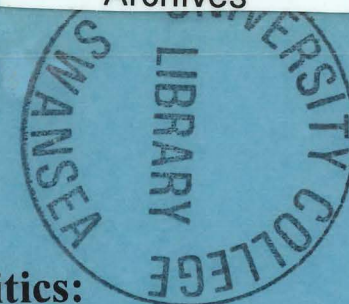


LF1217.5 I5 1999
Archives



Cinema, History, Politics:

The Reel and the Real



ISBN 0 86076 162 2

The Inaugural Lecture of
Professor Richard Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S

Professor of Politics,
University of Wales Swansea,

delivered at Swansea
on 8 February 1999

First published November 1999 by University of Wales Swansea

Obtainable from:

The Department of Planning and Marketing
University of Wales Swansea
Singleton Park
Swansea
SA2 8PP

Copyright - Prof. Richard Taylor

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN 0 86076 162 2

UNIVERSITY OF WALES SWANSEA
PRIFYSGOL CYMRU ABERTAWE
LIBRARY/LLYFRGELL

Classmark LE1217.5 IS 1999

Location Archives

1005256486



*This lecture is dedicated to all the secretaries
with whom I have worked over the years,
with thanks for covering my tracks.*

yn

First of all, I should like to apologise for the length of time that it has taken me to organise myself to deliver this inaugural lecture since my elevation in October 1995 to Swansea's answer to the College of Cardinals. I am here at last, partly because I was anxious that I might otherwise soon find a place in the Guinness Book of Records for undelivered inaugurals, partly also because I was afraid that - if I left it much longer - my *inaugural* might in effect become my *exaugural*, and partly because I finally realised that this was a golden opportunity to inflict extracts from some of my favourite films on you.

I can only offer you by way of consolation for the delay the closing words of a French film. I saw it in the original French-language version with subtitles - so I can claim that I saw it as an art-house movie, even if the English-dubbed version nowadays shown on cable television, and from which this gem of dialogue has for some reason been excised, is more recognisably a soft-porn film. I refer, of course, to *Emmanuelle*. At the end of the film, as many of you will no doubt recall at least privately, Emmanuelle's mentor puts his arm around her and says, 'The important thing is not the arrival, but the anticipation.' He, of course, was talking about orgasms: I am talking about inaugural lectures. I am told that there are some differences, and I am now about to find out.

Since French films, and indeed arrivals, have already been mentioned - entirely coincidentally of course - I should like to begin this evening by transporting you back to gay Parez in the naughty nineties of the last century. To the *Grand Café* on the Boulevard des Capucines on 28 December 1895 to be precise, to the first public showing of the new 'cinematograph', the machine that records or writes movement.¹ The machine had been developed by the brothers Auguste and Louis Lumière, a singularly appropriate surname for the promoters of a device that depended on the projection of light or *lumière*, but neither of them thought that the cinematograph had any real future. Louis remarked that, 'It may be exploited for a time as a scientific curiosity. Apart from that it will have no commercial future.'²

This just goes to show the dangers of futurology! It can safely be argued that the show



presented to the audience that Saturday evening changed the way we look at our surroundings and provided an essential element of what Robert Hughes has so memorably called 'the shock of the new'.³

The show consisted of a series of very short films, what we would nowadays call documentaries, beginning with a static shot of the workers leaving the Lumière factory, followed by the first, brief comedy entitled *The Sprinkler Sprinkled*, involving a gardener, his young male assistant and a hose - but I shall spare you the details. The film that caused the real sensation, however, was *The Arrival of the Train in the Station*, an apparently innocuous film shot at La Ciotat in the south of France, where the Lumière family had their summer residence. This film depicted quite literally what the title promised, but the cameraman, entirely without premeditation as far as we can tell, positioned himself not at the *far* end of the platform from the approaching train, but in the *middle*. The result of this was an unintended but nonetheless powerful effect: the train did indeed enter the station at La Ciotat, but it also at least *appeared* to leave it, even as it was stopping. To an audience that was not, and indeed at that time could not be, familiar with what later became the conventions of moving image culture, the difference between what the train *appeared* to be doing and what it *actually* was doing was unclear. They thought that, as the train left the screen, it must be entering the real auditorium where they were sitting, and they were panic-stricken, just as a later generation in the United States was panic-stricken by Orson Welles's famous radio version of H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds*. The old barriers between art and real life had been broken down and the one was now threatening the other [*Plate 1*].

