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THE IMAGE OF THE GERMAN OCCUPANT IN THE SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET CINEMA ON THE WORLD WAR II: THREE FILMIC REPRESENTATIONS

Summary: The aim of my paper is analyses of the evolution of the image of the “German occupant” in three representative Soviet and post-Soviet movies on the Great Patriotic war in the context of the post-war trauma studies. My intention is to make a comparative analyses of the images of the Nazi occupation and the German invaders in the Soviet and post-Soviet films. It was concluded that images of the “German occupant” evolved from impersonal and faceless “total Evil” in the Soviet cinema to more complicated and controversial subjectivity. There is analyzed the evolution of the Soviet and post-Soviet trauma of the German occupation at the Soviet survivals and their children and grandchildren.

The World War II take the significant place in both Soviet and post-Soviet public memory, cultural mythologies and art. If to be more precise the Soviet society during many years used the term “the Great Patriotic War” which referred to the war of the Soviet peoples against the German invasion of the 1941-1945, and much Soviet art production was devoted mainly to this part of the World War II. If to be more precise the Soviet society during many years used the term “the Great Patriotic war” which referred to the war of the Soviet peoples against the German invasion, the “Soviet-German war” of the 1941-1945, and much Soviet art production was devoted mainly to this part of the World War II.

If analyze the resources of the post-war Soviet identity (1945-1991), that it is possible to say that the Great Patriotic war was the key source in forming the Soviet cultural identity and the Soviet unconsciousness: the foreign visitors noticed the cult of the Great Patriotic war for many years, even after collapse of the Soviet regime (Youngblood, 2001). The symbols and expressions of the Great Patriotic war times were used widely in the Soviet popular culture, in the self-identification of youth

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organizations, in both everyday expressions and the political rhetoric. In particular, many Soviet actors became the "stars" after performing the main part in a heroic drama or an action movie devoted to World War II. And many Soviet and Russian actors or directors were awarded by the governments of the former USSR or the modern Russian state after their dramatic roles, or filming a war drama about the Soviet armed struggle, or anti-Nazi underground resistance. Until present days many Russian musical bands create different (lyric or patriotic) songs devoted to the Great Patriotic War and become popular because of this. And many Soviet war movies had the "cult" character which was keeping and "renovated" in the post-Soviet popular culture.

Using national movies for analyses of some historical events in the reflections of the cultural memory and filmic unconsciousness is a spreading approach now. The work by C. Metz (Metz, 1990), Y. Lotman (Lotman, 1973), S. Kracauer (Kracauer, 1947) stated the methodological basis for such researches. Despite the fact that the movie about the Great Patriotic war in the Soviet Union had a "cult character" and the films devoted to that war were actively supported by the Soviet state, the analytical, structural or semiotic studies on the poetics, characters, or symbolical evolution of the Soviet films about the war was almost absent. The majority of the articles about the Soviet war films represented the short reviews of the most popular war movies. Some Soviet works on the war films had describing character (Зак, 1978). To my mind, this tendency can be explained not the lack of interest to that issue in the Soviet scholarly and mass audience, but, in my opinion, the reason was a lack of the methodological apparatus for the Film studies in the Soviet 1950-1970s. The textbooks devoted to the history of the Soviet cinema, which were published after the 1990s, presented some short overlook of the Soviet war films (Арафонова, 2005; Фрейлих, 2013).

The Western Film scholars also paid a very little attention to the Soviet war cinema. The first studies of the Soviet war cinema as a part of the Soviet war popular culture were published by Western scholars in 1990s, mostly historians in Soviet and Russian studies (Stites, 1995: 1-8) and the scholars in Slavic literature and culture studies (Kenez, 1995: 157-175). After the 2000s and rethinking of the Cold War ideology, the Western researchers paid much more attention to the genre of the Soviet war movie (Hicks, 2012) and Soviet literature (Ellis, 2011) about the war, and the first fundamental monograph on the Soviet war films was published by American scholar Denise J. Youngblood (Youngblood, 2007). The Soviet cinema of the war in the context of the Russian political and social history were considered by researcher Birgit Beumers (Beumers, 2009). The specifics of the Soviet "war film" and its reflections in the German audience were analyzed in the monograph by the German scholar Lars Karl (Карл, 2011). Some Western scholars considered the Soviet war films in the context of the history of Stalinism (Haynes, 2003), or motives of melodrama in the war films (Prokhorov, 2002), or motives of love in the Soviet movies (Познер, 2014). However, the Soviet war films mostly were not analyzed as the emotional "document" of the Soviet war trauma and the opportunities to rehabilitate the traumatic experience of the nation.

