recognized as another narration or an interpretation that does not have to be identical with the original (or with the original interpretation of) war photography. Nevertheless, we have discussed some doubt regarding whether photography can constitute a narration. White (1988) and, earlier, Rosenstone (1988), in their articles, focused mostly on film as a form of historiophoty, and they did not examine whether images themselves, without context and additional information (e.g. captions, title, description), can be regarded as historical narrations. This problem was dealt with, however, by the theorists of photography.

There is still a conviction that a photograph itself, as an image, is deprived of meaning (Berger 1999: 75; also Sontag 2010). Pictures themselves do not talk, they just register. To "talk" they need additional narration. Berger makes a distinction between private and public photographs. He argues that private pictures are perceived within a continuous context from which photography extracts the image, but meanings belong to that context (Berger 1999: 76). The situation with public photographs is rather different: viewers look at photos who have nothing to do with the photographs and their meanings directly. Information contained in such photographs is deprived of lived experience. Public pictures in this respect are perceived as strikingly Other. Berger believes that this is the reason why photos can be used and interpreted in any possible way (Ibid.: 76). The separation of photographs from human experience influences their optional perception (see Ibid.: 82–83), since the photos contain only information and no meaning (Ibid.: 76).

It seems thus that this issue of public photography has a close connection to reenactment photography as well. The otherness of its re-created content is evident: WWII exceeds the range of experiences of most people living contemporarily. Although Berger suggests that a certain kind of de-otherising of such photography might be achieved by introducing those images into human memory and creating a particular, continuous attitude towards the past within the viewer; he remains

pessimistic about it, claiming that we currently deal with an irreconcilable otherness of photographs of the past (Ibid.: 83). Thus, according to Berger, nowadays we have to produce a special context for photographs—using other pictures and words (Ibid.: 84). If we succeed, we can place a picture in time again—not its original but in the time of narration (Ibid.: 89). That is, in my opinion, what reenactors—photographers are doing when they re-create war pictures and offer their narration about the past.

Susan Sontag, drawing widely on Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1963), shows that in war photographs themselves there is no meaning, but instead they come with a caption or a picture interpretation. As Roma Sendyka, who compiles the works of Woolf, Sontag, and Butler put it, "Photographs have no cognitive value—they are cognitively empty and that is why they evoke indignation—war erases everything that is human. Hence, for Woolf the image of war does not show anything" (2012: 97). Sontag follows this by arguing that we inscribe in photographs what should be seen on them (2010: 39). She also points out that the truth about war can be felt only by its participants (Ibid.: 145), for others, war images are just empty containers that can be filled with meaning (Sendyka 2012: 100).

Discussion undertaken by Woolf and continued by Sontag was later criticised by Butler. Butler claims that photography cannot be semantically empty, because, as Sendyka explains Butler's standpoint "the act of making it is human, placed within meaningful practices" (Ibid.: 101). Although Sontag is aware that photos themselves constitute a kind of interpretation of photographed reality (2010: 58), Butler bases her argument on this particular practice of interpretation: "It seems important to consider that the photograph, in framing reality, is already interpreting what will count within the frame" (2005: 823). Pictures therefore seem to be an interpretation in the very moment of taking them. In the same time, however, Butler admits that it does not necessarily mean that they have a narrative coherence, since there are also other types of interpretation (Ibid.: 823). For Butler the "framing" of a photograph is therefore particularly important, since in her opinion, it evokes reactions and emotions (Ibid.: 827).

