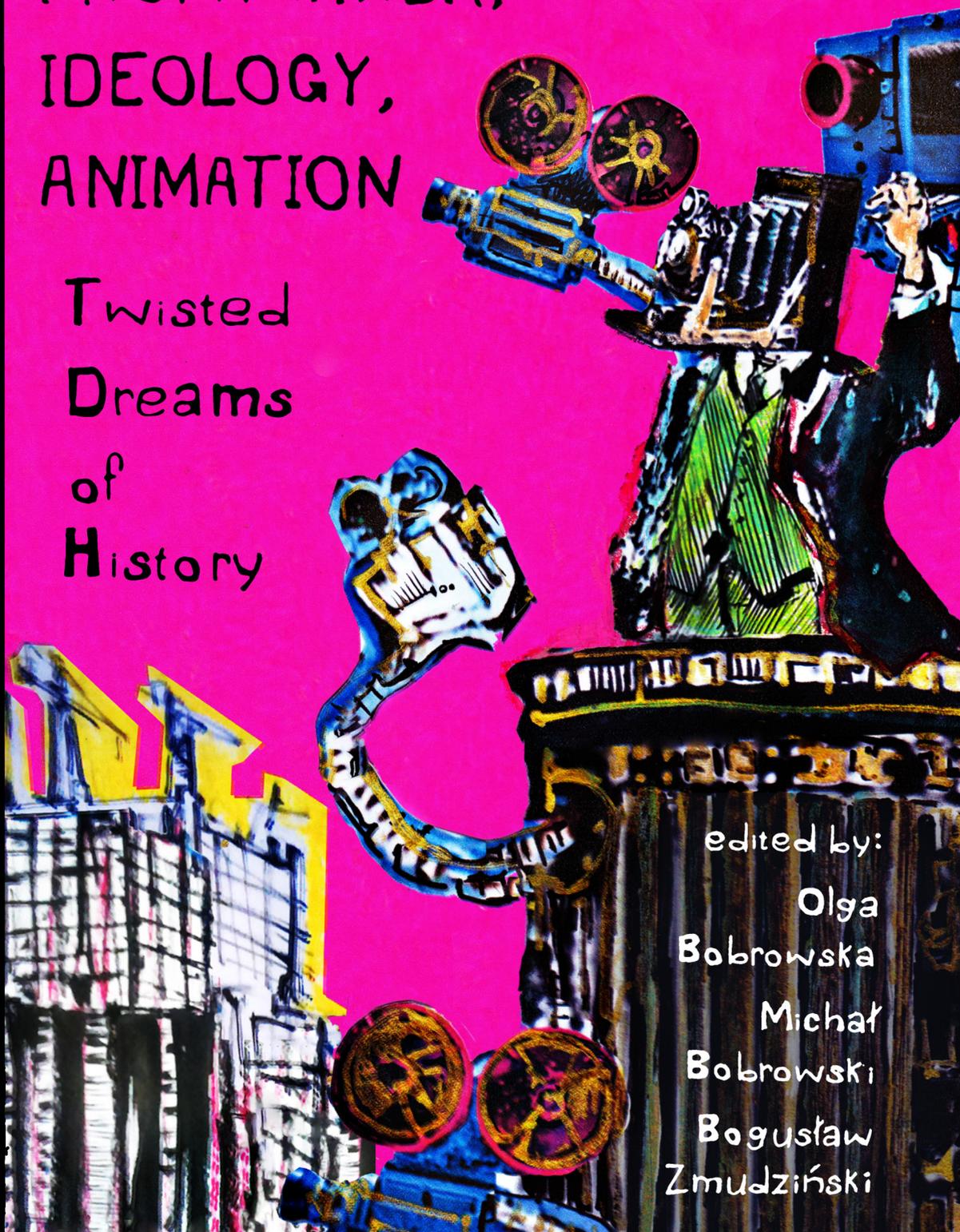
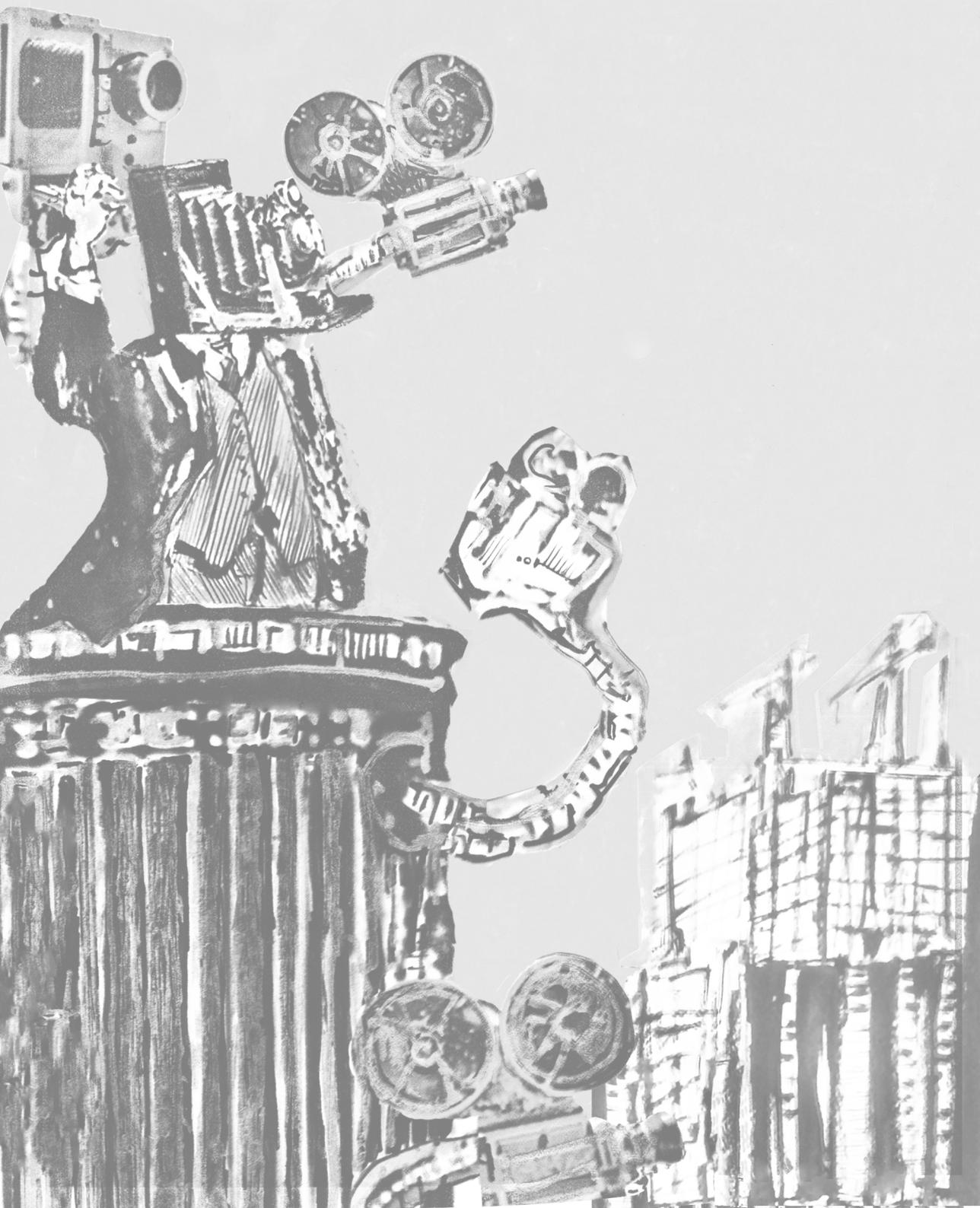


PROPAGANDA, IDEOLOGY, ANIMATION

Twisted
Dreams
of
History



edited by:
Olga
Bobrowska
Michał
Bobrowski
Bogusław
Zmudziński



PROPAGANDA, IDEOLOGY, ANIMATION

Twisted Dreams of History

PROPAGANDA, IDEOLOGY, ANIMATION

Twisted Dreams of History

edited by

Olga Bobrowska

Michał Bobrowski

Bogusław Zmudziński



WYDAWNICTWA AGH
KRAKÓW 2019

Published by AGH University of Science and Technology Press

Published in cooperation with Etiuda&Anima Foundation for the Promotion of Art, Film and Audiovisual Culture

This publication is a part of the project “Twisted Dreams of History. V4 Perspective on Propaganda, Ideology and Animation”, supported by the International Visegrad Fund – Project #21720353

www.etiudaandanima.pl/en/propaganda-in-animation

© Wydawnictwa AGH, Kraków 2019

© Fundacja Promocji Kultury Artystycznej, Filmowej i Audiowizualnej Etiuda&Anima, Kraków 2019

ISBN 978-83-66016-81-1

Editor-in-Chief of AGH University of Science and Technology Press:

Jan Sas

Editorial Committee of AGH University of Science and Technology Press:

Andrzej Pach (Chairman)

Jan Chłopek

Barbara Gąciarz

Bogdan Sapiński

Stanisław Stryczek

Tadeusz Telejko

Reviewers:

Dr hab. Marcin Giżycki (Senior Lecturer, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, USA, Professor at the Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology, Warsaw, Poland)

Dr hab. Robert Sowa (Professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, Krakow, Poland)

English proofreading:

Nancy Denney-Phelps

Nik Phelps

Cover design:

Jacek Zięba-Nęcek

Additional graphic design:

Andrzej Pągowski (p. 255)

Theodore Ushev (pp. 223, 224)

Adam Źądło (p. 256)

DTP:

Michał Bobrowski

This publication is available on-line:

www.fundacja.etiudaandanima.pl

Wydawnictwa AGH (AGH University of Science and Technology Press)

al. A. Mickiewicza 30, 30-059 Kraków

tel. 12 617 32 28, 12 636 40 38

e-mail: redakcja@wydawnictwoagh.pl

<http://www.wydawnictwa.agh.edu.pl>

Table of Contents

Introduction	7
PART 1	
THE EMPIRES	19
Mikhail Gurevich Teasing the Sacred Cows to the End of History: Appropriation of Emblematic Imagery in Late- and Post-Soviet Animation.....	20
Michał Bobrowski Ideological Hall of Mirrors. Reflections of Soviet Propaganda in American Propaganda of the 1940s and 1950s.....	39
Michał Mróz “Propaganda à la fairy tale” in the Third Reich.....	69
Olga Bobrowska Maoist Remoulding of the Legend of Monkey King, or Analyzing Ideological Implications of Wan Laiming’s <i>Havoc in Heaven</i>	83
PART 2	
THE SATELLITES	105
Magdalena Krzosek-Hołody City. Mass. Machine. Urban Dystopia and the Nostalgia for Nature in Polish Animated Film of the Post-War Era.....	106
Anna Ida Orosz Collages from the Underground. How documentary methods emerged in Hungarian animation during the 1960s	118
Jiří Neděla Elements of Propaganda in Jan Švankmajer’s Film <i>The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia</i>	135
Bogusław Zmudziński Jan Švankmajer against Ideology and Propaganda.....	145

PART 3

THE THIRD ROAD.....153

Midhat Ajanović Ajan

Little Man at the Turn of the Worlds:

A View of the Origin, History and the Ideological Foundation

of the Phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Animated Film.....154

Milen Alempijević

Serbian Animation: From Political Joke to Paradigm.....175

PART 4

THE INDIVIDUALS.....195

Guo Chunning (Maggie)

The Echo of Women through Silent Paper Cut-Out Animation:

“Scissorhands” Lotte Reiniger’s Reflection through Body Language.....196

Vassilis Kroustallis

In and out of Europe:

Translocality and Cultural Hybridity *In Crulic: The Path to Beyond* (2011).....209

Theodore Ushev

A-Z manifesto 2017 (Animation as a weapon).....222

Notes on Contributors.....225

Acknowledgements.....231

Index.....233

INTRODUCTION

The following monograph regards the history and contemporaneity of animated film through a prism of the ideological entanglement of this medium. The editors have invited film scholars and critics to reflect upon the dangerous liaisons between animation art and official propaganda.

The first volume of the “Twisted Dreams” series, entitled “Obsession, Perversion, Rebellion. Twisted Dreams of Central European Animation” (2016), was focused on the dissident and counter-cultural features of animated film that undermine social and political taboos. We assumed the perspective of looking at art-house animation as a medium which has a strong subversive potential that stands out from the mainstream production of the ‘culture industry’. We drew upon Theodor Adorno’s famous claim that mass culture may be described as ‘psychoanalysis in reverse’¹, for its ultimate goal is to anesthetize the anguish of critical reflection and to immerse the masses in the void of collective vacuity. In this context we aimed at proving that the art of animation carries a potential to broaden the scope of the societies’ and cultures’ consciousness by touching upon hidden fears, latent desires and suppressed traumas.

For the current volume we decided to switch our perspective. The contributors were asked to abandon the previous approach based on analyses of individualistic, personal works in favour of critical investigations into the political factors determining production processes as well as the form and content of animation. Moreover, they were encouraged to study ideologies and political doctrines of the previous and current century’s global regimes reflected in the mirror of animated productions – their narrative structures, symbolism, iconography and visual styles. The editorial works began almost exactly 100 years after the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution, an event that has reshaped the political map of Europe and Asia and to a large extent determined the course of the twentieth century. Noam Chomsky in his thorough study of mechanisms of mass-disinformation² points out that the year of 1917 was crucial for one more reason:

¹ Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry. Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, [in:] ed. J. M. Bernstein, Routledge, London, New York 2003, p. 174.

² Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies*, South End Press, Cambridge 1989.

John Dewey's circle used the modern means of mass-communication to convince the initially reluctant American nation to support its military's entry into World War I. Chomsky frequently underlines the similarities between certain convictions of Soviet propagandists and conceptions of American social engineers such as Walter Lippmann, Edward Bernays or Reinhold Niebuhr.

Each of these three theoreticians claimed that the ignorant masses must be guided by an elite group of individuals whose intellectual horizons are wide enough to embrace all the complexities of political processes and to recognize what remains unseen by the majority of the population. Such a notion runs parallel to the concept of a radical intelligentsia that, according to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, was the vanguard of social progress, leading the proletariat masses unable to comprehend the higher understanding of mechanisms that determine society, politics and history. As Lenin claimed, *If Socialism can only be realized when the intellectual development of all the people permits it, then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years*³. Drawing a perfect symmetry between Soviet communism and American free-market democracy would inevitably lead to falsifying simplifications, however without question, certain analogies do appear, especially when both systems are viewed in retrospect. As Benjamin Ginsberg puts it: *While westerners usually equate the marketplace with freedom of opinion, the hidden hand of the market can be almost as potent an instrument of control as the iron fist of the state*⁴.

From its very beginnings, animation has been used as a convenient channel to transmit ideology. Complex artistic works, educational children's films, simple commercials – all of them have been incorporated into propaganda apparatuses upholding various political systems. In the first decades of film history, pioneers such as Winsor McCay, Quirino Cristiani, Zenon Komissarenko and the Wan Brothers demonstrated the engaging and persuasive potential of animated attractions. This potential was recognized by authorities seeking easily understandable and highly entertaining forms of communication with the masses. The early years of animation coincided with the dawn of modern political technology which employed audio-visual propaganda as one of the major instruments for governing people's minds. Due to its attractiveness, simplicity and clarity, animation has been quickly recognized as a convenient medium

³ John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Dover Publications Inc., Mineola, New York 2006, p. 286. First print: John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Boni&Liveright Inc., New York 1919.

⁴ Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Captive Public: How Mass Opinion Promotes State Power*, Basic Books, New York 1986.

for transmitting political ideas. In the following decades, the engineers of social order developed its effectiveness and transformed it into a powerful weapon of agitation and manipulation. During World War II both the Allies and the Axis countries mobilized popular cartoon characters to serve on the front lines of the propaganda war. In the following decades, animated film proved to be consistent with a wide spectrum of political doctrines: it cherished the shining promises of Marxism-Leninism and helped in building various forms of socialism. It glorified the nationalistic values that upheld right-wing totalitarianism and praised the advantages of capitalism, arguing that free-market economy was a *conditio sine qua non* of liberal democracy.

From the perspective of film historians concerned about the interweaving of art and ideology, the Cold War era is arguably the most interesting period in the history of animated propaganda. A comparative analysis of the productions from both sides of the Iron Curtain may expose modes of manipulation in their purest form. Moreover, it may contribute to understanding the phenomenon of the ambiguous relationship between two antagonistic ideologies that found themselves in a deadlock, petrified by the atomic threat. Facing each other for four decades, both sides developed an organic bond of interdependence and mirrored, mimicked and conditioned one another.

After a period of stagnation in the 1990s and 2000s, in the following decade, animated propaganda seems to have entered a Renaissance phase. Almost three decades following the fall of the communist bloc, echoes of twentieth-century propaganda reverberate in phantasmagoric discourses of populist prophets who unite their followers around great dualisms spread from inclusive values of pride and devotion to exclusive feelings of fear and hatred. A great need is emerging for an appropriately simplified depiction of the enemy, suitable for the rapidly emerging new channels of mass communication. Therefore, it seems that contemporary readers may benefit greatly from discovering and deconstructing the propaganda messages, especially since the logic of the Cold War, based on absolute ideological polarization, has made its reappearance in the ideological war between European nationalisms and Islamic fundamentalisms, and in the escalating trade wars between the USA and China.

If mass culture is psychoanalysis in reverse, then propaganda can be called 'behaviourism at full speed', for it undertakes the task of controlling the behaviours of societies and nations. Mass programming is executed with the use of zero-one codes or binary semantic structures. Regardless of their ideological backbones, the propaganda messages produced by twentieth and twenty-first century political systems are based upon

rather similar theoretical and methodological assumptions. As a cultural phenomenon, propaganda is alive only when it meets with the sinister other and thus, a portrait of the enemy is probably the most important motif of all propaganda films. In fact, basic structural principles of propagandist communication have a lot in common with fables and fairy tales. Such communication operates on a Manichean simplification, imposing a two-dimensional world-outlook outlined by the unambiguous categories of *good* and *evil* (or *we* and *they*). The quasi-religious faith in the political, economic, military, technological and, last but not least, the moral superiority of *our* group (be it a nation, race, class or followers of a given political doctrine) is dialectically connected with the utterly despicable figure of *them* – internal or external enemies whose deepest desire is to destroy *our* way of life and establish *their* immoral new order. These fundamental divisions are distinctively visible on the stylistic level of animated propaganda, portraying beautiful heroes and ugly villains who inhabit safe and familiar homelands or hostile foreign territories. Animated propaganda, using the intrinsically symbolic and synthetic language of animated film, or, in other words, the medium's natural tendency for structural and iconographic simplification, may be utilized as a perfect "laboratory", allowing us to study the essence of manipulation, of rhetorical modes and of strategies of persuasion. Hence our belief that analyses of animated propaganda (especially from the Cold War era) may enable an academic reflection to develop methodological instruments that can prove efficient in studying mechanisms of mind-control and exposing the internal logic of propagandistic messages regardless of the medium used.

The authors of the collected papers in most cases employ standard methods of film history studies, that is to say, they comment on historically significant films and refer to and complement the recognized state of research with their unique interpretations of various source materials. Apart from discussing the animated films themselves, they also contemplate production conditions, technical innovations and the development of individual styles. They present their understanding of the historical developments that determined national cinematographies (or perhaps: *animatographies*) against the background of concepts and ideas discussed within the fields of political science and cultural history. The subject of art in service of ideology and propaganda requires a concentration on the egalitarian mainstream forms of animated film, such as children's films and feature-length commercial production. Nonetheless, some of the authors refer to art-house animated shorts that combine personal commentaries on political issues with the reinterpretation and reconceptualization of propagandistic themes and styles.

The following volume does not aspire to be a register of particular cultural policies prescribed by the agents of dominant ideologies, neither does it stand as an appendix to a reading list of a twentieth-century world political history course. The titles of the four parts (“The Empires”, “The Satellites”, “The Third Road”, “The Individuals”) refer to umbrella terms derived from well-known concepts of Cold War geopolitics and also bring the reader’s attention to issues of dominance and dependency on political and cultural levels.

The first part, “The Empires”, presents a reflection on films made within systems that shaped (and shook) the world *status quo* throughout the twentieth century, i.e. the Soviet Union/Russia, the USA, the Third Reich and the People’s Republic of China. The editors decided to abandon the usual order of historical chronology as it does not seem relevant for the purpose of critically examining self-referential history that manifested itself in propagandistic art. Such a vision of history does not necessarily follow a linear axis ‘time-line’ of cause-and-effect. Rather, as argued in Mikhail Gurevich’s opening paper, it often assumes circular shapes.

Gurevich, an erudite connoisseur of revisionist artistic discourses, works in America but remains mostly interested in the theatrical and cinematic heritage of Eastern Europe. In the essay entitled “Teasing the Sacred Cows to the End of History: Appropriation of Emblematic Imagery in Late- and Post-Soviet Animation”, he reflects upon specifics of Soviet symbolic imagery in the era of transition of the 1990s and 2000s. The author unveils mechanisms that simultaneously instigate the process of romanticizing ideology and (de)mythologizing its symbols. He discusses more than twenty short films of various provenance (studio production, segments of an omnibus and music videos) realized in the turbulent years 1990-2002, and maps the occurrences of ideological ‘icons’, the reminiscences of – as he phrases it – *the (not yet) bygone era*. His reflection concerns the recollection of a cultural aura and a social ambience that no longer exists outside the memory of those who created, observed and experienced the fall of the USSR. However, Gurevich’s findings are not limited to explorations of the nostalgia that spread throughout the post-Soviet intellectual landscape unexpectedly quickly. His thought goes beyond this specific context when touching upon structural features universal for all authoritarian propaganda transmissions, regardless of the historical-political-ideological content they may carry – i.e. features such as the ‘image-centric’ character of ideological state construction and the ‘clash of images’ understood as the combat of social and cultural myths reoccurring in cycles of history.

The following essay, Michał Bobrowski's "Ideological Hall of Mirrors. Reflections of Soviet Propaganda in American Propaganda of the 1940s and 1950s", is dedicated to American production, nevertheless the context of Soviet ideology and aesthetics remains in a central position. Cold War anti-communist paranoia, especially strong at the juncture of the 1940s and 1950s dominated the collective imagination of American mass culture's receivers. The US state propaganda apparatus that during World War II had developed a strong and multifaceted collaboration with Hollywood film producers, after the war consolidated the nation around the 'red scare' inspiring narratives about external and internal conspiracy of fanatics who dedicated their lives to the 'godless ideology' that threatened the American Way. Interested in ways in which the US propaganda machine studied the enemy's propaganda in order to disarm, recapture and utilize it, Bobrowski investigates animated and live-action propaganda productions that thematised communist ideology as well as the functioning of communist propaganda apparatus. The author traces the origins of this specific strategy of (anti)propaganda back to American World War II patriotic agitation, most notably the *Why We Fight* series (1942-45) that is Frank Capra's answer to Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (*Triumph des Willens*, 1935), composed almost entirely from excerpts of enemy newsreels and propaganda films.

Michał Mróz, a PhD candidate and animator based in Warsaw, undertakes a challenge rarely conducted by animation film scholars as it requires a descent into the very heart of darkness, i.e. a study on the official cultural production of Nazi Germany. In the paper "Propaganda à la fairy tale in the Third Reich", Mróz focuses on the war period and production of the DZF Studio established by Joseph Goebbels. His major aim is to verify the means of expression employed to convey a propagandistic agenda of hatred, racism, and diligently designed genocide. Towards the end of the war the macabre entered the film studio even though the involved filmmakers would later claim not to know anything about what had been happening around them. Mróz relates to existing literature on the subject and also provides original interpretations of Nazi film productions for children.

The infusion of animated film work with direct ideological meanings remain a central concern of Olga Bobrowska's paper "Maoist Remoulding of the Legend of Monkey King, or Analyzing Ideological Implications of Wan Laiming's *Havoc in Heaven*". The author examines the mechanism labelled by Premier Zhou Enlai as a necessary 'ideological remoulding' that is a process of adjusting individual experiences, national cultural traditions and heritage, and goals formulated for the community

(be it family-unit or whole nation) to the level of complete compliance with the dominant doctrine. Furthermore, whenever this doctrine undergoes any shift, the collective mind-set is to follow the new path willingly and without hesitation. Bobrowska attempts to present a historicized analysis and interpretation that takes into account production conditions in the 1960s, the artistic persona of the director Wan Laiming, and the political motivations behind the film's realization. Above all she refers to Zhou Enlai's views on the aims of Maoist cultural production, and verifies the extent of ideological engagement and narrative shifts apparent in the animated adaptation.

The second part, "The Satellites", outlines modes of artistic film production from chosen former "satellite countries", i.e. formally sovereign Central European states that in terms of politics and economics remained dependent on "Big Brother" Moscow: the People's Republics of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. We could label them otherwise, as Milan Kundera did: 'the kidnapped West'⁵. After the political transition, these countries established a new institutional form of regional cooperation, known as the Visegrad Group, originally based on interwoven geopolitical and economic agendas (which are frequently, in fact, only superficial and declarative). It seems though, that regional understanding is, first and foremost, built upon and discussed as the mutuality of cultural experiences. Memories of dependency call for the critical awareness of the methods and the scale of cultural resistance produced against the oppressor through periods of prolonged frustration, inner emigration, intellectual disillusionment and collective hopelessness. As various commentators in the public sphere in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic argue, these societies are currently experiencing a most critical time in their post-dependency history, thus it should come as no surprise that some of the authors of these papers interpret the historical material in the light of recent problems and use it as an opportunity to pose questions about the future development of the socio-political situation.

An example of such an approach can be found in Magdalena Krzosek-Hołod's paper "City. Mass. Machine. Urban Dystopia and the Nostalgia for Nature in Polish

⁵ In a famous essay Kundera writes: *In dramatic content and historical impact, nothing that has occurred in "geographic Europe", in the West or the East, can be compared with the succession of revolts in Central Europe. (...) we can no longer consider what took place in Prague or Warsaw in its essence as a drama of Eastern Europe, of the Soviet bloc, of communism; it is a drama of the West – a West that, kidnapped, displaced, and brainwashed, nevertheless insists on defending its identity. And adds later, Central Europe is not a state: it is a culture or a fate. Its borders are imaginary and must be drawn and redrawn with each new historical situation.* Milan Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe", trans. Edmund White, *New York Review of Books* 31:7 (April 26, 1984), pp. 33, 35.

Animated Film of the Post-War Era”. Though this PhD candidate and dedicated animated film culture activist based in Warsaw does not pose questions of a political nature, her study of urban imagery in the films of the Polish School of Animation emphasizes the utilitarian function of artistic expression in a society that experiences modernization and shifts in regard to commonly accepted values. The importance of Krzosek-Hołody’s contribution lies in the fact that she offers the non-Polish reader an opportunity to appreciate the thought of one of the most fascinating 1920s and 1930s avant-garde poets, the writer and critic Tadeusz Peiper⁶. The manifesto recalled by Krzosek-Hołody has greatly resonated throughout modern Polish cultural history, providing a fruitful socio-political framework in conceptualizing the needs of individuals who first experienced imposed collectivization, then, with the emergence of democracy and capitalism, became radically exposed to competitive individualization and alienation.

The reflection of urban culture in animated film remains one of the interests of Anna Ida Orosz (PhD candidate at the ELTE University in Budapest and a curator) in her explorations presented in the text “Collages from the Underground. How Documentary Methods Emerged in Hungarian Animation during the 1960s”. This truly grim and desperate period after the failed Hungarian anti-Soviet 1956 revolution remains a highly symbolic referential point for all the countries of the Eastern bloc. The pessimism of that socio-cultural moment influenced animation depicting the surrounding reality. Orosz focuses on the artistic and highly sophisticated *œuvre* of György Kovásznai and Sándor Reisenbüchler who mastered techniques of collage and conveyed realistic content originating from the toposes of socialist propaganda: the life of the worker and urban progress. Their films, combining personal animation and documentary realism brought international critics’ attention and acclaim. Anna Ida Orosz’s archival research casts a new light on the question of extent and limits of the artists’ access to domestic

⁶ Krzosek-Hołody’s article is not the first paper published in the English language that reflects on the significance of Tadeusz Peiper’s work, for those interested in further research the author provides references for adequate source literature. In other sources the manifesto that interests the author is translated and introduced as: “Metropolis. Mass. Machine” what corresponds with “Three-M’s” existing in the Polish title (“Miasto. Masa. Maszyna”). Additionally it should be noted that Tadeusz Peiper was fascinated with cinema and its experimental forms. One of his theoretical and critical essays on this subject can be found in the anthology *Walka o film artystyczny w międzywojennej Polsce* [*Fight for an Artistic Film in Interwar Poland*], a volume edited and provided with a preface by Marcin Giżycki in 1989. This collection of essays is available in Polish. See Tadeusz Peiper, “Film dźwiękowy nie jest bynajmniej dalszym ciągiem filmu niemego” [“Sound film is by no means a continuation of silent film”], [in:] ed. Marcin Giżycki, *Walka o film artystyczny...*, PWN, Warsaw 1989, pp.173-175. First print in: *Przegląd Filmowy* [*Film Review*] 1931, no. 2.

and foreign distribution and presents how the filmmakers were forced to confront – artistically and existentially – the post-Stalinist but still repressive cultural policy of film production.

As in the first volume of the “Twisted Dreams” series, we present a double perspective on Jan Švankmajer, an author whose influence on Central-East European animation cannot be overestimated. Again, both texts are written by Jiří Neděla and Bogusław Zmudziński, acknowledged experts specializing in Švankmajer’s work. This time the two authors ponder over its political and ideological inclinations. In his text “Elements of Propaganda in Jan Švankmajer’s film *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*”, Neděla (Palacký University, PAF Festival in Olomouc), discerns propagandistic means of expression present in the film that Švankmajer provocatively labelled as a *work of Agitprop*. Moreover, the author provides detailed historical references that allow one to embrace the immediacy of Švankmajer’s work, i.e. the characteristics that made this master of surreal animation art uncertain whether this particular film would maintain a long-standing relevance and clarity beyond its time. The conclusions of Neděla’s formal analysis of montage and animation employed in this Švankmajer’s only political film, may appear to be forewarnings to conditions in the current ongoing crisis of democracy.

In the paper “Jan Švankmajer against Ideology and Propaganda”, Bogusław Zmudziński starts his deliberations with an observation that Švankmajer spent two-thirds of his life in times when his country was ruled by non-democratic regimes. Even if the Prague Alchemist rarely touches upon directly political matters, various twentieth-century ideologies in theory and action had a strong impact on his life, the development of his career and his art itself. Aware that the political dimension of Švankmajer’s cinema is strongly connected with its general philosophy, Zmudziński studies its multi-layered metaphors in an attempt to reconstruct the artist’s ideological standpoints. This ‘anatomy of idea’ reveals Švankmajer’s profound artistic protest against the dehumanization and objectification of human subjects.

“The Third Road” consists of two papers that appear to conduct a multifaceted dialogue with each other. Both authors, Midhat Ajanović Ajan and Milen Alempijević, grew up in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and for many years now have been actively engaged in the development of animation studies and animated film culture. Ajanović who had lived and worked in Sarajevo (now Bosnia and Herzegovina), left the country during the war and eventually established himself as a scholar in Sweden. Alempijević dedicates his life to cultural activism in the Serbian town of

Čačak, where the festival Animanima is held in a grandiose cultural centre built during socialist times for propaganda purposes and soldiers' entertainment. As much as their paths differ, their views on the meanings and functions of animated film production within the Yugoslav system vary. In the essay "Little Man at the Turn of the Worlds: A View of the Origin, History and the Ideological Foundation of the Phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Animated Film", Midhat Ajanović recapitulates a splendid dream of international acclaim, enlivened by the circles of Zagreb School of Animation and justly prompted by the 1962 Academy Award for Dušan Vukotić's famous *Ersatz*. The author clearly explains the practical reasons that instigated this dream, and relates the story of festival triumphs followed by the period of stagnation and crisis in the years that preceded the breakup of Yugoslavia. The geopolitical neutrality of the 'Third Road' chosen by the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, among them Marshal Josip Broz Tito, manifested itself in the symbolic figure of a little man who yearns for peace and stability, in spite of the hostile and far stronger outside forces whose aggression requires an intelligent resistance.

The centre-peripheria model tends to reproduce itself on each political, social and cultural stratum, but in the Balkans it seems that this reproduction follows some most unusual patterns. On one hand, Belgrade was of course the political centre of Yugoslavia, whereas Zagreb occupied a secondary position that was quite unsatisfying for the Croatian Republic leaders. On the other hand, Zagreb was the animation heart of Yugoslavia, praised on the red carpets of Hollywood, while Belgrade animators had to deal with shortcomings and the loss of talent throughout whole existence of the country and looked with admiration at Zagreb Film studio artistic pursuits and achievements. Milen Alempijević attempts to study the history of Serbian animation in the most objective manner in the paper "Serbian Animation: From Political Joke to Paradigm". He is interested in the unique conditions that led to the autonomous expression and stylistics of Serbian animators. It seems that this kind of uniqueness can be found in the highly conscious film criticism accompanying, commenting on and stimulating the development of the animation scene in Belgrade. Though the films of Serbian authors are central to Alempijević's film history narrative, he also unveils trajectories of film criticism and viewpoints on film art and social life advocated by critics, theoreticians and filmmakers, such as Boško Tokin, Ranko Munitić, Nikola Majdak and others. The echoes of this intellectual heritage may be heard in the work of the young generation of Serbian animators whose films possess values of political awareness, social criticism and ironic expression.

The fourth part, “The Individuals”, presents issues that are inevitably connected with the problems of propaganda and ideology, for oppressive systems of mass-control generate tensions within subjects who do not fulfil the imposed behavioural, ethnic or gender standards. In the circular closure, the reflection on the pioneering work of Lotte Reiniger is juxtaposed with the most contemporary study of Creative Europe’s⁷ favourite animation filmmaking mode, i.e. EU enterprises’ co-productions of feature-length animated documentaries. The perspective on Lotte Reiniger is brought by a Chinese scholar and film culture activist, Guo Chunning, currently engaged in interdisciplinary research project in the Netherlands. In “The Echo of Women through Silent Paper-cut Animation: “Scissorhands” Lotte Reiniger’s Reflection through Body Language”, Guo positions the work of Lotte Reiniger on the wide horizon of women’s counter-patriarchal artistic creativity. Referring to the views of Gaston Bachelard, Guo Chunning weaves a network of references that allows her to read Reiniger’s creativity as aligned to artists such as Hannah Höch or Kara Walker and to disregard distancing factors such as time or medium. Guo proposes the metaphor of “Scissorhands women’s artists” who literally employ cutting tools in their artistic creation. Scissors or kitchen knives mediate an act of rejection of dominant culture and historic narratives concerning gender or race.

Vassilis Kroustallis, a researcher from Ionian University in Greece and chief-editor of the magazine “Zippy Frames”, presents the paper “In and Out of Europe: Translocality and Cultural Hybridity in *Crulic: The Path to Beyond* (2011)”. The problem of (dis-/re-)integration of the concept of identity remains one of the crucial concerns for the author, who analyses Anca Damian’s film as an example of a work of artistic quality that is also capable of powerful political accusation. This true story of the unjust arrest and death by hunger strike of a Romanian emigrant in Poland occurring a decade ago was depicted through the use of various animation filmmaking techniques by director Anca Damian. Kroustallis emphasizes certain paradoxes of socio-philosophical nature, referring to contemporary Cultural Studies, skilfully guiding the reader through complex ramifications of concepts and perspectives. The author draws upon Arjun Appadurai’s concept of the ‘translocal neighborhood’, observing the *double-faced picture of European space and community*. This characteristic of European identity seems to demand a constant re-localization of an individual’s identity within the contexts of his/her closest community (family, neighbourhood), promises of mobility (physical in space, and symbolic across social strata), and general adjustment to the concept of

⁷ Creative Europe is the European Commission’s framework programme for support to the culture and audiovisual sectors.

socio-political European unity (values such as human rights and social solidarity). The free will of aspiring individuals may not comply with the institutionalized idealism of post-1989 Europe – whenever fractures appear, the imposed rhetorical mode of the ‘European Dream’ easily disintegrates, leaving a human being unarmed and speechless in the face of the violation of basic values.

The theoretical corpus of the book is complemented by Theodore Ushev’s poignant manifesto that was originally intended as a part of a performance combining the author’s recitation with the display of illustrative animation made especially for this purpose in a somewhat raw style⁸. The text printed here is accompanied with the Artist’s graphics (pp. 223, 224), expressively summarizes academic reflections presented in this volume. Animated film is indeed a powerful weapon, capable of transmitting even the most horrifying and oppressive drives instigated by dominant ideologies. Ushev calls for the subversion of this state of things. His exhortation is based on the recognition of the daring potency of artistic animated film, a medium able to vividly visualize and truthfully testify to a humanistic rejection of authoritarian or totalitarian policies. Ushev is in full right to declare such a manifesto, as this standpoint is consistent throughout his whole *œuvre*. The weaponry of art-house animation should find its own deep and multifaceted academic debate in service of pluralism, democracy, individual freedom and human rights, if not for any other reason than for the fact that cannot go unnoticed: in recent years the rise of nationalism, populism and blind consumerism has been gradually gaining status as the leading subject touched upon during debates and presentations on animation-focused events. Film scholars must stimulate exercises in artistic/political criticism, conscious reception and rational research in the hope that these efforts will be supportive for filmmakers and viewers yearning for meaningful artistic expression.

Olga Bobrowska, Michał Bobrowski

⁸ It was first performed at the International Academic Conference “Twisted Dreams of History. V4 Perspective on Propaganda, Ideology and Animation” held on 23-24 November 2017 in Kraków, Poland.

PART I

THE EMPIRES

Mikhail Gurevich

Teasing the Sacred Cows to the End of History:

Appropriation of Emblematic Imagery
in Late- and Post-Soviet Animation

When smashing monuments, save the pedestals – they always come in handy.

Stanisław Jerzy Lec

In certain animated films of the period not necessarily well-known abroad – from Russia and beyond (especially in extra-shorts within collective projects) – one can find a rather bold if somewhat unexpected game being played with an extensive catalog of emblematic imagery of (not yet) bygone era: symbols of power and authority, ideological icons and the like – which altogether amounts to nearly the entirety of visual mythology of the Soviet civilization as such at its dramatic and dubious final pinnacle and dissolution.

It seems that inner experience of transition is visualized, and thus explicated, here with almost unique immediacy. At closer look, the very iconography involved, along with strategies of jeering, can reveal not just understandable changes in attitude but perhaps also pretty sharp shifts in mindset at large, including cracks and twists in ‘historical consciousness’. Former solid narratives of continuity crash into dotted snapshots through jokes and gags; the embedded notion of linear progression yields to metaphors of cyclical time in this peculiar de- and re-construction/mythologizing of the ever-present past. And freshly ironic distancing still borders on nostalgic sensitivity of belonging.

I suggest that this filmic material, exactly through the artistic means and practices it incorporates, could be viewed as a substantive and telling body of evidence, not yet properly appreciated or interpreted, which manifests the major tensions of the period by bringing to light the clash of images underlying socio-cultural myths. And the newly – and temporary, as it appears – acquired playful freedom in dealing with them might be instructive for the present-day reflections.

Then and there – when and where I happened to be growing up – we (within the circle) used to say that the given state (regime/system/and such) appeared to be essentially and importantly ‘logo-centric’ in terms of the litany of ‘right words’ permeating its existence on every level – the ideological phraseology holding its foundation and indeed the society together – to the extent that ‘words’ become self-fulfilling reality, and nothing beyond them would be truthfully real... What remained, however, somewhat overlooked or under-reflected upon, was the fact that it was also, and maybe to the similar degree, ‘image-centered’: emblematic iconography saturated public space and print, and screens, and perhaps the very imagination, probably conveying something indeed beyond the words.

Moreover, while the verbiage of the ‘system’ by then was almost universally perceived as deadly-dead, empty shells of notions, long deprived of any actual meaning and serving as mere ritual mantras, it is a big question whether the same was equally true for all the ‘ideological imagery’, the system’s visual décor. I can cautiously assume that it was not, for many reasons, and among them the not so obvious nature of messaging, the immanent longevity of the visuals, etc. However, that is actually quite an interesting and rather heavy theoretical issue – or rather a whole bundle of issues – which I do not hope to resolve and would rather not go into altogether, leaving that for further research and writing. In this paper, I would like to take a position – natural to me – of a critic, and in part, of a historical observer. And I would be satisfied in just posing certain questions – through several micro-cursory ‘case studies’.

Of the life of statues

Vera Mukhina’s famous monumental sculpture “Worker and Kolkhoz Woman” was through generations indeed *the ideal and symbol of the Soviet epoch*, as even the newest post-Soviet encyclopedia admits¹. Created to crown the USSR pavilion at the 1937 World Fair in Paris, it really dominated the scene there (curiously and tellingly – right across the German pavilion, directly facing the imperial eagle on top of it), it was afterwards transferred to Moscow and placed in the outskirts, though at a spot of meaning: by the grounds of the notoriously pompous Exhibition of Achievements of National Economy. Recognized as an icon of socialist realism (despite, in fact, its rather complicated aesthetic nature – arguably, with touches of art-déco and other clearly modernist influences) and the embodiment of certain key messages of the official

¹ See “Россия” [“Russia”], [in:] ed. A.D. Nekipelov, *Novaya rossijskaya entsiklopediya* [*New Russian Encyclopedia*], Infra-M, Moscow 2004, p. 744.

mythology (like ‘the inviolable union of working class and laboring peasantry’) as well as the fundamental narrative of progress, strive and struggle for ‘brighter-glorious future’ (disregarding, of course, side effects of not-so-hidden connotations, related to sexuality, body image, gender roles and others), it also legitimized culturally, so to speak, the principal elements of power heraldry, hammer and sickle, which found the place in the coat-of-arms (National Emblem) very early in Soviet history.

This image in many ways would permeate the entire environment for the decades to come. More importantly for our topic, it also became the logo of the major national film studio, Mosfilm, from 1946-1947 until the present day (in a few slightly different design styles but basically the same) – thus increasing even more its social weight and international recognition. Tellingly, in this logo design the statue is placed not at its original or real-life location but against the backdrop of the Kremlin walls and tower – with that being more immediately incorporated right into the symbolic narrative, already not belonging necessarily to the future-to-come, but rather to the legendary past.

When the spell of the uninterrupted history-of-the-present started to evaporate and the eternal, as it seemed, *status quo*, started to crackle, this particular emblematic sign would be, perhaps, the first to go – that is, to be put into play.

Come 1990, the opening shot of Garri Bardin’s puppet featurette (27 minutes) *Grey Wolf and Little Red Riding Hood* (*Серый Волк и Красная Шапочка*). First we see hammer and sickle, not in a brightly polished steel, but in some dirty-clayish material and somewhat distorted shape; then camera pans down, to the hands and full figures of the infamous composition (supposedly in the function of a leader, as we can easily guess), similarly touched by decay in form and texture; then we go further down to the pedestal – and to a different inscription across it: Soyuzmultfilm, head animation studio (which in itself is quite a pointed joke, given the disparity in socio-cultural status of the art-forms and corresponding institutions); and then still further down and below the frame – until we reach a shabby cabin amidst garbage and graffiti, and other niceties of poor common-folks life in the shadow of the cyclopic monument.

Interestingly, besides catching the general spirit of time, this also sharply, in a nutshell manifests the trend in film production of the moment at large (or even of the whole cultural discourse of perestroika): the so called ‘chernukha’ – literally, ‘blackening’ of reality, a variation of ‘dirty realism’, concentrated on social ills and backwardness, in contrast to coloring the truth by the censored, previously ‘official’ art. With that,

Bardin's film in itself was not actually the crudest representative of this trend, rather – a light-heartedly witty parody-musical, but definitely of a liberating tone and air; and as the heroine in the plot finally found her way to Paris, the film made it to Annecy, to a welcoming reception and Grand Prix along with the audience award.

This glorious monumental couple would enjoy yet much more transmutational/animating adventures in the transitional era. Another film, this time from Kiev studio (though the developments outside of the imperial center, in the republics-turned-states, were quite interesting and at times much more radical, that is largely beyond the scope of the present paper; however, I cannot avoid picking up just few examples) and probably not widely known – *Truth in Close-up* (*Правда крупным планом*, dir. Vladimir Goncharov, 1988) – starts the same way: not that much hinting to the Mosfilm logo, though inevitably with this overtone as well, but rather as a prelude to the pretty sharp and rough collage-like deconstruction-of-symbols exercise. For starters, this particular monument is being partly dismantled-transfigured: firm fists holding hammer and sickle are removed by the crane and replaced with open hands palms-up, now to provide support, to bear the weight of the whole 'palace of power-state-regime', as if new-world atlantes.

Then, in 1991 *Putch* (*Пutsch*), famously done by the young Pilot studio team right during the days and nights of August 21 to 23, coup attempt and stand-off, between their shifts at barricades, among the pointed caricatures of the *junta* members, two of them, representing the agricultural and industrial sectors, are merged, of course, into the same sacramental sculptural pair, in the same canonic posture and with appropriate attributes, hammer and sickle, in hands – and inseparable like the proverbial Siamese twins, in the film's final shot together with all *junta* comrades they would go, literally, down the toilet – shall we say: of history? That was probably the high hope of the moment.

Not so fast, as it were, in the reality to come.

In mid-late 1990s, within the so-called *Moscow Project* (I will speak of it in detail later), in a miniature by one of the foreign participants² our couple of steel would enjoy the long anticipated 'natural move' – turning heads to each other instead of distant road to the future, they finally join in warm kiss. But that would be clearly, to my mind, a foreign perspective, a spark of genuine but not really native humor; here and now, they would not be yet the figures-characters to humanize but still symbols to travesty. The brightest example of which, to my taste, would be a small figurine of unindicated

² *Moscow Architecture*, dir. Stephanie Jordan.

origin widely disseminated on-line lately: two faceted table glasses in the familiar posture (to get the irony in full: one of the versions, if apocryphal, of this special style of table glass, really a staple of Soviet everyday life and specifically associated with the hard-standard vodka dose, was designed by none other than the same Vera Mukhina...).

Meanwhile, the original statue, decayed through decades and especially neglected in post-era turmoil, in 2003 was removed and disassembled to be put in lengthy restoration, and only in 2009 was returned to the same spot but onto an even more monumental pedestal-pavilion with an exhibit on its history within. And the Mosfilm logo was recently redone in digital rendering, at a slightly different but in all the meanings no less pathetic angle.

Piloting sputnik, traversing Kremlin (harvesting icy seas on the way)

The now legendary studio Pilot was founded at the pick of perestroika, in late 1988/early 1989, as the very first independent (though not quite fully so in the beginning) film organization in the country, by Aleksandr Tatarsky together with life-long friend-colleague-collaborator Igor Kovalyov³, free-spirited and quite unconventional figures in late-Soviet animation community. And their studio did become a manifestation of the time of sorts, a breath of fresh air, though mainly in terms of its broader aesthetics. Even so, within the variety of their still rather unusual or just weird thematic choices, they were nevertheless largely and somewhat strangely avoiding the hot issues of day or/and its ever-present-history and corresponding iconography (with *Putch*, mentioned above, being a rare and notable exception). While, after all, revisiting the Soviet experience via reopening its oblique history in/for mass-popular consciousness was the principal 'semantic project' of the era, apparently, not everyone would be equally eager to jump immediately and directly into that path... Yet, the sacred cows, waiting to be milked, were still all around – and would, if occasionally, quietly or in disguise, come to graze on this pasture as well.

The first production of the new studio was an almanac of extra-shorts *Lift/Elevator* (*Ауфм*, 1989-1992), in five editions altogether through several years – primarily designed to give a playground and debut platform for the young studio team; however, the founding father would also contribute himself (in collaborations or solo) – and with quite characteristic entries.

³ And two others, to be precise: Anatoly Prokhorov as creative producer-supervisor, and Igor Gelashvili as executive producer.

One of the most telling of them, probably, in light of our theme, appeared in *Lift-3* (*Aufm-3*, 1991) – presumably directed by Tatarsky and tentatively titled (since individual pieces were not indicated in detail in the almanacs’ general credits) – *Ice Harvest* or *Arctic Combine*. All done in a single long take, as if with a fixed camera: wide-open snowy-icy plain; a crack in the ice starts to grow from the horizon towards the foreground, then a reindeer comes toward us, yoked to the plow with an aboriginal man in traditional fur parka at it, and a widening water path opens up behind, through which a crop harvesting combine bravely sails down to a tune of circus parade march; a lad next to a driver plays harmonica and sings unintelligibly-drunk; the machine reaps an invisible crop and unloads water in earnest, and from the small boat towed on the tail-rope behind a workwoman in head kerchief collects the leftovers with rake. Upon this merry ride, water path freezes back into solid ice field – and then again a crack sound and sight hints from afar... end of story, if there is an end to it at all.

On the surface, that is just a perfect exercise in genre variety cultivated as the studio trademark: a concise gagish visual joke-sketch, akin to a circus clown sideshow. And at the same time – also a clear demonstration of the kind of pan-ironic jeering that came to be the mark of the time labeled by untranslatable jargonism ‘styob’. But in fact, there is more to that: a game being played with, shall we say, the ‘elliptical context’. The ‘styob’ tone/attitude is immediately sensed precisely because of its contrast with what stands here as the missing but easily assumed backdrop: the entire mythology of ‘heroic and happy labor to the glory of Motherland’, epitomized in all-familiar slogans-phraseology of the ‘struggle for harvest’, ‘strike shift’ and such – and corresponding imagery: endless posters and/or newsreel (if not just staged) footage, all too often featuring the same sacramental combine as a (almost fully symbolic) staple; and also the overtone of not less heroic ‘Virgin Lands Upturning’ campaigns, opening up for exploration the North (often masking or coinciding with Gulag sprawling)⁴. With all that still alive and present in the collective psyche, the parody goes here even deeper, hinting at the repetitious worthlessness of (historic-sacrificial) effort...

Even more explicitly the similar principle and effect can be traced in another miniature, from *Lift-5* (1992), tentatively, again, titled *Sputnik* (authored by Yanis Freijas and Vladimir Sakov). In lightly stylized comics-psychedelicish graphics, the fast-pace plot goes along the simple line: a multistage huge rocket launches and flies off, stages separate and break off one by one, until only the top space capsule remains,

⁴ Spread in time through decades, up to almost latest Soviet era.

but then it also defragments, and now just the cosmonaut in space-suite flies... but wait, he appears to be sort of multistage too: first, his boots are getting unlaced and slip off, then the legs, and then the entire torso (before that, though, he has a moment to check his hand-watch, obviously following certain procedure-schedule); now it is a sole head in the helmet – shaped as the first, of 1957, historic sputnik with its recognizable train-skirt of antennas behind. And, the decisive coda, the face in the helmet-satellite happily smiles and produces that famous call signal: bip, bip, bip... and off to orbit the Earth with that.

Again, it looks like just an easy-going joke – but also feels like a sarcastic gesture, touched with the same ‘styob’ tone. And again, the tension is between the shown and the hidden: the absent/assumed backdrop here – is the whole heavily mythologized record of cosmos exploration and space race, and its rich iconographic paraphernalia, from posters to postage-stamps, from frescos to obelisks. But in this case, I would argue, there are also more concrete and revealing connotations. First, naturally, with a particular person: the narrative somehow integrates the first orbiting object and the first man in the orbit, Yuri Gagarin (who would become at once a propaganda poster boy and almost a folkloric figure of popular admiration). And perhaps hints to his widely publicized (and utterly mythologized) features: famous smile; even maybe his no less famous remark at the launch, *Let's ride!*, now being tellingly substituted with the ‘bip’ call. And even more importantly, it rhymes with the variety of representations, both of the first space flight and Gagarin's figure (which in fact are abound in multiple shapes and forms all over the world). Most interestingly, with those of them that follow, more or less closely, the ‘machine-human’ hybrid pattern.

A common recurring motif here would be exactly the head in a helmet as substitute for the figure and the symbolic whole. Even somewhere deep in the woods of Mother-Russia (in the small provincial places, that is) we can find almost the precise echo of the helmeted head/sputnik centaur, in designs touched with weird expressiveness of somewhat amateurish execution. And of course, there is a link, maybe quite conscious, to the most well-known of all of those, and most highly publicized, and thus put directly into the propagandistic discourse: the enormous obelisk with the rocket-man-like statue on the very top in the Gagarin Square in Moscow which opened in summer of 1980 right before the start of the notoriously boycotted Olympic Games to loud official fanfare, and to lots of rather rude jokes on the unofficial side later on in its life as one of the major city landmarks (though rather detested in certain circles). The material

of choice was titanium alloy, the same that is used in spacecraft construction, and the design of the ribbed, about forty meters high pedestal was supposed to resemble the fuel exhaust train, so that the whole composition would symbolize the launch, which was moreover emphasized at the opening when the special lights-and-lasers installation imitated lift-off effects, and the astonished crowd stood as if witnessing live and plainly the hero's ascent to the stars right in his (full-metal) flesh.

This particular leitmotif, I think, has deeper roots and maybe broader implications. As Mikhail Iampolski notes in his analysis of 'cinematic man' evolution, *all 1920s Soviet revolutionary language acquires its meaning only in relation to a certain type of anthropology: one that understands human beings as machines*⁵. Soviet 1960s, when the space race was playing out and, correspondingly, its mythologizing vocabulary and forms were being shaped, were, in some aspects, the 'second edition' of early revolutionary avant-garde. On the wave of Khrushchev's Thaw, amidst attempts to put a human face to the not-so-humanized history and to rehabilitate noble beginnings paved with good intentions, younger/progressive artists and intelligentsia ideologues were turning for inspiration, somewhat paradoxically perhaps, to that time radical imagery (while much of the invaluable artistic heritage of the era was being only gradually revived from under wraps and brought back to currency), largely not reflecting seriously on the actual ideology underlying it – and producing in turn its certain romanticized and white-washed version. (And the 'space theme' as such was thought of also in close connection to the broader notion of renewal of the true spirit and reinvention of the 'ideal', along with ideas of socio-cultural rejuvenation and thrust for the brighter future.) By late 1970s, however, the trend was already almost empty of genuine passion and meaning, washed-out enough to get accommodated fully into the official mainstream (and, thus, the mass imagination), and to come as a result to quite kitschy incarnations. And by the 1990s, one may argue, as animated gags seem to testify, all that entered an already post-kitsch state – devoid of hot polemical substance and relegated to the stuff of pure, almost abstract humor. Or was it, really? Or shall we rather allow that this joke on the sharp end of historical fracture had, in fact, managed to reflect, on several levels at once, upon the roots and fruits alike.

⁵ Mikhail Iampolski, "The Cinematic Man", *East European Film Bulletin* 22 (October 2012). Retrieved from <https://eefb.org/retrospectives/the-cinematic-man/> (access: 23.04.2018). First print: Mikhail Iampolski, "Кинематографический человек. Заметки о киноязыке и антропологии" ["Cinematic Man. Remarks on Film Language and Anthropology"], *Seans* 45-46 (2011), pp. 5-12.

As to Tatarsky himself, with the task of building the studio enterprise and its ‘cultural-commercial’ portfolio at hand, he sacrificed much of his personal *auteur* ambitions (the major project, years in preparation, remained unfinished); and with that, it seemed, much of the edgy thrust. However, on some occasional side projects, along with directorial strength, almost unexpectedly, much more direct and angry sarcasm would find its way. Especially so in a semi-forgotten by now music video (1996, co-directed with Andrei Kuznetsov) for a song by the famous rock-group, Time Machine (pioneer on the national scene, the very first widely recognized as early as 1970s), with lyrics by its leader Andrei Makarevich:

*When soldiers would come home with victory,
When we'd be able to take pride in the country,
When in the summer day snow would whirl in my window,
I'll let you know – and you'll return to me.*

The clip goes beyond the text – further, perhaps, than could have been expected. Exploiting variations of basically the same-old-constant characters, Pilot Brethren (mainly of Kovalyov’s design, from earlier incarnations in their collaborative work) – who in the studio productions of the period would rather farcically ‘cook pasta for breakfast’, as one of the titles, in the loose serious of shorts with them, describes – here Tatarsky would assign them to quite a different kind of cooking: a thick hodgepodge out of all the real turmoil of the era. In a rapid succession of pretty wild gags, this jesting bunch would bum-rush the walls of the Kremlin, no less, and then turn its tower into a machine-gun loaded with walls’ spikes, and towers’ stars as bullets, spreading shots around, and leaving no stone unturned in the ravaged landscape which looks-feels like a landfill, caricature exaggeration apart, and a battlefield in guerilla war of all against all. From today, this portrait of the ‘turbulent 90s’, as they came to be more and more firmly labeled in later mainstream discourse, might look suspiciously close to such retrospective denunciation, and later self-justification of the regime shift. From within the clip’s space-time, though, another translation of the ambivalent original ‘likhiye 90-ye’ would sound more fitting: ‘the heady days’. And heady indeed, bordering on macabre, is the nature of joking here.

*When in the capital street-ladies would disappear,
When no one would be beaten up neither by the passport nor in the face,
When all the leaders would get their mausoleums in the Moon...*

Yes, Lenin's mausoleum on screen would in fact rocket-propel itself to the moon – and hits it in a replica of the classic Méliès's shot; and as if that were not enough, this guest of honor then, having crawled out of his monumental eternity box as a monster-worm, would consume the new home-planet in one bite.

Not only does this kind of free-willing and free-flying jeering incorporate high parody or the pan-quoting of post-modern mode, but in doing so, paradoxically enough, seems to liberate itself, to a degree, from bounds of its immediate connotations, becoming almost abstract or purely clownish – and thus maybe from the shackles of historicity proper as well. At least for a given, albeit brief historical moment, testifying to a different kind of lesson learned in the transition.

Moscow forever

The notorious 1990s held in store yet some other lessons – and 'image-appropriating' strategies as well.

Among the diverse manifestations of splendors and miseries of the 'producer's era' coming to Russian animation at that time, one of the most curious examples is so-called *Moscow Animation Project*. Even its production history is quite telling.

The duo of producers Dmitry Gorbunov and Aleksandr Kuguchin, at the occasion of 850th anniversary of Moscow that was to be pompously celebrated in 1997, came up with the idea of a 'collective portrait' of the city in a broad mosaic of animated extra-shorts commissioned on purpose, supposedly from all over the world, with not much strings attached, except for the general theme to be explored more or less at will. Upon securing the support of city authorities (and, one must suppose, directly seeking state or rather city funding which was forthcoming, if not primarily, for money-laundering purposes, in the spirit and practice of the time, though it is hard to tell for sure), they started looking for contributors. Mikhail Aldashin assumed the position of creative supervisor, using his own extensive professional connections to attract talents⁶. As a result, in about half a year, some fifty submissions, from one to three minutes in length on average, were in fact received representing perhaps most everybody noteworthy on the Russian animation scene – from old-time veterans like Nikolai Serebryakov, to promising beginners like Dmitry Geller, with Valeriy Ugarov, Natalia Orlova, Maria Mouat, Ivan Maksimov and many others in between (including émigrés or those who went to work abroad temporarily) – plus some recent former compatriots like Robert

⁶ As he openly admits. Mikhail Aldashin, Mikhail Gurevich, personal communication, April 2013.

Sahakyants from Armenia and Vladimir Petkevich from Belarus; and also a good number of foreign directors, from Bill Plympton to Georges Schwizgebel, among most known. The resulting collection showed quite a surprisingly high proportion of success – original and bright mini-films – and appeared to be quite diverse in approaches and nature. It came to showcase, indeed, a unique anthology of storylines, techniques and styles; and individual pieces, also strikingly different in genres and thematic focus, from lyrical sketches and visualized jokes to rather politicized posters and historiosophic meditations or even sort of architectural reviews. The very format of miniatures with a preset general theme and a free ride in all the rest turned to be quite a fruitful ground.

Now, the question arose: what to do with all those truly inhomogeneous riches? Having not found a sound organizing principle or an ingenious genre-form for that in advance, the producers retreated to the idea of the artificial framework of a quasi-documentary: a cabby drives a provincial dude around town, spinning yarns on the way, in quite feuilletonistic fashion, while the visuals combine old newsreel footage and animation inserts; in that, some individual entries were dropped altogether, others suffered unceremonious cuts and reediting, with original soundtracks often obstructed by chatty voice-over. Arranged in such a shape (rather than really directed) by the producers' team (while Aldashin chose to leave the project at that dubious stage), this fifty-six minutes 'documentary drawn film about the heroic city of Moscow, with pictures, music and expert's comments', as the subtitle goes, was finally named *Optimus Mundus* (The Best of the Worlds; in Latin, a true mother-tongue of 'ancient Moscovities' as was jokingly justified in narration) and marked as of 1998, though was presented publicly in fact a couple of years later; it went to some festivals but until now has never been really released commercially in any form. One of the producers, Dmitry Gorbunov, notes in a 2008 interview that his partner keeps all the material, willing neither to give it for free to some cultural TV channel, nor to release it on DVD in minuscule circulation – just to support pirates, as he feels – and so, it still awaits its day in the sun⁷. (A good number of individual pieces, though, in this day and age have found their pretty wide exposure on YouTube and other venues anyway.)

However, even upon its quite limited exposure *Optimus Mundus* as a whole did receive certain publicity and understandably mixed reviews. Critic Larisa Malyukova, while paying its due to the project's bold concept as such, noted the drastic clash between

⁷ "Interview with Dmitry Gorbunov", *Tekhnika i tekhnologiya kino [Cinema Technique and Technology]* 4 (2008). Retrieved from http://ttk.625-net.ru/files/605/531/h_671c6c21b19952b929b3973ff9d0372d (access: 23.04.2018).

the *graceful kingdom of animation* and trite journalistic gibing in dispensable tall-tales, and complained that the film did not fulfill the promise to become a cultural undertaking far beyond just a ‘jubilee reel’⁸. Foreign perception was perhaps more forgiving; as notes New Zealand International Film Festival observer: *The result is no picture-perfect piece of state-commissioned self-aggrandisement. Legendary Russian humour rides side by side with the equally legendary Russian melancholy. Exhilarating colour follows sorrowful grey. Celebration segues into elegy. Chauvinism shades into mock embarrassment at not being a major international city in the twenty-first century. The view from inside is contrasted with the view from outside. ... While virtual tourists and armchair anthropologists can enjoy the myriad perspectives on Moscow, students of animation will revel in the cornucopia of styles and techniques. (...) Collaborative work on this scale and in this environment is loaded with creative, logistical and even political risks. But the birthday party is a success, a must for Russia-watchers and a treat for the senses*⁹.

Certain things in this review from aside were guessed about right for insiders’ ear too. We can add that this, however awkward, experiment might be viewed in even deeper dimension; it presents (insofar as the original collection of shorts contains a number of titles that stand out and deserve special attention), if less a full-fledged artistic survey of the city in its history-to-the-present, then more so, a collective attempt at restoring or building up anew the historical narrative(s), and in that reveals the patterns of historical mentality as such. In the turbulent midst of epochal transition, it gives the measure of the soul- and identity-searching – that is looking for coherent historical narrative(s) as a (new) foundation, and attempting maybe to substitute the elusive new-grand one with a number of smaller ones in bits and pieces.

Russia is a country with unpredictable past, as an old saying goes. No less predictable appear the very image(s) of its history here. Imagining history, though, could take both familiar and uncharted paths.

We would find here, for instance, an initial myth of creation of sorts: Andrey Zolotukhin’s subtly-stumped pastel angels soaring in mid-air would throw seeds in the soil, water them from pouring pots – and watch the churches and town walls growing as if on a flower bed, and then cast out a freakish little devil who steals the tiny bell tower,

⁸ Larisa Malyukova, “ОИГТИМУС... ИЗ МУНДУСОВ” [“The Best... of the Worlds”], *Iskusstvo kino [Cinema Art]* 7 (2000). Retrieved from <http://www.kinoart.ru/archive/2000/07/n7-article13> (access: 23.04.2018).

⁹ “New Zealand International Film Festival”. Retrieved from <http://www.nzff.co.nz/film/640cf707-581d-40e1-92fc-ab143aa1ef89> (access: 23.04.2018).

to put it back where it belongs with gentle care (*Two Angels*)¹⁰. Or – a variation on the theme: a medieval quest of wanderers-pilgrims and fliers with self-attached wings seen through the prism of legendary film/animation (pre)history – a make-believe early invention of praxinoscope (*Flying Guys/ Praxinoscope*, dir. Eduard Belyahev). And the dragon-slayer St. George (featured on the city traditional court-de-arms, by the way) would heroically fight the beast – but actually in a circus arena, as it turns out (*The Circus*, dir. Elena Uzhinova, Oleg Uzhinov). There would come along accounts of major historical events-milestones in funny or straightly weird snippets: from the struggle against Polish invasion – where the leaders of patriotic militia Minin and Pozharsky would be actually struggling for meat supplies (*Minin and Pozharsky*, dir. Nikolai Serebryakov); to Napoleon in the Kremlin lonely playing trombone (*Napoleon*, dir. Svetlana Grossu, Vladimir Gagurin).

There also would be folkloric stylization of a more generic nature; and old-time private-life scenes, with the scent of the lost peace and quiet; and just etudes-studies on seasons and land-city-scapes, with characteristic timelessness of atmosphere and perspective. But even so, in the very stylistic range all those pieces can be perceived as loaded contributions to this general enterprise of the ‘image of history’, if not of its grand narrative proper.

When it comes closer to new world/time/space, then even seemingly innocent and particular takes would start to sharpen in various ways. Vadim Medzhibovsky pictures an awkwardly-touching stroll of a couple in a park in lightly ironic old-Soviet nostalgia, even if on pop-kitschy side (*Gorky Park: Returning*). Sergey Shramkovsky (designer on Multtelefilm and Pilot, then on Klasky-Csupo in Los Angeles) in *Hero Valery Chkalov* lets much more sarcastic bravado into that dubious nostalgia depicting how ‘Stalin’s ace’ famously drives his fighter-plane through-under Moscow-river bridges, from the city center towards outskirts flying lower and lower, and lower yet – until he ends up as a submariner in the sewer tunnels.

Alright, let us follow this quest as well, going underground. Here is another path shown, crisscrossing-mishmashing genres and ages: a Tatar squad’s raid, storming fortress-Moscow, first wooden, then of solid stone, impregnable walls – and so they go digging under, holes and tunnels appear at a fast pace... but wait, what is it? – aborigine’s eye recognizes immediately the diagram of the Moscow subway, or metro, system... and yes, the train is coming right on, to the invader-digger’s’ horror, and suddenly he finds himself inside the crowded metro-car, hanging on a grab strap (*Tatars*,

¹⁰ Individual shorts’ titles are unsure-conditional; here they are indicated by English version as given in the unreleased feature’s end credits and/or in media filmographies.

dir. Igor Veishtagin – of the younger Pilot gang, not quite incidentally borrowing the design/characters/plotline from one of the *Lifts*' shorts).

With that, Moscow Metro appears as one of leitmotifs in this saga – also not without some reason. Conceived and started in construction in early 1930s, it would become not just the centerpiece of the city transportation, but to a larger degree also the centerpiece of the city's transformation into new aesthetic/ideological project of global scale; it would stand as the embodiment of Stalinist architectural and broader artistic principles and forms, and in that as the grand artifact of monumental propaganda. Those palatial hall-stations, in marble and bronze, with intricate lighting designed to produce the radiant path to the brighter future right through the underground darkness, were to be, and did become the wonders of the world – no wonder that they also were for so long, and remain as, a major tourist attraction. So, it looks natural that a foreign guest to *Optimus Mundus* does exactly what a sensitive tourist would do: pastel-gentle sketches of nice people or self on escalators or in the stations – to be sent afar, for a friend or an imagined self, sunbathing on the beach to peer at the memento postcard (*Metro*, dir. Sara Watt).

And no wonder also that locals would be inspired in a different way – rather to discern in this subterranean kingdom the real underworld. In Aleksey Turkus's meditative snapshot *Armored Train* it would feel like a modernized version of Hades, shadowland of restless souls where revolutionary symbols – like the title train, emblematic weaponry of the Civil War – and monuments – like the canonic Lenin with outstretched hand – linger along and within the deadly-stoned populace, which references obliquely and directly well-known images of metro-sculptures.

Those same sculptures would take the stage completely for their buffoonish performance in perhaps the most hilarious piece of the whole collection, *Underground/ Metro Night* (dir. Vasiko Bedoshvili, one more of Pilot studio second-wave cadre; and characteristically, on Tatarsky's script). Here they are let loose to have their badass-party between the daily shifts of duty – playing out indeed a Walpurgis Night of sorts, Bald Mountain shifted underground, where it belongs anyway, and witches replaced with bronze figures of the bygone Soviet pantheon of 'common heroes' come alive again, albeit just until the rooster's crow. Gags are wild and brush, at times frivolously so (like a female/male statues' 'bronze romance' in the thicket of grain crops made of the same material), or almost prophetically pointed (like metal ballerina's fouette in the middle of the platform turned into drilling of a flowing oil well that would be immediately

accommodated with infrastructure of pipes, and all the rest). But moreover, this is also an art/ideological contest of a certain kind, manifested in a peculiar encounter, or joust, between two particular metro stations: Revolution Square and Mayakovskaya (naturally, in honor of the ‘revolutionary poet’). Though completed at the same time, in 1938, they exemplify quite different, if not directly opposite stylistic paradigms. The former station is almost emblematic of the newly introduced socialist realism (though not without art-déco touches in its actual stylistics) and features full-blown cache of life-like sculptures (about eighty initially) placed in evolutionary progression to represent key figures on all the stages of revolutionary struggle and new state building: Soldier, Sailor, Worker, Border-Guard, Peasant, Farmwoman, Agriculturist, Miner, Engineer, and then students and athletes of both genders, young pioneers (new-world boy/girl-scouts) and so on. The latter – widely recognized as an architectural/design masterpiece, is much more and openly stylized in art déco/constructivist fashion (hinting also to Mayakovsky’s Futurist beginnings), and features the ceiling arched domes with mosaics altogether called to capture a composite image of “24 hours of the Soviet Sky” by Aleksandr Deyneka, one of the brightest artists of early Soviet avant-garde. So then, brutal full metal jackets from the Revolution Square come to meet in a supposedly comradely embrace or a friendly match another cast-type of Soviet life, light-weight gypsum ‘park sculptures’, in whom we also recognize, strangely or not, some heroes of Deyneka’s mosaics – and that would be indeed an awkward-turned-deadly encounter. Due just to the incompatible nature of the materials in play, of course, but it is not only a sharp gag, it is also, consciously or not, a sad joke of a larger significance. Thus, the sacramental historic(al) dispute between major trends, Culture One and Culture Two, in Vladimir Paperny’s terms¹¹, is being resolved, predictably and true to factual record, in favor of the latter.

