

**“SEPTEMVRIICHE” NEWSPAPER
AS A VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF
THE STATE-PARTY-ART-CULTURE RELATIONS
IN BULGARIA 1946-1993**

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May 2002

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ABSTRACT

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This study lays in the general fields of “arts and politics” and “arts and state” relationships. These indisputably broad fields are restricted in this work by concentrating on a specific historical period (1946-1993), on a particular country (Bulgaria) and an actual event – the existence of “Septemvriiche” newspaper. In the first half of the work, the reader is introduced to the general historical and political circumstances and artistic events of the time. Consequently, the relations between the state and the party from one side and the sphere of art and culture from the other are shown by concentrating on the visual and textual appearance of “Septemvriiche” newspaper and the particular political and historical facts reflected on its pages.

Keywords: Art, Culture, Politics, State, Communism, Socialism, Socialist Realism, Illustration, Bulgaria.

ÖZET

BULGARİSTAN'DA 1946-1993 YILLARI ARASINDA DEVLET-PARTİ-SANAT-KÜLTÜR İLİŞKİLERİNİN GÖRSEL TEMSİLCİSİ OLARAK “SEPTEMVRIICHE” GAZETESİ

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Mayıs, 2002

Bu çalışma, genel olarak “sanat ve siyaset” ve “sanat ve devlet” ilişkilerini ele almaktadır. Bu çok genel konular, bu çalışmada, belirli bir tarihi dönemde (1946-1993) belirli bir ülkedeki (Bulgaristan) gerçek bir olay – “Septemvriiche” gazetesi – üzerinde yoğunlaşarak sınırlandırılmıştır. Çalışmanın ilk yarısında, okuyucuya dönemin genel tarihi ve siyasi şartları ve sanat olayları anlatılmaktadır. Daha sonra, “Septemvriiche” gazetesinin görsel ve metin yapısı ve sayfalarına yansıyan siyasi ve tarihi gerçekler üzerinde odaklanarak bir yanda devlet ve parti diğer yanda sanat ve kültür ortamı arasındaki ilişkiler anlatılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sanat, Kültür, Siyaset, Devlet, Komünizm, Sosyalizm, Sosyalist Gerçeklik, Örneklerle Anlatma, Bulgaristan

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1 INTRODUCTION

Umberto Eco in the essay “Eternal Fascism” shares his experience of reading an announcement for the fall of Mussolini’s regime in Italy: “The announcement marked the end of the dictatorship and the return of liberty: the freedom of speech, the freedom of political association. For the first time in my life, I was reading – my God – the words ‘liberty’ and ‘dictatorship.’ With the power of these new words I was reborn as a western, free individual.” (37)

I had an experience similar to Eco’s, but with different results. I could not realize the difference and the power of these words then, and I am not sure that I can now. This is one of the reasons why the general topics of ‘the influence of politics over art and culture’ and ‘state governance of art’ were interesting to me. I was hoping that the ‘dissection’ of the problem would contribute to my own search for identity.

Apart from this personal motive, there is another, more essential one. There are number of studies that analyze the relationships between the capital and the sphere of art. There are others that are attracted by the art-politics correlation. However, it seems that this problem is not well developed yet, particularly in its ‘influence of politics over art’ and ‘state-art intervention’ aspects.

In this study I will not attempt to solve the problem, however, my aim will be to show to a certain extent how this ‘influence’ might be executed in specific circumstances. Taking the case of the visual (and textual, as they are hardly separated) appearance of the only teenager’s newspaper in Bulgaria during its communist period (1944-1989), I will try to show one possible solution. The following years (until 1993) will be taken in account as well, as a possibility of distinction between the reflections of different political situations.

Chapter two will give a brief account of the Soviet Union condition at the time Bulgaria joins it politically. This will mediate our understanding of the initial cultural and ideological base from which the analysis will begin.

Chapter three will concentrate on the local political situation and its formal relations to the sphere of art and culture. Chapter four will give information on Socialist Realism as the method of artistic expression of the time.

The case study in chapter five is divided into three subchapters, for two reasons. The first is structural – in order to mediate the structured representation of the material. The second is semantic. There are two major events, April 1956, and the end of 1970s and the beginning of 1980s. The first marks the end of Stalin’s cult of personality. The second is remarkable with the appearance of Liudmila Zhivkova in the Bulgarian cultural scene.

All translations from Bulgarian in this work are mine, unless otherwise specified. The romanization of the Bulgarian and Russian names is done according to the

American National Standard System for the Romanization of Slavic Cyrillic
Characters.

