# SOFIA UNIVERSITY "ST. KLIMENT OHRIDSKI" FACULTY OF HISTORY

DEPARTMENT OF "NEW AND MODERN HISTORY"

### **ABSTRACT**

## AMERICAN AND BRITISH ANTI-SOVIET FILM PROPAGANDA (1961-1968)

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Sofia,

2024

The dissertation was discussed and proposed for defense on January 9, 2025 by the Department of "New and Contemporary History" at the Faculty of History of Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski".

It consists of a preamble, an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography, appendices and synopses - a total of 289 pages.

#### I. General characteristics of the dissertation

The subject of American and British anti-Soviet cinema propaganda is of interest because it presents a new, less familiar role of the entertainment industry. Through it are presented the ideological opposition between the Eastern and Western bloc, as well as an attempt to solve specific internal problems of the U.S. and the Great Britain. The period under consideration allows the contribution of new knowledge to the study of the Cold War in the 1960s, due to the process of declassification of documents, as well as the opportunity for witnesses to release their memories. Cinema is part of the propaganda's toolkit, and the first attempts at its new use were at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The conclusion is that statesmen quickly realized the power of "moving pictures", and by the 1960s useful experience was accumulating for Britain and the US to draw on.

The thesis of the dissertation is that in the period 1961-1968 in Great Britain and the United States, films with anti-Soviet themes were actively produced, which served the set Cold War goals. The inclusion of cinema to build a negative image of the enemy is a necessity in order to mobilize the population through an additional propaganda channel to win the battle against him. Images of the Soviet Union as a state formation with communist ideology and its citizens evolved. If in the initial period of the Cold War there was an overlap in their representation as the embodiment of everything negative, immoral and unacceptable in films, then in the 1960s there was a divergence. The political context of the era predisposed the inclusion of other communist enemies to the fore, such as the PRC and North Vietnam, while hopes for cooperation and peaceful coexistence were built in relations with the USSR.

These American and British movies are related both to the domestic and foreign policy of the producing country, as well as to the frameworks set by the cinema industry. By constantly placing propaganda "in its civilizational context" a true picture of its real dimensions is achieved. Cinematic messages can work in co-opting the messages of political propaganda and creating appropriate sociological conditions. The movie messages' are not direct propaganda, but rely on the construction of suggestions through colors, places, clothing, dialogue, the application of specific cinema techniques, angles or genre predetermination. In this way, the viewer can be "propagandized" and indoctrinated without knowing it, and accordingly the propaganda can be able to work better.

The object of my research is American and British anti-Soviet cinema propaganda. The subject of the study is to find out what the propaganda element of the British and American films in the selected period is and whether the viewers respond by interest in attending the screenings. The purpose of the research is to highlight the specifics of the American and British films from the period 1961-1968 of the 20th century as a product of anti-Soviet cinema propaganda by following the trends in the production of their propaganda messages. The specific tasks are related to:

- 1. Tracing the process of pre-production, production and post-production of film products, explaining its features in view of the Cold War era.
- 2. To present the most important events of domestic and foreign policy in the 1960s, which reflected the film industry in the United States and Great Britain.
  - 3. To determine the mechanisms of successful propaganda and the scope of its influence.
  - 4. To discover the possible causes of unsuccessful propaganda.

Due to the specificity of the subject of the dissertation, it is necessary to set preliminary criteria to find the audio-visual sources suitable for analysis. First of all, the movies must have been produced and broadcast within the specified time period. Another criterion is the presence of a Soviet enemy, as well as the entertainment function of the product. The expected result of the scientific research is to present the film propaganda in its unified anti-Soviet policy of the two Western powers, but also to note the peculiarities of the USA and Great Britain separately.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Елюл, Жак. Пропагандата. София: Издателство "Изток-Запад", 2024, с. 16.

Answers to the questions "How was cinema propaganda made in the 1960s?" and "Was the anti-Soviet film propaganda seen as an element of the Cold War success?" will be sought.

The methodology includes a logical synthesis in the exposition of facts and events and in the tracing of processes. The used methods are: empirical (study of sources with information); historical-logical (mental recreation of the historical process); sociological (analysis, synthesis, comparison). The main approach is chronological-thematic in the presentation of the problematic of foreign and domestic affairs, as well as in the film industries in the United States and Great Britain. The interdisciplinary approach is applied to the study in its entirety – political, historical, sociological, aesthetic approaches. A multicultural approach prevails in the study of British and American society. In the analysis of film cycles during the period, the cyclical theory of the rise, plateau and fall of an idea is used. The comparative analysis is the main one advocated in the third chapter in the comparison of American and British anti-Soviet films. Visual aids are used.

The chronological boundaries of the study are 1961-1968 and are subordinated to historical logic, since the main thesis of the dissertation is that general and political propaganda is followed by film propaganda. The specific years were chosen in view of the expected new policy between the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, in connection with the election of the new American president, John Kennedy. The end of Democratic rule in the 1960s in the United States was the final marker of the survey. From the British point of view, Conservative and Labor governments took place, but there is no significant change in the foreign policy course since the 1960s in view of the particularities of the Cold War. The specific legislative measures, attitude towards the artists/directors/ screenwriters, as well as purposeful messages intended for the American or British society highlighted the futility of cinema logic as the main narrative for the dissertation work. The historical framework provides insight into the international processes and especially the relationship between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other, which reflect or oppose the anti-Soviet messages in the films.

The age range of the subjects studied is wide and hard to distinguish, since the influence of the film industry can be direct (to the viewers who visited the screenings) or indirect (to the minors who hear from their family members and friends about a certain film and its implication). The geographical scope of the study includes the territory of the United States and Great Britain.

English-language literature is rich in materials on the cultural aspects of the Cold War, which are presented in Bulgarian. Few cultural historians, however, pay attention to propaganda films and their influence. The research is innovative, as there are no monographs or collections in Bulgarian in which a comparison can be made between the cinema propaganda of the USA and Great Britain. Close in terms of the research idea is that of Deyan Statulov with his work on cinema propaganda in Bulgaria<sup>2</sup>. In the English-language literature, the issue of film propaganda is addressed in separate monographs and articles, but in certain aspects that correspond to the topic of the dissertation - general propaganda of the United States and Great Britain during the Cold War<sup>3</sup>, film propaganda in both countries<sup>4</sup> and particular studies with an emphasis on films with anti-Soviet propaganda messages<sup>5</sup>.