¹¹ This particular short, along with some others to a lesser degree, looks like a striking illustration to his greatly influential book “Culture Two” (“Kultura Dva”, written back in late 1970s as dissertation at the Central Research Institute for Theory and History of Architecture, TsNIITIA, in Moscow – not approved, obviously – and published amid author’s emigration, in Russian first in the USA by Ann Arbor Publishing in 1985, and then in Moscow by Novoye Literaturnoe Obozreniye in 1996, 2006 and 2007; and in English as “Architecture in the era of Stalin. Culture Two”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002): deeply semiological ‘alternative history’ of Soviet architecture within wider cultural context, with emphasis on dynamics in aesthetic ideology, cyclical collision between conservative and innovative waves. It is quite tempting, and might be potentially quite productive, to dissect this animation material in the same vein but that is not feasible within the limits of the present paper. What is also beyond the scope of my analysis for now is the whole realm of architectural motifs at large here; as well as broader references to and representations of fine art history, both on traditional and avant-garde side. All that, obviously, deserve special attention and separate conversation.

Well, no victory stays unavenged. To add yet another layer of density to the (de)mythologizing fog, in recent times, and in the 1990s in particular, the Revolution Square sculptures would become the subject and the victim of bizarre public obsession: superstitious belief that touching their certain outstanding parts/details would protect you from this and provide luck in that; upon years of this mass touching and rubbing some figures suffered tangible damage, and lately there have been calls for urgent protective measures and restoration. Curiously, and/or tellingly, the most victimized creature turned to be a border-guard dog, its nose badly chafed.

Now let us get back to daylight, not completely awakening though. Another witty-sharp entry – Robert Sahakyants’ *Red Square/ Best City in the World*, essentially a music clip on sweet and brisk pop song: *You haven’t yet been in our city of lightness – then you haven’t yet seen the best city of the world*, in true and clear carnivalesque spirit makes a complete mishmash of the very idea of coherent grand narrative of history. Iconic figures and artifacts mix, crisscross and, literally, bump into each other, defying the determinist logic and notion of continuity. Ivan the Terrible would play tennis match and then appear on the rostrum of the Mausoleum, from where generations of Soviet leaders greeted all the parades and rallies, and with that – wow! – the Mausoleum itself suddenly rises up as the notorious hut on chicken legs from the gloomy Russian folktales¹².

Tracing not only the ways of ‘imagining history’, but also certain patterns of conceptualizing it, albeit through/within artistic means, we can notice perhaps a collision of continuity and simultaneity here. That also may apply to George Schwizgebel’s piece, where kids are dispassionately riding their hobby-horses in non-stop stationery swing – while all around them monuments of/from different eras keep falling as if from the mid-air, replacing each other at the same, even if getting transformed, spot (*Monuments*). In mild contrast to this clearly outsider’s take, a native eye offers a seemingly similar move: a bee takes off from the flower growing right from the decaying brick wall – and flies through time as through space, through a sequence of iconic historical scenes/events flowing into and over each other and changing the (still) familiar environment – to finally as if to complete the full circle and to return back to peacefully rest on the same flower (*Moscow Streets/ Trough History*, dir. Dmitry Rezchikov).

¹² Not going into details, I must note that some films made by Sahakyants in his native Armenia few years earlier, amidst local turbulent and tragic shifts, show much more directly politicized approach and harsher games played with the similar imagery appropriation.

Well, as Russian-Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardashvili used to say: *The ill repetitiveness of many phenomena in Russian life is, in its own turn, the major phenomenon of Russian life*¹³. But here we see not only and not so much the observations of the ‘field of constants’ underlying Russian history, as a deeply embedded notion of its ultimately cyclic character. Whether nothing is new under the Moscow sun or not, the bee still returns to its circuits with the wind of times... that, in essence, is a signifier of either a true archaic type of mentality or of an utterly cynical one; or, in combination of the two – of a overall crawlingly eschatological mood.

Moscow Project as such certainly could not escape this kind of tuning, and it manifests explicitly over and again, in telling variations. A heavy dark cloud rises on the horizon beyond the Kremlin towers, closes in and reveals Stalin’s face on it, and as it flowers over and covers the sky completely, the entire place, walls and square, freezes deadly in snow and ice – this is *Moscow Weather Forecast* according to Polish master Stanisław Lenartowicz, not that much hopeful, indeed even if belonging exclusively to the past climate records. And as to the record(s) – Mikhail Aldashin with Aleksey Dyomin elaborately visualize the entire historiosophic survey in a multi-screen exercise stylized after the traditional icon with its ‘narrative windows’, filled here chronologically with perpetual lines of events developing simultaneously on different planes, the supreme rulers occupying the central box (*History of Moscow Czars*) – but this survey (quite evocative in itself, rather mature in vision and concept, of the type that had been in development, albeit opening up mostly for/within a thin intelligentsia layer, yet throughout late Soviet times) abruptly stops with Lenin’s face closing the whole field. End of (hi)story. If not exactly in Fukuyama’s sense, than by timeless formula of satirist-classic of literary golden age Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin: *History had ceased its course*¹⁴.

I strongly suspect that the *Optimus Mundus* producers were not only creatively unprepared to deal with all the material they had gotten in hand, but in other ways too – confused if not maybe even scared by its unexpected accents and inclinations. By the end of the transition decade – practically already at the dawn of a new period (and

¹³ In particular, in lengthy conversation with this author titled “ДЬЯВОЛ ИГРАЕТ НАМИ КОГДА МЫ НЕ МЫСЛИМ ТОЧНО” [“Devil Is Playing with Us When We’re Not Thinking Clearly”], first published in Moscow in the magazine *Theater* 3, 1989, pp. 88-96; then in his book: Merab Mamardashvili, *Как я понимаю философию* [How I Understand Philosophy], Progress, Moscow 1990, pp. 126-142, see *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁴ The final phrase of his iconic “History of a Town, or Chronicles of Foolov” (“Istoriya odnogo goroda”, 1870), a parodying pastiche on the history of Russian state at large.

a new presidency with all the changes it was to entail) – one could sense something different in the air. So then, the ‘mockumentary’ framework was not just a choice of convenience and bad taste but rather seemed to serve as a safe escape – what else was there to cover this yawning pit of the past, with no sure bridges through it and to the almost completely absent present itself.

* * *

The deep trauma is open and clear: the Cold War was lost, as well as status and imperial grandeur, and the empire as such – not to mention the ideological (and, in fact, futuristic in its origins) project long embedded in the official discourse and in common mindset alike. Settling accounts with the past proved to be inconclusive at best; the distorted mix of overlapping mythologies was boiling over the edge. And indeed: *Post-Soviet memory operates as a living combination of various symbols, periods, and judgments which are experienced simultaneously*, in the formulation of Russian-British cultural historian Alexander Etkind¹⁵.

Thus, the very idea of not merely mocking history but of a ‘mocku-history’ as a genre variety, if you will, would intriguingly rhyme on the same ground just a few years later, and by no other than Tatarsky. In his effectively last personal film *Red Gate Rashomon* (*Красные ворота Расемон*, 2002, co-dir. Valentin Telegin), he offers a take on an absurdly fictitious account: upon USSR’s World War II victory over the fascist Colombia in alliance with Japan, a skating competition is held in Moscow between athletes Fyodor Dostoevsky and Akira Kurosawa (and other twisted plot-lines, presenting different accounts of the events, hence the classical reference in the title). But in fact it is rather an honest, if disguised, retro played out against the backdrop of post-war Moscow, in design stylized almost directly after classic Soyuzmultfilm of the 1940s and 1950s, and in slowed down yet still smart gags, in toned down yet still pointed humor; warm nostalgia and ironic distancing mixed in its underlying message.

This film, though, seems to mark already a different trend that would come to play in the 2000s going up to the present moment; let us label it ‘new nostalgia’ – it deserves special consideration and better to be put aside for another occasion.

¹⁵ Alexander Etkind, *Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2013, p. 11.

For now, we will leave the stage at this crucial juncture, when, as Mikhail Iampolsky summarizes: *Russia, having for many years feasted on grand historical narratives, suddenly found itself in a place of utter historical confusion (...) Russia definitively dropped out of a coherent historical narrative and in doing so, took a step beyond Kantian causality*¹⁶.

Or, to downshift the discourse register somewhat, putting things closer to common feeling and our material, let us remember yet another of Stanisław Jerzy Lec's trenchant maxims: *Succession of times is illusory. Sometimes people are afraid of the past that is to come.*

¹⁶ Mikhail Iampolski, op. cit.

Michał Bobrowski

Ideological Hall of Mirrors

Reflections of Soviet Propaganda

in American Propaganda of the 1940s and 1950s

The establishing shot

John Sturges's 1968 *Ice Station Zebra*, a second-rate, albeit very popular Hollywood espionage epic about a joint arctic operation of British intelligence and American military forces, contains a scene that captures some key features of the Cold War *Zeitgeist*. Towards the end of the film, Boris Vaslov, an amiable Russian anti-communist and long-time collaborator with the British secret service, turns out to be a KGB double-agent. Due to the warm-hearted performance of Ernest Borgnine (memorable for his title role in *Marty*, 1955, dir. Delbert Mann) the viewer has invested trust and favour in the character and is now brutally disillusioned. The scene starts with Vaslov unexpectedly and violently assaulting a British agent (a character previously presented as his devoted friend). The very next moment an American soldier enters the scene but the Soviet spy catches him off guard. Holding him at gunpoint, Vaslov explains his fatalistic view of their situation. *You see, had I been born in England, and he in Russia, he would be standing here and I would be lying there*, says Vaslov melancholically with his heavily Slavic accent, *Yet one takes no pleasure in mutilating one's identical twin*, he adds after a short pause. These somewhat pompous lines uttered by the Hollywood Soviet agent express a sense of the bond existing with his Western counterpart, and an understanding of their mutual entanglement, and even a certain degree of compassion. In the words of Mikhail Bakhtin: *opposites come together, look at one another, are reflected in one another, know and understand one another*¹.

The following article is a part of a wider, ongoing research that aims at the comparative analysis of mechanisms of indoctrination within capitalist and communist audio-visual propaganda of the Cold War era. Here I will focus on films produced in

¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London 1984, p. 176.

the USA, yet the Soviet propaganda will be nonetheless present². In comparison to the propaganda system developed in the Soviet Union and its satellite states, American anti-communist propaganda of the Cold War era put a stronger emphasis on the presentation of the enemy's point of view. The target audiences of American propaganda³ were meant to become familiar with methods of communist indoctrination as well as the principal components of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which of course were tendentially depicted and provided with appropriately disparaging commentary. Moreover, communist propaganda itself was often thematised. This paper focuses on strategies employed in

² This paper presenting the subject from an American perspective, requires a complementary, "symmetrical" study focusing on the depiction of American capitalism and its discourse in Soviet and East European propaganda. Such an article, under the working title "Animating the Enemy, Depiction of the 'Other Side' in Soviet Cold War Propaganda" is currently in preparation.

³ At this point it seems necessary to explain how the term propaganda will be used and understood. In the case of American propaganda, a wide understanding of the term taking into account the techniques of persuasion rather than focusing on the sending instance, appears to be adequate. In his classic study, Jacques Ellul put forward a following definition: *Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization*, see J. Ellul, *Propaganda. The Formation of Men's Attitude*, trans. Konrad Kellen, Jean Lerner, Vintage Books, New York 1973, p. 61 (first published in 1965). This general definition captures the essential features of capitalist Cold War propaganda. Despite the fact that (as I argue later) American and Soviet propaganda were in many respects similar or symmetrical, certain significant differences were of course present. Perhaps the most important difference appears at the level of the organization of film production. Both production systems were logical continuations of the two visions of economy and governance. In USSR the film industry was centralized and state-regulated, whereas in the USA it had a more pluralistic, ramified or 'free-market' character. One could risk a remark that the market of mind-shaping and mass control in the USA was mainly privatized (although the films' content was controlled by strict censorship). Using as a criterion the involvement of state agencies and private institutions in the production, we may single out four groups of films conveying ideological transmissions upholding the capitalist *status quo*: (1) state-produced films or films officially commissioned by state agencies, usually executed by Hollywood studios but with the ordering authorities' full control over the entire production process; (2) films produced in private-public cooperation, often with a state agency being a "silent partner" (as in the famous case of CIA secret involvement in the production of *Animal Farm*, 1954, dir. John Halas, Joy Batchelor); (3) films produced without direct state support by powerful academic, religious or business organizations interested in spreading pro-capitalist and anti-communist ideas; (4) privately produced films in which the transition of the dominant ideology was not top-down imposed but answered a grassroots social need. Limiting the material to films that were beyond any doubts produced with the state's involvement does not seem to be of advantage, and so the following text focuses on film material belonging to all four categories. See Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, The New Press, New York, London 2001; Rick Prelinger, *The Field Guide to Sponsored Films*, National Film Preservation Foundation, San Francisco 2006.

American propaganda films for presenting/creating the ideological stance of the other side, and, above all, for parodying, ridiculing and demystifying the communist propaganda. Material-wise, the scope of the presented reflection will embrace animation but also live-action fiction films and documentary films (often containing animated inserts). I will attempt to illustrate how the tendencies known from live-action propaganda devolved into, or in some cases, were anticipated by animated propaganda and how the two audio-visual media harmoniously co-operated and complemented each other while fighting cultural wars. Substantial parts of the text will be dedicated to World War II productions that predated certain tendencies widespread in propaganda films of the following decades. The remaining parts will be focused on films produced in the early period of the Cold War era. Emphasis will be put on the strategies of persuasion that were developed during World War II and later adapted to the changed geopolitical situation that generated different ideological demands. But before discussing particular film examples it seems necessary to refer to some key concepts and contexts crucial for my reading of Cold War propaganda.

The siamese twins

Ice Station Zebra was released in the Johnson/Brezhnev period when the global conflict had already undergone a process of petrification and American popular culture began to thematise and interpret a geopolitical symmetry that determined the dynamics of international relations, shaped political and military strategies of the two rival superpowers and influenced the development of their core ideologies. The fragile balance relied on mutual efforts to maintain this symmetry. While studying English language literature devoted to the Cold War, one will inevitably come across the word “equilibrium” reoccurring like a refrain in works belonging to various fields: from economics, through social and political sciences to military strategy. In the early 1950s, the American mathematician John Forbes Nash Jr. (played by Russell Crowe in Ron Howard’s 2001 biopic *Beautiful Mind*), advanced a concept known as the Nash Equilibrium which quickly became one of the basic notions in game theory. This concept describes a situation in which each player follows the optimal strategy for himself, and the change in the adopted course of action is not beneficial for anyone (two players are in the Nash Equilibrium when the first player makes the best possible decision taking into account the best move of the second player, who also makes the best possible decision taking into account the best move of the first player). Applied to international

politics, the game theory provided an irrefutable argument for the fierce logic of the arms race. A multitude of analytical studies referred to the prisoner's dilemma, a classic theoretical model demonstrating this global deadlock⁴, illustrating a situation in which proceedings oriented at cooperation cannot bring about a positive result and the only effective strategy is based on betrayal and deception⁵. And thus international politics was based on a mathematically proven premise that de-escalation activities were logically excluded, and since the ultimate victory of one side over another was impossible due to the mutual threat of a nuclear 'endgame', the only reasonable consensus was to sustain a state of fragile equilibrium by maintaining a high speed development of weapons of mass destruction.

Certainly, this global symmetry was reflected in propagandistic discourses produced by the two superpowers. The symbolic front of the Cold War was determined by the same logic of an all-powerful binarism. Besides, propaganda is always structured upon hyper-dualistic, Manichean divisions, therefore it cannot function without its 'dark twin', the sinister 'other' embodied by the figure of an internal and/or external enemy. My general methodological postulate is to approach the propaganda systems of both sides of the Iron Curtain as one inseparable, dialectical phenomenon – a grid of mutually reflecting dichotomies. Over four decades of frozen conflict, the two

⁴ The prisoner's dilemma is a classic scenario analyzed by game theory that has been often used as an illustration of the logic behind the nuclear race in the Cold War era. The prosecutor locks two suspects in separate cells and offers them a deal: if they both betray one another, they go to prison for two years; if one betrays another but the other one remains loyal, the one who betrayed walks free, and the loyal one serves two years; if they both remain loyal they go to jail for one year. Mathematical analysis of this problem proves that the most rational decision for both of them is to betray each other, even though cooperation could bring a better result for both of them. See Steven J. Brams, *Superpower Games: Applying Game Theory to Superpower Conflict*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1985; R. Harrison Wagner, "The Theory of Games and the Problem of International Cooperation", *American Political Science Review* 77(1) (March/June 1985), pp. 330-346; Scott Plous, "The Nuclear Arms Race: Prisoner's Dilemma or Perceptual Dilemma?", *Journal of Peace Research* 30(2) (1993), pp. 163-179.

⁵ The British philosopher and mathematician Bertrand Russell also referred to game theory comparing the situation in which the two world superpowers found themselves in the so-called Chicken game, i.e. the game in which two drivers drive toward one another on a collision course. *It is thought on both sides that the statesmen on one side are displaying a high degree of wisdom and courage, and only the statesmen on the other side are reprehensible. This, of course, is absurd. Both are to blame for playing such an incredibly dangerous game. The game may be played without misfortune a few times, but sooner or later it will come to be felt that loss of face is more dreadful than nuclear annihilation. The moment will come when neither side can face the derisive cry of 'Chicken!'*, Bertrand Russell, *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, London, New York, Routledge 2001, p. IX (first published in 1959).

propaganda apparatuses developed a symbiotic bond of interconnections and mutual dependencies. Organically coupled like Siamese twins, they mirrored, complemented, mutually defined and conditioned each other, but also mimicked, travestied and parodied one another. None of the parties could exist without its dark twin. It is not an accident that in the first paragraph of this text I allowed myself to juxtapose a rather pretentious scene from a Hollywood spy drama with an inspiring quote from Mikhail Bakhtin. While writing about the dynamic, ever-unsolved dialogue in Fyodor Dostoevsky's polyphonic novels, Bakhtin developed a set of metaphors that may also prove surprisingly useful in the context of the hyper-homophonic and monologic products of Cold War propaganda. Like Dostoevsky's psychological doubles, Soviet and American propaganda looked at themselves through each other's eyes and, above all, reflected and examined one another like mirrors. The intertextual relation between them assumed a form of bizarre, pathological dialogue, which of course was nothing more than a mediocre parody of dialogue as understood by Bakhtin.

The image of two prisoners locked in separate cells accurately illustrates certain aspects of the relationship between the two propaganda apparatuses developed by both political powers. Their relationship is the opposite of a dialogue – they are physically deprived of the possibility of conducting one, yet found themselves in a situation of interdependence, where one side's actions are determined by the other side's anticipated reactions, and where each side is able to anticipate the other side's reaction without an actual exchange of thoughts or information. Both propaganda systems communicated with a projected 'avatar' of the other side – its ideological simulacrum or constructed enemy. Each side created a simplified and demonized version of the other side's ideology, economy and symbolic culture. But the two monologues set apart by the Iron Curtain were by no means completely isolated from one another or mutually deaf. The bilateral influence is clearly visible and assumes many forms⁶. The subject matter of this article

⁶ As argued by the authors of the collective work *Ambivalent Americanizations. Popular and Consumer Culture in Central and Eastern Europe* (eds. Sebastian M. Herrmann, Katja Koenen, Zoë Kusmierz, Leonard Schmieding, Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg 2008), the Iron Curtain was not an impenetrable barrier preventing any cultural transfer from the West to the East. On the contrary, the influence of American and West European mass culture on the societies of socialist countries was strong and multifaceted. The monograph exposes the profound ambivalence in Western cultural models functioning in the frame of the Eastern Bloc's socio-political context. On one hand the cultural products from the capitalist world posed a threat to the regimes by undermining the coherent world view shaped by the propagandistic discourses creating clear *wel/they* distinctions, and on the other, they improved the effectiveness of communist mind-control technology by providing these discourses with models and formulas far more attractive

appears as epitomic for this pathological form of intertextual dialogue. In the following parts, I will present how American propaganda looked at the world seen through the lenses of Soviet cameras and how it constructed the imaginary enemy together with his machinery of deception.

The Two Worlds or the dawn of modern propaganda technology: recapturing the enemy transmission

It seems justified by a number of reasons to begin this journey through American propaganda thematising the Soviet Union along with its ideology and propaganda from the World War II period. In those dark times, there was a rapid development in the audio-visual propaganda produced by all the countries involved in the conflict. Moreover, if in the USSR animation functioned as an important tool of ideological indoctrination from the 1920s⁷, US propaganda started to employ this medium in a large scale only after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Major US animation studios promptly joined the propaganda war, mobilizing their most popular cartoon characters, who proved their loyalty to Uncle Sam in dozens of quickly produced animated shorts. Bugs Bunny encouraged Americans to contribute to the nation's military effort by buying war bonds (*Any Bonds Today?*, 1942, dir. Robert Clampett); Popeye and Superman fought Japanese soldiers and hateful politicians (*You're a Sap, Mr. Jap*, 1942, dir. Dan Gordon; *Japoteurs*, 1942, dir. Seymour Kneitel); Donald Duck dreamed the nightmare of waking up as a citizen of Nazi Germany (*Der Fuehrer's Face*, 1943, dir. Jack Kinney)⁸.

than the ones that had been developed within the paradigm of socialist realism. As Sergei Zhuk notices, (...) *American cinematic practices (...) demonstrated the unique possibilities of the ideological manipulation and mobilization through the visual media*, S. Zhuk, "Hollywood's insidious charms: the impact of American cinema and television on the Soviet Union during the Cold War", *Cold War History* 14(4) (Routledge 2014), p. 617. In this text I will show that US propaganda also carefully studied and learned from the enemy propaganda.

⁷ As a symbiosis of art and technology, the medium of animation perfectly corresponded with the ideology and aesthetics of futurism that was meant to replace the paradigm of bourgeois realism (vide: Dziga Vertov's *Soviet Toys! Советские игрушки*, 1924 and *The Eleventh Year! Одинадцатый*, 1928, or *Interplanetary Revolution! Межпланетная революция*, 1924, dir. Nikolai Khodataev, Yuri Merkulov, Zenon Komissarenko).

⁸ It appears as symptomatic that American cartoon characters appeared as villains in the Axis animated propaganda. That proves that all sides were quite aware of how effective animation could be as a weapon, and that all sides analyzed ideological messages conveyed in their enemies' animated productions. As early as 1936, a Japanese propaganda cartoon featured an evil Mickey Mouse portrayed as a bomber flying over Japanese islands (*Toy Box Series, Episode 3: Picture Book*

Viewed from the perspective of this article, American propaganda and popular films of the World War II period strike as unprecedentedly warm in their depiction of the Soviet Union⁹. The supremacy of the Axis countries forced the western democracies into a difficult and rather exotic alliance with their natural enemy. This had to be explained to the target audiences of propaganda transmissions in a way that would not disturb the ideological consistency of their shaped world outlook¹⁰. A 1944 Merry Melodies cartoon titled *Russian Rhapsody* (dir. Robert Clampett) is a great example of such an explanation. The film starts like one of the numerous animated caricatures mocking Adolf Hitler's military style and his oratory articulation (e.g. *Ducktators*, 1942, dir. Norman McCabe; *Stop that Tank!*, 1942, dir. Ub Iwerks; *Bury the Axis*, 1943, dir. Lou Bunin). During his speech, the fuhrer announces that he will personally fly an airplane over the Soviet Union and bomb Moscow. In the second act, the plane piloted by Hitler is sabotaged by an eccentric yet well-organized group of 'gremlins from the Kremlin' who systematically damage the aircraft's machinery. In a series of gimmicky gags, the dictator falls victim to one painful assault after another, and in the climax, one of the gremlins puts on a Stalin mask that ultimately crushes the leftovers of Hitler's morale. The authors' decision to portray Soviets as creatures that are harmful and destructive but at the same time likable and cute appears as highly symptomatic – it answers the need of reworking the ideological ambiguity of the American alliance with the Communist empire.

The most notable American World War II propaganda production depicting the USSR is undoubtedly *The Battle of Russia* – a two-part documentary that belongs to *Why We Fight* (1942-1945), a seven-part series which itself marks a milestone in the development of American audio-visual propaganda, anticipating various tendencies that return in the Cold War model. For this reason, before setting about discussing *The Battle of Russia* it seems relevant to devote a little attention to the series as a whole, particularly its features which reappear in Cold War productions. *Why We Fight* was

1936, aka *Momotaro vs. Mickey Mouse/ Omochabako Series Dai San Wa: Ehon 1936 Nen!* オモチャ箱シリーズ第3話絵本 1936年, director unknown). Similarly, *Nimbus libéré* (dir. Raymond Jeannin) produced in 1944 in Vichy France, shows Mickey Mouse along with Donald Duck and Popeye the Sailor as pilots of planes throwing bombs at French villagers' house.

⁹ See Clayton R. Koppes, Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: Patriotism, Movies and the Second World War. From "Ninotchka" to "Mrs Miniver"*, Tauris Parke Paperbacks, London, New York 2000, pp. 85-221.

¹⁰ Also Soviet propaganda from World War II period occasionally presented positive portrayals of the Western powers, vide: *Newsreels №2*, (*Журнал политсатиры №2*, 1941, dir. Valentina Brumberg, Zinaida Brumberg, Aleksandr Ivanov, Ivan Ivanov-Vano, Olga Khodataeva).

commissioned by the US War Department in order to provide the American troops¹¹ with frameworks and categories that would allow them to appropriately interpret the geopolitical situation and to show them how totalitarian ideologies that had come to power on distant continents could pose a threat to the American way of life. Frank Capra, who, like many other Hollywood celebrities, enlisted shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, was assigned to direct the production by General George Marshall (the future creator of the Marshall Plan). It would be difficult to come up with a better choice, even if till then Capra had not realized a single documentary film. While some film historians see the author of *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) as a populist appealing to Americans' primal political desires¹², others claim that among American filmmakers of the classic era Capra was the only one who *dealt seriously with central themes of citizenship, responsibility, and participation in civic life; certainly no-one has confronted the internal contradictions of America in a more powerful and revealing way*¹³. But, regardless of their appraisal of the director's ideological standpoints, scholars generally agree that Capra belonged to the most politically engaged Hollywood directors. In the 1930s, Capra was a key figure of the New Deal cinema that supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt's social and economic policies and propagated the values of honest hard work, solidarity, and optimism in order to elevate the society that had been materially and morally devastated by the Great Depression.

While preparing for the realization of the mission entrusted him by General Marshall, Capra saw the infamous Nazi propaganda masterpiece, Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (*Triumph des Willens*, 1935), and this screening made him aware of the great responsibility that would come with his task. The captivating images of national strength, unity and superiority had such a strong propagandist effect that after the screening Capra started to think that the Axis could actually win the war. Overwhelmed with pressure, Capra struggled with creative block for days, until finally,

¹¹ Initially created as training films for enlisted soldiers, the series soon became available in wide distribution in the USA, UK and other allied countries. Despite the critics' acclaim, the first part, *Prelude to War*, turned out to be a box-office failure, but *The Battle of Russia* was highly successful both with critics and the viewers.

¹² See Jeffrey Richards, "Frank Capra and the Cinema of Populism", [in:] ed. Bill Nichols, *Movies and Methods: An Anthology, Volume 1*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1976, pp. 65-77; Wes D. Gehring, *Populism and the Capra Legacy*, Greenwood Press, Westport 1995.

¹³ Charles Lindholm, John A. Hall, "Frank Capra Meets John Doe: Politics and Anti-Politics in American National Identity", [in:] eds. Mette Hjort, Scott Mackenzie, *Cinema and Nation*, Routledge, London, New York 2000. p. 32.

he came up with an idea that would quickly prove truly ground-breaking. He decided that the best way to confront and defeat the enemy's ideological transmission would not be to make a conventional frontline documentary, but rather to reuse the enemy propaganda itself. In a 1984 interview, Capra recalls this breaking moment: *So, how do I reach the kid down the street, you know? The American kid. How do I tell him? He's riding his bike, and... "Hey, hey. You... Do you know what you've got in front of you?" (...) The thought hit me: "Well, how did it reach me?" (...) Aha. Let's let the boys see only their stuff. We make nothing. We shoot nothing. We use their own stuff as propaganda for ourselves*¹⁴.

Capra's idea of creating a propaganda transmission out of re-edited footage of enemy propaganda not only marked a starting point of Capra's prolific engagement in the World War II propaganda machine¹⁵, but also it became a source from which a whole new sub-genre of American propaganda would spring. This sub-genre, based on the strategy of capturing the enemy propaganda and rephrasing it in accordance with domestic ideology, would become especially vital in the 1950s.

Capra's method, dubbed by critics as 'scissors and paste'¹⁶, was based on careful studies of the enemy propaganda both in regard to its content and rhetoric. The fact that the voice-over commentary read by Walter Huston oversimplifies the social and political processes depicted should not mislead the conscious viewer into thinking that Capra and his unit were ideologically ignorant or naive. On the contrary, it proves that they "did their homework" very scrupulously and learned much from their research on enemy propaganda – they had to master its techniques of persuasion in order to be able to execute the 180-degree ideological turn without losing the emotional load of the original materials. The simplicity of the ideological message that was meant to be clear and understandable (it was estimated that the 2/3 of the target audience had

¹⁴ The quoted lines from Capra's TV interview by Bill Moyers appear in a documentary mini-series *Five Came Back* (2017, dir. Laurent Bouzereau) based on a book by Mark Harris (*Five Came Back: A Story of Hollywood and the Second World War*, Penguin Press, New York 2014).

¹⁵ Major Frank Capra became the head of a special unit within the War Department that used Hollywood studios and equipment for making war propaganda. Apart from the seven episodes of *Why We Fight*, he produced films such as *The Negro Soldier* (1944); *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (1945) as well as the instructional cartoon for soldiers *Private Snafu* (1943-1945).

¹⁶ See Mark Harris, op cit. Interestingly, Capra's method of recapturing and domesticating the enemy propaganda inspired the animated film *Tokio Jokio* (1943, dir. Norman McCabe) – an animated parody of Japanese newsreels that travesties and mimics the style of enemy propaganda. The film is typical for American anti-Japanese propaganda showing dehumanized, racist caricatures.

not finished high school¹⁷), is a result of its adjustment to the universal propaganda principles of Manichean divisions and the intransgressible *wel/them* opposition. It is worth noticing that Capra's earlier films, especially his last 'civilian' film *Meet Joe Doe* (1941) even if contained a strong component of political persuasion, had been much more complex and nuanced when it comes to ethical valuations.

Capra's quote about shooting nothing is not quite accurate. The entire production is composed of excerpts from enemy propaganda but there is also some footage "sampled" from American and Allies' newsreels and documentaries (*vide*: part four *The Battle of Britain*) and, last but not least, animated sequences created especially for the series by Walt Disney Productions. It is a well-known fact that Disney contributed greatly to the war effort. Apart from famous propaganda cartoons featuring Donald Duck (*Donald's Decision*, 1941, dir. Ford Beebe; *The New Spirit*, 1942, dir. Wilfred Jackson, Ben Sharpsteen; *Der Fuehrer's Face*, 1942, dir. Jack Kinney; *The Spirit of '43*, 1943, dir. Jack King; *Commando Duck*, 1944, dir. Jack King), the studio released a series of educational animated films in which the recognizable characters from the Disney universe are not present¹⁸. In the context of this paper, it seems relevant to recall films that presented the reality of the other side, accessibly explaining to the Americans (not necessarily young ones) the ways in which the Nazi regime functioned as well as the ideological indoctrination upon which it was based. The most significant representative of this tendency was *Education for Death. The Making of a Nazi* (1943, dir. Clyde Geronimi), a film that exposed malignant effects of totalitarian, ultra-nationalistic pedagogy. Released half a year later *Reason and Emotions* (1943, dir. Bill Roberts) explained how the Nazi mind control apparatus manipulated the behaviours and sentiments of German people by addressing their primal instincts.

The animated inserts in *Why We Fight* are mostly maps showing movements of the involved armies as well as diagrams based on various statistical data, for instance, the countries' expenditures on armament. But the role of animation in the series is more significant than that of mere ornament or pseudo-scientific visualization. Animation fulfilled a very important rhetorical function: Disney's familiar visual vocabulary

¹⁷ See Thomas W. Bohn, "Why We Fight", *Library of Congress: Index of Film Essays*. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/programs/static/national-film-preservation-board/documents/why_we_fight.pdf (access: 6.06.2018).

¹⁸ Among them one should recall the most serious of the Disney's World War II undertakings: *Victory through Air Power* (1943, dir. Perce Pearce, animation: James Algar, Clyde Geronimi, Jack Kinney) based on the best-selling book of the same title written by Russian-American pilot Alexander P. de Seversky, published in 1942.

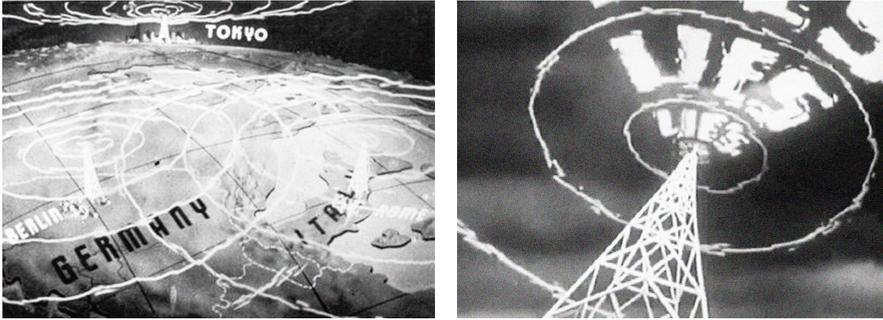


fig.1, fig.2: stills from Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* part 1: *Prelude to War*

provided an iconographic framework that facilitated a process of recontextualization and domestication of the enemy footage. For instance, when, in part seven *War Comes to America*, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is discussed, we see an animated dagger with a Japanese flag on its handle striking the map of USA¹⁹, whereas in part three, *Divide and Conquer*, when the issue of Vichy collaboration is explained, on the map of France there appears a typical Disney-style fairy-tale palace on which dozens of little swastikas are crawling like termites. The most vivid example of the rhetoric application of an animated insert is a short sequence displaying how Axis propaganda brainwashed the masses. While the narrator says, *But before striking, a preliminary step was necessary. From Berlin, from Rome, from Tokyo, the campaign started. Propaganda – to confuse, divide, soften up their intended victims*, we are shown a map of Eurasia with gigantic broadcasting masts located in the three capitals (fig.1). The transmitters fill the ether with one infinitely multiplied word: *lies* (fig.2). This image is edited together with live-action footage showing German, Italian and Japanese radio journalists, which leaves the viewer in no doubt regarding the true nature of the media industries in these countries. The shot of the radio-waves masts transmitting lies appears for the first time in *Prelude to War*, and returns several times in following parts, provided with different voice-over commentaries. Apparently, Capra and his team acknowledged the rhetoric value of this expressive image. As a simple and to-the-point symbolic depiction of enemy propaganda, the animated insert was used as an unmistakable guideline for understanding the quoted enemy propaganda according to one rudimentary binary formula: **everything they claim to be true is a lie and everything they claim to be a lie is true**. This zero-one logic will return later in Cold War productions thematising communist propaganda.

¹⁹ It is worth adding that a similar sequence appeared in a propaganda documentary, *Death by China* (2012, dir. Peter Navarro), where, in a 3D animated sequence, a knife with a sign 'made in China' and a 100 yuan banknote instead of a handle hits the map of America.

Let us take a closer look at the introductory sequence of the first part of the series. For the purpose of this study, I will call it the “Two Worlds sequence”. It opens with a quote from Vice President Henry A. Wallace written on the screen: *This is a fight between a free world and a slave world.* This established Manichean division compels the viewers to unequivocally identify themselves with the first world and to ultimately reject the second one. We are presented with an animated visualization of the quoted statement: two globes appear on the screen – a bright one representing democratic states and a dark one representing the Axis powers. A voice-over narration comments on the words which we have just read: *What are these two worlds of which Mr. Wallace spoke? Let’s take the free world first. Our World. How did it become free? Only through a long and unceasing struggle inspired by men of vision – Moses, Muhammad, Confucius, Christ. All believed that in the sight of God all men were created equal.*

Perhaps from today’s perspective, the choice of these four spiritual leaders as patrons of the community of democratic societies may seem somewhat surprising, yet it clearly aims at creating an image of America as a country of various religions and cultures that coexist harmoniously and respectfully, sharing a common set of democratic values. When the narrator utters the names of the “men of vision” he pauses long enough for the viewer to comprehend the quasi-animated images showing four classical texts that are presented as foundations of the American civilization: the Ten Commandments, the Quran, the Analects of Confucius and the New Testament. A short quote from each of these texts appears on the screen:

“Thou shalt not covet that which is thy neighbors”

“Mankind is one community” (the Koran, p. 85)

“What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others”

(Analects of Confucius, p. 105)

“The truth shall make you free” (John, 8:32)

Clearly, the choice of quotes is meant to convince the viewer that the American model of democracy, inextricably connected with a capitalist economy (it seems characteristic that out of the Ten Commandments the one that was picked addresses the question of private ownership), is deeply rooted in the ancient texts of both East and West. The argument is completed with a reference to the American founding myth: the viewer is reminded of the famous *All men are created equal* passage from the Declaration of Independence (1776) as well the conclusion of Patrick Henry’s “Give me liberty, or give me death” speech (1775).

As we can see, the whole part of the “Two Worlds sequence” just described is in fact composed of written, spoken and visual quotations from various texts of culture. Its pathos is built through the use of a chain of strictly controlled associations triggering patriotic sentiments. Capra’s ‘scissors and paste’ method is not limited to cutting and re-editing the existing film material – it utilizes readable intertextual references to recognizable historical facts, national and religious symbols and political ideas. Only after having been reminded of the fundamental values of American civilization, is the viewer emotionally prepared to be invited to take a look at *their* world – the world seen through *their* camera lenses. Monumental images of power – marching crowds, military parades, mass demonstrations of support – are provided with an alerting voice-over commentary, telling the story of the systematic violations and ultimate elimination of the very same values on which democracy stands: freedom of speech, opinions and faith, respect for individuality and intellectual criticism. The narration exposes the similarities in methods employed by the totalitarian machines in Italy, Germany and Japan – methods such as political assassinations, attacks on parliaments and repressions against religious institutions. All three systems unite their followers around symbols emphasizing their national and cultural superiority and, above all, around the god-like figure of the leader. They kidnap the minds of the masses through the use of political agitation, propaganda in mass-media and oppressive pedagogy (images of children “praying” to portraits of dictators). The cult of personality is presented as a destructive pseudo-religion that requires its willing followers to give up their liberties and rights as individuals: *“Stop thinking and follow me,” cried Hitler. “I will make you masters of the world.” The people answered, “Heil!”*. *“Stop thinking and believe in me,” bellowed Mussolini, “and I will restore the glory that was Rome.” The people answered, “Duce!”*. *“Stop thinking and follow your god emperor,” cried the Japanese warlords, “and Japan will rule the world.” And the people answered, “Banzai!”*

The “recycled” propagandistic images of the Axis’s strength and power that were originally aimed at stimulating national pride and unity, in the new context, fulfil a new function – the function of stirring up the emotion of fear. Naturally, it does not mean that *Why We Fight* was aimed at making American soldiers afraid of the enemy, but rather at making them aware of how threatening and aggressive the three totalitarianisms were. In order to use fear without damaging the troops’ morale, the authors had to combine this emotion with an unshakable conviction about the moral and civilizational superiority of the ‘free world’ over the ‘slave world’ (this comforting and unifying conviction was

of course provided by the first part of the “Two Worlds sequence”). This combination of the two sentiments – fear and confidence – is the key to understanding the rhetorical dimension of the entire sequence.

The strange alliance

For a researcher specializing in propaganda of the Cold War, American productions from World War II provide precious comparative material, for it was an extraordinary time in history, when mainstream American cinema praised the glory of Soviet Union equally enthusiastically as any socialist realist film produced in the USSR. *The Battle of Russia* is the most prominent, but not the only example of this rather exotic cinematic fascination with the Eastern Empire. Between 1943 and 1945 a number of pro-Soviet Hollywood films were produced. This tendency was initiated by *Mission to Moscow* (1943, dir. Michael Curtiz), an adaptation of the autobiographical book by former US ambassador to the Soviet Union, Joseph E. Davies, which in a quasi-documentary form conveyed a radically manipulated image of the Stalinist regime and its policies (e.g. the purge trials of the 1930s are presented as justified actions against the fifth columnists, while the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact appears as a rational strategic move that had nothing to do with Soviet imperialism). Curtiz’s successful film was quickly followed by films such as *The North Star* (1943, dir. Lewis Milestone, a heroic story of Ukrainian guerrilla fighters), *The Boy from Stalingrad* (1943, dir. Sidney Salkow, a film about courageous resistance of youth) and *Song of Russia* (1944, dir. Gregory Ratoff, a musical melodrama in which the love between an American conductor and a Russian pianist is tragically tested by war). Some of the pro-Soviet Hollywood productions have direct intertextual ties with particular pieces of Soviet propaganda. For instance, *Three Russian Girls* (1943, dir. Fiodor Ocep, Henry S. Kesler) is a remake of Viktor Eismont’s *The Girl from Leningrad* (*Фронтовые подруги*, 1941), whereas *Counter-Attack* (1945, dir. Zoltan Korda) was based upon a Broadway play by Janet and Philip Stevenson, which itself was an adaptation of the play *Victory! Победа* by Mikhail Ruderman and Ilya Vershinin.

A few years later, during Senator Joseph McCarthy’s anti-communist witch-hunt, this entire trend would be closely scrutinized and used as evidence of Hollywood’s involvement in the anti-American conspiracy, but in 1943 this positive depiction of the Soviet ally was in accordance with the official policy of the US government. Small wonder that the trend was warmly welcomed by Soviet officials who especially appreciated

*The Battle of Russia*²⁰ (the film was widely distributed in the USSR). The main director of this two-episode segment of the *Why We Fight* series was Anatole Litvak who worked under Capra's supervision. Litvak knew and understood the situation in Europe and strongly sympathized with the idea of the common anti-Nazi front. Born in Kiev into a Jewish family, he began his artistic carrier in the USSR, then had a few years experience in Germany, which he left in 1933, first emigrating to France, finally moving to the USA. It is worth adding that in 1939, against the policy of isolationism prevailing in Hollywood before 1941, Litvak directed a strongly accusatory *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*²¹ which contained re-edited footage of Third Reich propaganda films. Alike the other episodes in the series, *The Battle of Russia* is composed of excerpts from existing propaganda films, this time a substantial part of the material comes from Soviet documentaries and fiction films. However, the status of the Soviet propaganda here is diametrically different than in the case of the Axis propaganda utilized in other parts. If the ideological message of the reused Axis footage was contrary to the original, the reused Soviet material is – so to say – allowed to tell its own original story. Soviet propaganda serving the American purpose remains practically unchanged. Stylistically, the whole film resemblances Soviet cinema, even the scenes which are not based on the directly “sampled” material. The music by Russian-born composer Dimitri Tiomkin draws upon his homeland's folklore and also quotes and paraphrases masterpieces of Russian classical music including the memorable finale of Pyotr Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in D Major as well as the most recognizable theme from Dimitri Shostakovitch's 7th (“Leningrad”) Symphony. There is even a scene in which Litvak recreated the style of the early Soviet avant-garde: the images of the industry in besieged Leningrad working full-steam in spite of the German cannons' heavy fire are edited rhythmically, in a manner strongly reminiscent of Dziga Vertov's works.

The film's initial sequence briefly recapitulates the history of Russia that appears to be repeatedly threatened by invaders from the West. The 1242 aggression of The Knights of the Teutonic Order is illustrated by large parts of Sergei Eisenstein's epic *Alexander Nevski* (*Александр Невский*, 1938), while scenes from Vladimir Petrov's *Peter*

²⁰ See the previously mentioned documentary mini-series *Five Came Back*; Mieczysław B. B. Biskupski, *Hollywood's War with Poland, 1939-1945*, University Press of Kentucky, Lexington 2011.

²¹ Litvak's film was referred to in a Looney Tunes anti-Nazi cartoon *Confusions of a Nutzy Spy* (1943, dir. Norman McCabe).

the First (Пётр Первyy, 1937) illustrate the attack of the Swedish army in 1704²². This historical overview includes two more dates: Napoleon Bonaparte's 1812 offensive and Germany's aggression in 1914 (the year 1917 is not mentioned at all). As the viewer is informed, all of these failed attempts to conquer Russia had the same goal – to seize control over the incredibly rich resources of the Russian land. After the evocative animated sequence showing that the country is three times bigger than the USA, the viewer is presented with socialist realist shots depicting the USSR as a true land of milk and honey, where endless mineral resources feed booming industries, and where the vast, fertile land is farmed with the use of advanced technologies. Subsequently, the viewer learns that the most precious of Russia's resources are its strong and proud people, ready to once again stand collectively against foreign aggression. The nation's strength and unification are proven with the use of Soviet footage of massive crowds marching on Red Square. The footage of thousands of people marching rhythmically and in geometrical order does not significantly differ from the shots of the Nazi demonstrations used in the "Two Worlds sequence", however its totalitarian, anti-individualistic character is "democratized" by voice-over commentary underlining the ethnic and racial diversity of the marching masses. The selection of footage reveals the author's intentions of concealing the giant portraits of political leaders and concentrating the audience's attention on the common people.

If the earlier cited animation *Russian Rhapsody* resolved to some extent the paradoxical nature of the capitalist-communist alliance by employing the ambiguous figure of a gremlin, *The Battle of Russia* completely passes over any uncomfortable facts or doctrinal axioms. In order to comprehend the ideological second bottom of the film, one must consider not only what is shown but also the significant facts that were hidden from the viewer. First of all, there is no mention of any Stalinist repressions; as a matter of fact, Stalin himself appears only once, for approximately thirty seconds. The hidden message says: our allies are not the communist politicians, but the Soviet people and, above all, the brave Soviet soldiers. The focus is centred on the epic sacrifice of the film's collective hero, that is, the steadfast common people, fearless privates and bright generals whose ingenious tactical manoeuvres are illustrated on excellently made animated maps.

²² Among the films whose footage was reused by Litvak and Capra, it is worth mentioning: *Our Russian Front* (1942, dir. Joris Ivens, Lewis Milestone); *Stalingrad*, (Сталинград, 1943, dir. Leonid Varlamov, the film was translated to English and distributed in the USA under the title *The City That Stopped Hitler – Heroic Stalingrad*); *Defeat of German Troops near Moscow* (Разгром немецких войск под Москвой, 1942, dir. Leonid Varlamov, Ilya Kopalin, the film was re-cut, provided with alternative English voice-over and distributed as *Moscow Strikes Back* – this "Americanized" version won an Oscar for the best documentary in 1942).

Moreover, the very topic of Communism is carefully omitted – the Bolshevik Revolution is not mentioned and so a viewer with no knowledge about USSR politics could easily draw the conclusion that the country consistently called “Russia” by the narrator instead of “the Soviet Union” was ruled by a perfectly democratic government (additionally, scenes showing the active anti-Nazi resistance of the Orthodox church implied that this government cherished the value of freedom of religion). Finally, the film reports the events that preceded the German attack on the USSR without acknowledging the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact or the Red Army invasion on Poland in 1939²³.

The Battle of Russia opens with the catchphrase: *Just as the thirst for power that animates our enemies springs from their historic past, so the indomitable will for freedom of our allies is born out of their historic traditions.* This thought echoes the bipartite grand division of free world and slave world that had been established in the “Two Worlds sequence”. The first part of the sentence obviously concerns the Axis powers, while the second part speaks about the Soviet Union. The inclusion of this country in the free world is a result of the Manichean, binary logic of propaganda: the enemy of *our* enemy is *our* friend; *our* enemy is wicked and *our* friend must be noble. In the context of *The Battle of Russia* and other pro-Soviet films mentioned in this section, the ideological shift that occurred in American propaganda after 1945 appears truly Orwellian.

The Cold War: fear and confidence

Soon after the end of the great hecatomb, the geopolitical dynamics pushed the two naturally antagonistic ideologies onto a collision course. During the war both propaganda machines became far more advanced than before – they acquired cutting-edge instruments which were now used against their new/old enemies. It became crucial for both sides to redirect public opinion and emotions and to replace the main villain’s part, in both cases played till recently by the Axis. It is characteristic that in the Cold War period each side’s propaganda accused the other side of being a political and ideological continuation of the Third Reich. Among numerous examples of this tendency in American productions, one may recall such medium length propaganda documentaries as *The Big Lie* (1951, director unknown) or *The Hoaxters* (1952, dir. Dore Schary; both films argue that when it comes to goals and methods there are no significant differences between fascism and communism). Also in Hollywood fiction films like the *noir* B-feature *The Whip Hand* (1951, dir. Harry Horner) or the science

²³ See Mieczysław B. B. Biskupski, op. cit., p. 149.

fiction picture *Red Planet Mars* (1952, dir. William Cameron Menzies), former Nazi criminals collaborate with communists²⁴. But the echoes of World War II propaganda in early Cold War American productions are not limited to direct comparisons equating Soviet Communism with German Nazism – they also reverberate in countless anti-communist films that adapted the modes of persuasion developed for the purpose of propaganda war with the Axis powers.

Let us take a look at one of the most widely recognized pieces of Cold War anti-communist animated propaganda: *Make Mine Freedom* (1948). This educational cartoon presented in schools and factories was commissioned by Harding College (using a grant silently funded by the monopolist Alfred P. Sloan), produced by arguably the most influential producer of capitalist animated propaganda, John Sutherland and directed by the (uncredited) duo of William Hanna and Joseph Barbera. On the level of rhetoric as well as the narrative structure the film faithfully follows the pattern of the “Two Worlds sequence” from *Why We Fight*. The sequence itself, with its grand dualism and the dialectics of fear and confidence, may be regarded as a template that was reproduced in countless Cold War propaganda works. The film opens with images of a perfect democratic harmony, presenting the USA as a country of freedom, tolerance and justice. Then we see representatives of four classes (manufacturer, working man, farmer and politician) arguing in a city park. A character appears, a shady agitator eager to take advantage of the tension growing between them. Dr. Utopia, a combination of stereotypical Western-movie salesman peddling a “miracle cure”²⁵ and a Faustian Mephistopheles, advertises his magical elixir called “Ism” as a way to *cure any ailment of the body politic* and organize a society devoid of conflicts, unified and fair. But there is one condition: in order to get Ism, they must sign a contract according to which Ism *takes possession of their freedom, freedom of their children, and their children’s children*. The simple-minded Americans are about to sign the contract. Luckily for them, the whole situation has been noticed by a sceptical bystander who introduces himself as John Q. Public (the name used for denoting the average American “man on the street”). This prologue is followed by two acts in which Mr. Public exposes the Doctor’s evil intentions with the use of the “Two Worlds” rhetoric.

²⁴ An analogical tendency appeared in Soviet Cold War propaganda, both in live-action cinema (*The Fall of Berlin! Падение Берлина*, 1950, dir. Mikheil Chiaureli), and animation (*Lesson not Learned! Урок не впрок*, 1971, dir. Valentin A. Karavaev).

²⁵ The figure of a carnivalesque “snake-oil salesman” was frequently used as a representation of communist agitators, most memorably in the mentioned *The Hoaxters*.

The first act presents the free world, *our* world. Freedom is explained here, above all, in economic terms. America is depicted as a land of opportunity where the free competitive market stimulates individual entrepreneurship and guarantees a never-ending economic growth and general wealth. The capitalist economy appears as the only “natural environment” that allows democracy to flourish and to cultivate its fundamental values such as freedom of faith and opinions, racial equality and rule of law²⁶. The second act shows how *their* world functions. Mr. Public lets the four Americans taste a drop of the Doctor’s formula, just like Capra let the US troops see the Nazi propaganda. For a moment they are transferred to a totalitarian state where they personally experience the inhumane cruelty of the communist system, symbolized by a gigantic hand. The totalitarian fist crushes the protests of the worker, puts him in chains and forbids him to strike or unionize; it throws the manufacturer out of the factory (*No more private property! No more you!*); it enslaves the farmer in a *kolkhoz* and deprives him of his voting rights; it puts the politician into a concentration camp and brainwashes him (his head is replaced by a gramophone signed “state propaganda speaker”, the broken record repeats one phrase: *Everything is fine!*). The epilogue calls for an active and united resistance against this dangerous ideology and its false prophets. The four characters whose trust in the American system and its basic principles has been reinvigorated physically attack the troublemaker and chase him away (against the background of a Disney-like castle).

As in the case of the “Two Worlds sequence”, the feeling of confidence based on the firm conviction about the moral and economic superiority of American democracy over its Communist rival is mixed with a skilfully dosed emotion of fear. The character of Doctor Utopia – a figure of internal enemy, a provocateur stirring up class and racial conflicts and spreading a godless ideology into people’s minds in order to prepare the ground for the external enemy who intends to seize control over American politics – epitomizes the Cold War social anxieties. At the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, American society was immersed in anti-communist paranoia. This widespread fear of the communist conspiracy that threatened the American Way *infected the Americans with a mass hysteria which had not been seen since the Great Crash*, writes Peter Lewis, citing the popular slogan “Better dead than Red” as exemplary of the

²⁶ Emphasis on the superiority of the free market economy over the planned, centralized economy is one of the key characteristics of American Cold War animated propaganda – apart from the paradigmatic films produced by John Sutherland such as *Why Play Leap Frog* or *Meet King Joe* (both released in 1949) it is worth mentioning Warner Brothers’ pro-capitalist cartoons such as *By Word of Mouse* (1954), *Heir Conditioned* (1955) or *Yankee Dood It* (1956; all three films were directed by Friz Freleng).

atmosphere of fanaticism and public demand for radical measures²⁷. The House Un-American Activities Committee scrutinized political and cultural elites in a hunt for communist sympathizers. Among people who answered the sacramental question “Are you, or have you ever been, a communist?” there were dozens of screenwriters, directors, actors and studio executives²⁸. Naturally, this widespread paranoia was reflected in mass culture. In the shadow of Senator McCarthy, Hollywood developed a new set of modernist metaphors conveying the threat of communist aggression with the use of the science-fiction genre²⁹. The flying saucers from the Red Planet landing on American soil in William Cameron Menzies’ *Invaders from Mars* (1953) clearly represented Soviet planes, while the aliens replacing decent Americans with their brainless copies in Don Siegel’s *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) stood for domestic un-American forces. Other genres portrayed the communist threat in a more literary manner, disclosing conspirators among everyday Americans (*Red Menace*, 1949, dir. Robert G. Springsteen; *The Woman on Pier 13*, 1949, dir. Robert Stevenson; *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, 1951, dir. Gordon Douglas).

Among numerous cinematic responses to American Cold War anxieties, there was one peculiar sub-genre that deserves a little more attention. The sub-genre in question, quite accurately described in the theatrical trailer of *Invasion USA* (1952, dir. Alfred E. Green) as “shock drama”, consists of thrilling narrations about a communist victory over the USA and its aftermath. The “shock dramas” originate from popular literature and comic books. In 1947 the Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, Minnesota published a comic book tellingly entitled “Is This Tomorrow? America Under Communism”³⁰. This alarming piece of propaganda for youth shows the process

²⁷ Peter Lewis, *The Fifties. Portrait of the Period*, The Cupid Press, London 1989, pp. 65-66.

²⁸ Hollywood cinema was visibly divided in its depiction of these events. Some films took active part in the fear campaign, like *Big Jim McCain* (1952, dir. Edward Ludwig), where John Wayne plays a courageous HUAC investigator, other films conveyed an allegorical critique of the witch-hunt. Interestingly, the most significant examples of the latter trend belonged to a genre typically associated with conservative ideology, i.e. the Western – *High Noon* (1952, dir. Fred Zinnemann), *Johnny Guitar* (1954, dir. Nicholas Ray) or *Silver Lode* (1954, dir. Allan Dwan).

²⁹ There are many references to the science-fiction genre in animated capitalist propaganda, most notably in John Sutherland’s production *Destination Earth* (1956, dir. Carl Urbano).

³⁰ Other worth-mentioning examples of anti-communist comic books are “Two Faces of Communism” (1961) and “This Godless Communism” (1961), both published by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade of Houston, Texas. I decided to quote panels from the three comic books below, for they serve as a vivid illustration of the way in which Marxism-Leninism functioned within the frames of the American propaganda.

of communists seizing power in America through the methods of political diversion, infiltration, mass manipulation and military takeover. Interestingly, the comic's narrative structure repeats, perhaps unintentionally, the model of early Soviet narrations that presented the mass revolutionary struggle through a collective hero, instead of focusing on individual protagonist. What we are dealing with here is the Eisensteinian mode of storytelling *à rebours*. Like in the case of, say, *The October* (*Октябрь (Десять дней, которые потрясли мир)*, 1928), the comic focuses on social mechanisms that set the revolution in motion and break-through events resulting in its ultimate victory, which of course is interpreted as a catastrophe of human civilization rather than a triumph of justice for the exploited masses. A similar narrative structure was used in *Invasion USA*, the story of Soviet military aggression told from multiple viewpoints, but the majority of the "shock dramas" were constructed upon a more traditional Hollywood storytelling model, following individual stories of American everymen dramatically confronted with the newly established, oppressive system. A protagonist could be a plainspoken G.I. on a few days leave, as in the military training short *Face to Face with Communism* (1951, Armed Forces Information Film no. 21), or a small town middle class family man as in *How to Lose What We Have* (the third episode of *In Our Hands*, a series produced by the American Economic Foundation in 1950) or *Freedom and You*, a 1957 Armed Forces Information Film (AFIF no. 120), which in 1962 was re-cut and released for television under the better known title *Red Nightmare* (dir. George Waggner)³¹ that will be used later in this paper.

In the epilogue of the last of the above-mentioned films the protagonist who is about to be executed (he has been sentenced to death for being a dangerous enemy to the proletariat), wakes up from his nightmare similarly to Donald Duck in the earlier cited *Der Fuehrer's Face*, whose life in Nazi Germany turned out to be a bad dream too. Just like the four Americans of different classes who took a sip of Dr. Utopia's poisonous elixir, the hero now realizes the real value of the way of life that he had taken for granted. The propagandistic function of the "shock dramas" is similar to the function of the giant fist sequence in *Make My Freedom* and the footage of Nazi propaganda reused in *Why We Fight*; it serves as a form of vaccine against a potential ideological epidemic. The stories about Soviets conquering America not only expounded the supposed

³¹ It is worth adding that the motif of plain Americans under communist oppression returned to Hollywood cinema in the Reagan era – *Red Dawn* (1984, dir. John Milius), *Invasion USA* (1985, dir. Joseph Zito; not a remake of the 1952 "shock drama"), *Amerika* (TV series, 1987, prod. ABC).



fig.3: a panel from a comic book
 "Is This Tomorrow? America Under Communism"

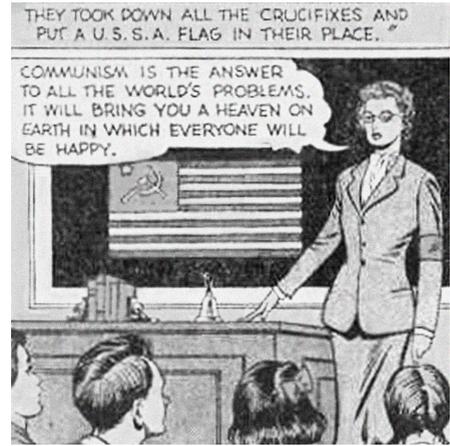


fig.4: a panel from a comic book
 "Two Faces of Communism"

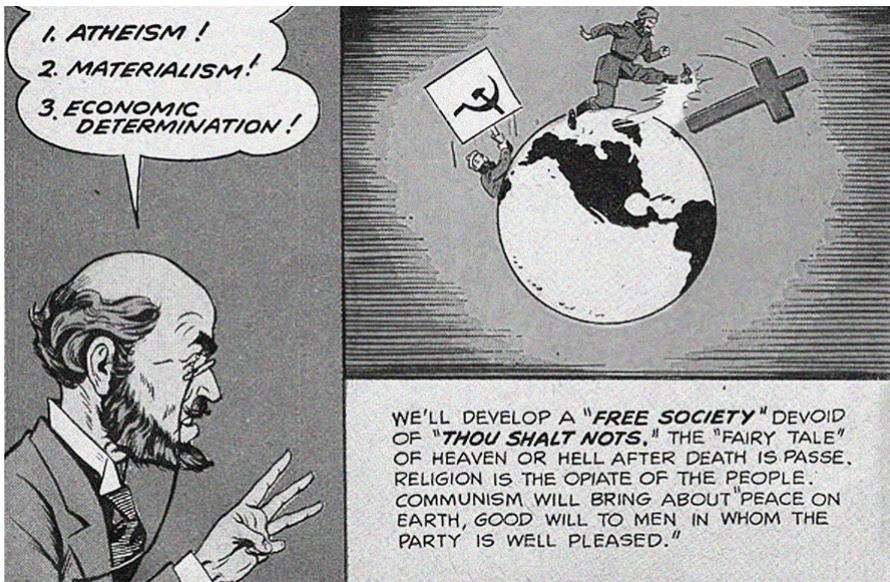


fig.5: a panel from a comic book
 "This Godless Communism"

methods of the hostile conspiracy, but thematised communist ideology itself. Carefully dosed and efficiently disarmed, its basic premises were in many forms retransmitted by capitalist propaganda, advocated by the Cold War villains – agitators, doctrinaires and pedagogues of the sinister ideology that rejects any religious justification of morality. (fig.3, fig.4, fig.5).

Another sub-genre significant for this study consists of films that thematise not only communist ideology but also the methods of transmitting its principles into the minds of the masses. I will name this sub-genre after the aforementioned film *The Big Lie* – one of its emblematic representatives. The ‘big-lie films’ – i.e. American Cold War documentaries on Soviet propaganda, in most cases produced primarily for the purpose of military education, but screened also in movie theatres and broadcast on television – continued the direction delineated by Frank Capra in *Why We Fight*. They recaptured, disarmed and utilized the enemy transmission, reversing its original ideological message with the use of analogous rhetoric, rooted in the Manichean, hyper-dualistic logic according to which everything that Soviet propaganda claims to be true is actually a lie and everything that Soviet propaganda claims to be a lie is actually true. This propaganda about propaganda is by its nature self-reflective, for it employs a purely auto-thematic narrative format of a film within a film. Communist official discourse with its characteristic symbolism and aesthetics have been reproduced in the “big-lie films” with the use of a whole range of modes, varying from direct quotation through more or less far-reaching manipulations on the editing table, to fully staging scenes imitating Soviet propaganda films.

Communist Propaganda (1958) produced by the United States Information Agency is a recording of a lecture on Soviet propaganda delivered to a group of high ranking officers at the Pentagon by the agency’s director George Allen. The film illustrates Allen’s substantive analysis of Soviet instruments of mind control with relatively long, unmanipulated fragments of newsreels and socialist realist features. It is an indisputable evidence that American experts methodically studied Soviet propaganda. The very choice of examples shows a deep expertise. For instance, while discussing the Soviet image of America, Allen refers to *Encounter at the Elbe* (*Встреча на Эльбе*, 1949, dir. Grigori Aleksandrov). The viewer is shown a film clip in which drunk American soldiers brutally assault a black couple. The scene is strongly exemplary of the way in which Soviet propaganda depicted American society as haunted by the ghost of slavery and still racist to the bone³². *The Big Lie* (produced by US Army Pictorial Center) reuses Soviet

³² The topic of racial discrimination belongs to mandatory motifs in Soviet films depicting the USA. Among many examples of this tendency, one may recall such animated films as *Black And White* (*Блэк энд уайт*, 1932, dir. Leonid Amalrik, Ivan Ivanov-Vano) or *Mister Twister* (*Мистер Твистер*, 1963, dir. Anatoliy Karanovich). It is worth noticing that *Encounter at the Elbe* has a dimension that seems to have escaped Allen’s attention. As Sergei Dobrynin writes: *The demarcation line between the Soviet and American occupation zones dividing a small German town becomes a borderline between two worlds. The Soviets treat the residents humanely, while the*

newsreel footage in a manner closer to Capra's approach. The film draws similarities between the Nazi regime and Soviet Communism, juxtaposing images of totalitarian demonstrations of strength held in Berlin and Moscow. Unlike in *The Battle of Russia*, this time the visual and – so to say – atmospheric similarities between Nazi and Soviet marches and military parades are not hidden, but emphasized. The focus is placed on portraits of dictators, the masses appear as absolutely homogeneous. The most significant and extensive manipulation is noticeable in the film's soundtrack. Dramatic music, at moments reminiscent of science fiction scores, serves as a background for a double voice-over. Besides the usual narrator presenting the American side of the story (he frequently refers to the Communist Bloc with the use of the well-known term “the slave world”), a second voice is introduced – a voice that speaks only lies. The lines paraphrasing and mocking the communist newspeak are read by an American actor impersonating an East-European accent with burlesque exaggeration. Although at first this grotesque voice is attributed to Stalin, the viewer soon realizes that it does not belong to any specific communist leader. It is the equivalent of the giant fist in *Make Mine Freedom* – it personifies the Big Lie itself.

The most “liberal” approach to the propaganda-within-propaganda device is to be found in *Defense Against Enemy Propaganda* (1956), a documentary with elements of simple animation, produced by the US Army Audiovisual Center initially for soldiers' training, later included in the military TV show *The Big Picture* (1951-1964). As in *Communist Propaganda*, the viewer learns about the hideous strategies of manipulation and disinformation from an actual government expert, Colonel John Foster. This time he does not speak to a diegetic audience, but addresses his lecture directly to the camera. Again, his arguments are illustrated with film clips, but in this case, the enemy propaganda is not reproduced but recreated. This “study of communist deception”, as the film is described in the introduction, not only employs the usual ‘scissors and paste’ technique, providing the obtained and re-edited footage with a double voice-

Americans abuse and exploit them, just as they racially abuse one of their own. However, the old entertainer Aleksandrov could not abstain from throwing in a little bit of jazz, nightlife glamour and other tantalizing glimpses of the ‘alien way of life.’ It is safe to say that these episodes attracted viewers more than heavy ideological preaching. Thus an unspoken convention was established: the West is rotten, but its rotting is attractive, so why not take a look. Sergey Dobrynin, “The Silver Curtain: Representations of the West in the Soviet Cold War Films”, *History Compass* 7(3) (May 2009), p. 864. Dobrynin's observation is confirmed by many animated productions exploiting the attractiveness of the rotten West e.g. *Someone Else's Voice* (*Чужой голос*, 1949, dir. Ivan Ivanov-Vano), *Shareholders* (*Акционеры*, 1963, dir. Roman Davidov); *Shooting Gallery* (*Туп*, 1979, dir. Vladimir Tarasov).

over, similar to the one observed in *The Big Lie*³³, but it also features unintentionally comical scenes of Soviet propaganda staged in a film studio by an American crew. Actors poorly imitating an Eastern European accent play the attendees of World Peace Council summits – unidentified communist politicians, delivering passionate speeches under portraits of Vladimir Lenin, Mao Zedong and Nikita Khrushchev (put in the centre, but framed in a caricaturistic and diminishing way). The message is constructed on the formula of consistent reversal that enables the simple and unmistakable decoding of the enemy propaganda. The viewer is left in no doubt that in the world ruled by the Big Lie, the word peace inevitably stands for war. Within this ideological simulacrum, the means of expression of documentary and fiction blend together in a proto-postmodernist pulp³⁴. The film may be considered paradigmatic of the Cold War intertextual quasi-polemics that occurred in this era's bilaterally reflective propaganda: two distorting mirrors facing one another, generated more and more inaccurate reflections of each other.

Instead of conclusions – welcome to Blunderland

I chose to devote the final part of this text to a brief analysis of a John Sutherland production, tellingly entitled *Albert in Blunderland. A Patriotic Animated Cartoon* (1950), because this half-forgotten propaganda short, aiming at preventing the spread of left-wing ideas among the working class, concentrates all the significant features of the American anti-communist discourse that have been discussed in the previous sections. Moreover, the film anticipates some of the tendencies that we have observed in later live-action productions. The cartoon is yet another Cold War story of an average, decent American confronted with totalitarian oppression. It warns against the enslaving centralization of production and power and thematises communist methods of mass-manipulation.

³³ Or in fact triple: apart from Colonel Foster's narration presenting the American perspective we hear a second, "Russian" voice, similar to the one in *The Big Lie*, and also a third voice with a strong Chinese accent.

³⁴ Another interesting example of a "big-lie film" combining documentary filmmaking with means of expression typical for fiction films is *Answering Soviet Propaganda* (1964, dir. Jack Felice). Again an expert, Charles T. Vetter of United States Information Agency, lectures about enemy propaganda, focusing on its psychological tricks. The film is minimalistic in form, it does not feature any communist propaganda footage (Mr. Vetter demonstrates only Soviet posters and newspapers). Instead of the usual analysis of cited material, the expert himself acts the enemy propaganda out, assuming a stage personality of a double-tongued spokesman for the Communist side. With a Russian accent (decent for an amateur) he presents the Soviet narration at some points being dangerously and unintentionally convincing.