When this same sequence was shown in Russia the following summer, the writer Maxim Gorky described, in what we would nowadays call his syndicated newspaper column, his own reaction and that of the audience:

Yesterday I was in the kingdom of the shadows.

If only you knew how strange it is to be there. There are no sounds, no colours. There everything - the earth, the trees, the people, the water, the air - is tinted

in the single tone of grey: in a grey sky there are grey rays of sunlight; in grey faces grey eyes, and the leaves of the trees are grey like ashes. This is not life, but the shadow of life, and this is not movement but the soundless shadow of movement.

I must explain... I saw the Lumières' cinematograph - moving photographs. The impression it produced was so unusual, so original and complex, that I can hardly convey it in all its nuances, but I can attempt to convey its essence...

A railway train appears on the screen. It darts like an arrow straight towards you - look out! It seems as if it is about to rush into the darkness in which you are sitting and reduce you to a mangled sack of skin, full of crumpled flesh and shattered bones, and destroy this hall and this building, so full of wine, women, music and vice, and transform it into fragments and to dust.⁴

Some thirty years later Sergei Eisenstein was to use a similar technique to conclude *The Battleship Potemkin*, the film that put both him and Soviet cinema in general on the international cultural map. But, unlike the cameraman standing on the station at La Ciotat, Eisenstein knew precisely what he was doing, and so the effect is different, because it was also carefully calculated and controlled [*Plate 2*].

Of course, in the intervening thirty years, audiences - even in the still relatively backward Soviet Union - had become culturally more sophisticated, more able to distinguish between the reality that they experienced directly in everyday life and the mediated, or indirectly experienced reality of the screen, which one Russian scholar has aptly described as 'reality at second hand'.⁵ Equally, Eisenstein believed that the film-maker could, and should, calculate scientifically the precise effect that various techniques would have upon the audience. The most important of these was 'montage', quite simply the way in which a film was put together. Eisenstein was not the first to discover the *method* of montage but he was the first to try to develop a *general theory* to explain it. For him montage was what distinguished cinema from other art forms: it defined what we nowadays call cinema's 'specificity'.

At its simplest, montage merely referred to the order in which certain shots or sequences were put together to create a narrative. For example, the following two sequences shown in this particular order suggest a certain message. First, what we might call 'the Head of Department's dream', *Plate 3*. Then, what we might call 'the Head of Department's nightmare', *Plate 4*.

The order typewriter/pram conveys one message, but, if you reverse the order to pram/typewriter a different message is implied. But, as a historian, I have to confess that here I have cheated. I have in fact shown two sequences from two *separate* Nazi propaganda films. The more mischievous among you may think that I have included this tribute to our secretaries in order to suggest a similarity between the subordinate role of women in the Politics Department and in the Third Reich. *Gott im Himmel!* The only similarity that I should like to point out is that in our Department the secretaries have to combine their secretarial duties with maternal ones, mothering the staff, as much as, if not more than, the students - and we are very grateful for what they do. Even Goebbels would not have expected as much. But I digress.

Eisenstein, who did of course use a pram in the Odessa Steps sequence in *Potemkin* and a typewriter in *The General Line*, took montage much further than this, analysing not only the 'montage of collisions' between conflicting sequential shots, but also the contrasts in tone, movement - and eventually also sound and colour - within each individual shot, or, as he came to call it, each 'montage cell'. He began with the montage of attractions, a term from the circus and fairground chosen quite deliberately to shock the apostles of 'high' cultural forms. Each individual element of the montage cell, each 'attraction' or image was to be an item packed with associations, such as a pram or typewriter, so that the collision between attractions was to be at the same time a collision between the associations and ideas that they represented. Towards the end of the 1920s this developed into the idea of 'intellectual montage': thesis - antithesis - synthesis, in Marxist terms. Sadly, as both Eisenstein and the Soviet authorities were soon to find out, 'intellectual montage' was no way to move a mass audience.

Just imagine yourselves to be an audience of Soviet peasants some seventy years ago. (Some of you will find this exercise easier than others.) Imagine your reaction to this classic example of 'intellectual montage' from *October*, the film that Eisenstein was commissioned to make for the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1927 [*Plate 5*].