The historiographic overview includes the topic of propaganda in the first place. It is examined through Edward Herrmann and Noam Chomsky's monograph<sup>6</sup> on the propaganda model and its political application, as well as some supporting and interpretive articles<sup>7</sup>, Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell<sup>8</sup>, who examine general and political propaganda. Jacques Ellul's monograph<sup>9</sup> is extremely important for the dissertation, as it first examines general settings and characteristics of propaganda, and then gives examples of cinema as an instrument of social propaganda. Nicholas Reeves's monograph<sup>10</sup> adds knowledge with a systematized approach to the study of national film

<sup>2</sup> Статулов, Деян. Препоръчани

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Статулов, Деян. Препоръчани филми: пропагандни практики в Българското игрално кино (1944-1989). София: Локус пъблишинг, 2023.; Статулов, Деян. (Не)възможната свобода: идеологическата цензура в българското игрално кино (1948-1989). София: Локус пъблишинг, 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jowett, Garth S., Victoria O'Donnell, Propaganda and Persuasion. California: SAGE, 2015.; Бернайс, Едуард. Пропагандата. София: Издателство "Изток-Запад", 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Daley, Christopher. British Science Fiction and the Cold War, 1945-1969. A PhD thesis. Westminster: University of Westminster, March 2013.; Hole, Meredith K. American Dreams and Red Nightmares: Popular Media and the Framing of a Cold War Enemy, 1949-1962. Master degree Thesis. The College of Arts and Science of Ohio University, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Britton, W., Beyond Bond: Spies in Fiction and Film. Praegar, 2005.; Nelson, Anna Rikki. Shaken, not Stired: Espionage, Fantasy, and British Masculinity During the Cold War. MA Thesis. University of Southern Mississippi, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Herman, Edward S., Noam Chomsky. Manufacturing Consent. The Political Economy of the Mass Media. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Herman, Edward S. The Propaganda Model Revisited. – The Jus Semper Global Alliance, November 2020, pp. 1-20.; Herrings, Eric, Piers Robinson. Too Polemical or Too Critical? Chomsky on the Study of the News Media and US Foreign Policy. – Review of International Studies, October 2003, Volume 29, № 4, pp. 553-568.; Fuchs, Christian. Propaganda 2.0.: Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model in the Age of the Internet, Big Data and Social Media. – In: Pedro Caranana, j., D. Broudy and J. Klaen (eds.) The Propaganda Model Today: Filtering Perception and Awarness. London: University of Westminster Press, 2018, pp. 71-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Jowett., Garth S., Victoria O'Donnell. Op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Елюл, Жак. Цит. съч.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Reeves, Nicholas. Power of Film Propaganda. Myth or Reality? London: Continuum, 1999.

propaganda, although there are examples of obvious confusion in the interpretation of his theses<sup>11</sup>. Siegfried Krakauer's<sup>12</sup> and Leida Jay's<sup>13</sup> monographs analyze in detail German/ Nazi and Russian/ Soviet film propaganda, respectively, paying attention to the innovations that both nations contribute to the art of cinema in general. Tony Shaw<sup>14</sup> presents American and British film propaganda in the Cold War period, while David Rosenbloom's<sup>15</sup> research compares the success of Hitler's and Stalinist's film propaganda, highlighting the main themes, implications and policies. Philip Cohen's<sup>16</sup> thesis is devoted to nuclear issues and political propaganda. The approaches of film historians Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery<sup>17</sup> find a common point with Violeta Stoicheva's one<sup>18</sup>, who connect the plot of the movies with the consciousness of the viewers. And in addition, Stephen Neal<sup>19</sup> presents the relationship of the genre to the expectations of the audience and the industry itself to the profits of the film.

The historiographic overview continues with the scientific works that are related to the cinema theme. On the topic of the relationship between cinema and society, the following were used: the collection by James Kaufman and Keith Dean<sup>20</sup>, Elaine Bappis's<sup>21</sup> monograph on the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Taylor Neff misinterprets Nicholas Reeves' thesis that propaganda protects against alienation, when in fact this is its first step to success - the removal of established norms that bring understanding of the world and comfort to the individual, which are subsequently replaced.

Nicholas Reeves, The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality? New York: Cassell, 1999, p. 43. - In: Neff, Taylor. Propaganda on the Big Screen: Film in the Soviet Union from 1925 to 1936. – Aquila: The FGCU Student Research Journal, Volume 3, Issue 2, Spring 2017, pp. 47-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Kracauer, Siegfried. From Caligari to Hitler. A Psychological History of the German Film. Princetone: Princetone University Press, 1966.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jay, Leyda. Op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Shaw, Tony. British Cinema and the Cold War: The State, Propaganda and Consensus, London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.; Shaw, Tony. Hollywood's Cold War. Edinburgh University Press, 2007.; Shaw, Tony. The BBC, the State and Cold War Culture: The Case of Television's The War Game (1965). - English Historical Review, Vol. 121, No. 494, 2006, pp. 1351-1384.

pp. 1351-1384.

15 Rosenblum, David. Battle for the minds: Use of propaganda films in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany. - James Madison University, JMU Scholarly Commons, Summer 2019, pp. 1-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cohen, Philip. Hearts and Minds: The Propaganda War Over the British Nuclear Deterrent, 1957-1963. PhD Thesis. University of Hertfordshire, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Hill, John, Pamela Church Gibson (eds.). The Oxford Guide to Film Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Стойчева, Виолета. Киното като ресурс на историята – документалното кино в обучението по история и цивилизация. – В: Котларска, К.. Виолета Стойчева. Образователна демокрация – документалното кино и прочитите на историята. София: Институт "Разум", 2011, с. 261-276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Neale, Stephen. Genre, London: British Film Institute, 1980, p. 7. – In: Altman, Rick. Op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Kaufman, James C., Dean Keith Simonton. (eds.) The Social Science of Cinema. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2014

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Bapis, Elaine M., Camera and Action: American Film as Agent of Social Change, 1965-1975. Jefferson: McFarland 7 Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008.

social impact of American films, and Russell James and Jim Whalley's<sup>22</sup> monograph linking Hollywood to the baby boom. The historiography on the topic of atomic cinema, which forms the basis of chapter three, has been examined by a substantial number of scholars, including Jeff Nuttall<sup>23</sup>, Jerome Shapiro<sup>24</sup>, Mick Broderick<sup>25</sup>, Rosemary Mariner<sup>26</sup>, Scott Zeman and Michael Amundson<sup>27</sup>, Paul Boyer<sup>28</sup>. Shapiro and Boyer understand the bomb as fundamental to the lives or deaths of their contemporaries, while Nuttall and Broderick explore the new social dimensions of the use of the atomic and thermonuclear bomb.