It is obviously, that the model of any war or genocide presents through three main functions (Totten, Parsons, Charny, 2004): invaders and occupants (German officers, Fascists, Nazis), victims (suffering people, peaceful population on the occupied territories, especially, children, women, unarmed wounded soldiers, other vulnerable groups), and defenders and liberators of the Soviet people, who were presented in the filmic images of Soviet army or Soviet partisans. The Soviet people was the main focus of both Soviet filmmakers' and Soviet scholarly attention in the studies of the Soviet war films: films were analyzed from viewpoint of the Nazi victims and the Soviet fighters against Germans and liberators of the Europe. Typically the image of Germans in the Soviet cinema was not studied during the Soviet time, and even in the early post-Soviet years. That is why my research goal is to fill the existing gap in that studies and to analyze the representations of the Germans in the Soviet and the post-Soviet cinema devoted to the Great Patriotic War, and to explore the evolution in the representations of the Germans in different periods of the Soviet and post-Soviet as the constructions of the memory about the war in the public consciousness. I believe such research is extremely important not only for understanding of the Soviet cinema development and its post-Soviet transformation, but also to understand the memory of the war in the Soviet and post-Soviet society, and the rehabilitation of the war trauma in the Soviet and post-Soviet mass consciousness.

I will focus on the three famous films which are emblematic for the Soviet war films, or very controversial for the post-Soviet Russian war cinema. They are: "The Rainbow" (*Raduga*, Kiev-Ashkhabad, 1943), "And the Dawns Are Quiet Here" (*A zori zdes' tikhie*, USSR, 1972) and "Franz + Polina" (*Franz plus Polina*, Russia, Belarus, 2006). That films were extremely popular in their time of production and in the next generations and therefore they can be considered as the representative for the Russian "war trauma" understanding. Of course, the Soviet and post-Soviet war movie is not limited of that three cases, but my choice of that films is stipulated by the fact that they reflected the mass moods of the certain chronological and cultural periods, they were highly appreciated not only in the mass audience but they also received a large number of the special cinematographic prizes at the National and International festivals, and they have undoubted artistic merit.

It is known that the German occupation of the Soviet territory was extremely brutal in comparison with the Western European countries, and the relation of the Nazis to the Slavs, especially Soviet Slavs – Ukrainians, Russian, Belarusians, – was due to the racist ideology where Slavs were understood how racially inferior, "sub-humans" (Berkhoff, 2004). The Soviet people whose survived the German occupation, the Nazi concentration camps or German captivity, could not or did not want to tell about their tragic experience in public during many years. For many Soviet families the memory about the war continues to be painful not only in the generation of those who survived the war and occupation, but often for their children and even grandchildren as well, if to use Marianne Hirsch's concept "post-memory" (Hirsch, 2012) and extrapolate it to the Soviet traumatic memory about the war. Hirsh uses the concept of postmemory towards the Holocaust generation and to the so-called second generation, which means that the children of survivors. In Hirsch's theory

the family memories, artifacts and photos saved and transmitted the memory about the trauma from the generation of survived to their children. I extrapolated the Hirsch's ideas in the space of the Soviet and post-Soviet collective memory, and consider the Soviet literature and cinema as the "mediums" that create and fixed the visual and emotional memories of the Soviet survivals of the German occupation about the war violence. The cinema that was shot during the war and in the first years after the war transmit the knowledge of the survived Soviet people for next generations. I mean, that many Soviet films shot in the war period, were very accurately in presenting the details of the German occupation, and the seventy years later, these films are interesting because they were filmed in the actual period of the occupation and the knowledge of the life "under the Germans" were everywhere. That is why it is important and interesting to analyze how the image of the Germans and "German occupant" transformed in the Soviet cinema, in the context of the historical memory and reconciliation.

The first images of the Germans were presented in the Soviet movies filmed just after the German invasion Soviet Union (June 1941). The significant part of the Soviet cinema production during the war was the documentary and anti-Nazi propaganda, and Germans were depicted there from the camera perspective of the Soviet war correspondents and operators, that is, there were presented the images of the German invaders mostly on the "long-range plans".

The first Soviet feature films devoted to the war and German occupation were by nature of the collection of the short stories about the war and was titled in Russian *kinosbornik*. That *kinosborniks* (collection of battle films) used the fragments of the famous pre-war Soviet films, and transformed them in accordance with the war-time tasks of awakening of courage and patriotism among the masses. However, it was normal situation for all war-bent countries: for example, before American engagement in the war and the Pearl Harbor case, American president F.D. Roosevelt put personal pressure on the American studios to force them indirectly to participate in the anti-Nazi propaganda and morale-boosting necessary to get the United States behind to fight (Koppes, Black, 1987).