For its effect this sequence requires a certain amount of prior knowledge on the part of the viewer. You need, for instance, to know that the sequence is set in the Winter Palace and that the principal character is Alexander Kerensky, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government in 1917. Contemporary mass audiences were particularly confused by the intercutting of the Prime Minister on the threshold of the imperial apartments with a preening peacock, especially a mechanical one. They read the message literally, just as that Paris audience had done in 1895. What the peasants wanted to know, according to one eminent cinema historian, was: what was Kerensky doing trying to enter the peacock's... since this is before the 9 o'clock watershed, we had better say... the peacock's *anus horribilis*?⁶ The mechanical peacock was in fact a very elaborate clock that had been a present from Nicholas II to his wife and that is still preserved in the Hermitage Museum, so the visual metaphor identifies Kerensky with the *ancien régime*. This was, not surprisingly, lost on the contemporary audience.

So, the film-maker has to keep pace with the audience, and not rush too far ahead of them, if he or she is to hold them in thrall. Elsewhere in *October* Eisenstein was successful in this, and his filmic re-creation, or rather creation, of the storming of the Winter Palace is an excellent example of the potential of film as a propaganda weapon. It is perhaps the best example of fiction film footage that has acquired the status of fact. The Odessa Steps sequence in *Potemkin* could be said to have been equally effective in ideological terms, to the extent that Hitler's Propaganda Minister, Joseph Goebbels, remarked that 'Someone with no firm ideological convictions could be turned into a Bolshevik by this film', but it was regarded as poetic licence, not as historical fact. By contrast, the storming of the Winter Palace is regularly used by television documentary makers as if it were a factual newsreel, because, in the absence of any factual newsreel footage of the October Revolution, Eisenstein's film dramatises reality and provides good footage. But the October Revolution

was not like that: one of the warders in the Hermitage Museum is reported to have complained to Eisenstein that what he called 'your lot' did more damage to the Winter Palace the second time round, filming in 1927 than they had storming in 1917. Here the reel image - the reality at second hand - has become more 'real' to audiences than reality itself, which they were never in a position to experience at first hand anyway.

Eisenstein's Ukrainian colleague, Dziga Vertov, attacked him for his use of acted footage, claiming that fiction film was just another narcotic to drug the masses. Vertov's Cine-Eye manifesto argued that documentary film could, through editing, 'create a man more perfect than Adam was created',⁷ a process that reflected a rather stronger desire to create the new 'Soviet man' than a desire to reflect reality even at second hand. But Vertov's experiments confused audiences even more than did Eisenstein's, which is one reason why I shall not be showing you any extracts.

The *deconstruction and reconstruction* of reality as raw material was what montage was all about, and the phenomenon of reconstructed reality, especially a reconstructed reality at second hand, helped pave the way for the doctrine of Socialist Realism in the Soviet Union and its equivalents elsewhere, most notably in Berlin, where Goebbels instructed German film-makers to follow the Soviet example, and in Hollywood - the 'dream factory' to end all dream factories - which promised its audiences the all-American dream 'somewhere over the rainbow'.

In the Soviet Union, Socialist Realism was intended from the outset as a project to define the future: Lenin's Commissar for Popular Enlightenment, Anatoli Lunacharsky, remarked that the Socialist Realist 'does not accept reality as it really is. He accepts it as it will be.'⁸ This was called 'revolutionary romanticism',⁹ and Lunacharsky further observed that 'A Communist who cannot dream is a bad Communist. The Communist dream is not a flight from the earthly but a flight into the future.'¹⁰ Similar remarks could also be made about other dream factories. Sheila Fitzpatrick has perceptively argued that the Socialist-Realist depiction of the collectivised Soviet countryside in feature films was 'a preview of the coming attractions of socialism'.¹¹ In many ways the American dream offered a preview of

the coming attractions of capitalism to audiences during the Great Depression and the Second World War. It is small wonder that Stalin, as early as 1924, had claimed that 'Cinema is an illusion, but it dictates its own laws to life itself,'¹² or that Lenin had apparently once argued that 'Of all the arts, for us cinema is the most important.'¹³ Small wonder also that in 1956 Nikita Khrushchev singled out Soviet film-makers, when it suited him politically to do so, and criticised them for 'varnishing reality'.¹⁴

Cinema was, at least from the beginning of the First World War until the end of the Second, and probably also beyond that, the most powerful medium for influencing the mass of the population. I am not one of those who would claim that cinema still held that power: it has been replaced by television, and the television screen will shortly be replaced by the computer screen. But nor would I agree with the British film-maker Peter Greenaway's recent claim that 'cinema is dead'. In any case, there are crucial differences between the ways in which the different media operate on their respective audiences. Both television and computer screens have an intimacy and, more importantly from the political point of view, an immediacy in both time and space that have never been available to cinema. To illustrate this point more graphically, I asked my students the other day to consider what might have happened if Nazi Germany had developed a regular national television service and Goebbels had discovered the joys of soap operas: would we have had *Ostenders*, *Coronation-Strasse*, or perhaps on German radio *Die Archers*, an everyday story of country *Volk*?

