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Introduction

Expanding the Cinematic Cold War or How We Learned to Cross Boundaries and Look at Bigger Pictures

Stefano Pisu, Francesco Pitassio and Maurizio Zinni

A wandering researcher meandering through her corpus on the internet might stumble upon unexpected visual sources. One such source, whose rights the Associated Press holds, is quite surprising indeed. It is a photo portraying a group of nine, under a statue (*L'Homme au mouton/The Man with the Ram*, 1950) which Pablo Picasso gifted to the village of Vallauris. Picasso stands centre stage, right under his artwork. The remaining eight people are standing at his left and right in equal numbers. Among them, one can recognise film directors Grigory Aleksandrov, who led the Soviet delegation at the Cannes Film Festival in 1954, and Sergei Yutkevich, who presented his *Veliky voin Albanii Skanderbeg* (*The Great Warrior Skanderbeg*, 1953), a Soviet–Albanian coproduction that won the International Prize along with other films, and a special mention for its director;[1] and film stars Akaki Chorava, who embodied Skanderbeg in the eponymous film, Lyubov Orlova, the beloved protagonist of many works by her husband Aleksandrov, Klara Luchko, and Ekaterina Litvinenko. The caption reports that the delegation intended to buy from pro-communist Picasso some of his artworks for the USSR;[2] however, all the group members seem joyful and Vallauris is just a stone's throw from Cannes, less than 10 kilometres, so the picture depicts both the negotiation with the Spanish artist and a nice group excursion for a Soviet cultural elite, beyond the rituals of the main film festival in Western Europe since 1946. To sum up, if we expand the framing of the picture, we can locate the multiple connections

embedded in it: the early days of the Thaw, after Stalin's death, when the Iron Curtain became less insurmountable; an artistic elite, entitled to move across it for reasons of political allegiance, reliability, popularity, and cultural distinction on both sides of the East–West boundary; a world-renowned painter, sculptor, and graphist, whose sympathies to the political Left led him to join the Parti Communiste Français (French Communist Party, PCF) in 1944 and take part in the Soviet-designed World Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace, in Wrocław (Poland) in 1948, where he drew the famous dove of peace, which one year later appeared in a different fashion in the programme of the World Congress of Partisans for Peace in Paris; and a cultural platform such as the Cannes Film Festival, where cultural diplomacy, meetings, and bargaining could take place between delegations, representatives, and individuals. What is before us is an expanded picture of the Cold War, itself a notion coined and circulated in the Western world, based on a confrontational paradigm, underpinned by a series of related notions and values (the Iron Curtain, West vs. East, freedom vs. oppression, Capitalism vs. Socialism etc.). However, in recent times many scholars have highlighted the variety of relations, connections, networks, and agencies beyond confrontation between the main international actors, that is, the USA and USSR – a multi-faceted reality animating the European and world scenarios during the period between 1947 and the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989–1991. This volume follows up on previous endeavours, refreshing the reflection on the Cold War with a special angle on cinema.[3]

Since the 1990s an unprecedented access to primary sources, together with a different scope in surveying them, has engendered a new direction in Cold War studies. As a matter of fact, newly available sources from archives in European former socialist countries and historical materials related to nations that in the aftermath of the Second World War were emancipated from colonial power in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America enable today's researchers to look at Cold War history with a lens beyond international relations and conflict, or ideological and economic confrontation. As Finnish scholars Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen point out, scholars' gaze has often been focused 'on the developments within national borders; interest in the developments transcending national borders has been much more modest.'[4] However, increasing mobility, cooperative research, and digitisation of sources have gone hand in hand with their collation to achieve a wider picture.[5] Moreover, the availability of sources has also implied a brand new take on the past, with a change of direction from diplomatic to cultural history.[6] International history scholars give broad definitions of culture, ranging from one that sees it as 'a broader set of techniques, images, habits, mentalities, ways of producing and consuming, forms of communication, self-descriptions, and patterns of daily life'[7] to another where culture is defined

as 'all the collective representations specific to a society, and their expression in the form of social practices, lifestyles and symbolic productions'.[8] Thus, according to the French scholar Robert Frank, the notion of international cultural relations, as a relevant strand of the international history of the twentieth century, consists in 'the circulation of representations, practices, lifestyles and symbolic objects across borders'.[9] Cultural history shifted the focus from merely political dynamics to social and anthropological ones, which encompass institutional and informal networks, education, material culture, modes of reception and consumption, and so forth. As Patrick Major and Rana Mitter explain, in a path-breaking collection:

> 'Socio-cultural' is meant … as an umbrella term to encompass the mass experience of events – social history in its broad sense of the 'ordinary' and 'everyday', but often in extraordinary circumstances. Likewise, cultural does not necessarily imply the literary or artistic endeavour of high culture, but popular culture and general mentalities too.[10]