2 END OF WORLD WAR TWO: BULGARIA IN RELATION TO RUSSIA

The end of World War II finds Bulgaria fighting on the Russian side (or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which it is by then). This fact appears to be a consequence of several different reasons. One of the major external factors is the pressure exercised over Bulgaria against its neutrality. At local level, this is the increasing growth of the pro-communist attitudes from one side and the traditional russophilia of the majority of the Bulgarians from the other. The first afterwar government consisted of only four (out of 16) communists but they held the key ministries of the Interior and Justice. From then on the communist party was to take full control over the country in the next five years. This initial advancement was to become a sustainable growth of the communist power – partly because of the remaining Red Army in Bulgaria after the end of the war, and because of the immediate interference at all government and party levels by attached Soviet advisors. Soon Bulgaria becomes a very close partner ('brother') of USSR, treated as a part of the union (it was recently revealed that there had been attempts to integrate the country officially into the Soviet Union).

Simultaneously with the political affiliation to the Soviets, Bulgaria undergoes cultural and moral transformation. The transition from open, European, 20th century culture to the hermetically closed Soviet community begins. For the next

41 years (until Gorbachev becomes General Secretary of the Party in 1985) Bulgaria will be an inseparable member of this community. What Bulgaria attaches itself to is a consequence of a more than a century long development of ideas and structures.

2.1 Russia: Political state

When Bulgaria joins ideologically Russia, there have already been 15 years of Joseph V. Stalin's rule. There is a story about him as follows:

“When Joseph Stalin was on his deathbed he called in two likely successors, to test which one of the two had a better knack for ruling the country. He ordered two birds to be brought in and presented one bird to each of the two candidates. The first one grabbed the bird, but was so afraid that the bird could free himself from his grip and fly away that he squeezed his hand very hard, and when he opened his palm, the bird was dead.

Seeing the disapproving look on Stalin's face and being afraid to repeat his rival's mistake, the second candidate loosened his grip so much that the bird freed himself and flew away.

Stalin looked at both of them scornfully. “Bring me a bird!” he ordered. They did. Stalin took the bird by its legs and slowly, one by one, he plucked all the feathers from the bird's little body. Then he opened his palm. The bird was laying there naked, shivering, helpless. Stalin looked at him, smiled gently and said, “You see... and he is even thankful for the human warmth coming out of my palm.”

True or not, this story is indicative of the nature of Stalin's rule. There has been a tendency produced of his paranoid whims that his 'enemies' as well as people close to him, political colleagues, secretaries, interpreters, and bodyguards were 'disappearing', arrested, executed or secretly murdered. From the mid-1930s, he sets about purging the Party leadership and armed forces in waves of show trials and mass-executions.

This period, until Stalin's death in 1953, is marked by the Stalinist cult of personality.

2.2 Russia: Art and Culture

In 1934, Stalin formally defines and introduces Social Realism as the official aesthetic of the Soviet Union, preceded by the abolition of independent art groups in 1932. This imposition marks a turning point towards the increasing control of art by the Soviet state.

2.2.1 The Beginning of the Century

In the presiding years, after the October Revolution, different communist art groups are encouraged to experiment. The debate goes around the problem of what kind of style is most suitable for communist art, and around more general questions such as the function of art in this new society. This period of

comparatively ‘free will’ gives birth to artist such as Kazimir Malevich, Vladimir Tatlin, Sergei Eisenstein, Aleksandr Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova and the Stenberg brothers, most of whom relate their names with the Constructivist movement.

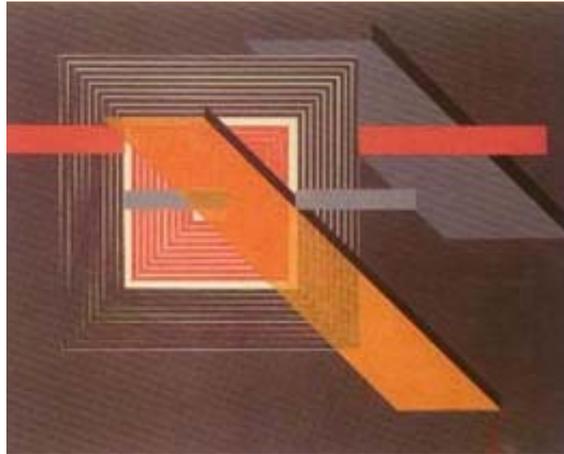


Figure 2.1

El Lissitzky
Proun
Collage, gouache, ink, graphite
50x60cm, Private Collection

In 1919 El Lissitzky begins to work on a series of abstract geometric paintings that he names “Proun,” an acronym for the Russian words translated as “Projects for the Affirmation of the New.” These paintings are a result of his aim in achieving a closer union of art and science and appear to be a major contribution to the Constructivist movement.