The first *kinosbornik* was produced in the beginning of the war. The Germans in the Soviet *kinosborniks* were represented as troops of angular armed men in military uniforms, who moved in rigid, wooden manner and spoke a hard rough steep barking incomprehensible language. As a rule the Germans in the Soviet cinema of the wartime were presented as the arrogant swaggering conquerors who looked at the Slavs, especially village dwellers, contemptuously and haughty, as if to emphasize their racial superiority. Germans in that film stories shot Soviet women in front of their children and elders in front of the grandchildren and that episodes were largely adequate to the war realities of the German occupation of the Soviet territories. And as contemporary scholars has written that if to compare the Nazi occupation in Holland or France to the German occupation in the Ukraine, one would see that the Nazi attitude toward ordinary Ukrainians was as atrocious as their attitude toward Jews: Nazis viewed the Slavs as useless *sub-humans*, and accordingly they were to be exterminated, in the Soviet territories the Gestapo used a system of hostages, shooting chance individuals in a crowd (Berkhoff, 2004: 49-50). Thus, the

images of the Nazi occupation created in the Soviet war and even post-war films, were not exclusively results of the director's imagination or Soviet propagandist hyperbola, but it was an artistic and emotional attempt to depict already discovering information about the Nazi racial policies against Slavic people in the Soviet occupied territory.

The symbolic solution of the violent conflict between Nazi invaders and the Soviet people, especially, ordinary peasants in the small villages was presented in the Soviet kinosborniks and early war films in some fabulous manner: the unarmed Soviet women, using the Slavic finesse, desperate to attack the German troop with shovels and defeat them (a part from the battle kinosbornik # 4, issued in August of 1941). Although impossibility of such solution of the war conflict and occupation is obviously for a contemporary viewer and it seemed naive, but the symbolism of this situation was to institute in a broad mass consciousness the idea that victory over the German army is possible. And even more – that the Soviet war movies were directed by talented directors, starring famous Soviet actors of the pre-war years, and their play was so authentic and emotional, that those movies narration was not allowed to the audience to be doubted in the trustworthiness of the presented cinema situation.

One of the most famous and significant Soviet films about the war and the German occupation was shot in 1943, in the first months after the liberation of Ukraine, when all details of life "under the Germans" were painfully fresh in the memory of the survived Soviet people. American scholar B. Beumers analyzing the movie "The Rainbow" notes that this movie "is permeated with religious imagery that underlines the theme of sacrifice" (Beumers, 2009: 102); my point of view is that a contemporary post-Soviet audience can perceive that film at two levels: historical and psychological. If we watch that movie on the historical level (how it was presented directly, for the Soviet audience of 1943 year and the next war years), the film had obvious ideological tasks: 1) strengthening of the Soviet values; 2) the patriotic raise among the Soviet people survived German occupation.

On the other hand, if we watch "The Rainbow" from a position of the contemporary viewer of the post-war generation, people who are grandchildren (the third generation) of the survivals of the German occupation on the Soviet lands, "The Rainbow" depicted the horrible life of Ukrainian peasants in a small village under the German occupation of 1941-1943: shootings of the Ukrainian locals, including women, children, and hostages; tortures of pregnant woman and murder of her newborn baby; pillage of the Ukrainians by the German officers; executions of the Soviet prisoners of war; total starving in the Ukrainian village and the status of the Ukrainian habitants as the German slaves or cattle.

The main characters in the film are Ukrainian women in a village and the most important conflict takes place on two levels: the first one is in opposition between the Ukrainian dwellers of the village against the German invaders, and the other one it is between the Ukrainians themselves towards of their attitude towards the Germans and the German occupation. The cinema narration presented two sisters, and one sister went to the Red partisan troops to struggle against the German

aggressors but other sister has betrayed her soldier-husband and tried to survive to become a lover of a German commandant. All village community despises that woman who goes to the "sexual collaboration" with the German, and the condemnation of the woman whose came into contact with the enemy is one of the important parts of the plot.

Several fragments of the film were devoted to the cruelty of Germans towards the Soviet prisoners of war who wounded and sick forced to go barefoot in the snow to a concentration camp, because the Nazis seized the Soviet soldiers' boots. And it was not the cinema metaphor: as American scholar A. Jones wrote, "...the biggest German crime was undoubtedly the extermination by hunger, exposure and in other ways of Russian war prisoners...and the murder of at least 3,3 million Soviet POWs is one of the least-known of modern genocides...It was one of the most intensive genocide of all times" (Jones, 2006: 175). After the war, many Soviet soldiers returned to home disabled without arms or legs, or blinded.

