

THE SOVIET IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: TEXTUAL AND VISUAL CODE

EVITA BADINA
ŽANS BADINS
OKSANA KOVZELE

Evita Badina, Dr. philol., researcher
Department of English Philology and Translatology
Daugavpils University, Latvia
e-mail: evita.badina@du.lv
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9604-3464>

Žans Badins, Dr. philol., researcher
Centre of Cultural Research
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences
Daugavpils University, Latvia
e-mail: zans.badins@du.lv
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3270-3419>

Oksana Kovzele, Dr. philol., senior researcher
Centre of Cultural Research
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences
Daugavpils University, Latvia
e-mail: oksana.kovzele@du.lv
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9696-4212>

Evita Badina, Dr. philol., is a researcher of the Department of English Philology and Translatology at Daugavpils University, Latvia. Currently she is involved in the project “Post-doctoral Research Aid” (project “Literary and Political Discourse of Translations in Totalitarianism: Anglophone Literature in Soviet Latvia”; application No. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/3/19/452) supported by European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Her scientific interests comprise translation studies, cultural studies, and comparative literature.

Žans Badins, Dr. philol., is a researcher of the Centre of Cultural Research at Daugavpils University Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Latvia, and a docent of the Department of Russian and Slavic Linguistics at Daugavpils University, Latvia. He is the author of more than 70 scientific articles. His research interests are related to literary science (Russian emigration literature, Latvian reception in Russian literature, comparative literary studies) and culture studies (traditional culture, intangible culture, border culture, Old Believer culture, youth subculture). He has participated in national and international projects, among others “Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe’s Future” (CHIEF), funded from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme (2018–2021). He is a co-founder and one of the leaders of Students’ Erudite League at Daugavpils University.

Oksana Kovzele, Dr. philol., is a senior researcher of the Centre of Cultural Research at Daugavpils University Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Latvia. She is the author of more than 50 scientific articles and the editor and member of the Scientific Boards of 15 issues of scientific journals and conference proceedings. Her main research interests are comparative literature, comparative linguistics, and cultural studies. She has just completed implementing a postdoctoral project “Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland: The Case of Latgale and Pskov Regions” (2017–2021) supported by European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Her monograph “Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland” was published in 2020.

ABSTRACT

Almost immediately after the end of the Second World War (WW II) and the declaration of the Iron Curtain policy, the Cold War broke out between the socialist and capitalist countries: the so-called opposition between the Eastern and Western bloc. The most acute confrontation between the USSR and the USA was manifested in such areas as the arms race, space exploration, struggle to expand spheres of influence. In 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world was on the brink of nuclear war.

After the occupation in 1940, Latvia was part of the Soviet system, and therefore was exposed to the Soviet ideology and propaganda. Most of the inhabitants of Latvia (like of the whole USSR) had practically no opportunity either to visit the USA or to obtain reliable information. Periodicals of the USSR imposed on the Soviet reader their image of America and the Western world in general; a huge role in creating this image was assigned to satirical publications.

The article reveals the principles of representation of the USA image in the magazine "Dadzis" [The Thistle] and "Dadža kalendārs" [The Thistle Almanac] using imagological and cultural-historical approaches. The research focuses on the textual and visual representations of the phenomenon under study both in feuilletons and caricatures created by Latvian and foreign authors and published in the 1960s Latvian satire.

The study reveals that the static image of the USA consisting of a certain "set" of stereotypes was implanted in the Latvian society of the above-mentioned period and later.

Keywords: Soviet ideology, propaganda, satire, journalism, caricature, feuilleton

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception at the very end of 1922, the USSR has declared the division of the world into two camps: the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism – an “exploiting” capitalist with colonialism, chauvinism, and social and ethnic inequalities and a “free” socialist one with mutual trust, peace and international cooperation and solidarity (Deklaracija...). The final division of the world into two camps was fixed by Stalin in the political report of the 14th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on December 18–31, 1925 (Stalin 1925).

The cooperation of the USSR with Great Britain, the United States, and other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition during WW II gave certain hopes for a change in the situation both in the country itself and in relations with Western countries. But these hopes were not destined to come true. Already in the famous Fulton speech delivered on March 5, 1946, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill outlined the main trends in the development of the post-war world. At the very beginning of his speech, Churchill stated that henceforth “the United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy” and warned of two giant marauders, “war and tyranny”, opposing it (Churchill). The Soviet Union, in the opinion of the British Prime Minister, was becoming the main problem for the democratic world. The danger of communism was growing everywhere, “except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States” (ibid). The concept of the “Iron Curtain”, which marked the beginning of the Cold War, became a kind of barrier to the spread of communist ideology. From that moment on, a new round of open confrontation between the USSR and the West began in literally all spheres.

In the 1960s, this confrontation was most acute: the rivalry in the improvement of atomic weapons and the emergence of new types of weapons, the struggle for space, the struggle to expand the sphere of influence on all continents and, of course, ideological confrontation not only in politics but also in art and sports. During the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, the world was just around the corner from nuclear war.

Latvia was occupied by the USSR in 1940; as a result, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed. After the reoccupation in the end of WW II, the status of Latvia as one of the Soviet Union republics was restored. For several decades, the Soviet regime tended to dictate

the way Latvians had to live, to work, or even to think and feel – people had to adopt and accept a way of life, mentality, and culture modelled after the Soviet Union. “The party utilized several different means and operated through multifarious mediums to achieve this unification of social consciousness; some of these methods of transformation like propaganda or education guided under Communist values were directly implemented in social sectors to achieve immediate results [...]” (Savage 2011). As the Latvian professor Andris Veisbergs writes: “Ideologisation extended to all walks of life, starting with the renaming of streets, institutions, villages and towns, mandatory youth involvement in various communist organisations and even absurd demands in science and creative activities” (Veisbergs 2018, 80).

To propagate the socialist ideas all social and cultural activities were subordinated to Communist ideology and the control of the Communist Party. Local authorities followed the patterns and schemes and employed the methods and strategies which were approved by the regime officials in the metropolis of the USSR – Moscow. “To carry out a successful ideologization of Soviet people the regime ideologists actively exploited such ideologemes as the ‘two worlds’ and ‘rotting West’ to demonstrate all the advantages of living in the socialist system and disadvantages of existing in capitalism; especially it became relevant in the second half of the 1940s, after WW II, when the wartime allies of the Soviet Union – Brits and Americans – turned into irreconcilable opponents in terms of ideology and state politics” (Badina, Badins 2020, 169). These ideologemes were actively cultivated by means of sharp criticism of the socio-political and cultural situation in the countries of the Western Bloc. Socialist propaganda was the most efficient means to instil “proper” ideas and values in the society.