So why was cinema so powerful at that time? There are a variety of reasons. Perhaps the most important is that cinema was in a certain sense the first *mass* medium, and in another sense perhaps the *only truly mass* medium. The cinema audience receives and perceives film both as an individual and as one of a crowd, and is therefore subjected to the interactions between processes of individual and mass reception. This is magnified by the essentially authoritarian circumstances of the cinema auditorium itself: a darkened room with a screen reflecting a bright image that is in all respects larger than life. Film seen in a cinema has a captive audience in the sense that only theatre or opera can match. But theatre and opera are live performance media: cinema proffers a fixed and premeditated film text that remains as a text independent of any audience reaction. Furthermore, unlike theatre or

opera, the cinema screen is like a fourth wall, opening a window on a wider world and transporting us through both space and time, flashing back to the past and forward to the future in ways that had previously been impossible. In addition, cinema is a primarily visual medium and, in the case of silent cinema, almost entirely visual. The first sound in cinema - the piano accompaniment - was added only to drown the noise of the projector: it was not intrinsic either to the medium or to its mode of communication. Images leave a more powerful imprint on our memories than words and they appeal primarily to our emotions rather than our reason. Our visual memory is therefore also more reliable than our memory for sound, or at least for dialogue. To illustrate this, let us re-visit that most famous phrase uttered in everybody's favourite Hollywood film from the Second World War [Plate 6].

Ingrid Bergman does not, and never did, say, 'Play it again, Sam, play it for me.' But I can reassure those of you who now think that your memory has gone completely and that you are in your dotage that in *Grand Hotel* Greta Garbo actually does say, 'I want to be alone.'

Our visual memory is both more powerful and more reliable and in the right hands the visual, as opposed to the sound, image can be more succinct, as in this balletic sequence from *The Great Dictator*, the most overtly political film by Charles Chaplin, one of the giants of the golden age of cinema, whose films are nowadays regrettably largely overlooked. There are only four words of dialogue in this sequence and they are utterly superfluous: the images tell their own story quite effectively enough through the brilliance of Chaplin's timing [Plate 7].

Even in sound cinema the sound acts as a supporting element to the image. Dialogue helps to expedite both the character development and the action, but only in exceptional circumstances, such as the Marx Brothers' films, does the dialogue take over from the image.

There is, however, another form of sound that operates differently and that is music. Here too in his concept of audio-visual montage Eisenstein was a pioneer, collaborating with

Edmund Meisel in an avant-garde score for *Potemkin*, part of which you heard earlier, but above all with Sergei Prokofiev in *Alexander Nevsky* whose 'Battle on the Ice' sequence he himself later analysed.¹⁵ But equally it is no accident that the most popular films in the heroic age of cinema were musicals, in Hollywood, in Britain, in Nazi Germany and in Stalin's Soviet Union, where the project for a 'Soviet Hollywood' [*sovetskii Gollivud*] was taken very seriously indeed in the 1930s. The composers of more popular music knew that the strength of a good tune was that it kept the audience humming away *after* they had left the cinema. 'As Time Goes By' is a good example. Indeed a truly successful song achieves its own autonomous status, independent of the film: there are countless examples from Hollywood, many of whose musicals had originated on stage but achieved a new and more lasting life on screen. If the audience kept the tune fresh in their heads, so the argument went, they would also keep the ideological message fresh in their memory as well. As Isaak Dunayevsky, a rather more popular Soviet composer than Sergei Prokofiev, observed, 'The musical image embodies the image of the plot'.¹⁶ Nowhere is this better exemplified than in the score that he wrote for *The Circus* in 1936 which helped the words to this particular song to 'penetrate into the broad masses', as the star of the film, Liubov Orlova, succinctly put it [Plate 8].¹⁷

This 'Song of the Homeland', celebrating the Stalin Constitution of 1936, provided the call sign for Moscow Radio and became the unofficial 'national' anthem of the Soviet state in the late 1930s until an official anthem was adopted in 1943, so it certainly did 'penetrate into the broad masses'. Indeed I have several times given papers elsewhere and finished with this extract: some days later somebody always rings up and says, 'I can't get that bloody tune out of my mind'!