The most useful studies in the field of cinema are in the library of the National Academy of Theater and Film Arts "Krastyo Sarafov". A significant influence on the dissertation were the researches on British cinema by Margaret Dickinson<sup>29</sup> and Sarah Street<sup>30</sup>, who analyzed British film industry as a whole. John Hill<sup>31</sup> and Robert Murphy<sup>32</sup> focus their interests on the processes of the 1960s, as well as analyze the state-society-cinema axis. American film industry researchers Larry Kepler and Steven England<sup>33</sup>, Terry and Peter Haas<sup>34</sup>, Daniel Franklin<sup>35</sup> and Douglas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Russell, James, Jim Whalley, Hollywood and the Baby Boom: A Social History. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nuttall, Jeff. My Own Mag, Issue 4, March 1964.; Nuttall, Jeff. My Own Mag, Issue 9, November 1964.; Nuttall, Jeff. A Report of the Americanization of Cleopatra. – My Own Mag, Issue 8, August 1964.; Nuttall, Jeff. My Own Mag, Issue 12, May 1965.; Nuttall, Jeff. Statement. Barnet, Spring 1965.; Nuttall, Jeff. Bomb Culture Review. – Kirkus. 18 July 1969. (21.02.2023) https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/a/jeff-nuttall/bomb-culture/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Shapiro, Jerome F. Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination on Film. New York: Routledge, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Broderick, Mick (ed). Hibakusha Cinema. Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Nuclear Image in Japanese Film. London: Routledge, 1996.; Broderick, Mick. Surviving Armageddon: Beyond the Imagination of Disaster. - Science Fiction Studies 61, Volume 20, Part 3, November 1993, pp. 362-282.; Broderick, Mick. Reconstructing Strangelove: Inside Stanley Kubrick's "Nightmare Comedy". New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Mariner, Rosemary B., G. Kurt Piehler (eds.). The Atomic Bomb and American Society: New Perspectives. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Zeman, Scott C., Micheal A. Amundson. Atomic Culture: How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Boyer, Paul S. A Life in American Cinema: The Nuclear Option. – The newsmagazine of the American Historical Association Perspectives on History. November 1, 2008. (31.03.2024) <a href="https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/november-2008/a-life-in-american-cinema-the-nuclear-option">https://www.historians.org/research-and-publications/perspectives-on-history/november-2008/a-life-in-american-cinema-the-nuclear-option</a>; Boyer, Paul S. "Dr. Strangelove" at 40: The Continuing Relevance of a Cold War Cultural Icon. – Arms Control Association. (02.04.2024) <a href="https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2004-12/dr-strangelove-40-continuing-relevance-cold-war-cultural-icon">https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2004-12/dr-strangelove-40-continuing-relevance-cold-war-cultural-icon</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dickinson, Margaret, Sarah Street. Cinema and State. The Film Industry and the British Government 1927-1984. LoDndon: Brtish Film Institute, 1985.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Street, S., British national cinema. Routledge, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hill, John. Sex, Class and Realism. British Cinema 1956-1963. London: British Film Institute, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Murphy, Robert. Sixties British Cinema. London: British Film Institute, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ceplair, Larry, Steven Englund, The Inquisition in Hollywood. Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1983.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Haas, E., Terry Christensen, Peter J. Haas, Projecting Politics: Political Messages in American Films. Routledge, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Franklin, D. P. Politics and Film: The Political Culture of Film in the United States. Rowman & Littlefield.

Kellner<sup>36</sup> link the themes of politics and ideology in Hollywood films. John O'Connor<sup>37</sup> and Walrance Swede's<sup>38</sup> film analysis focuses on fighting on the big screen. Cinematic trends in American productions are analyzed in the work of Peter Kramer<sup>39</sup>. The main emphasis in the titles are cinema and politics, understood mostly in its international dimensions. Featured scholars of Cold War American films pay attention to their propaganda messages, while among their British counterparts there are sporadic references to films with propaganda messages. Some of the cited researchers focus on specific iconic films from the 1960s. Wesley Britton<sup>40</sup>, Anna Ricky Nelson<sup>41</sup>, Tanya Nitins<sup>42</sup>, and Lori Nicole Paredes<sup>43</sup> examine various aspects of the James Bond series, and Vincent Lowery<sup>44</sup> presents the influence of "Dr. Strangelove".

Among the Bulgarian historiography with the greatest influence on the present work are the studies of Kostadin Grozev<sup>45</sup>. John Dumbrell<sup>46</sup> breaks Lyndon Johnson's domestic and foreign policy through his opposition to Soviet Communism. The monographs of Ivana Nikolova<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ryan, M., Douglas Kellner. Camera Politica: The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film. Indiana University Press, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Rollins, P. C., John E. O'Connor, Hollywood's West. The American Frontier in Film, Television & History. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005.; Rollins, P. C., John E. O'Connor. Why we Fought: America's Wars in Film and History. Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Suid, Lawrence H., Guts and Glory: The Making of the American Military Image in Film. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Kramer, Peter, The New Hollywood: From Bonnie and Clyde to Star Wars. London: Wallflower Press, 2005.; Kramer, Peter. "To prevent the present heat from dissipating": Stanley Kubrick and the Marketing of Dr. Strangelove (1964). – InMedia. 22 April 2013, No 3, 2013. (18.10.2023) https://journals.openedition.org/inmedia/634

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Britton, W., Beyond Bond: Spies in Fiction and Film. Praegar, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Nelson, Anna Rikki. Shaken, not Stired: Espionage, Fantasy, and British Masculinity During the Cold War. MA Thesis. University of Southern Mississippi, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Nitins, T., Selling James Bond: Product Placement in the James Bond Films. PhD Dissertation. Cambridge scholars publishing, 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Paredes, Lori Nicole. Nobody Does It Better: History and the James Bond Film Series. MD Thesis. University of Houston, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Lowery, J. Vincent. A Reel Nightmare Exposed: A Study of Cultural Significance of Stanley Kubrick's Dr. Strangelove (1964). PhD Thesis. University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Костадин, Грозев. Белият дом и Студената война: Избори и дипломация, 1948-1964. София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2012; Костадин Грозев. Два нови разсекретени документа за България от архива на Линдън Джонсън. – В: Минало, 2000, бр. 2, с. 80-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Dumbrell, John, President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Communism. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2004.