Some episodes of the film show executions of the hungry children, whose were shot by the Germans simply because Germans felt a possibility to do everything what they wanted with the Soviet locals without any punishment. The Germans in the Soviet war movie embodied not only "absolute ontological evil", but also a "moral filth", as expression of the anti-Christian values: the rejection of mercy, cruelty, inhumanity. I propose that a director of the film Mark Donskoy shows that Soviet peasants remain silent during all their communication with the Germans because of two reasons: firstly, the village habitants keep silence during their tortures by Germans in order not to give the partisans. But in some situations the peasants whist because they simply refuse to communicate with Germans as with the world of the "moral filth" and they do not want to allow German immorality to penetrate their world of spiritual purity.

I have two observations which connect with indirect, psychological content of that movie: the camera shows the silent peasants and their looks at Germans, the looks were full of so strong hate that evoked the fear of the cinema Germans. If we follow the theory of Christian Metz (Метц, 2010), that any viewer identify him/herself with the direction of the camera, it means that the director of the film "The Rainbow" stimulated the Soviet spectators through the eyes of the peasants simulated the hatred directed against the German invaders. And the hatred look in that film was presented as only a weapon of unarmed the Soviet peasants during the German occupation. That hatred look was presented as the extremely strong opposition of Soviet victims against Germans, and the indirect task of that look at the film should to stimulate the collective hatred against the German invaders in the Soviet (or in the Allies countries) audience during the war. The poetics of the movie was very close to the emotions of the famous poem "Kill Fascist!" by the prominent Soviet poet Konstantin Simonov in 1942. That poetry contained a very direct, emotional and aggressive call to kill the Germans, because they gave death to everything that had a sacred meaning to all Russians, Slavs, and the Soviet people. And we need to note that the Germans were depersonalized in that movie, Germans were depicted only as just the symbols of German violence, not as individuals.

My other observation connects some visual metaphors in that movie and the contemporary theory of genocide which puts the main attention in two figures: to “Victims” and “Perpetrators” of violence (Totten, Parsons, Charny, 2004). In the situation of the German occupation and German violence against Slavic people, director of movie Mark Donskoy had introduced a new figure – “Witnesses” of violence. The camera repeatedly shows how village inhabitants watching the Nazi atrocities under pregnant Ukrainian woman or Soviet POWs through their own windows; through the trees; through various hiding places. The film shows that the locals watching the violence of the Germans over their victims tends to hide their presence because of the fear of unexpected way take the place of one of the victims; but at the same time they wanted to fix the image of the Nazi crimes in the eyes and in their mind. And thus the current audience through the eyes of locals, become as would the witness the Nazi crimes as well, and thus the film from the category of the symbolic reality as it was transferred to the “documentary evidence” of the German occupation. The Germans were picturing as so atrocious aggressors that Soviet soldier's hating against German invaders was justified.

Despite of some melodramatic and pathetic style, the play of actors was so talented and the emotional force was so strong that the film is interesting for viewing until now. Melodrama as a whole is becoming the most popular genre of the war period in the Soviet Union because it gave the opportunity the Soviet directors to present “a sadistic treatment” of the German protagonist (Prokhorov, 2002: 211) towards the Soviet people in their movies, especially, towards powerless members of community, women and children. “The Rainbow” (1943) got many foreign prizes during the war time, especially, the main prize of the American film critics associations, and the highest premium of the American newspaper «Daily News» in a category «For the best foreign film in the American distribution in 1944”, and also a prize of the National Board of the American Film Critics.

Other representative and “cult” Soviet film devoted to the Soviet struggle against the German aggressors during the Great Patriotic War, was “And the Dawns are Quiet Here” (1972), and I selected it because women played the main fighters against German Nazis, as well as in the previous film. As American scholar D. Youngblood writes, in the 1970s the “war cult reached its apogee at this time” (Youngblood, 2007: 165), and many important Soviet directors returned to the topic of the Great Patriotic war. The film “And the Dawns are Quiet Here” was one of the most successful Soviet movies of the 1973, it was viewed by audience more than 66 millions. The film has got many different prizes: the First prize was from the Film Festival in Alma-Ata (1973), the Memorial Prize at the Venice International Film Festival (1972), a nomination for “Oscar” (1973) in the category “Best Foreign Language Film”; the Lenin Komsomol Prize in 1974, and the other ones. Two remakes of that movie was shooting in Russia (2015) and even China (2005). In the 2002 Russian sociological company has published a review which discovered that majority of the contemporary Russians considers this movie as the most popular and representative cinema about the Great Patriotic war.