The musical was in many ways the perfect vehicle for the depiction and promulgation of the Socialist Realist or National Socialist utopia, or the American dream. This is especially true if we bear in mind Richard Dyer's argument that the central thrust of entertainment is utopianism and that, while 'Entertainment offers the image of "something better" to escape into, or something we want deeply that our day-to-day lives don't provide... [it]... does not, however, present models of utopian worlds... Rather the utopianism is contained in the

feelings it embodies.’¹⁸

As the British director David Lean remarked of his own *Brief Encounter*, ‘Films are not real. They are dramatised reality,’ and, of its attraction for audiences, ‘A shop girl earning three pounds a week doesn’t pay to see an exact replica of herself on the screen - she pays to see what she would *like* to be, in looks, dress and mode of living’.¹⁹ This was the same appeal that Socialist Realist films exercised for their Soviet audiences, a willing suspension of disbelief, or what one Russian critic has called, ‘an actual willingness to be deceived, a boundless desire to be seduced.’²⁰

The overwhelming majority of films seen by mass audiences have been feature films, played or acted, rather than documentaries or newsreels. But it has been documentaries and above all newsreels that have provided audiences with overt political coverage. Despite the claims made for the purity and innate superiority of documentary film by those who make it, from Dziga Vertov onwards, it has to be said that audiences have never shown much interest in watching documentary films as anything more than an accompaniment to a feature film. This may be because the reality at second hand portrayed in documentary and newsreel film is all too often rather too close to the reality at first hand experienced by the contemporary audience, and audiences prefer to maintain a distinction and enjoy the excitement of dramatisation. Students certainly do! Yet, since we largely experience reality at second hand through the feature film, it may also be that we view documentary and newsreel films as if they were part of that other, indirectly experienced reality, and therefore not ‘really’ real. If that is the case, then the whole argument for the purity and superiority of documentary films falls by the wayside, because they do something that feature films do better, at least as far as the audience is concerned. Of course, many documentaries, although it is almost heretical to mention this, are themselves dramatised versions of reality: Vertov’s films, claiming to depict ‘life caught unawares’, were nonetheless dramatised through their montage, ‘creating a man more perfect than Adam was created’, as was Leni Riefenstahl’s version of the 1934 Nazi Party Rally, *Triumph of the Will*, described in the introductory credits as ‘The Document of the Party Rally... fashioned by [*gestaltet von*] Leni Riefenstahl’. Dramatised reality is more interesting than ‘real’ reality, as anyone who has tried to sit through John Grierson’s

Drifters or Andy Warhol’s *Chelsea Girls* will know to their cost. As Lunacharsky remarked, from the political point of view ‘Boring agitation is counter-agitation.’²¹

But what, I hear your cry, does all this have to do with politics? Or, as a colleague in an English university said to me last time I went there to give a paper, ‘Richard, it’s a wonderful subject, but how on earth do you get away with it in a politics department?’ The answer to that is, of course, that I have over the past 28 years worked for four very indulgent Heads of Department, and I should like to thank them publicly on this occasion, as indeed I should also like to thank my mother and my friends, some of whom I have already mentioned, some others of whom are present here tonight, and others who unfortunately are not. I should also like to thank my students, who keep me constantly on my toes, even when I sometimes feel as though I am on my knees. If it were not for your support, I should not be standing here tonight, and I think you all deserve to share the blame. But, once more, I digress.

What does all this have to do with politics? The media of mass communication are nowadays predominantly audio-visual, depending on image and sound, rather than on the printed or written word, and this is being compounded by the iconography of the computer screen. If I mention the names of Tony Blair, Bill Clinton, Saddam Hussein, an image of their faces (or, in the case of Clinton, perhaps another part of his anatomy) will float into your consciousness. If we go further back in history to Hitler, Stalin, Goebbels, or Thatcher, you will see other images, images that were originally conveyed to you by one of the mass media - cinema or television. But this is indirect experience on your part, reality at second hand. Most people, and certainly most people here tonight, have never had the opportunity to experience these figures directly, as reality at first hand. We take their images, their existence even, on trust from the media, from the very media that politicians, propagandists, and more latterly spin-doctors use to manipulate their publics. Indeed it sometimes seems that politicians are acting more and more like characters in the soap operas that the Nazis never discovered. For some years the Royal Family has been playing out a downmarket version of *Dynasty*. The Conservative Party may be said to have swum off the map to *El Dorado* and suffered a similar fate to that doomed series. The Liberal Democrats hover uneasily between *Emmerdale Farm* and *Peak Practice*, while New Labour is more *Brookside* than *Coronation*



Street, with Peter Mandelson living out a separate fantasy in *Dallas*, possibly also in *Paddington Green*.