 $<sup>^{47}</sup>$  Николова, Ивана. Социалната политика в САЩ, 1945-1953 г. Политически и обществени нагласи. София: ДиоМира, 2022.

Stephen Ambrose<sup>48</sup>, John Louis Gaddis<sup>49</sup> and Henry Kissinger<sup>50</sup> serve to illustrate the atmosphere in American society at the beginning of the Cold War. Frederik Kemp's monograph<sup>51</sup> is fundamental to the interpretation of the Berlin problem in 1961. Hristo Milkov<sup>52</sup> partially addresses the topic of anti-war protests and the role of the US in the Vietnam War as part of the catalysts for change in 1968.

Kenneth Morgan's monographs<sup>53</sup> provide an overview of domestic and foreign policy trends in the Cold War period, and Andrew Scott Corbett's<sup>54</sup> studies of nuclear policy and Marc Nicholas Lear's<sup>55</sup> studies of British defense enrich the presentation of Britain in the 1960s. The subject of the special relationship between the United States and Great Britain, which also reflects on the policy towards communism, is examined by Jonathan Coleman<sup>56</sup> and Harvey DeWeird<sup>57</sup>. Kateřina Myšáková's<sup>58</sup> work presents the young scientist's interest in the issues of cultural transformation from the 1960s. Gorodetska's<sup>59</sup> classic work presents the Soviet-era view of the impact of social structure and education on party electoral success, and the role of education is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Амброуз, Стивън И. Стремеж към глобализъм. Американската външна политика от 1938 до началото на 90-те години. София: Издателство "Петър Берон", 1995.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Гадис, Джон Луис, Студената война. Нова история. Издателство "Кралица Маб", 2007.; Gaddis, John Lewis. Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Post-war American National Security Policy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.; Gaddis, John Lewis. The United States and the End of the Cold War. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.; Gaddis, John Lewis. The United Sates and the Origins of the Cold war, 1941-1947. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.; Gaddis, John Lewis. We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

<sup>50</sup> Кисинджър, Хенри. Дипломацията. София: Книгоиздателска къща "Труд", 1997.

<sup>51</sup> Кемп, Фредерик, Берлин 1961. Кенеди, Хрушчов и най-опасното място на земята. ИПК Родина, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Милков, Христо, 1968 – "Разделната" година: Свободата на власт. Българският поглед върху Френския май (60-те години на XX век). София: ИК "Гутенберг", 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Морган, Кенет (ред). История на Великобритания. Издателство "Кама", 2005.; Morgan, Keneth O. Britain Since 1945: The People's Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Corbett, Andrew Scott. The British Government, the Public, and Nuclear Deterrence. PhD Thesis, King's College London, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Liehr, Marc Nikolas. British foreign and defense policy: How does the relationship with the United States and the Commonwealth affects its point of view towards an ever increasing importance of the EU? Master Degree Thesis, Diplomarbeiten Agentur diplom.de, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Colman, Jonathan. A Special Relationship?: Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American Relations "at the Summit", 1964-68. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> DeWeered, H. A. British Attitudes in the Cuban Crisis. The RAND Corporation: Santa Monica, Februaty 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Myšáková, Kateřina. The Youth Culture Phenomenon: Transformation of the British Society in the 1960s and its Impact on Popular Culture. Bakalářská práce. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita v Plzn, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Городецкая, И. Е. Великобритания: Избиратели, выборы, партии, 1945-1970. Москва: Издателство "Наука", 1974.

also analyzed through the work of Carolyn Benn and Clyde Chitty<sup>60</sup>. Stephen Wilding<sup>61</sup> links Labor's mandate to social change in the 1960s. The social phenomena of the teddies<sup>62</sup> and "angry young men" are a direct consequence of the foreign policy and the rigidified society. The spy scandals are the last element analyzed to help understand spy films of the period and their success in Britain.

The documentary base of the dissertation includes both traditionally used official documents and research on the foreign and domestic policy of the United States and Great Britain, as well as audio-visual sources from the period 1961-1968.

The core of the research is American and British anti-Soviet films from the period 1961-1968. The used movies are freely accessible for download or use from various platforms that publish them in their original form.

The study examines 9 British audio-visual original cinema works, in the format of DVD films, with anti-Soviet themes, which are presented in the second and third chapters. Spy-themed films include: 1962's "Dr. No"<sup>63</sup>, 1963's "From Russia With Love"<sup>64</sup>, 1964's "The Ring of Spies"<sup>65</sup>, and two films in the Harry Palmer series "Funeral in Berlin"<sup>66</sup> in 1966 and "Billion Dollar Brain"<sup>67</sup> in 1967. Nuclear themes combined with anti-Soviet messages were explored in the following 1960s British films: "The Day the Earth Caught Fire"<sup>68</sup> in 1961, 1964's "Dr. Strangelove: or How

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Benn, Caroline, Clyde Chitty. Thirty Years on: Is Comprehensive Education Alive and Well or Struggling to Survive? London: Penguin, 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Fielding, Steven. The Labour Governments 1964-70, Volume 1: Labour and Cultural Change. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Cross, Robert. J. Teddy Boys as Scapegoat. - Doshisha Society for the Study of Language and Culture, 1998, pp. 263-291.; Sampson, Anthony. From the Observer Archive, 16 September 1956: Teddy Boys Run Riot when the Clock Strikes One. - The Observer, 16 September 2012. (28.05.2024) https://www.theguardian.com/news/2012/sep/16/teddy-boys-riot-1956-archive; Staveley-Wadham, Rose. Exploring The Notting Hill Race Riots of 1958. The British Newspaper Archive, 12 May 2022. (28.05.2024) https://blog.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/2022/05/12/exploring-the-notting-hill-race-riots-of-1958/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Saltzman, H., Albert Broccoli (Producers), Young, Terence (Director), (1962) Dr. No. [DVD]. United Kingdom: EON Productions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Saltzman, Harry, Albert Brocolli (Producers). Young, Terence (Director). (1963) From Russia with Love [DVD]. United Kingdom/ United States: EON Productions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Giliat, L. (Producer), Tronson, R. (Director). (1964). The ring of spies [DVD]. United Kingdom: British lion films, Triglav films.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Saltzman, H. (Producer), Hamilton, G. (Director). (1966). Funeral in Berlin. [DVD] United Kingdom: Lowndres Productions/ Jovera S.A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Saltzman, H. (Producer), Russell, K. (Director), (1967) Billion Dollar Brain. [DVD] United Kingdom: Lowndres Productions/ Jovera S.A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Guest, V., Green, F. Sh. (Producers). Guest, V. (Director). (1961). The Day the Earth Caught Fire [DVD]. United Kingdom: Val Guest Productions & Pax Films.