To make its message more powerful, widespread, and long-term Soviet propaganda actively exploited art and culture. For example, in the first year of the Soviet occupation (1940–1941) “Ideological literature constituted about a third of all publications: Marxist-Leninist literature, atheist literature and enthusiastic descriptions of the Soviet way of life were published in huge print runs and at low price” (Veisbergs 2018, 81). In the following decades, the authorities continued to pay close attention to the printed propaganda. In the monthly “Jaunās Grāmatas” [The New Books] – informative bibliographic bulletin printed from 1958 to 1989 – it was a usual practice to end an issue with a special thematic list of propagandistic books published by the Latvian State Publishing House. These lists varied by theme,

for example, in the March issue of 1964 the list titled “Palīgā ateistiskajai propagandai” [In Aid of Atheistic Propaganda], with an introductory reference to the Party guidelines, named a range of anti-religious works published in the time period from 1961 to 1963 both in Russian and Latvian (altogether these are 27 titles) (Palīgā... 1964, 49–50), in its turn in the June issue of the same 1964, the list called “Divas pasaules, divi dzīves veidi, divas ideoloģijas” [Two Worlds, Two Lifestyles, Two Ideologies] provides 33 titles of the relevant social and political books published from 1961 to 1964 including. Especially many books are from the year 1962 (the year of the Cuban Missile Crisis) – 14 titles (in 1961, these are 8 titles; in 1963 – 8; in the first half of 1964 – 3). Among these fourteen propagandistic editions of 1962 there are such telling titles as “Reportāža no Ņujorkas” [Report from New York] or “Kuba – jā!” [Cuba – Yes!] (Divas pasaules... 1964, 49–50).

“Cultural and public life, the press, radio and television were strictly censored, thus achieving full ideologization of public life, including the mass media, books and music. Everything became part of Soviet ideological propaganda. Popular means for propaganda organisers were posters and wall newspapers. Educational content at schools was subject to ideology, too, with schools trying to convince students of the democratic nature of the regime, the achievements of the state and its superiority over Western democracies” (Latvia under...).

Printed material of the USSR (dailies, magazines, brochures, posters, stamps, postcards) can be called ideological mouthpieces aimed at prising the socialist way of life and fighting the imperialist (capitalist) West. A special role in this struggle was assigned to humour and satirical publications.

The main satirical magazine of the Soviet Union was “Krokodil” [The Crocodile] founded already at the dawn of Soviet power in 1922 as an appendix to “Rabochaja Gazeta” [The Worker Paper]. Subsequently, the magazine became an independent edition, published three times a month (Stykalin and Kremenskaja^a). It is symptomatic that similar satirical publications appeared in other Soviet bloc countries as well (Stykalin and Kremenskaja^b): “Szpilki” [Pins] and “Karuzela” [Carousel] in Poland, “Urzica” [Nettle] in Romania, “Dikobraz” [Porcupine] in Czechoslovakia, “Jezh” [Hedgehog] in Yugoslavia and others.

Literally from their very first steps, Soviet satirical magazines exploited one specific theme – the creation of an image of the enemy (internal and external). During WW II, the work of “Kukryniksy”

(the name of a creative group of three Soviet artists) was very popular with their reference image of the enemy – Hitler and Nazi Germany. They became classics of Soviet political caricature, which was considered as a weapon in the struggle against a political enemy (Stykalin and Kremenskaja³). In the period of the Cold War, another image of political enemy was cultivated in satire – imperialist West represented mostly by the USA. “[...] the Soviet Cold War culture had produced and disseminated an array of patterns, tropes, images, and words, devised to wage rhetorical war” (Norris 2020, 519).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies in various aspects of propaganda and ideological influence are available in modern scientific and theoretical literature; some of them focus on the most common techniques for constructing satirical images.

In the Introduction to the volume “The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies”, its editors Jonathan Auerbach and Russ Castronovo note that “[a]s a cultural practice, propaganda concerns nothing less than the ways in which human beings communicate, particularly with respect to the creation and widespread dissemination of attitudes, images, and beliefs. In this way, the study of propaganda has tremendous relevance for art history, history, theology, communications, education, media studies, public relations, literary analysis, rhetoric, cultural theory, and political science” (Auerbach and Castronovo 2013, 2). The idea expressed by the authors is that propaganda can “be considered a field of study in its own right” and “can more neutrally be understood as a central means of organising and shaping thought and perception, a practice that has pervaded the twentieth century [...]” (Ibid).

As part of the present study, theoretical and empirical material on Soviet satire, namely, visual and textual propaganda aimed at representation of the two worlds – Socialist and Capitalist – was examined. This topic is little revealed and discussed yet, although in the last two decades several remarkable works devoted to the theme of Soviet satire during the Cold War period have appeared actualising the Soviet (communist) visual practices and reimagining them. Thus, the collective monograph “Drawing the Curtain: The Cold War in Cartoons” represents a story of Soviet and western relations during the Cold War, as told through caricatures and propa-

ganda art (Khrushchev et al. 2012); John Etty's "Graphic Satire in the Soviet Union: 'Krokodil's' Political Cartoons" explores the forms, production, consumption, and functions of the main Soviet satirical magazine, focusing on the period from 1954 to 1964 (Etty 2019); in her "Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945–1959", Rósa Magnúsdóttir concentrates on the story of Soviet propaganda and ideology toward the United States during the early Cold War (Magnúsdóttir 2018).

"The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures" (2020) must be mentioned as one of the latest book editions devoted to the topic under study. Written by an international team of scientists this thirty-two-chapter book examines the communist visual culture in a range of media (architecture, interior design, cartoons, computer games, fashion, photography, film, and television). The "Handbook", as one of the editors, Associate Professor of Film and Media Studies Aga Skrodzka, puts it, "proposes to look at how in communist party states, social and political change was facilitated by cultural influence, both formal and informal" (Skrodzka 2020, 4). In their writings the scholars "consider how communism uses aesthetics to articulate its value system, to implement its improvement project, to agitate, seduce, and play" (Ibid, 12). In his study one of the contributors of the volume, the American Professor of History Stephen M. Norris, also notes that the role of political caricatures, called by him "a key form of visual propaganda", has remained understudied within Soviet visual culture (Norris 2020, 520).