This collection aims at balancing the established consideration of the cultural Cold War,[11] that is, cultural products and endeavours intended to achieve political goals during the Cold War, with the more recent attention to Cold War culture, that is, the production, circulation, and consumption of symbolic goods during this period.[12] With regard to the cinematic Cold War, this collection does away with the well-rooted paradigm which opposes on the one hand auteurs and artworks, and on the other hand a political power oppressing the former through censorship. This paradigm dominated a good deal of film criticism and scholarship during the Cold War, and seeks to consider in what ways politics was incarnated into policies, with effects on institutions, production and consumption cultures, networks, and individuals, animated by ideology. In fact, as we all know, ideology was a driving force during the Cold War, although less monolithic and geopolitically divided than expected. Furthermore, as recently argued, ideology generated dreams and dreamworlds, which could be shared across geopolitical barriers.[13] This collection, within the limited field of film studies, aspires to survey how cinema contributed to expanding the experience of artists, practitioners, audiences, and, sometimes, policymakers too, thanks to and beyond ideology. To achieve such an ambitious goal, we need to explain some other assumptions.

The same researcher, still meandering, comes across another unforeseen image. It portrays on the left Zhou Enlai, Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, who re-established China's reputation in the world, and played a crucial role in tightening up international relations with the USSR and at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung (1955). On the right, Anne Navaux, ethnologist, writer, and filmmaker, shakes hands with Zhou Enlai, while in the foreground her husband, celebrated French actor and

star Gérard Philipe, stands smiling and enchanted. Zhou Enlai studied in the early 1920s in France, where he was also politically active. Anne Navaux, with her former husband, sinologist François Fourcade, lived in China between 1946 and 1948 and after her return to Europe became actively involved with the PCF. And Gérard Philipe, despite the association of his father with French fascism in the 1930s and early 1940s, was a very engaged leftist intellectual, working for the Théâtre National Populaire of Jean Vilar, signing the Stockholm Appeal launched by the USSR-led World Peace Council (1950), touring socialist countries, and directing, together with Dutch Marxist filmmaker Joris Ivens, *Les Aventures de Till l'Espiègle* (*Bold Adventure*, 1956), coproduced by the French Les Films Ariane and the GDR's state company DEFA, and then released on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The picture was taken one year after the film's release, in March 1957, in Beijing, during a tour by the couple in China. Thus, if we enlarge the framing of the picture a few features come into play. Firstly, the presence of additional actors on stage, beyond the USA and USSR. As a matter of fact, while in France the PCF exerted a remarkable influence in the postwar years, mostly among intellectuals, China was increasingly becoming another superpower and an alternative beacon for Socialist countries, and in particular those released from the colonial yoke. Secondly, in 1957 the conflict between the USSR and USA was decreasing, as a result of both the 'peaceful coexistence' rhetoric launched by Khrushchev and the bipolar order stabilisation sought by Moscow and Washington, as shown in the Suez and Hungarian crises.[14] However, this new course also sparked the Sino-Soviet crisis and reshuffled policies with regard to the cinematic Cold War. Thirdly, individuals, and notably world-renowned film stars and directors, circulated across borders and barriers, and acted as witnesses of cooperation, mutual understanding, and transnational culture.

For a long time, Cold War studies privileged a framework rooted in bipolarism. Among the side effects of this stance was a neglect of historical transformation, additional players in the international arena, and trajectories exceeding the West–East transatlantic route. Recently, historians have hinted at the fact that Europe, beyond being the main arena and prize of bipolarism, developed its own 'Cold War culture(s)', which superpowers obviously moulded, but which were also the outcome of older connections, relationships, and habits, with national dynamics much more nuanced than superpowers experienced – think of the role of communist parties in European countries associated with NATO, such as Italy or France, or the persistence of Catholicism and its social function in Socialist Poland.[15] Furthermore, Europe, beyond being a continent torn apart, was also an arena of collaboration between the two blocs from the mid-1950s.[16] Therefore, European countries expressed an agency of their own and turned into an experimental space. Moreover, from the mid-1950s onwards, a multifaceted scenario came into

being, with the decolonisation process and the rise of both Popular China and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), notwithstanding neutral countries such as Austria, Finland, and Switzerland. This volume embraces such a perspective, which intends to move beyond bipolarism and look at more complex relations, both on a geopolitical and a historical scale.