I Stopped Worrying and Loved the Bomb"<sup>69</sup>, 1965's "The Bedford Incident"<sup>70</sup>, and 1966's "War Game"<sup>71</sup>. The genre variety of British anti-nuclear films, allows reaching the largest possible audience, according to plot preferences and the ability of a given age group to watch the film.

Source material are 11 American movies, divided as follows into problematic cores on the Berlin and nuclear problem. The following films have been reviewed on the topic of Berlin: 1961's "One, Two, Three", "The Wall", "The Tunnel", 1962's "Escape to Berlin", and 1962's "Escape from East Berlin", 1963's "The Five Cities of June", and "Torn Curtain" from 1966. The third chapter examines films with a nuclear theme and an anti-Soviet propaganda tone, among which are: "Seven Days in May", and "Fail-safe" both from 1964, "The Russians are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!, from 1966 and "Ice Station Zebra," from 1968.

The completeness of the film's propaganda implications is achieved through the use of digitized articles from British and American cinema-oriented magazines. From the Island are the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Kubrick, S. (Producer/Director). (1964). Dr. Strangelove or: How I learned to stop worrying and love the bomb. [Special edition DVD]. United Kingdom: Hawk film.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Harris, J. B., Widmark, R. (Producers). Harris, J. B. (Director). (1965). The Bedford Incident. [DVD]. United Kingdom/ United States: Bedford Productions, Heath Productions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Watkins, Peter (Producer/ Director). (1966). The War Game. [DVD]. United Kingdom: British Film Institute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Wilder, B. (Producer/ Director). (1961). One, two, three. [DVD]. United States: The Mirisch Company & Pyramid Productions, A. G.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> De Hug, Walter (Producer/ Director) (1962) The Wall. [DVD]. United States: Hurst Metroton News/ United States Information Agency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Frank, Reuven (Producer). (1962) The Tunnel. [TV]. United States: NBC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Tremper, Will (Producer/ Director). (1962) Escape to Berlin. [DVD]. United States: Herz Lion International Corporation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Wood, Walter (Producer), Siodmak, Robert (Director). (1962) Escape from East Berlin. [DVD]. United States: Hans Albin Filmproduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Stephens Jr, G. (Producer). Herschensohn, B. (Director). (1963) The Five Cities of June. [DVD]. United States: United States Information Agency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Hitchcock, Alfred (Producer/ Director). (1966) Torn Curtain. [DVD]. United States: Universal Pictures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Lewis, Edward (Producer). Frankheimer, John (Director). (1964). Seven Days in May. [DVD]. United States: Paramount Pictures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Lumet, S., Maguire, C. H., Youngstein, M. E. (Producers), Lumet, S. (Director). (1964). Fail-safe. [DVD]. United States: Columbia Pictures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Jewison, N. (Producer/ Director). (1966). The Russians are coming! The Russians are coming! [DVD]. United States: The Mirisch Corporation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Ransohoff, M., Calley, J. (Producers). Sturges, J. (Director). (1968) Ice Station Zebra. [DVD]. United States: Filmways, Inc.

"Journal of British Cinema and Television" the "Monthly Film Bulletin" and "Sight and Sound" magazine. From the United States, the magazines "Film History" and "International Film" were reviewed. The most authoritative is the magazine "Variety" but the main disadvantage of working with it is the anonymous authors, which deprives the researcher of the opportunity to reflect the original pro- or anti-Soviet position. Facilitating a comprehensive position of English-language critics is Pauline Kael's monograph which collects most of her film

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Cook, John R. Who banned the war game? A fifty-year controversy reassessed. – Journal of British Cinema and Television, vol. 14, no. 1, 2017, pp. 39-63.; Grant, Matthew. Images of Survival, Stories of Destruction: Nuclear War on British Screens, 1945-1963. Teesside University – Journal of British Cinema and Television, Volume 10, Issue 1, pp. 7-26.; Stubbs, Jonathan. The Eady Levy: A Runaway Bribe? Hollywood Production and British Subsidy in the Early 1960s. – Journal of British Cinema and Television, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2009, pp. 1-20.

<sup>84</sup> Monthly Film Bulletin, Vol. 31, Iss. 360, January 1, 1964, p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Hoberman, J. When Dr. No Met Dr. Strangelove. – Sight and Sound, December 1993, p. 20.; Houston, Penelope. Torn Curtain. – Sight and Sound, Autumn 1966, No 4/6, p. 198.

<sup>86</sup> Eckstein, Arthur, The Hollywood Ten in History and Memory – Film History, Volume 16, pp. 424-436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Murphy, Patrick. The War Game – The Controversy. – Film International. Peter Watkins Special, Number 3, 2003, pp. 25-28.

<sup>88</sup> Maddaus, Gene, Justice Department Goes to Court to Lift Paramount Consent Decrees. – Variety, 22 November 2019. (20.01.2023) https://variety.com/2019/biz/news/paramount-doj-consent-decrees-court-filing-1203413811/; Safe'. - Variety. 31 December 1963. Review: 'Fail Film https://variety.com/1963/film/reviews/fail-safe-1200420656/#!; Variety Staff. Funeral in Berlin. – Variety, December 31, 1966. (03.05.2024) https://variety.com/1966/film/reviews/funeral-in-berlin-1200421360/; Variety Staff. Ice Station Zebra. - Variety, 31 December 1967. (19.03.2024) https://variety.com/1967/film/reviews/ice-station-zebra-1200421623/; Variety Staff. The Bedford Incident. – Variety, Dec 31, 1964. (06.06.2024) https://variety.com/1964/film/reviews/the-bedford-incident-1200420772/#; Variety Staff. Torn Curtain. – Variety, 31 December 1965. (30.11.2023) <a href="https://variety.com/1965/film/reviews/torn-curtain-1200420937/">https://variety.com/1965/film/reviews/torn-curtain-1200420937/</a>; Variety Staff. Seven Days in May. - Variety, 31 December 1963. (26.02.2024) https://variety.com/1963/film/reviews/seven-days-in-may-1200420555/; Moskowitz, Gene. Wilder on "One, two, three". - Variety, Vol. 221, no. 10, February 15, 1961, p. 83.; Variety Staff. Big Rental Pictures of 1962. – Variety, Volume 230, Issue 6, January 9, 1963, p. 13.; Variety Staff. Big Rental Pictures of 1964. - Variety, Volume 237, Issue 7, January 6, 1965, p. 39.; Variety Staff. Tremper's Second Film, "Russians Coming", Also Financed by U.S. Money, Berlin. - Variety, Vol. 221, no. 10, February 15, 1961, p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Kael, Pauline. Kiss Kiss Bang Bang. Chapter I: Trends. Bantam Book: Massachusetts, April 1968.

reviews, as well as Bosley Crowther's digitized "New York Times" articles<sup>90</sup> and the purpose-built review site of Roger Ebert<sup>91</sup>.