The film opens with a shot presenting a radio announcer speaking into a microphone, holding sheets of red paper. *Hello my good people!*, he exclaims cheerfully, *Today I am going to tell you about the bountiful blessings that will be ours when each of us produces for the welfare of the other.* He is an internal enemy who spreads his subversive ideas with the use of mass-media, being (as the film later indicates) closely connected to the external enemy. In comparison with Dr. Utopia, the character looks almost trustworthy – he is presented as a self-confident, highbrow intellectual who uses his education and authority to influence people’s minds and to undermine their faith in American democracy and capitalist economy. The speaker’s deceiving promise of a perfectly organized society is admitted to possess a certain seductive charm that makes the ideological threat even more serious. While he argues that numerous examples of controlled and planned economy are to be found in nature, the image dissolves into a shot of a car workshop. The auto mechanic Albert is fully immersed in work. The radio is on but he barely listens – the propaganda messages subliminally permeate his mind, unfiltered by the threshold of critical judgment. The speaker continues: *Even the ants have eliminated competition and live according to master plan of coordinated cooperation.* This last sentence visibly attracts Albert’s attention. *Boy, would I like to be an ant,* he sighs and is immediately hit on the head by a trunk lid and knocked down.

Unlike *Der Fuehrer’s Face* and *Red Nightmare*, where the viewer does not learn that the events depicted are actually the protagonists’ dreams until the films’ epilogues, here, it is clearly revealed in the introduction. Albert’s naive words work like a spell or a sip of Dr. Utopia’s elixir: they magically and temporarily transfer him to a false paradise of collectivism and state-planning – a phantasmal realm of dangerous irrationality. His hallucination is evidently an extension of the radio show. In a way, the protagonist (and the viewer along with him) enters the enemy propaganda transmission, or into an opaque reality on the other side of an ideological looking-glass³⁵. At the beginning of the dream sequence, Albert is approached by a little green humanoid creature who introduces himself as a proud ant. Eager to promote the advantages of a planned economy, the ant becomes a guide to the protagonist in his journey to the false utopia called “Antrolia”. Although *Albert in Blunderland* is a readable anti-communist allegory,

³⁵ The film clearly refers to Lewis Carroll’s diptych (“Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland”, 1865, and its sequel “Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There”, 1871). In fact the intertextual relationship between *Albert in Blunderland* and Carroll’s prose is not direct but mediated by “Alice in Blunderland: An Iridescent Dream”, a 1907 novel by John Kendrick Bangs. This early example of an anti-socialist pamphlet is a political travesty of Carroll’s diptych where the world is ruled by the principle of municipal ownership and private property is forbidden.

the words communism or socialism are never mentioned. The film refers to the tradition of drawing parallels between the non-democratic, anti-individualistic societies and the society of ants. One may find the anthill metaphor in Lafcadio Hearn's artistic depiction of the Japanese neo-Confucian post-feudal, highly hierarchical society³⁶ and in Ralph Linton's sociological analysis of the relationship between culture and individuality³⁷. Four years after the release of *Albert in Blunderland* the same metaphor returned in live-action: the B classic *Them!* is yet another 1950s' sci-fi allegory of Soviet invasion, but this time instead of the usual Martians, the enemy is represented by gargantuan, rapidly reproducing ants, whose mutation was caused by atomic tests and who wreak havoc and panic in the USA.

The illusory dictatorship presented in Sutherland's cartoon is a country inhabited by programmed, easily replaceable machine-like slaves to the state and its ideology. Only three classes constitute the society of Antrolia: workers, guards (the systems muscles) and political leaders (surprisingly for a Stalin era film, the authorities are a committee instead of one queen-ant representing an individual dictator). Alike in Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" (1932), members of each class are identical clones. The depiction of communists as being deprived of distinctive features is typical for American Cold War cinema and is observable both in films about the actual communist countries and the ones that present the potential communism that may seize power anywhere. In the context of the "paranoid homogenization" of communists in American Cold War cinema, Andrey Shcherbenok writes: *The main characteristic of this enemy is the total absence of internal differences – Soviet government, Soviet Union as a nation, Russians as the people, former or current members of American Communist Party and other leftist organizations in the United States, are all portrayed as the units of the totality whose main and only goal is the total destruction of the free world and enslavement of freedom-loving Americans*³⁸.

³⁶ Lafcadio Hearn, *Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, New York 1904, pp. 217-240.

³⁷ Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, Routledge, New York, London 2002, pp. 1-17 (first published: 1947).

³⁸ Andrey Shcherbenok, "Asymmetric Warfare: The Vision of the Enemy in American and Soviet Cold War Cinemas", *KinoKultura* 28 (2010), p. 1. Retrieved from <http://www.kinokultura.com/2010/28-shcherbenok.shtml> (access: 16.06.2018). The author accurately divides two types of communist characters in American films: *either unthinking automatons (...) or monomaniacs, whose determination to advance their cause at any price is nuanced only by their inborn preference for lying and foul play.*

Soon after having entered Antrolia, Albert painfully learns what it means to be deprived of one's rights as a citizen and individual. Despite his protests and explanations that he has a different profession, he is forced to work in a state-factory and becomes an unwilling *udarnik* (a 'shock worker' from Soviet propaganda). The tragicomic scene of Albert and his guide being enslaved by ever-growing quotas and an ever-increasing work pace may bring to mind Charles Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936). The state-imposed attempts to reinforce productivity prove both ineffective and inhumane. The film expresses a certain empathy in its depiction of the ant-workers. Albert's guide and fellow slave-worker is good-natured and friendly. He is the only ant character that has been granted individual features – he looks the same as other workers, but unlike them, he has a voice, a set of distinctive gestures and an outfit that makes him look somewhat similar to Jiminy Cricket from Disney's *Pinocchio* (1940, dir. Ben Sharpsteen, Hamilton Luske). As a victim and a product of the oppressive system, he is truly convinced that Antrolia is a land of happiness, but only because he does not know any better (as he lectures Albert, *Now old fellow, one must give up a little freedom if one expects the government to take care of one, sounds logical?*). The character is brainwashed, enslaved and overexploited by the totalitarian machinery, and as soon as he runs out of enthusiasm, he is taken away by guardians.

Albert is also presented as a product of a particular socio-political system, but in contrast to the guide's submissive personality, the protagonist's character appears capable of independent, critical thinking (which immediately catches the guardians' eyes). He is a hard-working American blue-collar everyman. He demands Antrolia's totalitarian system to be just and humane, to respect individual needs and predispositions, and to allow a citizen to question its decisions (his expectations clearly imply that such is the American system which he took for granted). In the time of moral test, Albert proves credulous. When the guide is arrested, the hero stands against the injustice despite the easily predictable tragic consequences. As the state's oppression against Albert gets more and more violent, the atmosphere gradually becomes darker and more serious. The dream changes into a nightmare. Towards the end of the dream sequence, the level of brutality is unusually high for this period of American mainstream animation. Albert is chained to a wall and executed by a firing squad in an absolutely not "cartoonish" scene that brings out the same kind of horror as the live-action "shock dramas". And again, as in the case of the "Two Worlds sequence" in *Why We Fight* or the giant fist sequence in *Make Mine Freedom*, fear must be balanced with confidence. Like the protagonist of *Red Nightmare*, Albert wakes up as a slightly different person from the dream in which

he was executed for defending the American values. They both have learned their lessons – initially they were vulnerable to indoctrination, but in the end, they become common-sense adherents of capitalist democracy, ready to actively protect it. In the epilogue, Albert pays a visit to the radio station, finds the red journalist and beats him up. The message is simple: radical measures must be undertaken to eliminate the egg-headed, communist propagators from the “healthy tissue” of the American society to save the minds of potential victims of communist deception.

There is one scene in *Albert in Blunderland* that from the viewpoint of this essay appears to be particularly interesting. The scene in question does not push the plot ahead but fulfils a purely persuasive function. In their free time, Albert and his guide seek entertainment in one of Antrolia’s cinema theatres. *I hope its Hedy and Gable!*³⁹, exclaims Albert enthusiastically, expressing the habits and expectations of a typical American viewer for whom the Hollywood genre codes with its transparent ideological stencils are as natural as breathing air. But the film entitled *The March of Ants* quickly disappoints the hero. This ‘film-within-film’ is a parody of a propaganda newsreel about political, economic and social life in Antrolia. At first glance, one may get the impression that it defies the basic logic observed in other films citing or paraphrasing enemy propaganda, according to which everything that the enemy discourse claims to be true is a lie and everything that it claims to be a lie is true. *The March of Ants* actually shows what the viewer of Sutherland’s cartoon was supposed to consider to be the truth about a communist state: in the film, the inhabitants of Antrolia experience hardships of a shortage-economy – their everyday life is uniform, their media are censored they are governed by corrupt, greedy and incompetent politicians accordingly to pseudo-scientific principles. However, the violation of the rules of Manichean binarism is only apparent. We have to remember that Albert’s adventures in Antrolia take place in the opaque world of his dream, activated by the radio speaker’s ideological indoctrination. Therefore this particular situation of paraphrasing the enemy propaganda is more complex and multi-layered than in the case of, say, *Defense Against Enemy Propaganda*, the previously discussed documentary that contains scenes of Soviet propaganda staged in an American film studio. What we deal with in *Albert in Blunderland* is not the usual

³⁹ Hedy Lamarr and Clark Gable were a popular Hollywood couple. There is an intertextual layer in this joke: one of the films in which the couple appeared together is *Comrade X* (1940, dir. King Vidor) which – along with famous *Ninotchka* (1939, dir. Ernst Lubitsch) – is a typical example of pre-World War II Hollywood depiction of the USSR presented as a backward country with ridiculous laws and a rather absurd ideology.

‘film-within-film’ situation, but a ‘film-within-dream-within-film’, or – ‘propaganda-within-propaganda-within-propaganda’ (where the first level is *The March of Ants*, the second one is Albert’s dream inspired by the “commie” radio show, and the third one – *Albert in Blunderland* itself). And thus, in order to comprehend the cognitive status of the paraphrased propaganda, we must apply the principle of double negatives: two minuses make plus and a lie within a lie is actually the truth.

When the film is over, Albert finds out that he is the only viewer who was awake during the projection (although he is the one who dreams all the presented reality). All the ants in the audience are immersed in sleep. *Great picture, very inspiring... Our state-produced pictures are always great* – says Albert’s guide in a semi-catatonic state. The masses of Antrolia are hypnotized. They form a society of sleepwalkers, where all signs of discontent are anesthetized and all expressions of doubts in the dominant ideology’s dogmas are violently punished. Albert is the only one who has not been brainwashed and is capable of reading the propaganda message in a conscious and critical way. As a citizen of a democratic country, he is capable of exercising his free will and shaping his own world outlook. In this sense, he is a typical American of Cold War US propaganda. As Andrei Shcherbenok points out, in comparison with de-individualised Soviets, the characters of Americans appear as prone to independent reasoning, although they always arrive at the anti-communist consensus⁴⁰. According to Noam Chomsky, the essential component of democratic propaganda, understood by thinkers such as Walter Lippmann or Edward Bernays as ‘manufacturing consent’, is the creation of a conviction among individual representatives of the governed masses that their faith in the *status quo* arises from their own independent, free and rational decisions. The freedom of choice inscribed in the Manichean framework is of course fictional. Viewers are encouraged to be sceptical towards the enemy propaganda but they must remain perfectly uncritical towards the domestic one. The choice between being a free individual in a democratic society or an ant-like clone enslaved by a totalitarian state may be compared to the choice whether to identify oneself with a handsome fairy-tale knight who wins the kingdom and the princess’ hand or a hideous dragon that dies. But the strategies with the use of which American Cold War propaganda created the illusion of free choice is a subject for another study.

⁴⁰ Andrei Shcherbenok, op. cit.

Michał Mróz

“Propaganda à la fairy tale”

in the Third Reich

translated by Marek Mielezko

Joseph Goebbels mentioned in one of his letters that he gave Adolf Hitler eighteen Mickey Mouse films as a Christmas present¹, and Der Führer was greatly attracted to this cartoon character, as the animated and realistic world envisioned by Walt Disney matched the Nazi concept of art perfectly. The explicit staging of Disney’s animated films, based on romantic realism, conformed to a model that aimed at portraying classical canons of beauty and negated the so-called degenerate art that used abstract or surreal forms. What’s more, the world of nature, which often constituted the setting for Disney’s animations, corresponded well with the ideal vision of a typical German landscape.

Soon after the premiere of the feature-length animated film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937, dir. David Hand, USA), Hitler sought to obtain a copy of it for his private cinema. It was initially to be distributed in Germany too, but since the distribution fee demanded by Disney was too high, it never reached the German cinema audience. This was a significant factor for inspiring Goebbels’ interest in creating a German animated film studio whose productions would replace films brought from overseas. He wanted to drive Disney out of Europe and make Germany the leading animated film producer on the continent, as he felt that American culture was exerting an excessive influence in Europe. He was, however, impressed with Disney’s achievements in animation technology: the depth of field created by means of the multiplane camera, rotoscoping techniques, sound recording and methods of producing colourful animations, and he was in favour of the autocratic system of management typical of the American studio system. Every employee played a specific role in the overall production process and a single man – Walt Disney, made all the important decisions. During the NSDAP’s (National Socialist German Workers’ Party/ Die Nationalsozialistische

¹ Rolf Giesen, J. P. Storm, *Animation Under the Swastika. A History of Trickfilm in Nazi Germany, 1933-1945*, McFarland&Company, London 2012, p. 13.

Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) reign, the Germans readily scrutinized Disney's work methods, which allowed him to produce a dozen or so cartoons every year and to complete his first feature animated film swiftly.

Rejected authors

This animated film industry that Goebbels was so eager to create had existed to a certain degree in Germany before. During the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) Julius Pinschewer's studio produced advertising and agitational animated films, Lotte Reiniger, realized her silhouette animations, and there were other avant-garde artists such as Viking Eggeling, Hans Richter, Walter Ruttmann, and Hans and Oskar Fischinger.

Goebbels realized that animated film could be an excellent tool for indoctrination, but he did not fully understand the language of animation. He did not grasp the potential which avant-garde animated cinema, with its individual styles developed by Reiniger and with Pinschewer's advertising films, could have for propaganda and also, the fact that some of the authors' Jewish descent or their opposing political views was problematic, in that it excluded the possibility of using their talents to collaborate with the regime. German cinematography lost many excellent artists due to these reasons when some of the most outstanding authors left the country, taking their teams of highly qualified animators and illustrators with them. Often, it was the less talented authors who were able to take the biggest advantage of the resulting situation, and they tried to please the governing regime by ineptly imitating the style of Disney.

DZF Studio – A dream about the empire of animation

Goebbels founded an animated film studio called Deutsche Zeichenfilm G.m.b.H. (DZF) on August 7, 1941² to alleviate the poor condition of the existing system of animated film production, which was unable to fill in the gaps created by the disappearance of Disney's movies from German cinemas. The minister's ambition was not only to rival Disney in his own native country but also to propagate German culture by means of animated pictures abroad. The DZF was meant to be an institution centring all European animation, a plan that succeeded only partially, by taking control over some of the studios in the occupied countries like Holland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and France. Karl Neumann, a trusted Goebbels' clerk whose prior experience was in the meat processing industry, not in film, was appointed as director of the DZF. The first

² See *Ibid.*, p. 74. Most of the information about this studio comes from this publication.

headquarters of the studio was in Berlin in a building rented from a company specialising in egg production, so much so that in November 1942, due to the unbearable smell, the studio moved to an old Jewish school building.

From its very beginnings, the production system of the DZF was based on procedures employed by Disney, and, drawing from his experience, the production company founded an in-house school for animators. The school had a three-year-long program, comprising of still life and figure drawing, anatomy, perspective, history of art and culture, time-lapse technique, studies on rhythm, auditory training and on handicraft. The aim of the studies was to develop skills in the observation of moving objects and knowledge about the laws of motion. The studio placed a lot of focus on freedom and lack of inhibition in the designing process, as well as an acquaintance with the peculiarities of the language of animation. It was a vast program, which did not assume that the young practitioners were simply to imitate Disney's style. This did not translate into their later work in the studio however, and in the end, their work turned out to emulate Disney's realism. The employees, as well as the above-mentioned animation courses' graduates, were not from Germany only; high salaries attracted animators and illustrators from various countries including France, Holland, Norway, the USA and Russia. If they were able to present documents proving their non-Jewish ancestry, the studio readily employed them. In 1942, there were only seventy-two employees in the DZF, and by two years later, the number had increased to 297. As usual in wartime, 70 percent of the staff was female; also, the studio director willingly employed war-disabled veterans.

Once a week, studio employees gathered together to study Disney's films and observed their animation techniques so that they could later employ them in their own works. It was assumed that by avoiding the difficulties inherent in the capitalist system, Disney's working method could be improved further. According to the studio's plans, a yearly increase in the number of employees was supposed to expand the production of films in the following years, with the first German feature animated film to be produced by 1950. Neumann, the studio director, had a business-like and mathematical approach; according to him, a doubling in the number of animators should equal double the number of films made. He did not take into consideration artistic or human factors – for him, animated film was much the same product as the meats he had earlier dealt with. Despite huge funds invested in the whole project, after more than three years of activity, the studio managed to produce only one film – *Poor Hansi* (*Armer Hansi*, 1943, dir. Frank Leberecht), which is the story of a caged canary that decides to seek

its freedom by escaping. At the end of the film, however, once the canary confronts the scary world outside, it decides to return to its cage.

Animated Blitzkrieg

According to what Goebbels said in March 1933, *propaganda has a purpose, but this purpose must be so skilfully and ingeniously hidden that the message comes across without it being noticed*³. Animated films also employed this principle in their use of propaganda, but in this case, the propaganda never directly referred to major frontline events; only in newsreels and feature films was this done. There was no overt display of Nazi swastikas, as had been done in films by Leni Riefenstahl and others. Instead, “propaganda à la fairy tale” films were produced, using well-known fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm and others, properly adjusting them to the national socialist ideology; there were also some based on original scripts. The stories followed the conventions of the allegorical fairy tale, which the viewers were well accustomed to from children’s stories. German audiences also fancied the Disney realism style of animation, and this turned out to be a real draw, attracting people to cinemas, playing a similar role that famous actors served in the feature film industry. This kind of film created a merry and utopian atmosphere, which corresponded well with Goebbels’ idea of entertainment-based propaganda. The “light-hearted” atmosphere of these films was meant to disguise the indoctrinating ideology embedded into both their content and form – the message was supposed to come across imperceptibly.

The character of “propaganda à la fairy tale” transformed as the situation on the military front changed. Initially, when the Third Reich was successful in that field, the animations readily presented a ‘militarized’ animal world. In the film *The Troublemaker* (*Der Störenfried*, 1940, dir. Hans Held)⁴, a fox disturbs the quiet life of animals in the forest. Thanks to the collaboration and engagement of all the residents, however, the troublemaker is banished from the woods. The first scene of the film is a clear reference to the landscape typical of German romanticism and it contains all the features described by the Nazis as typically German: a coniferous forest, river and high mountains. The dominating colours in the whole film are the colours of nature – bronze and blue. The camera moving downwards and to the right leads the viewers

³ Cit. per: Martin Kitchen, *The Third Reich: Charisma and Community*, Pearson Education, London 2008, p. 180.

⁴ The premiere of the film took place at the Venice Biennale in 1941. The film, apart from its regular cinema distribution, was also screened to German soldiers in field cinemas.

into a thick forest and introduces its inhabitants: a squirrel, butterflies and young hares. A panoramic view presents the whole magnificence of the forest and the diversity of the animals that live there.

The main antagonist disturbing the lives of the inhabitants of the forest is the fox. Traditionally, the fox in European fairy tales symbolises *deception, thievery, falsehood, hypocrisy, flattery, bloodthirst, cowardice, ingratitude, selfishness, vindictiveness, maliciousness or voracity*⁵. Hans Held presents the fox in a similar manner. His appearance in the forest is accompanied by heavy bass music, very different from the merry and melodic tunes of the forest life. His red jacket is in striking contrast with the colours of the forest. What is more, the fox is portrayed as an exceptional coward – his victims are the most innocent and weak inhabitants of the forest – playful little hares. One of them lands in the underground prison, where we can see the signs of the fox's cruelty – an axe covered in blood and the naked bones of devoured victims. The fox character may be a symbolic representation of the various enemies that the Third Reich had to fight with at that time. It could have been the Jew, who from the very beginning of Hitler's reign was considered the number one enemy. In 1940, the decision about "the Final Solution to the Jewish Question" was not yet taken, so the film could be seen as part of a wider campaign propagating anti-Semitism. The military action taken against the fox might suggest that he could have also symbolised the military enemies of the Third Reich, especially Great Britain. The most likely interpretation, however, seems to be the one according to which the fox stands for enemies threatening society from within – spies and saboteurs. After all, the fox is a forest animal and is not a stranger to the environment in which he commits his crimes.

Another indication of this is a propaganda poster hanging in the information office in the headquarters of the company of hedgehogs. It says *The enemy can hear you (Feind hört mit)*, and refers to the Third Reich's national campaign, which lasted throughout the whole war and that targeted the public in order to counteract acts of espionage and sabotage. The campaign was promoted by posters, weekly magazines (including "Der Stürmer"), short films and newsreels shown in cinemas before film screenings. Held's film was, therefore, an element of this campaign. The poster from the film includes the same motifs that could be seen on posters put up in the streets. One of the hedgehog soldiers puts a finger on his lips, warning the public against

⁵ Władysław Kopaliński, *Słownik symboli [The Dictionary of Symbols]*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1990, p. 383.

being careless in sharing information that could reach the enemy. The poster from the animated film additionally includes an image of the enemy, namely the fox. William Moritz, an American researcher, notes another motif that indicates that the fox should be interpreted as an internal enemy. According to him, the title of the film includes a line from a currently popular Hitlerjugend poster, which said *Drive Out All Troublemakers! (Hinaus mit allen Störenfrieden!)*⁶. The target audience of the film was not limited to members of the Nazi youth organisation, though. In the 1940s, the animated film was not perceived as a genre for children only, and therefore the message was aimed at the whole of German society as part of the bigger struggle on the home front.

The plot of the film, under cover of a simple fairy tale about animals, refers to the Nazi ideology of national community. Each animal living in the forest has its task to do that helps to achieve a common goal. By performing a duty it is naturally predisposed to, each of the inhabitants of the forest is helping to fight the enemy. The magpie is the first to notice the fox and to alarm the others, contacting the representative of the authorities, a police constable, immediately. It exemplifies the figure of an informant, very much favoured by the Nazis to help them control the populace. A squirrel, in another instance, observes the fox from the top of a tree and uses flags to signal the hedgehog officer to get ready for a shot. Hedgehogs use their sharp spikes and become living missiles. Birds help with handing over a line that is then pulled by the larger inhabitants of the forest. Even a hen, which appears in the film for a brief moment only, lays eggs on command and has its share in the overall success. It is worth noticing that the last blow that kills the fox is struck not by the squad of wasps and hedgehogs, but by the inhabitants of the forest themselves. The mechanism of a line pulled together is a metaphor of their joint effort. It is thanks to that effort that they are able to throw a huge rock, a symbol of the animal community's strength, onto the head of the fox. The sense of community is especially visible in the group scenes when the whole screen is filled with animals reacting to current events in the same way. They are all happy when they see the fox's prospective failure, and show fear when the enemy attacks. They are a collective protagonist, sharing not only actions, but also emotions and states of mind. Moreover, the animals are strongly attached to their domain, which they protect. This is evident in the use of the colours with which they are portrayed – just as in case of the surrounding environment, the dominant shades are bronze and blue. In this way,

⁶ See William Moritz, "Resistance and Subversion in Animated Films of the Nazi Era: the Case of Hans Fischerkoesen", [in:] ed. Jayne Pilling, *A Reader in Animation Studies*, John Libbey Publishing, London 1997, p. 240.

the animals form an integral and at times almost imperceptible element of the forest landscape.

Some of the most interesting sequences of Held's film, both in terms of its form and content, are the parts that show the moving and attacking armies of wasps and hedgehogs. These sections are very rhythmic in terms of both imagery and sound. The rhythm systematizes and arranges the following scenes: a long shot of wasps starting to fly, a swarm of flying wasps seen from a worm's eye-view, a long shot of marching hedgehogs, and jumping hedgehogs seen from a worm's eye-view. The rhythm is also a tool for creating a coherent whole out of a group of separate elements. The movement of military units made up of individual soldiers creates various geometrical figures: lines, triangles and circles. This underlines the significance of the community. An individual is only a part of a greater whole and it has to yield to it. Similar effects were created during parades and marches, hugely popular in the Third Reich, where hundreds of thousands of people carried lit torches and formed various shapes and symbols together.

The effect of rhythmization in these particular scenes is also achieved by means of a technical trick consisting in repeating the same sequences of movement over and over again: the scenes of hedgehogs jumping over the water are in reality a dozen or so repeated scenes of the same single hedgehog; the swarms of wasps flying out from behind a hill in threes are repeated sequences of the first three wasps. This does not seem to be an intentional artistic measure, though, but rather a way to speed up the work of animators.

The rhythmization of the film image is additionally reinforced by sound and music. The scenes showing hedgehogs are most often accompanied with rhythmic military marching music. Kettledrums and snare drums, with an ostinato rhythm, provide a foundation for a brass section featuring trumpet clarion calls. In the scenes where the hedgehogs are fired into the air from a catapult, a rhythm is created by three kinds of sounds repeated continuously: a blowing whistle of a hedgehog officer, a thud of a stone and a whishing sound (typical for animation sound effects) accompanying a flying hedgehog fired from a catapult. A dozen or so repetitions of this same sequence of images and the same sounds become almost mechanical. The hedgehogs and wasps perform their activities in a non-animalistic manner, characteristic of humans or even machines.

Rhythm is a crucial factor influencing the 'militarisation' of the above-mentioned sequences of the film. This refers not only to the protagonists of the film and its setting but also the way in which the events are portrayed. When it comes to the setting, this is

most literally shown in the scenes presenting the wasps flying out of their base marked with a sign “Wasps’ military airbase” (“Wespenhorst”). The insects do not live in nests but in military-like metal constructions. The same is true for fighting hedgehogs, which do not inhabit burrows but wooden barracks. Moreover, their headquarters have a sign saying “Department of Information” (“Nachrichten-Abt.”) – a term taken from administrative nomenclature.

The ‘militarisation’ of characters is revealed in their costumes and props that they use, and in the selection of animals. The hedgehog in the European tradition often symbolises resistance, defence and the fight with evil⁷. His spikes, which protect him from the aggressors, are portrayed in the film in an exaggerated manner as an element of their uniforms. Those uniforms are modelled on Prussian military uniforms with their characteristic headwear (pickelhaube) with a metal spike on the top.

The wasp, on the other hand, is an insect often associated with aggression and predatoriness, and also with collective action. In the animation, armies of wasps move in large squadrons formed with great precision. Each wasp is clothed in a costume typical for pilots – a thick coat with a military rank badge and goggles. In one of the scenes, a wasp crashes and exposes a metal construction within, including a skeleton, rivets joining the individual elements and a rubber pipe linking its trunk with its abdomen. This is a clear sign to the viewer that we are not dealing with a real living wasp but a metal fighter aircraft that only looks like an insect.

Both hedgehogs and wasps use tools necessary during military operations. During the manoeuvres, the leader of the wasps uses a telescope to observe the sky. The hedgehogs working in the Department of Information transmit information to the wasps by means of telegraph, which was commonly used for communication during World War II. The weapons used by both armies in their fight with the fox are presented in a highly interesting manner. The stings, which are shot from the wasps’ abdomen at high speed, turn into a kind of a machine gun used by fighter pilots. The hedgehogs, on the other hand, become live missiles shot by the inhabitants of the forest from a machine looking like a cannon.

The sounds accompanying the protagonists on the screen are also ‘military’ in character. The above-mentioned music that accompanies the hedgehogs is in the style of a military march – a musical form used during military parades or army marches. The kettledrums and snare drums help to keep a proper pace of the parade, while the brass

⁷ See Władysław Kopaliński, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

instruments provide a vigorous melodic line, which in turn keeps the soldiers' morale high. The images of the flying wasps are reinforced with the recorded sound of propellers of real military aircraft and the scenes of shooting are accompanied with the sound of machine guns.

The cinematic techniques used in the animation are also 'military' in character. Thanks to the use of appropriate film frames, perspective, camera movements and editing, the authors manage to re-create a manner of filming characteristic of German newsreels, as during the war *direct propaganda was mostly restricted to the weekly newsreels*⁸. German society was very much familiar with the formal cinematic techniques employed in those newsreels, and it was mainly by the use of them that the desired propaganda effect was achieved. When comparing images from Held's animation and German newsreels from that time, one will notice many similarities. Presenting marching armies in long takes, with formations with no end in sight, was meant to stress the quantitative dominance of the Third Reich army. A subtle worm's eye-view perspective was used to enlarge the size of the German machines and therefore to indicate their force and indestructibility. Shots taken from the perspective of a flying airplane made the images look more realistic and gave viewers the impression of taking part in the fight together with the soldiers. In the case of *The Troublemaker*, such a technique was used in the scene where flying wasps attacked the fox that from their perspective looks only like a small spot on the land. This helps to underline the power of the large group of wasps in comparison to the small individual fox. It is worth noting here that Held was formerly a Luftwaffe pilot, too. The shots taken from the perspective of a flying wasp were also inspired by the flying experiences the director himself had. The scenes where hedgehogs are fired one by one from a catapult resemble images from newsreels showing the artillery, where, as Siegfried Kracauer writes, *whenever artillery goes into action, series of firing guns appear in quick succession*⁹. These scenes are presented in a wide perspective showing the area at which the muzzle is aiming, and they create a sense of anticipation for the dynamic moment of firing. The newsreels and the animation also share similar dynamic and rhythmic characteristics in the battle scenes, as well as in the use of sound, which was always of key importance in the German newsreels. The narrator describing the screen actions gives it a sense of propaganda. There is no narrator in Held's animation, but the sounds of propellers and machine guns give the animation a character familiar from the newsreels.

⁸ Martin Kitchen, op. cit., p. 192.

⁹ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1966, p. 280.

The rhythmization, ‘militarisation’ and the dynamic character of the scenes where the animal armies attack adds to the impression that the whole could be interpreted as a portrayal of the German strategy of Blitzkrieg. This is also stressed by the fact that both the infantry and artillery (hedgehogs) as well as the air force (wasps) participate in the attack on the fox – a strategy that laid the basis for the German “lightning war”. It is worth noting here, however, that Blitzkrieg was not a defensive strategy but clearly an offensive one. In Held’s animation, under the pretence of the defence of the forest against the fox, a well organized animal attack with their own ‘military forces’ was shown. This is also confirmed by the fact that the film was made at a time when Germany was not yet engaged in defensive actions. On the contrary – the Germans were on the offensive, as their strategy of Blitzkrieg made it possible for them to conquer new countries quickly and almost without any serious resistance. The film could be therefore perceived by the German audience as a portrait of an effective, well-organized and, most importantly, victorious German army. Soldiers watching this film on the military front gained a positive incentive for their operations and additional motivation for their next attacks. In this way something that Kracauer calls the *impression of a vacuum* appears¹⁰ – *whole battles develop in a never-never land where the Germans rule over time and space*¹¹.

Cheerful atmosphere and affirmation of anti-Nazi values

The moment Hitler started to face his first defeats, the character of animated propaganda changed. Due to the increasingly difficult economic situation in the country, drawing the attention of the audience to war-related issues became highly unwelcome. As a result, a greater focus was placed on constructing a positive message and a cheerful atmosphere in the films. One of the artists whose films responded to such a demand was Hans Fischerkoesen. His artistic output was ambivalent; it presented ideas consistent with the Nazi regime to the same extent as it advanced opposing ideas.

For many years, the author strove to limit his work to the advertising field; paradoxically, it was thanks to the Nazis that he made his best *auteur* productions. First, in 1941 he was forced to move his studio from Leipzig to Potsdam, where he was closer to the UFA studio, which needed him for consulting and for creating special effects in feature and documentary films. Afterward, Goebbels imposed restrictions on advertising goods, shutting Fischerkoesen off from his main source of income and thus inducing him to work for the government. Since Fischerkoesen wanted to avoid collaboration

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

with the Nazis at all cost, he claimed not to have any talent for making up stories for films. This resulted in assigning scriptwriter Horst von Möllendorff, who had worked as a caricaturist for newspapers, to help him in his work. This duo collaborated on two films *Weather-beaten Melody* (*Verwitterte Melodie*, 1943, dir. Hans Fischerkoesen) and *The Snowman* (*Der Schneemann*, 1944, dir. Hans Fischerkoesen). Both of these are characterised by an anti-Nazi attitude that is not, however, made overt.

The Snowman tells the story of the eponymous snowman who decides to wait in the fridge until the winter is over in order to see what summer is like. This does not end well for him, though, since he melts after few moments of joy brought by the newly met season of the year. It is a fairy tale that could be easily made in other circumstances, not necessarily related to the current wartime and political situation of the Third Reich. Taking into account that very context, however, one can deduce its underlying meaning. On the surface, it presents a joyful story with a positive message enveloped in colourful and cheerful images. Perceived in this way, it conforms to *sun politics*¹², as Friedrich Kellner describes in his journal the optimistic information reported by the newspapers at that time. This meant politics that, despite German military failures and the economic crisis manifesting itself in a lack of basic everyday products, persevered in trying to create a happy and positive atmosphere. This cheerful undertone of the animated film was very much in line with German dignitaries' expectations. Taking into account the political views of its authors as well as the meaning of certain scenes, this animation can also be viewed as an anti-Nazi fairy tale.

Fischerkoesen's film seems to be a universal story set in a non-defined space. Certain elements of it, however, may suggest that it takes place in Germany. The city shown from the bird's eye perspective in one of the first scenes resembles a typical city whose urban planning was based on Magdeburg Law, with an easily noticeable market square and a centrally located building as well as diverging streets. Some of the buildings are timber-framed with elements of fachwerk architecture. What's more, the wooden walls of the house that the snowman enters are decorated with black silhouette portraits, which were at that time hugely popular all over Germany, as well as painted landscapes, widely promoted in the period of the Third Reich.

The anti-Nazi message is reinforced by the humanistic attitude characterising the snowman. This stance is contradictory to the nature of Nazism that was centred on ideology and not the individual. From the very beginning, the snowman is not just

¹² Friedrich Kellner, *My Opposition. The Diary of Friedrich Kellner. A German Against the Third Reich*, ed. and trans. Robert Scott Kellner, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018, p. 39.

a creature made of snow, but also a sensitive being capable of emotions. The snowflakes that fall on him create a heart shape *suggesting that he is a creature of feelings, rather than a military/political figure (who would wear medals or insignia) or an ostracized victim (such as the Jews and gays who wore yellow stars or pink triangles)*¹³. Once the snowman leaves the fridge, a flower appears on his body from which a ladybird flies out. This, in turn, suggests that the snowman can be also seen as a giver and enthusiast of life, which is also demonstrated in the games he plays with various animals, especially the ones he would never meet in wintertime (as in the scene where he is skiing together with the ladybird). The very idea of hiding in the fridge in order to wait for summer refers to an everlasting human curiosity in the world and a striving for the impossible. The snowman's dream can also be viewed as a metaphor of the desire of a German citizen who does not agree with the authorities and chooses not to take an active part in the social life ruled by the Nazis in order to survive until some other better government takes over. After all, this was what the director of the film, wishing not to engage in politics at any cost, wanted for himself.

The driving forces for the main protagonist in the film are the animals and elements of animate nature, which accompany the snowman until the very end and direct him towards the following stages of the story. A barking dog chases him out of town; ice breaks from under him; a fir tree laughs at him, a crow helps him by giving him a top hat and a hare tries to eat his carrot and therefore keeps him from falling asleep, forcing the snowman to look for a better place to rest in the closed space of the house. Nature is also present when the protagonist locks himself inside the fridge. While he is asleep, a long take presents the changing seasons of the year – from melting snow to blossoming flowers. An anthropomorphic sun paints the landscape like Mother Nature, and the smiling and swaying trees and flowers that accompany it resemble the ones from Disney's film *Flowers and Trees* (1932, dir. Burt Gillett, USA). The whole scene, especially the very long (for animation standards) movement of the camera lasting over forty seconds, shows the invariability and timelessness of the cycles of nature. The cycle of the seasons serves as the embodiment of anti-Nazi ideas. It shows that despite the war and certain political and social changes, some things will always remain indefeasible. Those things are by no means phenomena related to human activity, or as the Nazis would want – the ideas of the "Thousand-Year Reich", but rather, are processes associated with the order of natural phenomena.

¹³ William Moritz, op. cit., p. 236.

The anti-Nazi ideology reveals itself also in the visual aspects of the film. Fischerkoesen employs stereoptical process¹⁴ that underlines the freedom and ease with which the snowman moves. Moritz notes also that the geometrical circles shown at the beginning of the animation which represent snowflakes, justify *degenerate abstract art as a natural phenomenon*¹⁵ and not, as the Nazi dignitaries defined it, something that *was no longer attuned to the demands of life*¹⁶. One can also add here the linear representation of some of the elements such as arms of the sun and raindrops, which may also be associated with images from avant-garde art that was forbidden in the Third Reich.

Fischerkoesen's *Snowman*, similarly to the rest of the works that this author created during wartime, negates the Nazi rule not by direct criticism or the use of fascist symbols, but by the affirmation of ideas contradictory with the Nazi ideology. The end of the film, where the snowman melts in the strong sunlight, is only seemingly pessimistic. The snow creature disappears with a smile on his face singing: *The summer is so beautiful! My heart bursts with joy*. He seems to convey a conviction that a few moments of happiness are better than a whole life of sadness. The snowman melts away and is absorbed by the earth that he loved so much, eventually becoming a part of it. What's more, he makes the little hares that observe him incredibly merry; at the end of the animation, they all jump into the top hat that he had left. The biggest one of them grabs a carrot that used to be the snowman's nose in a Bugs Bunny-like gesture.

Emergency situation and the end of war

The wartime situation in which the authors found themselves stood in striking contrast with the colourful and joyful films they made. Women often dreaded the possible loss of their fathers and brothers on the battlefield, and men were afraid of being drafted. The work of the animators, which required unusual concentration and precision, was often abruptly terminated by sudden bomb attacks. The authors had to combine their work with activities related to counter-air defence. Their film tapes were destroyed and the work of a dozen or so months went to waste. In November 1943 the DZF building was hit by a bomb, and the part of it where the courses for animators were held was burnt down completely. After this event, the studio was divided into five different units

¹⁴ Technology invented by an American director Max Fleischer which was based on the combination of 2D characters and 3D background.

¹⁵ William Moritz, op. cit., p. 236.

¹⁶ Cit. per: Stephanie Barron, *Degenerate Art: The Fate of The Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, Harry N. Abrams, New York 1991, p. 11.

located in three cities: Berlin, Vienna and Dachau. In case of the latter one, the everyday work of the animators was accompanied by the smell coming from a building complex on the other side of the street. The authors who worked there noticed a wire fence and cattle wagons filled with people. One of the French artists found out more about it when she talked to one of the SS-Mann who allowed her to see what was going on inside. When she returned, none of her colleagues wanted to believe that the guarded area was, in fact, a concentration camp¹⁷.

During the last years of the ravaging war, the idea of closing down the DZF studio was discussed more and more often, since the Third Reich had considerably bigger problems than the animated film industry, and in the end, the Germans once again allowed screenings of Disney cartoons. This was the final failure in the symbolic confrontation with the American production system and was a personal defeat for Goebbels. On 19 May 1944, after Neumann had been severely criticised, Dr. Friedrich Bernhard Nier became the new director of the studio, then on 4 August 1944, the Ministry of Propaganda announced that the studio would be soon shut down. In line with the idea of waging total warfare, the animators and other employees of the studio, described as *precious manpower*¹⁸ by the Minister of Propaganda, from then on were to work in the same building, but for a weapon manufacturing company. In September, the UFA finally stopped funding the DZF, which meant the end of all activities for the studio and marked the failure of the project of building an animated film empire in the Third Reich.

¹⁷ See Rolf Giesen, J. P. Storm, op. cit., p. 104-105.

¹⁸ Cit. per: Ibid., p. 107.

Olga Bobrowska

Maoist Remoulding of the Legend of the Monkey King

or Analysing Ideological Implications
of Wan Laiming's *Havoc in Heaven*

The work should be carried out in the manner of a gentle breeze and mild rain.

*As Chairman Mao once pointed out, a friendly,
carefree atmosphere is essential for ideological remoulding.*

Zhou Enlai

The Monkey King (Sun Wukong, 孙悟空) – Great Sage, Equal to Heaven, ruled over the Flowers and Fruits Mountain, he who commenced an uproar in heaven that caused him 500-years of imprisonment under the Five Elements Mountain, who accompanied the noble Tang monk in his journey to the West, and while searching for Holy Scriptures guarded him and struggled with demons and sorceress; the wandering monk who believed in Buddha's teaching; he became Victorious Fighting Buddha himself...

The legend of an impulsive and supremely intelligent monkey has been circulating in Chinese folk culture for centuries, while in the Ming Dynasty Period (1368-1644) it was integrated into a true event-based narrative of Xuanzang monk's pilgrimage to India. In “The Journey to the West” (“Xiyouji”, 《西遊記》, 1592, authorship conventionally attributed to Wu Ch'eng-en, 吳承恩¹), Sun Wukong is presented as the main protagonist of the novel, surrounded by other characters originating from the real and the fantastic worlds: monk Xuanzang, pig Zhu Bajie, man-eater Sha Wujing, White Horse, Jade Emperor, celestial hero Nezha, and the whole gallery of

¹ The controversies of authorship attribution are discussed by the English translator of “The Journey to the West” Anthony C. Yu, the English edition was first published in 1983. Yu refers to the pioneering findings of Tanaka Iwao and Chen Yuanzhi, see *The Journey to the West. Vol.1-4*, [in:] ed., trans. Anthony C. Yu, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2012. See also Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu Chi: The Study of Antecedences to the Sixteenth Century Chinese Novel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1970; Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1977.

kings, princesses, blood-thirsty demons, Taoist teachers etc... Throughout 100 chapters the reader discovers the history of the Monkey King's ethical rises and falls. Eighty-one chapters (# 13-99) present the story of pilgrims; the part that is conventionally referred to as "Havoc in Heaven" is in fact constituted by three chapters (# 4-7) that introduce the Monkey as a hero and recount the process of the crystallization of his identity.

Let us recall the plot of the literary "Havoc in Heaven". A proud and arrogant superhero humiliates The Dragon King of the East Sea. According to the suggestion of the advisor Taibai Jinxing, the Jade Emperor invites Monkey to Heaven in hopes of teaching him humbleness. Appointed to several low positions in the Heaven's hierarchy, Sun revolts against the Emperor, fights the celestial army but loses this fight. The salvation from the Buddha's palm (which is the Five Elements Mountain) comes only when Bodhisattva Guanying delegates Sun Wukong to take care of the noble pilgrim. Thus "Havoc in Heaven" is a story of pride and fall, humiliation and subordination towards transcendent powers, a story of the warrior-sage's belittlement and his enlightenment achieved through obedience, self-control and redemption. This story, integral and at the same time autonomous within the structure of "The Journey to the West", became a source material for an animated adaptation, *Havoc in Heaven* (*Da nao tian gong*/ 大闹天官, 1961-1964, dir. Wan Laiming)², acknowledged as a masterpiece of classic Chinese animation. This fact may seem striking at first glance since the plot as stated might seem to be an antinomy of a model Maoist text. However, in the Chinese culture "The Journey to the West" is a most powerful and important vault of symbols. On following stages of Chinese historical development, it was employed in cultural communication processes aiming at the transmission of various philosophical and ideological meanings. The cultural production apparatus of communist China absorbed the well-known legend's content, figures and interpretations organically, reconceptualising them in its own manner.

It may be because of the supernatural power of the seventy-two transformations and his mythical origin, that Sun Wukong gained his special position in animated cinematography. The very essence of this medium requires that the recipients exercise their abilities in decoding the illusion and reflecting on the transformational and mutational potency of the matter. The Monkey King appears in the first animated feature-length film *The Princess Iron Fan* (*Tien shan gong zhu*/ 铁扇公主, 1941, dir. Wan Laiming, Wan Guchan) that allegorizes pilgrimage as a revolutionary struggle

² Also known as *Uproar in Heaven*.

while strong influences derived from the style of Max and Dave Fleischer give the images a visual attractiveness. In critical and historical film writings, the 1960s Shanghai Animation Film Studio (SAFS) production of *Havoc in Heaven* is perceived as the most excellent adaptation of “The Journey to the West”; the film was re-made in 2012 as *Monkey King: Havoc in Heaven* (*Da nao tian gong*/ 大闹天宫, dir. Su Da, Chen Zhihong). It was not a work of digitization but a loyal re-creation of its filmic predecessor with the use of 2D digital animation techniques. The figure of Monkey King was employed in the logo and leader of the SAFS, and he became the main hero of thousands of blockbusters, highly popular TV series (animated and live-action alike) and video games. Even though in 2008 he was not the official Olympic Games mascot, the BBC did use his image in their lead-ins to their Olympic broadcasts from Beijing. Eventually, as a pop-culture icon and a specific “souvenir” from the Revolution period, he is a participant in intertextual games played by Chinese representatives of cinema *d’auteur*³ and his reputation is recognized internationally. Filmic adaptations of “The Journey to the West” appear in Hong Kong (the three-part live-action film *A Chinese Odyssey*, dir. Jeffrey Lau, 1995-2016)⁴, Taiwan (*Fire Ball*/ 红孩儿大话火焰山/ *Hong hai'er dahua huoyan shan*, 2005, dir. Wang T’ung, feature-length animation) and Japan (*Alakazam The Great*/ *Saiyukil* さいゆうき, 1960, dir. Taiji Yabushita, Daisaku Shirakawa in collaboration with Osamu Tezuka; the character of Sun Wukong is an ancestor of Son Goku from Akira Toriyama's *manga* of 1984-1988 and the *anime* series *Dragon Ball* / *Doragon Borul* ドラゴンボール, 1986-1989, prod. Toei Animation, Fuji TV), Australia (*The New Legends of Monkey King*, 2018-ongoing, series produced by Netflix); within the globalization of film industry he has become a subject of international co-productions⁵.

³ Among intertextual references appearing in the works of *auteurs* of contemporary Chinese cinemas it is worth mentioning *Unknown Pleasures* (*Ren xiao yaol* 任逍遥, 2002, dir. Jia Zhangke) where the excerpts from *Havoc in Heaven* and dialogs about the Monkey King serve as leitmotifs or *The Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji*, 2013, dir. Tsai Ming-liang) that is a hypnotic travesty of the performance by Li Kang-sheng from the Taipei National Theater, and an example of the so-called “slow cinema”.

⁴ Two parts of the film were released in 1995: *A Chinese Odyssey Part One: Pandora's Box*/ *Xiyou ji di yibai ling yi hui zhi yueguang bao hel* 西游记 第一百零一回之月光宝盒 and *A Chinese Odyssey Part Two: Cinderella*/ *Xiyou ji da jieju zhi xian lu qi yuan* 西游记大结局之仙履奇缘, both treating the original in a rather frivolous way. The most recent sequel (of a simplified title: *A Chinese Odyssey Part Three: Dahua xiyou 3* 大话西游3), has succeeded at the box office, as always, “The Monkey King” movies do.

⁵ In the years 2014-2016 three parts of the *Monkey King* were produced (*Xiyou ji da nao tian gong*/ 西游记大闹天宫, dir. Pou-soi Cheang) in a global co-production between China, Hong Kong and USA. All of them succeeded greatly in mainland China movie theaters. The greatest value of this series

The phenomenon of the popularity of “Monkey King” adaptations (as may be argued, almost a genre or an integral and specific narrative tendency) and the special significance of the 1960s *Havoc in Heaven* in the history of Chinese animation are mirrored in the rich number of studies. Above all, one should refer to Sun Hongmei’s monograph “Transforming Monkey”⁶, an analysis presented by Sean Macdonald in his “Animation in China”⁷ and an article written by Marie-Claire Quiquemelle⁸ that introduced Chinese animation into Western film studies in the 1990s. Widely known to Chinese and foreign audiences, the film first had international festival distribution in 1963⁹, and naturally as a famous animated film it is frequently discussed in popular press and blog writings. One can observe that the major interpretative tendency deriving from existing sources relies on the assumption that *Havoc in Heaven* perfectly meets the stylistic paradigm of *minzu* (national) style due to the masterful use of cell-drawn technique while the aesthetics and poetics of the film fully embrace Chinese cultural heritage (specifically, classic literature and opera arts). “Monkey King” as a cultural phenomenon is constructed in a process of sedimentation, and it is constituted by a multitude of aesthetic layers, philosophical themes and historical contexts related to politics, literature, opera etc.

The Author is convinced that through the “mapping” of cultural and historical contexts that evoke certain concrete ideological implications, one can bring a satisfactory new light on the question of the level of Wan Laiming’s film’s compliance with dominant doctrine of Maoism. In her research, the Author accepts the inevitability of cognitive limitations related to the cultural, temporal and linguistic distances, therefore she will not presume to trespass into the realm of sinology. The following paper is a work of hermeneutic analysis of the manifestation of a specific artistic discourse (animated film) contextualized concerning particular cultural and historical conditions (the cultural industry of the Maoist period). The method of historicization serves the aim of presenting

lies in spectacular special effects and superstar cast (among the actors we watch Donnie Yen as Sun Wukong and Yun-Fat Chow as the Jade Emperor).

⁶ Sun Hongmei, *Transforming Monkey: Adaptation and Representation of a Chinese Epic*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2018.

⁷ Sean Macdonald, *Animation in China. History, Aesthetics, Media*, Routledge, London, New York 2016, pp. 15-47.

⁸ Marie-Claire Quiquemelle, “The Wan Brothers and Sixty Years of Animated Film in China”, [in:] ed. Chris Berry, *Perspectives on Chinese Cinema*, British Film Institute, London 1991, pp. 175-187.

⁹ See Rolf Giesen, *Chinese Animation. A History and Filmography 1922-2012*, McFarland&Company, Jefferson 2015, p. 43.

this specific creation against the background of political and artistic facts that influenced its authors, production conditions, and had consequences on its positioning in the widely accepted canons (West and East), as well as its paving the way for commonly welcomed interpretations. It is impossible to indicate all of the fascinating contexts of such kind in one paper, therefore the Author will focus only on the thoughts of Zhou Enlai on artistic criticism. Prime Minister Zhou was a politician who admittedly enjoyed and promoted achievements of the Chinese animation film industry, as reported by the filmmakers themselves¹⁰. Zhou Enlai's intellectual and ideological views resonated with the authors on the stages of conception and production of the film. *Havoc in Heaven* will be analysed as a text of culture that manifests an ideologically determined world-view through specific narrative constructions and implemented means of symbolic communication located above all in character and background design. The paper will be concluded with an attempt of interpretation that takes into account the specific requirements of the then-dominant doctrine.

The role of art and art criticism in the thought of Zhou Enlai

Prime Minister Zhou Enlai played a crucial role in twentieth-century China cultural history. In the leadership of The Communist Party of China (CPC, he was a member since 1922 and a veteran of The Long March of 1934-1935) as well as in the government, he was responsible for international relations in the fields of economy, politics and culture. On the domestic scene, Zhou balanced between the full support and subtle opposition concerning Mao Zedong's decisions, frequently adhering to the strategies of compromise and self-criticism that enabled him to maintain a prominent position. Though the Prime Minister never contested Mao's supremacy and his catastrophic socio-economic campaigns, Zhou Enlai controlled certain areas of political decisions that in a longer historical perspective appears crucial in a partial preservation of the cultural and symbolic Chinese heritage in the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) and during the 1980s restructuring of the Maoist China economy. In the Chinese collective memory, the figure of Zhou Enlai embodies compassion and wisdom, and power that

¹⁰ See John A. Lent, Xu Ying, *Chinese Animation Film: From Experimentation to Digitalization*, [in:] eds. Zhu Ying, Stanley Rosen, *Arts, Politics and Commerce in Chinese Cinema*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong 2010, p. 135; documentary film *Wan Brothers and Havoc in Heaven / Wan xiongdi he <<Danao tian gong>>/ 万兄弟和《大闹天宫》*, 2004, prod. SAFS. The translation provided by Yinghua Moore is accessible through Animation Resources. Retrieved from <https://animationresources.org/refpack023-havoc-in-heaven-1960-1964/> (access: 15.08.2018).

does not neglect any individual misery¹¹. Deng Xiaoping's views on Zhou Enlai had an impact on this figuration. The chairman of the "four modernizations" period who visited the USA in 1979 and introduced a free market with Chinese characteristics, a victim of several political campaigns of the Mao Zedong's times, had a deep respect and admiration for Zhou Enlai. At the same time, it was Deng Xiaoping who formulated notions that manifest Zhou's ambivalence¹². To Western observers, the Prime Minister symbolizes values of reconciliation, openness and intercultural understanding; this perception mainly results from Zhou's role in establishing the basis for the Bandung conference (April 1955), and through recollections of Henry Kissinger¹³. Eventually, in the context of the presented study, it has to be noted that Zhou Enlai's interest and support for the animation filmmakers of Shanghai reflected an approach of esteem and understanding of the medium that greatly differentiates him from the other politicians of his time on any side of the Iron Curtain.

Zhou Enlai's ideological writings, i.e. essays and appeals addressed to the intellectual and artistic cadres, are highly interesting for a historian of culture. Not only did he develop arguments and methods of understanding the doctrine, but he also attempted to create a space for artistic criticism, which is an activity naturally eliminated by the totalitarian system. This Chinese system, co-created and maintained by his own actions and speeches, genuinely restrained his efforts in this regard. Nevertheless, any research that seeks to comprehend the intrinsic fractures in an ideologically monolithic construct and aims to understand the flow and vogue of the era that produced this chosen text of culture must recognize this unique point of intellectual hesitation where reflection becomes separated from the political dimension and focuses on motivations and methods of creative work. The so-called "100 Flowers" campaign (Winter 1956 – Spring 1957, *Baihua qifang, baijia zhengming!* 百花齐放百家争鸣) was conceived as a political scheme but its dynamics had a significant impact on the artistic expression

¹¹ This idealized image manifests in Li Chen's *History of Zhou Enlai (Zhou Enlai de si ge zhouye)* 周恩来的四个昼夜 (2013), a film awarded with numerous trophies at Chinese film festivals. It recounts four days of a journey Zhou Enlai took through the Chinese interior during a famine.

¹² Deng Xiaoping argued that *without the Prime Minister, the Cultural Revolution would have been much more dreadful but at the same time it would have not lasted as long*, see Gao Wenqian, *Zhou Enlai: The Last Perfect Revolutionary*, trans. Peter Rand, Lawrence R. Sullivan, Public Affairs, New York 2007, p.162.

¹³ It is interesting to compare the favorable views of Premier Zhou expressed by Henry Kissinger (see H. Kissinger, *On China*, Penguin Press, New York 2011), and the harsh criticism presented by Frank Dikötter (see F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2010).

created in revolutionary China. Similarly, the shift towards tradition that occurred at the cusp of the 1950s and 1960s – besides its direct ideological content – carried the potential for the reinterpretation and revision of cultural rites, a highly refreshing value necessary for cultural progression.

On the layer of ideological evaluation, Zhou Enlai primarily emphasized an anti-feudal and anti-bureaucratic character of the new art. In this light, the postulated realistic paradigm may be acknowledged as a specific manifestation of a pragmatic approach. A fundamental principle of Maoist culture is to be found in artistic production that embodies the figure of the people and serves the people, an art that is sensitive towards peoples' needs, is class aware and directly involved on the side of peasants, workers and military. In its essence, it is a set of socialist realism premises that generates, similarly as in other communist countries, creations of a binary structure, deprived of dramaturgical nuances that evoke the recipient's curiosity and identification process. *Mental work cannot be uniform, and sloganeering is not an art*¹⁴, argued Zhou Enlai, while today's reader of his selected works may believe that the Prime Minister was, in fact, returning to his earlier thoughts on realism. Back in 1956, he was convinced that it would not be enough to present the viewer or reader with simplified, “based on true facts” stories about farmers, workers or veterans of the Eighth Route Army. Above all, narrative construction and the identity of fictional characters should prompt the receiver to ask fundamental questions about the social function of the events presented and the basic motivations of the heroes in establishing an ideal socialist, communist *in spe*, society. Art can bring justice back to the people only if it does not tell stories marked with individual egoism, particular interests or – according to the Maoist rhetoric – *subjectivism*. Thus in Zhou's view, realism is an artistic strategy that emphasizes the utilitarian nature of the desires and motivations of the characters, while the allure of the style appears much more persuasive than formulaic propagandistic representation.

Worlds created by artists may rely on fictional characters and events but they are bound to convey the truth about society as it was conceptualized in Maoist historical outlook. Importantly, this strategy does not require accuracy in terms of facts and details, but precision in unveiling the truth about oppression and subjugation in both the hierarchy of Confucian society and Chinese-foreign relations. The work of art is supposed to reflect contemporaneity even if it thematises the past. An area where the

¹⁴ Zhou Enlai, “Talk on the Joint Meeting of Participants in a Forum on Literature and Art, and Participants in a Conference on Film Scenarios, 19.06.1961”, [in:] *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai. Volume II*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing 1989, p. 338, p. 347.

rebellion may (and should) commence is delineated by the class solidarity accessible through the means of correct social consciousness. Zhou Enlai appreciated historical narratives that problematize issues of importance for contemporary revolutionaries. Art, he argued, is a tool that remoulds one's thinking capacity: the more intellectual stimuli and incentives the receivers absorb, the more ambiguous questions they have to ponder over, the more complex issues they confront, the better they may understand the doctrine to which they are faithful, and the greater chance they have to advance in their own class awareness development.

For these reasons, Zhou Enlai encouraged the artists to look for inspiration in the classical works of literature that could be submitted for Maoist remoulding. On one hand, he advocated the concept of “culture and art works walking with two legs” that can be understood as a harmonized and simultaneous referential structure based on symbols derived from national cultural heritage as well as cultural tendencies developed outside of China. On the other hand, he affirmed the necessity of in-depth study in the fields of science and history of Chinese culture to provide an essential ground for any innovation. Furthermore, the “translation” of the cultural achievements of imperial China into rites of new art should recognize and respect the artistic qualities and inner features of the medium used for the purpose of adaptation. Eventually, the act of “translation” is supposed to be subjugated to needs and principles commonly accepted in New China¹⁵. Contemporary, revolutionary ideas should be expressed in style and language that belong to traditional artistic forms and genres. The quality of the completed work has to be evaluated in artistic terms as well as political (major criteria rely on the question if the work serves the people), social (to what extent the work elevates class consciousness), and in the end, the work has to conform to the masses. As Zhou Enlai, an admirer and connoisseur of classical culture, said: *When the people like something but you don't, how can you expect your own opinion to count for much?*¹⁶

Historical conditions of the production of Wan Laiming's *Havoc in Heaven*

The subject matter of the following section involves two parts of the production *Havoc in Heaven* – the process of scriptwriting for the first one (42 minutes) started in

¹⁵ Elsewhere Zhou Enlai formulated an expressive advice in this regard: *Under the conditions of our new society, you can succeed so long as you push hard in the right direction*, Zhou Enlai, “The Talks on the Kunqu Opera *Fifteen Strings of Coins*. Talk on May 17”, [in:] *Selected Works...*, op. cit., s. 199.

¹⁶ Zhou Enlai, “Talk on the Joint Meeting...”, op. cit., p. 347.

1959¹⁷, and the film was released in China in 1961, while the second part (60 minutes) premiered in 1964. Since the 1970s both parts have been presented together thus a notion appears that *Havoc in Heaven* is a coherent feature of substantial duration. While a familiarization with the first part significantly informs reception of the latter, it should be noted that the historical production conditions of both parts of the film differ considerably.

Even the most condensed outline of the political dynamics of that period will indicate a fair divergence of social and intellectual vagues that shaped Wan Laiming's (万籁鸣) existential and artistic choices experienced during the creative process. The first part was made during the Great Leap Forward campaign (*Da Yuejin*/大跃进) that was a massive industrial movement whose principles, tempo and methods were not submitted for commenting and discussing, but instead, propagandistic praises continued despite tremendous damage to the economy and to people's existence¹⁸. Every single working unit (and above all, every single countryside commune) was forced to take up daring challenges that would aim at two goals: to prove that Chinese industry had supreme potential over other global players and to surpass in quantity and quality what had been already achieved domestically. Shanghai Animation Film Studio operated in the terms of that same logic, even if its tools and products were registered in a specific inventory which Zhou Enlai followed with interest, while Mao Zedong remained rather indifferent. During the production of the second part, a new kind of pressure appeared – on the eve of the Cultural Revolution (which film scholars frequently refer to as “The Decade of Fear”), an uncompromising political game conducted within the Party structure forced working people to anticipate the ideological and intellectual shifts of the political leaders. Critics praised the first part; immediately after its completion, it was decided to continue with Wan's adaptation, and the film crew was extended. The second part, completed in August 1964, however, was soon locked in the censors' office. The distribution – this time of both parts together – was re-enacted only in 1978¹⁹.

¹⁷ See Li Yi (李毅), 动画《大闹天官》角色表演与造型中的“民族化”构成 [On Cultural Nationalism. Analysis of Character Performance and Design in the Animation *Havoc in Heaven*], China Academy of Art, Hangzhou 2015, p. 21 (doctoral dissertation). The full dissertation remains in the Author's possession.

¹⁸ Frank Dikötter discusses various scholarly findings in regard to deaths and health damages caused by famine, immediate repressions and traumas; he indicates the number of 45 million citizens as prematurely dead in the period of the famine. See F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine...*, op. cit., pp. 269-334.

¹⁹ Li Baochuan, *Wan Laiming Yanjiu* 万籁鸣研究 [Study on Wan Laiming], Sichuan meishu chubanshe, Chengdu 2016, p. 122.

The atmosphere of the Great Leap Forward and the inside Party's game of power influenced production conditions but the conceptualization of *Havoc in Heaven* was determined by yet another socio-political climate. In an attempt to reconstruct this specific context, it is worth focusing on the individual history, i.e. life and career of Wan Laiming²⁰. The political engagement of the Wan Brothers manifested itself in their cooperation with both the CPC and the KMT²¹ as a form of anti-Japanese resistance. They produced a lot of propagandistic shorts and most importantly, an animated feature *Princess Iron Fan*. These guerrilla artists pursued their life-long dream, to dedicate their film work to an adaptation of "The Journey to the West". Soon after the famous feature was completed, the Brothers moved to Hong Kong. The People's Republic of China, proclaimed on October 1, 1949, immediately established its culture-state structures, among them an animation production unit. In 1949, Te Wei was appointed as the leader of the animation studio, while the Japanese artist Tadahito Mochinaga served as a main artistic executive until 1953²². In the same year, the studio's leadership attempted to draft Wan Laiming back to Shanghai. On Independence Day, he was invited to visit SAFS, and once he was on the mainland, Te Wei and other superiors convinced Wan to stay. Wan Guchan returned to Shanghai in November 1955 and joined the studio one year later. Wan Chaochen was already employed at SAFS at that time. Wan Dihuan remained in Hong Kong, the only one of the brothers who has never returned to the People's Republic of China²³.

²⁰ The four Brothers Wan were born in Nanjing but pursued artistic career in Shanghai. Twins Laiming and Guchan (万古蟾), together with younger brothers Chaochen (万超尘) and Dihuan (万涤寰) made animated advertisements and attempted their first experiments in the direction of artistic animation in the 1920s. *Havoc in Heaven* is a lifetime achievement of Wan Laiming. Wan Guchan dedicated his skills to the development of technique inspired by traditional Chinese cut-out art while Chaochen worked with puppet animation. Dihuan eventually chose photography.

²¹ The Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party of China, and a ruling power during the Republic, was founded in 1919, ideologically it was rooted in the thought of Sun Yat-sen. In the 1930s and 1940s, it was under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) who was expected to govern post-World War II China by both the USSR and the USA. Upon the loss of the civil war in 1949, KMT evacuated to Taiwan where it still remains a powerful political player.

²² Aka Fang Ming (方明), Zhiyong Zhiren (持永只仁). Tadahito Mochinaga lived from 1919 to 1999. In the 1930s, he graduated from artistic studies in Tokyo, later on moving to Manchuria where he worked as a filmmaker, and decided to stay after the fall of Japan. He joined the North-East Film Studio crew (Dongbei dianying pianchang, 东北电影制片厂) that was relocated between Changchun, Xingshan, Hegang in the years 1945-1955, eventually divided into autonomous Shanghai Animation Film Studio and the live-action production department in Changchun.

²³ Li Baochuan, *Wan Laiming Yanjiu*, op. cit., p. 107.

The “100 Flowers” campaign opened up opportunities for criticism and the exchange of opinions. Wan Laiming attested to its impact on his individual artistic development in his autobiography where he discusses an experience of intellectual transformation, reported by Sean Macdonald: *The problem for Wan in New China was that although he had accumulated experience in animation, he had been influenced by Hollywood animation: “my old perspective would certainly be reflected in the work” (1986:116). So Wan proceeds to study Marxist-Leninist literary and art theory, especially Mao’s “Talk at the Yan’an Conference on Literature and Art”*²⁴. Elsewhere Macdonald cites Wan Laiming: *Simply put, [my style – OB] dares to use galloping rich imagery and bright, colourful, and expressive techniques of bold exaggeration. (...) it is abundantly evident in Uproar in Heaven, because after liberation leaders implemented the proletarian program of ‘Let the Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend,’ which gave me the ability to boldly express my artistic style, truly obtaining the result that Lenin referred to when he said: “(...) greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, and form and content”*²⁵.

Wan’s situation was specifically ambiguous – he was a respected and appreciated artist and SAFS was determined to have him on board, but at the same time he sincerely believed in the potential evoked by the “100 Flowers” campaign. English source literature does not mention any repercussions that might beset Wan Laiming during the “Anti-Rightists Campaign” that followed immediately after (launched in June 1957 this campaign was maintained throughout the Great Leap Forward). Nevertheless, the director himself suggested that the work of “reform” of his artistic style and world outlook were essential elements of his transformation. Noticeably, the critical attitudes related to the principles of the “100 Flowers” campaign seem to be much closer to him (at least on a rhetorical level) than the top-down imposed Maoist model for the artist figure. In this light, Wan Laiming appears to be an ideologically ambivalent artist. He functioned in the world subjugated to dramatic tensions and was confronted with a dualistic challenge: while working on the script he had to prove to be a “utile” worker in the framework of Maoist culture-state system and to take upon an opportunity to fulfil his uniquely individual, intimate and personal life-long dream.

²⁴ Sean Macdonald, op. cit., p. 18. Mao delivered the so-called “Yan’an Lectures” in May 1942. His brutal and direct appeal, mostly addressed to the artist-comrades in Yan’an, was published in the collection: Mao Zedong, *Talks and the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art May 1942*, [in:] *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung. Vol.2*, Foreign Language Press People’s Publishing House, Peking 1961, pp. 69-98.

²⁵ Wan Laiming, Wan Guchan, *Wo yu Sun Wukong! 我与孙悟空 [I and the Monkey King]*, Beiyue wenyi, Taiyuan 1986, p. 46, cit. per Sean Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

Adaptation ideologized

In *Havoc in Heaven*, the transfer of content and form between the literary original and the animated film was intermediated on several levels. Firstly, as was presented, this animated adaptation possesses a relevancy in the highly symbolic *continuum* of the intertextual network that sediments through 500 years of Chinese cultural discourses. The issue of the original authorship of “The Journey to the West” does not constitute the main focus here. This assumption is derived from the blemished character of a specific “original source”. It is true that “The Journey to the West” (or rather its excerpt, “Havoc in Heaven”) remains a major reference point for the narrative of the animated film but the adaptation procedures executed by the SAFS filmmakers since the end of the 1950s directly relate to the poetics of especially important Maoist stage performances – among them “Havoc in Heaven” (“Nao tiangong”/ 闹天宫, 1951/1955, Beijing opera performance)²⁶. Ultimately, one should consider that the strategies of Wan Laiming and his collaborators were adjusted to the character of animated medium itself. The notion of “everlasting adaptation” might be a fitting description of nature of an animation filmmaking: the script is adapted to the storyboard which becomes a basic reference for concrete graphic designs, reworked later on by drawers, in-betweeners, outline artists and other “animation workers” who add or reduce certain features of the original concept, only to hand over the material to the animators and cinematographers who set the graphics into illusionary motion. Hence, the authorial instance is multiplied, and the category of “original source” becomes blurred.