A very dramatic movie “And the Dawns Are Quiet Here” (1972) directed by Soviet war veteran Stanislav Rostozky on the base of a novel of other war veteran

Boris Vasiljev. It was a story about a troop of the young girls who came to defend North of Russia against the German saboteurs as the “fresh forces”. It was the hard 1942, the time of the heavy Soviet losses in the battles and the female volunteers were sent to a sergeant Vas’kov as the small “fresh forces” to defend the North coastline. Many of these girls only have finished school, one woman had a small child. Each of them dreamed about love. But everybody full of resoluteness to fight with German invaders and to overcome the Nazis.

The movie plot developed in Kareliya. The Soviet guard group of five untrained girls and the elderly sergeant expected for two German saboteurs however suddenly they have known that German troop includes sixteen Germans and their struggle against the German saboteurs became unequal. The girls perish one for another, in spite of the sergeant Vas’kov tries to protect them as far as it is possible. The first girl perishes because of her inexperience, the second sunk in a bog, the third provokes the German attention and causes fire on herself. As the result only sergeant Vas’kov stayed alive. The wounded and almost unarmed, he takes in captivity the rest of the German saboteurs and scouts. This story of five girls was shot as interweaving of the lyric and patriotic narratives, the humor situations and a tragic line were mixed in the film. And it was the first film which has been presented the women’s look at the war and the women’s reasons to go to fight and to sacrifice herself. These women were not fanatic Communists and they did not plan to be the heroines, however, facing the extreme situation they make their choice to fulfill their patriotic duty. Director Rostozky depicted very human images of girls-soldiers (brave and frightened, innocent and sexually experienced) to accent then inhumanity of the war.

The other novelty was that director showed the naked women’s bodies in the bath-house. The showing of a naked body was unofficially prohibited at the Soviet “Puritanism” screen of 1950-1970s. However the director of this picture Stanislav Rostozky pursued the certain art purposes, he explained that he wanted to show the beauty of the women’s bodies which have to flourish and deliver but they will be shoot down in several minutes. This movie “discovered” the Soviet women’s sexuality on the war material, that although the women perished, they were not “victims”. I can conclude that the movie presented the routine of the war, necessitate heroism in the extreme situation without ideological base and without any gender differences.

That movie amazed the Soviet viewers of the 1970-1980s because of several reasons: the women were the main characters and real heroines of the war movie; the women of different ethnic (Russian, Jewish, Ukrainian) and social (urban and rural educated and simple) origin came into the army as voluntaries, and they sacrificed their lives, their beautiful bodies and maternity for future generations; these young fighting women were shown not only as strong women or asexual “Comrades” of men, but as the sexy and bright individuality. The director of the film Rostozky individualized the life and death of every Soviet women, with different national and social fate, they were not a part of the “collective body”, and the strong heroic gesture, even own sacrifice were chosen by them consciously.

If the death of every girl in the film was deeply individualized, tragic and was showed in an extremely poignant and naturalistic manner, the "German invaders" in that movies were depicted without any personalization, and their killing was presented as the unpleasant but necessary act of the liberation of the native lands from the foreign invaders. "Faceless" of Germans (or any other enemies) is typical for early Soviet movies and had symbolical meaning: in particular, A. K. Pisiotis points out that depicting of German foe only from the knees up to neck only should symbolize the impersonal destruction of Soviets (Pisiotis, 1995: 151-155). And demonization of Germans in the Soviet popular culture on the war is comparable with demonization of Japanese in the American cinematography.

Germans in the early Soviet movies do not have fate, family, they act like machines, they have no pity for the Soviet women, and because they are human only in appearance, but have no soul, the Soviet and the German worlds are absolutely impermeable each for other in the cinema. The difference between the first and the second films is that if the first film ends with the liberation of the village by the Red Army and the declaration of hatred for the invaders, the finale of the second film is much more melancholically. The sergeant comes on the grave of one of the perished girls, along with her son, whose was adopted by Vas'kov.