The spirit of the goals set ahead by the constructivists could be felt in Rodchenko’s set of slogans (see Appendix A). The Constructivist’s art aims at unification of art and utility – translating the ‘spirit’ of the machine age and the

new society into a practical visual form. The artists are called to stop creating idle aesthetic forms and begin producing useful objects; the artist is viewed as a worker, responsible for designing new products that could benefit the emerging Soviet state.

This *Model of the Monument to the Third International* by Vladimir Tatlin (Figure 2.2) as exhibited in Moscow in 1920, appears to be an incarnation of the communist ideal of that time. It reveals a highly centralized vision of both government and propaganda and shows the Constructivist's desire of highly developed technology. When built in the reality, it was supposed to be the tallest building in the world. It would include a radio station and the whole structure would serve the purposes of propaganda. "The agitation center," explains the idea Toby Clark, "would broadcast appeals and proclamations to the city. In the evenings the monument would become a giant outdoor cinema, showing newsreels on a screen hung from the building's wings and, in response to current events, appropriate slogans would be written across the skies from a projector station in letters of light. Manifestly impossible to realize at the time, the model acted as an icon for the future accomplishments of Soviet Modernization." (80) This project of Tatlin's has never been realized – because of financial and technological reasons in the 1920s and of ideological reasons later.