The Margaret Herrick Library's online archives contain the Production Codes of the American motion picture industry, as well as discussions and amendments thereto. Particularly useful is the collection of documents edited by Gerald Mast<sup>92</sup>, in which many Hollywood documents are presented, but also articles in which their effect is interpreted. The development of the British film industry in its legislative part is presented through the individual cinematographic laws of the country and their relation to Hollywood products. A central database for details of film production and subsequent marketing is obtained from the websites of the American Film Institute<sup>93</sup> and the British Film Institute<sup>94</sup>. The digitized collection on the Spanish-American War helps visualize the first attempts at combining propaganda and cinema on the part of the United States<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Crowther. Bosley. Days in May' Opens at 2 Theaters. – The New York Times Archives, February 20, 1964, p. 0.; Crowther, Bosley. Film Festival: Two Tours de Force: 'The War Game' Lists Catalogue of Horrors. - The New York Times Archives. September 14, 1966, p. 0.; Crowther, Bosley. Torn Curtain at 3 Theaters. - New York Times, 28 (30.11.2023)https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/library/film/072866hitch-curtainreview.html; Crowhter, Bosley. Screen: Palmer Is Back: Michael Caine Stars in 'Billion Dollar Brain'. - The New York Times, December 23, 1967. (07.05.2024) https://www.nytimes.com/1967/12/23/archives/screen-palmer-isbackmichael-caine-stars-in-billion-dollar-brain.html; Crowther, Bosley. Screen: Fictional Navy: 'Bedford Incident' Grim Movie on Cold War. - The New York Times. 3 November 1965. (07.08.2023) https://www.nytimes.com/1965/11/03/archives/screen-fictional-navy-bedford-incident-grim-movie-on-cold-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-grim-grid-navy-bedford-incident-gri war.html; Crowhter, Bosley. Screen: 'Funeral in Berlin' Begins Run:Michael Caine Returns as Harry Palmer Soft-Sell Secret Agent Betrayed by Script. - The New Tork Times, December 23, 1966. (07.05.2024) https://www.nytimes.com/1966/12/23/archives/screen-funeral-in-berlin-begins-runmichael-caine-returns-asharry.html

bett, Roger. Billion Dollar Brain. Review. — Roger Ebert Blog, April 2, 1968. (06.05.2024) <a href="https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/billion-dollar-brain-1968">https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/billion-dollar-brain-1968</a>; Ebert, Roger. Ice Station "Zebra" Review. 21 April 1969. (01.02.2024) <a href="https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/ice-station-zebra-1969">https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/ice-station-zebra-1969</a>; Ebert, Roger. The War Game Review. — Roger Ebert's Blog. 3 October 1967. (01.02.2024) <a href="https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-war-game-1967">https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-war-game-1967</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Mast, G. (ed.), The Movies in our Midst: Documents in the Cultural History of Film in America. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> The website of American Film Institute provides quick research tools and the information about different movie features could be compared with them. American Film Institute (20.06.2024) https://www.afi.com/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The functionality of the website of British Film Institute is analogical, with the addition of articles by institute sponsored scholars. British Film Institute (20.06.2024) https://www.bfi.org.uk/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Library of Congress, Digital Collections, The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures. <a href="https://www.loc.gov/collections/spanish-american-war-in-motion-pictures/?dates=1800/1899">https://www.loc.gov/collections/spanish-american-war-in-motion-pictures/?dates=1800/1899</a> (11.08.2024)

Of primary importance in the presentation of US foreign policy are the collections of the series "Foreign relations of the United States", combined with the televised speeches of Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson<sup>96</sup>.

Primary documents from the 'National Archives' of Great Britain and the election promises of the Conservatives and Labors in 1955, 1959, 1964, 1966<sup>97</sup> serve as a basis for examining questions of domestic politics. The periodicals from the island help to understand the anti-nuclear attitudes of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament<sup>98</sup>. Primary documents have been used in recreating the measures taken by the British film industry in the fight against rival US moviemakers<sup>99</sup>.

#### II. Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation contains a preamble, introduction, exposition, conclusion, appendices and synopses. The preamble presents the thesis, subject, aims and objectives of the research. It gives an idea of what methods and skills were used to reach the expected result. A review of the documents used and historical researches are included.

The introduction focuses on the topic of propaganda. Its general characteristics are presented, and its Cold War dimensions and film use are also interpreted. The relationship between the first cinema propaganda attempts, the innovations of Soviet and Nazi film propaganda as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Johnson. Lyndon B. August 4, 1964: Report on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident. National Archives.; Kennedy, John F. Commencement Address at American University, Washington, D.C., June 10, 1963. – John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.; Kennedy, John F. "Ich bin ein Berliner" Speech, June 26, 1963.; Kennedy, John, Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Soviet Arms Build-up in Cuba, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 22 October 1962, Accession Number: WH-142-001.

<sup>97 1955</sup> Conservative Party General Election Manifesto. United for Peace and Progress: The Conservative and Unionist Party's Policy. A Personal Statement by the Prime Minister. (01.06.2024) http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1955/1955-conservative-manifesto.shtml; 1959 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto. The Next Five Years. (01.06.2024) http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1959/1959-conservative-manifesto.shtml; 1964 Labour Party Election Manifesto: "The New Britain".; 1966 Labour Party Election Manifesto: Time for Decision.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Peers, Dave. The Impasse of CND. – International Socialism, No. 12, Spring 1963, pp. 6–11.; Guardian Staff. Early defections in march to Aldermaston. – The Guardian, 5 April 1958. (10.02.2024) https://www.theguardian.com/century/1950-1959/Story/0,,105488,00.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Films Act, 1960. 29 july 1960. 8 & 9, Eliz. 2. Ch. 57. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.; Films Act 1964, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Elizabeth II, Ch. 52.; Films Act 1966, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Elizabeth II, Ch. 48.

prerequisites for the development of American and British cinema propaganda in the 1960s, taking into account the peculiarities of the Cold War period, is presented.