Using family and women's images in the "war melodrama" in the Soviet cinema, as some contemporary scholars write, is typical: it naturalized the notion about the war as the ultimate ideological conflict between the family of "us", on the one hand, and the Germans, who were depicted as "them", as the anti-family (Prokhorov, 2002: 209). However I have two comments relatively this thesis: the first one is concerning on the using of the female bodies and images in the Soviet war movies: in fact, it was not only the metaphoric cinema approach to underline the anti-human and anti-family character of the war, but reflection of the Soviet war situation where number of the women in the Soviet armed forces and in the Red partisans exceeded one million; more than one thousand Soviet women were decorated by one or more military awards (Cottam, 1980: 115-118). The mass participation of the Soviet women in the struggle against the Nazis was not a propaganda device, and the Soviet women were not only victims of the German occupation, but also the fighters, and the images of such women have been reflected in many Soviet films and novels; some women who have passed the front or partisan resistance wrote about their experience in own poems, stories, memoirs (as, for example, the Soviet poet-war veteran Julia Droonina).

My other comment is concerning on the post-war memory about the war trauma, and I think that it was presented through the image of the transformed Soviet post-war family: it was presented at the end of movie as an incomplete postwar family, which was made as the father and his adopted son, without a mother. I suppose that such end emphasizes the strong trauma of the war at the generation of the postwar Soviet children who learned about the war through the stories of their relatives who were the war veterans or survivals of the German occupation. And a story about the young perished mothers killed by Germans was a significant and the tragic part of that war stories. The tragedy destroyed and transformed the postwar Soviet family and ruined youth was represented in many Soviet films of 1950-1960 (for

example, in "Fate of a Man" (1959), or "You are not an orphan" (1962), and the others)

The new understanding of the Great Patriotic War started after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The poetics and conflicts of the post-Soviet war films was changing, there were opening the new topics and characters, and the image of the Germans became more various from the mid 1980s, but the real break through comes in 2000s. There occurred the image of the "German intellectual" in the Soviet spy genres ("The Board and Sword" (1969), "The Hunting for Unicorn" (1989), "The Seventeen Moments of Spring" (1973).

The changes and pluralisation of the post-Soviet self-identity resulted in changes of an image of "enemy" constructions. In the late Soviet and post-Soviet films there are increasingly appeared the images of a "honest Germans", who were presented as the representatives of anti-fascist views and suffered from the Nazis themselves, or who felt sympathy to suffering Slavs or a Soviet POWs by virtue of the personal humanism. Sometimes Germans in the late Soviet and post-Soviet "new Russian cinema" were depicted as the high-qualified professionals who had pre-war contacts with the Soviet engineers or scientists, and respected them. The most representative movies in this direction are: "Hunting for Unicorn" (1989), "The Penal Battalion" (2004), "The Troop of Kochubey" (2009), "The Bastards" (2006), "Franz + Polina" (2006).

I will concentrate on the movie "Franz + Polina" because this movie is a very controversial one for the Soviet and for the post-Soviet tradition as well. A plot of this movie is based on the novel "The Mute" of the prominent Byelorussian writer Ales' Adamovich who was a Soviet partisan during the World War II. Adamovich described a story which happened in Byelorussia during the German occupation, but the director of the movie "Franz + Polina" Michail Segal used only a part of the literary plot and he changed the end of the story.

This movie has received many different prizes: of the XVI Cottbus Film Festival (Germany, 2006), the XVI Camerimage Film Festival (Poland, 2006), the Grand Prix of the Film Festival of the war and patriotic movies in Russia (2007), and more than ten other awards at Byelorussian and Russian Film Festivals. Also the German actor Adrian Topol has been awarded two International prizes at Film festivals in Portugal and Shanghai for the part in the movie "Franz + Polina". In spite of such good critical reviews the film provoked hot debates in the Russian public space: some of spectators were convinced that the movie is an attempt to humanize Nazism (Ямбаева) and a "hidden" propaganda of it. The admirers of this film assert that Evil can not be absolute, and only acceptance of the whole truth about the war will let liberate the post-Soviet people from the trauma of the Soviet past.

The cinema plot is: German SS battalion placed in a small Byelorussian village, where were no Jews and Gypsies, only Byelorussian children, girls and elders. All Byelorussian men and boys from this village gone to the Red Army or joined to the Soviet partisans. The German headquarters wants to punish the resistant territories and to burn all locals in that village in the time X. But the Germans had an order to support peaceful relations with Slavic dwellers before the total

extermination of them. The first episodes of the film "Franz + Polina" show the sunny days in the village where German young officers play football with Byelorussian boys. The old German SS major, repairs an old cuckoo-clock in a Byelorussian peasant's house and says that "this clock will work for many years". But at the same time the officer knows that this village and all its inhabitants will be burnt down in 1-2 days because the village places in the "partisan zone" and all locals should be punished for sympathies to the Red partisans. (Such exterminations of Byelorussian villages were very spreading during the Nazi occupation, and more than 600 villages were destroyed and 3,500 of Byelorussian civilians of Slavic origin were burned alive in Byelorussia (Grenkevich, Glantz, 1999: 133–134).