This collection highlights the 'porousness' of the Iron Curtain,[17] or Nylon Curtain, as renamed by the Hungarian scholar György Péteri:[18] whereas bipolarism favours a rigid concept of this boundary, we assume – and historical evidence and the following chapters support our view – that cooperation, transfer, and movement happened throughout the Cold War. Political allegiances, educational institutions, cultural platforms, production and distribution of cultural goods, and technological needs favoured such permeability. Socialist solidarity played a relevant role in supporting movement of people across the countries: notably within the Soviet bloc, or from decolonised countries, or from countries that civil wars tore apart, as was the case with Greek actor and filmmaker Giorgos Skalenakis, born in Port Said (Egypt), a communist militant who fled Greece and resettled in Prague in 1950, where he worked in foreign broadcasting for the Czechoslovak Radio, studied at FAMU (Prague film school), and directed his debut film in 1963, titled *Pražské blues* (Prague Blues), telling the story of two African students in the Czech metropolis who fall in love. Film academies in Prague, Łódź, Moscow, and Potsdam-Babelsberg trained entire generations of filmmakers coming from what were then termed 'Third World' or non-aligned countries, such as Ousmane Sembène and Souleymane Cissé at VGIK (All Union State Institute of Cinematography) in Moscow, or Emir Kusturica and Goran Paskaljević at FAMU in Prague.[19] Film academies in Rome (CSC-Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia) and Paris (IDHEC-Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinématographiques), and in West Germany, did the same. As the burgeoning field of film festival studies has surveyed in depth, festivals acted as hubs, relatively free spaces for cultural encounter, exchange, and transaction.[20] Finally, technology and know-how transfer happened within and across the blocs, thus facilitating exchange and mutual awareness. To sum up, transitions and transactions took place during the Cold War, whose consequences still await a thorough investigation. In this respect, we embrace a multilevel and multipolar scope, as scholars such as Autio-Sarasmo and Miklóssy propose, or a 'scale analysis', as suggested by Bazin, Dubourg Glatigny, and Piotroski.[21] The former argue that

> Besides the surface of bipolar juxtaposition, there existed diverse forms of interaction between states, organisations and individuals, irrespective of ideological–political differences. The sphere of interaction was a multilateral space by nature because it was uncontrolled by the superpowers and was not subject to the bipolar laws of the Cold War.[22]

Therefore, the multilevel perspective suggests that interaction happened at the level of administrations, state or non-governmental organisations, and individuals – or people-to-people exchange, as Mikkonen and Koivunen underline.[23] Multipolarity implies that, as clarified above, such levels refer to nations and organisms outside of superpowers. Sometimes interaction involved subjects from the superpowers' film industries, which, however, were not necessarily in a superior position and had to negotiate with counterparts from geopolitically less important nations, but not inferior in terms of film culture or know-how. Analysing this multilevel perspective in the case of co-production practices across the Iron Curtain, historian Marsha Siefert defines it as 'a multilayered dynamic process in the negotiation and export of cultural influence during the Cold War'.[24]

Furthermore, most of the chapters included in this volume privilege a transnational perspective over a national one. In the past thirty years, many researchers have made a plea for moving beyond national film studies and paying attention to economic, social, and cultural reasons for looking at cinema through a transnational lens.[25] Despite all the rhetoric, notably in the Soviet area, claiming the true popular and national spirit of state film productions, we assume that Cold War cinematic culture is a perfect fit for both an international and a transnational approach. The former encompasses two separate issues: firstly, the claim to internationalism resonating in most endeavours originating in the socialist bloc, and later in the Non-Aligned Movement, or broadly speaking in what influential historian Akira Iriye terms 'cultural internationalism'.[26] Socialist internationalism, allegiances, and affinities, as Masha Salazkina lucidly terms such connections,[27] animated a good deal of cinematic exchange during the Cold War.[28] Secondly, internationalism inspired a specific period of world film history, notably after the Second World War, which American film scholar Dudley Andrew names the 'federated phase'.[29] In particular, Andrew identifies this epoch with the role that film festivals played in incarnating a neutral arena, where national delegations, artists, and artworks could gather:

> Played out in the sphere of cinema, the federation model fosters both equality and difference in artistic expression. Each year in a protected arena at Cannes, Venice, Locarno, and Berlin, the Hollywood empire dissolved in the face of more universal aspirations for the art. Often explicitly commanding high moral ground, festivals claimed to be utopias where the appreciation of difference and similarity would contribute to tolerance, coexistence and, of course, a richer cinema.[30]

Such cinematic internationalism, which supranational agencies and international humanism magnified in the aftermath of the Second World War, turning it into a brand-new phenomenon, has some of its roots in the interwar

period,[31] universalism in the arts, and claims to tolerance in politics merged with (geo)political interests, ideological assumptions, and market strategies.[32]