At the same time, it is regrettable that so far there have only been a few studies available on the comprehensive analysis of the content and visual component of Soviet satirical periodicals on the example of publications in the Baltics and especially in Latvia. In this respect, this collective study is innovative and relevant.

RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

Political caricature is a constant genre of political discourse. The specificity of its genre-forming features is due to the constructive interaction of the verbal and visual components of the message, as well as its belonging to different types of discourse (institutional and non-institutional). The main functions of political caricature, political feuilleton and political humour are satirical and emotive, which are closely related to other functions as well: regulatory, creative, illustrative, and cultural memory.

Basing on imagological and culture-historical approaches, this research is a call to examine the Soviet satire – both on verbal and non-verbal level – aimed at representation of the image of the USA in the 1960s – the years considered the most crucial period in the Cold War era. Referring to Manfred Beller who states that “[l]iterary – and, more particularly, comparatist – imagology studies the origin and function of characteristics of other countries and peoples, as expressed textually [...]” (Beller 2007, 7), in our article we concentrate on the propagandistic message implied in the constructing the image of the USA as represented in Latvian Soviet journalism. “One of the key concepts of imagology is the opposition ‘own – other/foreign’” (Moiseenko 2020). In the USSR this opposition was expressed as irreconcilable confrontation between the Socialist and Capitalist bloc countries, between the two ideologies. Culture-historical study of the national stereotype of the USA cultivated in Soviet Latvia reveals what is claimed by M. Beller as “an issue of information” (Beller 2007, 5). Limited by cautiously and pre-convincedly selected characteristics, textually and visually codified representation of the USA generated a biased image of the country.

Paraphrasing Norris, whose study devoted to Soviet political caricature focuses on Boris Efimov’s creative work (Norris 2020, 519–541), we use one of the main titles in Soviet Latvia satirical journalism as “a window” into a larger picture of Soviet propaganda. It is the satirical magazine “Dadzis” [The Thistle]. This magazine was printed from 1957 to 1995. Also, at the end of the year a special edition was published – “Dadža kalendārs” [The Thistle Almanac] (1962–1997). An interesting fact concerning the Soviet Latvia leading satirical title is that the name of the magazine was inherited from the times when Latvia was part of Russian Empire. In 1912, the magazine “Dadzis” identified as “a satirical magazine for life and art” (Satīrisks... 1912, 3) was published in Riga and contained funny pictures, humorous and satirical stories, epigrams presented both in Latvian and Russian. The Latvian writer and publicist Arvīds Deģis states that from 1957 to 1995 “Dadzis” was the most popular publication in Latvia and refers to the famous Danish cartoonist and illustrator Herluf Bidstrup who called “Dadzis” the best illustrated humour magazine in Europe at that time. Deģis notes that the popularity of the magazine was not only based on caricatures; satirical articles, humour stories and feuilletons on various social ills were also important (Deģis 2005, B7). A special place in the magazine was devoted to materials “reflecting” events in the life and ideals of the Western world.

Being part of the Soviet ideological text Latvian satirical journalism of the 1960s demonstrates the tendency highlighted by Norris when he writes that “Efimov’s cartoons did not comment on factual truth; instead, they sought to foster an emotional truth [...], one where the key symbols would help viewers gain political consciousness about the new world and how to interpret it” (Norris 2020, 520). Considering a code as “a set of practices familiar to users of the medium operating within a broad cultural framework” (Chandler) we can observe that in Soviet-era Latvia satire this “emotional truth”, encoded in aphorisms, jokes, funny short stories, but above all in feuilletons and caricatures, is put to the fore.

To carry out our research the issues of the magazine “Dadzis” and “Dadža kalendārs” published from 1960 to 1969 including were studied. In the named period 240 issues of the magazine “Dadzis” (published twice a month) and 7 issues of “Dadža kalendārs” (published once a year) appeared. Our main research field was the material presented in the magazine “Dadzis”. In its turn the almanac served as an additional means because it represented the main tendencies in the satirical journalism of that time in a more concentrated and accumulative way. To quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of words, themes, and concepts referring to the image of the United States of America in satirical journalism of Soviet Latvia the content analysis was conducted. Approaches of search strategy and analysis and evaluation were applied: online Latvian Library resources and services were used, namely, National Digital Library of Latvia and Periodicals, for simultaneous searches of the main master catalogue and databases. For the analysis the following search units were set: the stem of the word “America/n” in Latvian – “amerik”, the abbreviation “ASV” [the USA], and “dolārs” [dollar] filtered by the title (“Dadzis”) and publication date (1960–1969). The search results were calculated and analysed: in the above-mentioned time period there are 205 cases of mentioning words containing the stem “amerik” (Amerika/Amerikas/amerikāņu/amerikāņi); 394 cases of mentioning the abbreviation “ASV”; 195 cases of mentioning “dolārs” [dollar]. Based on the collected data the qualitative research was carried out. Analysing the visual code in the period under study, 313 cartoons dedicated to the United States were identified, of which 16 were selected, in our opinion, the brightest examples, and described in more detail in the discussion part of the article.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

THE IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: TEXTUAL CODE

In the Soviet Union satirical writings continued the tradition evolved in the nineteenth century Russian Empire where the development of satirical journalism led to the emergence of a new literary form – feuilleton. This name was borrowed from France, where feuilleton was used to denote a small journalistic form, typical of periodicals (newspapers, magazines) and characterized by topicality of themes, satirical acuteness, or humour. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, it was the feuilleton that became the arena of struggle between two literary camps in Russia: the everyday (bourgeois) and the socially accusatory one. It resulted in one of the most remarkable works – Maksim Gorky's feuilleton-pamphlet "In America" (1906) (Kokorev 1939, 689–694). In his article "Fel'eton i jesse" [Feuilleton and Essay] Vladimir Shklovskij states that a feuilleton shapes public opinion in a systematic and comprehensible way (Shklovskij 1927, 76–77). Both newspapers and journals published feuilletons; as a form of writing, the feuilleton spans the "high culture" of the thick journals and the "middle-brow" culture of the popular daily press (Dianina 2003, 192).