The authorship of the Maoist version of “Havoc in Heaven” is attributed to the dramaturgist Weng Ouhong (翁偶虹) and the actor Li Shaochun (李少春). These famous artists joined the troupe of the China Traditional Opera Institute, where they worked together on an adaptation of this particular fragment of “The Journey to the West”, aiming at an adequate political reformulation (remoulding) of the Ming

²⁶ The bigger picture of the ideological remoulding should be complemented with a reflection on the influences deriving from other opera performances adapted to Maoist principles: “Fifteen Strings of Coins” (“Wushi guan”/ 《五十贯》, 1954, Kunqu opera) and “Sun Wukong Three Times Beats the White-Bone Demon”/ “Sun Wukong sanda baigujin”/ 《孙悟空三打白骨精》, 1958/1960, Beijing opera). The former became a case study for Zhou Enlai in one of his essays from the “100 Flowers” campaign period, while the latter awoken “artistic critic” (or skillful political player using text of culture to confuse his opponents) in Mao Zedong. See Zhou Enlai, *Two Talks on the Kunqu Opera Fifteen Strings of Coins. April and May 1956*, [in:] *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai. Volume II*, Foreign Language Press, Beijing 1989, pp. 197-205. On Mao’s views on opera adaptation see Rudolf G. Wagner, *The Contemporary Chinese Historical Drama. Four Studies*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1990.

classic piece. At that stage, a significant change was introduced into the text. Further adaptations have reproduced Weng-Li's reinterpretation, and in consequence, it led to the misrecognition of "The Monkey King" legend by everyone who had never accessed the literary source. In the book, chapter 7 ends with the fall of the impetuous Monkey: after stirring a rebellion, stealing and consuming pills of longevity and pears of immortality, Sun Wukong is tamed by the Buddha and imprisoned under his palm. However, in the stage performance developed by Weng and Li, the Monkey achieves a blistering victory over the celestial army and the Jade Emperor has to flee from the palace. The Monkey sets up his banner on the debris of the imperial palace and returns to the homeland of the Flowers and Fruits Mountain. No more talk about a 500-year wait for the chance of redemption and accepting the consequences of his insubordination. The ideology of imperial China considered rebellion against feudal hierarchy to be an act requiring severe punishment. In revolutionary China though, the act of defiance was an elevating quality, a self-explanatory act that does not bear consequences – the Monkey does not become another emperor, but instead brings salvation from the capricious tyrant and his apologists. Sun Wukong does not pursue any advancement in the structure of power, instead, he strives for it to explode.

Weng-Li's vision inspired Zhou Enlai to such an extent that in 1955 he encouraged artists to further develop the narrative, to prolong the runtime of the spectacle, and above all to put greater positive emphasis on three specific motifs. These were the motif of the fight of an individual with oppressive forces, the motif of the court's schemes and intrigues, and the motif of the simplicity of the Monkey King's character that gives him strength in the struggle with celestial sophistication and a detachment from earthly reality²⁷. Weng-Li's opera and Zhang Guangyu's *manhua* (satirical or dramatic strips, one of the most influential media of the wartime period) became direct references for the narrative construction and visual composition of Wan Laiming's film. It was also essential to appropriately ground the film in the dominant ideological discourse. The authors perceived this challenge in both artistic and existential terms, supported by the words of Wan Laiming: *Li Kerou and I were asked to write the story. The first thing we worried about was whether we would dare to present the story as it was told in the book. It was a sensitive issue at the time. We studied the first seven chapters of "Journey to the West" and believed it to have profound significance – the sharp contrasts of conflict and struggle between the oppressor and oppressed within the mythological context.*

²⁷ See Sun Hongmei, *Transforming the Monkey*, op. cit., s. 67; Sean Macdonald, *Animation in China...*, op. cit., pp. 20-21; Li Yi, *On Cultural Nationalism...*, op. cit., pp. 12-17.

(...) *the Monkey King matures, and uses his courageous ingenuity, unyielding character and tenacity to prevail. The Monkey King has characteristic of a real monkey – he's a lively and nimble prankster. (...) He is also thoughtful and upright, so in the shaping of the character, it was necessary to exaggerate some aspects and use our own imagination*²⁸. Wan Laiming and Li Keruo had to find a proper way to translate the story of a mythical trickster (i.e. fundamentally ambivalent and *status quo* opposing) into a newly defined paradigm of historical narrative. Furthermore, this multi-layered and symbolic text had to serve educational purposes (in the Maoist system: indoctrinative purposes); as well, it was assumed that the film would applaud the art and culture of New China abroad.

Before 1951 Li Shaochun played Sun Wukong accordingly to widely-accepted performance strategies that combined a comic quality with the conventional interpretation of the Sun Wukong character as monkey, god, and human in unity²⁹. Li reconceptualised Sun's figure while working on the Maoist adaptation and decided to enrich his embodiment with the value of *renmin xing* (people's character/ 人民性): (...) *when I performed the role again my performance not only expressed unique traits of the Monkey King like quick-wit, humour, and comic carelessness. I also tried harder to express his spirit of defiant optimism, to bring forth and harmonize those unique traits of internal temperament and form*³⁰. The traditional take on Sun Wukong's character that propounds the idea of "monkey behaving like a human" was replaced with one of "monkey behaving like the people". Similarly to the cross-gender traditions of Chinese operas the performance was based on "suppositionality" of the value within the character. In other words: the actor was not meant to impersonate a tribune in the disguise of a legendary hero but instead to give a "recognizable face" to an idea of the people that would be resolute, courageous, militant, radical, and, – according to Zhou Enlai – above all pure and powerful in its ingenuousness. The animators were determined to transpose the value of *renmin xing* into the celluloid world, however, it is a performative quality and thus remains external to means of hand-drawn animation. The critics of the period praised the film as successful in this regard, nevertheless from today's perspective it is only natural to restrain from undoubtful acceptance of the conclusions of the Maoist film criticism, for it was dominated with cliché and slogans. Therefore, the proposed analysis focuses on an effectiveness in establishing a correspondence between ideological intention and the

²⁸ Cit. per: documentary film *Wan Brothers and Havoc in Heaven*, op. cit.

²⁹ See Sun Hongmei, *Transforming Monkey...*, op. cit., p. 84.

³⁰ Li Shaochun, "Bu pingfan de shinian" ["Not an Uneventful Decade"], *Xiju bao* 17 (1959), pp. 7-8, cit. per: Sean Macdonald, *Animation in China...*, op. cit., p. 21.

means of expression employed in the creation of the Monkey King character. Above all, one should consider character design and, specific for Sun Wukong, the visual schema of movement and transformation³¹.

Typical opera roles³² assume specific conventions of performance – vocalization, choreography, costume design, hair-dressing and make-up – that not only expose certain sets of symbols to be decoded and interpreted by the viewers but they also convey narrative³³. Sun Wukong's make-up is distinctive in the context of other facial patterns appearing in Beijing opera. Red and white ovals create surprising – sometimes scary, other times comical – geometrical patterns. The “Monkey's mask” does not copy the face of either human or animal. Rather belongs to a transgressive (in a sense of species identity) character who is capable of transformation at any given instance. It is on the border of the human world and the animal kingdom, constantly trespassing any delineating lines, being at the same time god and demon, sage and fool, or, as Sun Hogmei says, trickster.

The creators of the animated designs, Yan Dingxian (晏定仙) and Lin Wenxiao (林文肖), who based their projects on the works of Zhang Guangyu (张光宇, “Cartoon Journey to the West”/ “Xiyou manji”/ 《西遊漫記》, first time presented publicly in 1945), remained loyal to the form of traditional make-up. This decision was probably dictated by a willingness to refer to meanings and associations pre-established on the grounds of traditional visual and cultural communication. It allowed the Shanghai artists to escape from the realism of Disney, where anthropomorphization is a dominant

³¹ Such an analysis would benefit from acknowledging the issue of one of the few performative means of expression in animated film medium, i.e. voice acting. The linguistic barrier does not allow the Author to extend her interpretative intuition though. Certain basic facts regarding methods of reinterpretation of opera tradition should be acknowledged: the vocalization has not been used in the film, the actors perform only spoken dialogs. The energetic, sometimes ironic, voice of Sun Wukong belongs to Qiu Yuefeng. The slow, dreamy voice of the Jade Emperor is played by Fu Runsheng. As Sean Macdonald notices: *The spoken script is full of archaic dictation from Beijing opera*, S. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 20.

³² There are four role types in traditional Chinese opera arts (including the Beijing opera, i.e. *jingju*, 京劇). These are: *sheng* (生, distinguished men), *chou* (武丑, jesters), *jing* (淨, so-called "painted faces"), and *dan* (旦, female roles that can be performed either by actresses, or *nandan*, 男旦, male impersonators as women's acting was banned in the late eighteenth century, the women came back on the stages only after the fall of the feudal Empire). The role of Sun Wukong complies with the warrior sub-types *sheng* and *chou*.

³³ A famous one is the example of a paddle indicating the situation of water travel conducted by the heroes of the opera. Yet even the smallest details matter for a narrative and dramaturgy, e.g. silk patches on the black dress of an old woman signifies her noble origins, current financial problems and aspirations for returning to the previous conditions.

paradigm of representation. Yet, perhaps more interestingly, we should notice that the direct incorporation of Beijing opera traditions into animation filmmaking also enabled them to reclaim an aesthetic autonomy and extend earlier influences derived from Fleischers' creations. Koko the Clown, Betty Boop and Bimbo the Dog are not really anthropomorphized characters but reversely – their human figures are endowed with distinctions, gestures or facial expressions that evoke transgressive recognition when it comes to their species. In 1941, *Princess Iron Fan* was made in the rotoscope technique borrowed from the Fleischers. The uniqueness of Sun Wukong relies on the contrasts between his filigree body and his big, misshapen, black and white, monkey-flat head with a long jaw that sometimes resembles a dog's mouth but also sometimes looks like a duck's beak. There is a certain kinship between the wartime representation of Sun Wukong and the Fleischers' creatures.

The viewer of *Havoc in Heaven* accepts Sun Wukong as a representation of monkey though this recognition is above all based on an acknowledgment of the conventions (name "Monkey King"; opera make-up). In fact, Sun seems less a monkey than his subjects living on the Flowers and Fruits Mountain – their brown bodies (interpreted as furry) are naked and their anthropoid silhouettes are not subjected to constant metamorphoses. Neither does he resemble a human – such shapes are reserved for the Jade Emperor, his advisors, master Laozi, celestial warriors (Nezha, Erlang) and the demonic helpers of Laozi. The figure of Sun is deformed, it remains in perpetual, vibrant movement, his presence in the frames is sometimes only suggested by smudges. Although he is thin and bowed, his walk is unhampered and vigorous. On any given moment he can straighten out like a string or become bent like a jack knife. While executing his famous seventy-two transformations he becomes either the tiniest or the most gargantuan figure. Sometimes he even completely changes his species identity, embodying a bird, fish, lion or even a temple. It is also difficult to have any certainty in regard to his age – from an expression of limitless, childish stupidity, his eyes may transform into senile sadness and tiredness, however the opera mask can also be easily distorted into anger or ludicrous laughter and can emanate the wildest emotions, consequently depriving attempts of identification from any means.

Another important interpretative thread is discussed by Sean Macdonald; this scholar from the University of Florida underlines the significance of the Monkey's potency for multiplication and transformation. He claims that this distinctive feature directly derives from Zhang Guangyu's work. Sun Wukong's figurative incarnations

“occur in a series” thus bear ambiguity – on one hand, numerous figures embedded in Sun stand for the people, diversified yet united; on the other, this characteristic implies an authoromatic reflection that points attention to the medium itself that only naturally stimulates a revisionist approach in reception³⁴.

Alexandra Bonds, a scholar interested in the history of costume design, especially focused on Beijing opera tradition, argues that the analysis of form, colour, pattern and material used for costumes is equally important in the comprehension of the opera’s storytelling through the characters’ identification in the framework of role types. Sun Wukong usually wears a costume of armour, however, if the character is not engaged in fighting, he wears court robes. In both cases, the costumes are embroidered with dragon patterns that connote power and superiority. Additionally, the actors put on furs or other elements that indicate animal affiliation. Rich and impressive ornaments attest to the high status of the character, who always remains an outstanding warrior regardless of his temporarily adopted and ever-changing identities of severe king and ironic joker. His vast sleeves and trousers, as well as the so-called feathers and other sophisticated elements of the headgear add up to an impression of beauty and splendour, exemplified in the choreography of the Monkey’s numerous acrobatic acts. In Wan’s film though, Sun Wukong’s clothing is exceedingly humble³⁵ – a simple bonnet is placed on his head; a neckerchief, an ordinary yellow blouse and a short mottled skirt replace the sophisticated tunic; plain trousers almost organically merge with flat boots. His animated costume perfectly clings to the character and blends as if the silhouette lacks any solid posture. Despite his flattened head shape, nothing connotes the animal origin of the character³⁶ – the Monkey King has neither tail nor fur. In the story, Sun Wukong is twice appointed to a position at the imperial court (in the first part he becomes *pimawen*, 弼馬溫, a grand equerry; in the second part he is given the responsibility of the Heavenly Peach Garden guardian) but only once does he allow the celestial helpers to dress him up in court robes. The vast clothing is decisively too large, the stretchy Monkey “sinks” in the void of the distinguished costume and takes it off in amusement.

³⁴ Sean Macdonald, op. cit., p. 37.

³⁵ There are a few exceptions from this regularity: the Monkey wears the court robe when he accepts the position in the imperial hierarchy; Sun possesses spectacularly embroidered clothing in an initial sequence of the first part when his entrance into the frame is accompanied with the little monkeys’ applaud, in this scene Sun’s bonnet is embellished with feathers.

³⁶ One exception should be noted, i.e. an initial sequence (pre-initial to be exact as it is placed between opening credits of the first part). The Monkey is born from the mountain rock – his naked animal figure “erupts” from the inside and floats around the sky.

In both the classic and Maoist interpretation, the Monkey King wears clothing of a golden colour that bears a symbolism related to the fact that since the sixth century this “central” colour (referring to the centre of the Earth, while red, green, blue and black ascribe geographical directions) was acknowledged as an imperial one. Bonds clearly states that Chinese opera art reserved yellow and gold for the characters of the emperor and his family³⁷, and certain noble sages were also eligible to wear it. Sun Wukong is an exception in this tradition that Bonds explains as following: *Sun Wukong, the Monkey King, wears yellow because he has been appointed a saint of heaven and a Buddha of triumph, and the colour of the heavenly saints is yellow*³⁸. The Maoist adaptation revoked the character of Buddha – not only he is not an agent in the narrative but also the characters do not refer to him even rhetorically. In the world of the Maoist *Havoc in Heaven*, we confront, though, the Jade Emperor – contrary to traditional representations, he wears a long robe in the colours of beige and bronze, his cheeks are rouge, his nose is white and he has only slight facial hair. By the means of the clothing colouring and the body’s size, the viewer recognizes him as a representative of the noble *sheng* type, however the lack of a long beard (replaced with a tiny comic moustache) and the specific make-up pattern likely denote associations with effeminate³⁹ or intriguer⁴⁰ characters. These features radically discredit notions of power and majesty, the essentials of the *laosheng* type (sages and nobility). Even just a brief review of the representational forms reveals that in the Maoist adaptation it immediately becomes clear that the only legitimate ruler of this world is the Monkey King while the Jade Emperor appears as an ineffectual imposture. Moreover, the Monkey does not operate using the former modes of power, he breaks from the normal position in the hierarchy offered by conventions – Sun Wukong figuratively negates the idea of a social status that can be manifested through clothing, as this is only a superficial shell covering a healthy and vigorous body.

The lines that transmit the fleshiness of Sun’s figure are flexible and stretchy, they follow the design of the clouds and sky smudges. Indeed, Sun Wukong performs fluent movements while traveling on the clouds or diving into the depths of the ocean. The trajectory of these movements is rather circular than linear. The Monkey’s silhouette

³⁷ Alexandra B. Bonds, *Beijing Opera Costumes. The Visual Communication of Character and Culture*, University of Hawai’i Press, Honolulu 2008, p. 73.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Rouge cheeks are characteristic for the role of young ladies of the court (*qingyi*) as well as beautiful “flowers” of varied social status (*huadan*).

⁴⁰ White nose is characteristic for the role of intriguer of the *jing* type.

often follows shapes of the objects that catches his attention (stairways of the Imperial Hall) and can also remain utile (clouds serving as a means of locomotion). The visual spectacle on the stage is ensured by the rhythms of the acrobatics performed by the actors wearing sophisticated and ornamented armour; in the animation, these actions are replaced with an organic ambient harmonized through an integrity of characters and backgrounds. The impression of lightness is achieved through a blend of the Monkey's silhouette and the vast celestial landscape – two elements that constantly change and transit, yet perfectly match one another. In this sense, the character of the Emperor is again significantly contrapuntal to the dynamic Monkey — he is static as if he were enchained to the throne. Even when he traverses through his heavenly estate, he sits in the sedan. Only in the last scene when he is forced to flee from the palace does the Jade Emperor finally move on his own legs. Most of the time he is presented from a worm's-eye view but he does not seem monumental at all. Instead, the Emperor appears deformed, grotesque and ponderous. The lines that shape his silhouette seem stiff and angular, unable to evolve or dynamically transform.

The background designs⁴¹ of the animated *Havoc in Heaven* impress the viewers with the subtlety of the colour composition, based on rouge, blue and gold, as well as the delicacy and vibrancy of shapes and lines combined into the boundless, far-reaching landscape. While discussing the creation of the background design, the names of three women pioneers should be mentioned along the name of Yan Dingxian: the exquisite cinematographer, Duan Xiaoxuan; the first studio women film director who was appointed to the position of second director on this production, Tang Cheng; and Lin Wenxiao who was just starting her career in the 1960s, and two decades later became a leading reformer of the Chinese animated film tradition. Yan and Lin are

⁴¹ Li Yi's research demonstrates that Zhang Zhengyu (张正宇) was a creator of background design and consulted only with his older brother, Zhang Guangyu. Zhang Zhengyu's contribution seems to be omitted in the historical writings on Chinese animation, even if Wan Laiming's film and Zhang Guangyu's cartoon series have been widely discussed in various sources. His name is mentioned only in the opening credits of the second part of the film. The Chinese scholar points out that the aging Zhang Guangyu had experienced serious health conditions since 1960 and therefore might have needed not only an assistant but in fact, an autonomous collaborator. Li Yi does not find a definite answer to this, leaving this subject for future research. Li mentions a few sources that discuss the work division between brothers Zhang: Li Kewei, Danao tiangong *donghuapian zaoxing sheji* 《<大闹天官>动画片造型设计》 [Havoc in Heaven. *Artistic Design for Animated Film*], Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe/ 上海人民美术出版社 [Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House], Shanghai 1980; Lu Shaofei, "Zhuangshi", 《装饰》》 ["Creating Background"], *Jidacheng er gexin* 集大成而革新 [*Synthesis and Innovation*] (4) (1992), a talk with Yan Dingxian conducted during the research, see Li Yi, op. cit., p. 50.

a married couple who worked together in SAFS throughout the Maoist period as well as played a crucial role in the reorganization of the studio structures in Deng Xiaoping's era of opening-up and reforms. They collaborated on design and animation of the visual projects realized by the brothers Zhang. In a 2005 documentary film they state: *For each scene, we paid particular attention to the setting and atmosphere in order to unify the scenes with the personality and style of the characters. We absorbed the best essence of Chinese folk art tradition, and added to it our own imagination. As a result, the film has a very specific flavour. Because of the fantasized, atmosphere of the myth, we strived to construct a unity of rich colours, refinement toward simplicity and a shaping of the images that is more "vague" than "real"*⁴².

Duan Xiaoxuan insisted on creating an impression of glow and glitter in the image. The cinematographer employed various approaches to the technique of multiple exposure, which she fascinatingly developed in her simultaneous experiments with wash-and-ink painting animation. Tang Cheng worked in the studio since the early 1950s, and the source literature indicates that she was an actual main acting director on the production of the breakthrough wash-and-ink animation *Where Is Mama?* (*Xiaokedou zhao mama* / 小蝌蚪找妈妈, 1960, dir. Te Wei, Qian Jiajun), even if her name was credited only as a second director. In a 2012 CCTV documentary film, John Lent and Xu Ying also note: (...) *though Wan Laiming was billed as director of Havoc in Heaven, she usually was in charge, especially when Wan was hospitalized*⁴³. Various and detailed sources prove that Wan Laiming's deep engagement into the conceptualization, production process and completion of the film stands contrary to the cited remark, but nevertheless, it has to be noted that the Chinese animated film *herstory* is yet to be written.

Renmin xing

The changes suggested by Zhou Enlai concerning the opera "Havoc in Heaven" regarded the construction of the characters and the ways they interact with each other. The scriptwriters transposed strategies employed in the opera into the medium of animated film and developed them in collaboration with the drawers, animators, cinematographers.

Let us think about the problem of the transmission of the concept "The Monkey King embodies simplicity of the people" into the world of hand-drawn celluloid animation, executed in accordance with Zhou Enlai's vision. Above all, one

⁴² Cit. per: documentary film *Wan Brothers and Havoc in Heaven*, op. cit.

⁴³ John A. Lent, Xu Ying, *Comics Art in China*, University Press of Mississippi, Jackson 2017, p. 179.

should answer the question: who is “the people” in the *Havoc in Heaven* fantastic world? The communist imaginarium requires that the people would be represented by the masses exercising certain practices of daily life (most frequently, physical work). *Havoc in Heaven* presents a sequence of mass mobilization in the very beginning of the first part when Sun Wukong returns (from an unknown adventure) to the Flowers and Fruits Mountain and observes military drills performed by his monkey subjects. They bear a resemblance to the King but they are significantly smaller. Sun enters through the waterfall curtain wearing a costume derived from traditional opera; with only a few fast gestures, he gets rid of the embroidered robe and joins the monkeys to instruct them. He becomes one of them although he surpasses the subjects physically in size and efficiency. While serving as *pimawen*, Sun Wukong enters the imperial stables and immediately realizes the overloaded burden of bureaucracy forced upon the secondary servants so he liberates them from the unnecessary work. Sun observes the beautiful horses with delicate posture, whose coats shine with all the colours of the rainbow and sees their enslavement. He sets them free from their narrow boxes, lets them pasture on the heavenly meadows and transforms into a cloud that sprinkles gentle raindrops on their tired bodies. He has the true simplicity of soul that allows him to comprehend the situations of oppression and bring an immediate salvation to the victims.

Eventually, it is worth recalling the final sequence of the second part when Sun Wukong demolishes the palace and overthrows the Jade Emperor and his slick advisors. This sequence is analysed in detail by Sean Macdonald who argues: (...) *when Sun Wukong charges the Jade Emperor’s palace, the Jade Emperor and remaining members of his court are framed by the Monkey’s legs. By this point, the power shift is complete, and all that remains is for the Emperor to leave the throne and Sun Wukong to completely destroy the palace*⁴⁴. Editing and framing incisively convey this significant narrative change, importantly they distinctively stand out against the background of the previous means of expression used throughout the film. The ideological conclusion of the work is also strikingly direct and sharp – Sun does not leave his subjects for the glory of the imperial throne, instead, he again blends with the people. Thus, metaphorically, “the people” (embodied in Sun Wukong) bring demolition and fall of feudal rule, and it is “the people” who gain independence and self-control. Let us also recall that the history of culture in twentieth-century China confirms the mass acknowledgment of the uniqueness of Wan Laiming’s film in regard to both the artistic and the entertaining qualities which make

⁴⁴ Sean Macdoanld, op. cit., p.127.

this film a case study that is investigated meticulously at every animation department across the country, a subject of praises in film journals and retrospectives, and above all, it supports the popular conviction of its brilliancy; despite the passing of time and the fundamental social transformations that have occurred, *Havoc in Heaven* still resonates powerfully in mass culture.

Conclusions

This two-part animated adaptation of a short excerpt from “The Journey to the West” is an outcome of both artistic and ideological operations. These two features forced the filmmakers from SAFS to carefully study doctrine, classic literature and specifics of medium, in other words, to deliver a convincing work of remoulding rooted in high and low cultural discourses, their rhetoric figures, metaphors and allegories. In an artistic sense, they pursued such means of animated film expression that would evoke clearly readable narrative and symbolic conventions related to the folk opera tradition. In an ideological sense, Wan Laiming and his collaborators took up the challenge of stitching a fantastic tale with the dogmatic practice of founding a sense of art in the life experiences of the masses as well as to respond to the doctrine’s requirements for utilitarian art (service to the people, class awareness manifested through the artwork, etc.). Both the artistic and ideological aspects of their work were verified in terms of the successful positioning of the film in the pre-existing rich intertextual network. There is no doubt that Wan Laiming, Tang Cheng, Yan Dingxian, Lin Wenxiao, Duan Xiaoxuan, brothers Zhang Guangyu and Zhang Zhengyu and other SAFS workers, have created a masterpiece and a breakthrough in the history of Chinese animation. This film’s text perceived in a historicized perspective unveils the ways in which the representational framework has been remoulded in accordance with the ideological assumptions advocated by Zhou Enlai. This kind of transformation embraced the cultural and political priorities of New China but its origins correspond with the specific period of Maoist culture when criticism that extended dogmatic ideological critique was encouraged in public discourse.

PART II

THE SATELLITES

Magdalena Krzosek-Hofody

City. Mass. Machine.

Urban Dystopia and the Nostalgia for Nature in Polish Animated Film of the Post-War Era

Cinema as a medium arises from the bourgeois class and is organically connected with industrialization and the development of urban society. It is no wonder that the first films presented to the public at large by the Lumière brothers portrayed typical scenes of city life: workers leaving the factory, the arrival of a train at the railway station and street interactions. These films were aimed at a city dwelling audience, and in turn, the idea of the city was used as an inescapable source of inspiration. The city as a cinematic theme soon became very popular not only as a topic of short documentaries but also as a fascinating basis for great philosophical film treatises. Many famous directors of the 1920s and 1930s devoted their sincere efforts to show how the modern city functioned and determined the ways in which people think and act. Such artists as Fritz Lang (*Metropolis*, 1927, Germany), Walter Ruttmann (*Berlin: Symphony of a Great City*/ *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt*, 1927, Germany) or Dziga Vertov (*Man with a Movie Camera* *Человек с кино-аппаратом*, 1927, USSR) created visions of the city that still resonate in contemporary cinema.

Early cinema often concerned itself with the idea of the monstrous urban environment and its similarity to a giant living organism. Ruttmann, Lang, Vertov and others presented the viewer with a vision of masses of people heading in different directions in an almost mechanical dance of everyday life. This vision was either monumental and scary as in the case of *Metropolis* or diverse and full of optimistic curiosity as in the case of *Man with a Movie Camera*. The role of the individual, however, was in both cases reduced to being an anonymous actor appointed to play only a modest role in a complex and dynamic structure of urban interactions.

Life in a modern city of the first decades of the twentieth century offered many opportunities to the artist. Various avant-garde movements of that time such as Dada, futurism or constructivism benefited greatly from the fact that they developed within urban environments which meant that they could easily reach a bigger, more

open and liberal public. Avant-gardists such as Filippo Tommaso Marinetti or Hans Richter focused not only on creating art but also on theorizing about its role in modern society. “Manifesto of Futurism” (1909), three “Surrealist Manifestos” (André Breton’s two manifestos from 1924 and 1929, and Yvan Goll’s manifesto from 1924), and the Bauhaus Manifesto, introduced by Walter Gropius and his associates in 1919, are just a few examples of the newly born modern art theories that shaped twentieth-century art and emphasized its inevitable connection with technology and urban development.

One of the city-enthusiastic manifestos of the first decades of the twentieth century was also published in Poland. In 1922 Tadeusz Peiper, a member of Awangarda Krakowska (Cracow Avant-Garde), wrote an essay “City. Mass. Machine” in which he glorified the inventions of the city and portrayed urban environment as a promising space for modern art. The essay was published in a futurist-constructivist magazine “Zwrotnica. Kierunek: sztuka terażniejszości” (“Railway Switch. Direction: Art of the Present”)¹. Przemysław Strożek, one of the authors of “The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines”, when writing about “Zwrotnica” made an observation that avant-gardists, including Peiper, strongly emphasized almost organic connection between art and society². Although art historians and cultural theorists had always theorized about the social role of art, these ideas were not self-evident to the ordinary citizen who did not engage in art on a daily basis. Still, as Peiper underlined, an ordinary citizen was and should be influenced by art, because they took part in the mechanism of art production and consumption, if not personally, then through a system of economic dependencies.

We may read Peiper’s “City. Mass. Machine” manifesto through its historical context and be aware that the events of the World War II and the communist era proved it too utopian to come true. I would like to see it differently, though. For the purpose of this article I will interpret it as a symptom of the always present human endeavour to reach an ideal model of social organization in a certain economic situation (in this case the era of rapid urbanization and the mechanization of labour). This approach enables me to treat Peiper’s work, on the one hand as an analytical perceptive for examination

¹ Tadeusz Peiper, “City. Mass. Machine” [“Miasto. Masa. Maszyna”], *Zwrotnica* 2 (July 1922).

² See Przemysław Strożek, “Cracow and Warsaw: Becoming the Avant-Garde: *Rydwany* (first series 1912-14); *Maski* (1918-19); *Wianki* (1919-22); *Formiści* (1919-21); *Nowa Sztuka* (1921-2); *Zwrotnica* (first series 1922-3); and *Blok* (1924-6)”, [in:] eds. Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacher, Christian Weikop, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines. Volume III. Europe 1880-1940, Part I*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, pp. 1184-1207.

of the urbanization processes of his time, and on the other as an expression of the universal problems that always occur when a population faces rapid changes in its living conditions.

Peiper's manifesto consists of three parts: an analysis of the socio-cultural structure of the city and its negative image, an analysis of the new social perspectives that the city gives, and eventually an optimistic foresight into the future of technology that may substantially change the life of the city's urban population. Firstly, the artist describes the main reasons for the reluctance most people feel towards the city. Peiper claims that the urban environment appeared hostile and unfamiliar to most people due to an ever-present conflict between the swiftly changing environment of the city and the traditional and often outmoded ways of life. He denotes such characteristics of the conservative Western population as individualism, devotion to tradition, sentimental nostalgia for the past and strong aesthetic attachment to nature. He claims, however, that in the era of swift industrialization and the increasingly dominant role of the bourgeoisie, the attitude of the human towards the city should change.

The city, according to Peiper, reduces the role of the individual and limits one's freedom of action. The leading ideas that regulate the life of the city are usability and public utility. The actions of the individual, therefore, will influence only small groups of interest or specific areas of social life and will never affect society at large. The daily needs of the inhabitants are important factors that stimulate the development of the city and enforce a permanent desire for the new. At first, new conventions arising in the city may invoke aversions in the so-called cultural individual seeking a spiritual basis of their existence. Peiper notices that there is a sharp conflict between the slowly evolving habits of people and the rapid ongoing infrastructural change that occurs in the city. One such change occurs within architecture which always follows the needs of the growing city population and may initially be frightening for the individuals who were used to a rural organization of space with broad fields on the horizon instead of the labyrinth of narrow, winding streets. Probably every flourishing city appears to be ugly to its contemporaries. There are, of course, streets and buildings considered beautiful in the cities of the industrial era, but only if they copy antique models. The new is unfamiliar, the old is known, warmly charming and melancholic. Only when something is covered by the dust of time does it evoke emotions.

The second reason for the anxiety and reluctance that most people of Peiper's era shared is the fact that the city was originally inhabited by social classes which were not perceived as being representative of true social values by their contemporaries. In

the early era of industrialization, it was still the aristocracy and the church who were the arbiters of cultural values. The bourgeoisie, which created the cities, was treated as a lower class, not seen to contribute positively to the life of the elites when compared to the aristocratic residents. To the descendants of the feudal lords, the bourgeois millionaire must have seemed poor and coarse, determined by the requirements of mundane, everyday life. It was the French Revolution that liberated the bourgeoisie and gave them money and resources to rule the world, without, however, providing them with moral superiority. They were despised by the aristocrats and hated by the working class.

A negative response to industrialization, according to Peiper, can also have a physiological explanation. Every human being is organically connected to nature and seeks to be in its presence. The city, depriving its inhabitants of the comfort of living close to nature, besides being physiologically exhausting, is also aesthetically unfriendly. When the city is compared to nature, it is always a comparison of the ugly versus the beautiful. Peiper notices, however, that there is no aesthetic theory based on the analysis of the form, shape and colour that would justify the superiority of a rural landscape over an urban one. He claims that the city adapts to the physiological needs of the human, and that the human, in turn, evolves with the city. Modern urban planning takes into consideration the incorporation of green areas into the city: parks, squares and boulevards³. For Peiper, the aesthetics of the city is something that people should get used to by establishing new aesthetic criteria. He finds the city monumental and fascinating – he admires the busy, colourful and progressive urban environment that provides the individual (especially the artist) with endless possibilities determined by two main factors: the mass and the machine.

The mass is understood by Peiper as the multitude of people that make the city. The machine, on the other hand, is represented by technology and industry. The mass builds society and influences the way people create and perceive art. For Peiper, this impact is beneficial because it allows artists to take advantage of the economic potential of the city. The mass in its interactions and constant development resembles a giant living organism. This organism does not scare Peiper, but rather excites him and inspires him to

³ Peiper is very optimistic here. He follows the views of such figures as e.g. Ebenezer Howard and the famous garden city movement (E. Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London 1902). He wants to believe that the incorporation of nature into the city is always possible and desirable. In his naivety he thinks that the interests of the city inhabitants (including the working class) will be respected by the property owners and factory managers. Among his optimistic predictions for the future there is even the creation of a system of oxygen tubes that would provide the city with fresh air.

make optimistic foresights for the future. The artist perceives the city-mass as a beautiful creation – complex, precise and functional. He predicts that the mass will appropriate art and make it subservient to society. Mass production and mass consumption, according to Peiper, should be treated as a chance for art to flourish, and not seen as a threat to its exclusiveness. The development of technology and the industrial growth observed in the city are among other important factors that help art to influence social life. The machine should be a servant of art, claims Peiper. Cinema, above all, should rely on the machine because it is organically dependent on mechanically generated sounds and images.

The “City. Mass. Machine” manifesto is just one of the many examples of the future-oriented approaches to the relation between art and urbanization associated with architectural changes and technological development. It expresses the universal revolutionary hope of every avant-garde that the world can always be changed for better. Still, in its core, it is highly critical of the reality contemporary to the author. What strikes us when reading Peiper’s manifesto is the relevance of his analysis of the negative attitudes of people towards urbanization based on the socio-historical background of the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even though the manifesto was aimed at being utopian, the general message it left was rather critical than affirmative. The optimistic visions of Peiper never really resonated with the imagination of the Polish artists. In spite of the strong message that the avant-gardists, including Peiper, directed at the society the general attitude towards modernization remained pessimistic. Most of the artists perfectly understood the arguments that appear in the first part of the “City. Mass. Machine” manifesto, but were never really convinced by the ones in the second, the favourable one.

Polish animators committed their efforts to present the city as a dark and unfriendly place which deprived people of their primal bond with nature. What we may learn from the films of the post-war era is that this rupture will never be compensated by any of the advantages that the city can possibly offer. Even the socialist realism, which praised the city and encouraged people to move to urban areas, did not find any true supporters among animators. The animated film of the post-war era is melancholic towards rural life and nature, and totally fearful and anxious about the city and its inventions. It portrays the bourgeoisie as immoral and corrupted and the working class as oppressed and miserable. The dark visions of Jan Lenica or Jerzy Kalina are just two examples of a multitude of films that follow the city-directed anxiety. We can trace this anxiety which makes us scared of becoming part of the city-organism, to many other Polish animated films, also to recent productions of the last two decades. In the second part of this article, I will present the most significant examples of this tendency.

The ruthless city as the leading theme may be found, among others, in such canonical films as Jan Lenica's *Labirynt* (*Labirynt*, 1962) and *Mr. Tête* (*Monsieur Tête*, 1959), Mirosław Kijowicz's *City* (*Miasto*, 1963), *The Flag* (*Sztandar*, 1965) and *Manhattan* (1975), Zdzisław Kudła's *The Sound of the Forest* (*Szum lasu*, 1972), Jerzy Kalina's *Shell* (*Muszla*, 1975) and *In the Grass* (*W trawie*, 1974), Witold Giersz's *The Heritage Park* (*Skansen*, 1978), Hieronim Neumann's *The Event* (*Zdarzenie*, 1987) and *Block of Flats* (*Blok*, 1987), Zbigniew Rybczyński's *Soup* (*Zupa*, 1974) and *Tango* (1980) and Longin Szmyd's *The Courtyard* (*Oficyna*, 1983). As we may see, every post-war decade is represented by some significant works of animation that deal with the topic of the repressive urban environment.

In *Labirynt* by Jan Lenica, the main character arrives in a city on Icarus-like wings. The city seems modern and beautiful with wide streets and impressive Art Nouveau architecture. The protagonist leaves his wings and walks the streets curiously searching for a place to stay. Soon, various strange and scary creatures start to appear and suspiciously follow the man. The protagonist comes across a giant dinosaur skeleton which begins to chase him, fortunately without success. In the next scenes, the man sees a woman kidnapped by a crocodile-like monster and tries to release her using a spontaneously created weapon. However, when he intends to gain her attention by giving her a rose it appears that the woman was, in fact, a voluntary prisoner of the monster. She willingly falls into the creatures' claws again and they leave. As the protagonist wanders the streets, more animal-like creatures appear, some of them with human heads, some with other human attributes. The city is filled with creatures that chase one another, desiring to gain something, to steal, to eat or simply to exploit. We observe a seal that eats a bird to steal his wings in an unsuccessful attempt to use them to fly, and in another scene, a woman lures birds with male heads into her apartment which they then leave as skeletons. The city's main monument appears to be a killing machine and the walls of other buildings are decorated with human skulls. It is a dystopian, metaphoric city where an individual who seeks freedom is quickly eliminated. A small bird that flies out of the head of Rodin's sculpture "The Thinker" is immediately taken away by a huge hand. The protagonist is permanently watched and controlled in his actions and is finally trapped in a strange machine that interferes with his mind. A scientist controlling the machine aims at "healing" the character by making him obedient to the rules of the city. The vulnerable protagonist suffers greatly as his honest, non-conformist worldview opposes the corrupted reality of the city. In an

attempt to escape a transformation into an animal-like beast, the man reconstructs his wings and tries to leave the city. But at this stage, no escape is possible, and he is chased by the monsters and thus shares the fate of Icarus.

Lenica's *Mr. Tête* is another example of a sad and hopeless view of the world, emblematic of communist-era Poland. This time the filmmaker offers the viewer an insight into the life of an ordinary clerk on his journey to work. The commentary to the film is provided by the Romanian/French master of the absurd Eugène Ionesco, who guides us through the daily routine of the main character. Tête meticulously obeys his morning rituals and humbly goes to work, where he devotes himself to a repetitive office routine. In the meantime, he dreams of becoming somebody else – Shakespeare, Napoleon or Charlie Chaplin. At some point, Tête's head becomes detached from his body and starts examining the surroundings which puts the protagonist in trouble. The narrator notices: *It's the fault of his head. It thinks too much. Bad head. Nevertheless, one has to have a head, it's too bad.* The visions of Tête's mind include people controlled by inner machinery, dreaming about true love and taking part in a sumptuous feast. The other human figures that appear in the film are portrayed as corrupted, greedy or ignorant. Tête attempts to rebel against them but he is eventually defeated and has to surrender to the rules of the city. In the last scene, we see the poor character left without a face. This disturbing vision reveals Lenica's ever-present artistic message that there is no place for individuality in modern mass society. The filmmaker does not perceive the city as an opportunity but rather as an inevitable nightmare. He, unlike Peiper, does not see the city as a living, creative and dynamic organism but as a destructive, self-centred mechanism, which corrupts the individual and deprives him of personal freedom⁴.

A similar vision can be found in *Shell* (1975) by Jerzy Kalina, a film which was created more than a decade later expressing an equivalent anxiety. Kalina uses different animation techniques but the message and the overall aesthetic impression remain the same. The viewer is confronted with a monstrous city-machine which swallows the main characters and forces them to act like robots; hundreds of ordinary clerks and factory workers engage in a precisely planned routine of everyday life. The characters seem soulless and indifferent; the only sign of their human instincts is a Freudian-like

⁴ The same conclusion may be derived from Mirosław Kijowicz's film *The Flag* (1965) that portrays a group of people who gather on the main square of an unidentified city to follow some rigid routine. All of them, except one, carry a blue flag and engage in the march at a certain hour of the day. The absence of the obligatory prop causes confusion and fear but the situation is saved when the missing blue flag appears again in the hands of the straggler.

vision of a giant woman. Subconscious eroticism and the herd instinct merge when the human traffic directs itself towards the sea to witness the appearance of a giant shell. The metaphor is not clear here but we may suspect that it aims at portraying another great force influencing society, religion. Religious rituals can be at the same time comforting (the aspect of being part of the community) and repressing (loss of individuality and sexual repression). The city in *Shell* gives no chance for survival other than obedience to authority.

Shell is a step further in Kalina's pessimistic view of Western civilization. It supplements the message of his previous film *In the Grass* (1974) which portrayed the beauty of nature being endangered by the development of technology. *In the Grass* is a perfect example of the physiological human fear of 'the new' analyzed by Peiper. The film is built upon the opposition of nature versus technology, represented also by the opposition of beauty and harmony versus ugliness and chaos. The rural environment is presented as utopian and the approaching industrialization resembles a wartime air raid. The same message but in a more naive form, is implied in a decade earlier film *City* (1963) by Mirosław Kijowicz. The main character of the *City*, in pursuit of egoistic comfort, initiates the building of a huge urban complex and brings about the destruction of the natural environment. In the conclusion of the film, the main character returns to nature, but eventually again destroys it.

Modern urban environment which was so fresh and inspiring for Peiper, seems to be rather oppressive and unaesthetic for the authors of Polish animated films. They pay no attention to its utilitarian character, following the needs of the rapidly growing city population. On the contrary, they portray it as a giant prison (*Shell*), a labyrinth full of traps (*Labyrinth*) or an overcrowded space deprived of privacy. This last quality we find especially in the films of Hieronim Neumann and Zbigniew Rybczyński. In *The Event* (1987) by Neumann, we see a village which undergoes a sudden change, as a huge embankment begins to divide space, ruining the streets and houses. It soon appears to be just the beginning of a cataclysm. Small detached houses are damaged and a district of tower blocks arises in their place, and the village population is forced to move into small apartments. In a desperate attempt to survive, they take their old furniture and belongings to the new building. In their naivety, they believe that they will be able to preserve their former lifestyle and old habits. This idea is continued throughout another of Neumann's film, *Block of Flats* (1987), which portrays the life of the inhabitants of a modern tower block in which all the flats are alike and resemble matchboxes. Every

action of an individual is somehow connected with the functioning of the whole unit, and both ordinary and unexpected events take place at the same time. All of these events, the happy ones and the tragic ones are equally insignificant – life goes on anyway⁵.

The passage of time and the insignificance of individual rebellion is the theme of another Polish animated short – *Soup* (1974) by Zbigniew Rybczyński. In *Soup*, we observe the protagonist who is almost swallowed by the building he lives in, and similarly, he is threatened by life and conformism. Cracks begin to appear on the perfect image of his life achievements list – the flat falls apart, he has moments of hesitation and sudden reflection, but in the end, everything appears to be a storm in a teapot and life goes on. The main character, a newly wedded artist, struggles hard not to surrender to routine but the prosaic obligations seem to be winning.

Rybczyński's Oscar-winning animation *Tango* (1980) presents a similar but stronger vision. The artist portrays here a closed space full of people engaged in different daily activities. The characters pass all over again through one and the same room. People of different sexes, ages and occupations: children, lovers, middle-aged men, old ladies... They all inhabit the same space independently of each other as if they lived at the same time but in different dimensions. Some critics interpret the film as the portrait of life stagnation and boredom caused by the repetitiveness of everyday actions. We may also read it as a tale of solitude or a desperate call for intimacy in an overcrowded urban space.

The Courtyard (1983) by Longin Szmyd is another emblematic example of this tendency in which we observe an ugly, partly devastated tenement full of shadows of its former inhabitants. The visual dimension builds itself on black and white shots of the building, appearing and disappearing human faces, old photographs and broken items. Szmyd creates a strange, somewhat surreal vision where people are just shadowy passers-by in a lonely city that falls apart.

The author of this paper repeatedly notes that the vast majority of Polish animated films of post-war decades attempt to narrate the stories of the cities in a similar way. They are composed of disturbing images and grotesque events and refer to the aesthetics of horror. The characters in those films seem to be living in constant tension and fear of being deprived of individuality and cut off from nature. At the same time they are chased by the dangers of the outside world and their own nightmares. In the

⁵ The above-mentioned circumstances also inspired Mirosław Kijowicz's *Manhattan* (1975) where a man escapes from a modern city full of identical tower blocks in order to rest in the presence of nature.

emblematic example of *The Sound of the Forest* by Zdzisław Kudła, the main character, a regular factory worker, tries to escape from the forest full of scary creatures which appear to be coming from his own imagination. The poor man is exhausted by his daily routine and depressed about the job he is appointed to do which is canning portions of “forest sounds” for sale. The viewer is able to fully understand his situation while watching the last scene of the film where the forest appears to be just a small preservation surrounded by an industrialized desert.

A slightly more optimistic vision, but still disapproving of the development of urban environments is portrayed in *The Heritage Park* (1978) by Witold Giersz where a traditional cottage house resists destruction, and forces the construction companies to fall back. The withdrawal is just partial because soon the land is turned into a district of concrete houses, and the cottage is turned into a reservation. The humorous meaning of the film is overshadowed by the general conclusion that industrialization will win over nature anyways, if not directly then through a subterfuge.

When we look at the aforementioned examples we may conclude that Polish animated film in general was hardly susceptible to being utopian. The animators who were given all possibilities to create their own cinematic realities, in most cases decided to create them as a highly pessimistic dystopia, therefore I argue that no alternative for the city-oriented anxiety and reluctance was ever presented.

The view of the city in Polish animation was determined by an oppressive communist system and a repulsive socialist realist architecture where the city meant not a common force and a potential for change, but an oppressive conglomerate of people forced to move from their villages to the city in search of work and survival, who had to share limited space in sad, dirty districts of blocks of flats. In such conditions Polish animators did not offer any alternative, being committed to philosophical criticism and social pessimism. Modernization was perceived by them as an oppression and a potential threat to nature and rural life.

In the perspective of the last three decades of the Polish democratic state, we have not had any significant works of animation that praise the city and show a more Peiper-like attitude towards urbanization. An optimistic attitude is still missing in animated films; most of them focus on portraying a lonely, exhausted individuals who cannot stand up for their rights and lacks personal and social security. For instance Marek Skrobecki's *Danny Boy* (2010) presents an oppressive city that destructs the individual who does not fully fit into the social structure.

It is regrettable that today's young animators tend to focus on post-communist attitudes rather than a contemporary image of the city. We are confronted with dirty, dark alleys (*And Łódź Stays Anyway! A Łódź i tak zostanie*, 2014, dir. Marcin Podolec), depressing housing units and districts of oppressive blocks of flats (*To Thy Heart! Do serca Twego*, 2013, dir. Ewa Borysewicz; *The City Sails On! Miasto płynie*, dir. Balbina Bruszevska, 2009). For example, *The City Sails On* by Bruszevska is a bitter meditation on life in Poland. The young and old characters talk about emotions and everyday situations, from love, through school uniforms, prime minister's duties, fastening seat belts to religion and power. The film consists of single statements, conversations, musical pieces and reportage. It focuses on sensitive social problems such as unemployment, poverty and crime. The silent character of the film is the city of Łódź and its post-communist landscape. *And Łódź Stays Anyway* by Marcin Podolec is another animated portrait of this city. Two men take a walk down the streets of some lesser known locations and alleys that reveal the true flavour of the city. In this journey, the past is preserved by old neon signs, closed local bars and a forgotten amusement park. The places are portrayed in black and white to evoke the specific kind of nostalgia that was so unbearable for Peiper.

Other themes which appeared in the films of Lenica, Kalina or Rybczyński have also been adopted by young animators. They have been translated into a new visual language but they still resonate with the same pessimism and exhaustion with city life. *Mantis* (2002, dir. Grzegorz Jonkajtys), *Moloch* (2006, dir. Marcin Pazera) and *Dull Life* (2013, dir. Wiktor Bartman, Marcin Michalak) are examples of a dystopian social fiction which leaves us with no hope for the future. All the characters presented in the aforementioned films are bound to lose in the unfair battle with the city-machine. Even though they struggle and temporarily win, they all eventually share the fate of Lenica's Tête. Rybczyński's and Neumann's visions can be traced in such new films as *Noise* (2011) by Przemysław Adamski and Katarzyna Kijek or *Monodram* (2006) by Adamski. The artists portray personal space interrupted by the actions of other people and the constant presence of communication media. An interesting example of the city-inspired storyline is *To Thy Heart* by Ewa Borysewicz. It is an unusual love story which takes place in some unidentified district of tower blocks. The plot is based on a very careful and humorous observation of the rituals of the working class. At first glance, the film might seem like a comedy, but after a while, it appears to be more bitter than sweet. Borysewicz reveals such characteristics of Polish society as greediness, jealousy, religious hypocrisy and falsehood. True and honest love is impossible in such an environment and therefore it is transformed into a grotesque.

In conclusion, I would like to share my hope that in the next few years we will eventually have a chance to observe a different animated image of the city in contemporary Polish animated film. The urban environment is the new global ecosystem, and it will never change back into the rural one as the process of urbanization has proceeded rapidly over the past decades and it will not stop. We need to come to terms with the aesthetics of the city in order to accept the present-day situation since the contemporary individual has no alternative but to live in a more or less urbanized area. Most of us will not spend their lives in a cosy cottage, and art should respond to this situation in a more balanced way so that the fate of modern day man will not be perceived as completely miserable.

Anna Ida Orosz

Collages from the Underground¹

How Documentary Methods Emerged in Hungarian Animation during the 1960s

In animated film, normally not a medium of first choice when it comes to the depiction of reality², the incentive for dealing with social subject matters first occurred in Hungarian animated films during the 1960s, a period when modernist design became prevalent in Hungarian animation. Using photographic cut-out imagery and narratives based on the director's autobiography, subjective-poetic documentary methods gained a foothold in the early films of György Kovásznai (1934-1983) and Sándor Reisenbüchler (1935-2004). Their avant-garde approach in animation filmmaking opened the field for controversial subject matters with sociopolitical overtones and also prepared the ground for 'pure' animated documentaries, such as György Kovásznai's 'anima vérité', which were created after a sociological turn in Hungarian cinema at the very end of the 1960s. This paper attempts to place these precursors of documentary animation within the trends of Hungarian cinema history and also to give an overview of the contemporaneous reception of the films by the public, press and official cultural establishment.

In the constraints of centralized cultural policy

After World War II, in each of the Eastern Bloc countries, the state became the sole patron of culture, and busy animation studios were maintained mainly for children's films, public-service and educational productions. Following Stalin's death in 1953, the era of the severely centralized Stalinist system of the early 1950s³ was replaced by a period

¹ With the same title ("Collagen aus dem Untergrund") a two-set selection of Hungarian animated documentaries was included in the programme at the 58th International Leipzig Festival for Documentary and Animated Film in 2015, curated by the present author.

² On the theoretical issues raised by the hybrid form of animated documentaries see Annabelle Honess Roe, *Animated Documentary*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013.

³ During Stalinism in Hungary, topics related to criticizing the dictatorship were strongly restricted. Basically, the Communist regime expected artists to show the system in a positive way, forcing the doctrine of so-called "Socialist Realism", Zoltán Varga, "Look Behind the (Animated) Pictures. Notes on

of de-Stalinisation in the Soviet satellite states, *which relaxed the political pressure to some extent, and this also changed Eastern European animation, which became more varied in terms of subject matter and scope of technical devices*⁴. In the Hungarian People's Republic, political liberation regressed during the years of retribution for the failed revolution against the Soviet occupation in October 1956⁵, and it was only roughly from the first

the Role of the Aesopic Language in Hungarian Animated Film”, *Acta Univ. Sapientiae, Film and Media Studies* 10 (2015), pp. 121-139, see p. 127. As a matter of fact, even fairy tales were under strict political control. The 1952 film script of *A Tale of Tihany* (*Tihanyi rege*) by Miklós Mészöly, one of the most prominent Hungarian prose writers of the twentieth century, was based on “The Echo of Tihany”, a nineteenth-century ballad written by the poet János Garay. Although Gyula Macskássy's staff had already made visual designs and model sheets, the story did not meet the strict censorial requirements of the era. The unsigned censorial review of the script was addressed to a certain “comrade Deák” (most certainly to György Deák, the then current managing director of the Hungarian Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio, HDF). The political reviewer searched for a moral message, and the social commitment of the story in vain, and he therefore found the film plan (politically) useless, hence the film could not be authorized: *Does this fairy tale have any ideological or moral content? No. Does it teach any lessons, does it contain any messages? No. Then what does this »tale« have to offer? A mysterious, idealistic explanation of a phenomenon, a physical fact, as simple and natural as the echo in Tihany* (from the Hungarian National Film Archive's collection “Legacy of Gyula Macskássy”). The same year the production of *Sport Contest in the Forest* (*Erdei sportverseny*, dir. Gyula Macskássy), a hackneyed tale based on a familiar model that was intended to promote the “Ready for Work and Battle!” movement got the green light.

⁴ Ülo Pikkov, “On the Links between Caricatures and Animated Films in Communist Eastern Europe”, *Baltic Screen Media Review* 5 (2017), pp. 29-41, p. 32.

⁵ Stalinism in Hungary (1949-1956) came into being under the leadership of Mátyás Rákosi, the General Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party (Magyar Munkáspárt). He acquired absolute power (police terrors, forced industrialization and violent collectivization of agriculture) and led a very strong personality cult. Rákosi often described himself as “the most excellent pupil of Stalin in Hungary”. In accordance with the Khrushchev's ‘Thaw’, Soviet officials reduced the power of Stalinist Mátyás Rákosi. A period of ‘de-Stalinisation’ was launched by prime minister Imre Nagy (1953-1955), a former interior minister, who eventually became repelled by Rákosi's disregard for civil liberties. Although Nagy served as prime minister only for two years before Rákosi regained power within the Party and forced him out, he gained popularity among people with his liberal political actions, which aimed at correcting the harm caused by Stalinism. The 1956 uprising began on 23 October with a peaceful demonstration of university students who mobilized in support of Polish workers' protests and from the new government, they demanded a free press, the withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops, a multiparty political system, and the return of the reformed communist Imre Nagy as prime minister. The student demonstrators' march was joined by as many as 100,000 civilians (including a great number of workers and young people). When the mob pulled down a huge bronze statue of Stalin in Budapest, the protest turned into an armed rebellion against dictatorship. It lasted until 4 November, when Soviet military forces were sent from Moscow and put down the revolution. Many thousand Hungarian soldiers and civilians lost their lives during the combats, ca. 200,000 citizens fled the country to the West by the end of 1956. In the subsequent three years, thousands of revolutionaries were held captive in prisons and roughly 200-300 of them were even executed, including prime minister Imre Nagy.

half of the 1960s that the state tolerated significantly more free expression. Although creative freedom was never granted completely during the Kádár Era (1956-1989)⁶, György Aczél, the cultural potentate of the governing Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, introduced an ideologically pragmatic method of cultural policy, which was termed 'the Three T's principle' (or in English, 'the Three P's'), and categorized arts and artists as those 'promoted' ('támogatott'), those 'permitted' ('tűrt') and those 'prohibited' ('tiltott'). The result of György Aczél's cultural policy was the formation of the so-called 'second public sphere' in the world of culture, which *provided a place for artists and arts who or which were banned or tolerated, but by no means supported*⁷.

Yet, in comparison to literature, theatre and live-action feature films, animation directors enjoyed a greater degree of freedom under the softening dictatorship, since animated film was seen as a less serious art form primarily meant for children. Being inspired by the striking visual and thematic-narrative turn of modernist animation in the 1950s (especially in the films of the 'Zagreb School'), the outlook of Hungarian animation also went through essential changes in the early 1960s. Intellectual caricature films proliferated throughout the decade. According to Paul Wells, *the caricature-like, comedic form of expression functioned like a 'permissive filter' that foregrounds the 'joke', presenting works of these kind as 'something that should not be taken overly seriously' and concealing their status as acts of 'orthodox authored art-making*⁸.

In the first half of the 1960s, if a completed film did not meet strict guidelines that guaranteed that communist ideals were upheld, it got only a limited exposure (or was completely banned from public presentation) due to the alleged ideological danger. Nevertheless, in due course, even critical voices were craftily channelled by those in power. On one hand they permitted creative freedom for the artist within certain limits, while on the other hand, animation film became a "prestige genre" for the state

⁶ The Kádár Era was named after the General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, János Kádár, who took over the Hungarian government with the support of the Soviet leadership after the Soviet Army crushed the Hungarian Revolution on November 4, 1956.

⁷ Gábor Gelencsér, "Continuing the Deviating Tradition of Hungarian Experimental Film Art. András Jele's Joseph and His Brothers. Scenes from a Peasant Bible", *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media* 9 (Summer 2015). Retrieved from <http://www.alphavillejournal.com/Issue9/HTML/ArticleGelencser.html> (access: 30.04.2018.).

⁸ Paul Wells, "Laughter Is Ten Times More Powerful Than a Scream: The Case of Animated Comedy" [in:] eds. Andrew Horton, Joanna E. Rapf, *A Companion to Film Comedy*, John Wiley & Sons, Malden, Oxford, pp. 497-520, cit. per: Űlo Pikkov, op. cit., p. 32.

apparatus, as Silver Bear-winner Csaba Varga noted⁹. The films were used to prove the existence of artistic freedom in the communist regime as represented in international festivals of the democratic West, while often these films were not accessible to the wider public in their home countries. As director Sándor Reisenbüchler, whose film *The Year of 1812* (*Az 1812-es év*, 1972) was awarded in Cannes, noted *[o]ne of the paradoxes of the Communist regime was that during the soft dictatorship, with a clever twist, Aczél used criticism as a form of praising the system, thus the West could see that the Communists permit critical voices as well*¹⁰. Director Péter Szoboszlay, whose short films were regularly screened at international festivals on the Western side of the Iron Curtain, such as Annecy or Oberhausen, compared the situation of an animation filmmaker in such a controversial system of film production to be animals put on display: *It was as if we were gold fish in an aquarium. The viewers watched us from outside. Someone would sprinkle in food, provide oxygen. We made a magnificent spectacle for them, everyone in his own colours. If they needed something else, they'd put in another kind, or put someone out to pasture for a rest*¹¹.

In the constraints of this 'soft-dictatorial' political system, *artworks created in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were often filled with subtexts, and the audience actively engaged in both creating these subtexts and looking for what had been written 'between the lines'*¹². Animated filmmakers also developed a way of addressing the complex social and political problems of the real world in an indirect manner in their individual short films, hence the genre of social and political allegory became increasingly common. As Andreas Trossek noted, *[a]llegory became a certain form of 'straightforwardness' and its decoding by the public became the dominant means of comprehension*¹³. In the context of Eastern Bloc films, scholars often refer to the use of Aesopic¹⁴ or Aesopian¹⁵ language when discussing the elusive communicational strategies and ambiguous references employed in the films. The polysemic qualities of animation is also made possible by its strong symbolism and

⁹ In a documentary film *Pannonia Anno. Chapters from the History of a Film Studio/ Pannonia Anno. Fejezetek egy filmstúdió történetéből*, 2012, dir. Péter Szalay.

¹⁰ Cit. per: Zoltán Varga, op. cit., p. 128.

¹¹ In *Pannonia Anno...*, op. cit.

¹² Ülo Pikkov, op. cit., p. 33.

¹³ Cit. per: Ibid.

¹⁴ Zoltán Varga borrows the term from Marek Hendrykowski, see Zoltán Varga, op. cit., p. 127.

¹⁵ Ülo Pikkov borrows the term from Olga Klimova, who cites Robert Justin Goldstein, see Ülo Pikkov, op. cit., p. 33.

metaphoric qualities, or, as Paul Wells puts it, the ability *to reveal intrinsic truths through the machinations of animation used as a subjective tool*¹⁶. The best-known example of this in the history of animated film is Jiří Trnka's *The Hand (Ruka, 1965, Czechoslovakia)*, which is widely read as a parable about the mechanisms of oppression. Thanks to being open to various interpretations, communist censors took it as a protest against foreign (Nazi or Western) enemies of socialism, while at international film festivals it was championed as an allegory about the totalitarian Soviet control over the arts.

In Hungarian animated films, parabolism with political overtones and social-critical implications was characteristic of the films of Péter Szoboszlay. Films like *Salty Slops (Sós lötyty, 1969)*; *Order in the House (Rend a házban, 1970)*; *Dance School (Össztánc, 1972)*, *Hey, You! (Hé, te!, 1976)* and *Story about N (Történet N-ről, 1978)*, which balanced on the verge of being prohibited or permitted, can be regarded as socio-psychological studies on the distorting effects of soft dictatorship on people's mental state. The Hungarian critic Ferenc Dániel observed about Péter Szoboszlay's films that *their visualization is untraditional, yet they are not caricatures; they represent in a dense and transformed manner, and make no judgements superficially; their graphics refer to a meta-reality, which is sharper and more distorted than actual reality, which they depict, yet they are not removed from it through abstraction*¹⁷.

Historical coming-of-age memoirs

Following the Communists' takeover in 1947, Hungarian animation in the first half of the 1950s was dominated by stories that were classical adaptations of popular folk tales, imitating the realistic style of Soviet animated films and the live-action film effects of the Disney production. This radical renewal of animation both in style and themes came along with the relaxation and consolidation of political customs in the late 1950s. The modernist visual design of the this new wave of animations, first appearing in animated commercials, was in accordance to the then contemporary trends in pictorial arts, such as cubism, surrealism and abstract expressionism. The genre of classical fairy tales and fables was replaced with socially critical satires. International recognition was gained by *Pencil and Rubber (A ceruza és a radír, 1960)* and *Duel (Párbaj, 1961)*, both films

¹⁶ Paul Wells, *Understanding Animation*, Routledge, London 1998, p. 28.

¹⁷ Dániel Ferenc, "A jelenlét animációja" ["The Animation of Presence"], *Filmkultúra [Film Culture]* 5 (1984), pp. 97-112, see p. 97.

directed by Gyula Macskássy and György Várnai¹⁸, which were described as *pleasantly naïvely humanistic*¹⁹ by critic István Antal. Gag-oriented ‘film epigrams’ created by the next generation, in the wake of the work of Macskássy and Várnai, were biting comic social satires specifically intended for adults. The era was dominated by loosely drawn intellectual caricature films by such young personalities as Attila Dargay, József Nepp, Ottó Foky, Marcell Jankovics, József Gémes, Tamás Szabó Sipos and Béla Vajda. The best known cartoon character was Gustavus, the protagonist of the most successful movie house series of the 1960s, who had his debut in two short films by József Nepp: *Passion* (*Szenvedély*, 1961) and *From Tomorrow On* (*Holnaptól kezdve*, 1963). The clumsy, selfish small-timer protagonist is the Eastern European version of Monsieur Hulot and Mr. Bean.

These public-oriented, satirical cartoons enjoyed the support of cultural policy. György H. Matolcsy, who served as a managing director of Pannonia Film Studios since 1959, recalled that the advantage of animated films was that they were not taken seriously by the authorities. According to Matolcsy’s anecdote, a minister who was invited to the non-public screening of the very first Hungarian animated TV-series *Let Me Explain the Mechanism* (*Magyarázom a mechanizmust*, 1968) by Tamás Szabó Sipos, which commented on the 1968 socialist economic reforms, made the remark: *If this wasn’t animation, you’d be banned*²⁰. The title of the theatrical set of the animated short films produced each year, which was screened in cinemas on an annual basis from 1967, also highlighted the entertainment value of animation: *Have Fun, Adults!* (*Jó mulatást, felnőttek!*).

Along with such ‘fun-oriented’ animations, avant-garde works, such as György Kovásznai’s and Sándor Reisenbüchler’s short films were also realized, partly under the framework of Pannonia Film Studios. Kovásznai’s *Monologue* (*A monológ*, 1963)

¹⁸ *Pencil and Rubber* was given the category prize at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival in 1961, while *Duel* received a Special Mention at the 1961 Cannes Film Festival. However, the author of the prestigious *Filmvilág* [*Film World*] journal was not at all impressed by the new trend of animated short films: *Before the subject matter of a film, the directors should first decide on the target audience. (...) Films made at Pannonia Film Studio are meant for children and not for adults. (...) Pannonia factory creates two cartoons in a year. It seems that the artists try to squeeze everything into these two films, to involve at least twenty aspects within these two pieces. It should be meant for children as well as for grown-ups, it should be topical but with a universal message, be very cartoonish etc. It is obvious that their purpose cannot be achieved.* Zsuzsa Pongrácz, “Amíg a rajzból film lesz” [“Until Drawings Turn into Film”], *Filmvilág* [*Film World*] 21 (1959), p. 25.

¹⁹ István Antal, “Fiatalok műterme” [“The Workshop of Young People”], *Filmkultúra* [*Film Culture*] 3 (1978), p. 83.

²⁰ In *Pannonia Anno*, op. cit.

and Reisenbüchler's *A Portrait from Our Century* (*Egy portré századunkból*, 1965) attracted attention due to their unconventionally serious subject matter and radically new visual design and animation style. Their films were taken seriously also by those in power, and their public exposure was heavily controlled and even banned – which was not usual in the case of animated films. Due to their personal tones and the use of cut-out imagery using photographic documents, the desire to hybridize animation with documentary is evident in *Monologue* and *A Portrait from Our Century*. The two films can be seen as deviations from the conventional form of animated film as well as from the mainstream genres of animation, such as fairy tale animations or gag-oriented caricaturistic cartoons.

Kovácsnai's and Reisenbüchler's first animated films appeared at the same time as the début films of the 1960s up-and-coming generation of Hungarian live-action cinema. These were almost exclusively coming-of-age stories based on autobiographical elements and references to recent historical events, such as the Sovietisation of Hungary after the World War II and the 1956 Hungarian revolution²¹.

Written by Kovácsnai, and seen from the point of view of a young woman, *Monologue* is a memoir-like, subjective and satirical overview of Hungarian history in the twentieth century. From the perspective of the young generation growing up after the end of World War II, the film gives a tableau of the lives of the grandparents and parents who lived around the turn of the century and in the interwar period, and were witnesses and even participants of the two world wars. Everyday life and the history of the recent past are depicted in fine art quality collage compositions.

György Kovácsnai had studied painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest in the 1950s. He was soon expelled because of his rejection of the autocratic, political surveillance of the party-state, which made socialist realism an obligatory style to be followed by all artists. From there he went on to join an artists' colony of other isolated figures, most notably Dezső Korniss, a distinctive member of the so-called European School, the post-war Hungarian avant-garde movement of the late 1940s. Kovácsnai joined Hungary's only state-run animation production base, Pannonia Film Studios,

²¹ Among such Hungarian live-action feature films one should mention Miklós Jancsó's *My Way Home* (*Így jöttem*, 1965), István Szabó's partly autobiographical trilogy: *The Age of Illusions* (*Álmodozások kora*, 1964), *Father* (*Apa*, 1966), *Lovefilm* (*Szerelmesfilm*, 1970); István Gaál's *Current* (*Sodrásban*, 1964); Ferenc Kósa's *Ten Thousand Days* (*Tízezer nap*, 1967) and Sándor Sára's *The Uproven Stone* (*Feldobott kő*, 1969). This genre proved to be so specific of the 1960s new cinema, that it even was termed as "my way home" movies ("így jöttem") by critics, in reference to Miklós Jancsó's paradigmatic film.

as a scriptwriter in 1961. As political control slowly became less restrictive, Kovásznai was given a free hand in creating individual short films in collaboration with Korniss, who was twenty-six years his senior. Between 1963 and 1968, the two of them made eight experimental cut-out animations together, which resembled avant-garde documentaries, that [*emphasize*] *visual associations, tonal or rhythmic qualities, descriptive passages, and formal organization*²² according to Bill Nichols's description of the poetic mode of documentaries. As the Hungarian film historian Tibor Hirsch pointed out, *film sequences or photographs depicting 'live action' reality are the documentary elements of animation, hence cut-out collages can be seen the primary tool to achieve a documentary touch in animated films*²³. This description first and foremost referred to the documentaristic visuality of Sándor Reisenbüchler's *A Portrait...* and the collage-films he made in the 1970s (*The Age of the Barbarians/ Barbárok ideje*, 1970; *The Year of 1812*, 1972; *Moon-flight/ Holdmese*, 1975; *Panic/ Pánik*, 1978). A review of Kovásznai's début film mentions the physical and poetic effect of the cut-out technique: *these flickering images of memories and visions coming from the depths of the subconscious are given a tangible – or even controllable – reality effect due to the use of the collage technique, the cut-outs of old newspapers, magazines, advertisements can authentically evoke the past*²⁴. In the epilogue of *Monologue*, the animated sequence cuts to live-action and the female narrator of the film gives an account of the present time and her own ambitions face-to-face with the movie camera.

The ideological opposition of the generation of this young woman in her twenties to the recent past is emphasized by the contrasting imagery used in the film: the playful, fragmented cut-out animation of the past cuts to the theatrical, live-action portrayal of the woman in front of a totally black background. The poetic nature of the images, the subjective and ironic tone of the film, and the protagonist's ideological ambitions make Kovásznai's film a close relative of the politically and socially active feature and documentary films of the 1960s, in which the faith in their ability to reshape reality was a common trope. As film critic László B. Nagy wrote: *Documentary films can only exist in open and dynamic situations, in times of strengthening social activism and*

²² Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 2001, p. 33.

²³ Tibor Hirsch, "Tényfilm és animáció" ["Film of Facts and Animation"], *Pannonia Híradó* [*Pannonia News*], p. 27.

²⁴ Tamás Ungvári, "Kovásznai Gábor György: A monológ" ["Gábor György Kovásznai: Monologue"], *Filmvilág* [*Film World*] 11 (1964), p. 25.

*progressive tendencies... At the core of documentaries is revolution; without the presence or emergence of a revolutionary concept, it is not possible for them to exist. Only those are concerned with the 'discovery of reality' who themselves want to reshape reality*²⁵.