That being said, consistent with the multilevel and multipolar approach we previously discussed, we also rely on a transnational perspective, as the authoritative work of Ulf Hannerz outlined, that is, referring to processes exceeding national limits and not directly referring to national entities, such as states, but focusing instead on individuals, groups, endeavours, and motifs at various scales.[33] Here the taxonomy of transnational cinema, as forged by the scholars Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim, comes in handy.[34] The two scholars posit that the notion of 'transnational cinema' can refer to three different phenomena: the production, distribution, and consumption of cinema exceeding national boundaries; regional strategies rooted in common cultural heritage and past geopolitical experience; and diasporic movements. The cinematic Cold War implied all three levels, and this volume takes into account notably the first two, with regard to issues such as transnational cooperation and exchange, transnational styles, such as neorealism, documentary, or Third Cinema, vernacularisation, appropriation, and subversive readings of film works. The pivotal role that cultural diplomacy plays in this collection testifies to our attempt at a multilevel and multipolar scope.[35] Initiated at the state level as a way of tightening international bonds between states within respective blocs or across them, cultural diplomacy impacted on super- or subnational entities (e.g. film festivals, production companies, political associations), whose operational margins could vary according to historical periods, related policies, and occasions, thus inducing processes largely beyond state control. Furthermore, as recent research has surveyed, during the Cold War production cultures resisted or adjusted to political conditions,[36] thus pursuing specific agendas, including media infrastructures, that shared technology, know-how, and products much more than inherited wisdom tends to acknowledge. In fact, as media scholars Alice Lovejoy and Mari Pajala recently argued, the postwar era saw an unprecedented interest and investment in media infrastructures, whose function was deemed crucial for the world emerging from the rubble of the Second World War.[37] Such concern was shared across the blocs and, later, with non-aligned and decolonised countries, which needed to implement respective media institutions and infrastructures. Shifting the focus from international relations to media enables the chapters included in this collection to bridge the gap between international and transnational levels, as much as between Cold War studies and film and media studies.

The structure of the volume replicates the periodisation of possibly the most ample work on the Cold War, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*.[38] Alternative ways of organising the topics and chapters of the collection would be no less valid. However, since our intention was to scrutinise and explain

how state and bloc politics interacted with other levels, and the chapters coalesced quite easily around the most common periodisation, we stuck to it. The first section, titled 'At the Onset: Super-Powers, the Struggle for Europe, the Extension of the Conflict', focuses on the role of superpowers and on the origins of the cinematic Cold War, which in our collection stretch to before the usual date *a quo*, 1947. In the opening chapter, 'The Burden of Winning: American Cinematographic Policy in Italy in the Years of the Allied Military Administration (1943–1945)', Maurizio Zinni discusses the foreign policies of the USA regarding the Italian film industry. By collating archival documents from the Department of State, the Psychological Warfare Branch, the Allied Control Commission, the American Embassy in Rome, and the Italian Prime Minister Cabinet, the author proves that from 1943 a project of economic and political imperialism was implemented regarding the Italian film industry, with a view to confrontation with the Soviet ally from the beginning. This chapter highlights that the beginning of the cinematic Cold War can be dated to two years before the end of the Second World War. At the same time, however, it points out how the political-industrial will of the winner, and then strong ally, had to adapt in a more or less declared way to the needs and strategies of the weakest European interlocutor. Rosemary Feurer and Charles Musser, in 'The Struggle to Save Progressive Unions: Carl Marzani and Union Films', explore a neglected figure, company, and chapter of the US cinematic Cold War. Instead of discussing the widely scrutinised episode of the Red Scare in Hollywood, Feurer and Musser tackle the role of radical labour organisations and non-fiction cinema as a tool of education and propaganda, which later became a legacy of American documentary filmmaking. In the following chapter, 'A "Trojan Horse in the Enemy Camp": Vatican Plans for a Catholic Third Way on the Chessboard of Cold War-Era Cinema (1939–1958)', Gianluca della Maggiore brings into the debate about the cinematic Cold War an agency so far entirely neglected, the Holy See. The spiritual and political power it exerted, much more so in the first half of the twentieth century, considered the secular societies and ideologies that the USA and USSR represented to be almost equally dangerous. Accordingly, from the 1930s the Vatican sought a third way for film culture and production, which continued as the Cold War broke out. In the following chapter, 'An Impossible Cinematic Hegemony: Soviet Films in Italy between Postwar and the Cold War (1944–1953)', Stefano Pisu surveys the presence of Soviet films in Italy during the transition from the late Second World War to the height of the Cold War. Even though Italy was host to the strongest communist party in Western Europe, Soviet cinema could not carve its way into the Italian market, due to concurrent restrictions imposed on production and export by the USSR administration, the fragmentation of Italian distribution companies, the Italian conservative administration's censorship, and, most of all, the lack of interest

from the national audience. As in Maurizio Zinni's chapter, early projects of the superpowers emerging from the Second World War aimed at occupying a leading position in the Italian film market are also shown here. The final chapter of this section, which Marsha Siefert authored, is titled 'Soviet Cinematic Diplomacy from New York to Beijing, 1949: Sergei Gerasimov and his Documentary Films', and ideally acts as a bridge to the second section. In fact, while discussing as prominent a figure in Soviet politics and arts from the mid-1930s until the Gorbachev era as Sergei Gerasimov, the chapter spotlights the role of cultural diplomacy, co-productions, and non-fiction cinema in the early stages of the Cold War, as well as an international scenario that was already expanding beyond the European arena.[39]