In the USSR, feuilleton was referred to as a "satirical and humorous genre of artistic journalism. To expose and denounce by ridiculing – such is its specificity and social effectiveness" (Varenik 1984). Feuilletons published in the 1960s in "Dadzis" undoubtedly continue the social-satirical, accusatory line. In her work "Fel'eton kak zhanr politicheskogo diskursa" [Feuilleton as a Genre of Political Discourse], the researcher Anna Istomina speaks about the features of a political feuilleton:

Political feuilleton is at the intersection of three types of discourse: a) according to its basic intention, it is an atonal genre of political discourse; b) according to the communication channel, it refers to the media discourse, the influencing function of which is aimed at changing the mentality of society; c) according to the method of influence – exposure through ridicule – to comic discourse, which has a specific inventory of means of realizing laughter intentions. (Istomina 2008)

In a political feuilleton the satirical picture of the world is characterized by several features, the main one of which is relevance (topicality). An important political event is ideologized using political

clichés and stereotypes, carnivalized, exposed to grotesque. “The transformation of information from a news report into a feuilleton genre occurs through the recombination and carnivalization of discourse-forming concepts of political discourse” (Ibid.). The feuilletonists solve the problem by means of laughter, irony, and sarcasm. Starting from negative phenomena and facts, they subject social vices, imperfections, errors to satirical typification, comic-figurative, ironically humorous analysis.

Soviet-era Latvian satirical periodicals can be considered a “distorted mirror” of political events (Zača 2012, 54). They, albeit in a hyperbolized and sarcastic manner, reproduce the most important issues of society and political life, with the main emphasis on events, personalities, and their evaluation.

In the 1960s, the authors of the satirical publications most often focus on the relations between the two strongest players in the political arena at the time – the relationship peripeteia between the Soviet (communism, Kremlin, USSR, rouble) and the American (capitalism, Pentagon, USA, dollar), which affected life in Soviet Latvia as well. As many journalists did not allow themselves to make open assessments at the time, the format of satirical periodicals allowed them to do so without the threat of further punishment. At the same time, such seemingly innocent publications were also subject to censorship, and their content was largely dictated by the guidelines of Soviet ideological propaganda – praising the courage, resourcefulness, and scientific and technical progress of the Soviet people, while purposefully depicting Americans as naive and lazy people who constantly fail in family and public life, as well as in foreign and domestic politics. As an exception, there are some iconic figures in American art and literature (Louis Armstrong, Ernest Hemingway, Mark Twain, etc.), who are positively assessed in the satirical narrative of “Dadzis” in the 1960s (Tā esot... 1960, 14; Volfs 1966, 12). In general, in the Soviet space such “iconic figures” were very often claimed “progressive” – it was an umbrella term, one of the most favourite words when introducing personalities from the Capitalist bloc countries to the Soviet public.

During the Cold War era, it was America that became the embodiment of everything anti-Soviet, from political to everyday problems. In this respect the feuilleton “Jaunais ir klāt!” [The New One is Here!], published in “Dadža kalendārs” 1963, becomes indicative – the advantage of the Soviet system over the American is emphasized by the geographical position of the USSR. In this text, the Soviet Union, which craves to get the leadership in all industries

(here we can recall the iconic example – “Russia is the homeland of elephants”), finds itself in a dominant position since its citizens are the first to celebrate the New Year, while the Americans do it last; according to the feuilleton this fact testifies to their cultural backwardness (Jaunais ir klāt! 1962, 80–82).

Many publications of the 1960s are devoted to the Cold War. “Dadzis” actualizes the myth of the “red danger” and the “communist bubble”, which Americans are most afraid of, and for this very reason they create NATO and “other similar alliances” (Priedītis 1960^d, 13). According to the authors of the publications, the Americans fail to find out the secrets of the Communists, although various measures have been taken for this purpose: persuasion (Kas gan... 1960^a, 14), launching spy planes (Priedītis 1960^a, 12; Priedītis 1960^e, 13), threatening to use military force “regardless of the consequences” (Avīžu ziņa 1960, 16), etc.

The Latvian authors emphasize that the myth of the massive armament of the United States is intensively cultivated in Western periodicals, thus collecting and spending huge sums of money (Priedītis 1960^f, 12–13). For example, Priedītis’ publication “Dienesta pienākums” [Duty of Service] states that such activities are aimed at raising “the psychosis of war, imagining danger from the outside” and thus “emptying the pockets of Americans”. In this context, ordinary people are offered fabulous statistics and facts that they want to believe: “[...] the profits in the aviation industry reach 100% and in some cases as much as 800% of the capital invested” (Priedītis 1960^c, 13).

The binary opposition to the purposefully constructed utopia of the Americans is strengthened by the fact that in the cosmonautics the USSR is significantly superior to them. It must be said that this circumstance also becomes an object of satire, bringing to the fore the personality of Gagarin and the theme of the *Vostok* spaceflight. Playing out this fact, one of the feuilletons states that it is the Russian cosmonauts who could deliver the USA flag to the Moon (Pentagonijā 1962, 3).

“Dadzis” depicts many prominent representatives of the USA political and military sphere in a satirical-parody manner: businessmen (Rockefeller), presidents (Eisenhower, Johnson, Kennedy, Nixon, Roosevelt, Truman), secretaries of defence (Gates, McNamara), etc. Significantly, the theme of the limited abilities and naivety of the American people is proposed in the context of various government structures, including the irony of New York police officers trying to prosecute criminals and, as a result, losing their vehicles driven away by thieves (Kas gan... 1960^b, 14). In their turn, the representa-

tives of the USSR authorities look more resourceful, courageous, and convincing in their views and actions if compared to American officials and public figures. An example is Nikita Khrushchev's trip to Los Angeles, during which, despite the propaganda of opponents of the USSR leader, the Americans did not buy black bandages to demonstrate their protest, as a result, local traders went bankrupt (Rodnijs 1960, 2).

Many publications of this kind mention the aspect of "trust" and "political correctness". For example, one of the feuilletons states that before being accepted as a civil servant, each candidate in the USA must "deny their affiliation with the Communist Party" and state that they "do not sympathize with communist ideas" (Kas gan... 1960^c, 14). Another publication tells that physicist Teller, who at one time desperately tried to invent a new nuclear weapon – the bomb, is suffering from "an attack of anti-communist hysteria" (Ķederts 1962, 13), etc.

Several publications are devoted to the peculiar understanding of freedom by Americans. Most often, journalists write about the American people's intolerance of Afro-Americans (Blūms 1963, 13; Moris 1964, 12), the large number of the unemployed in the country (Kas gan... 1963, 14; Kas gan... 1964, 14), as well as other topics.