Cinema was the first medium to manipulate a mass audience in this manner and arguably, because of the essentially authoritarian manner of its projection and reception, it was the most effective. The majority of the films made were made for entertainment, but even the apolitical has political significance, be it in Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Germany, or Britain today. The leading Russian cinema historian and critic, Maya Turovskaya, has argued that, unlike the written or printed documents that historians have pored over for centuries, films are not documents of their time, so much as documents of the *feelings* of their time. In this sense the musical entertainment film is equivalent as a historical and political text to the documentary or newsreel.

This is a valid text for our attention [*Plate 9*]. But so, too, is this warning to new professors of the temptations that can lead to their downfall [*Plate 10*]. Well, I had to find some way of getting Marlene into this lecture! And the German words are so much more philosophical than the English...

Given the present and future certain dominance of the audio-visual media and the complex temporal and spatial matrix in which they operate through image, dialogue and music, we owe it to ourselves and to our students to treat these documents as seriously as we treat their written equivalents. We need, if you like, to project more *lumière* into this 'kingdom of the shadows'.

In so doing, we get to know ourselves better for, as Aldous Huxley observed more than sixty years ago, 'The propagandist canalizes an already existing stream. Where there is no water, he digs in vain.'²² We need to know not only *how* we are manipulated but also *why* some things move us more than others. We can thus improve the health of our all-too-imperfect democracy by empowering the audience as critically aware citizens, for, as Goebbels remarked at about the same time, 'Propaganda becomes ineffective the moment we are aware of it.'²³ And he knew a thing or two about propaganda.

I can think of no better way to conclude than with those observations and with words that will be familiar to children of all ages everywhere, the words that conclude all those *Tom and Jerry* cartoons: 'That's all, folks!'

Thank you very much.

Notes

1. A. & L. Lumière, *Letters. Inventing the Cinema* (ed. J. Rittaud-Hutniet; trans. P. Hodgson), London & Boston MA 1995, pp. 83-5.
2. Cited on: M. Bessy & G. Lo Duca, *Georges Méliès. Mage*, Paris 1961, pp. 45-6.
3. R. Hughes, *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change*, London 1980.
4. 'Pacatus' (pseudonym of Maxim Gorky), 'Beglye zametki', *Nizhegorodskii listok*, 4 July 1896.
5. M. Yampolsky, 'Reality at Second Hand', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1991, pp. 161-71.
6. Yu. Tsivian, 'Eisenstein and Russian Symbolist Culture: An Unknown Script of October', in: I. Christie & R. Taylor (eds), *Eisenstein Rediscovered*, London & New York, 1993, pp. 97-9.
7. D. Vertov, 'The Cine-Eyes. A Revolution' (1923) in: R. Taylor & I. Christie (eds), *The Film Factory. Russian & Soviet Cinema in Documents, 1896-1939*, London & Cambridge MA 1988, p. 92.
8. A. Lunacharsky, 'Synopsis of a Report on the Tasks of Dramaturgy', cited in: Taylor & Christie, p. 327.
9. The term used by Andrei Zhdanov in his speech to the 1934 Congress of Soviet Writers: *Pervyi Vsesoiuznyi s"ezd sovetskikh pisatelei 1934. Stenograficheskii otchet*, reprint edn, Moscow 1990, p. 4.
10. Lunacharsky, *loc. cit.*
11. S. Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants. Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization*, Oxford & New York 1994, p. 262.
12. Cited in: D. Volkogonov, 'Stalin', *Oktiabr*, 1988, no. 11, p. 87.
13. G. M. Boltianskii (ed.), *Lenin i kino*, Moscow & Leningrad 1925, pp. 16-19; cited in: Taylor & Christie, pp. 56-7.
14. Cf. N. S. Khrushchev, *The Secret Speech*, Nottingham 1976, pp. 70-2; *idem*, *Doklad na zakrytom zasedanii XX s"ezda KPSS*, London 1986, pp. 94-6.
15. S. Eisenstein, 'Vertical Montage', in: *idem, Selected Works vol. 2: Towards a Theory of Montage* (ed. M. Glenny & R. Taylor; trans. M. Glenny), London 1991, pp. 379-99.
16. Cited in: G. V. Aleksandrov, *Epokha i kino*, Moscow 1976, p. 197.
17. Cited in: G. Zel'dovich, *Liubov' Orlova*, Moscow 1939, p.17.