The second section, titled 'Film Diplomacy: Non-Aligned Countries, Decolonization and New Opportunities', describes this larger international scenario, including decolonisation and fragmentation within the Socialist bloc, such as the Sino-Soviet crisis or the Tito–Stalin split, and the role Yugoslavia gained at the helm of the Non-Aligned Movement. This more complex situation required an increasing role of cultural diplomacy, for political and economic reasons. In 'The Rise and Fall of Sino-Soviet Film Festival Diplomacy (1957–1966)', Elena Razlogova investigates how the USSR and the People's Republic of China, on the boundary between the 1950s and 1960s, used cinema as a fully-fledged part of cultural diplomacy; monitoring shared occasions, film criticism, and discussions on cinema enables the historian to track the evolution and shifts of international relations. The Sino-Soviet split in the cinematic field took place at the Afro-Asian Film Festival held in Indonesia in 1964, revealing the crucial role of decolonisation that brought China closer to the Third Worldist movement than to global communism. Severyan Dyakonov depicts the troubles and pitfalls of Soviet attempts to export film production to the newly born Indian state. 'Making Ground for Film Export: Soviet Films' Competition with Hollywood in India in the 1950–1960s' describes the shift in Sovexportfilm policy, which originally planned to circulate Soviet films through theatrical releases, to tone down suspicions of propaganda and compete with American movies; however, this policy changed due to difficulties in distribution and bad performances at the box office, and Sovexportfilm turned to film festivals and retrospectives involving local elites. However, although it did much better than the USSR, even Hollywood failed to break through in the Indian market as it did elsewhere, given the audience preference for the vast domestic production. Gabrielle Chomentowski sheds light on a chapter of the cinematic Cold War thus far neglected, that is, the battle for Africa and its cinematic development and market between former colonial powers and socialist ones. In 'The Film Market at the Time of Independence: France's Former African Colonies and the Cinematic Cold War in the 1960s' the author focuses particularly, but not exclusively, on the cases of Mali and

Guinea and describes the shifts in Soviet aims, moving from the film market to training, know-how, and technological transfer. This change was also due to the inability to compete with Hollywood, which, after an initial lack of interest in the African market, established a widespread distribution network in that continent, pushing Moscow to strengthen the above-mentioned sides of cinema competition. Next, in 'The Troubles of Non-Alignment. International Pacifism, Transnational Style, Production Strategies in the Case of *Rat* (*Atomic War Bride*, Veliko Bulajić, 1960) ', Francesco Pitassio investigates the case of a Yugoslav film production, starring a Polish actress and originating in a film script drafted by the world-renowned Cesare Zavattini. Through Italian and Croatian archival sources, the chapter describes how this production relied on political and stylistic affinities altered by international politics, and notably the rise of the Non-Aligned Movement, as much as by transformations in transnational film style. *Rat*'s release also shows how, in the early 1960s, the dissent about nuclear weapons was a transnational cinematic theme, given the interest in the subject also shown by both American and Soviet cinema.[40] In the conclusive chapter of this section, 'From Anticommunism to Third-Worldism. The Transformation of Mexican Cinema in the Cold War of the 1970s', Israel Rodríguez researches the changes in Mexican film policy, which under President Luis Echeverría turned to Third Worldism to achieve prominence on the international scene. In this case, the Chilean model – and the solidarity with Chilean exiled filmmakers after 1973 – is taken as an example of a cinematic project that is ideologically characterised but intimately national, detached from both its old American partner and its direct Soviet competitor. This experience paves the way for the last part of the volume.

The third section, 'From Rising Suns to a Slow Sunset: Cooperation, Disillusionment, and Transfers', brings together research that concentrates on the period when the post-Second World War status quo entered crisis and the foundations were laid for a new phase, accelerating globalisation. As we now know, this would lead to the end of bipolarism and to the birth of a new, multipolar world. These are the years of Brezhnev's new course and ensuing stagnation, the Chinese cultural revolution, and reigniting revolutionary utopias in the West, but also of the 1973 energy crisis and the questioning of the traditional international system of values and myths.[41] The dollar crisis and the defeat in Vietnam for the United States, and the rise of socioeconomic difficulties and the increasing technological gap along with poor strategic choices for the Soviet Union, would lead to a de facto progressive retraction of the expansionist drive. This downsizing of global influence policies (especially for Moscow) would induce increasing dialogue with nations and entities only formally on the edges of the international scene. This shift in the international balance mirrors cinematic new waves building transnational aesthetic and generational, rather than ideological, bonds, or allegedly so; moreover, such