The controversial influence of the 'Eastern Bloc angry young men' in *Monologue* was received favourably by critics, yet not by the censors. It was screened very fittingly as the featurette accompanying *Look Back in Anger* (1959, dir. Tony Richardson, Great Britain) in cinemas in Budapest. Despite (or perhaps due to) its popularity among the Budapest moviegoers, after one week, its screening was no longer permitted, either in cinemas, or at international film festivals²⁶. The authorities might have been scared of the resurrection of the revolutionary spirit a few years after the events of 1956, or they noted the Stalin-parody hidden behind one of the most remarkable scenes of the film, 'the apotheosis of the moustache'²⁷. However, this must have been the only hint of the Stalinist period of Hungarian history in the film, as the female narrator's recollections about history finish with World War II, hence no direct references are made to the events of the recent past, including the 1956 uprising, which was considered to be taboo in public discourse until the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989.

Sándor Reisenbüchler completed his studies as a documentary filmmaker in the class of János Herskó, a director and legendary tutor at the Film Academy in Budapest. Reisenbüchler debuted as an animation director with *A Portrait from our Century* (1965), in which the controversial political climate of the era is thematised, however, censors were thorough and did not permit public screenings of the film²⁸. This short animation was made as a graduation film from the Hungarian Film Academy and was produced within the framework of the Budapest-based Béla Balázs Studio (BBS). BBS was founded in 1959 as a debate club, and then became a workshop, where the first short films of newly

²⁵ Cit. per: Lóránt Stöhr, "Elégiák. A hatvanas évek dokumentarizmusa" ["Elegies. The Documentarism of the 1960s"], [in:] ed. Gábor Gelencsér, *BBS 50. A Balázs Béla Stúdió 50 éve [BBS 50. The 50 Years of the Béla Balázs Studio]*, Múcsarnok – Balázs Béla Stúdió Budapest, Budapest 2009, p. 80.

²⁶ Brigitta Iványi-Bitter, *Kovásznai*, Kovásznai Research Foundation, Budapest 2016, p. 66.

²⁷ While we see the gigantic head of a man with an animated moustache, the voice-over says the following: *My memories hold the moustache that could have had the scent of cigar, cigarette, or brilliantine, the moustache that was triumphant at all times, over everything, the moustache, for which the world was open, because it was the moustache, and solely the moustache, that demanded respect everywhere, at any time, and the moustache, solely the moustache, came, saw, and conquered. The big moustache made women happy, they simply could not resist the moustache...*

²⁸ *Egy portré századunkból*, document no. 07226/1965, July 12, 1965, Hungarian National Film Archive, dossier no. RB 334.

graduated filmmakers at the beginning of their careers were made in the 1960s. BBS was categorized as a ‘tolerated’ institution in the framework of the then cultural policy: due to *the exceptional autonomy and democratic self-governing character of the studio, as well as the lack of obligation to present the work produced to the larger public, BBS soon became an institution of the ‘second public sphere’ or ‘transitional twilight zone’, where artists who were banned or tolerated, but by no means supported were offered space to work*²⁹.

In contrast to Kovásznai’s light, ironical tone, Reisenbüchler’s film is more sombre and dramatic (the differing tones will be characteristic of their later films, too). The dramatic tone of the film is enhanced by autobiographical references, which are depicted in the foreground of the traumatic and horrible events of the twentieth century: the young man featured in a series of photographic portraits is the director himself, there are references made to his lung operation, and on his relationship with an actress during his college years. While the references to the director’s personal life (most probably) only make sense to those familiar with his biography, the philosophical, subtly crafted voice-over of the film is more connotative and evocative. Censors must have been right to see hints of Hungary’s Stalinist political system of the early 1950s and of the uprising in 1956 in the following passage of his: *Sometime around 1950 Éluard’s poem came to my mind:*

*Brilliant night between the columns
Radiant night between golden lamps
Everything is allowed at night
Will I be the one who kills
or the one who is killed*³⁰

The rhetorical question of the French author’s gloomy poem can be easily related to the Stalin-inspired political purges in the period of 1948-1953, which started with the 1949 diabolic ‘show trial’ of László Rajk, at which the former Minister of Interior and Foreign Affairs was convicted on trumped-up charges and was executed. The dark-toned scene is reconciled by a rapid montage of foreign newspaper headlines juxtaposed with a triumphal musical score, which also contains sections of Beethoven’s “Egmont Overture”, the theme song of the 1956 Revolution. In this sequence the voice-over

²⁹ Gábor Gelencsér, “Continuing...”, op. cit.

³⁰ Paul Éluard, “La Poursuite”, [in:] Paul Éluard, *Poésie et vérité: 1942*, underground collection La Main à Plume 1942-1945. Original verses: *Nuit brillante entre les colonnes / Nuit rayonnante entre les lampes d’or / Tout est permis la nuit / Serai-je celui qui tue / Ou celui qui est tué*. Translated from French by Nik Phelps.

falls silent suggestively (there is voice-over throughout the whole film), and next to the music, the images also give a very direct reference to the revolution in October 1956, when the internal affairs of Hungary were extensively covered by the international press.

The epilogue – similar to Kovásznai’s film – features the protagonist in the present day. The narrator talks about “renewal”, “the dynamic waves of catharsis”, which together with the indirect hints to the events of the revolution, could refer to a belief in the recurrence of the revolution, and the underground protest movement “Let’s Begin Again in March.” (“Márciusban újrakezdjük!”, abbreviated as “MUK” in Hungarian), which started after the Hungarian independence movement was put down in November, 1956.

Present-day documentary allegories

Sándor Reisenbüchler continued to use cut-out collage technique in his later films. They are highly reminiscent of the tradition of early avant-garde cinema and fine art in terms of visual composition and seem to belong to the genre of poetic documentary. However, in terms of their narrative construction, his films deviated from documentary and towards fiction, and more closely fit into the Eastern European tradition of allegorical and parabolic animations. His second film, *The Kidnapping of the Sun and the Moon (A Nap és a Hold elrablása, 1968)* was based on the narrative poem of the contemporaneous poet Ferenc Juhász, and *Panic* was inspired by Karel Čapek’s 1936 satirical sci-fi novel, “War with the Newts” (“Vélka s mloky”). *The Year of 1812*, which was composed to the music of Piotr Ilich Tchaikovsky’s “1812”, itself a powerful vision of history, was inspired by Lev Tolstoy’s “War and Peace”. The story of the historical battle of Napoleon and Kutuzov turns into a universally approachable, grandiose depiction of an allegorical war between Western civilization (French Enlightenment) and Eastern Orthodox culture. The essayistic narrative style of his films made in the 1970s moved away from a subjective tone toward a more generalising point of view: they are powerful, proclamatory allegories about the apocalyptic world of consumerist society (*The Age of Barbarians*), the destruction of humanity’s cultural assets (*The Year of 1812*) or the clash between human civilization and nature (*Panic*).

In contrast to Reisenbüchler’s more universal approach, Kovásznai’s films continued to follow documentary methods to directly address social and political problems of his time. After the completion of his very first film, the urge to investigate concrete reality increased in György Kovásznai’s *oeuvre*, especially in the second half of the 1960s. As Paul Wells observes in relation to *Joy of Light (A fény öröme, 1965)*:

In this work, Kovásznai properly anticipates the preoccupations of ‘animated documentary’, both engaging with ‘real world’ activity and politics, and simultaneously, psychological and emotional experience. (...) animation itself becomes a rhetorical illusionism in the service of the subjective apprehension of material reality and the socio-cultural zeitgeist³¹. While the satirical tone³² as well as poetic approach³³ were prevalent throughout his films during the 1960s, he stressed his objections to being identified with a single approach or style: *Life is endlessly varied. How could one express it through a single genre or even in a single style or by a single method? (...) The impulses of life are diverse: dramatic, musical, painterly. (...) I do not wish to stick with a single school, style, approach or technique*³⁴. According to Kovásznai’s remarks, which can be read also as a brief *ars poetica*, the mundane, undramatic reality of common people became the main subject matter of his films, that were completed towards the end of the 1960s. In films like *Joy of Light*, *Diary* (*A napló*, 1966) and *From Dusk to Dawn* (*Reggeltől estig*, 1967), the poetic and satirical tone was accompanied by an increasing approach to documentaristic and sociological perspectives. The cultural life of the period can be best described as the ‘decade of reality’ according to sociologist Ferenc Hammer, in which the *in fact totally sensationless facts and processes of mundane life became the raw material*³⁵ (e.g. realist films, nouvelle vague, factual novel, cinema verité, direct cinema, pop art, found objects as concepts).

Besides *Monologue*, Kovásznai’s first film, his next films, including *Joy of Light* and *Diary* are also based on the director’s biography, and are partially coming-of-age stories; hence, the three films can be seen as a thematic trilogy. The director’s personal experiences are evoked in *Joy of Light*. In the 1950s, Kovásznai worked in the nationalised Hungarian mines and observed, wrote about and made drawings of life there. Depicting the workers’ life in a socialist mine factory, the film contains poetic, comic and documentaristic layers, and is given a hymnic framing with a quote from poet Attila József in the prelude, and a cathartic sequence at the end, in which the

³¹ Paul Wells, “Preface. ‘Perception in Terms of Movement’: Kovásznai – An Animated Soul” [in:] Brigitta Iványi-Bitter, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

³² *Young Man Playing the Guitar at the Old Masters’ Gallery* (*Gitáros fiú a Régi Képtárban*, 1964); *Mirror Image* (*Tükörképek*, 1964); *Tales from the World of Art* (*Mesék a művészet világából*, 1965); *Hamlet*, 1967.

³³ *Metamorphoses* (*Átváltozások*, 1964); *Ballad* (*Ballada*, 1968); *A Painter’s Diary* (*Egy festő naplója*, 1968).

³⁴ István Zsugán, “A pálya kezdetén. Vámos Judit és Kovásznai György” [“At the Beginning of a Career: Judit Vámos and György Kovásznai”], *Filmvilág* [*Film World*] 16 (August 15, 1965), p. 21.

³⁵ Ferenc Hammer, “A megismerés szerkezetei, stratégiái és poétikái” [“The Structures, Strategies and Poetics of Perception”], [in:] ed. Gábor Gelencsér, *BBS 50...*, op. cit., pp. 263-273.

miners return to the surface and rise above the horizon. The documentaristic approach of the film is established during the opening credits which consist of black and white still documentary photographs of the mine. In the meantime the film is a subjective reflection on reality, which in style spans from realism (painted photos and collage images) to caricatures (a recurring sequence shows a red mining figure chopping a wall underground, while a drill breaks him into pieces). *Joy of Light* is considered to be innovative in the genre of animated documentaries due to its use of documentary sound. The authentic on-location sound recordings, which contain both noises and (mostly incomprehensible) snippets of documentaristic dialogue, add to the authentic depiction of the mines. The film is an apt illustration of the controversial situation of the working class: *their job is life-threatening and nerve-racking, with all their energy being consumed by physical work, while they are considered to be the paragons of the socialist society, of the socialist human type*³⁶. The critical attitude of the film was noticed by the authorities, and their reaction shows that animated films could be taken seriously: according to the art historian Ottó Mezei, *wavering on the borderline between cinema and painting with an accent on locally anchored socialist realism, Joy of Light (1965) is an exemplary film of cinema vérité, a brand new type of animated film. (The theatrical distribution of this homage to the miners was of course very quickly suspended)*³⁷.

Following *Joy of Light*, this controversial socio-political, and innovative poetic documentary-animation about the working class in the countryside, Kovásznai returned to his own urban environment, which would become the subject matter of a great part of his *oeuvre*, as film critic István Antal noted: *all of Kovásznai's film deal with everyday life between Rákóczi Square and Dohány Street*³⁸. To make the personal, intimate connection between the artist and the world depicted even more evident, one of the protagonists of *Diary* is played by Kovásznai himself. The film is a *Jules et Jim*-like narrative about a love triangle occurring in a circle of young Hungarian urban intelligentsia, and their social life set in downtown Budapest venues. Being based on painted or otherwise manipulated

³⁶ Brigitta Iványi-Bitter, op. cit., p. 113.

³⁷ Ottó Mezei, "Történelmi határeset. Kovásznai György munkásságáról" ["Historical Borderline Case. About the Work of György Kovásznai"], *Kortárs* [*Our Contemporary*] 9 (1999). Retrieved from <http://epa.oszk.hu/00300/00381/00028/mezei.htm> (access: 30.06.2018).

³⁸ This territory is in the inner districts of Budapest, within the Grand Boulevard, and is often seen as a socio-geographic bubble. Cit. per: Olivér Horváth, "Gomba a krumpli-levesben. Kedvcsináló a pszichedelikus szociográfiához" ["Potato Soup with Mushroom. A Taste of Psychedelic Sociography"], *Prae* (October 27, 2007). Retrieved from http://www.prae.hu/prae/articles_ny.php?aid=815 (access: 30.06.2018).

black and white photographs, the film is described by Ottó Mezei as *a visual sociological experiment*³⁹. Two reviews in major periodicals written after the premiere of the film illustrate how an animated documentary can offer concrete yet universal depictions of certain situations. The critic of “Life and Literature” (“Élet és Irodalom”) praised the evergreen subject matter of the film: *The particular photos represent today’s young generation, while they also evoke the ethereal phenomenon of youth*⁴⁰. Another critic pointed out the social topicality of the film: *György Kovásznai’s Diary is astounding at first glance, yet – containing portrait photos which come to life in front of painterly backgrounds – the film creates incomparably engaging and impressive contrasts on the screen and depicts today’s youth better than any editorial could ever do*⁴¹. While the distribution of both *Monologue* and *Joy of Light*, which dealt with social, historical and political issues, was restricted by authorities, *Diary*, due to its politically neutral subject matter, was accepted into the short film competition at the Cannes Film Festival in 1966.

In contrast to the success of *Diary*, Kovásznai’s next film, *From Dusk to Dawn – Something Different* (*Reggeltől estig – Valami más*, 1967) had few public screenings and never found an audience⁴². The film skips direct autobiographical references and is a close thematic precursor of Kovásznai’s so-called ‘anima vérité’ films of the 1970s. Again visually based on still photographs and photo collages, the fictional frame of the film is deconstructed through documentaristic means. This satirical apotheosis of a single working mother depicts the drab situation of her everyday life. Brigitta Iványi-Bitter’s remark about Kovásznai’s later films describes the concept behind *From Dusk to Dawn*, too: *Kovácsznai turned his attention to micro-histories, to local characteristics of 1970s’ Hungary, to record everyday people and situations – ‘found subjects’, as it were – that are unrepeatable and yet typical. In today’s terminology it may be defined as an anthropologically oriented approach*⁴³.

The audio-visual fabric of *From Dusk to Dawn* merges fiction, which is by nature written and constructed, and non-fiction, which is by nature documentaristic and spontaneous. The heterodiegetic narrator of the film is a writer who appears during the opening credits. His appearance and the prologue set the fictional frame of the

³⁹ Ottó Mezei, “Történelmi határeset...”, op. cit.

⁴⁰ István Gáll, “Jó mulatást, felnőttek!” [“Have Fun, Adults!”], *Élet és Irodalom* [*Life and Literature*] (February 25, 1967), p. 8.

⁴¹ Anon., *Nők Lapja* [*Women’s Magazine*] (February 25, 1967), n. pag.

⁴² Brigitta Iványi-Bitter, op. cit. p. 78.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

otherwise documentary-like film. As he relates the woman's story, he also reflects on its constructedness by interaction with and being annoyed by the inserted credits. The narrator's words are accompanied by a musical collage, a technique often used in Kovásznai's later films, too (e.g. *Wavelengths/ Hullámbosszok*, 1970). The soundtrack of these films is composed of radically different types of music, in which pop hits of the era, underground and classical music as well as radio announcements are nivellated as they are heard as if someone was tuning the radio. At the climax of the story the documentary photos depicting the woman at home and at work, are radically manipulated and turn into expressive cut-outs and photo collages by painter Dezső Korniss.

A full turn towards documentaries

As a result of an emerging documentary trend in filmmaking in general, the relationship of reality and fiction in Hungarian cinema gained importance both from a formalist point of view and from the aspect of the subject matter of the films. In 1969, an up-and-coming generation of Hungarian filmmakers issued the "Sociological Proclamation" ("Szociológiai filmsoportot!"⁴⁴), under the auspices of the Béla Balázs Film Studio. It indicated a new orientation toward a documentary style in filmmaking and an urge to represent social processes in a direct manner. In the making of the documentaries and feature films, the use of matter-of-fact approaches, such as cinema vérité and cinema direct methods became prevalent. According to film historian Gábor Gelencsér, the so-called 'documentary turn' in the history of Hungarian cinema *was, on the one hand, the result of the incentive for the direct depiction of social processes (in contrast to the subjective-poetic and analytic-parabolic attitude of the cinema of the 1960s), and, on the other hand, of the matter-of-fact approach in the art of the era (which was represented by cinema vérité and cinema direct methods in modern film). Hence sociological methods got linked with theoretical researches that are questioning the very basis of cinematic language, and they first and foremost appeared not in systematic studies but in cinematic experiments*⁴⁵. This type of live-action feature film which made use of the interplay of the traditions of documentary and fiction was given the name 'Budapest School' by foreign critics⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ "Szociológiai filmsoportot!" ["Sociological Proclamation"], *Filmkultúra [Film Culture]* 3 (1969), p. 95.

⁴⁵ Gábor Gelencsér, "Módosítások. Mészöly Miklós realizmuselmélete és a hetvenes évek avantgárd dokumentarizmusa" ["Adjustments. Miklós Mészöly's Theory of Realism and the Avantgarde Documentarism of the 1970s"] *Apertúra* (Spring 2009). Retrieved from <http://apertura.hu/2009/tavasz/gelencser> (access: 30.04.2018).

⁴⁶ The Budapest School includes fictional documentary films like István Dárday and Györgyi Szalai's *Holiday in Britain (Jutalomutazás, 1974)* or Béla Tarr's *Family Nest (Családi tűzfészek,*

Kovácsnai's films made after 1970 should be considered a subchapter of the 'documentary turn' in Hungarian cinema. The documentary approach of Kovácsnai's previous films, which he created during the 1960s proved to be so strong, that in 1970 he even developed his own method of animated documentaries called 'anima vérité'⁴⁷, a blend of the documentary portrayal of everyday life in the manner of cinema vérité and cinema direct, with the approaches and mentality of the visual arts, being the manifestation of the animator's subjective perception. His 'anima vérité' films made in the early 1970s, such as *Blossoming No. 3369* (*Rügyfakadás no. 3369*, 1970) and *Nights on the Boulevard* (*Körúti esték*, 1972), as well as his city symphonies, such as *The City Through My Eyes* (*Város a szememen át*, 1971) and *Memory of the Summer of '74* (*A '74-es nyár emléke*, 1974) anticipated his only full-length animated film, *Bubble Bath* (*Habfürdő*, 1979), an animated documentary-musical situated in Budapest in the late 1970s. His first films, such as *Monologue* and *Joy of Light* pushed the boundaries of the format of theatrical animated short film both in terms of form and theme in the early 1960s, and were banned from widespread public exhibition. In the late 1970s *Bubble Bath*, which portrays the disillusionment of the young generation of the 1970s, was met with some incomprehension by critics and viewers, who seemed to be unprepared for an animated feature made for adults that addresses contemporary socio-economic issues. The film was virtually unseen, was only given a limited theatrical release, and was not submitted to any international film festivals⁴⁸.

György Kovácsnai's and Sándor Reisenbüchler's documentary animations proved to be a source of serious controversies and were banned, or only given few public screenings. This hybrid film form continued in Hungarian animation throughout the following decade until the fall of the The Hungarian People's Republic in 1989, and seems to have been considered the most suspicious type of animated film in the eyes of censorship advocates. The films were balanced on the verge of what the authorities "tolerated" and "banned". Mention must also be made of the sociological animations made with children by Katalin Macskássy, which offered an unmasked and highly authentic depiction of Roma children living in deep poverty (*I Think Life is Great Fun!* *Nekem az élet teccik nagyon*, 1975), and of her writing of history restrained by the

1979). For an English introduction to the poetics and politics of Budapest School see the relevant chapters of John Cunningham's book. John Cunningham, *Hungarian Cinema. From Coffee House to Multiplex*. Wallflower Press, London 2004, pp. 136, 165.

⁴⁷ Brigitta Iványi-Bitter, op. cit., pp. 160-165.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 243.

current political ideologies (*Our National Holidays! Ünnepeink*, 1984). Her film, which was a made-for-television short, was banned from being broadcast for a period of time. The surreal animated documentaries of poster designer and director István Orosz, who started his career as a filmmaker in the second half of the 1970s, dealt with the issues of decaying provincial settlements in socialist Hungary (*Private Nightmare! Álomfejtő*, 1981), and mass migration from Hungary (*Ah, America!/ Ah, Amerika!*, 1984). However, his next film planned in the late 1980s, which was to be an animated documentary about the wave of refugees created by the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian revolution, was not permitted. Nevertheless, as we see, the animated documentaries which were completed during the era of soft-dictatorship in communist Hungary deviate from the general concept of animation as well as from documentary filmmaking, while they address the social and historical situation of the era with subtleties, overtones only to be found in animated film.

Jiří Neděla

Elements of Propaganda

in Jan Švankmajer's Film

The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia

Introduction

To focus on the aspect of propaganda in the film work of Czech surrealist, artist and film director Jan Švankmajer, it is necessary to outline his general ideological attitudes. As a filmmaker, only once in his career did he make a direct and explicit comment on (both past and contemporary) political situations, namely in the film *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* (*Konec stalinismu v Čechách*, 1990). This is not a sign of indifference, but rather of holding to uncompromising standards. These did not vanish along with the fall of the Czechoslovakian communist dictatorship in 1989, because they have always been eliminated by a resistance towards the whole state of civilisation rather than towards one particular totalitarian regime.

In Czechoslovak culture, surrealism has been deeply rooted since 1934, when The Surrealist Group was established in Prague. The Surrealist Group was the first phase of an evolving, continuous fellowship of artists, poets and theoreticians, which remains active to this day. In its history, Czech surrealism has experienced oppression by dictatorships from both ideological wings. The groups¹ and their activities were prohibited during World War II and then again after the communist *coup d'état* in 1948. Despite the formal proscription, the surrealists have been active, both during the war and throughout the four decades of communist regime.

Jan Švankmajer spent three decades of his creative life under communism. For most of the periods of Stalinism (1948-1953) and normalisation (1968-1987), Vratislav Effenberger was regarded as a leading figure of the Group. Members were not allowed to

¹ Besides The Surrealist Group, the core of the movement, there were two important art circles subscribing to surrealism that emerged during World War II: the Ra group (Skupina Ra) and the Spořilov group (Spořilovští surrealisté). After the war, some of their representatives established a co-operation with Karel Teige, who had been a member of The Surrealist Group since its beginnings, and its leading figure since 1938, taking over the leadership after its founder Vítězslav Nezval.

publish or exhibit their works officially, but they collected and archived their literature and art in *samizdat*² editions. This was also done with Jan Švankmajer's writings, but in the case of his filmmaking, he experienced clashes with censorship and the prohibition of screenings. Twice in his career, he was banned from working in the film industry³.

However, the resistance of surrealists to any ideology was not based on historical experience, but mainly on the philosophical essence of this avant-garde movement, which demands conditions of freedom on a political level as well as on the level of subjective experience, which also faces oppression, in accordance with Sigmund Freud's scheme of id, ego and super-ego. In this concept of three components of human psyche, the super-ego represents the pressure of external standards imposed by society in which the individual lives. The inner world of the individual can be mistreated even in a seemingly free society. As a follower of Freud's teachings, Švankmajer relies on the imaginative power of his subconscious, propelling his uncompromising view, uncovering mechanisms of oppression and manipulation. These mechanisms, in Švankmajer's conception, lie in the repressive communist regime as well as in Western society, emptied culturally and spiritually.

This confrontation with manipulation, violence and destruction Švankmajer primarily regards in relation to an individual in an ontological dimension rather than in society as a whole. Therefore, the oppressive forces in his films are portrayed in generally applicable forms of metaphor, parable or allegory, and mostly they are also embedded in a wider semantic structure, aiming at a universal utterance, where the protagonist

² The term *samizdat* refers to the publishing practice of the authors not conforming to the official doctrine. The circumstances led such authors to distribute their works illegally, reproduced in very limited editions consisting of several typewritten copies. These forms of artistic activities represent a substantial segment of the whole corpus of literature produced in many Soviet-occupied countries, including Czechoslovakia.

³ *I can exemplify problems I had with my films: in The Ossuary (Kostnice, 1970), a 'wholesome' version had to be made without the original commentary, with only music instead. The film The Flat (Byt, 1969) was banned, as well as the live-action film The Garden (Zahrada, 1968), the censors took action against Leonardo's Diary (Leonardův deník, 1972), put a ban on screenings of the film Jabberwocky (Žvahlav aneb Šatičky Slaměného Huberta, 1971). There were problems also with Castle of Otranto (Otrantský zámek, 1973-79), then I was 'allowed' to make films as late as in 1980, on the condition that I could only adapt the work of a classical writer (and this was how Fall of the House of Usher/Zánik domu Usherů, 1980, was made), nor did the 'surveillance' ease up in the 1980s. A ban on Dimensions of Dialogue (Možnosti dialogu, 1983) and censorship intervention in The Pendulum, the Pit and Hope (Kyvadlo, jáma a naděje, 1983) followed. And because I spoke out again, another involuntary hiatus in Krátký film Praha followed. Jan Švankmajer, *Síla imaginace [Power of Imagination]*, Dauphin, Prague 2001, pp. 122-123. Translation from Czech by the Author.*

not only is the one facing oppression and destruction but also is the one who causes it. But when Švankmajer takes a personal stand, then the object of his criticism is mainly the humankind, living in a pathological conviction of anthropocentrically organised world. The film *Insect* (*Hmyz*, 2018), crowning his lifelong work, speaks in this regard affirmatively. With this attitude taken into account, it is obvious that propaganda is, for Švankmajer, only one of many facets of broader and universally valid phenomena.

Elements of propaganda

The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia is exceptional within Jan Švankmajer's filmography not only because it contains the unparalleled direct political statement, but also because it can be perceived as a certain axis in Jan Švankmajer's work, occurring at the end of his period of making short films, after which he focuses on feature films⁴. Although the range of Švankmajer's key topics remains the same, his approach to film as a dramaturgical whole undergoes a change. While his short films were mostly of experimental nature using stop motion animation, montage, metaphors and symbols as the main means of film language, the core of his feature films lays in narrative framework and live acting⁵ (often treated with pixilation). In all of the feature films, it is also significant that their plots are set in the contemporary world⁶, but they tell timeless stories, where the attributes of the present often bear witness to civilisation's or society's decline into banality and consumerism. Yet *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* is the only one of Švankmajer's films which refers to particular moments in history, including the very recent time of the Velvet Revolution in 1989.

Before focusing on the aspects of propaganda in *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*, firstly it is important to highlight that in the opening credits, the author states that the spectators are about to see *a work of Agitprop*⁷, and he stressed this also in

⁴ This division does not hold strictly. As he made a feature film *Alice* (*Něco z Alenky*, 1988) before *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*, he also made one short film after it – *Food* (*Jídlo*, 1992), although the script for *Food* was written two decades before its realisation.

⁵ Again, the dividing line is not rigid: narrative and live-action are present in some of his short films, most notably in *The Garden*, and as well, the feature films contain montage or animation sequences which do not necessarily serve as plot-making elements.

⁶ One exception is the film *Lunacy* (*Šilenti*, 2005), which is set in the eighteenth century, but the validity of this setting is constantly disrupted by anachronistic elements and properties referring to the present.

⁷ The term “agitprop” comes from communist diction, where it stands for various forms of media used with persuasive intention. Agitprop films, live performances, posters, texts etc., are

interviews⁸. If we accept this statement, an element of propaganda is expected to be an inherent part of the film. But has the film really got the adequate formal and ideological requisites of agitprop?

Film language acquired its persuasive power in methods developed by Soviet Montage filmmakers, most notably Sergei Eisenstein and Dziga Vertov. Jan Švankmajer became acquainted with their work during his studies⁹, and procedures typical for Soviet Montage style are evident in his own films from the beginning¹⁰. None of them, however, is supplemented with the intention to change spectator's attitudes, including *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*. Naturally, in this case, comparison with a work of agitprop is fitting not only for the significant avant-garde montage, but also thanks to the use of official archival found-footage and photographic materials from the communist era, which originally might have served for the very purposes of propaganda (some of them actually did). Although at this point the resemblance still remains external, it is the key to understanding why Jan Švankmajer attributed the agitprop format to his film¹¹. The use of both montage and archival materials refer to agitprop and, by extension, propaganda, but together they create a separate quality of content that has no greater propagandist ambitions than his other films.

Formal analysis

If on the thematic level *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* has a unique position within Jan Švankmajer's films, formal procedures and techniques are what integrate this work into the complexity of the author's film universe. Among them, two of these procedures are the most significant. First, the use of montage, most evident in his short films where

meant to make the recipient adopting a certain attitude towards particular phenomena, often of political or ideological content.

⁸ *When I was asked by the BBC to make a film about what was going on in Bohemia, I refused. It seemed impossible to me. But an autonomous process in me got activated (as many times before). Even though this film was created by the same imaginative way as my other films, I've never pretended that it is something more than agitprop. Therefore I think it's the first film to appear dated.* Jan Švankmajer, op. cit., p. 124.

⁹ Jan Švankmajer studied at the Department of Puppetry in the Theatre Faculty of Academy of Performing Arts in Prague. During the early 1960s he was active in theatres Semafor and Laterna Magika, in which he started his filmmaker career.

¹⁰ Jan Švankmajer made his first film in 1964, it was *The Last Trick (Posledni trik pana Schwarce-walldea a pana Edgara)*.

¹¹ The author may also feel detached from this film due to the fact that it was commissioned by another agent, the BBC, and not related to his civil engagement or made on his own volition.

sometimes it is the constitutive factor¹², but also in his feature films and, by extension, all the primarily narrative films, where the editing has to play a utilitarian (action or story building) function, one can recognise an approach comparable to the canonic basic intellectual montage principles of Soviet Montage cinema.

A second and equally significant procedure is the animation. For Jan Švankmajer it is a multi-layered act, having qualities not only of the highly revealing form of film language, but also of magical ritual, his lifelong connection with the puppet medium and accenting tactile sensitivity. With no live-action, but with extensively engaging montage and animation, *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* sums up a history of the communist era in Czechoslovakia, in a maximally abridged and speeded-up form. Basically, there are two main approaches in the film. First of them is represented by a “descriptive” part, built on the montage. It displays particular individuals who took part in the historical turns of events and, because it is composed of archival photographs and footage, there is a strong sense of period through visual stereotype. In a similar way, the background music is used here – examples of officially allowed Czech and Soviet songs, often praising and encouraging devotion of the masses to their work.

Besides these archival materials, for some parts stop motion and pixilation animation techniques are also used. These can be called the “imaginative”¹³ parts, depicting crucial historical moments in a metaphorical way with the author’s unique visual style and range of expression, including revealed obsessions, black humour and sense of dark and bizarre poetics. The use of these two approaches, descriptive and imaginative, does not mean that the film is divided into a rigid scheme of separated parts. Both approaches penetrate each other on the level of the linear unfolding of the footage and also on the level of stylistic use. For the purpose of the following analysis, they will be differentiated and divided into individual sections.

Montage

As mentioned above, the descriptive parts of *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* consist of archival materials – partly film footage, but mostly photographic stills, having multiple forms of use. For each descriptive part, an important motif is a vitrine that serves as

¹² Mostly *J. S. Bach – Fantasia G-moll* (1965), *A Game with Stones* (*Hra s kameny*, 1965), *Historia Naturae (Suita)* (1967) and *The Ossuary* (*Kostnice*, 1970).

¹³ Although he does not put it in the dichotomy with “descriptive”, as argued here, Jan Švankmajer himself often uses the adjective “imaginative” when he speaks about his films and the process of creation generally.



fig.1: a still from *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*.
 Courtesy of Jan Švankmajer and Jaromír Kallista

a notice board¹⁴ (fig.1). In most cases, there are three elements that the vitrine contains. Besides obligatory slogans, symbols and decorations, there are dates and established appellations of a particular historical moments or periods: “9. KVĚTEN 1945”¹⁵, “25. ÚNOR 1948”¹⁶, “PRAŽSKÉ JARO 1968”¹⁷, “SRPEN 1968”¹⁸, “REÁLNÝ SOCIALISMUS”¹⁹

¹⁴ Hanging on the walls in public spaces or in the interiors of institutions, notice boards used to be a peculiar form of propaganda medium, typical for its omnipresence. Administration, decoration and regular updating of these boards was required by superior offices at all levels of the social structure.

¹⁵ March 9, 1945 is the day when the Red Army entered Prague, and is perceived as the completion of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the Nazis.

¹⁶ On February 25, 1948, two weeks after the political crisis erupted, there was a communist *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia. Several ministers of democratic parties resigned and Klement Gottwald, the then communist prime minister made president Edvard Beneš accept their resignation. Thus, Gottwald opened the way to establish a new, purely communistic government and his own way to presidential office.

¹⁷ Prague Spring is understood to be the several month period in 1968 when in January, Alexander Dubček was elected as a First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. During his tenure, significant liberation was attained. However, this reform era was stopped by a Warsaw Pact invasion in Czechoslovakia on the night of 20/21 August in the same year.

¹⁸ After the Warsaw Pact invasion, August 1968 is remembered as the beginning of a regression into the pre-reform era. Generally known as normalisation, this period lasted until 1987, when the restructuring trend of Perestroika became evident in the politics and society in Czechoslovakia.

¹⁹ ‘Real socialism’ is a term describing everyday reality in a socialistic country, in stark contrast to its theoretical concept, it was a reality of dysfunction, limitations and poorly managed economy. In political phraseology, the term has also a connotation of a common man’s point of view and social position of the 1970s and 1980s: being apolitical, yet living in a relative sufficiency.

and “PERESTROJKA”²⁰. Finally there are portraits of prominent figures who orchestrated the political course of their times. Along with the depiction of the content of the vitrines, following montage sequences illustrate crucial turns in Czechoslovak post-war history.

The film begins with a camera shot capturing a frontal view of a wall on which bullet holes appear accompanied by the sound of a machine gun. Immediately it becomes clear that it is a metonymy of the subsiding of World War II. The camera pans to a vitrine displaying the date March 9, 1945, the hammer and sickle symbol and a photograph of Joseph Stalin. Afterwards, the notion of liberation is elaborated by a following montage of photographs: Soviet tanks in Prague, Marshal Ivan Konev (who commanded the Red Army when it came to Prague), close-up photos of syringa flowers, with which the people welcomed Soviet soldiers, Soviet soldiers playing with children, Stalin’s head shaking, as the photographs of his face change round and round at a very fast pace, showing him from left, front and right and suddenly there is a cut-away to a photo of Julius Fučík²¹ and then to his slogan: *People, be awake! (Lidé, bděte!)*.

Similarly, period materials are montaged into a reminder of the following eras: politicians at official events, a parade crowd with people enthusiastically wearing banners with socialist slogans, Komsomol youngsters with flags, members of the working class, men and women in folk costumes (since folk art, fostered and consumed by the working class, was not contrary to socialist ideology), Spartakiad gymnasts, and even graphical design elements on cut-out pieces of banknotes of Czechoslovak currency.

These stills change at a frantic pace in which it is almost impossible to recognize their content; the impression lies more in the visual perception than in the historical context. Often, the stills are ordered into the form of loops of several film frames, evoking an illusion of simple repeated motion – applauding, exercising at the Spartakiad, etc. Portraits of political leaders are the exception – the shots last for a few seconds and by means of montage or animation, they are put into a new semantic context. For example, after a still of Rudolf Slánský²², there is a shot with an animated tightening noose,

²⁰ In Czechoslovakia, the process of Perestroika, generally felt since 1987, is associated with the figure of Miloš Jakeš, who held the post of the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after Gustáv Husák from 1987 to 1989.

²¹ An orthodox communist journalist, who was executed by the Nazis in 1943, and after February 1948 was idolized by the Communist party.

²² Rudolf Slánský was a First Secretary of the Communist Party from 1945 to 1951. Despite the fact that he was a close fellow of Klement Gottwald, he became a victim of purges within the party and he was executed in 1952.

anticipating Slánský's fate. The historical fact of replacement of one political leader by another one is demonstrated by the animated crumpling of a sheet of paper with a portrait of one of them (e.g. Nikita Khrushchev) that ensues into a portrait of another one (e.g. Leonid Brezhnev). With a frightful imagination, the death of some of these figures is symbolised – an animated human skull bites out the face from a paper sheet with Stalin's portrait and places itself into the empty position. Subsequently, Gottwald's portrait is treated in the same way²³. Before the final sequence of the film, all the leaders' photos are crumpled into small paper balls, enclosed in a vitrine, seen for the last time – the vitrine falls down, the pane breaks and the paper balls roll in all directions. Simple metaphorical meaning is delivered in a sequence, where the stills of Spartakiad gymnasts in complicated postures are interspersed with the eighteenth-century engravings of group sex pursued by libertine aristocrats. There is one practically imperceptible and subversive allusion to the Kuleshov effect – a still image of Gustáv Husák's²⁴ smiling face is followed by a still capturing a detail close-up of the same man's crotch.

Animation

The animated parts, constituting the imaginative level of the film, consist of stop motion sequences where objects and human body parts are the bearers of meaning and action. Close-ups predominate here, expressly occluding any non-essential visual elements that may contaminate the universality of the delivered content. Therefore, very little notion of a diegetic space exists, and if so, then rather in the form of still shots that refer to the space metonymically.

In the first moments of the film, when the montage of the first vitrine's decoration ends on the close-up of Stalin's photograph, the following image brings a close-up shot of another representation of the dictator, this time as a clay bust. The bust moves towards the camera, arousing a subtle feeling of a walking Golem²⁵. Then the

²³ Klement Gottwald died just nine days after Joseph Stalin.

²⁴ The last communist president of Czechoslovakia, holding his post from 1975 to 1989. His legacy is tightly connected to the era of normalisation, or extensively, to real socialism.

²⁵ In the context of Czech cinema, the two-part film *The Emperor's Baker – The Baker's Emperor* (*Císařův pekař – Pekařův císař*, 1951) by director Martin Frič cannot be omitted. This popular comedy with Jan Werich in the lead double role, is set in the court of Rudolf II, depicting the emperor's passion for alchemy, astrology, and foremost his effort to find the mythical Golem and bring him to life. Designed as a dumpy giant clay creature, Golem moves around as a monolithic, sculpture-like object without bending limbs. In *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*, Stalin's bust moves in a very similar way; nevertheless, it would be wrong to understand Švankmajer's choice

motionless Stalin's face opens its eyes and looks around, finding itself on the operation table. In a close-up, a surgical lamp turns on, serving as an example of the metonymy of diegetic space.

There is one element that all of these film's parts share: a pair of anonymous hands²⁶ setting events into motion. Now, in plastic surgical gloves, they take a scalpel and slice a section across Stalin's bust face, and then slide into the open cut, uncovering a tangle of inner organs. After a while, the hands rummaging in the viscera pull out a baby-like bust of Klement Gottwald in a hideous paraphrase of the childbirth process. Both busts are symbolically connected by an umbilical cord. The hands take the scissors and cut the cord, then wash Gottwald in the washbasin. Then follows a dramatic camera zoom on to the drain, where the running tap water blends with a liquid and demonstrates that this is not just uterine blood. One hand spansks the "newborn", which shortly gives a baby's cry, and then starts delivering Gottwald's infamous speech²⁷.

In another instance, the anonymous pairs of hands in ragged woollen gloves operate an assembly line. First there are hands taking clay from a bucket and putting it into moulds, shaping parts of a human body. The other pair puts these parts together, and at the end of the conveyor belt the body comes to life, and as a stereotyped workman with rolled up sleeves marches ahead, until a noose is put around his neck by a third pair of hands and he is hung. When the rope is cut off, the workman falls into a bucket and melts into an amorphous lump of clay, which is again delivered to the first pair of hands shaping the body parts. With an *udarnik* (foreman's) song playing all the time, the absurdity of enthusiasm that leads the multitudes to an autotelic destruction is conveyed in a most concise way.

In a third stop motion passage, we again see the same pair of hands in ragged gloves, but this time they dip brushes into cans with blue, red and white colour and

of the same motional style as an intentional quotation of the film mentioned above. Even less that Jan Švankmajer is deeply immersed into the sense of legacy of the Rudolfian era in Prague, while the *The Emperor's Baker – The Baker's Emperor* turns the mystical aura into massively consumed entertainment. Besides, the film is a notorious example of spectacular movie injected with implicit propagandist meanings.

²⁶ Apart from *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*, the motif of hands plays an important role in other Jan Švankmajer's films, e.g. *Faust (Lekce Faust, 1993)*. In both cases, the hands represent an anonymous force that manipulates the fate of an individual's destiny. Also, in this context, it is worthwhile to mention a crucial film *The Hand (Ruka, 1965)* by Jiří Trnka, depicting the hopeless struggle of an artist with an intrusive gigantic hand, symbolising totalitarian despotism.

²⁷ In the speech, delivered on February 25, 1948, Klement Gottwald informed the masses on St. Wenceslas Square in Prague about the result of his negotiation with Edvard Beneš.

paint a motif of the Czechoslovak flag. This scene opens with a shot of shaking bunches of keys, with which people rattled at demonstrations in Prague in the days of the Velvet Revolution²⁸. A short archival shot of one of these demonstrations follows, accompanied by a loop of the song “Oh Sonny Boy, Sonny Boy” (“Ach synku, synku”)²⁹. The whole sequence, with the cumulation of its symbols, clearly refers to the big political change and forthcoming freedom and democracy. But something is slowly turning wrong. The hands move more and more thoughtlessly, painting the flags onto everything in their range – a jug, a tyre, a stove pipe, a bag of straw. The climax comes when the hands dredge up from the pile of crumpled newspaper a bust of Joseph Stalin – the very same as the one which acted in the first part of the film – and paint the flag on his face. The rest of the film repeats its first part, shot by shot. Except for Stalin’s flagged face, the only difference is that the spectator does not see whom the obstetrician’s hands pull out from Stalin’s viscera. A baby’s cry is heard, but on the screen, the end credits have already appeared.

Conclusion

Jan Švankmajer claimed, that *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* will be the first of his films that will appear dated. When its uniqueness amongst his other films is considered, as was mentioned already, this statement is not surprising. Since a basic knowledge of historical events is necessary for its interpretation, and the receding past is less and less known by following generations, *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* is losing the immediateness and complexity with which Švankmajer’s other films speak to the spectator.

But its ending, where a scene with Stalin’s bust is repeated, does have a disturbing urgency. A crisis of democracy, which in the last several years keeps attacking (not only) the post-Soviet countries, almost seems to be predicted by Švankmajer’s film. The cry accompanying the end credits could be not only of a newly born dictator but also of the victims of a new totalitarian regime. In this regard, the film has not aged at all. It depicts a dialectic nature of history, where each era, whether of a positive or a negative sign, contains latently a rudiment of its opposite.

²⁸ First of these demonstrations took place on 17 November.

²⁹ It was a favourite song of the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, thus it has a symbolic value of proclaiming sense of belonging to the Masarykian line of political culture.

Bogusław Zmudziński

Jan Švankmajer

against Ideology and Propaganda

translated by Marek Mielezko

Jan Švankmajer, a Czech surrealist, lived almost two thirds of his life under totalitarianism, both the Nazi one and the communist one. Of the many similarities between them, there is one, which according to the main line of ideology and propaganda of both systems, demands that works of an artist like Švankmajer are considered as expressions of “degenerate art”. This classification is valid in spite of the fact that when this term became widespread in Nazi propaganda (1937, *Die Ausstellung Entartete Kunst, München/ the Degenerate Art Exhibition in Munich*), the future artist was only a few years old, and that during the communist normalisation in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s, when his works were treated as expressions of “degeneration” and he was denied any chance to make films, the triumphs of the fascist Germany were long gone.

This hypothetical parallelism is not surprising when we take into consideration the realistic aesthetics favoured by the ideologists and propagandists of both systems, having its roots in nineteenth-century academism, folk art, and solutions which were, whenever possible, monumental, superficially alluding to classicism, but invariably clear in their meaning and understandable to a wide audience in terms of both content and form. In relation to these ideas about the postulated mass art of the future, one of the special targets which Nazi propaganda attacked was the domestic avant-garde tradition with expressionism in the foreground. When the dynamic development of Soviet avant-garde art was suppressed in the first half of the 1930s and the Stalinist doctrine of socialist realism was formulated (1934, Soviet Writers' Congress in Moscow), the target for communist propaganda became, in turn, the output of such avant-garde movements as surrealism.

The tradition of Czech surrealism dates back to the times before World War II; the surrealist group was founded thanks to the initiative of Vítězslav Nezval in 1934. The movement also continued during the war as well as during the difficult time for the avant-garde, namely the time of the greatest “successes” of socialist realism. Švankmajer himself became formally involved with the surrealists in 1970 when, induced by Vratislav Effenberger, he joined the Czechoslovak Surrealist Group together with his wife Eva. When he joined the group he was a fully developed artist with a large output, as shown by the completion of his first ten films from 1964-1969. Moreover, it can be said that by 1970 (in which he completed two films) he was already a fully degenerated artist, as at that time he already had problems with censorship – a fact from which Czechoslovak political agents drew far-reaching consequences during the normalisation in 1972, in connection with, among others, the making of *Leonardo's Diary* (*Leonardův deník '72*), which led them to prevent him from making films almost until the end of the 1970s.

The rebellious character of his artistic stance best manifested itself in the 1960s in what is considered to be his first surreal, politically allusive film *Garden* (*Zahrada*, 1968), and afterwards in his famous object triptych, radical in its perversion, which included the films *The Flat* (*Byt*, 1968), *Picnic with Weissmann* (*Picknick mit Weissmann*, 1969) and *A Quiet Week in the House* (*Tichý týden v domě*, 1969). However, earlier films of the Czech surrealist also carried a considerable dose of denaturalisation due to the aggression and destruction they portrayed, which were avoided like the plague by the propagandists of both totalitarian systems.

Exposure to communist ideology and propaganda was certainly a painful experience in Švankmajer's life; it is worth asking how it translates into his artistic output, first of all in his films, which are the most accessible for the audience. The artist himself never yielded to the influence of the communist ideology pervading the life of Czech society, even though that in the surrealists' circle (both in his home country and abroad), it was not unusual to at least sympathize with or fully accept the leftist mainstream, including the communist ideology. In Švankmajer's abundant filmography, the turning point came at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, when the artist made his – as for now – last animated short films and started making live-action feature films combined with animation, only one film directly deals with the experience of communism, i.e. *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* (*Konec stalinismu v Čechách*) from 1990.

This film, the production of which only became possible after the breakthrough of 1989, deals at one go with the whole Stalinist period, which, according to the surrealist, lasted in his country until the end of the 1980s. In the context of all his

output, the artist does it in an exceptionally consistent way. Not going into too detailed of an analysis of this intriguing feature, it is worth noticing at least two key aspects of the original perspective offered by the artist. The first one is the graphic analysis of the phenomenon of personality cult as leadership usurping superhuman qualities, which finds its confirmation in reference to the Greek myth about the birth of Zeus's daughter, Athena, who sprang from his head and, thanks to this unusual way of being born into this world, became the goddess of wisdom. In the same way, but as in a distorting mirror, Švankmajer depicts the onset of the communist leadership of Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 1940s. In his vision, from the bust of Stalin, during a surgical operation performed by a modern, nameless Hephaestus, appears another incarnation of a superhuman formed in the Soviet Union and "worthy" of a personality cult: the communist, Klement Gottwald, who is replaced just after a few years by subsequent leaders, First Secretaries and General Secretaries of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: Antonin Novotny (1953-1968), then after the time of the Prague Spring when the power was exercised by the reformer Aleksander Dubček (1967-1968), and during the normalisation of the 1970s and 1980s – Gustáv Husák (1969-1987).

Together with the image of the bust of Gottwald being born from Stalin's head, the artist shows another key process, known to us from his numerous earlier films. It is the forming of a new man (a homunculus) done by the representatives of the system in accordance with one of the main postulates of the communist ideology. Identical people made of clay go down a production line – an industrial invention – only to be exterminated by hanging and once more become a malleable material from which other incarnations with no individual subjective features of a 'new man' can be made. This, presumably one of the most drastic images in the history of world cinematography dealing with the fundamental myth of the communist ideology, is juxtaposed, on the side of the mythologized communist leadership, with an image which many times re-occurs and exposes the necrophilist dimension of criminal practice. From behind the portrait of yet another leader of the communist system there emerges a skull of an omnipotent figure responsible for activating and sustaining the mechanism which governs the modern civilization of death.

The explicit meaning of the film seems to undergo a certain modification in its ending. With the arrival of the Velvet Revolution in 1989, all that was once communist starts to take on national tones. Even the bust of Stalin is painted in three colours arranged like on the official Czechoslovakian flag. The film ends with a scene which should be interpreted as a deeply pessimistic warning. The bust of Stalin, covered with

paint, is again placed on a surgeon's table, who operates on it by dipping his hands in the tyrant's cut head. This time even the artist does not know what kind of a new dictator would emerge from the inside.

Despite its thematic uniqueness, *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* is fully consistent with its author's film output. The motif of a superhuman, a giant blowing up the existing structure and at the same time candidate for a leader – an extraordinary individual granted omnipotence and, as a result, cult, is marked even earlier in a slightly different, initial form also in such films as *Et cetera* (1966), *The Garden, A Quiet Week in the House, Castle of Otranto* (*Otrantský zámek*, 1973-1979), *Darkness, Light, Darkness* (*Tma, světlo, tma*, 1989). The necrophilist aspect of a superhumanity aiming to objectify all surroundings, especially all that is alive, is, in turn, best expressed in the animation *Historia naturae – suita* (1967), in which the human, or rather the superhuman-usurper annihilates all nature because he can use as objects (in an utilitarian way) only what is dead, in this case – as food. On the other hand, also in the artist's early films, there appears the motif of forming, or literally, moulding a new man – a homunculus – from a malleable material, whose birth is conditioned by questioning the essence of humanity in its current understanding, as the author presents it in the first novella of the memorable *Dimensions of Dialogue* (*Možnosti dialogu*, 1982).

The interpretation of the anti-communist meaning of the film *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* in the context of the artist's whole short film output does not allow us to give an exhaustive answer to the key question about the artist's ideological attitude. Adopting a univocally critical attitude towards the ideology dominating in his life and the propaganda accompanying it, does the artist explicitly adopt any ideological attitude? In his case, how can one notice different ideological premises of his surrealist output? In trying to answer these questions, it is worth reaching to the source of the artist's inspiration, especially to the ideological background of the mannerist paintings of the Italian artist, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, who worked in the second half of the sixteenth century at the Habsburg court and is especially connected with the emperor Rudolf II residing in Prague. This painter, exerting a strong influence on the imagination of the modern surrealist and often producing a grotesque effect, created original anthropomorphic images based on a sophisticated arrangement of objects, usually the creations of nature and sometimes the products of human hands.

The ideological aspect of the Italian artist's paintings is based on noticing the harmony in the relationship between man (subject) and the objects around him, micro and macrocosm, and finally, on noticing the key meaning of the all-embracing dialogue

inside structures which represent various manifestations and levels of existence, first of all – the dialogue of four seasons and four elements. These ideas harmonize the dynastic character of the artist's work, visible especially in "Wertumnus" (1590-1591), a portrait of the emperor Rudolf II, one of the last paintings by Arcimboldo, who in his works affirmed the role of the emperors from the house of Habsburg as guarantors of order and harmony in all existence, including the natural dimension of the world over which, according to this idea, they had their power.

Inspired, on the one hand, by emperor Rudolf II's passion for collecting – he preferred original works of art and any kinds of singularity – and on the other hand, by Arcimboldo's paintings, the Czech surrealist in his work reinterprets the meaning of the Italian mannerist's works and, at the same time, the ideological ground of his achievements. As early as in his first film *The Last Trick (Poslední trik pana Schwarzwalldea a pana Edgara, 1964)* the place of harmony and all-embracing dialogue is taken by a developing conflict, aggression and ultimate destruction. At the same time, in accordance with – to his mind – the currently dominating tendency, he shows the erosion of the subjective dimension of universal existence, and after an introductory period in the late 1960s, in the artist's films, especially in the already mentioned object triptych, the primacy of the object dimension of reality is given its voice. In the early period of the surrealist's work the whole harmonious ideological structure of Arcimboldo's work is reversed, and reasons for such an ideological transformation can be found – as the artist himself has many times stressed – in reality itself, the reality we currently live in.

It is worth realizing that the arrangement of ideas which motivated Arcimboldo can hardly be considered ideology in the modern understanding of the word, not only because the notion of ideology originated in the nineteenth century. Ideology can be interpreted as a collection of coherent views popularized in the collective (group) dimension, and the constitutive feature is the postulate of changing the existing reality, at least the social one, and usually the socio-political one. The ideas underlying the Italian painter's work lack such qualities, as they, first of all, play an affirmative role, one can say that in a way, a propaganda one, in the reality of the second half of sixteenth century. In Švankmajer's works, on the contrary, the ideas reversed by the surrealist not only express a critical attitude towards such "products of the present time" as communist ideology, but also expose the foundations of the whole of modern civilization. The surrealist builds his film statements on a solid foundation of ideological critique showing how far we have departed in what we call development from the preindustrial order, originally captured and affirmed by the Italian mannerist.

When trying to understand the process of Švankmajer's intellectual and artistic course of action it is worth paying attention to two aspects of the way of interpreting the subject-object relationship already present in his early work, and partly reflected in the film *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*. The key role here is played by the relationship between an individual and the collective. In his seventh film, *The Garden*, the first film of Švankmajer's not animated, but fully live-action, he draws a metaphor of enslavement fitting for the year 1968, when the film was made. A car ride in the country by the owner of a suburban house and his accompanying passenger takes an unexpected twist when it turns out that the building is surrounded by a hedge made of silent people with interwoven hands. This 'living fence' is made with – as it quickly turns out – 'volunteers' who, of their own volition, undergo a peculiar kind of punishment they administer themselves for various deeds performed, maybe only unintentionally, that the property owner – as they are convinced – must know about. The initially surprised fellow traveller quickly finds his place in this objectified environment, reduced to its utilitarian function. Fully understood and supported by the host, he fills a gap in the human hedge.

Originally, this seemingly insignificant, almost idyllic image soon takes on the qualities of a dangerous representation, ideologically related to and interpreted in the vision presented years later in *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia*. Essentially, it does not take much to take away natural subjective qualities from the representatives of human collectivity and, by enslaving them, to reduce its members to objects in a socio-political and ultimately ideologically motivated game. In this way, the anti-civilizational dimension of modern reality in crisis is revealed.

One year after the film's production, the situation of the 'voluntary' enslavement sketched by the artist in *The Garden* was semantically extended in an intriguing and radical way and brought to an extreme in the third part of the object triptych entitled *A Quiet Week in the House*. In contrast to the two earlier films of the triptych: *The Flat* and *Picnic with Weissmann*, the last film is again fully open to socio-political interpretation. It was possible to sustain the relationship between the property owner, who had some knowledge about his prisoners, and the enslaved parts of the living fence surrounding the house shown in *The Garden*, even with the host absent. This knowledge, or rather omniscience, guaranteed discipline, order and a voluntarily accepted rather than imposed harmony within the objectified structure. One can ask: what if the host was permanently absent from this arrangement? More literally: what would happen if the enslaved (objectified) society was left to itself?

Having a centuries old tradition in the sphere of social philosophy, this fundamental question is answered in the film *A Quiet Week in the House*. An individual, we intuitively assume to be the owner, returns home after a long absence and skulks towards a much depleted remote building. Entering it, he starts a multi-day discreet observation of what is happening on the premise in a situation when the objects inside cease to serve their user and are no longer in his power, and, what is more, do not even suspect that he can observe them. The answer to the fundamental question comes down to the statement that the objects that regain freedom during their host's absence use it in a radically anarchic way. To say that they rebel is not enough; they start a destructive revolt which their owner cannot control in any way. This is the reason for the film's ending when the story closes after the final credits. An explosive planted by the protagonist annihilates the world of objects in which all norms are questioned. Can the drastic ending of the film be in any way considered the expression of an ideologically-driven attitude of the author himself?

Combining two motifs presented in the surrealist's early films with the meaning of the film *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* helps to reconstruct the ideological attitude of the Czech artist. His careful observance of the signs of fall or perhaps the dusk of subjectivity constitutes the foundation of his critical attitude towards modern civilization. He believes that it is hard to find more convincing examples than those provided by the history of twentieth century totalitarianism, especially communism, which he experienced himself. On the other hand, as if parallel to this anti-civilizational diagnosis, the artist shows, especially in his triptych form 1968-1969, the motif of rebellion of objects against man and gives the revolt from the last film of the triptych a radical, anarchistic character. The anti-civilizational diagnosis is completed with a gesture of protest in which the author asks for a subjective treatment of man's surroundings, which brings him closer, not necessarily in accordance with his intention, to the idea of ecology. At the same time, to the extent possible at the end of the 1960s and in the case of a surrealist moving with freed imagination, he warns against totalitarian consequences of a rebellion of objectified social masses.

Of course one can doubt whether the modern reinterpretation of dialogue and subject-object relation which Jan Švankmajer supports can be arranged into a battery of views which we have the right to call a rightful ideology. One of the fundamental reasons is that there is a totally individualized set of ideas used by the artist. Another one – the deep pessimism of his vision, in which, using the artist's diagnosis, it is difficult to draw a postulated direction of changes in modern reality that could save civilization.

In this situation it would be better to define the restored battery of Švankmajer's ideas as anti-ideology, and him as a surrealist visionary who not only warns against, but in fact heralds the fall of civilization by giving the images with which he communicates with his addressees a distanced, caricature, grotesque form, which at least a little mitigates the deep anxiety accompanying the reception of his works.

Selected bibliography of Bogusław Zmudziński's works dedicated to Jan Švankmajer:

- “Jestem surrealistą. Z Janem Švankmajerem rozmawia Bogusław Zmudziński” [“I am a Surrealist. Jan Švankmajer Talks with Bogusław Zmudziński”], trans. Józef Golian, *Kino [Cinema]* 4 (2002).
- “Jan Švankmajer. We władzy przedmiotów, czyli pułapki człowieczeństwa” [“Jan Švankmajer. Controlled by Objects, or the Pitfalls of Humanity”], [in:] eds. Grażyna Stachówna, Joanna Wojnicka, *Autorzy kina europejskiego [The Authors of European Cinema]*, Rabid, Kraków 2003.
- “Animacja przedmiotowa Jana Švankmajera wobec tradycji przedstawień martwej natury” [“Jan Švankmajer – Objectified Animation and the Tradition of Presentation of Still Life”], *Estetyka i krytyka [Aesthetics and Critique]* 7-8 (2004-2005).
- “Panorama twórczości filmowej Jana Švankmajera” [“Panoramic View on Jan Švankmajer's Creative Output”], *Studia Humanistyczne AGH [Contributions to Humanities AGH]* 5 (2007).
- “Z badań nad problematyką tworzywa filmowego – osobliwe kolekcje w animacji przedmiotowej” [“From the Studies of the Issue of Film Material – the Unusual Collections in Object Animation”], [in:] ed. Michał Ostrowicki, *Materia sztuki [The Matter of Art]*, Universitas, Kraków 2010.
- “Wymiary agresji” [“Dimensions of Aggression”], *Kino [Cinema]* 3 (2011); *Mrówkojad [Anteater]* 57 (2011).
- “Weissmann i Truman Burbank – zniewoleni przez wytwory protagoniści filmów Jana Švankmajera i Petera Weira” [“Weissmann and Truman Burbank – Jan Švankmajer and Peter Weir's Film Protagonists Enslaved by Creations”], *Kwartalnik filmowy [Film Quarterly]* 74 (2011).
- “Giuseppe Arcimboldi, Jan Švankmajer i inni. Od gabinetów sztuki i osobliwości do kolekcji filmów jako zbioru dzieł osobliwych” [“Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Jan Švankmajer and Others. From Cabinets of Art and Curiosities to a Collection of Films as a Set of Singular Works (Outline of the Issues and Cultural Background)”], *Kwartalnik filmowy [Film Quarterly]* 83-4 (2013).
- “Zamknięte przestrzenie w filmach krótkometrażowych Jana Švankmajera – dziedzictwo i konwersja preindustrialnej wyobraźni” [“Closed Spaces in the Short Films of Jan Švankmajer – the Heritage and Conversion of Pre-industrial Imagination”], *Studia Humanistyczne AGH [Contributions to Humanities AGH]* 4 (2015).
- “Giuseppe Arcimboldi – prekursor twórczości filmowej Jana Švankmajera” [“Giuseppe Arcimboldo – a Harbinger of Jan Švankmajer's Cinema”], *Estetyka i krytyka [Aesthetics and Critique]* 1 (2016).
- “Animation as Detonation. Anti-Civilizational and Counter-Cultural Aspects of the Philosophical Attitude of the Cinema of Jan Švankmajer”, [in:] eds. Olga Bobrowska, Michał Bobrowski, *Obsession, Perversion, Rebellion. Twisted Dreams of Central European Animation*, Galeria Bielska BWA, Bielsko-Biała, Kraków 2016.

PART III

THE THIRD ROAD

Midhat Ajanović Ajan

Little Man at the Turn of the Worlds:

A View of the Origin, History and the Ideological Foundation of the Phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Animated Film

In 1962 in Santa Monica, a European animated film won an Oscar for the first time. The film was *Ersatz* by Dušan Vukotić, one of the leading masters of the so-called Zagreb School of Animated Film¹. In 1979 the Oscar went to the animated film noir *Special Delivery* made by Canadians John Weldon and Eunice Macaulay, much to the disappointment of many enthusiasts of film animation² who wished for the Oscar to go to the film *Satiemania*, a masterpiece by Zdenko Gašparović, which did not even get a nomination³. From today's perspective it is more than obvious that *Satiemania* belongs to the pantheon of supreme artworks realized in the medium of animation as one of the most beautiful animated films ever made. *Special Delivery*, on the other hand despite its unquestionable qualities, has paled under the influence of time.

¹ The notion was coined by French film historian Georges Sadoul. However he did not have any particular school in mind, but a group of filmmakers working in the same studio, who had similar style and understanding of the medium.

² I use the term 'film animation' for it is being more precise than 'animation'. Animation is spatially and temporally a much wider term than 'film' and includes animated theatre (Chinese theatre, kaleidoscope, Charles-Émile Reynaud's optical theatre, all the way to plain puppet theatre), mechanically obtained movement without film (for example, going fast through the pages of a notebook with drawings), or contemporary computer animation, and video games which are animation, but could hardly be called film. This is to say that here I refer to animation made with the help of filmic technique.

³ I owe my thanks to Joško Marušić, who has pointed out some factual mistakes in the first publication of this study in the "Croatian Film Chronicle", among others, that *Satiemania* was nominated. Cf. Midhat Ajanović Ajan, "Mali čovjek na razmeđu svjetova. Pogled na podrijetlo, povijest i osnovne značajke fenomena Zagrebačke škole crtanog filma" ["Little Man at the Turn of the Worlds: A View of the Origin, History and the Ideological Foundation of the Phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Animated Film"], *Hrvatski filmski ljetopis* [Croatian Film Chronicle] 23 (2000), pp. 142-159.

The two masterpieces, *Ersatz* and *Satiemania*, more or less marked the beginning and the end of the golden age of the Zagreb School of Animated Film. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, Zagreb Film studio produced dozens of extremely significant animated films which, seen as a whole, constituted an important epoch in the development of film animation as an artistic form. The phenomenon of the Zagreb School, although exclusively belonging to Croatian legacy, cannot be linked entirely and only to Croatia. Primarily because the development of the School was carried out by artists from the whole of Yugoslavia, but also because of the Yugoslav cultural context, generally accepted ideological values and shared specific production circumstances. All these factors significantly influenced the School's formation.

Political and social surrounding

In the course of its seventy-four year long existence, Yugoslavia experienced the rightist dictatorship of the Serbian royal dynasty from 1918 to 1941; the leftist dictatorship of Josip Broz Tito from 1945 to 1980, and finally fascism and extreme nationalism from 1941 to 1945, and again in the 1990s. In addition, the 1980s was a decade of instability and clashes between the federal states' bureaucracies, started by Serbia's attempt to reclaim the total hegemony it had lost under Tito's rule. One thing Yugoslavia has never had was democracy.

Today, it is more than clear that the only period of economic and cultural prosperity of the South Slavic peoples was the time of Tito's soft dictatorship, or liberal socialism that developed after 1948, when this skilful communist politician and indisputable hero of the antifascist war, refused to be one of Stalin's servants. During years of crisis and pressure from Moscow, Yugoslavia managed to develop an original system, communism with elements of democracy, unofficially called 'something in between'. In political terms this meant a more influential role of working councils in factories and, more importantly, due to the Soviet blockade, the economy turned to Western Europe and the United States.

Yugoslavia's cooperation with the West had far reaching consequences on the culture. Reformed communism and a high degree of political decentralization enabled a quick and definite break-up with the theory and practice of socialist realism. This resulted, among other things, in a relatively high degree of freedom and independence of film companies, which could make deals with foreign enterprises unhindered by central state institutions, as was the case in other socialist countries. Yugoslav producers

made successful contacts with foreign distributors and importers, so that Yugoslav film production participated in most important world film festivals. Each federal state developed its own film production, and in some periods, film production in Yugoslavia reached between thirty and forty feature films and more than a hundred shorts per year. Production also expanded in TV networks established in all the republics' capitals.

Two international festivals played an important role in the presentation of Yugoslav cinematography to the world. First was the Belgrade FEST, the annual review of international feature film production, and the international animated film biennale in Zagreb (Animafest World Festival of Animated Film), which, soon after it was founded, became one of the most important festivals of that kind in the world. In short, film authors from Yugoslavia had a much better chance to present themselves at the international markets and a far greater freedom than their colleagues from Eastern Europe. The authors of animated films took full advantage of these circumstances.

Production circumstances

Contrary to their Eastern European colleagues, Yugoslav animators were not regularly employed, but instead had the status of free artists and they signed contracts with studios for each new film. In Zagreb Film, only colorists, in-betweeners, copiers and other assistant staff had permanent jobs. This resulted in providing production services for the whole studio. On the other hand, directors, head animators, cartoonists, art directors, and other authors changed roles from film to film for purely practical reasons. If a person was an in-betweener, for example at the Sofia Animation Studio, or at Moscow's Soyuzmultfilm, they could expect with an absolute certainty to eventually be retired as an in-betweener. In Zagreb Film, on the contrary, a young person who started off as an in-betweener had a real chance to rise in the hierarchy of professions within animated film. Many known animators, especially those that came in during the Studio's second phase, began their careers at the lowest level of the professional ladder and slowly worked their way up to become character designers, animators and even directors.

To earn their living, many freelance animators were forced to run from one project to another, between different productions. The direct consequence of such a practice can be found in an emergence of close relations between the authors – they worked together, their roles on projects kept changing, one time they would be a scriptwriter, on another occasion a director, or even a simple animator or art director in their colleagues' films. Authors exchanged ideas and experiences, learning the

tricks of the trade and influencing each other. Alongside animation, many animators worked on comic strips, caricature, illustrations, posters and similar things. These studio outings kept them in touch with other media, which expanded their insight into directions in other art forms. As a consequence, the Zagreb School's films often followed trends in graphic and visual arts of the day.

Pioneers

The first cartoons in Croatia⁴ and former Yugoslavia were made by Sergei Tagatz, a Pole born in Russia. Until 1920, he lived in Yalta and worked in Ermolev's Film Studio (Tovarishchestvo I. Yermolyev), where he had his first encounter with film animation. Among other things, Tagatz made the Studio's trade-mark in the form of a short cartoon. Like many citizens of post-revolutionary Russia, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in 1922. After arriving in Zagreb, he did all kinds of odd jobs before eventually returning to his old trade. He produced several commercials the same year, and in 1923, he made opening credits for Bosnia Film and animated trailers for films with Jackie Coogan.

The School of Public Health (Škola narodnog zdravlja) in Zagreb had its own photo-film laboratory and made animated films. Its founder was Milan Marjanović, a writer and prominent personality of Croatian public life in the Interwar Period. Marjanović was the only educated film worker of the School and the first head of its film department. At his initiative, the School started producing short educational films with animated inserts, with the goal of spreading important information about hygiene and ways of preventing epidemics. In 1929, Aleksandar Gerasimov⁵, another emigrant from the Soviet Union, became head of the photo-film laboratory, and remained so until 1961. With the cooperation of cameraman Stanislaw Noworyta and cartoonist Peter Papp (and later on Vilko Šeferov), the The School of Public Health produced several educational films during the 1920s. In 1929, the School realized an especially important achievement – a 300 meter long film *Martin in the Sky, Martin from the Sky* (*Martin u nebo, Martin iz neba*). The School of Public Health was evidently very much influenced by Walter Ruttmann and Lotte Reiniger, since the animation in the films was mostly a combination of static drawings and moving silhouettes.

⁴ I am very thankful to late professor Vjekoslav Majcen, who gave me useful information and suggestions, and cautioned me about some incorrect data I had, while still working on the manuscript.

⁵ Aleksandar Gerasimov (1894-1977), cinematographer, designer and photographer of Ukrainian origins.

The third pioneering contribution to Croatian animation came from Berlin with the brothers Zvonko, Ivo and Vlado Mondschein. As soon as they arrived in Zagreb, the brothers started their own company MAAR Sound Film Advertisement (MAAR tonfilmska reklama). Owing to a significant amount of capital invested in their firm, the brothers succeeded in creating a big professional studio, which produced around a 100 commercials per year, from ten to 100 meters long. Sergij Tagatz was the company's first employee; from Berlin they brought a skilled animator Ilsa Polley, and hired many renowned Zagreb visual artists, like Gerty Gorjan or Pavle Gavranić. The high production quality of MAAR resulted in a huge commercial success. They received orders from all over, including many foreign countries. Despite that, production was terminated in 1936-1937 for reasons unknown to the author of this study. From the foundation of the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, NDH) in 1941 until the stabilization of the communist government in the second Yugoslavia, more or less all of MAAR's production was destroyed.