Sontag also points to emotions triggered by photographs, but in her book *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2010), she describes their influence as "haunting", which does not necessarily constitute a reflexive process. Moreover, she states that this potential of photographs to "haunt" viewers decreases in time: there are too many shocking images; therefore they cannot influence us deeply anymore. Representations of humans' suffering in particular according to Sontag are just clichés with no power to affect the viewers. Reenacted photos are thus also clichés, therefore we should reflect on whether they have the potential to influence the audience and complement the imagery of the past. As I mentioned earlier, with regard to reenacted pictures we have to be aware that, although posted on the internet and accessible to everyone, they are targeted rather at members of a reenactment movement. They present battles, military equipment, and soldiers' gatherings but also

faked deaths, injuries, and destruction. They imitate WWII photography and they can only shock because of the shocking character of the actual conditions if they accurately reflect a reenacted death or the chaos of battle. These pictures are described as "grasping the war spirit". As one of the photographers reenactors sees it:

> With photography you create an image of reenactment movement and an image of history. That is why a photographer of reenactments, who claims to be a professional, has to perform work which can be compared with the work of photographers from the past (Photographer, male, age 25, Łabiszyn, 2015).

However, they record only a simulated war. Original photographs exist, and they are easily accessible in archives, thus it is time to face the question of the purposes for why reenactors—photographers imitate them.

The general aim of reenacting photography is, as mentioned earlier, to re-create the work of war cameramen and to present an impression of the past in images. This pertains both to the form and to a particular kind of expression. Furthermore, photography becomes the means of constituting a historical narration. Although reenacting photography is not as popular and widely known as historical reenactment itself, it thus constitutes a way of narrating the past. In the framework of reenacted photography this purpose is not realised on a larger scale; however, historical reenactment itself is perceived as a distinct way of narrating the past (de Groot 2008), and I would argue that reenacted photography constitutes a kind of subnarration. It is linked to the vision of history presented by historical reenactment, but simultaneously, it has its own way of expression.

> The effect which is achieved by photographs from a reenacted battlefield through showing dirty, sweated and full of emotions faces, smoking guns, moving vehicles and with wonderful, impossible to copy with digital camera, blurred image, is amazing (Photographer, male, age 25, Łabiszyn, 2015).

Reenacting photography underlines different aspects of the past and triggers different emotions. Although these photographs are not widely discussed, and their audience comes in few thousands rather than billions, they are becoming gradually a more recognizable kind of visual narration of the past, at least within the reenactment movement.

> You know, there are those methodological considerations that history doesn't exist anymore, it was, but it is gone and the whole reenactment is based on it. This is what we are doing—we have to show it, to show that it existed, to recall it. And that is why I make those pictures. To recall history (Photographer, male, age 25, Łabiszyn, 2015).

Re-creating photography is a part of the historical reenactment movement not only as one of its practices but also as a realization of its assumptions and ways of relating reenactors to the past. The aim of the reenactment movement is thus to present history in a multimedial way, different from school education (see Wilkowski 2013). For photographers, the camera is another means to look at the past. They share this view with other reenactors, the audience, and all those who enter their profiles on social networking sites.

Reenacting photography, as a whole historical reenactment movement, is more about first-hand experiences of the past and about an affective attitude towards history (Agnew 2007; Cook 2004) than about raising academic discussion on representing history. Thus, in this particular case the camera is a medium of experiencing the past not only of capturing it. It is also a medium of presenting a different face—focused on details and microhistories—of WWII,[12] since it is, as I see it, an attempt to supplement original war photography with reenacting photography and to tell another story about war, a story of unknown facts, focused on the particular biographies of both men and things (Daugbjerg 2014), making an advantage of the contemporary reflection about it.

Reenacted photography tries to capture the dynamics of the past: battles (e.g. from the September Campaign in Poland 1939, the Winter War 1939–1940, campaigns in Africa 1940–1943, Italy 1943–1945, battles in Netherlands 1944, France 1944), gatherings, joys, and sorrows. Using various techniques, the photographers—reenactors—present their photographic narration of WWII. They complement their own—reenactors'—historical narration construed, not only as the basis of academic, social, and cultural narrations of the past, but also of their own experiences of touching history (Schneider 2011) deriving from the participation in the reenactment movement. For reenactors, such photography can be described in Berger's words as private: not only linked to their own life experiences but above all as a representation of their attitude towards the past. Dorota Sajewska reminds us that reenacting the past is not merely representing it, it is participating in it (2013: 11). This strategy seems to also underlie reenacting photography. And for others, who are just looking at those pictures, it remains, using Berger's categories again, public photography, since neither war experiences nor the reenacted ones are a part of their lives.