In the writings of this kind the Statue of Liberty becomes a well-known symbol of "anti-freedom": "In America, freedom was buried, and a monument was erected – the 'Statue of Liberty'. A prisoner-of-war camp has been set up near it – apparently so that there are no two thoughts what this statue symbolizes" (Prieditis 1960^b, 10).

Indeed, "Dadzis" has relatively frequently satirised about USA colonization policies in Algeria, Angola, South Korea, South Vietnam, Latin America, the Congo, and elsewhere. Significantly, according to Latvian magazine publications, the Americans themselves justify their colonization policy with fears that "[...] the Russians want to conquer New York and establish a holiday home for the Communists in Miami Beach" (No žurnāla... 1962, 3), and, thus, they need to act urgently, "to prevent the establishment of one more communist state in the Western Hemisphere" (Kūms 1965, 13).

The quintessence of all that has been said referring to the topic under consideration is the feuilleton by Prieditis "Made in the USA" published in "Dadža kalendārs 1963". The feuilleton reports of the intentions of the Americans to organize exhibitions around the world (where the American military bases are located), promoting the main "achievements" of America. As a triumph of the American nuclear industry, photographs of the destroyed Japanese cities of Hiroshima

and Nagasaki are on display. American medical advances are exposed by reports of specially bred plague fleas and bedbugs that are sent to Korea. The main accomplishment of the American chemical industry is declared to be napalm, with the help of which the lands of Korea, Algeria and Angola and Vietnam are burned. The main attainment of the American education system is the school for training saboteurs for operations in Cuba and South Vietnam: “[...] the number of these American specialists in South Vietnam already exceeds five thousand. Photos and models show how they are burning villages in the jungle, shooting all those who are suspected, and beating women and children for upbringing” (Priedītis 1962, 188).

An insightful reader of the 1960s could easily understand the author’s intention, because one of the most popular objects of the USSR at that time was the Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. Accordingly, the reader could compare the “true” Soviet victories and the “imaginary” (false) American ones.

THE IMAGE OF THE USA IN LATVIAN SATIRICAL JOURNALISM OF THE 1960S: VISUAL CODE

According to modern-day researchers, caricature is the genre that “[...] has already taken its remarkable place in the field of humour” (Zača 2012, 54), because in general there is a tendency when “the virtual [information] replaces the verbal” (Ibid.). Caricature is recognized as a complex genre based on “[...] a strong visual metaphor” (Ibid.), “[...] mediated and distanced communication” (Ibid, 59) and a caricaturist “[...] needs knowledge to create the caricature also for the viewer of caricature to understand them” (Ibid, 61).

The intelligibility of caricatures is mostly determined by the criterion of time – in later periods the nuances of meaning included in the visual message may remain unclear to the recipients. The national context is equally important – political caricatures are recognized as the “[...] most national type of humour” (Ibid, 64) and “[...] a factor of national identity” (Gailīte 2013, 170) and are used as “[...] authentic national art that is an effective means of disseminating ideas” (Gajlīte 2011, 161). The latter factor contributes to the dominance of nationally marked images in caricatures of different periods (for example, Russian Bear, Mother Latvia, etc.), as it allows “[...] to draw symbolic boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’, produce and sustain ethnic stereotypes [...]” (Gailīte 2015, 146).

Few publications dedicated to Latvian caricatures have centred on their theme and context (actualized images, which often function in the form of allegories and symbols, cultural and historical back-

ground), less attention has been paid to the means used by caricaturists (composition, size, colour, tone, etc.). Research is mainly based on the content analysis of periodicals (“Gailis” [The Rooster], “Lietuvēns” [The Night-Hag], “Svari” [The Scales], “Vārdotājs” [The Charmer], “Vērotājs” [The Observer], “Zibens” [The Lightning], etc.) and data from quantitative surveys, with special emphasis on Latvian national codes, as well as on history of Latvian – Russian and Latvian – German relations, while in the practical part of the publications the diachronic approach is mainly employed (Gailite 2013; Gajlīte 2011; Zača 2012 et al.).

The analysis of available publications allowed us to conclude that so far the beginnings of the development of the Latvian caricature genre (second half of the nineteenth century) and the period until 1920, as well as the period after the restoration of national independence (1990s – today) have been studied the most. In contrast, the Soviet period has been examined in a rather fragmented way, although, as the scientists themselves point out, it has long deserved a separate detailed study (Gajlīte 2011, 169). Also, the publications do not emphasize the contribution of the satirical magazine “Dadzis” in the development of Latvian caricature; the theme of the USA widely represented in the magazine is not revealed and in general the situation at certain stages of the Soviet regime (including the 1960s) is not examined in more detail.

The analysis carried out in the framework of this introductory study revealed that in the magazine “Dadzis” mostly combined caricatures are present when the visual message is supplemented by one or two sentences. Textual insertions should be understood as a short explanatory comment or a title for the information included in the image, for example, “Amerikāņu brīvības fasāde un aizmugure” [Facade and Back of American Freedom] or “Imperiālisma pāvam krīt spalvas” [The Imperialist Peacock Is Losing His Feathers]. According to researchers, this type of words, phrases and sentences play a secondary role in caricatures, as “[...] the main is picture” (Zača 2012, 58). The caricatures included in “Dadzis” of the 1960s are dominated by colour images that do not stand out in brightness or colour diversity (the (half)tones of grey, blue, black, yellow, and orange predominate, often playing on the colours of the USA flag). These pictures exploit the USA theme in various variations and mainly in a hyperbolized way – the principles of statehood, foreign and domestic policies and vices (hypocrisy, lies, bribery, capitalism, enslavement, intimidation, mass terror) are ridiculed. When naming themselves, the authors of these caricatures use both initials and full surnames (M. Dikovs, S. Gūtmanis, U. Mežavilks, E. Osis,

A. Stankevičs), as well as pseudonyms (Eskaro, Ha-ha), for the identification of which a separate study must be performed. The readers of “Dadzis” are mainly addressed by such caricatures through well-known allegories and symbols. Among the most characteristic are the dollar sign, the inscription “Made in USA”, the national flag and the Statue of Liberty.

The dollar sign is depicted in the imperialist peacock’s high-raised tail (Figure 1); it is significant that the feathers of that bird are actively falling out, as is the dollar price in another caricature, where its disfigured body is being weighed (Figure 2). The motive of the fall of both dollars and masks during Kennedy and Nixon’s pre-election campaign is played out in the caricature which reveals the true essence of this event – the pursuit of power and profit (Figure 3). The dollar as a symbol of white enslavers is used in S. Gūtmanis’ caricature, where the author integrated it into the American slave owner’s hat (Figure 4).