developments are also reflected in a new cinematic and political dynamism, as testified by the short-lived Chilean experience. In fact, in the opening chapter of this section, Dina Iordanova probes film festival archives and mostly overlooked sources. Her chapter, 'Cold War and Film Festivals in the Aftermath of 1968', clarifies how 1968 was a turning point for film festivals' cultural policy and to what extent *auteurist* views benefitted major events (Cannes, Venice, Berlin), which could capitalise on a prestige economy of remarkable personalities, while entire, less celebrated national film productions or artists were confined to less visible arenas. The mismatch between the new cultural policies and management strategies of major West European festivals and the conservative attitudes of the Soviet bloc countries led to diminished returns for non-Western film traditions, especially from Socialist and Global South areas. 'To Catch Up and Overtake… Europe: Technology Transfer and Its Limits in the Soviet Cinema under Brezhnev', by Catriona Kelly, examines the technological transfer from the Western bloc to the USSR, happening right at the time when international relations deteriorated. Awareness of technological progress beyond the Iron Curtain impacted on the practices, and even more so on the discontent, of the Soviet film industry, leading to long-term consequences. This era paved the way for the wholesale abandonment of local technology and practices under perestroika and in post-Soviet Russia. The scrutiny of such inequalities and unforeseen outcomes of international exchange lies at the core of Perrine Val's chapter, 'Missed Opportunities and Unexpected Success: Film Relationships between France and the GDR in the 1970s'. This contribution focuses on the exchange of films across the blocs and reports on the different releases and reactions, beyond any calculation that the respective administrations or distributors could make. South America, which was the birthplace of Third Cinema, becomes a point of reference (and success) for this production 'across the blocs', which, in the case of French–East German relations, achieved its greatest market performance in France precisely with a GDR documentary series representing Chilean events before and after the 1973 coup d'état. Chile comes into play also in the chapter by Margherita Moro, 'The Chilean Cultural Project during Unidad Popular (1970–1973): The Interview between Roberto Rossellini and Salvador Allende'. During his administration, Salvador Allende, whom prominent European filmmakers such as Joris Ivens had already supported in previous election attempts, called for the attention and interest of both national and international intellectuals, ranging from Régis Debray to Chris Marker. The interview that Italian director Roberto Rossellini conducted with the Chilean president is a fully-fledged part of this international support, which brought together the hopes of a free, progressive cinema with those of a socialist administration without Soviet rule. The closing chapter '"Ideological Threat of Italian Movies": The KGB, Mafia, Punk-Rock and Rise of Neo-Fascism among Soviet Youth (1982–1985)' by

Sergei Zhuk demonstrates, through invaluable sources such as KGB reports, diaries, and interviews, the role that cultural transfers can play in determining political identities through subversive readings of films that had been specially selected to show negative sides of Western societies. This chapter also highlights the Kremlin's progressive difficulty in holding together and controlling its own republics when the traditional bipolar perspective was beginning to clearly show all its cracks.

This wide array of contributions benefits, in every single chapter, from in-depth research on primary sources, which constitute an unquestionable opportunity to enlarge the picture and achieve a more detailed understanding of what the cinematic Cold War was. While we are fully content with this collection, we are nonetheless aware that it is one step in the direction of expanding the knowledge and could be complemented with additional frameworks. In fact, among those that this collection does not embrace, but that we believe could be very fruitful, we could mention oral history, which is much more urgent as the generations that experienced the cinematic Cold War are disappearing. An inclusion of the cinematic Cold War in broader media history could contribute to understanding the cultural, technological, and economic function of cinema, as media scenarios evolved over the decades. More detailed research on non-institutional networks, such as cultural associations, political parties, and organisations, and on cultural exchange across the blocs, might shed light on the circulation of films and information, and on the creation of cultural value. Finally, an in-depth survey of the dynamics of cultural reception is still to be fully produced.

In 1986 the Czech writer Bohumil Hrabal wrote *Proluky* (*Vacant Lot*), as a part of his trilogy *In-House Wedding*. At one point in the auto-fictional narrative, the voice of Eliška (the writer's spouse) tells us:

> And when he [Hrabal] was awarded I organized myself in Kersko an in-house wedding, I invited the guests, the neighbours, we drank, I prepared tartines, we were merry, neighbours were honoured toasting to such a renowned man, Kersko's pride … and the cat Et'an was in bed, sweating, and stayed there for a long time, until dawn came, and the guests were sneaking out, playing the harmonica and violin, and in the end they leaned on morning's dew and played *The Fascination*, on their backs as did the gypsies in *Arianna*, with Audrey Hepburn and Gary Cooper.[42]

Classic Hollywood cinema and two of its major stars, like many other things, pierced the Iron Curtain and cultural distinctions between popular and high culture, individual and collective experience, and served the purpose of rendering the enchantment of everyday life across the blocs. We hope this collection will contribute to sparking interest in these mutual entanglements, transfers, and enchantments too.