[12] It is important to note that reenactors do not present alternative and fantastic visions of history but try to switch perspective from general to particular.

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17. Giant of Aryan thinking. B. Efimov, 1942.

"Bulgaria Beyond the Barbed Wire"—The Politics of Shaping the Image of the Other in Yugoslavia (1948–1953)

1. Examples of titles of articles. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950–1951.
2. The Municipal Council—the cart is loaded with suggestions and complaints of the voters in Dimitrovgrad. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1951.
3. The population voted massively for the People's front. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1949.
4. Somewhere in Bulgaria. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1949.
5. From the cooperative life in Bulgaria. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1951.
6. Today's Laws in Bulgaria—Bulgarian lawmakers and the shadow of Stalin. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950.
7. Made in SSSR (USSR) Bulgaria is being drained from resources. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950.
8. The "nervous" deal. *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950.
9. In Bulgaria. Bulgarian government has issued a note against our embassy... *Voice of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia*, 1950.

Cinema in the Balkans in the 1950s and 1960s: Ideology and Mass Consumption

1. *Slavica*—advertisement for the first feature film production in socialist Yugoslavia, 1947.
2. *The Third Strike*—advertisement for one of the Soviet movies screened in Yugoslavia, 1948.
3. *At the Border*—advertisement for one of the Soviet movies screened in Yugoslavia, 1938.
4. *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*—advertisement for one of the American movies screened in Yugoslavia, 1952.
5. *All Ashore*—advertisement for one of the American movies screened in Yugoslavia, 1952.
6. *Un dia de vida*—the most popular foreign movie screened in Yugoslav cinemas, 1950.
7. Serbian film director Živorad-Žika Mitrović. Archive of Jugoslovenska Kinoteka.

Cultured Way of Life Depicted in the Hungarian-Language Press

1. A good book is a weapon in the hands of the people! *Szabad Föld*, 1951.
2. Five-year plan for the educated, socialist village. *Szabad Föld*, 1951.
3. Culture for the village! Opening the 500thpeople's library in Véménd. *Képes Szabad Föld*, 1948.
4. Book day in the village. *Szabad Föld*, 1949.
5. Join the readers' movement! *Szabad Föld*, 1949.
6. I'm better with farming, ever since I've been reading specialist books. *Szabad Föld*, 1951.
7. Do you want to go on a study trip to the Soviet Union? *Szabad Föld*, 1949.
8. The neighbours are gathered together: talking, debating. *Szabad Föld*, 1954.
9. Let's draw, children! News vendor. *Szabad Föld*, 1949.
10. Working farmers in Regöly municipality welcomed wholeheartedly the reader conference held by Szabad Föld. *Szabad Föld*, 1950.
11. Winter Evening in Pátka (performance of the Village Theatre). *Szabad Föld*, 1958.
12. It brings the town closer to the city. Public radio. *Szabad Föld*, 1950.
13. Mother teaches in this way too... Everyday twice with toothpaste. *Szabad Föld*, 1950.
14. Own glass for each family member. *Szabad Föld*, 1950.