The “Made in USA” sign is most often depicted in the context of war and rocket production (Figure 5). It is significant that in his caricature Gūtmanis equates it with the German swastika; respectively, in his opinion, both signs replace each other (Figure 6). This inscription is also used to describe the situation in the USA medicine of the 1960s. In one caricature the anonymous illustrator highlights the problem of bribery and depicts a doctor with an exaggeratedly long outstretched arm (Figure 7).



Figure 1. “The Imperialist Peacock Is Losing His Feathers” (Osis 1960, 12)



Figure 2. "Look, Colleague, Our Patient Has Lost Weight Again..." (Ha-ha 1961^b, 16)



Figure 3. "– Which Mask to Take for the Next Four Years?" (Ha-ha 1960^c, 16)



Figure 4. "– Hello! I Think You Lost Something..." (Gütmanis 1960, 16)



Figure 5. "Factory Brand"
(Dikovs 1966, 14)

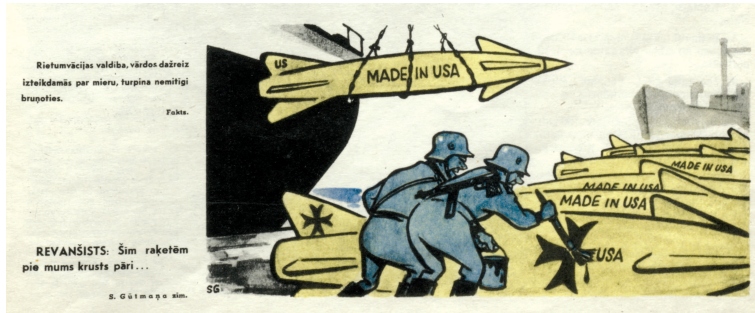


Figure 6. "Revanchist" (Gūtmanis 1961, 13)

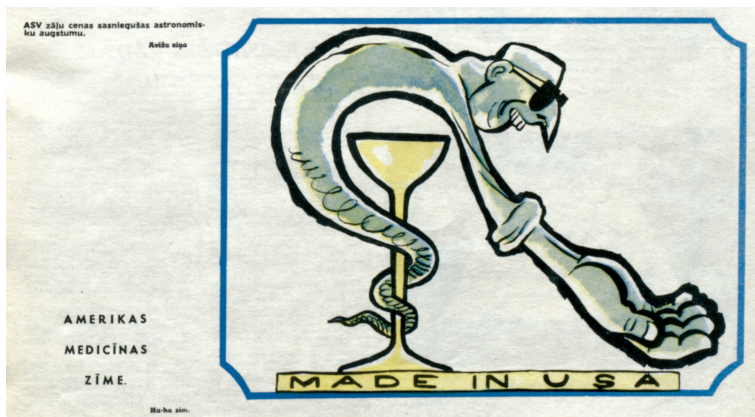


Figure 7. "American Medical Mark" (Ha-ha 1960^a, 13)

In the analysed caricatures the American flag is most often placed on the hats of American characters. One example is the cartoon, where a stranger wearing such a hat is depicted as a puppeteer pulling up the strings with the hands of voters, thus guaranteeing himself the desired election result (Figure 8). The same strings are seen in the cartoon by Mežavilks depicting an old woman wearing a hat with the USA flag on it who is trying to enslave Cuban children (Figure 9). Inside one of such hats shown as a cage an Afro-American tortured by the American people is drawn (Figure 10). Another American in the USA hat is depicted with a huge syringe – he is going “to help” other countries (Figure 11). The flag-colour hat also appears on failed cartoon characters, such as a man sinking in the rice fields of South Vietnam (Figure 12).



Figure 8. “ANOnym” (Ha-ha 1960^b, 13)



Figure 9. “– Hey, Kids, Don’t Look at That Bogey! It Will Put You in a Sack” (Mežavilks 1963, 13)

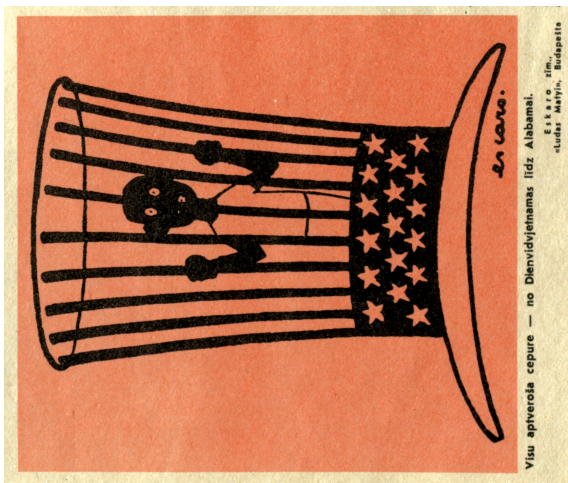


Figure 10. "All-inclusive Hat — from South Vietnam to Alabama" (Eskaro 1966, 14)

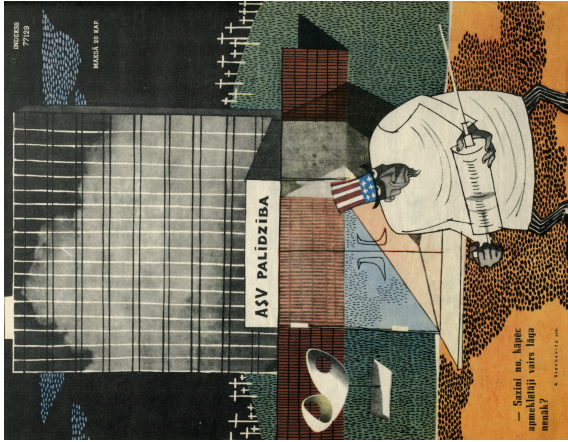


Figure 11. "USA Is Helping" (Stankovičs 1963, 16)



Figure 12. "South Vietnam" (Ha-ha 1964, 16)



Figure 15. Anonymous author's caricature "Without Words" (Bez vārdiem 1966, 14)



Figure 16. Anonymous author's caricature "SOS" (SOS 1968, 14)

CONCLUSIONS

In Soviet times, caricatures had a pronounced educational character; they were a tool for promoting the communist way of life, denouncing the capitalist structure of Western states "hostile" to the Soviet Union. Following their Russian colleagues, Latvian authors created verbal and non-verbal texts about the unfriendly grin of imperialism or the pernicious "thirst for capitalist profit".