The most unexpected and key plot of the movie is a passionate love of a young German lieutenant Franz and 16-year beautiful Byelorussian girl Polina. The situation looks as incredible, considering the Nazi racial policy towards the Slavs, but sometimes such things happened during the war. Perhaps, it would be a beautiful "love story" in a peaceful time but in the wartime the lieutenant received an order to kill Polina and her mother and all other habitants of the Byelorussian village. However, something unexpected happened in the time X: when the extermination of Byelorussians started, Franz shot his German commander, hid Polina and his mother in a basement, and stayed with them when his battalion was gone from that site of fire.

In fact, Franz by his act broke all connections with his compatriots, he violated a military oath, he transgressed Nazi racial rules and became a "marginal": Franz turned out a war criminal from the Nazi point of view and in the same time he continued to be "an enemy" from the Soviet point of view, he evolved an outcast for both belligerents. The young German as if has accepted a fate of the Byelorussian refugees, inhabitants of burning villages who hid in forest from SS. But he needed to keep his national origin in secret during his life inside Byelorussian refuges, because Byelorussian people's hate Germans and able to kill him if they guess who is Franz. And Polina explained to other refugees that Franz is her brother but he is *mute* and *deaf* that is why he can not understand the local speech. This situation is represented in the movie in a very realistic way because the role of Franz in the movie was played by a German actor Adrian Topol who in reality could speak neither Russian nor Byelorussian, and he communicated with the help of gestures and looks.

The director of the film Michail Segal pictures very contradictory war daily life: the severity among the Red partisans towards own members and the brutal executions inside; the helplessness and fear of the Soviet ordinary people in the face of both Nazi extermination and the Soviet repressions. Polina loves Franz but their relations make her a criminal as well: Polina's brothers and father are among the Red partisans, but she concealed a fighter of a hostile army. The movie shows that although all locals hate the Germans as an atrocious force, but majority of the refugees in forest sympathized Franz when they suddenly knew that he was a German who had killed other Germans and his commander to save the life of his beloved girl and he had shared their destiny of the refugee and a "double exile". The self-sacrifice and vulnerability of the young German at the same level with

Byelorussians make the central personage attractive and very human. In fact, it is the first post-Soviet cinema which transfers the audience's attention from the Soviet suffering or heroism to the German personality.

The touching story about a German officer who sacrificed his military duty, Fatherland and his future career for love with a Slavic woman and life in the poverty-stricken and inimical country is interesting because several of reasons. First of one, and on the obvious level it was narrated a story about the an unexpected image of the war and the "German invader" : the image of the German who became a rescuer of Slavs. The movie pictured the survival of the young couple at the background of the war horrors, and created an unexpected image of the "honest German" whose was never shown in the Soviet cinema early. On more existential, philosophical level it is possible to compare that wartime story with Romeo and Juliet's love, but which was happened in the apocalyptic world, where all human values were neglected.

On the third, more deep and religious-axiological level, the intrigue of the film is connected with both Christian love and expiation of the German guilt, and with idea of the Karmic retribution. The passionate and suffering Franz who shared the fate of the unfortunate Slavs at the occupied territories, as if symbolically and even physically tried to atone through personal suffering that pain which was inflicted to Slavs by the German occupants. In the final of the film Franz was nevertheless killed by a Byelorussian boy, in front of whose the Germans exterminated all his family. And that act made the German Franz as if in a category almost of a martyr of the war, same as other victims of Nazis (Catholic priests, pacifists, etc.), and makes a meaning of film very controversial and disputable.

It is important to note that the Nazi genocide towards Slavs was expressed during the war not only in an atrocious mass killing and torments', but also in the politics to prevent Slavic women's fertility: the promotion of the forced sterilization and abortions (Lower, 2005:110-112). That is why the love, sexual relations between German Franz and Slavic Polina look as especially dramatic in this (racial) context. On a symbolical level Polina's pregnancy and her expected child can be understood as a sign of the potential reconciliation between the German and the Slavic peoples (and worlds) after such extreme ordeals for both sides.