The Image of the Religious Other Through the Eyes of Bulgarian Cartoonists (1960s–1970s)

1. A Dispute. Stoyan Venev, 1977.
2. Deviland the Ten Commandments. Tenju Pindarev, *Karikaturata*, 1967.
3. Alas for fuel! Today we will not see the Lord. *Karandash*, 1963.
4. No comment. Tenju Pindarev, *Starshel*, 1959.
5. Father, do you have records of your God? Georgi Chavdarov, *Starshel*, 1966.
6. Wow, this man is a God! Georgi Chaushov, *Starshel*, 1964.
7. Excursion. Stoyan Venev, *Karikaturata*, 1967.
8. People from province. Stoyan Venev, 1960s (printed in Venev, 1977).
9. The regular visitors of our churches. Kiril Majsky, 1958.
10. The holiday season is already open. Stoyan Venev, 1970 (printed in *Starshel*, 1990).
11. Everyone with his cross. Georgi Anastasov, 1957(printed in *Karikaturata*, 1967).
12. Catholic priest K. Toskovat from Miromir village. Stoyan Venev, 1958.
13. Modern couple. Veli Sevkedov, *Yeni Isik*, 1975.
14. Imams. Anonymous, *Besedi*, 1960.

Comrade Ragball and a Slimeball as Unique Visions of the Other in Postwar Poland

1. Comrade Szmaciak in his office. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, ca 1989.
2. Szmaciak harrases Mariolka. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1979.
3. Szmaciak the anti-Semite. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1979.
4. Deptała visits Szmaciak's office. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, ca. 1989.
5. Szmaciak as a Martial Law officer. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1989.
6. Szmaciak the officer falls into the mud. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1989.
7. Szmaciak sees "himself" in the mirror. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, ca 1989.
8. Szmaciak the drunk pig. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1979.
9. Tsarina Leonida. Anonymous illustrator, Szpotański, 1979.
10. Slimeball visualized as a wolf the bliss-seeker. Marianna Marek Jaromski, Wierzbicki, 1991.
11. Anti-Ida poster. Anonymous author 2015.

Constructions of (Non-)Belonging: The Visualization of Marginalized Social Groups in "Actually Existing Socialism"

1. Illustration to Ruth Scheel's "Erfülltes Leben" ('Fulfilled Life'). *Solidarität*, 1966.
2. Older people in our republic—active, respected and saved/being old in the capitalist everyday life. *Neues Deutschland*, 1982.
3. When the sunset tears are coming. N. Belezki and P. Estna, *Sowjetfrau*, 1983.
4. Busy old days. A. Makarow, *Sowjetunion Heute*, 1973.
5. They are not sunday children. Jagla, *Wochenpost*, 1968.
6. Brigadier, housewife and mother of four. V. Tschernov, *Sowjetunion Heute*, 1989.
7. A rich family. W. Gjultai, *Bulgarien Heute*, 1976.

***Zozas*, Swings, Hooligans, and Other Personages of "Inappropriate" Behaviour in Caricatures—Bulgaria, 1940s–1960s**

1. 8th March. Nik Mirchev, *Starshel*, 1947.
2. The Youth is with the Patriotic Front. *Starshel*, 1947.
3. Every beginning is difficult. S. Venev, *Starshel*, 1947.
4. All of a piece. G. Stamboliyski, *Starshel*, 1953.
5. A corner in the zoo... G. Anastasov, *Starshel*, 1953.
6. No comment. *Starshel*, 1956.
7. As the radio speakers at Sofia central swimming pool are out of order. G. Anastasov, *Starshel*, 1951.
8. Ha ha ha! Look at him! G. Simeonov, *Starshel*, 1958.
9. Look at what these Indians dance... *Starshel*, 1954.
10. *Mladezh*, 1961.
11. A. Denkov, *Mladezh*, 1961.
12. The cinema in the village of Lyahovo, Pazarzhik Region, turned into a pub. Schmayzer, *Starshel*, 1957.
13. An ultramodern concert through the eyes the artist Bidstrup. *Puls*, 1966.