Apart from three already discussed attempts of revitalizing the Croatian production of animated film, some other endeavours also should be mentioned. The hard-working film enthusiast Oktavijan Miletić also experimented with animation; photographer Viktor Rybak made an eight meter long animated film; professor Kamilo Tompa animated puppets, while Kosta Hlavaty, artist and member of Tito's liberation movement, made eight animated propaganda films during the war, working locally under partisans' control. Within the State Propaganda center founded by the NDH government following Nazi Germany's example, a studio for animated film also existed.

'Preschool'

Immediately after World War II, several enthusiasts continued developing animated film in Zagreb. On political directive, state film production houses were founded in all federal states' centres. In Zagreb, this was Dubrava Film, soon renamed Jadran Film. The company promptly constituted several production departments. One of them was the department of educational films, where several films were made in the technique of animation. Their cartoonist and animator was Leontije Bjelski, formerly known as a comic strip author. However, the most interesting individual that worked with Jadran Film was Bogoslav Petanjek, who returned to his homeland after many years in Argentina. In Buenos Aires he had worked as an animator with Quirino Cristiani at

the Carlos Vigil's studio⁶ and gathered lots of experience. As a skilful animator he was given a chance to make films characterized by Disney's aesthetic. Apart from making educational films, Petanjek made one gag film, *Blackman Miško* (*Crnac Miško*, 1949), and was the studio's main animator until 1957.

However, the true initiative for Croatian animated film production was born in the editorial board of the satirical magazine "Kerempuh". When in 1948 Tito refused to obey directives from Moscow, he came into fierce conflict with Stalin. As a consequence, there was crisis in the whole area and enormous political pressure and a blockade of Yugoslavia on the part of the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia managed to step out of the so-called socialist bloc countries under Moscow's command, and grew closer to the West. One of the outcomes of Yugoslav politics and its international standing included a break-up with the ideology of the so-called socialist realism in art and the development of a much more relaxed cultural model in respect to the dominant ideological dogmas, unlike in other countries of Eastern Europe.

As the only existing satirical magazine in Croatia, "Kerempuh" rounded up many known caricaturists and cartoonists. On the wave of sudden anti-Soviet atmosphere, their caricatures and comic strips in which they mocked Stalin became very popular. The sales of the magazine reached the unimaginable number of 170.000 copies. Instead of a small, state funded firm, "Kerempuh" magazine became a wealthy company. Strict Yugoslav economic regulations required all unexpected incomes to be paid to the government. Young editor Fadil Hadžić took a risk, and did not obey the directive. He decided to use the money for an unusual adventure with his collaborators – the making of an animated film. Thus started the production of *The Big Meeting* (*Veliki miting*) in 1950, an extremely important film for the future development of Croatian animation. Namely, the project that basically was an anti-Soviet propaganda, gathered together people who later on formed the core of the Zagreb School.

The most gifted among them was Walter Neugebauer, a naturalized Zagreb citizen who moved there from his native town of Tuzla who started his career at the age of fourteen. Already as a young man, Neugebauer had a phenomenal grasp on all the aspects of his trade. He drew dozens of comic strips and published them in his own weekly magazine. During the war years, he earned his bread publishing a non-political comics magazine "Zabavnik" in which he also published other authors' comics. Neugebauer followed the rules of the 'round aesthetics' created in Disney's studio: the

⁶ See Giannalberto Bendazzi, *Twice the First: Quirino Cristiani and the Animated Feature Film*, CRC Focus, Boca Raton 2018.

base of each drawing was a circle, every character, be it human or animal, was constructed with circular, easily followed strokes, so that whatever we saw looked nice. His line was soft and elastic, the characters alive, caught in the movement, as if animated. Observable efforts were made in using movement that would achieve graphical and rhythmic continuity between the frames. A logical outcome of this was the fact that the same Walter Neugebauer was the key figure in the group that after World War II founded Croatian and Yugoslav animated film.

Despite their inexperience, during one year of working on the film, the group managed to master all of the technical tricks and practical details of a job as complicated as making an animated film. *The Big Meeting* was a success, both in theatres and political committees. Fadil Hadžić, a twenty five-year-old writer from Bosnia who came to Zagreb to study, founded Duga Film, a film company that specialized in animated and puppet films. This was the beginning of what in a few short years would become a phenomenon renowned all over the world. Before starting Duga Film, Hadžić described his and his co-workers' ambitions as follows: *We shall try to depart from the usual schemes of foreign cartoons as much as possible and find new visual elements from our cultural legacy*⁷. Duga Film assembled almost all of the important artists (Nikola Kostelac, Borivoj Dovniković-Bordo, Aleksandar Marks, Vladimir Kristl, Vladimir Jutriša and Dušan Vukotić, a young Montenegrin who at that time came to Zagreb to study architecture) whose creative peak signalled the first of three most important phases of the evolution of the Zagreb School. During its short existence, from 1951 to 1952, Duga Film produced five films meeting high professional standards. Animators mastered the assembly line production, in other words, they worked as an effective team where the roles were strictly divided between the head animator, cartoonist, in-betweeners, director, art director, colourist, copier, cameraman and other specialist jobs. The first film produced in the studio was *Happy Event* (*Veseli doživljaj*, 1951) by Walter Neugebauer which was yet another perfect imitation of Disney's short films. However, the second film, Dušan Vukotić's *How Kićo Was Born* (*Kako se rodio Kićo*, 1951) came out with certain differences from the Disney tradition. Instead of the usual anthropomorphic animal characters, Vukotić created a human character, a short man named Kićo, an anti-hero whose adventures take place in the ordinary routines of life. The drawing in the film was very stylized and simplified, and he used the so-called *limited* animation, in other words, animation that was freer and more creative. These became the main traits of the Zagreb School in the years that followed.

⁷ Cit. per: *Zagrebački krug crtanog filma, knjiga prva* [*The Zagreb Circle of Drawn Animated Film. Vol. I*], eds. Ranko Munitić, Zlatko Sudović, Ex Libris, Zagreb 1978, p. 94.

While the animators of Duga Film were preparing their first colour film, *Little Red Riding Hood (Crvenkapica)*, an unexpected administrative directive arrived: due to the general shortage caused by the Soviet blockage, and as a measure of cost cutting, Duga Film was closed. Despite this heavy blow, the seed of Zagreb animation planted in “Kerempuh”, and transferred to Duga Film, carried on growing and evolving, to finally reach its highest peaks. In 1953, Zagreb Film was founded, its management, after a short period of fluctuation between documentary and feature film, made the reasonable decision to specialize in the production of animated films. Once again, the young artists had a place to which they could turn.

‘Elementary School’

Owing to the fact that they had mastered the craft, had fresh ideas, and were absolutely aware of their ambitions and the ways to realize them in the chosen medium, the young Zagreb animators won international acclaim shortly after the new studio was founded. Their first production was Vukotić’s *Playful Robot (Nestašni robot, 1956)*. The same day he finished this film, Vukotić started working on the next one, *Cowboy Jimmy (1957)*. This time the animation was even more ‘reduced’, almost ‘paralyzed’, while characters, rhythm, and movement were synchronized with individual film ideas, instead of dogmatic rules. His characters were two-dimensional geometrical symbols that, united with the background, resonated the most important aspirations of modern art. Furthermore, Vukotić was greatly influenced by Paul Klee. Dialogues were excluded, sound and music integrated with animation and the drawing, not being ‘above’ or ‘outside’ the film. It was obvious that Vukotić perceived animation as something absolutely dynamic. In one film he created rules, in the next one he broke them. *Cowboy Jimmy* brought the author and the Studio their first international award from the Berlin Film Festival. More important than the prize itself was the fact that one of the members of the jury was Norman McLaren.

Vukotić’s true successes were yet to come. *Concerto for Sub-Machine Gun (Koncert za mašinsku pušku, 1958)*, *Piccolo (1959)*, and *Ersatz (Surogat, 1961)* collected awards at almost all of the important film festivals around the world, while the author was celebrated as a new genius of animation. At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, Vukotić and McLaren stood as the most important names of worldwide artistic animation. While *Concerto for Sub-Machine Gun* was a humorous irony inspired by Hollywood, offering original animation and drawing solutions, *Ersatz* was

a satirical allegory full of carefully studied visual gags on the subject of human existence in the abyss of consumerist society.

However, from today's perspective, *Piccolo* is Vukotić's most interesting work. Evidently influenced by McLaren's *Neighbours* (1952), the film was an obvious metaphor on the subject of Serbs and Croats, two of the biggest Yugoslav nations. Two neighbours lived in one house (Yugoslavia) and their relations were quite good. They visited and helped each other (in an ingenious visual gag one neighbour even cut rain drops so they would not fall on the other one), until one of them bought a *piccolo*, a small mouth organ, and started playing. The other neighbour was envious and bought a bigger instrument, and started playing louder. The first neighbour went for an even bigger instrument – and so on and so forth. Finally, a war broke out between the two families (tribes), and the house was destroyed. It is hard to speculate what Vukotić's intention was, but it would be simply impossible not to see *Piccolo* as a symbol of nationalism.

The second prominent author of the Zagreb School was Nikola Kostelac whose films also won numerous awards. His major film was *Opening Night (Premijera)*, (1957), an excellently structured and skilfully directed story about snobbism. The film also owed much to the work of cartoonist Aleksandar Marks and animator Vladimir Jutriša. The first was a very capable and educated cartoonist and graphic artist with a fine sense for geometrical stylization, the latter was an animator with an unusual sense of timing, and together they were a harmonious team of artists who helped many authors to realize their ideas. This is particularly true of Vatroslav Mimica, the Zagreb School's great exception. Namely, he did not draw or animate, but instead he was a born filmmaker⁸ with a modern perception of the medium. He considered animation an aspect of cinematography. The special quality of animation was defined by something he called 'total editing'. This meant that editing did not consist only in cutting scenes; it meant editing every single frame. In a cartoon the director made twenty-four cuts in a second. His films like *Alone (Samac)*, (1958), *Happy End* (1958), or *At the Photographer's (Kod fotografa)*, (1959), mostly dealt with the alienation of individuals in modern society. The individual was lost, trapped in urban quarters, frustrated and terrified by the hyper mechanized surroundings.

⁸ Both Mimica and Vukotić continued their careers as feature film directors. However, Vukotić, who was undoubtedly one of the most important animators in the history of animation, realized several feature films which were far below his animated works, while Mimica became one of the leading feature film directors of Yugoslav cinema during the 1960s with films like *Monday or Tuesday (Ponedjeljak ili utorak)*, (1966), *Kaya, I'll Kill You! (Kaja, ubit ću te!)*, (1967), *The Event (Dogadaj)*, (1969).

During this initial period, another artist had a meteoric career: Vladimir Kristl, who was probably the most gifted artist in the history of Zagreb School⁹. If Mimica was a born filmmaker, Kristl was a born artist, interested in writing, film, theatre, painting, directing, acting, and almost any other artistic form. The film *Le Peau de Chagrin*¹⁰, made in 1960, was based on Balzac's famous story about a man obsessed with gambling to the extent that he was ready to sell his youth for money; this was definitely not a typical cartoon subject. In the view of the graphics, direction and animation, the film was many years ahead of its times. Kristl shaped it in art déco manner, using newspaper clips, advertisements, containers, and other unusual objects which created a collage background. His animation was much richer than Mimica's, characters were carefully studied, and animation had authentic rhythm and dynamics. *Le Peau de Chagrin* was one of the first animated films without humour or gags, instead it directly addressed viewer's emotions.

Today's young audiences, accustomed to electronically edited music videos or computer games, would probably be very confused about the point of Mimica's *Alone*. They would have great difficulty in understanding why the film was praised all over the world. Among the special features of *Alone*, one finds intersected images, multiplied scenes seen from different angles, or Mimica's treatment of space as a two-dimensional surface that 'acted' in a three-dimensional way. Today, none of these things sound special; more complicated procedures can be found in any TV commercial. Contrary to that, the fifty-eight year old film *Don Quixote (Don Kihot, 1961)* still appears impressive. In this masterpiece, Kristl managed to accomplish his old avant-garde desire to create film as visual music. The film was quite abstract, presenting mildly figurative elements. Nevertheless, these square heroes expressed drama and poetry through their rhythm and animation; telling a 'story' that any of us could 'read' as one pleases.

⁹ Vlado Kristl had a magnificent biography. He contributed his caricatures to "Kerempuh", and worked as cartoonist on *The Big Meeting*. He founded the visual art group Exat 51 which dealt a hard blow to socialist realism. As a staunch anti-communist, he then emigrated to South America. There he read in the newspapers about his former colleagues' success at the Cannes Film Festival, and returned to Zagreb. He immediately created his two masterpieces. In 1962, he made his first live-action film *General-in-Chief (General i resni clovek)*. The strong and bold satire used in the film was labeled as an insult to Tito and the film was banned. He defected again, this time to Germany. The fact that the management of Zagreb Film had no understanding of his *Don Quixote* sped up his departure. At the end of this film, somebody 'glued' a scene with a windmill and a voice-over 'explaining' what the film was all about. Kristl was infuriated. In Germany he shot two feature films *The Dam (Der Damm)* and *The Letter (Der Brief, 1965)*, in which he also acted. He returned shortly to animation, but without much success.

¹⁰ Co-directed by Ivo Vrbanić, an employee of Zagreb Film. However, Kristl did everything else by himself (background, drawing, animation etc.), so it is not difficult to decide who the real author of the film was.

The 1958 Cannes Film Festival marked the international ascent of the Zagreb studio. Screenings of Vukotić's, Kostelac's and Mimica's films took place as part of the program *Journes du Cinema*, and they were received with equal enthusiasm by viewers and critics. On that occasion Georges Sadoul and André Martin¹¹ for the first time wrote about a 'school' of animation founded in Zagreb. The school was characterized by an authentic vision of reality and the original use of the medium. The Cannes success was followed by triumphs at almost all of the important festivals around the world: Venice, Melbourne, San Francisco, Moscow, Montreal, Buenos Aires, and London. Finally, in 1962, *Ersatz* won the Oscar. The Zagreb School became known all over the world¹².

'High School'

The next phase in the development of the Zagreb School began with a short crisis. After creating another masterpiece, *The Game* (*Igra*, 1962), a combination of animated children's drawings and live-action footage, which was also Oscar-nominated, thirty-seven-year-old Dušan Vukotić decided to turn to live-action. As the only Yugoslav author who had won an Oscar and a very politically active person, he never had problems with funding his feature films¹³. Vatroslav Mimica followed Vukotić's example, Kostelac turned to commercials, while Kristl left for Germany.

The gap left after the departure of the four great authors soon began to fill with former assistants and helpers who got a chance to make their films. Introducing fresh ideas and innovations into the *auteur* procedures, new authors made a step forward in expanding authors' freedom and further individualized the process of filmmaking. In time, Zagreb Film completely abandoned assembly line production, transferring the responsibility to the author, who coordinated all the important elements of the film: drawing, rhythm, animation, direction, and often screenplay and editing.

¹¹ See Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka filmske animacije u Srbiji [Half a Century of Animated Film in Serbia]*, Institut za film, Aurora, Beograd 1999, p.11.

¹² Artistic success was accompanied by commercial gain. The series *The Cases* (*Slučajeva*, 1960-1961) was a twenty-six episode co-production with the USA, directed and animated by Zagreb artists and based on scripts by Phil Davis, while famous American animator Gene Deitch realized two episodes of *Popeye* in co-production with Zagreb Film (*Have Time Will Travel* and *Intellectual Interlude* both realized in 1961). See *Zagrebački krug...*, op. cit., p.178.

¹³ Some of the feature films he made were children's films: *The Seventh Continent* (*Sedmi kontinent*, 1966), and science-fiction *Guests from the Galaxy* (*Gosti iz galaksije*, 1981). He occasionally returned to animation making *Opera Cordis* (1968) and *Ars Gratia Artis* (1970), but these were far below what he achieved in the 1960s.

The first to take advantage of the opportunity offered was the pair Marks and Jutriša who introduced elements of horror in their animations. Their main piece *The Fly* (*Muha*, 1966), has an anecdotal structure and evokes sensations of discomfort, anxiety and impotence. The pair managed to conjure up a nightmarish atmosphere with the help of drawings, colour, sound, editing and minimal use of animation. The film featured unusually long frozen shots of a human character blinking. However, even this barely visible movement allowed the viewers to see the character's interior and to recognize his fear as their own.

Borivoj Dovniković, a popular caricaturist and experienced animator, working in the School from its beginnings, was finally given a chance to make his own films after having cooperated on others' works for so many years. After several short gag-films, such as *No Title* (*Bez naslova*, 1964) and some less appreciated films such as *Costumed rendez-vous* (*Kostimirani rendez vous*, 1965), in 1966 he made *Curiosity* (*Znatiželja*), his most important work which definitely established him as one of the central figures in the history of the Zagreb School. On a bench in a park, sat a sleepy little man, with a bag at his side. Every person that passed him wanted to peek into the bag, including the viewers. This was the first time the so-called 'living white' was used in a Zagreb School film. This was another of the School's inventions: white background serving as an active participant of film action. The whiteness released all kinds of things: figures and details that were inseparable parts of the story, fire brigades, military units on practice, even a ship with passengers peeking into the bag, only to get lost again in the white all/nothing space.

The same procedure Dovniković used in his next works, *Passenger in Second Class* (*Putnik drugog razreda*, 1972), *Learning to Walk* (*Škola hodanja* 1978), and *One Day of Life* (*Jedan dan života*, 1982). In all of these films, something is seen only if it serves some aspect of the story. The moment its function is fulfilled, the character or detail dissolves into in white (un)reality. Dovniković's heroes stood as symbols of the Zagreb School of Animation. They were anti-heroes, little people whose only wish was to be left alone in their simple everyday lives. However, always, for some unexplainable reason or event, their peaceful lives were messed up by cruel surroundings.

Several other authors of Zagreb Film appeared in this period. Zlatko Bourek¹⁴, a top graphic artist, began in 1964 with *Far Away I Saw Mist and Mud* (*I videl sam daljine maglene i kalne*), an artistically impressive adaptation of the poetry of the great Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža. His next film was *Folk Dance* (*Bećarac*, 1966) which visualized folk song and at the same time it was one of the few successful films made in

¹⁴ Zlatko Bourek passed away in Zagreb on May 11, 2018. Note by the Editors.

the technique of collage. Equally successful was his next film *The Cat* (*Mačka*, 1971), in which he flirted with pop-art under the influence of George Dunning's feature length *Yellow Submarine* (1968).

Another extremely important name in the history of Zagreb School was Zlatko Grgić, undoubtedly one of the best gagmen that ever worked in the studio. His works such as the film *Little and Big* (*Mali i veliki*, 1966), the series *Maxi Cat* (1971-1976), or his major achievement *Dream Doll* (*Lutka snova*, 1979, made in cooperation with Bob Godfrey), besides having features characteristic of the Zagreb School, had also much in common with films made in the Warner Bros. studio. It was no wonder that Grgić ended his career on the North American continent. In addition, he was the main author of the internationally acclaimed series *Professor Baltazar* (1967-1978). His *auteur* film *The Musical Pig* (*Muzikalno prase*, 1965) can be interpreted as an actual metaphor of human prejudices. A little piglet sang beautifully, and in its travels, it encountered people engaged in fighting wars and struggling with various problems. Owing to the piglet's beautiful song, people put their differences behind and decided to celebrate – by eating the piglet.

The Fifth (*Peti*, 1964), was a small musical metaphor about loneliness expressed through the anecdote about a stubborn musician who wanted to become the fifth member of a quartet. Here, Grgić cooperated with Pavao Štalter, another original and prominent animator of the School. Štalter reached his creative peak with *Mask of Red Death* (*Maska crvene smrti*, 1969), a very successful production using collage technique. Štalter took over the production from Zdenko Gašparović, author of the screenplay, who after having started drawing for the film, emigrated to Canada. Made in the old technique used before cel-animation was invented (each drawing was cut out of paper and glued to the background), this film, according to the author this study, remains today the best interpretation of Edgar Allan Poe in the medium of animation. In 1964, young Boris Kolar made *Wow-Wow* (*Vau-vau*), a boldly and originally stylized piece, characterized by a nonchalant line, meaningless when static but when animated assuming unexpected shapes and meanings. Another good gagman was Ante Zaninović. Two of his funniest films date to the same period: *The Wall* (*Zid*, 1965) and *On Holes and Corks* (*O rupama i čepovima*, 1967).

Among many great authors working in the Zagreb School during the 1960s, one author stood out – Nedjeljko Dragić. He was probably the only animator whose contribution could be compared to that of Dušan Vukotić. Dragić, formerly known as a caricaturist, began his career as an assistant animator. His debut came with *Elegy* (*Elegija*, 1965), an average black-humour gag film. His next work, *Tamer of Wild*

Horses (*Krotitelj divljih konja*, 1966), won a Grand Prix at the most important festival of animated film, in the French city of Annecy in 1967. The film was technically consistent and presented a credible visualization of Vatroslav Mimica's scenario. It was no surprise that his funny anecdote about a highly technological society and the growing sense of alienation was favoured by the jurors. The award meant a great opportunity for Dragić, and he capitalized on it. His next two films *Diogenes Perhaps* (*Možda Diogen*, 1967) and particularly *Passing Days* (*Idu dani*, 1968) were characteristically individual, carrying a pessimistic vision of reality spiced up with bitter humour. Dragić managed to incorporate all the elements characteristic of the Zagreb School of Animation into a single film.

In *Passing Days*, probably the most important film that came out of Zagreb studio in that period, once again we meet a small, ordinary man whose only ambition is to live his simple lifestyle. Obviously, he does not succeed in doing so because his whole surroundings conspire against him. As soon as he opens the door, a policeman barges in and beats him up. A thief breaks in through the window, demonstrators run him over, soldiers shell his wall, his wife is hidden in the closet holding a man by his phallus-shaped nose, and so on and so forth – bitter days go by. Everyone and everything joins in against the man.

Dragić's animation was fast, full of energy, the tempo was fierce, drawings had a lively, free line, and characters were reduced to the essential. He also used the feature of functional whiteness. White background, at the same time the surface and space, spat out particular details only when they were needed: a chair appeared when the man wished to sit down, as soon as he stood up, the chair vanished; window, door, soldiers, wife, angel, and everything else began its existence only when it came in active contact with the man. Otherwise, they were integrated in white (un)reality. Filmic space materialized through movement. This implied that even the set design was movable and changeable. Literally everything moved in Dragić's films, and literally nothing was stable. The consequence of this procedure was a lack of classical editing; the whole film was made in one 'shot'. A scene was born out of the whiteness and died the moment when another one appeared. Interwoven scenes would come and go without any chronological order, exactly as we remember past days; as mixed and fused images with no beginning, and no ending.

Passing Days may not only be the most typical film of the Zagreb School of Animation but also a representative example of what in the world was associated with the so-called "Yugoslav style of animation". At the time of *Passing Days* and other previously

mentioned films, Zagreb Film reached its peak. Awards came from all parts of the world, many leading critics praised Zagreb artists, while at the same time, production was well-organized and most creators were in their best years. At the beginning of 1968, The Museum of Modern Art in New York organized a grand retrospective of the Zagreb School's films. Cartoon masterpieces made in the small Zagreb Studio had definitely conquered the world.

'Unfinished College'

The third and last phase of the golden era of the Zagreb School was marked by authors who reached their creative peaks in the 1970s. Unfortunately after this, the studio did not renew its creative capacities and at the beginning of the 1980s it became quite obvious that the phenomenon of the Zagreb School of Animation was over.

Owing to the film *Tup-Tup* (1972), which won an Oscar nomination, Dragić got the opportunity to get to know the New World. He collected impressions from his travels across America in a fascinating animated travel book *Diary* (*Dnevnik*, 1974). Dragić blended the scenes one into another, and featured drawings of great American cities in the manner of Saul Steinberg. The film was constructed as a visual essay full of allusive commentaries about the US – the empire of our times. *Diary* was an important event in the world of animation that won countless awards. After *Diary* it was hard to imagine that two-dimensional cartoons could go any further. Namely, beginning in the 1970s it was obvious that a new technique, three-dimensional model animation aided by computer graphics, was gaining on the old methods. Nevertheless, four years after *Diary*, a new creation came from Zagreb, made in the old cel technique, which surpassed not only Dragić's film, but all its contemporaries regardless of the technique in which they were made.

Zdenko Gašparović's *Satiemanía* was probably the best film ever made at Zagreb Film, and was also the School's swan song. Before *Satiemanía*, Gašparović's name was known only in narrow professional circles. He participated in some important creations; he was one of Grgić's few collaborators working on *Professor Baltazar*. He also worked in some of the world's greatest studios of commercial animation where he acquired impressive experience. His love of avant-garde composer Eric Satie's music that he listened to for years while working turned out to be an exceptional source of inspiration. Visualizing the beloved music imprinted in his memories, Gašparović created an impressive work. *Satiemanía* was not only *the best film ever to come out of the studio on*

*the Sava river*¹⁵, but remained an unrivalled visual composition bursting with life, charged with eroticism and love, full of nostalgia and a certain intimate element that eluded explanation, but which every viewer felt as soon as they saw this masterpiece: *Satiemania* awoke memories of short moments of love and beauty worth living for. Technically, it was a work that subtly used the possibilities of double exposition, giving the author a free hand to present all of his luxuriant artistic talent. Soft transitions between the images and scenes presented a visual experience of irresistible charm, strength and beauty. The shot of a female face reflected in restless waters is arguably one of the most beautiful and exciting things seen in animation.

This work of unparalleled beauty marked the highest peak of Zagreb Film, after which came a sudden downfall, both on organizational and creative levels. True, even after *Satiemania* several important films were made by two representatives of the younger generation. Joško Marušić in *The Fish Eye (Riblje oko, 1980)* created a modern horror in animated medium, while in the *Skyscraper (Neboder, 1981)*, he recreated the atmosphere of his excellent urban caricatures and produced a funny voyeuristic film with dozens of gags appearing at the same time. A prominent member of the unforgettable comic group “New Square” (“Novi kvadrat”), Krešimir Zimonić, in his film *Album (1983)* introduced visual tendencies of contemporary comic books in the Zagreb School’s house style. The old masters had not given up either. Pavao Štalter made *House 42 (Kuća 42, 1984)*, in a bold, risky, but not too successful attempt to make a film in the complicated technique of oil on celluloid, while Nedjeljko Dragić recalled the best days with his last film *Pictures from Memory (Slike iz sjećanja, 1987)*.

Still, this was only a shadow of the former successes. Several successful individual titles could not substitute for the past continual production of top films. Young animators mostly repeated what had been already seen and achieved instead of making their own breakthroughs in content and form. On the other hand, in other countries, animation was gaining ground. New techniques and a new culture influenced by electronic media started to dominate, and Zagreb Film slowly began to lose its position as an internationally important centre of animation.

The concept of ‘the third road’ as an ideological foundation

Art deals with man and the big secrets of life. Social circumstances in a given time and space, together with a particular situation a person finds oneself in, define each individual in a particular society and the art that develops in that society. Reality of

¹⁵ Giannalberto Bendazzi, *Cartoons: One Hundred Years of Cinema Animation*, John Libbey, London, Paris, Rome, Sydney 1994, p. 338.

human existence from the perspective of the Zagreb authors was strongly marked by the value system formed in the political atmosphere they worked and lived in.

Democracy and dictatorship were not the only two systems existing in the world, just as there were more colours than black and white. Between these two distinct poles there is a whole multi-coloured world, a spectre of countless colours and nuances. One of the ornaments in this vast mosaic of political history was Titoism, a strange combination of dictatorship and democracy which will probably be forgotten as soon as the last generation born in that system eventually passes away. Tito maintained his power by skilfully balancing between federal and republic institutions on the home turf, and the East and the West abroad. Yugoslavia introduced the idea of the so-called 'third road' in foreign politics. Geographically, and ideologically, Yugoslavia stood on the border between two confronting blocs but belonged to neither. In Belgrade, in 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement was founded with Tito as the central political figure. Even if they disliked communist ideology, most Yugoslav people respected the political stability of the country and the relatively good economic development. The idea of 'the third road' was extremely popular; people really saw their country as an alternative to the imperialist West and bureaucratic East. Many, including artists, believed that Yugoslavia presented the best combination of the two worlds. Although Yugoslavia had its share of politically engaged films, especially at the time of the so-called 'black wave'¹⁶, Yugoslav authors never confronted the system as fiercely as did Ján Kadar, Jiří Menzel, Ivan Passer and Miloš Forman in Czechoslovakia, Andrzej Wajda and Krzysztof Zanussi in Poland, Miklós Jancsó, Károly Makk, Zoltán Fábri and István Szabó in Hungary.

Yugoslav's regime was rarely criticized for lack of democracy; it was more fiercely attacked by the nationalist right wing, which sheds much light on the catastrophe that happened after Tito's death. Like most of the people, Yugoslav filmmakers rarely confronted the system, but were mostly its ardent propagators. This was also true in regard to the 'third road' idea which was unusually popular even among the creators of Yugoslavia's best films including the members of the Zagreb School of Animated Film. With the exception of Vladimir Kristl, the Zagreb authors were mostly opportunistic towards the regime. Besides active participation in politics, Vukotić also made several pro-regime films, *Mimica*, and later on *Dragić*, were members of the republic Central Committee of the Communist Union. Other leading animators were also loyal citizens of Federal Yugoslavia.

¹⁶ The tendency that emerged through the films of Dušan Makavejev, Aleksandar Petrović, Živojin Pavlović, Krsto Papić, Bahrudin Čengić, and others.

Still, satire was an important element of Zagreb films, but the satirical razor was directed towards actual global problems: racism, colonialism, pollution, hunger, poverty, fear of the A-bomb, war etc. Criticism was present, but it did not include social criticism. The Yugoslav system was not only spared of criticism, but it was – indirectly but indisputably – celebrated. The idea of a small, spiteful country existing on the borderline between two gigantic and hostile worlds was interwoven in many films made in the Zagreb studio. A small oasis of freedom surrounded by pressures, terror and danger was an all-present motif in animated anecdotes of the leading school's masters. A small man abused by his surroundings who, despite the troubles, kept fighting for his way of life, his independence and neutrality, was a common denominator of all the authors of the Zagreb School, regardless of their artistic profile and their filmic and visual expression.

Probably the most representative example of this trend was *Learning to Walk* (1978) by Borivoj Dovniković. At the beginning we see a small, happy man walking across the screen, hopping, bouncing, whistling and smiling. However, soon he meets other figures, much bigger and stronger who are marching, limping, dragging their feet, twitching their elbow or waving their head back and forth while walking. Each of them tries to teach the small man 'the right way' of walking. Trying to follow their advice, he starts limping, marching, twitching, and waving... all at the same time. But he is no longer happy. His attempt to please everyone turns out ridiculous. In a virtuosically animated finale we see the small man physically and mentally handicapped. Exhausted by other people's advice, he finally returns to his bouncy walk. Again he is hopping, bouncing, whistling and smiling, now the master of his own destiny.

A similar metaphor about the small man defying the big world can be found in a whole range of films of the Zagreb School. In Dovniković's film, *Passenger of Second Class* (1972), the small man's universe was his compartment. In *Curiosity* (1966), it was a park bench. Even in these miniature places, the hostile surroundings will not let them be. The small man, this time a tramp, was the hero of Dragić's *Diogenes Perhaps* (1976), and *Passing Days* (1968) where he was a simple taxpayer sitting in his living room. In Vukotić's *Ars Gratia Artis* (1970), he was an artist, in Štalter and Grgić's film *The Fifth* (1964), the small man was a musician rejected by the quartet. In Dovniković's *N.N.* (1979) and Dragić's *The Day I Stopped Smoking* (*Dan kad sam prestao pušiti*, 1982) we saw nothing but the small man, everything else was white, at the same time everything and nothing, the place out of which lurked invisible dangers. In Zaninović's film

On Holes and Corks (1967), the small man was living in a strange fortress when somebody or something started drilling his living space. In Marks and Jutriša's *Sisyphus* (*Sizif*, 1967), the small man was attacked by chairs, drawers, and other bits of furniture in his apartment. And so on, and so forth. Dozens more of these films featured this basic metaphor based on the small, bold, and optimistic man and his self-confident slalom between hostility, malice, and injustice in his surroundings.

The small man, often wearing his hat, was one of the rare Croatian national traits that could be seen in animated films, and it became a symbol of the Zagreb School and more generally, for the idea of neutrality, independence, and a big NO to bloc politics. A small defiant fellow coming from the border between worlds in conflict won a lot of sympathy at international festivals. It was no surprise, since his philosophy was interpreted as resistance to the arms race, the prospect of nuclear war, and other fears and anxieties that marked the time we usually refer to as the 'Cold War era'.

The Zagreb School films were not always received with equal enthusiasm in the world of animation. Joe Adamson in his book "Tex Avery: King of Cartoon" mocked Zagreb animation, claiming that the authors of Zagreb School would imitate Avery *if only they had sufficient funding*¹⁷. William Moritz, editor of the animation chapter of the "Oxford History of World Cinema", mentioned the whole phenomenon as *a marginal group of caricaturists gathered around Dušan Vukotić*¹⁸. However, they were only exceptions. The greatest world authorities in the domain of animation, such as Giannalberto Bendazzi, Paul Wells, and Olivier Cotte, writing in their major books, treated the Zagreb School precisely as this phenomenon deserves – as an extremely important chapter in the history of animation.

The crisis and the end of the school during the 1980s

Soon after Tito's death in 1980, the idea of the 'third road' turned out to be a completely 'unrealistic reality', just like *La Grande Illusion*. After Gorbachov, perestroika, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the end of the Cold War, the idea of the 'third road' and a country-in-between lost its initial meaning. Yugoslavia lost its international position, and moreover, dissolved in a bloody war.

¹⁷ Joe Adamson, *Tex Avery. King of Cartoons*, Da Capo Press, Cambridge 1975, p. 13.

¹⁸ William Moritz, *Animation in the Post-Industrial Era*, [in:] ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *The Oxford History of World Cinema*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1997, p. 554.

The political chaos that extended over the country at the beginning of the 1980s caused an economic crisis, and the first victim was culture. Zagreb Film was one of the institutions whose funding was radically cut. The small studio space in the Old Town of Zagreb found itself in the worse crisis ever. The number of productions constantly decreased until it fell to only a few films a year, whose quality was far below the Zagreb School's reputation. Times like the year of 1962, when, besides all the commercial work, the School produced twenty-three animated films, seemed out of reach in the 1980s. Many great names left Zagreb Film; they kept changing management, and a humble attempt to rejuvenate the studio and its production succeeded only partially; international awards stopped coming to Zagreb. The Yugoslav political crisis, however, was only one of the causes for the downfall of the Zagreb School of Animated Film. Even without the catastrophe, it is highly probable that Zagreb Film would not have been able to hold its position in the animation world, competing with Canada's National Film Board and British studios in full swing. The main reason for Zagreb Film's stagnation was the absence of any other technique apart from classic cel animation. In the studio's history, only several films were made in the collage technique, and everything else was done in classic cartoon film technique.

From its beginnings, the studio recruited newspaper cartoonists as animators, who always remained caricaturists, cartoonists, or illustrators, even after becoming directors. Leading authors of the Zagreb School showed no interest in puppet film, claymation or other forms of model animation. The possibilities of the Zagreb style, based on two dimensional drawing and anecdote, began to wear out by the 1970s, when most of the Zagreb Film production began to seem like *déjà vu*. At the same time, their strongest competitors, in Canada, the National Film Board and CBC, invested greatly in the development of new techniques. Countless animators from all around the world came to Canada, where they had excellent working conditions, and created with local artists the 'Canadian phenomenon' in animation, making films that filled some of the most brilliant pages of the history of film.

Other countries also produced successful animated films: the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Japan. Each of them made significant steps into the third dimension by experimenting with camera movement, the use of computers, etc. World animation was gradually abandoning the two-dimensional surface of the film image and dove into the depth of film space. With several exceptions (*Satiemania*, for example) two-dimensional Zagreb 'cartoons' were rapidly losing their breath in the race

with their competition. New techniques, primarily computer driven, quickly changed the face of animation. During the 1960s research began, the goal of which was to adapt computers to visual media. The 1970s saw an extremely fast development of computers in the USA, Japan and Western Europe. The first renowned author to make a computer animated film was John Halas, and the film was *Dilemma* (1981). Only eight years later, John Lasseter won an Oscar for his computer animation *Tin Toy* (1989), produced in his studio Pixar.

Technical progress, advancing since the 1990s, made animation ever-present in our every-day lives; electronic commercials, music videos, computer animated introductory credits, the so-called special effects, etc. Zagreb Film still exists and produces animated films, today as a cultural institution of the independent Republic of Croatia. A new generation of animators is trying to terminate the period of stagnation, and some of them have already made noticeable films. The term 'Zagreb School of Animation' has been a part of history for a long time, just like the country and the ideological system this phenomenon sprang from.

Milen Alempijević

Serbian Animation:

From Political Joke to Paradigm

Instead of introduction: *Mus ante portas!*

In January 1930, the renowned Serbian writer and diplomat, Miloš Crnjanski (1892-1977) gave readers of the “Politika” daily his impressions of the first screenings of sound movies in Paris. Emphasising their technical shortcomings, Crnjanski wrote about ‘live sonic drawings’. These sound-aided live drawings have delighted Paris. *People are filling cinemas only to see them. Most of all, to see the hero of these films, a little mouse or a rat called Mike, performing wonders on the screen (...) The creator of these films is unrestricted by anything: no actor’s stupidity, no photogenics, no problems with direction. The author is free. Imagination is free to do whatever it desires, to create, twist and ridicule...¹*

So, the Mouse was at Europe’s door, threatening to conquer it! France was overtaken by Mickey-mania and not even Crnjanski (author of “Migrations”/ “Seobe”, 1929, and “Novel about London”/ “Roman o Londonu”, 1971, classical pieces of modern Serbian literature) remained indifferent, enthusiastically elaborating on the achievements of the first cartoons, not only as a lucrative bait for the cinema audiences of the time but – much more importantly – as a new visual medium with a highly promising potential for expression.

In neighbouring Germany, however, the affirmative tone was mixed with opposing opinions. In 1930, the February issue of the “Film-Kurier” magazine described Mickey as *a beast who lives in the rhythm of jazz, and whose every step is a dance move, and every movement syncopated²*. The key word is *beast*, since in the prevailing political climate of Germany he is not worthy of respect, being either Black or Jewish, inevitably

¹ Miloš Crnjanski, “Mike, najveća senzacija ton filma” [“Mike, the Biggest Sensation of Cartoons”], [in:] ed. Ranko Munitić, *Zbornik o animaciji* [Proceedings on Animation], FCS, Beograd, 2009, p.14. First print: Politika (1930).

² Cit. per: Esther Leslie, *Hollywood Flatlands*, Verso Books, London, New York 2002, p. 81.

epitomising the immigrant heart of America³. It was in the same year that an iconic photograph was taken during Sergei Eisenstein's visit to the Disney studios in Burbank, portraying the famous Soviet cineaste holding a Mickey Mouse figure by the hand... Only a few years later, the mastermind of Nazi propaganda, Joseph Goebbels seized the opportunity to show Mickey Mouse films to his children in his private cinema⁴.

Another very interesting figure from the pre-war cultural milieu of Belgrade, Boško Tokin, writer and avant-garde artist, pioneer of film criticism since 1920, and the first Serbian aesthetician, writes about animated film zealously and with a deep understanding of the medium. This illustrative excerpt from the article "The World of Cartoons", published in the "Vreme" newspaper in Belgrade, in May 1940, speaks volumes: *The popularity of Mickey Mouse is amazing. No film star in any epoch of the seventh art has had the popularity of Mickey Mouse (...) This, however, is fully understandable considering that Mickey Mouse is the Charlie Chaplin of the world of cartoons. Mickey is truly the Chaplin of the animal world. Fighting against similar obstacles, he is an unrelenting optimist, and keeps on winning. And this is exactly the difference, since Chaplin, 'the man from nowhere' usually leaves without a happy end, while Mickey always wins*⁵.

The years before the World War II were a period of social and political turbulence, with cartoons having a prominent role in the public life, owing to their aesthetics and social value. This prominence did not go unnoticed by Serbian commentators in their texts addressed to the national public.

As for Mickey Mouse, having arrived in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia⁶ through comic books, he immediately turned out to be 'subversive'. "Politika" started publishing daily episodes of "Mickey Mouse as the Monarch of Medioka" beginning in September

³ Ibid.

⁴ American writer Sinclair Lewis claimed that in private circles Dr Goebbels was nicknamed 'Wotan's Mickey Mouse', which is an unambiguous hint of the mythological representation of the Old Germanic war god and his councillor, the raven. Ibid., p. 154.

⁵ Boško Tokin, "Svet crtanog filma" ["World of Animated Film"], [in:] ed. Ranko Munitić, *Zbornik...*, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶ To make it easier for readers, the state creation named Yugoslavia is often mentioned in historical context starting from 1929, when it was named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. After World War II, in 1945 it became the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ) and was composed of six republics and two autonomous regions. The new Constitutional Law renamed it Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963. At the beginning of the 1990s, Yugoslavia fell apart and two of its former republics, Serbia and Montenegro, remained united under the name of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ). Serbia became an independent country in 2006. For the entire period of existence of various states named Yugoslavia, the capital was always the largest Serbian city, Belgrade.

1937, but the comic book narrative was recognised by the censor as indicative of conditions in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, insinuating a situation in which the regent Pavle Karadorđević intended to attempt a *coup d'état* in order to take over power from the heir to the throne, minor Petar II. The comic book was automatically censored, with some episodes being simply left out, while the story itself ended rather vaguely, being brought to a sudden end. Its publication was soon abolished altogether, leading to some major consequences. The ambassadors protested and diplomatic relations between the USA and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia became strained; the “New York Times” correspondent in Belgrade, Hubert Harrison, became a *persona non grata* and was ordered to leave the country because of his reports on the case of censorship. The “Politika” office received a letter from Walt Disney himself, who apologised somewhat ironically and recommended that the newspaper ought to continue publishing the Mickey Mouse comics after all, which eventually happened after tensions relaxed. The version of the comic published in the 1950s in the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia was also an eyesore for the new government headed by the glorified and adored war commander, the post-war marshal and lifelong president of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980). The censors in the communist regime read the comic using a different register, whereby the mention of the kingdom and its monarch in a positive context meant nothing less than reactionary propaganda, to be treated as an act of treason. Apparently, while each regime was trying to read in its own political and ideological connotation, readers suffered the greatest loss, being deprived of the comic featuring their favourite hero, as they were unable to read it in its entirety until after Tito’s death.

Pioneers and founders

Following the first attempts at animation in Serbia, which can be seen as proto-animation dating back to the period before the early 1920s with very few surviving traces, there is a general agreement among researchers that the year 1925 represents the starting point of the recorded history of Serbian animation. The first (surviving) Serbian animated film is considered to be the piece created by Ernest Bošnjak (1876-1963) using object animation technique. Featuring rudimentary animation, the film *Look Here and You Will Find! A Million! (Ovde traži pa ćeš naći! Milijon!)*, is in actual fact a three-minute commercial produced by Bošnjak on fifty-three meters of film stock, as an advertisement for a wealthy Belgrade merchant, who was supposed to provide financial support for Bošnjak’s films⁷.

⁷ Stevan Jovičić, “Prethodnica animacije” [“Animation Review”], [in:] *Animirani film [Animated Film]*, Festival jugoslovenskog dokumentarnog i kratkometražnog filma, Beograd 2000, p. 102.

Professor Nikola Majdak (1927-2013) remarks that during the 1930s Belgrade had adequate conditions for the development of animation, especially after Zvonko Maar moved in from Zagreb, setting up his 'MAAR Sound Film Advertisement' company. This studio became a meeting place for important pioneers of Yugoslav cinematography, who – according to some estimates – managed to produce around 200 films with a duration of between twenty seconds and four minutes, in addition to longer ones⁸.

In Belgrade under German occupation starting from 1941, the Mišković Film company produced short propaganda film journals titled *The Weekly Overview (Nedeljni pregled)*. These were shown before film screenings, and several of these films from 1943 and 1944 have been preserved. They were made using mostly the collage and object animation techniques, and their purpose was to follow and comment on certain events and figures. The historian Stevan Jovičić mentions the discovery of Tito's depiction in one of these animated stories from 1943⁹.

Film is the most important art for us, shouted the leader of the Soviet Union, fully aware of the propaganda power of cinematography, but also announcing the epoch of censorship and prosecution of ideological opponents. Carried by the tide of Lenin's enthusiasm for film, the new Yugoslav post-war government embarked on yet another area of renewal for the war-devastated country. The government set up the Cinematography Committee, which initiated a seminar for cartoons in the summer of 1947. This sequence of events brings us to another prominent Serbian writer, this time a figure within the agitprop¹⁰, and a former member of the circle of Belgrade surrealists, the novelist and poet Aleksandar Vučo¹¹ (1897-1985), who signed document No. 6560 issued by the Cinematography Committee on October 2, 1947, with the following announcement:

Our film production intends to commence in the near future the production of cartoons. To this purpose, this Committee organised a short course on cartoons in which you participated.

⁸ Nikola Majdak, "Praistorija beogradske animacije" ["Prehistory of the Belgrade Animation"], [in:] ed. Ranko Munitić, *Zbornik...*, op. cit., p. 163.

⁹ Stevan Jovičić, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁰ Abbreviation from the political jargon of the time, combining the terms *agitation* and *propaganda*.

¹¹ Apart from a literary *oeuvre* in which a major part is occupied by the novels "Dead Parols" ("Mrtve javke", 1954) and "Dazedness" ("Omame", 1973), Vučo wrote film scenarios for *Sofka* (1948, dir. Radoš Novaković), *Gypsy Woman (Ciganka)*, 1953, dir. Vojislav Nanović) and *The Wind Stopped before Dawn (Vetar je stao pred zorom)*, 1959, dir. Radoš Novaković). He was also the Managing Director for Avala Film and Zvezda Film enterprises.

The Committee believes that it is necessary to continue making steps along the set course of the preparation phase and would therefore like to invite you to contribute proposals in the form of sketches of characters which would best suit our cartoon. The types and characters ought to be taken from our distant and near past, but also from our present-day reality. It is our opinion that characters from our folk stories would be very suitable for this purpose, as well as characters from the life of our pioneers. Your proposals ought to include both positive and negative types and characters. If you should have a proposal regarding a scenario for a cartoon, please submit it to this Committee as well for an opinion about it. Every submitted drawing which is selected and included in our cartoon, as well as every scenario, will be awarded a prize. Death to fascism, freedom for the people!¹²

The course was mentored by Stanislaw Shultz from the then Czechoslovakia, and one of the participants was the Belgrade painter Vera Jocić (1912-2000), who was also one of the recipients of the letter signed by Aleksandar Vučo of the Cinematography Committee. At that time, she had already made her first attempts at animation working at Avala Film, using the puppet animation technique. Following her studies in Prague, where she had a chance to visit the studio of master Jiří Trnka, she made a full commitment to puppet animation. In 1949, working together with her husband Ljubiša Jocić (1910-1978), the unconventional and extravagant Belgrade painter and poet¹³, Vera produced the first Yugoslav puppet animated film, *The Pioneer and the Bad Mark* (*Pionir i dvojka*). In line with the Committee's instructions, the film elaborates on a contemporary story about a Yugoslav pioneer¹⁴ and his school chores. In 1950, the film won the award as the best pedagogical film at the festival in Venice and commenting on this occasion, Vera Jocić summarised her artistic and theoretical *credo* in the article "A few words on film with puppets", published in the Belgrade magazine "Film Culture":

¹² Nikola Majdak, "Praistorija čiji smo svedoci" ["Prehistory that We Have Witnessed"], *Filmograf. 20 godina animacije beogradskog kruga* (1984), p. 3.

¹³ Another member of the Belgrade surrealist circle, a Serbian artistic movement, initially under the strong influence of Dada and André Breton. The artists enjoyed a certain amount of free intellectual and artistic space, despite the mostly adverse social conditions in the years after World War II and socialist realism dictated by the official state ideology.

¹⁴ Pioneers (*Pioniri*) in the Communist and Socialist Yugoslavia were elementary school children who would mark celebrations dedicated to state holidays or president Tito's birthday by wearing bright red scarfs around their necks and blue hats with a five-pointed star, resembling the one worn by Partisans in World War II, popularly known as *titovka* ('Tito's cap'). There was an organisation named the Association of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, which was organised following the model of Soviet pioneer organisations.

*The puppet comes into film, using the artistic approach typical of the multiplication film, to show human life. Placing the film puppet in front of the camera, man produces an artistic form epitomising himself, bestowing upon the puppet his own destiny. The tiny puppet takes upon itself the whole burden of human suffering, it gets carried away by all of his joys and aspirations*¹⁵.

For a time, it was expected that Serbian animation would enter a golden age after the great success in Venice, however, this did not happen. After a whole decade of stagnation, it was not until the early 1960s that the first professional animated film appeared.

‘Redistribution’ of forces

The first post-war animated propaganda film, *All to Elections (Svi na izbore)* was made by the well-known comic artist Walter Neugebauer¹⁶ in 1946 in Zagreb (the administrative, economic and cultural centre of the then Yugoslav People’s Republic of Croatia), and soon after, other directors began to create animated films, despite the unfavourable technical and material climate. Following the establishment of a special studio within the Zagreb Film in 1953, the situation improved. With an evident divergence from the Disney visual aesthetics, using a simpler drawing style with reduced animation, the semantic level became more complex and intriguing; authors like Nikola Kostelac, Vatroslav Mimica and Dušan Vukotić emerged as outstanding talents. What is more, within a short period, their work became recognised outside Yugoslavia, gathering a number of international rewards and recognitions. This led to the creation of the so-called Zagreb School of Animation, and the syntagmatic identification of a tidal wave of outstanding creativity in the territory of Yugoslavia was formulated by George Sadoul and André Martin at the festivals in Cannes in 1958 and in Tours in 1959¹⁷. This meteoric ascent was crowned in 1962 when Dušan Vukotić received the Oscar for the short animated film *Ersatz*.

¹⁵ Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka filmske animacije u Srbiji [Half a Century of Animated Film in Serbia]*, Filmski institut, Aurora, Beograd 1999, p. 18.

¹⁶ Other notable comic artists should be also mentioned here. Konstantin Kuznjecov (1895-1980), Đorđe Lobačev (1909-2002), Nikola Navojev (1913-1940) and Sergej Solovjev (1901-1975), part of a Russian emigration which found its new home in Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia, in the 1920s. The four of them were the founders of modern comic art in Serbia and were at the forefront of the renowned ‘Belgrade Circle’, but, unlike Neugebauer’s, their activities have not impacted the development of Serbian animation at the time.

¹⁷ Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka...*, op. cit., p. 11.

While animation progressed in Croatia, nothing similar happened in Serbia. No chain reaction ever occurred – instead, there was a reduced effect, as if all the prospective authors and producers seemed to step back to make room for the Zagreb scene, recognizing the excellence of this efficient, albeit painstakingly created infrastructure, as well as the artistically imposing appearance of an *auteur* circle gathered around Zagreb Film. The well-known Serbian film theorist Božidar Zečević records his own comment on this topic: *Generally speaking, Belgrade animation was long overshadowed by the Zagreb school. The ‘repertoire policy’ of the numerous councils and funds took for granted a symmetry of kind, typical for Tito’s Yugoslavia. In the domain of short film, Zagreb was synonymous with animation, whereas Belgrade was linked to documentary film. This was also a general trend of distributing funds and sending films to festivals. It goes without saying that both Belgrade animators and Zagreb documentary artists suffered in the process*¹⁸.

It is worth remembering here an equally true and symptomatic statement made by the eminent theorist and aesthician of animation, Ranko Munitić (1943-2009): *Belgrade does not participate in this process in a practical way, but it does take a spiritual part in it, like a curious observer and lucid commentator*¹⁹.

Munitić’s observation becomes even more important in the light of the fact that the Zagreb school’s success was barely recognised by Zagreb’s cultural public, while at the same time the Zagreb school received an absolute recognition and whole-hearted acceptance in Belgrade. Individuality, lack of communication, intellectualism, ideology – all of these themes were added to the list of the conservative Zagreb critics. Munitić mentions the opinion of Anica Magašić, the then Minister of Culture of Croatia: *The topics used in the cartoons creators address are sometimes too universal and detached from our here and now. Why do they insist so much on the issue of human alienation, which is almost non-existent in our society? It is my personal belief that in this way our environment is burdened with problems it otherwise does not have*²⁰.

The international success of our cartoons (remember that at that time Croatia and Serbia were parts of a common country) was given prompt support by Belgrade critics, who produced comprehensive analyses of the extraordinary achievements of Vukotić and other authors. Dragoslav Zira Adamović, a journalist for the Belgrade political magazine “NIN” and who was the long-time editor of a cultural column in

¹⁸ Božidar Zečević, “Udahnuti život” [“Inhaling Life”], [in:] *Animirani film*, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁹ Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka...*, op. cit., p. 21.

²⁰ Cit. per: *Ibid.*, p. 22.

the “Politika” daily, meticulously recorded the novelties and the areas of expertise of the Zagreb artists: the avoidance of epigonism, with an abundance of daring, original ideas, strength of talent and imagination²¹. The prominent theorist and visual media critic Žika Bogdanović wrote about the following idea in the article “Dream and Virtue”, published in January 1964 in “Delo”, a Belgrade magazine for art and literature: *Visionaries in spirit, the Zagreb authors did not waste time on definitions, let alone theoretical manifests; they were guided by intuition, craziness of passion and creative ecstasy of god-creator. And when we look back on where it has taken them over the past ten years, we have to admit that this was the right choice too*²².

There were numerous other observations regarding the school, including those of the film theorist/critic Petar Volk, director/dramaturg Slobodan Novaković, writer/publicist Raša Popov, and director/screenwriter Stanislav Stanojević, among others from the Belgrade cultural milieu which inspired Ranko Munitić’s rather wistfully melancholic comment which tries to reconcile the disparate, describing the ill fated, dysfunctional, state-directed recipe of the former Yugoslavian system: *And, with my eyes closed, imagining the masterpieces of the ‘Zagreb School’ in the Belgrade cultural ambience, I am able to find in my mind an ideal constellation, a spiritual context truly deserved by these classy attainments*²³.

In the mid-1950s, the relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR had stabilised, but the culture and politics remained in conflict. Because of his writings about Yugoslav socialism in the American press and other similar incidents which were a thorn in the eye of Tito’s establishment, the Serbian politician, and later the best-known Serbian dissident Milovan Đilas was punished by a seven year prison sentence. The analysts interpreted this radical move of the Yugoslav president as the price for reconciliation with Moscow, and Tito’s actions served as an example for the others in the Eastern Bloc, sending a clear message that the measure of autonomic tolerance in a communist country stands in a direct proportion to the degree to which those controlling the power can actually control their own intelligence and their liberal and ‘revisionist’ aspirations²⁴.

²¹ Dragoslav Adamović, “Vatromet duha i boja” [“Fireworks of Soul and Colour”], [in:] ed. Ranko Munitić, *Zbornik...*, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

²² Žika Bogdanović, “San i vrlina” [“Dream and Virtue”], [in:] ed. Ranko Munitić, *Zbornik...*, op. cit., p. 80.

²³ Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka...*, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁴ See Antonjin Lim, Mira Lim, *Najvažnija umetnost: Istočnoevropski film u dvadesetom veku* [The Most Important Art: Eastern-European Film in the Twentieth Century], Clio, Beograd 2006, p. 230.

Towards the end of 1950s, the relations between Yugoslavia and USSR declined once again, but this was also the period of a relative prosperity in the domain of artistic creation, with socialist aesthetes winning the race in response to socialist and the so-called national realism.

A relatively obscure fact from the life of Josip Broz Tito came to light in the *Cinema Komunisto*, a documentary film made in 2010 by the Belgrade author Mila Turajlić. In her debut film, Ms Turajlić explores the disintegration of the once mighty Avala Film in Belgrade, comparing it to the similar fate of the Yugoslav state which supported it. This story portrays Tito as a 'film lover', whose residence included a screening hall with a personal cinema operator, where Tito watched films on an almost daily basis for decades. With an insatiable appetite for film-watching (around 9,000 recorded titles), Tito was also very generous to the Yugoslav film productions which glorified the great Partisan battles from World War II: *Kozara* (1962, dir. Veljko Bulajić); *Battle on the Neretva* (*Bitka na Neretvi*, 1969, dir. Veljko Bulajić, with an astronomic budget for the time of USD 70 million, seen by 4.5 million spectators in SFRY and around 350 million worldwide, nominated for an Oscar as the best foreign language film), *Sutjeska* (1973, dir. Stipe Delić), and *Užička Republika* (1974, dir. Žika Mitrović). The generous fees provided and the president's personal charisma brought world famous film stars such as Richard Burton, Yul Brynner, Orson Welles and Sergei Bondarchuk to these films. Although the author fails to make an explicit mention in the film of whether the Tito's film lists included animated films, she did mention in an informal conversation with the author of this text that Tito followed the successes of the Zagreb School and met with Vukotić²⁵ on a number of occasions, and in the course of their conversations gave an impression that Tito's interest in these developments was driven by his awareness of the international prestige achieved by the films, rather than his personal 'inclination' to

²⁵ In an interview, Vukotić's widow, Lila Andres Vukotić mentioned that in the year when he was awarded with the Oscar, Vukotić was received by Tito in his exclusive villa on the picturesque island of Brijuni in the Croatian archipelago. See Tomislav Čadež, "50 godina hrvatskog Oscara: Vukotić uopće nije htio ići na dodjelu. Mislio je da pored Disneyja nema šanse" ["Vukotić Did Not Even Want to Go to the Ceremony. He Thought that He Did Not Have a Chance With Disney"], *Jutarnji List* (2012). Retrieved from <https://www.jutarnji.hr/kultura/film-i-tv/50-godina-hrvatskog-oscar-a-vukotic-uopce-nije-htio-ici-na-dodjelu.-mislio-je-da-pored-disneyja-nema-sanse/2051220/> (access: 09.05.2018). However, Ms. Vukotić did not miss the opportunity to say that due to his nationality, Vukotić became a *persona non grata* for the new Croatian government in early 1990s, when he was forbidden to enter Zagreb Film, concluding that this kind of treatment of the prominent artist contributed to a deterioration in his health and eventually his death in 1998. See Ivana Horvat, "Lila", *Ladylike* (June 6, 2013). Retrieved from <http://www.ladylike.hr/kolumna-vise/lila-193> (access: 09.05.2018).

animated films. Whether Tito ever saw the film *General-in-Chief* (*General in resni človek*, 1962), made by another important member of the Zagreb School, Vlado Kristl (1923-2004), remains unknown, but the fact is that this satire directed against the President did not fail to catch the attention of the ever-vigilant keepers of the state, which got the author into trouble and, thusly aggravated, he eventually emigrated to Germany²⁶.

The beginning of the 1960s is important for Serbian animation because new films appeared after a long silence, together with some new names among authors. The historically important *Deadline* (*Rok*), an amateur release by Divna Jovanović made in 1960 in the Belgrade Cinema Club, continued the tradition of Norman McLaren's drawing on film stock, representing the introduction of its kind to the modern era of Serbian animation. The first professional animated films produced by the SAF-Avala studio in Belgrade are considered to be *Soloist* (*Solista*) and *Chalk Man* (*Čovek od krede*), both made in 1963 and both credited to the same director, Nikola Majdak. In the same year, the drawing artist Dragutin-Gane Milanović made *The Shark* with the *Tender Heart* (*Ajkula nežna srca*), and following years saw the appearance of films made by classy caricaturists Ivo Kušanić, Zoran Jovanović and others. The Belgrade production house with the longest record in animation is Dunav Film, which was active from 1963 until its closing in 2006. The animation studio of this house hosted a number of authors, contributing to production or co-production of their films. Two of the prominent authors from this period deserve a special mention here. The painter and caricaturist Borislav Šajtinac rose to international fame with his films produced in the Neoplanta studio in Novi Sad: *All that Flies Isn't a Bird* (*Nije ptica sve što leti*, 1970); *Temptation* (*Iskušenje*) and *Bride* (*Nevesta*), both from 1971; *Triumph* (*Trijumf*) and *Don Quixote* (*Don Kihot*, 1972). The classy drawing master, graphic artist and illustrator, later a professor, Dušan Petričić made *Romeo and Juliet by Willie Shakespeare as Performed by Monsters and Company* (*Romeo i Julija Vilija Šekspira u izvođenju trupe 'Monstrumi i družina'*, 1984).

At this point, it may appear as a digression to mention the Belgrade Cinema Club (founded in 1951) and its first members who left a lasting mark in the Serbian cinematography, including Živojin Pavlović, Marko Babac, Kokan Rakonjac, Mića Popović, Dušan Makavejev, Želimir Žilnik... however, since these artists later gave rise to the so-called Black Wave, this digression makes sense, as we will soon find out. The origination of the Black Wave was at one moment attributed by the Serbian director

²⁶ Giannalberto Bendazzi, *Animation: A World History: Volume II: The Birth of a Style - The Three Markets*, CRC Press, Boca Raton 2016, p. 70.

Aleksandar Saša Petrović (*I Even Met Happy Gypsies! Skupljači perja*, 1967) to Miko Tripalo²⁷, Tito's favourite among the young party officials, later a co-leader of the Croatian Spring²⁸. Despite quoting additional sources, the film critic and journalist Bogdan Tirnanić remained firm in his opinion that the origin of the name could not be adequately explained²⁹. The common feature of all the films from the Black Wave was the criticism of the existing state of affairs in SFRY, with an aim of making society a more productive, improved and humane form of Socialism, hence they were characterised by a markedly polemic tone, i.e. method³⁰. However, more often than not, the political establishment was not pleased with this polemical tone. The authors of the Black Wave were therefore publicly criticised and anathemised because of the social engagement of their films, whether actual or 'implanted' by committees in charge. There were numerous cases of films being banned from screening, directors being stopped from working and films being permanently seized in a 'bunker', while in the most radical case, the author received a prison sentence (Lazar Stojanović, for his film *Plastic Jesus! Plastični Isus* made in 1971).

The success of the Zagreb School on one side, and the political turbulence caused by the subversive film language propagated by the Black Wave authors left the Belgrade animators in a certain state of vacuum. They might have had the opportunity to speak about current social issues for themselves, but the question remains whether they were aware of the possibilities and the power of the medium in their hands, or perhaps thought that Makavejev, Žilnik and others were making big enough 'waves'.

In any case, the 1960s were the years in which the profession of animated filmmaking was established, and also the period of the first important achievements, while the 1970s and 1980s brought about the affirmation of a significant number of authors, such as Rastko Ćirić, who after making his debut feature *Circus Leaves the Town* (*Odlazi circus*, 1983), went on to produce a number of films, including *Tango Ragtime* (1985), *The Tower of Lalilon* (*Lalilonska kula*, 1988), *Scary Monsters* (*Ale i bauci*, 1989), *Farty* (*Prtko*, 1993), *Invisible and Bearly Visible Species* (*Nevidljive i teško vidljive životinjske vrste*, 1998), collecting numerous national and international recognitions. Rastko Ćirić is today a professor at the department for animation of the Faculty of Applied Arts in Belgrade.

²⁷ See Bogdan Tirnanić, *Crni talas [Black Wave]*, Filmski centar Srbije, Beograd 2011, p. 83.

²⁸ Croatian Spring or Maspok (Massive Movement) was a nationalist and secessionist movement in Croatia in 1971.

²⁹ Bogdan Tirnanić, *Crni...*, op. cit., p. 83.

³⁰ Greg DeCuir, Jr., *Jugoslovenski crni talas. Yugoslav Black Wave*, Filmski centar Srbije, Beograd 2011, p. 80.

According to Ranko Munitić, the period of 1990s: (...) *represents a time of general crises when any progress was very slow and greatly hampered, in which our proverbially handicapped and trouble-ridden cinema animation would suffer a particularly severe and painful blow*³¹.

Following the outbreak of the civil war, Yugoslavia disintegrated, bringing bloodshed and misery to all the parties involved. Serbia was stigmatised as the aggressor by an international community unwilling to analyse the conflict from all the different aspects of its complexity. The economic sanctions that were imposed on the country caused irreparable damage and a general collapse of the Serbian economy. By air raid and bombing of Serbia in 1999, the NATO set out to deal with the dictatorship and deadly politics of the Serbian president Slobodan Milošević, but showing scant regard for the consequences. The action resulted in the loss of life of a large number of innocent civilians, for whom spokesman of the Alliance coined a syntagm – ‘collateral damage’. On the back cover of Munitić’s book “Half a Century of Film Animation in Serbia”, often quoted in this text, there is a following dedication: *This book was published as a gesture of protest and defiance of aggression against Yugoslavia, during the war months (March-May 1999), by the Film Institute, Aurora and the author.*

In 1991, in circumstances leaving much to be desired, production began on a feature length puppet animation film *Foot Soldier Ant (Mrav pešadinac)*, directed by Slavko Tatić. The ant falls in love with the Princess, and their forbidden love becomes the cause of a war, until it eventually turns out that the two armies of ants have engaged in a warfare over a mere jar of jam. A fine hyperbole, according to the author, and a sting to defy the war that was already raging all over the former Yugoslavia³².

Finally, the 1990s oversaw the emergence of the Bikić Studio, the first private animation studio in Serbia. The studio was founded in 1989 by Veljko Bikić (1951-1998), who regrettably died too early. A true genius of the Belgrade animation scene, Veljko gathered around him a significant number of authors and collaborators (Miroslav Jelić, Ranko Radovanović, Zorana Keser, Zoran Simjanović, Sonja Đorđević, Nedeljko Ubović, Nenad Pukmajster, Darko Perović, Steva Živkov and many others), so that for a whole decade before it was closed, the studio represented a stable haven in which *auteur* films and commercial animation were produced. Talking about it, Božidar Zečević says:

³¹ Ranko Munitić, *Pola veka...*, p. 27.

³² Slavko Tatić, “Izazov lutka filma” [“The challenge of the puppet animation”], [in:] *Animirani film*, op. cit., p. 116.

Those of us who still remember the horrible years of sanctions, inflation, scarcity and humiliation, as well as total anabiosis of cultural and artistic life, are most likely to abandon recollection altogether, wishing this era a good riddance. The films made by Jelić, Ubović and others that will be analysed here, all bear a severe mark stamped by the 1990s, visible not only in the direct impact on the choices of the narrative made by the war and other critical events of the time, but also in the tones of uncertainty and frustration, woven into the very film fabric.

But just then, a ray of light appeared, as if to reassert the social theory of group dynamics promoted by the American social psychologist Curt Levin: creativity emerges as a defence against a common threat, associaiton occurs as a result of inter-connection and inter-dependance of individual destinies in the face of destructive upsurge³³.

Oh! *Tempora non mutantur!*

One of the most important names among the women of Serbian animation is by all means that of Vera Vlajić. In her *In the Alley of Dignitaries and Significant Events (U aleji velikana i velikih događaja*, 1977), which was made in collaboration with the drawing artist Slavomir Čalić in the early stage of her career, she bases her approach on the work of the renowned contemporary “Politika” caricaturist Zuko Džumhur, whose recognisable artistic expression overshadows the direction of the film.

The basic idea of the film is the global domination of the great military and political powers, the USA, USSR, France and Great Britain in the atmosphere of the Cold War and the arms race (sounds familiar even today, doesn't it?), and the author transmits them in a symbolic manner using the medium of animation, to a more or less coherent narrative. In the introduction, we see two hands (bearing visible insignia of the USSR and USA flags), grabbing and stacking piles of arms on weighing platforms, threatening to break the scales under the enormous burden. The succession of caricatures by Zuko Džumhur keeps unrolling on the screen, linked by a common line of militant history. There is, for example, the hypertrophic dove (of peace) with a helmet on its head, brooding on eggs marked with swastikas. Another one is the famous caricature which was the root of all the trouble of the main character in Emir Kusturica's *When Father Was Away on Business (Otac na službenom putu*, 1985), with Karl Marx sitting at a table, while a picture of Stalin hangs on the wall behind him – in the animated upgrade produced

³³ Božidar Zečević, “Bikić Studio između Dionisa i Sizifa” [“Bikić Studio between Dionysos and Sisyphus”], [in:] eds. Rastko Čirić, Miroslav Jelić, Milan Novaković, *Bikić Studio*, FCS, Beograd 2013, p. 9.

by Vera Vlajić, we see a gag-like scene in which Stalin himself drives the nail holding the picture, apparently trying to prevent it from falling down. A bearded, capped figure (of Fidel Castro) emerges from the contours of the South American continent, holding out a hand to shake off the ashes from a cigar into a hat made of the American flag. To round off this review of memorable scenes is a picture in which an Arab and a Jew sit facing each other, with descending hats covering their eyes, coloured like flags (an American top hat and a British bowler hat), or recognisable for their shape and history (the French revolutionaries' hat from the eighteenth century, and the Russian officer's hat, shapka). At the very end, we see the Earth resting on the back of the film's main protagonists, like ancient Atlases, and we are even tempted to believe that despite everything they may be the ones who support it in reality with their declarative policy of peace and progressive economies – but only for a moment, because Vera Vlajić transforms the circles of the meridian into lines of a target, sending across a message of the hypocrisy of the rulers of our planet.