Stefano Pisu is Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Cagliari. Previously an International Fellow at Oxford University's Research Center in the Humanities, his work considers the history of international cultural relations through cinema. His publications include *Il XX secolo sul red carpet: Politica, economia e cultura nei festival internazionali del cinema, 1932–1976* (Franco Angeli, 2016) and *La cortina di celluloide: Il cinema italo-sovietico nella Guerra Fredda* (Mimesis, 2019).

Francesco Pitassio is Professor of Film Studies at the Università di Udine. He edited, with Dorota Ostrowska and Zsuzsanna Varga, *Popular Cinemas in East Central Europe* (2017). Among his books are *Ombre silenziose* (2002), *Maschere e marionette: Il cinema ceco e dintorni* (2002), *Attore/Divo* (2003), and *Neorealist Film Culture* (2019). He was the Italian Principal Investigator of the EU HERA project *VICTOR-E: Visual Culture of Trauma, Obliteration and Reconstruction in Post-WW II Europe* (2019–2022). He has been Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer at the University of Notre Dame (2015). His research interests focus on film acting and stardom, Italian and Central-Eastern European film history, and documentary cinema.

Maurizio Zinni is Associate Professor of Contemporary History at Sapienza University in Rome. His research interests are focused on the relation between politics and culture in the twentieth century, particularly media industries and their impact on the political, cultural and social evolution of their time. He is the author of *Fascisti di celluloide: La memoria del ventennio nel cinema italiano 1945–2000* (2010); *Schermi radioattivi: L'America, Hollywood e l'incubo nucleare da Hiroshima alla crisi di Cuba* (2013); *Il leone, il giudice e il capestro: Storia e immagini della repressione italiana in Cirenaica* (with Alessandro Volterra, 2021); and *Visioni d'Africa: Cinema, politica, immaginari* (2023).

Notes

1. These awards favoured its international distribution, including in India, as mentioned in Severyan Dyakonov's chapter in this collection.
2. See   https://www.alamy.com/pablo-picasso-with-a-group-of-russians-staying-at-cannes-for-the-7th-international-film-festival-in-front-of-his-statue-man-and-lamb-in-the-riviera-village-of-vallauris-on-march-27-1954-left-to-right-actress-catherine-litvinenko-an-unidentified-journalist-and-two-unidentified-men-picasso-actress-lioubov-orlova-actress-clara-loutchko-actor-akaki-khorava-and-producer-gregory-alexandrov-leader-of-the-russian-delegation-to-the-festival-the-group-paid-a-visit-to-pablo-picasso

-who-is-reportedly-pro-communist-to-purchase-some-of-his-paintings-for-the-russi
an-government-ap-photo-image524531681.html (retrieved 24 May 2024).

3. Obviously, the main reference here is the seminal Shaw and Youngblood, *Cinematic Cold War*. Russian historiography has also recently dealt with the subject, especially investigating the construction of the enemy's images in the period 1946–1963. See Riabov, *'Vrag nomer odin'*.

4. Mikkonen and Koivunen, 'Beyond the Divide', 4.

5. The seminal work offering this larger picture of the Cold War is Westad, *The Global Cold War*.

6. See Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*; Green, *Cultural History*; Arcangeli, Rogge, and Salmi, *The Routledge Companion to Cultural History*. Pioneer studies on culture and international history were conducted in the early 1980s. See Milza, 'Culture et relations internationales'. Since the 2000s this field has been increasingly enriched. For instance, see Berghahn Books' series 'Explorations in Culture and International History', and especially its first volume, Gienow-Hecht and Schumacher, *Culture and International History*.

7. Vowinckel, Payk, and Linderberger, 'European Cold War Culture(s)?', 5.

8. 'L'ensemble des représentations collectives propres à une société, ainsi que leur expression sous forme de pratiques sociales, de modes de vie et de productions symboliques.' Frank, *Pour l'histoire des relations internationales*, 373.

9. 'La circulation des représentations, des pratiques, des modes de vie et des objets symboliques à travers les frontières.' Ibid.

10. Major and Mitter, 'East Is East and West Is West?', 2.

11. Although the term 'cultural Cold War' had been used since the second half of the 1960s, it received significant attention from both the media and academics in the late 1990s after the release of Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?* A new edition was released in 2013, and the book has been translated into many languages all around the world. See also Giles Scott-Smith's works, starting with his seminal *The Politics of Apolitical Culture*. For a reassessment of the notion of the cultural Cold War, see Pisu et al., 'Reframing the Cultural Cold War'.