Visualizations of "Hooligans". A Bulgarian Film of the 1960s

1. Excursion to the Rila Monastery. DA Pernik, F. 1017.
2. Theatre play in front of the "Sun palace", 1965. DA Pernik, F. 705.
3. On the road to Rila town, 1968. DA Pernik, F. 1017.
4. The court sentence over a juvenile. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
5. The court sentence over a juvenile. The actress Ilka Zafirova in the role of Ana, the She-Wolf. Album of the Film "The She Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
6. The actress Ilka Zafirova in the role of Ana, the She-Wolf. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
7. The actor Georgi Kaloyanchev in the role of school director Kondov. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
8. The actor Boris Sharlandzhiev in the role of the snooping around sports teacher. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", © Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
9. The comrade's court for theft. The actress Krasimira Apostolova in the role of 'Tall Mara'. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
10. The demolition of the fence. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.
11. Film team at work. Album of the Film "The She-Wolf", Balgarska Natsionalna Filmoteka.

No Unfriendly Facts. The Image of "Blacks" and Soviets in Finnish Caricature 1956–1990: The Case of Kari

1. Reception office for asylum seekers. Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1991.
2. Foreigners first! Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1990.
3. The homeless, the people dying in hospital queues, locked in the poverty trap... Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1990.
4. I only asked for their visas. Kari, censored from *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1991.
5. Second days of cultural negotiations. Kari, *Helsingin Sanomat*, 1959.
6. The tale of a carrot. Kari 1966, published in *Maxi-Kari***,** 1985.
7. Barge haulers of the Volga river. Kari 1958, published in *Maxi-Kari*, 1985.

The Postcard: A Visual and Textual Form of Communication

1. Dear Daddy, The relatives from the West..., 1972.
2. Dear Mrs Holdik, Warm regards to you..., n.d.
3. Dear Family Gloge, In this scorching heat, am sitting in the protecting shade..., 1965.
4. Dear Family Heinicke, Many kind regards from Sofia..., 1957.
5. My dears! We got through everything well..., 1980.
6. Dear good neighbour! Warm regards from the sunny beach sends you..., 1986.
7. For two days, we have been laying lazily on the beach..., 1979.
8. Warm regards from the sunny beach at Nessebar..., 1966.
9. The warmest holiday greetings from beautiful Bulgaria send..., 1982.

Socialist in Form, Nationalist in Content? The Others and Othering in Visual Representations of Soviet-Era Song and Dance Festivals in Estonia

1. Emblem of the XI song festival held in 1938 in Tallinn. Estonian National Museum.
2. Emblem of the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival. Estonian National Museum.
3. Poster "XII all-Estonian song festival, Tallinn Song Festival Grounds, June 28–29, 1947". Alo Hoidre, Art Museum of Estonia.
4. Poster "Folk art evening in Tallinn stadium on June 27, 1947". Siima Škop, Estonian History Museum.
5. Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR! Everybody to the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival!" Aleksei Viilup and Olev Soans, Estonian History Museum.
6. Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR! Everybody to the 1950 Soviet Estonian song festival!" Siima Škop, Estonian History Museum.
7. Poster "Long live the tenth anniversary of the ESSR!" Oskar Raunam, Estonian History Museum.
8. May Day poster "Welcome, May 1!" Asta Vender and Olev Soans, 1952, Art Museum of Estonia.
9. Poster "Welcome, the eighteenth anniversary of the ESSR!" Siima Škop, 1958, Art Museum of Estonia.
10. Poster "Let us prepare for the all-Estonian song festival" with the emblem of the 1955 song festival. Oskar Raunam, Art Museum of Estonia.
11. The book *Laulusajand* ('Century of Song') begins with images of ageless local nature. Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969.
12. The book *Laulusajand* ('Century of Song') ends with photographs of modern mechanized utilization of these same landscapes. Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969.
13. The linear narrative of progress gets disrupted... Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969.
14. In the book *Land of Song*, participants of song and dance celebrations are juxtaposed with the flora and fauna of Estonia. Aarne Mesikäpp, 1985.
15. Song and dance celebrations as showcases for the friendship of peoples and socialist progress. Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969.