Director Nikola Majdak deals with the establishment in a similar manner in his film *Le Grand Guignol* (1993). The hand-drawn marionette, dressed like Harlequin (resembling a creature from a Hieronymus Bosch painting) ascends a stage, and close-ups reveal a satanic grin on his face. His movements are jerky, spasmodic and neurotic, and he keeps tumbling and wriggling, as if possessed by a strange force or in great pains. His movements may at moments seem like a wild dance, were it not for their chaotic impulse. The shots in which Harlequin performs his unpredictable play interchange with ones in which the stage is hidden behind the curtain, while the screen shows a picture conveying hidden threats and fear: there are scenes of a marching army, a surging tank unit, war planes flying overhead, followed by explosions and whirls of rising smoke... To recreate the militant scenes, Majdak uses archive documentary footage. The character apparently enjoys itself watching and ridiculing the scenes: it takes off its trousers and puts on the Harlequin's cap sticking its butt through the opening for the face, obscenely showing its middle finger. Suddenly, strings pull him upwards, followed by a cut and the appearance of a large head which keeps munching, while the strings hang out of his mouth. The apparent metaphor of Leviathan, upgraded by a live-action actor whose hand is stuck inside the head, holding it, therefore he must be the Grand Guignol, Master of the Game. The actor's face is covered with a white mask of a mime and he walks away mechanically, exiting through a door and disappearing into the haze. This is followed by a fatalist epilogue: the screen is filled with the A-bomb mushroom cloud...

The idea for the film came from Borislav Šajtinac and is very clear on many levels and on the present symbolical meaning: the forces of the irrational are always there, ready to take control (archive materials), while an ordinary individual (Harlequin) has a slim chance of stopping them, his voice disappearing in the prevailing noise of civilisation, exposing him as a mere object of manipulation (the Great Guignol, with the face hidden under the mask). Majdak took care to adapt the story through the director's intervention, and the drawing artist and animator Nikola Rogić made a contribution as well, with suggestive drawing and dynamic animation. Šajtinac and Majdak base their story on Shakespeare's lines comparing the world to a stage, purposefully producing a counter-point to the artificiality of theatrical performance and the horrifying reality of the outer world which becomes its object. Through the very choice of puppets, routinely recognised as children's theatre items, this dichotomy is heightened and emphasised. The theatre of absurd ends in an atomic explosion, and this nihilistic crescendo is in actual fact the pessimistic author's warning to mankind, whose downfall cannot be stopped.

The *auteur* register and vocabulary of Majdak remain almost identical in his film *Pontius Pilatus Secundus* (1996). The camera ushers us into the impenetrable darkness of a tunnel, leading to a hallucinatingly fast succession of scenes: mighty weapons pouring fire, scenes of destruction, dead bodies, a hand swinging a dagger, a falling crucifix... This time, the documentary material is even more intense and more visually pronounced, achieved through hyper dynamic editing. The picture becomes darker and after a few moments, there is the sound of steps and casual whistling. Out of the darkness comes a classically animated figure of a middle-aged man wearing a suit and tie, with a halo above his head. The song he is whistling is "When the Saints Go Marching In". Coming out of the tunnel, he keeps on walking across burnt-out land, with protruding skeletons of people and animals. Realising that his hands are smeared in blood, he starts to panic, but only for a while, until he washes them and continues walking, as carelessly as before. The camera moves away, and we now see how each of his steps leaves a bloody footprint. In one of his interviews, Majdak shares the following impressions: *Having begun meddling with modern life and its affairs, from the bitter side of it, I would like to mention the film Pontius Pilatus Secundus. Looking back at recent events [civil war in former Yugoslavia, note by M. A.], through a well-known person, one of Jesus' judges, the film contemplates the problem of guilt in a war. There were those who did not like it, but my friend and drawing artist Duško Arsenić managed to give human conscience a decent poke*³⁴.

³⁴ Nikola Majdak, "Umetnost animacije" ["The Art of Animation"], [in:] *Animirani Film*, op. cit., p. 71.

Making almost the same point as Vera Vlajić, using the simplified but highly efficient symbolism of a globe – as the camera zooms out, we see a fissure of blood covering Europe. After the final zoom out, we see that the whole world has been trampled.

Miloš Tomić is today an established Serbian visual artist (in 2013 he was one of the representatives of Serbia in the 55th Venice Biennale), in whose *oeuvre* of short films a special place belongs to the corpus of stop motion animated films. Tomić proved himself a hugely inventive creator in this field, and his films *Clay Pigeon* (*Glineni golub*, 2005), *Hairs* (*Dlake*, 2007) and *Spitted by Kiss* (*Zapljunuti poljupcem*, 2007) reveal a mastery in technical and poetic approach. Tomić completed his doctoral studies at FAMU in Prague, and the theme of his dissertation was “Value of disposed objects, i.e. trash as material for film, photography, animation...”. In many ways, Miloš Tomić stands out as an author in the Belgrade and Serbian art scene.

The early film *Miloš Tomić as an Ox...* (*Miloš Tomić kao vo...*, 2003) was the author’s Luddite manifest in which the director is the hero of his work, the main protagonist of a strange metamorphosis. While light movements of his hand seem to peel off the shirt from his body, locks of his hair disappear under his palms in the same manner. And when there is nothing left except a neatly cut moustache, a white T-shirt comes out of nowhere and in the next moment he becomes dressed in it. The next item is a recognisable olive-green shirt and a belt with harnesses... Finally, his cropped hair is covered by the *titovka* army cap, and the film title gets expanded, so that the initial ‘vo’ (ox) becomes ‘vojniki’ (soldier). Pixilation technique communicates visually in a highly suggestive manner, enabling extraordinary manoeuvring of the human body and objects³⁵.

The compulsory military service that once existed in Yugoslavia and Serbia meant that young men aged eighteen or nineteen were sent to garrisons around the country, spending fifteen or so months subjected to military drills and training in the use of arms, learning tactical skills, as well as being indoctrinated politically. Given the youth of the recruits, this experience of a long separation from the family would stick in the mind to the smallest detail, remaining in one’s memory for a lifetime. Tito’s doctrine of ‘armed people’ hoisted the Yugoslav People’s Army on a pedestal, giving it an aura of a ‘sacred cow’ in the social and political system of the country. This made Tomić’s animated miniature even more daring from the very title, where he uses the play on words, shortening the word ‘vojniki’ (soldier) to ‘vo’ (ox). Trivial as it may appear at

³⁵ Milen Alempijević, *Umetnost preterivanja: Beleške jednog gledaoca* [*The Art Of Exaggeration. Notes of One Viewer*], Ludibundus, Čačak 2014, p. 170.

first sight, the censors may still have found the statement provocative. To call someone an ox in Serbian colloquial jargon is a highly pejorative label, implying stupidity and/or rudeness, and since an ox is also a weight-carrying animal, there is the underlying connotation that a prospective soldier becomes also cheap labour, satisfying the needs of civilian society (the Army was routinely placed at the disposal of society for all types of public work, hence the 'People's' denomination as part of its name). All of this gains an additional significance when we learn that the film was produced by the Army film centre Zastava Film from Belgrade, an institution which since its foundation in 1948 performed the function of creating propaganda for the then Yugoslav Army (today the Army of Serbia)³⁶. Tomić says that the colonel who supervised the film and the producer from Zastava Film did grasp the ironic tone of the film, critical towards the army, but without crossing the limit, without being rude or neglecting the essential meaning of the army³⁷. It remains unclear whether the people in charge later came to a different realisation and perhaps thought that what they were given was a "cuckoo's egg" instead of a little film to serve as an appealing propaganda device, especially knowing that Tomić's film is not listed in the catalogue of VFC Zastava Film³⁸. In any case, Tomić himself was a member of the Yugoslav People's Army, a fact which he sees as a powerful and emotional motive that a lot of people can identify with. Commenting on this, he adds, with a dose of resignation: *Things are different today, when it [military service, note by M.A.] is no longer compulsory, but there are wars all over the place...*³⁹

A well-known joke: the Russians shoot a rocket to the Moon and colour one side in red. The alarming news reaches the American general and all he does is asking: 'How much of it did they paint?' and the answer is: 'A quarter!', which he dismisses with a casual wave of the arm. So, the Russians keep on shooting the rockets up and keep painting, but the American general keeps calm even after three quarters of the Moon are red. After the Russians have finished the job and the whole Moon is red, the American general finally issues the order: 'OK', says he, 'Send in our men to write Coca Cola on it!'

³⁶ The name of this Centre is linked to works of such well-known directors as Stjepan Zanimović, Krsto Škanata, Predrag Golubović, as well as Nikola Majdak in the area of animation, and many other authors.

³⁷ Milen Alempijević, Miloš Tomić, personal communication (May 2018).

³⁸ "Zastava film. Vojnofilmski centar". Retrieved from <http://www.zastavafilm.mod.gov.rs/katalog.php?zanr=3> (access: 09.05.2018).

³⁹ Milen Alempijević, Miloš Tomić, personal communication (May 2018).

This was the template for the caricature-drawing animation *Red and Blue* by Duško Pašić (2008) which was selected in 2009 for the students competition programme of the Annecy Festival. In the narrative of the joke, the colour red represents the symbolic attempt of the Russian military hegemony to assert itself, whereas the Coca Cola brand represents the most eclatant example of American 'soft power' at the global level, in the areas of economic and popular culture. The stereotypical division into 'bad' and 'good' guys is implemented through the gag of writing out the advertisement, reasserting the cool image of the Americans. Pašić extends the joke with a final episode in which after the Coca Cola inscription has been placed on the Moon's surface, the Russians shoot up Santa Claus, who circles the Moon in his reindeer driven sleigh, but the Americans see this as a provocation which will not be tolerated, and bring him down with a projectile. In the end, this calls for retaliation and the next Russian missile aims at America... Pašić's predecessors in the films preceding the fall of the Berlin Wall recognised the frailty of the détente policy, while he emphasised in his author's comment the military and political division of the world, as well as the ease in which a disaster may strike, as if in a (bad) joke, ending with no one left to laugh.

Visual artist Ana Nedeljković and cinematographer Nikola Majdak, Jr. (son of Serbian animation pioneer Nikola Majdak), in their film *Rabbitland* (2013), produced using stop motion clay animation, created a narrative inspired by life in Serbia during 1990s. Telling a dark humoured tale of brainless rabbits who spend their time voting in elections, they present a brutal vision of modern society and re-examine some of its central issues, such as freedom of speech, personal and collective identity and also depict models of establishing a normal daily life in a state of social collapse. From the point of view of the two authors, *Rabbitland* is a kind of anti-utopian reality, yielding the visual impression of a devastated war zone. The authors are consistent in the exploitation of the aesthetics of ugliness, showing the figures and facial expressions of the pink⁴⁰ rabbits as disturbingly bizarre, thereby accentuating the omnipresent absurd to the point of paradox. In this setting, elections are held on a daily basis and represent the basic (and the only) activity the rabbits ever engage in and which fills them with pleasure. With a huge dose of irony, the authors call *Rabbitland* 'a highly ordered democracy',

⁴⁰ Although it is not specifically mentioned by the authors, one cannot but notice the association of the colour of the rabbits with the Serbian television channel RTV Pink with a national frequency using this colour as its trademark; a subcultural and media phenomenon of a kind, this television channel was attributed by the analysts with playing an important part in the populist degradation of cultural and aesthetic values that has taken place since 1990s.

alluding to side-effects of the transitional post-socialistic society in which they live themselves, witnessing its slow and painful regeneration. There is an interesting motif of the Bad Girls, created by Ana Nedeljković, originally serving the function of showing the author's views on a number of diverse social themes, careerism, women's sexuality and its representation in the history of art, themes of boundaries and isolation, while in the film they are the undisputed rulers of the Rabbitland, dictating the norms of social reality. The value of the film was recognised by the jury of the Generation 14+ Programme at 63. Berlin Festival, awarding it with the Crystal Bear for the best film; however, perhaps most importantly, is the fact that, although the paradigmatic, engaged approach of Nedeljković and Majdak leaves a bitter taste in the mouth, at the same time it also inspires faith in an uncompromising attitude of a new generation of animation artists in Serbia.

The title for the conclusion of this text about Serbian animation in the ideological and political maze is a Latin proverb which was exaltedly shouted in Belgrade cultural circles by Ljubiša Jocić, the co-author of the first important film of Serbian animation, *The Pioneer and the Bad Mark*, made in 1949. Though the original sentence claims that *Times change, and we change with them* (*Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*), still, if we look at our long unsafe contemporary world, it is likely that we will hear an echo of the cynical amazement formulated by Berthold Brecht, claiming that mankind is kept alive only by acts of bestiality, and realize that times, unfortunately, do not change after all. Serbian authors of various generations have instinctively recognised the artistic value of this *spleen*, incorporating it in their animated films.

PART IV

THE INDIVIDUALS

Guo Chunning (Maggie)

The Echo of Women through Silent Paper Cut-Out Animation:

“Scissorhands” Lotte Reiniger’s
Reflection through Body Language

Introduction

German film director Charlotte “Lotte” Reiniger (June 2, 1899 – June 19, 1981) is one of the most influential women directors because of her contributions to silhouette animation as well as to silent film. One of Reiniger’s favourite activities in her childhood was to perform shadow plays for her family and friends. Back then she did not realize that this art would lead her to the theatre of Max Reinhardt, who collaborated with the famous German dramatist Paul Wegener.

From the time Reiniger was fifteen years old, she aspired to be an actress, as she admired theatre performances directed by Paul Wegener. The famous artist was intrigued by Reiniger’s silhouette paper cut-outs of the performers from the theatre of Max Reinhardt. The actors from Paul Wegener’s play received them as free gifts, and this led to the foundation of Wegener and Reiniger’s future cooperation; mainly she did set design and acted as an extra. In the fifty films Reiniger produced throughout her life, her paper-cut characters fulfilled her dream of being more than a supporting actress. By cutting paper into pieces and reconstructing them, Reiniger acted as a variety of characters, from a Prince (*The Adventures of Prince Achmed/ Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Achmed*, 1926) to a Doctor (*Dr. Dolittle and his Animals/ Dr. Dolittle und seine Tiere*, 1928); from a magician boy (*Ten Minutes of Mozart/ Zehn Minuten Mozart*, 1930) to a bird hunter (*Papageno*, 1935). Even if these characters were male figures, they transmitted the reflection of a pioneer actress and artist.

Reiniger’s second silent feature film *Dr. Dolittle and his Animals* was not appreciated by the public, as it ignored the oncoming tide of sound film, but this animated work, inspired by Hugh Lofting’s novel of the same title, used gestures of animated characters to vividly speak with another kind of “sound”. While the first

several of Reiniger's films were lost or damaged in World War II, *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* and *Dr. Dolittle and his Animals* were restored by the British Film Institute in accordance with Reiniger's handbook from 1925. The pace and the running time differ from the originals though. Most of her work that we are discussing has actually lost much of the finer details, especially in the backgrounds. In the words of film historian William Moritz: *let's hope that a more authentic restoration becomes available soon*¹.

The Adventures of Prince Achmed is thought to be one of the oldest surviving feature-length animated films and is also considered to be the first avant-garde full-length animated feature. In fact, the first feature-length animated film was created by Argentinean artist Quirino Cristiani, but unfortunately, his works are lost. A similar debate is conducted in regard to the question of the first animated documentary, considering *The Sinking of the Lusitania* (dir. Winsor McCay, 1918, USA) which was a work of anti-war propaganda². *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* paved the way for usage of a multiplane camera, ten years earlier than its use in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937, dir. David Hand, USA), produced by Walt Disney. The entire film is animated in the silhouette technique which employs movable cardboard and metal cut-outs posed in front of illuminated sheets of glass. This special form glorifies the romantic fantasy of Prince Achmed who sets off on an adventure with a magical flying horse, and falls in love with Princess Peri Banu, becoming a new sparkling "star" in the mysterious sky of "The Arabian Nights".

Both discussions about precedence in the categories of animated features and animated documentaries reveal a phenomenon of the film archives: like human beings, they may "forget" something. In fact, lost memories of films become a force pushing researchers to rethink the narration of film history, and to explore the *oeuvre* of the artists behind the films. This paper will demonstrate that it does not matter if in actual fact, *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* is the first animated feature film, but will rather switch attention to the result of cross-cultural and artistic interdisciplinary practice of

¹ William Moritz, "Lotte Reiniger", *Animation World Magazine*, 1/3 (1996). Retrieved from <https://www.awn.com/mag/issue1.3/articles/moritz1.3.html> (access: 10.07.2018).

² The discussion on the category and precedence within animated documentary is vivid in animation studies. For reference the reader may search e.g. for the following works: Sybil DelGaudio, "If Truth Be Told, Can Toons Tell It? Documentary and Animation", *Film History* 9:2 (1997), pp. 189-199; Annabelle Honess Roe, *Animated Documentary*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, New York 2013; Guo Chunqing, "The Archaeology of Memory: The Explorations of Animated Documentary", [in:] eds. Olga Bobrowska, Michał Bobrowski, *Obsession, Perversion, Rebellion. Twisted Dreams of Central European Animation*, Galeria Bielska BWA, Bielsko-Biała, Kraków 2016, pp. 42-59.

the circle of Lotte Reiniger³. As noted already, she masterfully dominated paper cut-out characters and their gestures as a reflection of her own desire for performance. She could also be considered a representative of women artists who I would like to name “Scissorhands”, as Reiniger’s work may be interpreted as dialoguing with Dada artist Hannah Höch’s collages that later on, among others, influenced African-American artist Kara Walker’s modern paper cut-out screen installations.

I. The specific role of paper cut-out animation in Reiniger’s career

Paper cut-out animation played an important role in Reiniger’s life and career. It became a means of expression that opened the door for her to theatre and cinema, and also shaped the distinctive style and body language of her artistic works. “Body language” here is a metaphor to relate how Reiniger gave life to her animated characters with fleshiness of design and gestures. This paper attempts to use the metaphor of “body language” to emphasize the fact that Reiniger’s animation actually offered a new “body language” in the silent film age. For each character, Reiniger checked their action of “standing”, “sitting”, “knelling” or “hopping” smoothly. These actions became very rhythmical elements in the “body language” demonstrated in the film. At the same time, “bodily communication” of the characters was a kind of reflection of Reiniger’s own understanding of body movements. Specifically, this “body language” was spoken out from Reiniger’s “hand language”, her skillful freestyle in using scissors to outline actions and gestures.

Jayne Pilling in “Women and Animation: A Compendium” mentions that the very young Lotte Reiniger was fascinated with the Chinese art of silhouette puppetry, she even built her own puppet theatre⁴. Reiniger’s silhouette portraying various actors attracted the attention of Paul Wegener, who quickly offered her a chance to make the title cards for his films, many of which featured her silhouettes.

Reiniger animated wooden rats and created the animated intertitles for *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* (*Rattenfänger von Hameln*, 1918, dir. Paul Wegener). The success of this work gained her admission into the Institute for Cultural Research (Institut für Kulturforschung), an experimental animation and short film studio. There she met her future creative partner and husband, Carl Koch, as well as other avant-garde artists including Hans Cürlis, Bertolt Brecht, and Berthold Bartosch. From 1919 to 1923,

³ This circle includes core members such as Walter Ruttmann (1887-1941), Berthold Bartosch (1893-1968), and Carl Koch (1892-1963).

⁴ See Jayne Pilling, *Women and Animation: A Compendium*, British Film Institute, Exhibition & Distribution Division, London 1992.

Reiniger made six short films, and notably, her first short film *The Ornament of the Enamoured Heart* (*Das Ornament des verliebten Herzens*, 1919) was distributed in the United States which established Reiniger's international fame and opened possibilities for feature-length animation filmmaking⁵.

In 1923 she was approached by Louis Hagen who asked her to realize a feature-length animated film. The main reason for Louis Hagen's investment was to fight Weimar hyperinflation, and Reiniger faced this challenge and demonstrated the courage to refresh the traditional concepts of animation: *We had to think twice. This was a never heard of thing. Animated films were supposed to make people roar with laughter, and nobody had dared to entertain an audience with them for more than ten minutes. Everybody to whom we talked in the industry about the proposition was horrified*⁶.

Reiniger dedicated herself to the making of *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* and considered the problem of creating feature animation and the avant-garde attitude toward animation as a new experiment in the silent film era. It is a formidable task to finish a feature film, not to mention the fact of undertaking it in such a period of inflation. This ambitious challenge was benefited by the sophistication of Reiniger's animated shorts, as well as her experience in the production of drama, of romantic themes and with group cooperation. All of these skills and qualities were displayed through the realm of international cultural circulation.

The original legendary story chosen from “The Arabian Nights”

During the early period of animation development, legendary stories and fairy-tales were especially frequent subjects of adaptation. At that time, directors believed that fantasy narration and exaggerated characters, their metamorphoses and transformations, could display the unique features of animated films. Reiniger also shared this conviction, and she believed that the form of silhouette paper cutting required a legendary story that would attract wide audiences. She chose “The Arabian Nights” (aka “One Thousand and One Nights”⁷) which undoubtedly evoked a mysterious colour for the Western

⁵ Christiane Schönfeld, “Lotte Reiniger and the Art of Animation”, [in:] eds. Christiane Schönfeld, Carmel Finnan, *Practicing Modernity: Female Creativity in the Weimar Republic*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 2006, p. 174.

⁶ Lotte Reiniger, “Die Geschichte meines Prinzen Achmed” [“The Story of My Prince Achmed”], *Der Film Spiegel* 5 (1926), p. 30.

⁷ *ألف ليلة وليلة* / “Alf layla wa-layla”. The origins and periodization of this classical piece of literature is a subject of a multitude of academic disputes that trace them back to the period of the so-called “Islamic Golden Age” (8th-14th century).

audience. The legend is narrated by a wise and brave girl, Scheherazade, who, in order to protect herself, her father and other women, keeps lengthening and embroidering stories she relates to the Sassanian King, eventually making him realize the cruelty and absurdity of his acts.

An interesting issue related to world literature arose: how to choose the edition of a classical novel from so many options? The history of “The Arabian Nights” is extremely complex and has many different translations and versions; Reiniger needed to carefully pick which to use, and she chose Andrew Lang’s “Blue Fairy Book”⁸. Instead of the more popular stories such as “Tale of the Fisherman and the Jinni”, “Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp” or “Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves”, Reiniger decided to adapt the less popular tale, “Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Peri-Banu”. This relatively unknown story about the glory of magical love was refreshing for many viewers.

The romantic topic and the relationship between the lovers

The original text of “Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Peri-Banu” offers almost all of the elements of a classical fantasy love story: a brave and smart prince, a beautiful but cursed princess, the evil king and the sorcerer who always creates obstacles for the lovers. To win the love of Peri-Banu, Ahmad must break the sorcerer’s curse, ride the flying horse and defeat the evil king. He will win the princess and at the same time, recover his own identity: as a real prince he comes back to the palace of his father who was deceived by the sorcerer. Though “Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Peri-Banu” comes from the Orient, it shares some common points and elements with Homer’s epic “The Odyssey”, especially the storyline of a prince/hero fighting to regain his own identity. Additionally, it is a classical love story based on the motif of breaking the magical curse.

Love itself is a kind of “curse”. “Love as a curse” and the spells muttered by the wizard add to the fantasy about the illusion of life and adventure which are reflected by the metaphor of silhouette. It was a familiar field for Reiniger since the director had dealt with romantic topics already in her first short work, *The Ornament of the Enamoured Heart*, a film that reflected the complicated relationships between lovers from the figurative transformations of a wreath.

⁸ Lotte Reiniger favored the variation of the story of Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Pari-Banu as presented in “The Blue Fairy Book” (1889), the first of Andrew Lang’s so-called “Fairy Books” series. Andrew Lang (1844-1912) was a Scottish academic, poet and novelist interested in folk narratives and arts .

Dramatic scenes combined with silhouette animation

When Reiniger was in her teenage years, she fell in love with film, which at that time, was in the process of transitioning from imitation of stage drama to an autonomous medium possessing a unique language associated with the invention of special effects. Reiniger was first inspired by the films of Georges Méliès because of their special effects, and also saw films made by the actor and director Paul Wegener. These two artists unveiled for Reiniger a chance to combine silhouette animation with dramaturgical narration.

Georges Méliès was a pioneer in directing films that are seen as magical movies that freed film from tradition of dramas through their use of early era special effects. His classical film *A Trip to the Moon* (*Le Voyage dans La Lune*, 1902, France) demonstrated the power of metamorphosis and was a source of inspiration to Reiniger for transformations of silhouettes. The early successful horror film *The Golem*⁹ by Paul Wegener achieved an impressive environmental mood through the use of light in the unique style of German Expressionist Art. Its magical style and determinism influenced Reiniger's choice of topics as well as the form of dramatic presentation of feelings.

Reiniger stepped into the film industry by designing scenography, additionally she made various title sequences, commercial shorts, and silhouette props for theatre. She also cooperated with Fritz Lang, creating set design with the use of paper cut-outs for his *The Nibelungs* (*Die Nibelungen*, 1924, Weimar Republic). The foundations of theatre art inspired the scenes and structure in *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*. The silhouette characters relied much more on gestures than facial expressions, adding a more dramatic style to this feature-length animation.

Cooperative experiences with feature film directors and support of artistic groups

During the silent era most animated films had a comical tone, which Reiniger pointed out to Louis Hagen when considering the difficulties in making an animated feature. One may notice that a serious attitude of animation, one that eliminates its entertaining characteristics, emerged as a dominant quality in the cooperation between Reiniger, Paul Wegener, Fritz Lang, and other groups of artists and designers who shared this same thoughtful attitude toward animation.

⁹ Paul Wegener wrote and directed several versions of the film adaptation of the Golem legend. *The Golem* (*Der Golem*, co-dir. Henrik Galeen) from 1915 is partially lost; *The Golem and the Dancing Girl* (*Der Golem und die Tänzerin*, co-dir. Rochus Gliese) from 1917 is considered lost, while *The Golem: How He Came into the World* (*Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam*, co-dir. Carl Boese) from 1920 stands for an iconic masterpiece of the expressionist trend in cinema.

Reiniger did not work alone, but was at the core of an active group of artists including Hans Richter, Walter Ruttmann, Oskar Fischinger, Hans Cürdis and Berthold Bartosch. Also, her husband and producer Carl Koch gave her a lot of support, especially regarding overseas sales issues. After she had achieved distribution success in the USA, Carl Koch helped Reiniger to produce many animated shorts, commercials and title sequences. Reiniger's fame rapidly spread abroad and she came to know the prestigious French poetic realism film directors such as Jean Renoir and René Clair. Thanks to the support of Jean Renoir, despite taking almost a year to find a distributor, once it premiered in Paris, *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* became a critical and popular success¹⁰.

The Adventures of Prince Achmed established silhouette animation as an important medium in the era of the silent screen. Through the characters of the prince, princess, wizard, evil king and flying horse, the paper cut-outs became a freely expressed art form for "Scissorhands" Lotte Reiniger. She also pioneered in combining sand and wax materials as backgrounds in order to highlight figures made with paper cut-outs. Reiniger designed all of the characters and participated in silhouette figure-making, she used hand-held scissors to connect parts of the bodies with threads. From the 1920s to 1930s, Reiniger's "Scissorhands" sensitivity contributed to the development of her distinctive artistic style; her characters were able to exhibit a fluidity which is very important to her expression. In the documentary *The Art of Lotte Reiniger* (dir. John Isaacs, 1970) she demonstrated her impressive ability to create characters, and her own unique style developed with the means of cut-out animation.

During the silent film era, most characters, animated and live-action alike, relied on exaggerated expression and gestures that would communicate with the audience. On the other hand, silhouette art was limited when it came to the representation of facial expressions, and this restraint became its unique characteristic. Though Reiniger's characters were not physiologically precise, this "incorrectness" of proportions and movement made the figures vivid. Especially in regard to Reiniger's outlines of characters, made with scissors rather than with pencils, one notices that the lines were more powerful and clearly defined, setting a bold mood of the prince's adventures.

II. The cutting object of the female "Scissorhands"

In order to create an extended fantastical mood for *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*, Reiniger designed a special device, the predecessor of the multiplane camera used a decade later by Walt Disney and Ub Iwerks. During production, Reiniger would put

¹⁰ Megan Ratner, "In the Shadows", *Art on Paper* 10:3 (2006), pp. 44-49.

silhouette figures on a glass animation table with the light positioned below, and the set was backlit. Above the animation table, she placed a camera with a manual shutter. Installed multiple panes of glass helped to achieve a layered effect. Each frame, the characters were moved only a little in order to achieve fluid movement on the big screen. Black and white film was shot at an 18 fps rate and hand-coloured. From 1923 to 1926, around 250,000 frames were produced on this animation table, and only a third of them were used in the final sixty-five minute film. As one of the oldest feature-length animations, it is at the same time the first avant-garde full-length animated film, and it influenced many subsequent animation and paper cut-outs artistic works.

It directly influenced some of Disney's works. There are reminiscences of Reiniger's aesthetics in *Fantasia* (dir. Samuel Armstrong, 1940, USA) in the beginning of the scene where Mickey Mouse and live-action performers (musicians) are present in the frame at the same time. In 1992 *Aladdin* (dir. Ron Clements, USA), an adaptation of "The Arabian Nights", a character named Prince Achmed makes a cameo at the beginning of this film. Importantly, Reiniger regarded silent film and paper cut-out animation as a unique media that offered perspectives for women artists. Her insistence in using silent film as an art form in the era of sound demonstrated an independent spirit which 'echoed' through her later creations.

The female perspective of paper cut-out animation

Paper cut-out and shadow plays were ancient symbols used during ceremonies, and among a variety of legends in different cultures and nations, they related to the mysterious calling of death. Chinese shadow plays, which had attracted Reiniger since childhood, can be traced back to the Han Dynasty¹¹ and referred to the story of grief after the loss of a beautiful woman and the desire to bring her back to life. The origin of Chinese shadow plays comes from the legend of Emperor Han Wudi (汉武帝) who missed his dead concubine Li Furen (李夫人) and hoped to revive her. The Taoist priest Li Shaoweng (李少翁) claimed to have the ability to bring Li Furen back to Wudi's palace. Li Shaoweng set up a curtain in front of Wudi and displayed the beautiful figure on it. What Wudi had probably seen was only a shadow of paper cut-outs or a paper puppet, and this story reflects the Far Eastern concepts of time and space, as well as Yin and Yang as a life circle.

¹¹ The second imperial dynasty of China (206 BC-220 AD).

In Greek philosophy, “shadows” are metaphors of reflections of the ideal world, as Plato demonstrated in the Allegory of the Cave in “The Republic”. In a form of a Socratic dialogue, Plato presents the case of a group of people living in chains, facing a blank wall their whole lives. The people watch projected shadows of objects appearing in front of a fire behind them on the wall and give names to these shadows, which represent false perceptions of reality. The shadows are the prisoners’ reality. “Shadows” became a metaphor of the other side of truth which reveals the complicated relationship between reality and illusion. In other words, shadows are another ‘realm’ that we are neither able to escape nor encounter.

There can be found an interesting ‘echo’ in Reiniger’s creation: she followed the mysterious calling of ancient shadow plays and used silhouette animation to interpret “The Arabian Nights” as an oriental text. After a long period of experimenting with paper cut-out animation, Reiniger realized that the illusion of animation remains another ‘realm’ that can be accessed through a play of the shadows. All of her characters were black silhouettes of outlines quite distant from the familiar cartoon figures of that time. The distinctive “shadows” have the power to evoke in the audience a revision of their attitudes, as in the context of the Allegory of the Cave.

It was not a coincidence that Lotte Reiniger, a German woman artist, focused on paper cut-outs and scissors as artistic devices at that particular moment. This can be perceived as an ‘echo’ of the work of the Dada artist Hannah Höch, and her cultural criticism of the masculinity dominating German society. The knives were Höch’s artistic weapon of choice with which she cut photos from newspapers and magazines. A collage “Cut with the Dada Kitchen Knife through the Last Weimar Beer-Belly Cultural Epoch in Germany”¹² (1919) is an excellent example of a piece that combines these three central themes in Höch’s works: androgyny, the “New Woman” and political discourse. It combines images of political leaders with sport athletes, mechanized images of the city, and Dada artists. Höch cut them with a kitchen knife and juxtaposed these images as photo-montages displaying the chaos and turmoil of Berlin’s visual culture from a female perspective. Scissors and knives, which were seen as tools of women’s housework, now became new artistic tools applied in a new context thanks to the efforts of Höch and Reiniger, and sometimes they could be more than tools, they could be weapons enabling the participation of women in artistic activities, promoting the idea of women working creatively in society in general.

¹² “Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser. Dada durch die letzte Weimarer Bierbauchkulturepoche Deutschlands”, 114 × 90 cm, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in Germany.

Reiniger's insistence on silhouette animation on silent screen

The love for shadow plays and the passion for drama and film led Reiniger to find her own way to understand and use silhouettes as a language of arts. Furthermore, her artistic insistence was not affected by mainstream industry. In *The Golem* Paul Wegener reflected his unique artistic vision and ideals by the means of his own body performance. Reiniger cooperated with Paul Wegener as a stage designer and supporting actress, and she became influenced by the notion of the art work being a particular reflection of the artist's own gestures and will.

Among more than forty animated works, Reiniger fulfilled her original dream to be an actress and not just an extra. *De facto* she became a main character as her gestures were reflected in her animated works. Only two years after the success of *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*, Reiniger created her second feature animation *Doctor Dolittle and his Animals*, an adaptation of a children's tale written by Hugh Lofting. Doctor John Dolittle is an English doctor who becomes a veterinarian after his parrot, Polynesia, teaches him how to speak animal languages. He has very few human friends and spends most of his time treating animals, traveling around the world with them and conducting research into new animal species as well as new forms of animal languages.

Like Doctor Dolittle, Reiniger was not understood by the audiences of her time in her art form. Doctor Dolittle became absorbed in the languages of animals, while Reiniger insisted on using silent film as a special art language in spite of cinema's transition into the sound era. Though praised by the famous critic Rudolf Arnheim and the influential magazine "Close Up", the animated film *Doctor Dolittle and his Animals* was unsuccessful from the perspective of exhibition, and according to Pierre Jouvanceau, Reiniger attributed her first relative failure to the advent of sound cinema¹³. Why did sound film have to be a determining advancement? Reiniger kept listening to her heart and chose a suitable art language: silent screen with silhouette animation, expressing an exceptional 'voice' on a stage which was comprised mostly of sound films.

Some people think there was no sound in her work because of the lack of spoken dialogue between the characters, but Reiniger's filmmaking did embrace classical music, which plays an important role in the films. In *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*, Reiniger invited Wolfgang Zeller to compose a symphonic score. Additionally, she designed a storyboard to guide the philharmonic orchestra, helping to control the music and narration. In *Doctor Dolittle and his Animals* the three-part structure of the

¹³ Pierre Jouvanceau, *The Silhouette Film*, trans. Clare Kitson, Le Mani, Genoa 2004, p. 44.

narration is coordinated with a score co-written by three musicians: Kurt Weill, Paul Hindemith and Paul Dessau. Reiniger's bold experiments with silent film, and her focus on paper cut-out animation may be interpreted as pursuits beyond the heterogeneity of the mainstream. With Reiniger's artistic insistence, paper made a leap from the material to become a unique medium.

Echos among "Scissorhands" women

The emergence of Reiniger's silhouette animation at the beginning of the twentieth century caused an 'echo' which will reverberate until the end of this century. African-American artist Kara Walker (born 1969) uses silhouettes in contemporary art installations. Working in multiple artistic fields, she can be identified as a painter, silhouettist, print-maker, installation artist, and filmmaker. In her works, Kara Walker explores the problems of race, gender, sexuality, violence, and identity, and she breaks barriers in traditional paper cut-out art.

For Walker, the silhouette is regarded as a "shadow" cast by the heavy history of Black Slavery. The scissors in her hands, the act of paper-cutting – these are weapons denouncing crime and revealing the depth of humanity. The silhouette is a popular tradition of American art history and was often used for family portraits and book illustrations. Walker carries on this portrait tradition but uses the pictures to create characters living in a nightmarish world, a world that reveals the brutality of American racism and inequality. The use of physical stereotypes such as flattened profiles, bigger lips, straighter noses, and longer hair helps the viewer to immediately distinguish the "blacks" from the "whites."

Walker has presented many exhibitions narrating black history. In 2005 at Tate Gallery, "8 Possible Beginnings or: The Creation of African-America, a Moving Picture" was exhibited, combining moving images and sound. In her video work, silhouettes are used as shadow puppets. She does not hide her hands while manipulating the paper cut-outs as puppets. Also, Walker uses her own dialogue with her daughter (*Mom, I want to be a white girl*) to demonstrate how the heritage of American slavery has affected her own image as an artist and a woman of colour. Paper cut-outs can be regarded as a device used by Walker to liberate herself as an artist. Walker found herself uncomfortable and afraid to address race within her art during her early college years. She had bitter experiences after moving to Georgia from California when she entered her new Georgia high school at the age of thirteen, often being excluded and called by 'the

N-world” or ‘Yankee’¹⁴. However, she found her voice on this topic while attending Master’s studies at the Rhode Island School of Design, where she began introducing the discourse of race into her art through the medium of paper cut-outs.

But do these black silhouettes really only refer to African Americans? If one walks into the big exhibition hall of “Darkytown Rebellion” (2001, Musée d’Art Moderne Grand-Duc Jean, Luxembourg), one is surrounded by the “Black Historical Flood” composed of twisted black silhouettes, witnessing how African-American slaves were oppressed during the Antebellum South period (i.e. between late eighteenth century until 1861). The shadows of the audience also overlap with these silhouettes, and reflect that everyone has a shadow, and as long as the concept of discrimination remains, everyone suffers humiliation.

In experiments of her paper cut-out animation, Reiniger reconsidered the relationship between characters and their backgrounds to highlight the adventures of the prince. Walker steps forward to rethink the background of paper as the “matrix”, a dialogue between positive/negative shapes that not only “gives birth” to the characters but also becomes a metaphor for the release of black people from their painful history into new life. Walker’s “Scissorhands” also serve as saving-hands for the slave bound in chains.

Paper cut-outs transform an ancient medium into an “echo” of images. In “The Poetics of Space”, Gaston Bachelard revises the concept of echoes: *The poetic image is not subject to an inner thrust. It is not an echo of the past. On the contrary, through the brilliance of an image, the distant past resounds with echoes, and it is hard to know at what depth these echoes will reverberate and die away*¹⁵.

Walker allows us to realize the link between paper cut-outs and human beings such as ourselves; Reiniger’s pioneering explorations in silhouette animation were groundbreaking. This German woman filmmaker established silhouette animation as a true art form that can reveal both mind and soul, evoking a responsive chord in the hearts of succeeding artists who use this new artistic entity.

* * *

¹⁴ “Kara Walker. Biography”. Retrieved from <https://www.theartstory.org/artist-walker-kara.htm> (access: 15.07.2018).

¹⁵ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas, Beacon Press, Boston 1994, p. xvi.

Conclusions: The “Phantom” of silent silhouette animation

The first several films of Reiniger were lost or damaged in World War II. *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* as well as *Dr. Dolittle and his Animals* were restored by the British Film Institute, but the originals of these films were lost to the flames of the bombing of Berlin. On one hand, many parts of these films were lost, and on the other hand, restoration changed the colour, sound and speed of them. This instigates an important question regarding research on silent film, similar to the revision of historical materials. No matter how much we wish to capture the essence of the original sources, they are distorted by the ‘phantom’ of the reparations, as we see in reference to the different pacing and the lost details of the films.

Silent film is an autonomous medium, its context and system refer to the means of its creation, communication and reception. Its own ‘phantom’ adds glory to the adventures that have been lost, restored and transformed, especially as represented in Reiniger’s early films.

The restoration of *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* was finished in 1970. When projected at the a rate of twenty-four frames per second, this originally ninety-minute film became a sixty-five minute film and many details were destroyed – especially the background designs. Reiniger’s second feature paper cut-out animation, *Dr. Dolittle and his Animals*, was also restored with new music, voice-over and additional frames. Nowadays, we can only guess what Reiniger intended with the gestures and body language of these seemingly fast-forwarded images. The memories of silent paper cut-out animation need to be continually explored with the consideration for the highest achievements of Lotte Reiniger’s “Scissorhands”.

Fortunately, the ‘echo’, a certain feedback related to Reiniger’s paper cut-outs animation, has not stopped. More than seventy years after the first silhouette animation, *The Adventures of Prince Achmed*, another silhouette feature appeared: *Princes and Princesses (Princes et Princesses, 2000)* created by French artist Michel Ocelot can be regarded as an artistic salute to Reiniger, as well as a perfect gift for her 101st birthday.

Vassilis Kroustallis

In and out of Europe:

Translocality and Cultural Hybridity

In *Crulic: The Path to Beyond* (2011)

European feature animation has recently witnessed an advancement in two ways, having undergone a resurgence in production and also in achieving a higher international profile. According to the European Audiovisual Observatory 2015 report on animation, even though American animated features still have the overall lead in admissions numbers, there were 250 animated features in thirty-six European countries recorded for the period 2010-2014¹. Films like *Triplets of Belleville* (*Les Triplettes de Belleville*, 2003, dir. Sylvain Chomet, France, Belgium, Canada, UK), *Persepolis* (2007, dir. Marjane Satrapi, Vincent Paronnaud, France, Iran) and *Waltz with Bashir* (*Vals Im Bashir*, 2008, dir. Ari Folman, Israel, Germany, France) have recently enjoyed Cannes Festival and Academy Award acknowledgment. Especially for films dealing with issues related to society as a whole and not targeted specifically for children, this may well be an animation spring: for several years, the trend of adult-skewed films in European animation has been growing. In 2016, a record was achieved: nearly 33 percent of the selected projects targeted an audience of teenagers/ adults and tackled political or sensitive subjects².

Crulic: The Path to Beyond (*Crulic – Drumul spre dincolo*, 2011, dir. Anca Damian, Romania, Poland³), even though its Eastern European heritage may make it a lower profile candidate to discuss and research, is also part of this same resurgence.

¹ Laura Ene, Deirdre Kevin, Julio Talavera Milla, Marta Jiménez Pumares, Patrizia Simone, *Mapping the Animation Industry in Europe*, European Audiovisual Observatory (Council of Europe), Strasbourg 2015, p. 11.

² Cartoon [Press Release], *Cartoon Movie will gather together more than 700 European animation film professionals from 2 to 4 March in Lyon*. Retrieved from <https://goo.gl/m7grHR> (access: 20.02.2018).

³ Film was produced by Aparte Film in co-production with Fundacja im. Ferdynanda Magellana, the Romanian Ministry of Culture and the Romanian Heritage, Editura Video, Krakow Festival Office.

Still, its Locarno Festival world premiere and its being awarded the Cristal for Best Feature Film at Annecy Festival the following year make this 'smaller' film by Anca Damian a fitting center of attention⁴.

The real historic case on which the film is based was also a matter of international sensation. In September 2007, the thirty-three-year-old Romanian Claudiu Crulic was accused in Krakow of the theft of a wallet, on July 11, 2007. He was arrested and detained at the Krakow Detention Center on Montelupich Street. His alibi claims and pledges for intervention by the Romanian Embassy worked to no avail. In protest, he went on a hunger strike, and his three-month detention was prolonged in December, while the strike was still going on. On January 11, 2008, prison officials and the presiding judge finally agreed to get Crulic into force-feeding; he was transferred to a civilian hospital, but died sixteen hours after admittance. Subsequent press investigation led to the resignation of the Minister of the Foreign Affairs in Romania, while in Poland, three doctors were officially accused of Crulic's death⁵.

The present paper examines Anca Damian's film within the purview of cultural studies and globalization framework of cultural hybridity⁶. This framework asserts that in a globalized world the notion of national and supra-national cultural identity is not single-handedly embodied by a unique source of power, but instead, is addressed by varying agents (nation-state, supra-national institutional organizations, old traditions) competing with each other for supremacy, and aided by more advanced technological means of propagating and networking information. The end result, the defining sense of personal and cultural identity is not a pastiche of uncritically absorbed influences which a person passively accepts and adopts. The person can actually use the same technological means and networking to his or her advantage, can reflect, react, modify, criticize and even introduce critical exploration to define his/her own identity, which constitutes the person's feedback on the globalized powerhouse.

⁴ Annecy International Animation Film Festival [Announcement], 2012 Award Winners. Retrieved from www.annecy.org/about/archives/2012/award-winners (access: 20.02.2018).

⁵ For an English-language report on Claudiu Crulic's case, see the 2008 article by Agnieszka Chmielecka from Human Rights House Warsaw, Agnieszka Chmielecka, "Starvation death of a Romanian at a detention center", Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, Poland (April 9, 2008). Retrieved from www.humanrightshouse.org/Articles/8607.html (access: 20.02.2018).

⁶ Indicative but not exclusive relevant works here are Marwan M. Kraidy, *Hybridity: or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia 2005; Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange, third edition*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland 2003/2015; Nikos Papastergiadis, "Hybridity and Ambivalence: Places and Flows in Contemporary Art and Culture, Theory", *Culture & Society* 22:4 (2005), pp. 39-64.

In the particular case of *Crulic: The Path to Beyond*, it is argued that (1) while Crulic's situation as depicted in the film negates in fact the post-1989, free-borders ideological rhetoric, however (2) it subverts the ideological stereotype of the foreigner and immigrant to make him a traveler (even in prison) who documents his experiences both in writing and photography, and (3) it employs animation and its varying techniques to make sense of a continuous (but varied) sense of identity for its subject as a European agent – even though this continuity is relocated to a European space of experiential connections and not the institutional politics of human rights and free movement of European citizens.

The notion of 'translocal neighborhood', coined by Arjun Appadurai in his 1996 book "Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization" will be a helpful concept here. In the post-1989 world, where nations are no longer the single vehicles of cultural power, old-forgotten structures now come up with a force. Regions, networks of family and friends, and even neighborhoods, as places where meaningful interactions between its members matter, are the new spatial structures, which can find a new life aided by new technological advancements. For Appadurai, neighborhoods are the places where the feeling and the activities of production and self-reproductions are primarily acted upon and *localized*, in contrast to the imaginary unitary and universalized character of the nation-state. Even in our globalized, technologically prominent world, the notion of belonging to a place is not lost, despite our feeling of bodiless virtual presence: transnational movements can still be locally-bound movements. Technology does not negate the sense of belonging to a place and a space, but instead makes it easier to identify with more than one locality. An increasingly complex process of localizing identities is taking place, bound by ties of marriage, work, business and leisure, which can in turn comprise *life-worlds constituted by relatively stable associations, by relatively known and shared histories, and by collectively traversed and legible spaces and places*⁷.

Instances of translocal environments may include touristic theme parks, permanently mobile groups of specialized workers (UN soldiers, technology development specialists, agricultural laborers) within a nation-state – their darker version includes quasi-permanent refugee camps, prisons and concentration camps all over the world. Within translocal communities, there are two kinds of contexts of meaning and identity localization: (a) since a neighborhood requires legible and reproducible patterns of action

⁷ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1996, p. 191.

already in place, localized rituals and social categories are required for the newcomers (babies, strangers, prisoners, guests) to accomplish. This will entail that they are welcome to the existing social structures. But at the same time, (b) subjects within the translocal community can engage and actually *produce* novel context, which might exceed the existing material and conceptual boundaries of the neighborhood (even fishing in a different village will do). Translocal neighborhoods are both contexts (frames, settings of meaning) and incubators of meanings. It goes without saying that not all translocal communities exemplify both elements to the same degree. Prisoners can only live in context-received neighborhoods, whereas technological experts can be the pioneers of context-generated translocal communities.

Crulic: The Path to Beyond, as viewed by Anca Damian, entails this double-faced picture of European space and community. In the first place, the national state practice precludes for Claudiu Crulic the human rights and freedom of movement that the supra-national European Union has advertised as its *raison d'être*, but often fails to achieve. Crulic is within a prison community or neighborhood; he cannot do much to produce new rules and new norms of meaning, but can only resist already established rules and terms of behavior expected of him. However, what happens in the whole film is not just Crulic's fight for justice – the entire trial and conviction is rather hastily conveyed in the film. Claudiu Crulic in *Crulic: The Path to Beyond* may generate his own identity-defining context, and construct his European perceived and imaginary neighborhood as part of his own extended 'family space'. He is a storyteller in images, a narrator and a traveler, who invests in experiences throughout the European space, without entertaining the possibility of free movement; and when this movement is denied, he is quick to invent and construct his own meaning.

Details of Crulic's predicament in prison are evident. Anca Ursa recalls the systematic and comprehensive structure of a dystopian atmosphere presented on screen, signaled by faceless persecutors⁸. Europe here appears as a space of free capital circulation; however, when people move from one nation to another, they are either 'strawberry people' (e.g. Romanians who work for almost nothing in Spanish strawberry farms) or they are imprisoned. This research isolates three factors in particular which show more than state oppression: they assert the inability of prisoner Crulic to function within an environment, which has all of the drawbacks of the non-homely place, but none of its virtues. In the film, these are identified in turn as (a) the

⁸ Anca Ursa, "Dystopia, Bureaucracy and Identity in *Crulic – The Path to Beyond*", *Caietele Equinox*, no. 29 (2015), pp. 365-371.

Detention Center sequence (b) the third-person English narration, and (c) the act of being recorded/ broadcast⁹.

The prison on Montelupich street, the place of Crulic's detention, has a history-laden past from both the Nazi and the Soviet era, when it functioned as a prison and a place of heavy oppression¹⁰. When Crulic is sent there, an impressively edited sequence (narrated in English to the audience) presents the Detention Center as a modern, up-to-date rehabilitation venue, full of educational and entertaining activities, a well-constructed and functional environment. The aesthetics of the sequence itself range between a modern ad and a Busby Berkeley-style musical choreography of prisoners and staff. It is understandable that the narrative function of the sequence is clearly to parody the real condition of the Detention Center; glimpses of the night life of detainees are later presented in the film with silent traveling shots, to depict violence, oppression and solitude still prevailing in the former Montelupich Prison.

Beyond parody, however, one gets the impression that the advertisement of the detention camp as a touristic theme park only substitutes a translocal, non-context generative community (prison) with another (tourist/entertainment theme park). Spectators in a tourist park may come from all places and nations, so they constitute a group (even temporarily), a translocal community. However, this specific kind of community (and unlike, for instance, technological innovative communities living in various Silicon Valleys) does not invest in generating new meaningful activities; they only participate in what has already been provided for them by others: games, dances, contests, travel guidance, entertaining events etc. The world of Nazi and Soviet prisons had a similar translocal and transnational fashion: it absorbed people from all places, and made

⁹ *Crulic* premiered at the 2011 Locarno Film Festival, with the Romanian actor Vlad Ivanov voicing Claudiu Crulic, and English narration by Jamie Sives. A Polish-language version followed, with Maciej Stuhr as Claudiu Crulic and Andrzej Olejnik as narrator. The film was subsequently dubbed in French (by Vlad Ivanov and Sandrine Bonnaire), and was released theatrically in France (12/12/2012) and other European countries, see "Crulic - drumul spre dincolo. Film Information" [Database on admissions of films released in Europe]. Retrieved from http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/film_info/?id=38816 (access 20.02.2018). The article refers to the Romanian-English language version of the film.

¹⁰ A detailed view of the Nazi function of the prison is to be found in Gusta Davidson Draenger's (aka Justyna) diary account. Gusta Davidson Draenger, *Justyna's Narrative*, eds. David H. Hirsch, Eli Pfefferkorn, trans. R. Hirsch & D. H. Hirsch, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, Massachusetts 1996. Anna Müller details, among other things, some of the experiences of Soviet-era women prisoners inside the Montelupich prison. Anna Müller, *If the Walls Could Speak: Inside a Women's Prison in Communist Poland*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York 2017, pp. 107, 178.

them completely adhere to the cultural context exclusively guided by the officials themselves, who regulate the sort of community prisoners build. Cut-out animation makes that evident: when Crulic is first arrested, his foot and face credentials become mere paperwork, specimens for state officials to measure and fit into their own records. Crulic's cardboard face will even be given a pacifier (to take saliva measurements), as if he were a baby – a non-accountable citizen, and certainly not an agent who can meaningfully change his surroundings.

Therefore, both the parodied prison as touristic park and the reality of the Krakow Detention Center are two sides of the same coin: new meaning-generating activities in these translocal communities are minimal, and without the active participation of the majority of its members. Crulic can be either a tourist or a prisoner, but could never be a member of a completely different translocal group: a national Romanian citizen exercising his rights fully for a fair trial outside his own nation – but still inside the European soil of declared human rights treaties and obligations.

The second factor which characterizes Crulic's predicament as a translocal prisoner is the use of the English language. English has swiftly become the *lingua franca* of tourists within Europe, and an instant common ground between European citizens. In *Crulic: The Path to Beyond*, it serves two functions, both of them ultimately unhelpful to present a supra-national society of human rights and freedom. English is used as (a) the linguistic expression of state propaganda, which wants to internationalize and push a prisoner-friendly predicament of the Detention Center. This comes in stark contrast with the reality of speechless or mumbling Polish state officials, who only talk throughout the last, live-action part of the film. English-language propaganda here covers speechless abuse.

English language is also used as the voice of the third-person narrator (Jamie Sives). Here English narration describes the official facts of Crulic's prosecution and his subsequent hunger strike. It offers a sympathetic, third-person viewer approach – in one case, the narrator laments missed opportunities to save Crulic's life. In contrast, the Polish version of the film has the third-person narrator also speaking in Polish, so that Crulic's translocal experience is framed under a stronger national Polish framework¹¹. But no such comment can change the course of events, and generate new actions and context for Crulic's situation. Even though the omniscient English narrator is sympathetic, he is powerless as well. The existence of non-national agents, who could be in a position to

¹¹ Thanks to the editors for pointing this out.

know and possibly prevent – but only act as mere observers – is suggested by the English narration in *Crulic*. This is enhanced by the diverse function of European official signs in the film; they are everywhere and contradictory. Eurolines is the name of the bus company that gives the only alibi to Crulic, but is used too late; the Eurobank ATM acts as discriminatory evidence for Crulic's imputed theft. Animation makes it evident that the community under consideration is not Poland or Romania, but the whole European community. In Crulic's interrogation, Europe becomes a fragmented map on the screen, only scratch paper coming out of or returning to the rubbish bin. These pieces cannot be glued together to make a coherent story, a common European space, and cannot help Crulic's defense.

A third factor that shapes the condition and the space of a Romanian national in the Polish state, both outside and inside the international Krakow Detention Center, are the acts of being recorded and being broadcast. Being on record, via a police mobile phone and the Polish state TV, which propagates the official records, are not the only instances of oppression by the state on an individual. They function additionally as a series of culturally reproducible actions; these are imposed on the person in this community without his active participation, in order to essentially manipulate, and finally define his identity up to his death. The meaning of the community Crulic finds himself within is not defined by his own involvement as well, but by often-repeated state records and broadcasts that constantly affect him. The first time (1993) Crulic arrives in Poland to work, Polish TV broadcasting seems incomprehensible to him, even though Crulic speaks the Polish language. The TV broadcaster only spits out incomprehensible signs (including dollar signs), and presents an alien economic reality that Crulic soon will need to face.

One major incident that makes Crulic twice declare that he is the subject of abuse (the word 'abuse' also appears on the screen most prominently) is the fact that he is being recorded during his police arrest along with his girlfriend. The TV screen is not only the propagator of state ideology, but is also happy to record its effects: the TV screen in Crulic's hospital room is used to monitor Crulic's deteriorating health in the last days of his life; the prison's doctors situated outside his hospital room watch and evaluate. In the live-action part of the film, and after the 'disclaimer' message of fictionalization and dramatization of certain events, an unexpected coda appears. A white TV noise image is followed by a hand-drawn TV screen, which reveals archival footage of the real characters involved in the Crulic case. However, this time the statements of officials cancel each other out, and no clear conclusion can be drawn. The reproducible cultural

practices (among those the propagation of the state ideology) that actively followed the Romanian Crulic in his various Polish locations cannot be genuinely reproduced, for they have no clear and distinct message to tell. The events have now reached the same irreversible state of affairs that Crulic suffered before in the animated part of the film. The transmission ends and the oppressive reproducible cultural practices that defined a case of a non-national living in a European democratic state can no longer function.

Still, being a citizen of one nation trapped into the intricacies of another nation is not the whole story of *Crulic: The Path to Beyond*. Crulic in Anca Damian's film is more than a Romanian citizen and a Polish detainee prisoner; he is neither a tourist nor a prisoner; he is a translocal traveler, who has meticulously set his own experiential connections from place to place. First, he is constantly in movement¹². The lack of a conventional nuclear family upbringing (his parents are divorced), and the notion of an extended family comes to Crulic from early on, when he moves from his birthplace to his aunt's lodgings, and then to Poland. His very name Crulic in Polish (as *królik*) means 'rabbit', an animal famous for its moving abilities. Even in prison, Crulic is seen to move from one cell to another; in contrast, his guards, who are in much better physical shape, move as if they were horror ghosts or zombies in slow-motion. And, of course, even though Crulic is himself dead, his body and documents still travel.

The travels Crulic makes reveal a European space defined not by abstract rights of free movement – he is legally entitled by EU regulations to reside in all EU countries, though he still finds himself imprisoned by associations of community neighborhoods in all places he travels. Stefan is right to argue that, while the physical borders might have blurred, the characters in *Crulic* are not global citizens¹³. Still, traveling is more than an issue of shifting location, for Crulic it is the build-up of an extended family. With death surrounding Crulic throughout his life (his 'uncle' commits suicide, his son dies, his friend dies in a car accident), Crulic builds up a more comprehensive circle of important relationships than his own family and partner.

¹² Appadurai notes that sometimes the reality of localized – and not universalized as national – neighborhoods is frowned upon as nostalgic, compared to the 'official' institutions and mechanisms of the nation state. They are looked upon as local customs, traditions are essential for celebrations or commemorations, but still 'primordial' context-generating mechanisms from the viewpoint of a 'unified' national identity. But still in our globalization era, where the distinction between the real and the virtual is steadily eroded, those 'alternative' context-generative mechanisms have gained an increased power, see Arjun Appadurai, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

¹³ Adela Stefan, *'There is good for the body, but here is better for the soul': The representation of Romanian work migration in the Romanian New Wave films*, MA diss., University of Helsinki, Faculty of Social Sciences, Media and Global Communication, May 2014, p. 90.

This happens early in his Moldova period, when his divorced family – the photo of a young Crulic is conveniently cut out, along with his father, with scissors – gives way to a menagerie of characters. Aunts graphically designed as one-eyed creatures with big eyelids make it clear that they will definitely guard Crulic (as a pair of eyes) in the absence of his mother. A rainbow immediately shaped afterwards in the scene makes it clear that whatever pain Crulic must have felt with an absent mother is compensated for by the many figures in the background (sisters, uncles, a dog and a pig). These cumulatively attest to the fact that Crulic lives within a neighborhood, one in which not everyone looks the same, but one where they can still produce together a novel context – in this case, his own upbringing.

Crulic extends this practice with his first visit in Poland, when he is tied by family connections to the suicidal pensioner Razdvanek (he calls him ‘uncle’) – with whom he lives, but who is not really a relative. This European cultural experience of a geographically wide European family (which is totally unrelated to the abstract nature of human rights of European citizens), continues when his sister and mother are relocated to Italy. Brickell notes that *another aspect of this ‘emplaced mobility’ relates to the idea that, while people can remain spatially local, their lives may also be shaped by various translocal cultural imaginaries, something that has received far less attention than peoples’ physical experiences of spaces*¹⁴. The internet, message groups and social media are the ready candidates to allow that while someone is at one place, she or he can experience and be personally affected by things happening in a totally different location. What cements Crulic’s fate in prison is a misunderstood SMS message to his sister, which becomes an issue of discussion between her and his ex-girlfriend; both fail to understand the issue at hand, but still affect his situation.

Crulic produces his own meaning in this experiential European community not only by acting, but also by *documenting* his acts both in writing and in images. Damian noted that her initial intention was to make the film a docu-drama; however, her initial viewpoint changed, when she realized that to put emphasis on another piece of investigative journalism could not provide the answers she really needed¹⁵. Still, a quasi-documentary function is evident in the film by the way Anca Damian’s Crulic character

¹⁴ Katherine Brickell, “Translocal Geographies of ‘Home’ in Siem Reap, Cambodia”, [in:] eds. Katherine Brickell, Ayona Datta, *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, Ashgate Press, Farnham 2011, p. 26.

¹⁵ Rapporto Confidenziale, “Crulic/ Interview with Anca Damian” [Video]. Retrieved from www.youtube.com/watch?v=vkwp48kA1Do (access: 20.02.2018).

acts himself as an investigator, researcher and advocate for his own case. The first-person narration in *Crulic* is usually associated with irony. This somehow detaches us from the harsh events of Crulic's condition (as the review of Jay Weissberg suggests¹⁶), and can possibly be used as a meta-narrative device/personal critical commentary or even – as Damian states – denote the characteristics of the Northern Moldavian temperament¹⁷.

This interpretation accounts well for the wry remarks of Crulic commenting from the grave about the space afforded in his hearse; but irony is not the whole story and function of narration. Crulic meticulously and painstakingly documents dates and events, like a traveler's diary; his experiences are present both in prison and in freedom, ready to be presented to the public and in writing. His first letter to the Romanian Embassy in Poland has the dates transforming into curved lines, which travel beyond the paper; these in turn become his flashback story of the trip to Italy, portrayed with black-ink figures in a white background. This 'letterhead' visual arrangement is employed in all flashback sequences related to the immediate past and events after Crulic's arrest, and are also used for all events taking place outside his prison custody. The screen becomes a big white board and notepad to paint human figures, events and situations and words. In a related way, his first arrest for suspected theft early in 2007 (he was released on parole) is again depicted in a book format, but here the structure of a graphic novel is adopted (panels and print-out dialogues). Damian has attested that, as Crulic progresses to his hunger strike, the animation design becomes more elliptical¹⁸. The same can be argued for Crulic's forms of documentation, which begin with a fully-fledged book content (first arrest) to a mere notepad/scratch book the second time. Still, all of this extensive documentation provides us with the complete life travel of a person, who cares to meaningfully self-describe his own experiences in the fragmented European space he finds himself in. This fittingly ends with the whole device of post-mortem narration, which comprehensively becomes the ultimate translocal experience: Crulic as a dead person is not spatially represented being at a 'heavenly' space, but he is still visually and spatially a member of his own life experiences¹⁹.

¹⁶ Jay Weissberg, *Crulic – The Path to Beyond*, *Variety* (August 16, 2011). Retrieved from www.variety.com/2011/film/reviews/crulic-the-path-to-beyond-1117945831/ (access: 20.02.2018).

¹⁷ See *Rapporto Confidenziale*, op. cit.

¹⁸ Stefan Dobroiu, "Crulic: The Path to Beyond, Interview: Anca Damian. Director: >>I forced the limits of the cinematic language beyond the borders<<", *Cineuropa* (October 18, 2011). Retrieved from <http://cineuropa.org/en/interview/211779/> (access: 20.02.2018).

¹⁹ Even though Crulic might not be happy about his life as a continuous bus ride, as Stefan (see *Ibid.*, p. 72) claims referring to Crulic's own post-mortem narration, this is the only way

Crulic not only documents written, but also pictorial information, in terms of self-taken photos. Starting from his remark: *my life fits in 100 photos*, we know that photos are the complimentary evidence that Crulic wants to give us of his own diverse life journey. Whereas photos taken by outsiders (such as the photos of Crulic taken by the police with their mobile phones) are a sign of abuse, photos depicting his traveling past and present are the ‘clothes’ that he himself wears, hanging outside as laundry on a clothesline. From Italy through Poland to his native village, Crulic never fails to document his own varied experiences with photos. Animation here is sometimes *superimposed* in his own documentation of a moving experience: a still photograph is accompanied within the same shot with a car movement in the background, as if to make it certain cinematically (not only photographically) that Crulic is indeed a traveler.

The issue of documenting brings automatically to mind questions of genre, and especially the issue of animated documentaries – being one of the more interesting developments in contemporary animation in recent years²⁰. Animation as the art of cinematic motion *par excellence* is of necessity most befitting to a life-and-death journey, but the question of the particular directing choice of varying animation techniques still arises. Honess Roe warns that, although visual imagery can make spectators engage and universalize with the true story documented on screen (better than real actors would), it also has the risk of becoming too abstract in turn – and therefore irrelevant²¹.

Unlike *Waltz with Bashir*, in which first-person narration and dialogues reveal a process of actual interviews being recorded, and filmic sound indexes and documents real interview events, narration in *Crulic: The Path to Beyond* is fictional. However (and here is the thing to note), Anca Damian’s film images can be (but are not actually at all times) indexical to the real events. One instance when this does *not* happen (and it is to prove that he can be self-identified as something more than a human rights abuse victim or wronged immigrant.

²⁰ For associated bibliography and an attempt to map and pinpoint specific modes and tropes in animation documentaries, see Paul Ward, *Documentary: The Margins of Reality*, Columbia University Press, New York 2005; Paul Ward, “Animating with Facts: The Performative Process of Documentary Animation in the ten mark (2010)”, *Animation* 6:3 (2011), pp. 293-305; Paul Wells, *The Beautiful Village and the True Village: A Consideration of Animation and the Documentary Aesthetic*, [in:] ed. Paul Wells, *Art and Animation*, Academy Group, John Wiley, London 1997, pp. 40-45; Sybil DelGaudio, “If Truth Be Told, Can ‘Toons’ Tell It? Documentary and Animation”, *Film History* 9:2 (1997), pp. 189-199; Annabelle Honess Roe, “Absence, Excess and Epistemological Expansion: Towards a Framework for the Study of Animated Documentary”, *Animation* 6 (2011), pp. 215-230.

²¹ Annabelle Honess Roe, “Against Animated Documentary?”, *International Journal of Film and Media Arts* 1:1 (2016), pp. 20-27.

be expected) is when narrating Crulic's death process; when visual evidence is lacking, animation serves the more expected function of substituting visually what cannot be documented in this way. However the use of photos in the scenes serve to provide the reality reference that sound itself cannot. Their function is to *prove* (and not merely portray) that Crulic is more than a prisoner; he is more than a victim to sympathize with, and a subject of state oppression. Crulic is a person who travels through his own life through his photographs, and he needs to be assessed in this way.

Therefore, the film aesthetics of this particular animated documentary do not fit nicely into the bipole either (a) to portray or substitute reality which cannot be otherwise represented or (b) to give a more evocative (subjective, surrealistic, fantastical) elements in Crulic's character and events. At all times, there is a *continuum* of realism in *Crulic: The Path to Beyond*, expressed in different forms in different sequences; the use of varied animation techniques is the underlying means to hold this *continuum* together, something that live-action filmmaking would invariably miss. For instance, Crulic's narrating his own death is indeed rendered in more abstract bodily forms, but is only a continuation of forms already pre-told in his narration of his own young and prisoner-free life. Trying to make tangible in animation what is only a voice remembrance, animation in the film undertakes the epistemological function to prove the continuity of a traveler's necessarily varied life as a single, unique life.

Comparing again to Folman's *Waltz with Bashir*, it has been argued that animation there progresses in a slow-moving mode, almost as if it was negating its own function²². In contrast, the abundance and superimposing of different types of animated items (digital images, cut-outs, photos, pixilated objects among them) in Anca Damian's film – sometimes even at the level of a single shot – shows 'animation in acceleration'. Animation works here to show that there is more (abundantly more) in Crulic's life than his documented state oppression story.

Film aesthetics complements the cinematic narrative here: while Crulic's hunger strike and death needs to be documented as an act of oppression which eliminates his inner being, Crulic himself is definitely more than that, and he has photographs to prove it. When his body cannot travel, then imagination and animation can substitute the rest. He is a European citizen and traveler, but he has to build the voice, objects and designs that define his space for himself (and post-mortem). His cultural identity is hybrid, moving beyond the prerequisites of a Romanian national identity; however,

²² Vassilis Kroustallis, "Failure to Think, Failure to Move: Handicapped Reasoning in *Waltz with Bashir*", *Jewish Film & New Media* 2:2 (Fall 2014), pp. 132-152.

this is not the result of supra-national European/EU directives. His cultural identity is built as a detailed set of memories and experiences with people making their own small and large networking communities within the European space, as documented and visualized in Anca Damian's film.

In an early film scene, young Crulic is seen playing football in his home town. In a series of almost static shots (accompanied neither by music nor by narration), Crulic is first depicted kicking and chasing the ball, from his home street to his local neighborhood and school, then a traveling shot introduces us to the football town stadium. Not a single person is seen during his travels – in contrast to the immediately preceding scene also referring to his childhood years. The camera now adopts a bird's eye view shot, which progressively reveals Crulic playing football at an empty stadium, before a zoom out reveals in fact a rudimentary map of the whole village area. The scene is an epitome of the ideological forces in charge throughout the whole film. It depicts the loneliness and the despair of a solo player in a field which must normally be communal and neighborly. Football is a team sport, and one that is primarily associated with European game practices, yet Crulic travels the whole village playing all by himself. Still, it is important that he does *travel* and does not stop when there is no one to join him.

Crulic builds his own imaginary but still experiential space, from his home to the whole village, a process he will extend in scale in his later years, traveling from his native country to different European countries. His determination to register himself as a traveler throughout specific communal cultural spaces also accounts for his courage to go on his hunger strike. Crulic really wants to belong to a non-nationally enclosed space, something that detention cannot provide. Fictional narration and animation makes this experienced and virtual connection more real for Crulic, and provides him with the identity link which enables him to continue his fight up to the end. This is one of the most powerful lessons in Anca Damian's *Crulic: The Path to Beyond*²³.

²³ The paper has benefited from the financial assistance of the ASIFA – Hollywood's Animation Educators Forum 2017 Scholarship.