18. R. Dyer, 'Entertainment and Utopia', *Movie*, 24 (1977), pp. 2-13; reprinted in: R. Altman (ed.), *Genre: The Musical. A Reader*, London 198, pp. 000-000.
19. D. Lean, 'Brief Encounter', *Penguin Film Review 4*, London & New York 1947, pp.29-31.
20. S. Nikolaevich, 'Poslednii seans, ili Sud'ba beloi zhenshchiny v SSSR', *Ogonek*, 1992, no. 4, p. 23.
21. A. Lunacharsky, 'Speech to Film Workers', January 1928, translated in: Taylor & Christie, p. 197.
22. A. Huxley, 'Notes on Propaganda', *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, vol. 174, December 1936, pp. 34, 39.
23. From a speech to the Reich Film Chamber on 5 March 1937, cited in: W. von Bredow & R. Zurek (eds), *Film und Gesellschaft in Deutschland. Dokumente und Materialien*, Hamburg 1975, p. 33, n. 41.

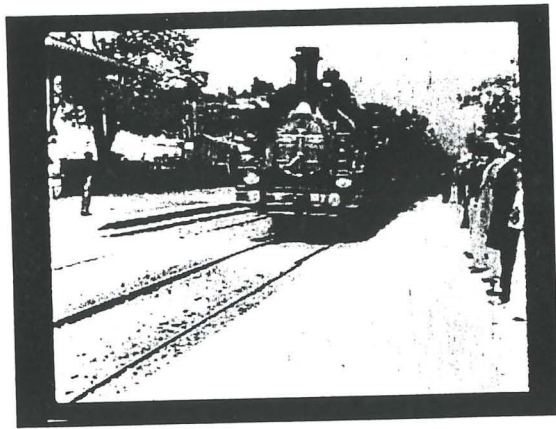


Plate 1 (a): *The Arrival of the Train in the Station* [France, 1895]. The train arrives.

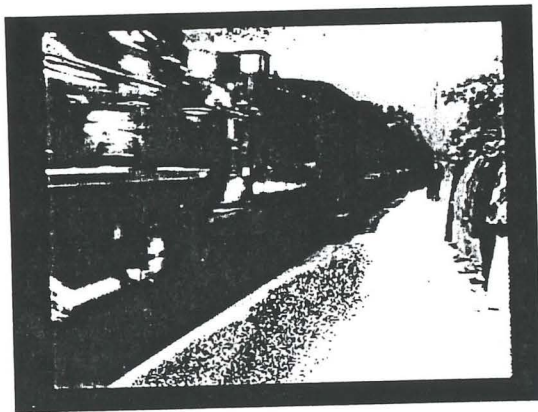


Plate 1 (b): *The Arrival of the Train in the Station*. The train departs.

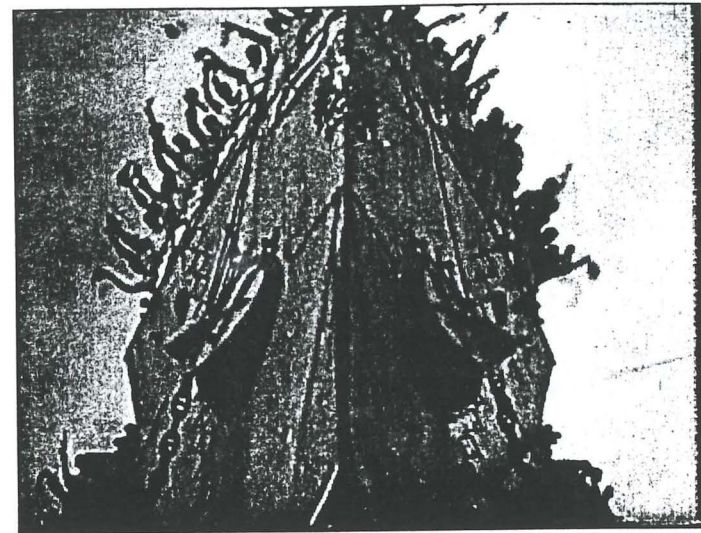


Plate 2: *The Battleship Potemkin* [USSR, 1925].



Plate 3: *Request Concert* [Germany, 1940].