16. Listening to the Soviet cosmonaut Gherman Titov. Aarne Mesikäpp, 1969.
17. The book *Sulle, kodumaa* ('To You, Homeland'). 1976.
18. A festive gathering at the Monument to the Liberators of Tallinn. An image from the book *Sulle, kodumaa*, 1976.
19. Heinrich Hindreus, recipient of the honorary title Hero of the Soviet Union, lighting the torch of the 1975 song and dance festival. *Sulle, kodumaa*, 1976.
20. Estonian participants of the 1975 song and dance celebration and their peers from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. The concluding image of the book *Sulle, kodumaa*, 1976.

Bulgaria Through the Eyes of Foreigners During the 1960s: Photographic Representations of the "Tourist Paradise"

1. View from the terrace of the hotel. P. Boev, *Golden Sands*, 1966.
2. Restaurant "Palma" in Sunny Beach. V. Dimchev & N. Shterev, *Bulgarian Black Sea Coast*, 1964.
3. Illustration from the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*. Front cover, 1963.
4. Illustration from the magazine *Resorts in Bulgaria*. Front cover, 1964.
5. Dunes. V. Dimchev, *Bulgarian Resorts*, 1961.
6. Camel on the beach. V. Dimchev & N. Shterev, *Bulgarian Black Sea Coast*, 1964.
7. Gypsies from Novi Pazar. S. Johnson, *Gay Bulgaria*, 1964.
8. Basket Seller. G. Bàcs, travel guide *Bulgaria*, 1972.

Representations of the Medieval Past in Socialist Bulgaria

1. The sculpture of Patriarch Evtimiy in Veliko Tarnovo. B. Gondov, D. Krastev. Photograph by E. Troeva, 2014.
2. Memorial complex *Founders of the Bulgarian State* in Shumen. Photograph by E. Troeva, 2010.
3. The sculpture of Asparuh on the road from Kaspichan to Pliska. Photograph by E. Troeva, 2014.
4. The monument to Khan Krum in Krumovgrad. Photograph by E. Troeva, 2013.

Visualization of Policies of Cultural Memory Construction

1. *Samuel*, Books 1–3. B. Angelushev, 1957–1960, illustrations to D. Talevs trilogy *Samuel*.
2. The Shadow of Samuel. P. Morozov, 1916 (reprinted in E. Moutafov 2014).
3. King Samuel Defeats the Troops of Byzantine Emperor Basil II at the Gates of Trajan. E. Poptoshev 1942 (reprinted in E. Moutafov 2014).
4. 1014 (Samuel and the Blind). G. Spiridonov, 1963 (reprinted in E. Moutafov 2014).
5. Requiem for Samuel's Warriors. D. Kirov, 1973 (reprinted in E. Moutafov 2014).
6. King Samuel's Warriors. S. Rusev, 1975 (reprinted in E. Moutafov 2014).
7. King Samuel's Soldiers. L. Dalchev, 1977. Photograph by I. Markov.
8. King Samuel. G. Tanev, 1983. Photograph by V. Periklieva.
9. The bronze monument of King Samuel and part of the bronze reliefs of the blinded soldiers in Park-Museum "Samuel's Fortress". B. Gondov, 1982. Photograph by I. Markov & V. Periklieva.

Historical Reenactment in Photography: Familiarizing with the Otherness of the Past?

1. Military Zone. Photograph by Ł. Dyczkowski, Gostyń 2014.
2. Military Zone. Photograph by Ł. Dyczkowski, Gostyń 2014.
3. "Stalingrad" impressions. Photograph by G. Antoszek, Lublin 2015.
4. Military Zone. Photograph by Ł. Dyczkowski, Gostyń 2014.
5. "Arnhem Battle". Photograph by Ł. Dyczkowski, Gryfino 2015.
6. "Wkra Battle". Photograph by G. Antoszek, Mokra 2015.
7. Grenadiere impression. Photograph by G. Antoszek.
8. "Death on a Battlefield". Photograph by G. Antoszek.
9. Die Freiwilligen Reenactment Group. Photograph by Ł. Dyczkowski.
10. Grenadiere Reenactment Group. Photograph by G. Antoszek.

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