Theodore Ushev

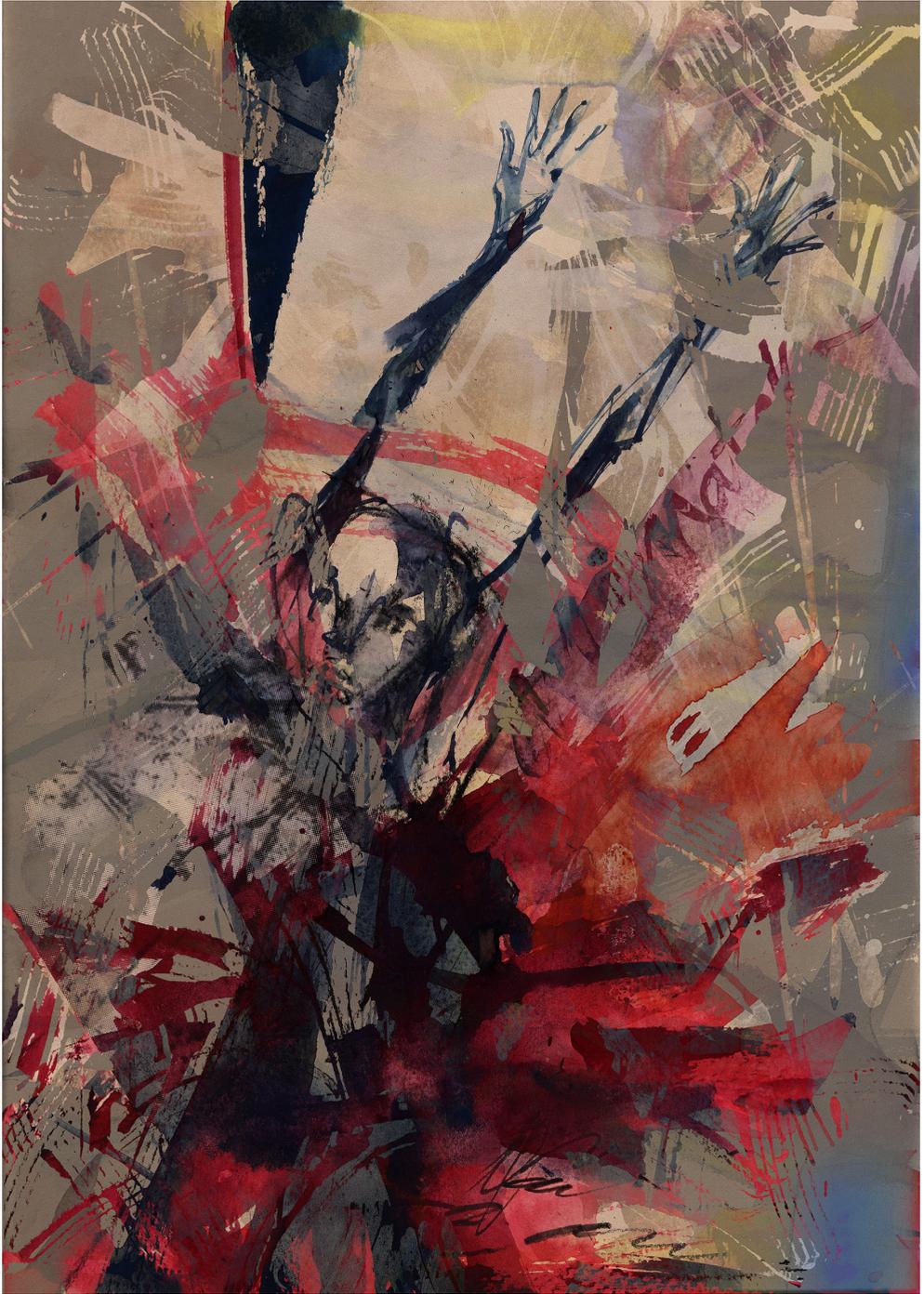
A-Z manifesto 2017

(Animation as a weapon)

Animation as a weapon against Arrogance
Animation as a weapon against Bad
Animation as a weapon against Cynicism
Animation as a weapon against Dismality
Animation as a weapon against Envy
Animation as a weapon against Fear
Animation as a weapon against Greediness
Animation as a weapon against Hate
Animation as a weapon against Insanity
Animation as a weapon against Jealousy
Animation as a weapon against Killing
Animation as a weapon against Lies
Animation as a weapon against Monstrosity
Animation as a weapon against Negativity
Animation as a weapon against Oppressiveness
Animation as a weapon against Prejudice
Animation as a weapon against Quarrelsomeness
Animation as a weapon against Racism
Animation as a weapon against Skepticism
Animation as a weapon against Terrorism
Animation as a weapon against Ugliness
Animation as a weapon against Villainy
Animation as a weapon against Worthlessness
Animation as a weapon against Yuckiness
Animation as a weapon against Zealousness



Theodore Ushev
"Krakow Manifesto 1"



Theodore Ushev
"Krakow Manifesto 2"

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Midhat Ajanović Ajan

Theoretician of animation, author and filmmaker born in Sarajevo (Bosnia) in 1959. He studied journalism in Sarajevo and practiced film animation in Zagreb Film studio (Croatia). Between 1984 and 1992 he directed seven animated short films and published a number of essays and reviews on cinema and animation. Since 1994 he lives in Gothenburg (Sweden) where he obtained a degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Film Studies. He teaches history and theory of animation at various Swedish film schools (currently at University West in Trollhättan) and writes regularly about film and animation. He is an author of numerous publications published in several languages, among them “Animacija i realizam/ Animation and Realism” (2004), “Animazione e realismo” (2006), “Karikatura i pokret” (2008), “Den rörliga skämtteckningen” (2009), “The Man and the Line” (2013). He worked as the organizer and artistic director of the festivals in Podgorica (Montenegro), Zagreb (Croatia) and Eksjö (Sweden) and was the member of many international juries. For his work, he got various rewards, among them 20th Animafest World Festival of Animated Film special award for contribution to animation studies.

Milen Alempijević

Art director of the International Animation Film Festival Animanima in Čačak, Serbia. Among the books he published one will find collection of essays on animated film “The Art of Exaggeration” (2014) and a film study “The Day when Miles Evans Disappeared: Jazz and Film Narration” (2016). He is the editor of the DVD edition *Beyond 2000 – Contemporary Serbian Animation* and the author of several multimedia lectures dealing with themes of animated films, presented at European animation festivals including Balkanima (Serbia), Animateka (Slovenia), Anim'est (Romania), Fest Anča (Slovakia), Monstra (Portugal), Animac (Spain). Contributing texts on film, jazz and animated film to cultural magazines, Milen Alempijević is a member of the Serbian Literary Society and an author of around a dozen of books of different genres of fiction. He is the editor of “Gradac” magazine (No. 183-184: 2012), a double issue dedicated to jazz. He works in the Cultural Centre of Čačak as the editor of film and video programme.

Olga Bobrowska

PhD candidate in Film Studies at Jagiellonian University, Kraków, specialized in classic Chinese animated film and an author of academic articles on the subjects of Polish and Chinese animation. She is a festival director and co-founder of StopTrik International Film Festival (Maribor, Slovenia; Lodz, Poland), a festival dedicated to stop motion animation. She frequently collaborates with other festivals, among them Animateka (Ljubljana), Etiuda&Anima (Krakow), Krakow Film Festival. Film programmes she curated were presented at various festivals and events in e.g. Poland, Slovenia, Croatia, The Netherlands, Finland and China. Her reviews and critiques were published in film magazines such as “Kino”, “Ekran”, “Zippy Frames” and “ASIFA Magazine”. In 2016 she co-edited the monograph “Obsession Perversion Rebellion. Twisted Dreams of Central European Animation”.

Michał Bobrowski

Lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities at the Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. In 2010 he obtained PhD in Film Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. In 2012 he published a book “Akira Kurosawa: The Artist of the Borderlands”. In 2016 he co-edited a monograph “Obsession. Perversion. Rebellion. Twisted Dreams of Central European Animation”. He is a Programme Director and a co-founder of StopTrik International Film Festival (Slovenia/Poland), an event dedicated to stop motion animation. He works with various European festivals and cinema institutions as a curator, educator and cultural activist. He wrote numerous academic and popular articles devoted to classic Japanese and American cinema as well as animation.

Guo (Maggie) Chunning, 郭春宁

Teacher of New Media Art and Animation at Renmin University of China. She was a creative director for Vancouver Film School, a visiting artist to Central Saint Martins, London, and a resident artist at Centre Intermondes in France in 2014. She obtained her PhD on independent animation in 2015. She was invited to present her papers on many conferences, among them Animafest Scanner (2015, 2016, Croatia), Twisted Dreams of History (2015, 2017, Poland), Society for Animation Studies (2016, Singapore; 2017, Italy), Aesthetics Conference (2016, South Korea), Under the Radar (2017, 2018, Austria), Women and Silent Screen Conference (2017, China), Animation and Philosophy symposium (2018, Germany) and Expanded Animation

Forum (2018, Austria). Her animated artwork *Ketchup* (co-dir. Yan Baishen) has been exhibited and collected internationally by galleries and festivals including the White Rabbit Art Gallery in Australia and the L'abbaye de Fontevraud in France. She was the recipient of NETPAC Award in 2015 Busan International Short Film Festival of South Korea. She is an author of three books: "Independent Animation Handbook", "Thinking Communication" and "Digital Media Contextual Studies". Her Chinese papers and translated works have been published in local and international journals, among them "China Contemporary Cinema", "Aesthetics", "Croatian Cinema Chronicle Film Journal", "Cartoon and Animation Studies" and "Epistémè". Recently she was selected by Sino-Dutch Scholarship as a visiting scholar at the Radboud University where she participates in a cross-disciplinary research team led by Prof. Asifa Majid, conducting a project "The Archaeology of Memory: The Comparative Studies on Animated Documentary".

Mikhail Gurevich

Independent scholar and critic, born in Moscow, Russia. Writes on literature, theater, film and culture at large, with concentration in animation, puppetry, and experimental theater and cinema. From late 1970s was actively contributing to major cultural publications in Russia; later edited independent periodicals, including "Kino-Glaz" ("Cine-Eye") and "KukArt" ("Puppet-Art"); hosted TV program; as researcher and author was involved in documentaries and other projects. Worked as expert-consultant for professional associations in theater and cinema; served as board member and adviser at Soyuzmultfilm and Pilot animation studios. From 1992 lives in USA. Wrote on animation for professional and academic publications, "ASIFA Magazine", festivals' program books; recently contributed extensively to the history of world animation by Bendazzi as well as to "Global Animation Theory" (Animafest Scanner papers). Lectured in several universities and institutions internationally. Participated in a number of festivals as programmer, curator, juror and discussant; currently – selection director/juror at Blow-up Film Festival (Chicago).

Vassilis Kroustallis

Greek film and animation professional and scholar. His classical and philosophical studies in Greece and UK were supplemented by a Postgraduate Certificate in Film Journalism (Glasgow University, 2010). His research activities include articles about film and animation in scholarly film journals and book chapters in edited

volumes; he has been awarded the Norman McLaren-Evelyn Lambart award (Society for Animation Studies, 2016) for his *Waltz with Bashir* article (published in Jewish Film and New Media). He is currently writing his PhD thesis on contemporary European feature animation (1998-2015) at Ionian University, Greece (supervisor: E. Hamalidi), which has been supported by ASIFA-Hollywood Animation Educators Forum scholarship (ac. year 2017-18). He is the Head Editor of “Zippy Frames” (www.zippyframes.com), one of the few animation portals promoting exclusively European and independent animation worldwide (2011-present). In 2016, he started his own production company, Scheriaa Productions; the short film *The Sea Tranced Isle* (dir. Effie Pappa) is currently under production.

Magdalena Krzosek-Hołodny

Born in 1989. In 2015 she graduated from AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow with specialization in sound design and visual communication. Her engineer’s and master’s theses were devoted to animated film. During her studies she completed two semesters abroad at Tel-Aviv University (Israel) and Universidad de Salamanca (Spain). In her professional career she used to cooperate with many institutions as a multimedia specialist and graphic designer (e.g. ABB, Wanda Siemaszkowa Theatre, Estrada Rzeszowska, The Museum of Bedtime Cartoons, Podkarpackie Film Commission). Her expertise includes data storytelling and visual narratives. Since 2018 is a participant of the International Interdisciplinary Nature-Culture Program at the Faculty of Artes Liberales (University of Warsaw). She works on her dissertation on site-specific art.

Michał Mróz

Author of animated films, historian and propagator of animation art. He graduated from Cultural Studies at MISH (University of Warsaw) and Faculty of Graphics at the Warsaw School of Advertisement. He is a PhD candidate at the Institute of Polish Culture and a member of a Film Research Group at the University of Warsaw. He works on the dissertation about animation cinema in the times of World War II. His field of interests embraces also animated film language and aesthetics. He is a lecturer at the Warsaw School of Advertisement and Warsaw Secondary Film School. He is a frequent mentor of animation workshops, collaborator of educational projects for children and adults. He was awarded with the scholarships of the City of Warsaw, Adam Mickiewicz’s Institute and the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

Jiří Neděla

Born in 1982. Graduated from the film studies and Czech philology at Philosophical Faculty, Palacký University in Olomouc, Czech Republic. Recently he gained a PhD in Art Education from the Pedagogical Faculty of the same university. A program manager and curator of PAF - Festival of Film Animation and Contemporary Art and its related activities. Besides animated film, he focuses also on theory of visual arts and art education.

Anna Ida Orosz

Born in 1986 in Budapest. She studied film theory and film history at the Budapest Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE). Currently she is a PhD candidate of ELTE Institute of Art Theory and Media Studies. Her thesis focuses on Hungarian animated documentaries made in the 1970s and 1980s. She is a lecturer of animation history at the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design Budapest; she has worked as the animation specialist of the Hungarian National Film Archive since 2012. She has been in the organizing committee of the Kecskemét Animation Film Festival since 2009. She is the co-founder and curator of Primanima World Festival of First Animations in Hungary, and also works as the curator of Animated Spirits European Animation Festival New York.

Theodore Ushev

Born in Kyustendil, Bulgaria, in 1968 and graduated from the National Academy of Fine Arts in Sofia. He first made a name for himself as a talented poster artist in his native country before settling in Montreal in 1999. Ushev found fertile ground for developing his own original artistic style at the National Film Board of Canada. With more than fifteen films to date, that have been shown all over the world and more than 150 prizes, he continues to work in the field of cinema, multimedia and installation art. In 2017, his latest project *Blind Vaysha* (2015), a philosophical tale about the importance of living in the moment, has been nominated for an Oscar for the Best Animated Short. The film won more than thirty five prizes and awards to date, including Golden Globe – Hollywood Foreign Press Association prize. Since June 2017 Theodore Ushev is a voting member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

Bogusław Zmudziński

Bogusław Zmudziński PhD, lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities at the AGH University of Science and Technology (AGH Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza) in Krakow. Author and editor of numerous publications on original film, including a series of monographs on outstanding European filmmakers, among others: “Wim Wenders”, “Werner Herzog”, “Roman Polański”, “Ingmar Bergman”, “Siergiej Paradżanow”, “Andriej Tarkowski”, “Michelangelo Antonioni”. For many years he has been conducting research on original animated film, in particular on the artistic output of the Czech surrealist, Jan Švankmajer. Founder and – since its creation – Artistic Director of the International Film Festival Etiuda&Anima, dedicated to the works of students of film and art schools from around the world and to original and artistic animation. One of the initiators and co-organizers of International Animated Film Workshop, held in Kraków since 1996. Originator and organizer of the 2010 global poll to choose the top 50 artistic animations created in the half-century of the existence of Association Internationale du Film d’Animation (ASIFA). Member of ASIFA and the Polish Filmmakers Association.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Editors are deeply grateful to the institutions and persons who have supported and encouraged work on this publication. Regrettably it is impossible to mention all the people who helped us throughout the editorial process.

The publication of this book was primarily possible due to the financial support of the Faculty of Humanities of the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow as well as the International Visegrad Fund support for the project “Twisted Dreams of History. V4 Perspective on Propaganda, Ideology and Animation”. This project, conducted in 2017-2019 consisted of the organization of the International Academic Conference that was held in Krakow on 23-24 November 2017, and the publication of the following volume. The project was organized by Foundation for Promotion of Artistic, Film and Audiovisual Culture “Etiuda and Anima” in co-operation with project partners: Bielska Gallery BWA in Bielsko-Biała, Poland, PAF Festival of Film Animation in Olomouc, Czech Republic, Primanima World Festival of First Animations in Budaörs, Hungary, Fest Anča in Žilina, Slovakia, Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow, Poland and the Confucius Institute of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, and last but not least, the academic project partner: Faculty of Humanities, AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow.

Several outstanding academics from the fields of Film Studies, Cultural Studies and Social Science have embraced this project aimed at the stimulation of Animation Studies, a discipline that is still looking for its solid theoretical framework. We wish to express our gratitude for their trust and encouragement and especially mention the members of the Conference Academic Committee: Professor Stefan Bielański (Pedagogical University of Cracow), Professor Barbara Gąciarz (AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow), Professor Alicja Helman (Jagiellonian University in Krakow), Professor Jadwiga Hučková (Jagiellonian University in Krakow), Professor Andrzej Pitrus (Jagiellonian University in Krakow) and Professor Anna Siwik (AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow).

The publication has been submitted for the process of double peer-review. The Editors are grateful to the Reviewers, Professor Marcin Giżycki (Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, USA and the Polish-Japanese Academy of Information

Technology in Warsaw) and Professor Robert Sowa (Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow). The comments and concerns expressed by the Reviewers have been carefully examined by the Authors and Editors, and corresponding revisions have been implemented in the following publication.

The conference held in Krakow served as a point of departure for the Editors and Authors, yet from the beginning the following volume was planned as an autonomous research endeavour that would present in the form of monograph the problematic and ambiguous relations between animated film and ideological doctrines. Nonetheless, it is only natural to mention those Speakers who discussed their findings and perspectives at the conference, even if they have not contributed writings to this volume. The collective discussion at the conference helped to delineate the scope of reflection for this publication. For this reasons we would like to thank Brigitta Iványi-Bitter PhD (MOME, Budapest), Professor Paola Bristot (Academy of Fine Arts in Venice), Maroš Brojo (Slovak Museum of Design, Bratislava), Michaela Mertová (Czech National Film Archives in Prague), Jiří Žák (PAF Festival, Olomouc) and Piotr Budzyński (University of Lodz).

We owe a huge debt of gratitude to the proofreaders of this publication, Nancy Denney-Phelps and Nik Phelps, not only have they showed patience and understanding towards the linguistic frivolousness of non-English native speakers but also contributed many meaningful remarks that have elevated the editorial process. Additionally we would like to thank Anna Gurevich and David Blum for the special proofreading of Mikahil Gurevich's paper. Furthermore we would like to express our gratitude to the AGH University of Science and Technology Press, Mr. Jan Sas (Editor-in-Chief), the entire Editorial Committee, and Ms. Joana Ciagała (Vice-Editor-in-Chief).

We have received substantial help from the project coordinator, Katarzyna Surmacz. We are also grateful to those who have helped us to achieve the international and multidisciplinary framework of the project's activities as well provided us with practical support in their organization, among them Agata Smalcerz (Bielska Gallery BWA), Krzysztof Dydo (Dydo Poster Gallery), Joanna Wapniewska (Academy of Fine Arts, Krakow), Agnieszka Zając (Etiuda&Anima IFF), Adam Varkonyi (Budapest Poster Gallery), Joanna Wardęga PhD (Jagiellonian University) and Maciej Gil.

We are grateful to all the Authors who contributed to the following publication. The level of their reflection and significance of the themes they have deliberated upon prove that it was worthwhile to initiate and proceed with such an undertaking.

Olga Bobrowska, Michał Bobrowski, Bogusław Zmudziński

INDEX

- Adamović, Dragoslav Zira 181, 182
Adamski, Przemysław 116
Adamson, Joe 172
Adorno, Theodor W. 7
Adventures of Prince Achmed, The (1926, Reiniger) 196-7, 199, 201-3, 205, 208
Age of Illusions, The (1964, Szabó) 124
Age of the Barbarians, The (1970, Reisenbüchler) 125
Ah, America! (1984, Orosz) 144
Aladdin (1992, Clements) 203
Alakazam The Great (1960, Yabushita, Shirakawa, Tezuka) 85
Albert in Blunderland. A Patriotic Animated Cartoon (1950) 63-8
Album (1983, Zimonić) 169
Aldashin, Mikhail 29-30, 36
Aleksandrov, Grigori 61-2
Alexander Nevski (1938, Eisenstein) 53
Algar, James 48
Alice (1988, Švankmajer) 137
All that Flies Isn't a Bird (1970, Šajtinac) 184
All to Elections (1946, Neugebauer) 180
Allen, George 61
Alone (1958, Mimica) 162, 163
Amalrik, Leonid 61
Amerika (1987, ABC) 59
And Łódź Stays Anyway (2014, Podolec) 116
Animal Farm (1954, Halas, Batchelor) 40
Answering Soviet Propaganda (1964, Felice) 63
Antal, István 123, 130
Any Bonds Today? (1942, Clampett) 44
Appadurai, Arjun 16, 209, 216
Arcimboldo, Giuseppe 148-9
Armstrong, Samuel 203
Arnheim, Rudolf 205
Ars Gratia Artis (1970, Vuktoić) 164, 171
Art of Lotte Reiniger, The (1970, Isaacs) 202
At the Photographer's (1959, Mimica) 162
- Babac, Marko 184
Bachelard, Gaston 17, 207
Bakhtin, Mikhail 39, 43
Ballad (1968, Kovásznai) 129

Bangs, John Kendrick 64
Barbera, Joseph 56
Bardin, Garri 22-3
Barron, Stephanie 81
Bartman, Wiktor 116
Bartosch, Berthold 198, 202
Batchelor, Joy 40
Battle on the Neretva (1969, Bulajić) 183
Beautiful Mind (2001, Howard) 41
Bedoshvili, Vasiko 33
Beebe, Ford 48
Belyahev, Eduard 32
Bendazzi, Giannalberto 159, 169, 172, 184
Beneš, Edvard 139, 143
Berlin: Symphony of a Great City (1927, Ruttmann) 106
Bernays, Edward 8, 68
Big Jim McCain (1952, Ludwig) 58
Big Lie, The (1951) 55, 61-3
Big Meeting, The (Neugebauer) 159-60, 163
Big Picture, The (1951-64) 62
Bikić, Veljko 186
Biskupski, Mieczysław B. B. 53, 55
Bjelski, Leontije 158
Black And White (1932, Amalrik, Ivanov-Vano) 61
Black, Gregory D. 45
Blackman Miško (1949, Petanjek) 159
Block of Flats (1987, Neuman) 111, 113
Blossoming No. 3369 (1970, Kovásznai) 133
Boese, Carl 201
Bogdanović, Žika 182
Bohn, Thomas W. 48
Bondarchuk, Sergei 183
Bonds, Alexandra 99-100
Bonnaire, Sandrine 213
Borgnine, Ernest 39
Borysewicz, Ewa 116
Bosch, Hieronymus 188
Bošnjak, Ernest 178
Bourek, Zlatko 165
Bouzereau, Laurent 47
Brams, Steven J. 42
Breton, André 106, 179
Brezhnev, Leonid 41, 142
Brickell, Katherine 217
Bride (1971, Šajtinac) 184

Brumberg, Valentina 45
 Brumberg, Zinaida 45
 Bruszevska, Balbina 116
 Brynner, Yul 183
Bubble Bath (1979, Kovásznai) 133
 Bulajić, Veljko 183
 Bunin, Lou 45
 Burton, Richard 183
Bury the Axis (1943, Bunin) 45
By Word of Mouse (1954, Freleng) 57

Capra, Frank 12, 46-8, 49, 51, 53, 54, 57, 61, 62
 Carroll, Lewis 64
Cases, The (1960-61, Zagreb Film) 164
Castle of Otranto (1973-79, Švankmajer) 136, 148
Cat, The (1971, Bourek) 166
Chalk Man (1963, Majdak) 184
 Chaplin, Charles 65, 112, 176
 Cheang, Pou-soi 85
 Chen, Yuanzhi 83
 Chiang, Kai-shek 92
 Chiaureli, Mikheil 56
Chinese Odyssey, A (1995-2016, Lau J.) 85
 Chmielecka, Agnieszka 210
 Chomet, Sylvain 209
 Chomsky, Noam 7, 8, 68
 Chow, Yun-Fat 86
Cinema Komunisto (2010, Turajlić) 183
Circus Leaves the Town (1983, Ćirić) 185
City (1963, Kijowicz) 111, 113
City Sails On, The (2009, Bruszevska) 116
City Through My Eyes, The (1971, Kovásznai) 133
 Clair, René 202
 Clampett, Robert 44, 45
Clay Pigeon (2005, Tomić) 190
 Clements, Ron 203
Commando Duck (1944, King) 48
Communist Propaganda (1958) 61
Comrade X (1940, Vidor) 67
Concerto for Sub-Machine Gun (1958, Vukotić) 161
Confessions of a Nazi Spy (1941, Litvak) 53
Confusions of a Nutzy Spy (1943, McCabe) 53
 Coogan, Jackie 157
Costumed rendez-vous (1965, Dovniković-Bordo) 165
 Cotte, Olivier 172

Counter-Attack (1945, Korda) 52
Courtyard, The (1983, Szmyd) 111, 114
Cowboy Jimmy (1957, Vukotić) 161
 Cristiani, Quirino 8, 158, 159, 197
 Crnjanski, Miloš 175
 Crowe, Russell 41
 Crulic, Claudiu 210
Crulic: The Path to Beyond (2011, Damian) 17, 209-21
 Cunningham, John 133
Curiosity (1966, Dovniković-Bordo) 165, 171
 Cürlis, Hans 198, 202
 Current (1964, Gaál) 124
 Curtiz, Michael 52

 Ćirić, Rastko 185, 187

 Čadež, Tomislav 183
 Čapek, Karel 128
 Čengić, Bahrudin 170

Dam, The (Kristl) 163
 Damian, Anca 17, 209, 210, 212, 216, 217-8, 219, 220, 221
Dance School (1972, Szoboszlay) 122
 Dániel, Ferenc 122
Danny Boy (2010, Skrobecki) 115
 Dárday, István 132
 Dargay, Attila 123
Darkness, Light, Darkness (1989, Švankmajer) 148
 Davidov, Roman 62
 Davies, Joseph E. 52
 Davis, Phil 164
Day I Stopped Smoking, The (1982, Dragić) 171
Deadline (1960, Jovanović) 184
 Deák, György 119
Death by China (2012, Navarro) 49
Death of Stalinism in Bohemia, The (1990, Švankmajer) 15, 135-144, 146-8, 150, 151
 DeCuir, Jr., Greg 185
Defeat of German troops near Moscow aka Moscow Strikes Back (1942, Varlamov, Kopalín) 54
Defense Against Enemy Propaganda (1956) 62, 67
 Deitch, Gene 164
 DelGaudio, Sybil 197, 219
 Delić, Stipe 183
 Deng, Xiaoping 89, 102
Der Fuehrer's Face (1943, Kinney) 44, 48, 59, 64
 Dessau, Paul 206
Destination Earth (1956, Urbano) 58

Dewey, John 8
 Deyneka, Aleksandr 34
Diary (1966, Kovásznai) 129, 130-1
Diary (1974, Dragić) 168
 Dikötter, Frank 88, 91
Dilemma (1981, Halas) 174
Dimensions of Dialogue (1983, Švankmajer) 136, 148
Diogenes Perhaps (1967, Dragić) 167, 171
 Disney, Walt 48, 66, 69, 71, 72, 80, 82, 97, 122, 159, 160, 176, 177, 180, 197, 202, 203
 Dobroiu, Stefan 218
 Dobrynin, Sergei 61-2
Don Quixote (1961, Kristl) 163
Don Quixote (1972, Šajtinac) 184
Donald's Decision (1941, Ford Beebe) 48
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor 37, 43
 Douglas, Gordon 58
 Dovniković-Bordo, Borivoj 160, 165, 171
Dr. Dolittle and his Animals (1928, Reiniger) 196, 197, 208
 Draenger, Gusta Davidson 213
 Dragić, Nedjeljko 166-8, 169, 170, 171
Dragon Ball (1986-89, Toei Animation, Fuji TV) 85
Dream Doll (1979, Grgić, Godfrey) 166
 Duan, Xiaoxuan 101, 102, 104
 Dubček, Alexander 140, 147
 Dudbridge, Glen 83
Duel (1961, Macskássy, Várnai) 122, 123
Dull Life (2013, Bartman, Michalak) 116
 Dunning, George 166
 Dwan, Allan 58
 Dyomin, Aleksey 36
 Džumhur, Zuko 187

Đilas, Milovan 182
 Đorđević, Sonja 186

Education for Death. The Making of a Nazi (1943, Geronimi) 48
 Effenberger, Vratislav 135, 146
 Eggeling, Viking 70
 Eisenstein, Sergei 53, 59, 138, 176
 Eisymont, Viktor 52
Elegy (1965, Dragić) 166
Eleventh Year, The (1928, Vertov) 44
 Ellul, Jacques 40
 Éluard, Paul 127
Emperor's Baker – The Baker's Emperor, The (1951, Frič) 142-3
Encounter at the Elbe (1949, Aleksandrov) 61

Ene, Laura 209
Ersatz (1961, Vukotić) 154, 155, 161, 164
Et cetera (1966, Švankmajer) 148
 Etkind, Alexander 37
Event, The (1969, Mimica) 162
Event, The (1987, Neumann) 111, 113

Fábri, Zoltán 170
Face to Face with Communism (1951) 59
Fall of Berlin, The (1950, Chiaureli) 56
Fall of the House of Usher (1980, Švankmajer) 16
Family Nest (1979, Tarr) 132
Fantasia (1940, Armstrong) 203
Far Away I Saw Mist and Mud (1964, Bourek) 165
Farty (1993, Ćirić) 185
Father (1966, Szabó) 124
Faust (1993, Švankmajer) 143
 Felice, Jack 63
Fifth, The (1964, Grgić, Štalter) 166, 171
Fire Ball (2005, Wang T.) 85
 Fischerkoesen, Hans 74, 78-9, 81
 Fischinger, Hans 70
 Fischinger, Oskar 70, 202
Five Came Back (2017, Bouzereau) 47, 53
Flag, The (1965, Kijowicz) 111, 112
Flat, The (1969, Švankmajer) 136, 146, 150
 Fleischer, Dave 85, 98
 Fleischer, Max 81, 85, 98
Flowers and Trees (1932, Gillett) 80
Fly, The (1966, Marks, Jutriša) 165
 Foky, Ottó 123
Folk Dance (1966, Bourek) 165
 Folman, Ari 209, 220
Food (1992, Švankmajer) 137
Foot Soldier Ant (1991, Tatić) 186
 Forman, Miloš 170
 Foster, John 62, 63
Freedom and You (1957) 59
 Freijas, Yanis 25
 Freleng, Friz 57
 Frič, Martin 142
From Dusk to Dawn (1967, Kovásznai) 129, 131
From Tomorrow On (1963, Nepp) 123
 Fučík, Julius 141
 Fukuyama, Francis 36

Gaál, István 124
 Gable, Clark 67
 Gagarin, Yuri 26
 Gagurin, Vladimir 32
 Galeen, Henrik 201
Game with Stones, A (1965, Švankmajer) 139
Game, The (1962, Vukotić) 164
 Gao, Wenqian 88
 Garay, János 119
Garden, The (1968, Švankmajer) 136, 137, 148, 150
 Gašparović, Zdenko 154, 166, 168
 Gavranić, Pavle 158
 Gelashvili, Igor 24
 Gelencsér, Gábor 120, 126, 127, 129, 132
 Geller, Dmitry 29
 Gémes, József 123
General-in-Chief (1962, Kristl) 163, 184
 Gerasimov, Aleksandar 157
 Geronimi, Clyde 48
 Giersz, Witold 111, 115
 Giesen, Rolf 69, 82, 86
 Gillett, Burt 80
 Ginsberg, Benjamin 8
Girl from Leningrad, The (1941, Eisymont) 52
 Giżycki, Marcin 14
 Gliese, Rochus 201
 Godfrey, Bob 166
 Goebbels, Joseph 12, 69, 70, 72, 78, 82, 176
Golem and the Dancing Girl, The (1917, Wegener, Gliese) 201
Golem, The (1915, Wegener, Galeen) 201
Golem: How He Came into the World, The (1920, Wegener, Boese) 201
 Goll, Yvan 107
 Goncharov, Vladimir 23
 Gorbachov, Mikhail 172
 Gorbunov, Dmitry 29
 Gorjan, Gerty 158
 Gottwald, Klement 140, 141, 142, 143, 147
Grand Guignol, Le (1993, Majdak) 188
Grey Wolf and Little Red Riding Hood (1990, Bardin) 22
 Grčić, Zlatko 166, 168, 171
 Grimm Brothers 72
 Gropius, Walter 107
 Grossu, Svetlana 32
Guests from the Galaxy (1981, Vukotić) 164
Gypsy Woman (1953, Nanović) 178

Habsburg, Rudolf II 142, 143, 148, 149
 Hadžić, Fadil 159, 160
 Hagen, Louis 199, 201
Hairs (2007, Tomić) 190
 Halas, John 40, 176
 Hall, John A. 46
Hamlet (1967, Kovásznai) 129
 Hammer, Ferenc 129
 Hand, David 68, 197
Hand, The (1965, Trnka) 122, 143
 Hanna, William 56
Happy End (1958, Mimica) 162
Happy Event (1951, Neugebauer) 160
 Harris, Mark 47
Have Time Will Travel (1961, Deitch) 164
Havoc in Heaven aka Uproar in Heaven (1961-64, Wan L.) 12, 83-104
 Hearn, Lafcadio 65
Heir Conditioned (1955, Freleng) 57
 Held, Hans 72, 73, 75, 77, 78
 Henry, Patrick 50
Heritage Park, The (1978, Giersz) 111, 115
 Herrmann, Sebastian M. 43
 Herskó, János 126
Hey, You! (1976, Szoboszlay) 122
High Noon (1952, Zinnemann) 58
 Hindemith, Paul 206
 Hirsch, Tibor 125
Historia Naturae (Suita) (1967, Švankmajer) 139, 148
History of Zhou Enlai (2013, Li C.) 88
 Hitler, Adolf 45, 51, 54, 69, 73, 78
 Hlavaty, Kosta 158
Hoaxters, The (1952, Scharj) 55, 56
 Höch, Hannah 17, 198, 204
Holiday in Britain (1974, Dárday, Szalai) 132
 Horner, Harry 55
 Horváth, Olivér 130
House 42 (1984, Štalter) 169
How Kíčo Was Born (1951, Vukotić) 160
How to Lose What We Have (1950) 59
 Howard, Ebenezer 109
 Howard, Ron 41
 Husák, Gustáv 141, 142, 147,
 Huston, Walter 47
 Huxley, Aldous 65

I Even Met Happy Gypsies (1967, Petrović) 185
I Think Life is Great Fun (1975, Macskássy) 133
I Was a Communist for the FBI (1951, Douglas) 58
 Iampolski, Mikhail 27, 36
Ice Station Zebra (1968, Sturges) 39, 41
In the Alley of Dignitaries and Significant Events (1977, Vlajić) 187
In the Grass (1974, Kalina) 111, 113
Intellectual Interlude (1961, Deitch) 164
Interplanetary Revolution (1924, Khodataev, Merkulow, Komissarenko) 44
Invaders from Mars (1953, Menzies) 58
Invasion of the Body Snatchers (1956, Siegel) 58
Invasion USA (1952, Green) 58-9
Invasion USA (1985, Zito) 59
Invisible and Bearly Visible Species (1998, Ćirić) 185
 Ionesco, Eugène 112
 Isaacs, John 202
 Ivanov-Vano, Ivan 45, 61, 62
 Ivanov, Aleksandr, 45
 Ivanov, Vlad 213
 Iványi-Bitter, Brigitta 126, 129, 130, 131, 133
 Ivens, Joris 54
 Iwerks, Ub 45, 202

J. S. Bach – Fantasia G-moll (1965, Švankmajer) 139
Jabberwocky (1971, Švankmajer) 136
 Jackson, Wilfred 46
 Jakeš, Miloš 141
 Jancsó, Miklós 124, 170
 Jankovics, Marcell 123
Japoteurs (1942, Kneitel) 44
 Jelić, Miroslav 186, 187
 Jia, Zhangke 85
 Jocić, Ljubiša 179, 193
 Jocić, Vera 179
Johnny Guitar (1954, Ray) 58
 Jonkajtys, Grzegorz 116
 Jordan, Stephanie 23
Journey to the West, The (2013, Tsai M.-l.) 85
 Jouvanceau, Pierre 205
 Jovanović, Divna 184
 Jovanović, Zoran 184
 Jovičić, Stevan 176, 178
Joy of Light (1965, Kovásznaí) 128, 129-30 131, 133
 Jutriša, Vladimir 160, 162, 165, 172

Kadár, Ján 170
Kádár, János 120
Kalina, Jerzy 110, 111, 112-3, 116
Karadordević, Pavle 177
Karadordević, Petar II 177
Karanovich, Anatolij 61
Karavaev, Valentin A. 56
Kaya, I'll Kill You! (1967, Mimica) 162
Kellner, Friedrich 79
Keser, Zorana 186
Kesler, Henry S. 52
Kevin, Deirdre 209
Khodataev, Nikolai 44
Khodataeva, Olga 45
Khrushchev, Nikita 27, 64, 119, 142
Kidnapping of the Sun and the Moon, The (1968, Reisenbüchler) 128
Kijek, Katarzyna 116
Kijowicz, Mirosław 111, 112, 113, 114
King, Jack 48
Kissinger, Henry 88
Kitchen, Martin 72, 77
Know Your Enemy: Japan (1945) 47
Koch, Carl 198, 202
Koenen, Katja 43
Kolar, Boris 166
Komissarenko, Zenon 8, 44
Konev, Ivan 141
Kopalin, Ilya 54
Kopaliński, Władysław 73, 76
Koppes, Clayton R. 45
Korda, Zoltan 52
Korniss, Dezső 124, 125, 132
Kostelac, Nikola 160, 162, 164, 180
Kovalyov, Igor 24, 28
Kovásznai, György 14, 118, 123, 124-6, 127, 128-32, 133
Kozara (1962, Bulajić) 183
Kósa, Ferenc 124
Kracauer, Siegfried 77, 78
Kraidy, Marwan M. 210
Kristl, Vladimir 160, 163, 164, 170, 184
Krlęža, Miroslav 165
Kudła, Zdzisław 111, 115
Kuguchin, Aleksandr 29
Kundera, Milan 13
Kurosawa, Akira 37

Kušanić, Ivo 184
 Kusmierz, Zoë 43
 Kusturica, Emir 187
 Kuznetsov, Andrei 28
 Kuznjecov, Konstantin 180

Labirynt (1962, Lenica) 111
 Lamarr, Hedy 67
 Lang, Andrew 200
 Lang, Fritz 106, 201
 Lasseter, John 174
Last Trick, The (1964, Švankmajer) 138, 149
 Lau, Jeffrey 85
Learning to Walk (1978, Dovniković-Bordo) 165, 171
 Leberecht, Frank 71
 Lec, Stanisław Jerzy 20, 38
 Lenartowicz, Stanisław 36
 Lenica, Jan 110, 111, 112, 116
 Lenin, Vladimir 8, 29, 33, 36, 63, 93, 178
 Lent, John A. 87, 102
Leonardo's Diary (1972, Švankmajer) 136, 146
 Leslie, Esther 175
Lesson not Learned (1971, Karavaev) 56
Let Me Explain the Mechanism (1968, Szabó-Sipos) 123
Letter, The (1965, Kristl) 163
 Levin, Curt 187
 Lewis, Peter 57, 58
 Lewis, Sinclair 176
 Li, Baochuan 91, 92
 Li, Chen 88
 Li, Kang-sheng 85
 Li, Kerou 85
 Li, Kewei 101
 Li, Shaochun 94, 96
 Li, Yi 91, 95, 101
Lift-3 aka *Ice Harvest or Arctic Combine* (1991, Tatarsky) 25
Lift-5 aka *Sputnik* (1992, Freijas, Sakov) 25
Lift/Elevator (1989-92) 24, 33
 Lim, Antonjin 182
 Lim, Mira 182
 Lin, Wenxiao 97, 101, 104
 Lindholm, Charles 46
 Linton, Ralph 65
 Lippmann, Walter 8, 68
Little and Big (1966, Grgić) 166

Little Red Riding Hood (Duga Film) 161
 Litvak, Anatole 53, 54
 Lobačev, Đorđe 180
 Lofting, Hugh 196, 205
Look Back in Anger (1959, Richardson) 126
Look Here and You Will Find! A Million! (Bošnjak, 1925) 177
Lovefilm (1970, Szabó) 124
 Lubitsch, Ernst 67
 Ludwig, Edward 58
 Lumière Brothers 106
Lunacy (2005, Švankmajer) 137
 Luske, Hamilton 66

Macaulay, Eunice 154
 Macdonald, Sean 86, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 103
 Macskássy, Gyula 119, 123
 Macskássy, Katalin 133
 Magašić, Anica 181
 Majdak Jr., Nikola 192-3
 Majdak, Nikola 16, 178, 179, 184, 188-9, 191, 192
 Makarevich, Andrei 28
 Makavejev, Dušan 170, 184, 185
Make Mine Freedom (1948) 56, 62, 66
 Makk, Károly 170
 Maksimov, Ivan 29
 Malyukova, Larisa 30
 Mamardashvili, Merab 36
Man with a Movie Camera (1927, Vertov) 106
Manhattan (1975, Kijowicz) 111, 114
 Mann, Delbert 39
Mantis (2002, Jonkajtys) 116
 Mao, Zedong 63, 83, 87, 88, 91, 93, 94
 Marinetti, Tommaso 107
 Marjanović, Milan 157
 Marks, Aleksandar 160, 162, 165, 172
 Marshall, George 46
Martin in the Sky, Martin from the Sky (1929) 157
 Martin, André 163, 180
Marty (1955, Mann) 39
 Marušić, Joško 153, 169
 Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue 144
Mask of Red Death (1969, Štalter) 166
 Matolcsy, György H. 123
Maxi Cat (1971-76, Grgić) 166
 McCabe, Norman 45, 47, 53
 McCarthy, Joseph 52, 58

McCay, Winsor 8, 197
 McLaren, Norman 161, 162, 184
 Medzhibovsky, Vadim 32
Meet King Joe (1949, John Sutherland Production) 57
 Méliès, Georges 29, 201
Memory of the Summer of '74 (1974, Kovásznai) 133
 Menzel, Jiří 170
 Menzies, William Cameron 56, 58
 Mészöly, Miklós 119, 132
Metamorphoses (1964, Kovásznai) 129
Metropolis (1927, Lang) 106
 Mezei, Ottó 130, 131
 Michalak, Marcin 116
 Milanović, Dragutin-Gane 184
 Milestone, Lewis 52, 54
 Miletić, Oktavijan 158
 Milius, John 59
 Milla, Julio Talavera 209
Miloš Tomić as an Ox... (2003, Tomić) 190
 Milošević, Slobodan 186
 Mimica, Vatroslav 162, 163, 164, 167, 170, 180
Mirror Image (1964, Kovásznai) 129
Mission to Moscow (1943, Curtiz) 52
Mister Twister (1963, Karanovich) 61
 Mitrović, Žika 183
 Mochinaga, Tadahito aka Fang Ming aka Zhiyong Zhiren 92
 Möllendorff, Horst von 79
Moloch (2006, Pazera) 116
Monday or Tuesday (1966, Mimica) 162
 Mondschein Brothers 158
Monkey King (2014-16, Pou-soi C.) 85
Monkey King: Havoc in Heaven (2012, Su Da, Chen Z.) 85
Monodram (2006, Adamski) 116
Monologue (1963, Kovásznai) 123-6, 129, 131, 133
Moon-flight (1975, Reisenbüchler) 125
 Moore, Yinghua 87
 Moritz, William 74, 80, 81, 172, 197
 Mouat, Maria 29
 Moyers, Bill 47
Mr. Smith Goes to Washington (1939, Capra) 46
Mr. Tête (1959, Lenica) 111, 112
 Mukhina, Vera 21, 24
 Munitić, Ranko 16, 160, 164, 175, 176, 178, 180, 181, 182, 186
Musical Pig, The (1965, Grgić) 166
My Way Home (1965, Jancsó) 124

Nagy, Imre 119
 Nagy, László B. 125
 Nanović, Vojislav 178
 Nash Jr., John Forbes 41
 Navarro, Peter 49
 Navojev, Nikola 180
 Nedeljković, Ana 192-3
Negro Soldier, The (1944) 47
Neighbours (1952, McLaren) 162
 Nepp, József 123
 Neugebauer, Walter 159-60, 180
 Neumann, Hieronim 111, 113, 116
 Neumann, Karl 70, 71, 82
New Legends of Monkey King, The (2018-, Netflix) 85
New Spirit, The (1942, Jackson, Sharpsteen) 48
Newsreels №2 (1941, Brumberg V., Brumberg Z., Ivanov, Ivanov-Vano, Khodatayeva) 45
 Nezval, Vítězslav 135, 146
Nibelungs, The (1924, Lang) 201
 Nichols, Bill 46, 125
 Niebuhr, Reinhold 8
 Nier, Friedrich Bernhard 82
Nights on the Boulevard (1972, Kovásznai) 133
Nimbus libéré (1944, Jeannin) 45
Ninotchka (1939, Lubitsch) 45, 67
No Title (1964, Dovniković-Bordo) 165
Noise (2011, Adamski, Kijek) 116
North Star, The (1943, Milestone) 52
 Novaković, Milan 187
 Novaković, Radoš 178
 Novaković, Slobodan 182
 Novotny, Antonin 147
 Noworyta, Stanislaw 157

Ocelot, Michel 208
 Ocep, Fiodor 52
October, The (1928, Eisenstein) 59
 Olejnik, Andrzej 213
On Holes and Corks (1967, Zaninović) 166, 172
One Day of Life (1982, Dovniković-Bordo) 165
Opening Night (1957, Kostelac) 162
Opera Cordis (1968, Vukotić) 164
Optimus Mundus aka Moscow Animation Project (1997) 30-37
 Armored Train (Turkus) 33
 Circus, The (Uzhinova, Uzhinov) 32
 Flying Guys/ Praxinoscope (Belyahev) 32

Gorky Park: Returning (Medzhibovsky) 32
Hero Valery Chkalov (Shramkovsky) 32
History of Moscow Czars (Aldashin, Dyomin) 36
Metro (Watt) 33
Minin and Pozharsky (Serebryakov) 32
Monuments (Schwizgebel) 35
Moscow Architecture (Jordan) 23
Moscow Streets/ Trough History (Rezchikov) 35
Moscow Weather Forecast (Lenartowicz) 36
Napoleon (Grossu, Gagurin) 32
Red Square! Best City in the World (Sahakyants) 35
Tatars (Veishtagin) 32
Two Angels (Zolotukhin) 32
Underground/ Metro Night (Bedoshvili) 33
Order in the House (1970, Szoboszlay) 122
Orlova, Natalia 29
Ornament of the Enamoured Heart, The (1919, Reiniger) 199, 200
Orosz, István 134
Ossuary, The (1970, Švankmajer) 136, 139
Our National Holidays (1984, Macskássy) 134
Our Russian Front (1942, Ivens, Milestone) 54

Painter's Diary, A (1968, Kovásznai) 129
Panic (1978, Reisenbüchler) 125, 128
Papageno (1935, Reiniger) 196
Papastergiadis, Nikos 210
Paperny, Vladimir 34
Papić, Krsto 170
Papp, Peter 157
Paronnaud, Vincent 209
Pašić, Duško 192
Passenger in Second Class (1972, Dovniković-Bordo) 165
Passer, Ivan 170
Passing Days (1968, Dragić) 167, 171
Passion (1961, Nepp) 123
Pavlović, Živojin 170, 184
Pazera, Marcin 116
Pearce, Perce 48
Peau de Chagrin, Le (1960, Kristl) 163
Peiper, Tadeusz 14, 107-10, 112, 113, 115, 116
Pencil and Rubber (1960, Macskássy, Várnai) 122, 123
Pendulum, the Pit and Hope, The (1983, Švankmajer) 136
Perović, Darko 186
Persepolis (2007, Satrapi, Paronnaud) 209
Petanjek, Bogoslav 158, 159

Peter the First (1937, Petrov) 53
 Petkevich, Vladimir 30
 Petričić, Dušan 184
 Petrov, Vladimir 53
 Petrović, Aleksandar 170, 185
Piccolo (1959, Vukotić) 161, 162
Picnic with Weissmann (1969, Švankmajer) 146, 150
Pictures from Memory (1987, Dragić) 169
Pied Piper of Hamelin, The (1918, Wegener) 198
 Pieterse, Jan Nederveen 210
 Pikkov, Ülo 119, 120, 121
 Pilling, Jayne 74, 198
Pinocchio (1940, Sharpsteen, Luske) 66
 Pinschewer, Julius 70
Pioneer and the Bad Mark, The (1949, Jocić V.) 179, 193
Plastic Jesus (1971, Stojanović) 185
 Plato 204
Playful Robot (1956, Vukotić) 161
 Plympton, Bill 30
 Podolec, Marcin 116
 Poe, Edgar Allan 166
 Polley, Ilsa 158
Pontius Pilatus Secundus (1996, Majdak) 189
Poor Hansi (1943, Leberecht) 71
 Popov, Raša 182
 Popović, Mića 184
Portrait from Our Century, A (1965, Reisenbüchler) 124, 126
 Prelinger, Rick 40
Princes and Princesses (2000, Ocelot) 208
Princess Iron Fan, The (1941, Wan L., Wan G.) 84, 92, 98
Private Nightmare (1981, Orosz) 134
Private Snafu (1943-45) 47
Professor Baltazar (1967-78, Zagreb Film) 166, 168
 Prokhorov, Anatoly 24
 Pukmajster, Nenad 186
 Pumares, Marta Jiménez 209
Putch (1991) 23, 24

Qian, Jiajun 102
Quiet Week in the House, A (1969, Švankmajer) 146, 148, 150, 151
 Quiquemelle, Marie-Claire 86

Rabbitland (2013, Nedeljković, Majdak Jr.) 192-3
 Radovanović, Ranko 186
 Rajk, László 127

Rakonjac, Kokan 184
 Rákosi, Mátyás 119
 Ratner, Megan 202
 Ratoff, Gregory 52
 Ray, Nicholas 58
 Raynaud, Émile 154
Reason and Emotions (1943, Roberts) 48
Red and Blue (2008, Pašić) 192
Red Dawn (1984, Milius) 59
Red Gate Rashomon (2002, Tatarsky, Telegin) 37
Red Menace (1949, Springsteen) 58
Red Nightmare (1962, Waggnert) 59, 64, 66
Red Planet Mars (1952, Menzies) 56
 Reed, John 8
 Reinhardt, Max 195
 Reiniger, Lotte 17, 70, 157, 195-207
 Reisenbüchler, Sándor 14, 118, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126-7, 128, 133
 Renoir, Jean 202
 Rezhikov, Dmitry 35
 Richards, Jeffrey 46
 Richardson, Tony 126
 Richter, Hans 70, 107, 202
 Riefenstahl, Leni 12, 46, 72
 Roberts, Bill 48
 Roe, Annabelle Honess 118, 197, 219
 Rogić, Nikola 189
Romeo and Juliet by Willie Shakespeare as Performed by Monsters and Company (1984, Petričić) 184
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano 46
 Ruderman, Mikhail 52
 Russell, Bertrand 42
Russian Rhapsody (1944, Clampett) 45, 54
 Ruttmann, Walter 70, 106, 157, 198, 202
 Rybak, Viktor 158
 Rybczyński, Zbigniew 111, 113, 114, 116

Sadoul, Georges 154, 164, 180
 Sahakyants, Robert 30, 35
 Sakov, Vladimir 25
Salty Slops (1969, Szoboszlay) 122
 Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail 36
 Sára, Sándor 124
 Satie, Eric 168
Satiemania (1979, Gašparović) 154, 155, 168-9, 173
 Satrapi, Marjane 209
 Saunders, Frances Stonor 40

Scary Monsters (1989, Ćirić) 185
 Schafer, Edward H. 83
 Schary, Dore 55
 Schmieding, Leonard 43
 Schönfeld, Christiane 199
 Schwizgebel, Georges 30, 35
 Serebryakov, Nikolai 29, 32
Seventh Continent, The (1966, Vukotić) 164
 Seversky, Alexander P. de 48
Shareholders (1963, Davidov) 62
Shark with the Tender Heart, The (1963, Milanović) 184
 Sharpsteen, Ben 48, 66
 Shcherbenok, Andrey 65, 68
Shell (1975, Kalina) 111, 112-3
 Shirakawa, Daisaku 85
Shooting Gallery (1979, Tarasov) 62
 Shramkovsky, Sergey 32
 Shultz, Stanislaw 179
 Siegel, Don 58
Silver Lode (1954, Dwan) 58
 Simjanović, Zoran 186
 Simone, Patrizia 209
Sinking of the Lusitania, The (1918, McCay) 197
Sisyphus (1967, Marks, Jutriša) 172
 Sives, Jamie 213, 214
 Skrobecki, Marek 115
 Slánský, Rudolf 141, 142
 Sloan, Alfred P. 56
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (1937, Hand) 69, 197
Snowman, The (1944, Fischerkoesen) 79-81
Sofka (1948, Novaković) 178
Soloist (1963, Majdak) 184
 Solovjev, Sergej 180
Someone Else's Voice (1949, Ivanov-Vano) 62
Song of Russia (1944, Ratoff) 52
Sound of the Forest, The (1972, Kudła) 111, 115
Soup (1974, Rybczyński) 111, 114
Soviet Toys (1924, Vertov) 44
Special Delivery (1979, Weldon, Macaulay) 154
Spirit of '43, The (1943, King) 48
Spitted by Kiss (2007, Tomić) 190
Sport Contest in the Forest (1952, Macskássy) 119
 Springsteen, Robert G. 58
 Stalin, Joseph 36, 45, 54, 62, 118, 119, 126, 127, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 155, 159, 187, 188
Stalingrad aka The City That Stopped Hitler – Heroic Stalingrad (1943, Varlamov) 54

Stanojević, Stanislav 182
 Stefan, Adela 216, 218
 Stevenson, Janet 52
 Stevenson, Philip 52
 Stevenson, Robert 58
 Stóhr, Lóránt 126
 Stojanović, Lazar 185
 Storm, J. P. 69, 82
Story about N (1978, Szoboszlay) 122
 Strożek, Przemysław 107
 Stuhr, Maciej 213
 Sturges, John 39
 Sun, Hongmei 86, 95, 97
 Sun, Yat-sen 92
 Sutherland, John 56, 57, 58, 63, 65, 67
Sutjeska (1973, Delić) 183
 Szabó Sipos, Tamás 123
 Szabó, István 124, 170
 Szalai, Györgyi 132
 Szmyd, Longin 111, 114
 Szoboszlay, Péter 121, 122

Šajtinac, Borislav 184, 189
 Šeferov, Vilko 157
 Štalter, Pavao 166, 169, 171
 Švankmajer, Eva 146
 Švankmajer, Jan 15, 135-44, 145-52

Tagatz, Sergei 157, 158
Tale of Tihany, A (1952, Mészöly) 119
Tales from the World of Art (1965, Kovásznai) 129
Tamer of Wild Horses (1966, Dragić) 166
 Tanaka, Iwao 83
 Tang, Cheng 101, 102, 104
Tango (1980, Rybczyński) 111, 114
Tango Ragtime (1985, Ćirić) 185
 Tarasov, Vladimir 62
 Tarr, Béla 132
 Tatarsky, Aleksandr 24, 25, 28, 33, 37
 Tatić, Slavko 186
 Tchaikovsky, Pyotr 53, 128
 Te, Wei 92, 102
 Teige, Karel 135
 Telegin, Valentin 37
Temptation (1971, Šajtinac) 184

Ten Minutes of Mozart (1930, Reiniger) 196
Ten Thousand Days (1967, Kósa) 124
 Tezuka, Osamu 85
Three Russian Girls (1943, Ocep, Kesler) 52
Tin Toy (1989, Lasseter) 174
 Tiomkin, Dimitri 53
 Tirnanić, Bogdan 185
 Tito, Josip Broz 16, 155, 158, 159, 163, 170, 172, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 190
To Thy Heart (2013, Borysewicz) 116
 Tokin, Boško 16, 176
Tokio Jokio (1943, McCabe) 47
 Tolstoy, Lev 128
 Tomić, Miloš 190-1
 Tompa, Kamilo 158
 Toriyama, Akira 85
Tower of Lalilon, The (1988, Ćirić) 185
Toy Box Series, Episode 3: Picture Book 1936, aka *Momotaro vs. Mickey Mouse* (1936) 44
Trip to the Moon, A (1902, Méliès) 200
 Tripalo, Miko 185
Triplets of Belleville (2003, Chomet) 209
Triumph (1972, Šajtinac) 184
Triumph of the Will (1935, Riefenstahl) 12, 46
 Trnka, Jiří 122, 143, 179
 Trossek, Andreas 121
Troublemaker, The (1940, Held) 72-8
Truth in Close-up (1988, Goncharov) 23
 Tsai, Ming-liang 85
Tup-Tup (1972, Dragić) 168
 Turajlić, Mila 183
 Turkus, Aleksey 33

 Ubović, Nedeljko 186, 187
 Ugarov, Valeriy 29
Unknown Pleasures (2002, Jia Z.) 85
Uptthrown Stone, The (1969, Sára) 124
 Urbano, Carl 58
 Uzhinov, Oleg 32
 Uzhinova, Elena 32
Užička Republika (1974, Mitrović) 183

 Vajda, Béla 123
 Varga, Csaba 121
 Varga, Zoltán 118, 121
 Varlamov, Leonid 54
 Várnai, György 123
 Veishtagin, Igor 33
 Vershinin, Ilya 52

Vertov, Dziga 44, 53, 106, 138
 Vetter, Charles T. 63
Victory through Air Power (1943, Pearce) 48
 Vidor, King 67
 Vigil, Carlos 159
 Vlajić, Vera 187, 188, 190
 Volk, Petar 182
 Vrbanić, Ivo 163
 Vučo, Aleksandar 178, 179
 Vukotić, Dušan 16, 154, 160, 161-2, 164, 170, 171, 172, 180, 181, 183
 Vukotić, Lila Andres 183

Waggner, George 59
 Wagner, R. Harrison 42
 Wagner, Rudolf G. 94
 Wajda, Andrzej 170
 Walker, Kara 17, 198, 206, 207
Wall, The (1965, Zaninović) 166
 Wallace, Henry A. 50
Waltz with Bashir (2008, Folman) 209, 219, 220, 226
 Wan, Chaochen 8, 92
 Wan, Dihuan 8, 92
 Wan, Guchan 8, 84, 92, 93
 Wan, Laiming 8, 12, 13, 84, 86, 90, 91, 92-3, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 102, 103, 104
 Wang, T'ung 85
 Ward, Paul 218
 Watt, Sara 33
Wavelengths (1970, Kovásznai) 132
 Wayne, John 58
Weather-beaten Melody (1943, Fischerkoesen) 79
 Wegener, Paul 196, 198, 201, 205
 Weill, Kurt 206
 Weissberg, Jay 218
 Weldon, John 154
 Welles, Orson 183
 Wells, Paul 120, 122, 128, 172, 219
 Weng, Ouhong 94, 95
When Father Was Away on Business (1985, Kusturica) 187
Whip Hand, The (1951, Horner) 55
Why Play Leap Frog (1949, John Sutherland Production) 57
Why We Fight (1942-45, Capra) 12, 45, 47, 48, 51, 56, 59, 61, 66
 Battle of Britain, The 48
 Battle of Russia, The 45, 46, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62
 Divide and Conquer 49
 Prelude to War 45, 49
 War Comes to America 49

Wind Stopped before Dawn, The (1959, Novaković) 178
Woman on Pier 13, The (1949, Stevenson) 58
Wow-Wow (1964, Kolar) 166
Wu, Ch'eng-en 83

Xu, Ying 86, 102

Yabushita, Taiji 85
Yan, Dingxian 101, 104
Yankee Dood It (1956, Freleng) 57
Year of 1812, The (1972, Reisenbüchler) 121, 125, 128
Yellow Submarine (1968, Dunning) 166
Yen, Donnie 86
You're a Sap, Mr. Jap (1942, Gordon) 44
Young Man Playing the Guitar at the Old Masters' Gallery (1964, Kovásznai) 129
Yu, Anthony C. 83

Zaninović, Ante 166, 171
Zaninović, Stjepan, 191
Zanussi, Krzysztof 170
Zečević, Božidar 181, 186, 187
Zeller, Wolfgang 205
Zhang, Guangyu 95, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104
Zhang, Zhengyu 101, 102, 104
Zhou, Enlai 12, 13, 83, 87-90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 102, 104
Zhuk, Sergei 44
Zimonić, Krešimir 169
Zinnemann, Fred 58
Zito, Joseph 59
Zolotukhin, Andrey 31
Zsugán, István 129

Žilnik, Želimir 184, 185
Živkov, Steva 186

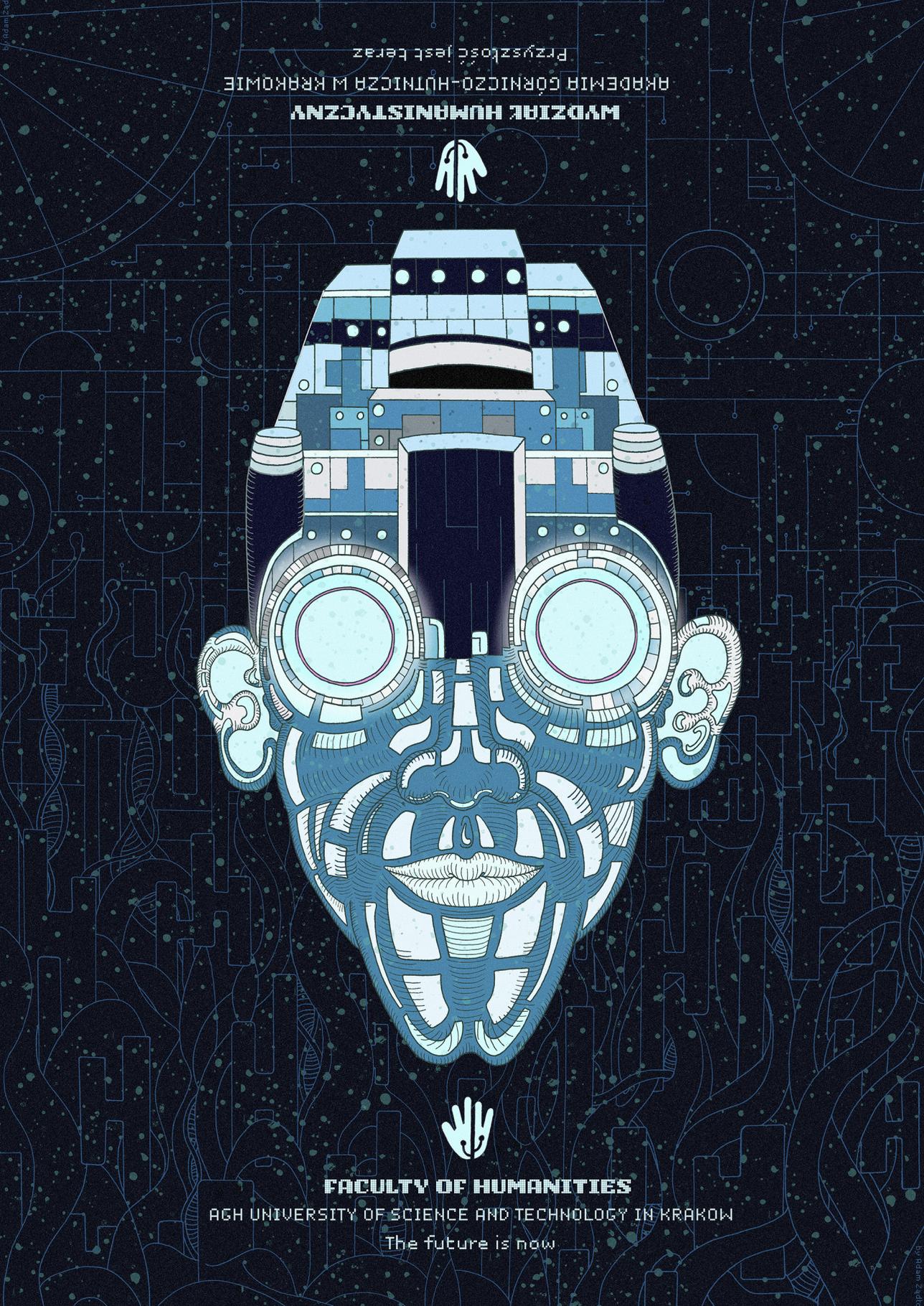


26. Międzynarodowy
Festival Filmowy
26th International
Film Festival

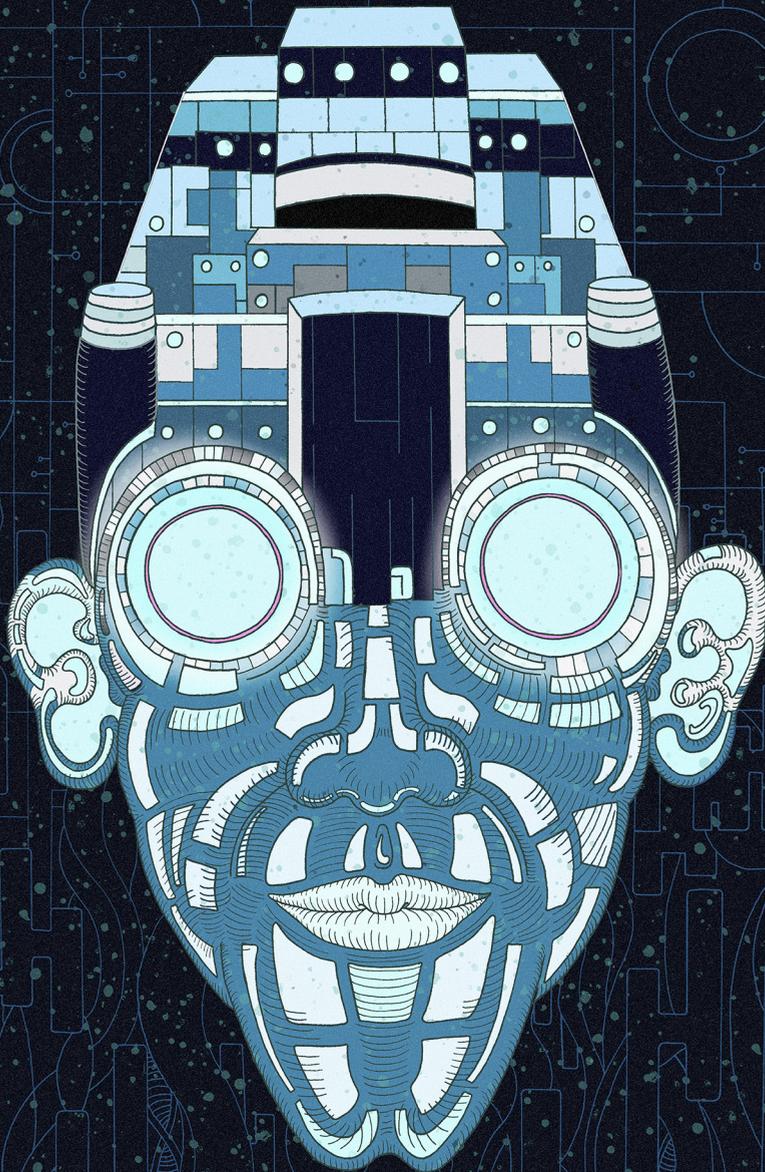
Etiuda & Anima

2019

Kraków
19-24. XI. 2019



Przyszłość jest teraz
AKADEMIA GÓRNICZO-HUTNICZA W KRAKOWIE
WYDZIAŁ HUMANISTYCZNY



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
AGH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN KRAKOW
The future is now

by Adam Zych

by Adam Zych

**Twisted
Dreams of
History**
23. - 24. 11. 2017,
Kraków

*..v4
Perspective on Propaganda,
ideology and animation*



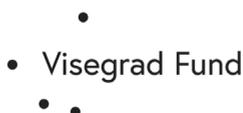
ORGANIZATORZY/ THE ORGANIZERS



PARTNERZY/ PROJECT PARTNERS



FINANSOWANIE/ FINANCED BY



WSPÓŁPRACA/ IN COOPERATION WITH



MEDIA



The texts collected in the revived volume are undoubtedly a valuable contribution to animation studies that enriches both Polish and world subject literature with many new thoughts and findings. Among the authors there are such outstanding and acknowledged experts in the field of animation studies as Mikhail Gurevich or Midhat Ajanović Ajan. The volume's biggest advantage is that it may serve both film scholars and regular animation aficionados who may learn about such distinguished artists as Lotte Reiniger or Jan Švankmajer. It should also be noted that the volume's erudite introduction in many cases supplements the content of particular texts with a deeper reflection.

— **Professor Marcin Giżycki** (Rhode Island School of Design, Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology)

The book analyses the historical and political contexts of animated film as well as its entanglement in propagandist manipulation and ideological dependence. (...) However, I am convinced that the entire publication has another, "subcutaneous" dimension. From a certain perspective this publication may be read as a demand for artistic freedom. Freedom that allows to express views, to argue against them and to create awareness of problems. The book makes one feel that despite propaganda and the ideological corsets, the freedom of art is possible.

— **Professor Robert Sowa** (Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow)



WYDAWNICTWA AGH
KRAKOW 2019



WYDZIAŁ HUMANISTYCZNY
AGH bo za każdą technologią
stoi człowiek