To sum up, I give several conclusions about the image of the German occupants evolution in the Soviet and the post-Soviet war cinema and politics of the post-war trauma in the East Slavic society which survived the cruelest German occupation during the war. The Germans in the early Soviet war cinema were presented as the faceless and impersonal power, spiritless and immoral Evil that ontologically opposite the Soviet world. The trauma of the German occupation for Soviet survived people was not only in their own wounds, pain and humiliation, but also the inevitable observation of the pain and humiliation of others, more vulnerable people and impossibility to help them (to children, POWs, pregnant women). The Soviet movies of that time depicted the German army as the artificial and non-spiritual force which was vanquished spirituality by the Soviet resistant people. The victory of the Soviet people in the war was stipulated by the moral will and spiritual superiority

of the Soviet men, women, children under the Nazi, the Soviet braveness, courage in the Highest Justice. The resolution of trauma in the movie "The Rainbow" going through the catharsis of liberation from the Nazis by the Red army, and the belief that the liberation from the Nazis able to heal the memories of the brutal war for survival and the trauma of the German occupation.

The image of the war in the Soviet consciousness was changing several decades after the war: on the one hand, the 1960-1980s was a period of the canonization of war depicting, conflicts, and style in the Soviet war cinema, the "eternal memory" about the heroes and victims of the war was cultivated in the official Soviet culture. On the other hand, the perceptions about the war and the occupation were transformed in the Soviet society. And although the war trauma has not become a subject of public and academic debates in the Soviet society yet, but it was reflected in the artistic images, especially in the Soviet literature and films: it was clear that after the decades of war and the occupation the trauma of the war was not moved beyond in the popular memory, but shifted to the memory of the generation of children of the war. And it was the trauma memory about the perished and lost mother (or a father). The image of the Germans continued to be still impersonal, and the worlds of Germans and Soviets were presented as the impenetrable opposite, but the memory of the war in the film "And the Dawns Are Quiet Here" gets a shade of melancholy, not acute pain, but constant feeling of uncorrectable loss.

The Great Patriotic War stays not only as a symbol of "past" for majority of the post-Soviet people: because a third of the Soviet country was occupied (all Ukraine, Byelorussia, and a part of European Russia), and majority of the Soviet men fought and perished (or survived) the war, the war kept a part of the family history for a substantial part of the post-war generations, the history of their grandfathers and grandmothers. But the post-Soviet Russian cinema concentrates on the searches of the "war truth" of the different victims of the war and establishes the understanding inside the contemporary society not through the hate to the "German occupants" but also through the acceptance of own contradictory past. The post-Soviet cinema pays more attention to psychology of the different Soviet people (various national, social, gender and religious groups) who experienced the pre-war Stalinist repressions however actively, brave and often resourcefully struggled against Nazis – not because loyalty to the state, but their love to their own family, to the "small motherland", or a personal responsibility for other people (post-Soviet Russian films "Ours" (2004), "Bastards" (2006), "The Troop of Kochubey" (2009), "The Apostle" (2008), "On razor's edge" (2014).

The attention of the post-Soviet cinema was moving from the "German" as the "main enemy" of the Soviet people during the war to other images of the "inner dangerous": the NKVD officers and the representatives of the Stalinist autocracy who were guilty for the repressions in the Red army and among the Soviet locals, and it is a new notion about the war. Also the cowards, the marauders and the deserters presented as a part of the "hostile Other" inside the Soviet community in face of the external enemy. In such a way the image of the "German enemy" disintegrated and included not only "German brutal occupant" but the different types of Germans. In the same time the image of the German in the movie can be presented not only as

“brutal” but as an “honest German”, or a “kind German”, as in the movie "Franz + Polina", or “The Troop of Kochubey”. In my opinion, the film "Franz + Polina" symbolizes a split memory about the war and the German occupation in the post-Soviet society. It is a symbol of the different ways of elaboration of the war trauma: the first, it is the forgiveness of the German guilty and their attempts to share the pain which was made by them to the Soviet people. Polina demonstrates in the film the Christian mercy – she rejects evil, but not a human, and her love allows to heal the mutual hatred. However, the film's finale suggests that the post-Soviet society in parallel with forgiveness and acceptance of the past, still contains pockets of unhealable pain that persisted in the third post-war generation: a boy Kazik, in front of whose the Germans destroyed all his family, killed the "good Germans," because any "Germans" is a personification of the pain itself, the German aggression, and the memory of which is unbearable for the survivors. Thus, the final film, symbolizes contradictory tendencies in the policies of the memory of the war in the post-Soviet society: the desire for reconciliation with its own past, on the one hand, and a waiver of such reconciliation, on the other one. And it reflects the unstable state of the post-Soviet identity, that moved from the homogeneity of the Soviet state into a state of heterogeneity, which leads to the formation of the dual image of the "German" and the Soviet people who survived the war.

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