Exposition in presented in three chapters: Chapter I. The American anti-Soviet cinema propaganda: prerequisites for its formation and mechanisms for its realization, Chapter II. British anti-Soviet cinema propaganda: prerequisites for its formation and mechanisms for its realization, Chapter III. The nuclear threat and anti-Soviet propaganda in American and British films in the period 1961-1968. First two chapters contains four subchapters, the last chapter is with three subchapters and a conclusion.

In the first chapter, the problems of the foreign policy of the United States and its role as a superpower during the Cold War. The main foreign policy conflict that develops over time, because the Cuban crisis is a one-time act, for example, is that of Berlin in the period 1961-1968. Through it, the moments of increased and decreased tension in relations between Washington and Moscow are outlined, but also reveal the different interpretations of their importance by the US's European partners. Domestic politics linked the inherited atmosphere of paranoia about the communist threat in the 1950s to the attempt to transform society under Kennedy and Johnson. Emphasis is placed on the emergence of the baby boomer generation, government measures for economic standardization in order to more successfully carry out propaganda. The presented sociological propaganda successfully prepares the way for cinema propaganda, whose target is the boomers, and in particular the newly appeared teenagers. The sub-chapter "Hollywood - 'The Propaganda Arm of the American Dream Machine" reviews legislative initiatives in Hollywood up to the 1960s and looks at their impact on movie attendance. The messages of the films "The Wall", "The Tunnel" and "Five Cities of June" made or distributed by the American news agency are briefly examined. Their overtly propagandistic messages have been compared to those of four entertainment productions "One, Two, Three", "Escape from East Berlin", "Escape to Berlin", and "Torn Curtain". Conclusions are made about the successful and unsuccessful anti-Soviet propaganda messages realized through cinematographic techniques such as montage, perspective, shooting locations, stereotypical characters, symbols and color range.

Main conclusions from the first chapter can be traced in the following statements:

- The USA becomes the only capitalist superpower, which predetermines the leading place in international relations.
- The Berlin problem marked the hottest point of conflict between Capitalism and Communism in Europe in the 1960s.
  - The government is making social reforms that help create the new baby boom society.
  - Boomers are becoming the main target group of cinema propaganda.
- Hollywood is focused on making anti-Soviet propaganda films on the Berlin theme after the construction of the Berlin Wall, due to the reduced political charge in the situation.
- The film industry uses a variety of tools in presenting the possible solutions regarding the fate of Berliners.

In the second chapter, an analogous structure of presenting the problem of British anti-Soviet cinema propaganda and the external and internal prerequisites for its formation and implementation is built. The foreign policy role of Great Britain, like the United States, changed with the end of the Second World War. The processes of decolonization and the relations between the superpowers in Washington and Moscow. The implementation of this policy involves consideration of Britain's relationship with the US on the one hand, and Britain's relationship with the Soviet Union, on the other. The actions of the Macmillan cabinet on the Berlin problem are presented, as well as the problematization of cordial relations in connection with the Caribbean crisis. The sub-chapter on domestic politics focuses on the change in society. The baby boom and the growth of the middle class reflected on the election strategies of the Conservatives and Labour. Education is considered as a key aspect, as it is the main support of class society, but also an acknowledged mechanism for propaganda. The prosperity propagated by Prime Minister Macmillan of the 1950s activated the desire for change among the young, who united in subcultural groups. "Teddies" and "angry young men" reveal the new social division - the war of the young against the old 100. The issue of the espionage scandals of the early 1960s again demonstrates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> A paraphrase of the words of participant and researcher of subcultural currents in Britain in the 1960s, Jeff Nuttall, from his monograph "Bomb Culture". Nuttall, Jeff. Bomb Culture. Op. cit., p. 7. – In: Murphy, Robert. Op. cit., p. 156.

societal problems, but also links them to the threat of communism. The issue of the espionage scandals of the early 1960s again demonstrates societal problems, but also links them to the threat of communism. Spy films were used as a mechanism to create a successful image of Britain and its representatives in defeating the Soviet enemy. The agents manage to fight the enemy, and the success of the British series becomes a trend to follow not only in Europe, but also in the USA. The sub-chapter with the British film industry again links Britain with the US. The Cinematography Acts of 1927, 1938, 1957 and 1960 set out the legal framework for interaction between the two English-speaking countries. In historiography, there are disputes as to whether the "Eady" levy turned Great Britain into a Hollywood colony or whether it marked the beginning of the British invasion of the American box office<sup>101</sup>. The presented analysis of trends in British films leaves the feeling of inconsistency and cyclicality of the views of the filmmakers. In the 1960s, a successful formula was finally worked out for the production, broadcast and distribution of films united in the spy genre. The sub-chapter on spy films features "From Russia with Love", "The Ring of Spies", "Funeral in Berlin" and "Billion Dollar Brain".

The main conclusions of chapter two are the following statements:

- Great Britain is looking for its new role in the international confrontation between the superpowers USA and the USSR.
  - Cordial relations with the United States are the basis of the counteraction to Communism.
- The change in society was carried out along the lines of class-classlessness, which is propagated in its new strength and its unity in the struggle against Sovietism.
- Espionage scandals from the domestic sphere fueled the interest of the film industry, which made the genre the most commercial of the 1960s.
- The British anti-Soviet films rely on a documentary source for their creation in three of the cases, literary, and in the fourth, records of a court trial.
- The British film industry successfully promoted its lifestyle through the "Eady" levy while benefiting from American investments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Fenwick, James. Chapter 17. The Eady Levy, "The Envy of Most Other European Nations". Runaway Productions and the British Film Fund in the early 1960s, p. 192. – In: Hunter, I. Q., L. Porter, J. Smith (eds.). Op cit., p. 198.