The image of America turned out to be very schematic and stereotyped, in many ways repeating the political clichés broadcast by the mainstream media. Among such recurring clichés, one can single out the exploitation of the American working class (another variant – the exploitation of the black population of America), the arms race, imperialist aggression (the aggression against countries that chose the socialist path of development was especially acutely covered – in the 1960s, these were Cuba and Vietnam), social ills of the American society, turning inside out and debunking American achievements and ideals.

The authors of feuilletons and caricatures tried to use the most recognizable markers of American culture, such as the dollar sign,

the USA flag and the Statue of Liberty. An adequate understanding of political satire in the intercultural aspect can be achieved only if the plot of the work is based on the elements included in the universal cognitive base.

Without exceptions, all texts representing the image of America in “Dadzis” and “Dadža kalendārs” bore a pronounced ideological and propaganda tinge. Denying and exposing the American system of values, the authors of feuilletons and caricatures were called on the principle of contrast to create an idea of the superiority of the Soviet way of life and the system of values in the reader of Soviet Latvia. In the 1960s, the Soviet image of the USA as represented in satirical journalism is static, expressed by constant, repetitive signs and, hence, biased.

To illustrate the system and role of Soviet propaganda in constructing and representing the image of the USA in society comprehensively the further study should be carried out involving other means of cultural expression (theatre, cinema, literature, music, art) and comprising the whole period of the Soviet rule.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The theoretical part of the article devoted to Soviet propaganda and political discourse of Anglophone segment in Latvia has been published thanks to the financial support from ERDF (“Literary and Political Discourse of Translations in Totalitarianism: Anglophone Literature in Soviet Latvia”; application No. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/3/19/452).



NACIONĀLAIS
ATTĪSTĪBAS
PLĀNS 2020



EIROPAS SAVIENĪBA
Eiropas Reģionālās
attīstības fonds

IEGULDĪJUMS TAVĀ NĀKOTNĒ

REFERENCES

Sources

- Blūms, R. (1963). “Krīze.” *Dadzis* 01.07., 13.
- Dikovs, M. (1966) “Fabrikas marka” [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.09., 14.
- Eskaro. (1966). “Visu aptveroša cepure – no Dienvidvjetnamas līdz Alabamai” [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.06., 14.
- Gūtmanis, S. (1960). “– Hallo! Man liekas, jūs kaut ko pazaudējāt...” [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.10., 16.
- Gūtmanis, S. (1961). “Revanšists” [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.01., 13.

- Ģederts, F. (1962). "Ārstu ievēribai!" *Dadzis* 15.05., 13.
- Ha-ha. (1960^a). "Amerikas medicīnas zīme" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.11., 13.
- Ha-ha. (1960^b). "ANOnīms" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 01.12., 13.
- Ha-ha. (1960^c). "– Kuru masku lai ņemu nākošajiem četriem gadiem?" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.09., 16.
- Ha-ha. (1961^a). "Amerikāņu brīvības fasāde un aizmugure" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 01.12., 16.
- Ha-ha. (1961^b). "– Skaties, kolēģi, mūsu pacients atkal nokrities svarā..." [caricature]. *Dadzis* 01.01., 16.
- Ha-ha. (1964). "Dienvidvjetnama" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.07., 16.
- Kūms, R. (1965). "Progresā dēļ." *Dadzis* 15.06., 13.
- Mežavilks, U. (1963). "– Pē, bērni, uz to bubuli neskatieties! Tas jūs iebāzīs maisā" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.07., 13.
- Moris, G. (1964). "Intervija." *Dadzis* 01.07., 12.
- Osis, E. (1960). "Imperiālisma pāvam krīt spalvas" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 01.08., 12.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^a). "B-70 (Nekrologs avansa veidā)." *Dadzis* 01.08., 12.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^b). "Brīvība brīvības galā." *Dadzis* 01.07., 10.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^c). "Dienesta pienākums." *Dadzis* 01.04., 13.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^d). "Kas apdraud rietumus." *Dadzis* 01.02., 13.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^e). "Mainīgs mākoņu daudzums." *Dadzis* 15.05., 13.
- Priedītis, H. (1960^f). "Panika Volstrītā." *Dadzis* 01.03., 12–13.
- Priedītis, H. (1962). "'Made in USA': Reportāža ar nelielu fantastikas piedevu." *Dadža kalendārs 1963*, 186–190.
- Rodnijs, R. (1960). "Protestējot..." *Dadzis* 15.02., 2.
- Stankevičs, A. (1963). "ASV palīdzība" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.04., 16.
- Volfs, A. (1966). "Tā esot gadījies." *Dadzis* 15.02., 12.
- (1960). "Avižu ziņa." *Dadzis* 15.01., 16.
- (1960^a). "Kas gan viss nenotiek pasaulē." *Dadzis* 01.01., 14.
- (1960^b). "Kas gan viss nenotiek pasaulē." *Dadzis* 01.02., 14.
- (1960^c). "Kas gan viss nenotiek pasaulē." *Dadzis* 15.04., 14.
- (1960). "Tā esot gadījies." *Dadzis* 15.10., 14.
- (1962). "Jaunais ir klāt!" *Dadža kalendārs*, 80–82.
- (1962). "No žurnāla 'Eulenspiegel'". *Dadzis* 01.01., 3.
- (1962). "Pentagonijā." *Dadzis* 15.08., 3.

- (1963). [caricature] *Dadzis* 01.08., 16.
- (1963). "Kas gan viss nenotiek pasaulē." *Dadzis* 15.05., 14.
- (1964). "Kas gan viss nenotiek pasaulē." *Dadzis* 15.03., 14.
- (1966). "Bez vārdiem" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 15.10., 14.
- (1968). "SOS" [caricature]. *Dadzis* 01.06., 14.

Literature

Auerbach, J. and Castronovo, R. (2013). "Introduction: Thirteen Propositions about Propaganda." In: Auerbach J. and Castronovo R. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1–16. Doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199764419.013.023

Badina, E. and Badins, Z. (2020). "The Influence of M. Gorky's Personality and Views on the Literary Processes of Latvia." In: 7th *SWS International Scientific Conference on Arts and Humanities ISCAH 2020: Conference Proceedings of Selected Articles*. Volume 7. Bulgaria: Sofia, 165–172. Doi: 10.5593/sws.iscah.2020.7.1/s25.20

Beller, M. (2007). "Perception, Image, Imagology." In: Beller M., Leerson J. (eds.) *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 3–16.