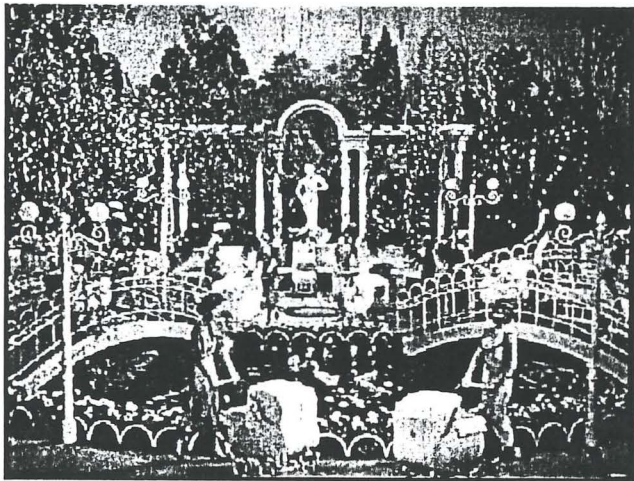


Plate 4: *Twinkling Stars* [Germany, 1938] (attribution unconfirmed).

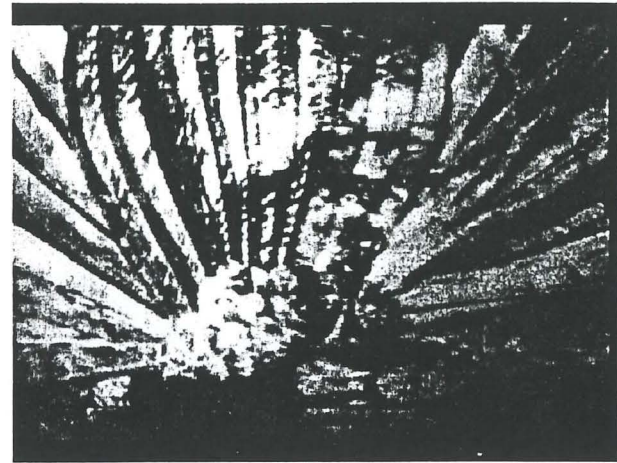


Plate 5: *October* [USSR, 1927].



Plate 6: *Casablanca* [USA, 1943].

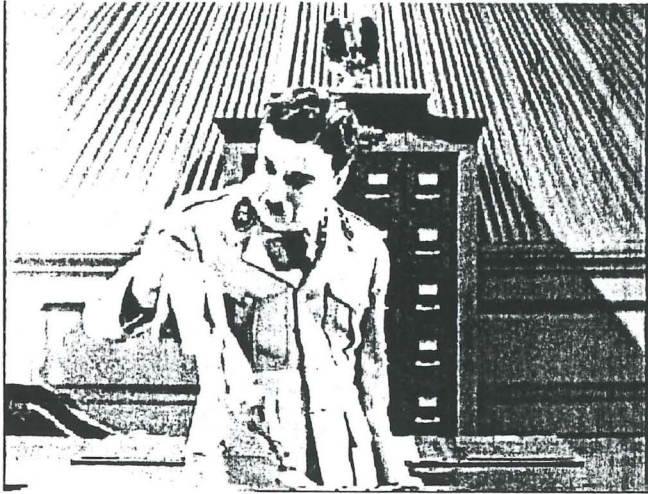


Plate 7: *The Great Dictator* [USA, 1940].



Plate 8: *The Circus* [USSR, 1936].

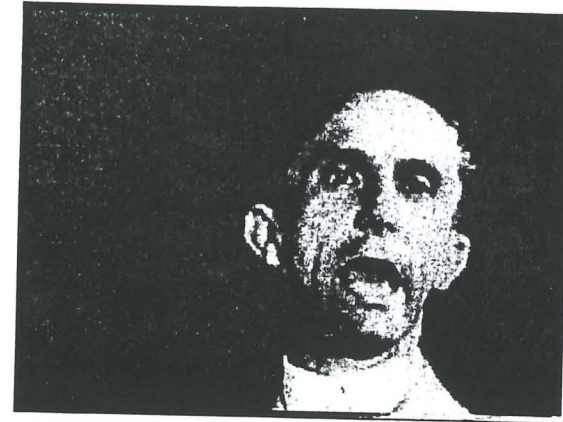


Plate 9: Goebbels charming his audience in *Triumph of the Will* [Germany, 1935].



Plate 10: Marlene Dietrich charming her audience in *The Blue Angel* [Germany 1930].