The third chapter is built entirely on the basis of a comparison of the American and British anti-Soviet nuclear policy according to three indicators: government - society - cinema. First, state policy towards nuclear weapons is compared - the arms race is highlighted as a factor in the creation of thermonuclear weapons in the USA and Great Britain. The results of the tests with them, however, show the threat that the new technology brings to the population of the two English-speaking countries. As a result, non-governmental organizations were spontaneously formed, whose purpose was to focus public attention on the impact of the thermonuclear bomb. The National Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy began operating in the United States in 1957, when the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament emerged on the Island. Norman Cousin from "SANE" interacts with US politicians and influences their policy towards the USSR. The Campaign in Britain prefers to organize strikes, which have proved ineffective in influencing those in power. A common feature between the two NGOs is their influence on film content. The chapter analyzes four American and four British anti-Soviet film productions, respectably "Seven Days in May", "Fail-safe", "The Russians are Coming! The Russians are Coming!", "Ice Station "Zebra" verses "The Day Earth Caught Fire", "Dr. Strangelove: Or How I learnt to Stop Worrying and Loved the Bomb", "The Bedford Incident" and "War Game". According to production data and messages, the most successful propaganda formula is sought.

The main conclusions of the third chapter are the following:

- Through comparison, the similarities and differences in the government's approach to the use and development of nuclear weapons are established.
- The effects of thermonuclear tests provoked the spontaneous creation of non-governmental organizations "National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy" in the USA and "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" in Great Britain.
- American anti-Soviet film productions emphasize the stereotypical figures of the president, the military and the scientist in the fight against the Soviet enemy.
- British anti-Soviet films express concern about drawing a country into a conflict between the two superpowers.

The conclusion linked the presented film works with two approaches for evaluating their propaganda qualities. According to the first, the visual and textual implications of the film propaganda features are analyzed according to the presented in the introduction ideas by Jacques Ellul, the tandem of Jowett and O'Donnell, Walter Fisher, Sigmund Krakauer, Stephen Neill and James Chapman. Aspects such as character archetypes, inspiration from real persons, interpretation of real events, meaning of colors, angles and concepts are taken into consideration. In all movies, the confrontation between the superpowers, as well as the different wings of the advisers of the American president and the Soviet premier, are inevitably presented with primary weight. Differences can be presented in the British films, where HM government's policies as subservient to the Western Bloc.

The second approach is quantitative and relies on statistics to evaluate the box office success of American and British films when they were released in cinemas for the first time. In the analysis of a summary table with the films' names, their date of release in cinemas, the production company, the genre and the income from the net profits, economic justifications are sought for the most popular among the examined films. A disadvantage of this method of evaluating the propaganda impact is the indirect (for example, for "Fail-safe" and "The Bedford Incident") or completely missing data ("Escape from East Berlin" and "Escape to Berlin") on the box office success. The case of "War Game" is specific, since its screenings can only be attended by the invited journalists and members of the public, excluding the possibility of the ordinary viewer being propagandized directly through the film. By combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, conclusions can be drawn about the success of the film, its advertising campaign and its relation to political goals.

Comparison tables are included in the appendices. The synopses serve to summarize and visualize the production data of the US and UK films, as well as a brief look at their plot.

#### **III. Dissertation Contributions**

• Brings to the attention of the academic community a topic about cinema propaganda unknown to Bulgarian historiography. Through it, the available knowledge about the ideological opposition in the period of the Cold War is supplemented.

- Presents new documents and scientific studies to researchers in the country. Introduces the use of films as a source base for the events of the 1960s.
- An attempt is made to answer the discussion question of how a propaganda is defined as successful one, especially in the context of the Berlin crisis and the possible atomic war, without causing the outbreak of a direct clash between the superpowers USA and the Soviet Union.

#### IV. Publications on the topic of the dissertation

- 1. Vlastanova, Magdalena. Atomic Power in American Anti-Communist Films of the 1960s. "Tereni". Student and doctoral readings April/ November 2022/2023, no. 9, pp. 143-153.
- 2. Vlastanova, Magdalena. James Bond the warrior of the Cold War. In: "Anamnesis", Vol. XVI, 2021, vol. 7, pp. 114-130.
- 3. Vlastanova, Magdalena, How is a film made after the investigation by the Commission for the Investigation of Anti-American Activities? In: Miteva, Boryana (ed.) Civil activism and human rights in the field of modern history. Sofia: University Publishing House "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2024, pp. 166-175.
- 4. Vlastanova, Magdalena. Manipulator or moralizer The Production Code and its role in the American film industry (1920s 1960s). In: Stanev. Vladimir, Svetoslav Zhivkov (ed.) Kyustendil readings 2022. Collection in memory of Prof. Dr. Todor Popnedelev, Sofia: University Publishing House "St. Kliment Ohridski", 2023, pp. 150-161.
- 5. Vlastanova, Magdalena. Peaceful coexistence through the eyes of the Western film industry in the 1960s. (in print)
- 6. Vlastanova, Magdalena. Science Fiction and Social Change in Britain. ("The Village of the Damned" and "The Day the Earth Caught Fire"). In: Petrov, Dimitar, Hristo Berov (eds.) Collection of reports from the scientific conference "Revolutions and evolutions political, economic, technological, cultural and social dimensions of "progress". Pleven: RIM Pleven, 2023, pp. 347-364.

- 7. Vlastanova, Magdalena. A comparison of American and British perceptions of communist subversion and the response to democracy in the films "The Manchurian candidate" and "Dr. Strangelove or: How I learned to stop worrying and love the bomb. ", 2023, pp. 290-305.
- 8. Vlastanova, Magdalena. The Portland Spy Network Dimensions of Nationalism. In: Hrisimov, Nikolay, Georgiev, Nikolay (ed.) March student readings. Volume 8. Collection of materials from the Eleventh Student Scientific Conference at VTU "St. St. Cyril and Methodius". Veliko Tarnovo: University Publishing House "St. St. Cyril and Methodius", 2022, pp. 390-401.
- 9. Vlastanova, Magdalena. Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying a Communism as a real or imagined threat to the USA in the 1960s. "Anamnesis", year XV, 2020, vol. 4, pp. 28-43.
- 10. Vlastanova, Magdalena. The green berets The Hollywood reading of the Vietnam War. In: Proceedings of a scientific conference "Crises as catharsis political, social and cultural dimensions of extreme situations in history". Petrov, Dimitar, Hristo Berov (editors) Pleven: RIM Pleven, 2022, pp. 321-331.
- 11. Vlastanova, Magdalena. East-West Confrontation During the Cold War Interpreted in the Comedy "One, two, three". In: Yuriy Latish (ed.) Public History. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference. Kyiv: Kyiv National University of Taras Shevchenko, 2022, pp. 236-239.