Chandler, D. *Semiotics for Beginners*. Available at: <<http://visual-memory.co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem08.html>> (accessed June 2021).

Churchill, W. "The Sinews of Peace ('Iron Curtain Speech')." *Speeches 1946–1963: Elder Statesman*. Available at: <<https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-sinews-of-peace/>> (accessed June 2021).

Dēģis, A. (2005). "'Dadzis' knābs amatpersonām un izmeklēs nebūšanas." *Latvijas Vēstnesis* 161, 11.10., B7.

Deklaracija ob obrazovanii Sojuza Sovetskih Socialisticheskikh Respublik i Dogovor ob obrazovanii Sojuza Sovetskih Socialisticheskikh Respublik, 30 dekabnja 1922 g. Available at: <https://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_ru&dokument=0004_uni&object=facsimile&pimage=1&v=100&nav=&l=ru> (accessed June 2021).

Dianina, K. (2003). "The Feuilleton: An Everyday Guide to Public Culture in the Age of the Great Reforms." *The Slavic and East European Journal* 47 (2) (Summer): 187–210. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3219943>

Etty, J. (2019). *Graphic Satire in the Soviet Union: Krokodil's Political Cartoons*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. Doi: 10.2307/j.ctvbj7g8s

Gailīte, G. (2015). "Mātes Latvijas tēls latviešu karikatūras vēsturē." *Komparatīvistikas almanahs* 7 (36) *Cilvēks literatūrā un kultūrā*, 146–166.

Gailīte, G. (2013). "Role of 'Mother Latvia' in Constructing Self and Other: A Case of Latvian Caricature from the Nineteenth Century to 1920." In: Ildikó K. and Demski D. (eds.) *Competing Eyes: Visual Encounters with Alterity*. Budapest, 170–187.

Gajlīte, G. (2011). "Smeh i slezy: obraz Rossii i russkih v latyšskoj karikature (jeskiz problemy)." In: Novikova I. (ed.). *Europe – Russia: Contents, Discourses, Images*. Rīga: LU DZSC-Levira, 161–176.

Istomina, A. (2008). *Fel'eton kak zhanr političeskogo diskursa*. Available at: <https://www.dissercat.com/content/komicheskaya-ekspressiya-v-yazyke-sovetskogo-feletona-60-80-gg> (accessed August 2021).

Khrushchev, S., Benson, T. S., Jones, P. and Smirnov, I. (2012). *Drawing the Curtain: The Cold War in Cartoons*. London: Fontanka.

Kokorev, A. (1939). "Fel'eton." In: Lebedev-Poljanskij P. I., Lunacharskij A. V., Nusinov I. M., Pereverzev V. F. and Skrypnik I. A. (eds.) *Literaturnaja jenciklopedija v 11 tomah*. Tom 11. Moskva: Hudozhestvennaja literatura, 689–694.

Magnúsdóttir, R. (2018). *Enemy Number One: The United States of America in Soviet Ideology and Propaganda, 1945–1959*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moiseenko, L. (2020). "Imagology and Formation of the Image of Russia in Foreign Media." In: *European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 464–472. Available at: <https://www.europeanproceedings.com/files/data/article/10028/12666/article_10028_12666_pdf_100.pdf> (accessed June 2021).

Norris, S. M. (2020). "Two Worlds: Boris Efimov, Soviet Political Caricature, and the Construction of the Long Cold War." In: Skrodzka A., Lu X. and Marciniak K. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, 519–541. Doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190885533.013.22

Savage, J. (2011). "Re-creating Mankind: The Philosophy and Actualization of the 'New Soviet Man'." In: *The Eagle Feather*. Available at: <<https://eaglefeather.honors.unt.edu/2011/article/36#>> (accessed September 2020).

Shklovskij, V. B. (1927). "Fel'eton i jesse." In: Tynjanov Ju. and Kazanskij B. (eds.) *Fel'eton: sbornik statej*. Leningrad: Academia, 72–79.

Skrodzka, A. (2020). "Introduction: The Communist Vision Today." In: Skrodzka A., Lu X. and Marciniak K. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook*

of *Communist Visual Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1–15. Doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190885533.013.22

Stalin, J. (1925). "The Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.). Works 7." In: *Marxists Internet Archive*. Available at: <<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1925/12/18.htm>> (accessed June 2021).

Stykalin, S. and Kremenskaja, I.^a *Istoriya zhurnala "Krokodil"*. Available at: https://propagandahistory.ru/743/Istoriya-zhurnala-Krokodil/?fbclid=IwAR16N5WnOEJ1M4aaFIYzNs_PMS5F20izBDCQNlpuxiwB0wlMta6Gr10y3K8 (accessed August 2021).

Stykalin, S. and Kremenskaja, I.^b *Sovetskaya satirichesкая pechat': 1917–1963*. Available at: <https://coollib.com/b/188906/read?fbclid=IwAR306ZW0lcGorli-068WoSuBQV2GvLyF97Z2yaWGt-D22fc6G0lwEBpUx3o#t224> (accessed August 2021).

Varenik, S. (1984). *Komicheskaja jekspressija v jazyke sovetskogo fel'etona (60–80 gg.)*. Available at: <https://www.dissercat.com/content/komicheskaja-ekspressiya-v-yazyke-sovetskogo-feletona-60-80-gg> (accessed August 2021).

Veisbergs, A. (2018). "The Translation Scene in Latvia (Latvian SSR) during the Stalinist Years." *Vertimo studijos* 11 (3), 76–99. Doi: 10.15388/VertStud.2018.6

Zača, E. (2012). "Caricature as a Creative Work for its Creator and Viewer." *Limes: Borderland Studies* 5(1): 54–69. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.3846/20297475.2011.652679>

— (1912). "Satīrisks žurnāls dzīvei un mākslai." *Dadzis* 10, 3.

— (1964). "Divas pasaules, divi dzīves veidi, divas ideoloģijas." *Jaunās Grāmatas* 6, 49–50.

— (1964). "Palīgā ateistiskajai propagandai." *Jaunās Grāmatas* 3, 49–50.

— (2021). *Latvia under the Soviet Rule. 1944–1985; National History Museum of Latvia*. Available at: http://lnvm.lv/en/?page_id=1079 (accessed August 2021).