12. Major and Mitter, 'East Is East and West Is West?'; Johnston, 'Revisiting the Cultural Cold War'.

13. Romijn, Scott-Smith, and Segal, *Divided Dreamworlds?*; see also Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*.

14. Romero, *Storia della guerra fredda*, 111–23.

15. Vowinckel, Payk, and Linderberger, 'European Cold War Culture(s)?'.

16. See Autio-Sarasmo and Miklóssy, 'The Cold War from a New Perspective'. See also Fleury and Jílek, *Une Europe malgré tout*. On the specific cinematic side of this European cooperation, see studies on film co-productions, such as Palma and Pozner, *Mariages à l'européenne*.

17. David-Fox, 'The Iron Curtain as Semipermeable Membrane'.

18. Péteri, *Nylon Curtain*.

19. See Chomentowski, 'Caméra au poing et valise à la main'.

20. Karl, 'Zwischen politischen Ritual un kulturellem Dialog'; Kötzing and Moine, *Cultural Transfer and Political Conflicts*; Moine, *Screened Encounters*; Pisu, *Stalin a Venezia*; Pisu, *Il XX secolo sul red carpet*; Salazkina, *World Socialist Cinema*. See also the series of volumes edited by Dina Iordanova in which the phenomenon of film festivals is examined from the perspective of historical analysis, theoretical studies, and the

investigation of contemporary events. The first issue is Iordanova and Rhyne, *Film Festival Yearbook*.
21. Bazin, Dubourg Glatigny, and Piotrowski, 'Introduction'.
22. Autio-Sarasmo and Miklóssy, 'The Cold War from a New Perspective', 7.
23. Mikkonen and Koivunen, 'Beyond the Divide', 6.
24. Siefert in Romijn, Scott-Smith, and Segal, *Divided Dreamworlds?*, 74.
25. Higson, 'The Concept of National Cinema'; Higson, 'The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema'; Lagny, *De l'histoire du cinéma*.
26. Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*.
27. Salazkina, *World Socialist Cinema*.
28. See Babiracki and Jersild, *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War*. See also Djagalov, *From Internationalism to Postcolonialism*.
29. Andrew, 'Time Zones and Jetlag'.
30. Ibid., 71.
31. Some examples are the organisation and further developments of film festivals (Venice from 1932; Moscow in 1935; Cannes in 1939), or the establishment of bodies operating in various fields and having different goals, such as the International Educational Cinematographic Institute (1928–1937) within the League of Nations or the International Film Chamber (1935–1942), even though it was under Nazi German control. One of the main issues in the international film milieu of the 1920s and 1930s was the clash between the pan-European production movement and the American film industry. See Higson and Maltby, *'Film Europe' and 'Film America'*.
32. In addition to the sources on film festival studies mentioned above, see for example Fehrenbach, 'The Berlin International Film Festival'.
33. Hannerz, *Transnational Connections*.
34. Higbee and Lim, 'Concepts of Transnational Cinema'.
35. Over the past two decades, historiography has offered increasingly detailed contributions on the agencies and modes of cultural intervention by the two superpowers. Regarding the US, see: Osgood, *Total Cold War*; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*; Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire*; Belmonte, *Selling the American Way*. As for the USSR, see: Gould-Davies, 'The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy'; Nagornaya, *Sovetskaia kulturnaia diplomatiya*; Golovlev, *French and Soviet Musical Diplomacies*.
36. See the ground-breaking Szczepanik, *Továrna Barrandov*. For the conflict between requests from politics and production practice in co-productions, see Skopal, 'The Czechoslovak–East German Co-Production'.
37. See Lovejoy and Pajala, *Remapping Cold War Media*.
38. Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Vol. 1, *Origins*; Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Vol. 2, *Crises and Détente*; Leffler and Westad, *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Vol. 3, *Endings*.
39. Important studies have recently appeared on the origins and developments of the cinematic Cold War in East, South East, and South Asia. See Lee, *Cinema and the Cultural Cold War*; Fu and Yip, *The Cold War and Asian Cinemas*.
40. See Shaw and Youngblood, *Cinematic Cold War*, 127–58.
41. Rather than a full-scale crisis in the 1970s, Niall Ferguson's definition pinpoints 'a widespread perception of crisis … – and very often a crisis that was global in scale', i.e. a broad sensation of anxiety and insecurity spreading from the economic sector to the political, cultural, and social milieus following epoch-making events such as the

1973 oil crisis, the outcome of the Vietnam War, and the end of the development model that came in after the Second World War. Ferguson, 'Crisis, What Crisis?', 14–15.
42. Hrabal, *Proluky*, 492.

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