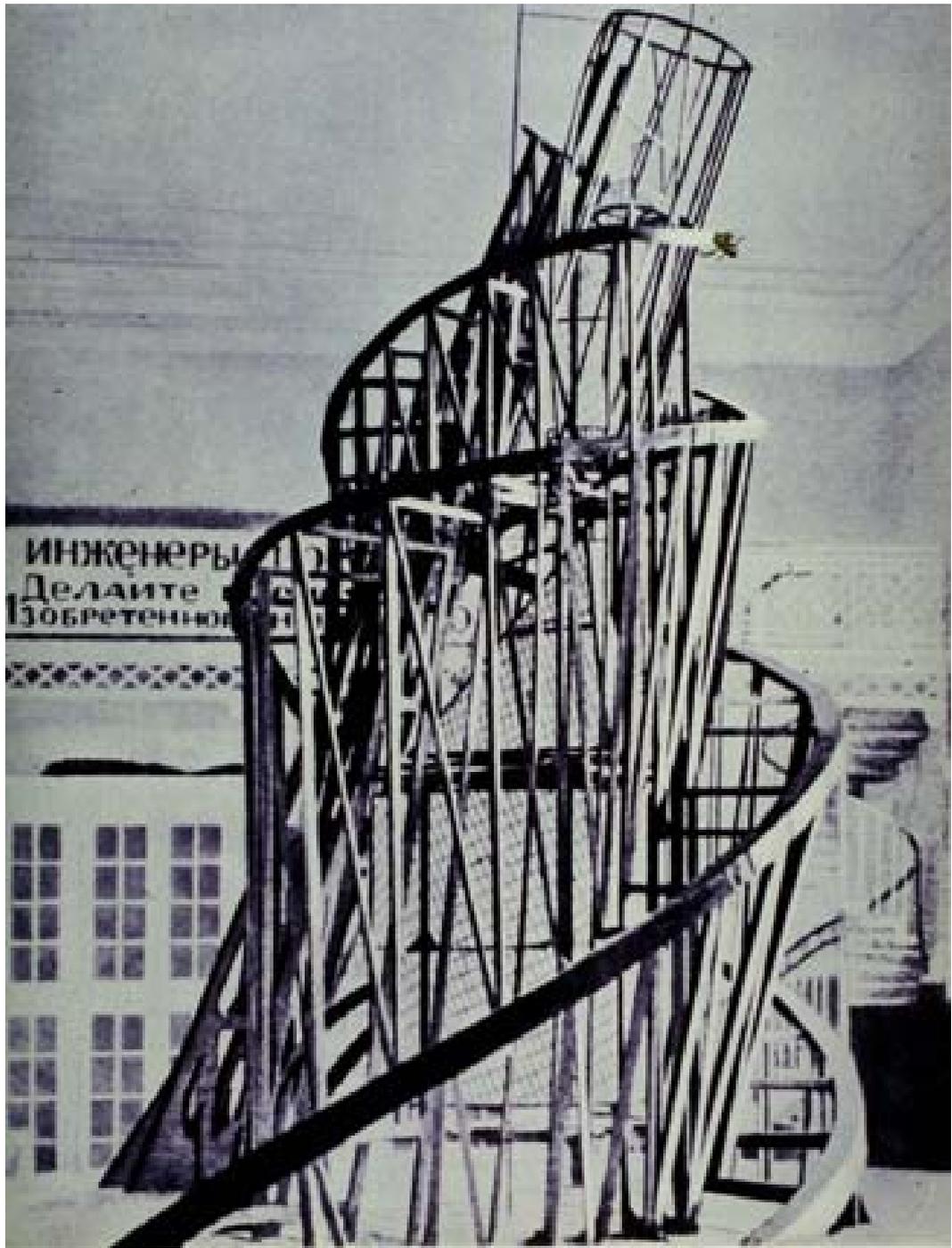


Figure 2.2

Vladimir Tatlin
Model of the Monument to the Third International
Moscow, 1920

2.2.2 The Period of Social Realism

The Constructivist's ideas are not in contradiction to those of Marxism-Leninism in most respects, but later it is found that Constructivism would not be able to carry out the functions of art as it viewed in that time. The new political powers needed a stronger propaganda tool than progressive art itself. In conditions in which more than 80% of the population is illiterate, Constructivism could probably offer a certain amount of well-designed utilities, but as a visual representation – with its abstract forms – remains incomprehensible. In that respect, a 'new' form of art capable of carrying out the predetermined message is required. With its 'easy to read' forms, Socialist Realism is considered appropriate for the 'new' art, the art of the masses.

When in 1934 Stalin imposes Socialist Realism as the official style of the Soviets, he justifies the doctrine on a “dubious interpretation of both Marxist theory and Russian cultural history” (Clark, 85).

Although there are many texts published on Socialist Realism – those of Bogdanov, Trotsky, and Lunacharsky for example – there is no unified and authoritative text on Party aesthetics and culture. Instead, there are anthologized excerpts from Marxist-Leninist classics and works by Party leaders. “These classics, like the sayings of the leaders, were open to various interpretations”, says Leonid Heller and gives an example with M. I. Kalinin, who says: “We must love our motherland along with all the new that is taking root now in the Soviet Union, and display it, the motherland, in all its beauty ... in a bright, artistically attractive

way”. Later he says: “Socialist Realism should depict reality, the living reality, unadorned.”(59)

In fact, the term ‘realism’ does not appear in any text by Marx (according to Stefan Morawski.) Nevertheless, the later interpretations of his works in the sphere of aesthetics put emphasize on the importance of ‘realist’ representation. However, we might accept this to a certain extent, having in mind Marx’s collaboration with Engels and that Engels has written on the topic to which there are no objections from Marx’s side. Most clearly it could be seen in Engels’s letter to Minna Kautsky commenting on her book *The Old and the New*, where the matter is elaborated in a much more delicate manner than it appears in later interpretations:

... I must set out to find something wrong, and here I come to Arnold. In truth, he is too faultless, and, if at last he perishes by falling from a mountain, one can reconcile this with poetic justice only by saying that he was too good for this world. It is always bad for an author to be infatuated with his hero, and it seems to me that in this case you have somewhat succumbed to this weakness.

... The root of this defect is indicated, by the way, in the novel itself. Evidently you felt the need in this book to declare publicly for your party, to bear witness before the whole world and show your convictions. Now you have done this; you have it behind you and have no need to do so again in this form. I am not at all an opponent of tendentious writing (Tendenzpoesie) as such.

... But I believe the tendency must spring forth from the situation and the action itself, without explicit attention to it; the writer is not obliged to offer to the reader the future historical solution of the social conflicts he depicts. Especially in our conditions, the novel primarily finds readers in bourgeois circles, circles not directly related to our own, and there the socialist tendentious novel can fully achieve its purpose, in my view, if, by

conscientiously describing the real mutual relations, it breaks down the conventionalized illusions dominating them, shatters the optimism of the bourgeois world, causes doubt about the eternal validity of the existing order, and this without directly offering a solution or even, under some circumstances, taking an ostensible partisan stand...

(Engels, from: Letter to Minna Kautsky, November 26, 1885. Marxs and Engels on Literature and Art, 113)

Another reason for this interpretation might be derived from the fact that Marx studies aesthetic phenomena in the context of socio-historical processes, i.e. art objects are not isolated phenomena, but are mutually dependent with other cultural activity of predominantly social, political, moral, religious or scientific character.

Broadly, as Stefan Morawski says: “Realism was explicitly addressed and explored as a dominant theme of Marx and Engels; this does not mean they left no ambiguities in their approach, as we have it documented. Nor can we regard realism as their ultimate priority of concern in the arts, or, for that matter, as virtually their sole contribution to aesthetic thought – as various authors want to maintain.” (31)

Thus, when later on in this work we encounter validations based on Marx’s theory, we might bear in mind the possibility of misinterpretation or even intentional misreading.

Historically, V. I. Lenin develops initially the ideological ground for the party governance of the art. According to him, this governance is not only possible, but

necessary. In his 1905 article “Party Organization and Party Literature”, Lenin underlines that in spite of its specificity “Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat, ‘a cog and a screw’ of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organized, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work.”(25-26)

Then in a resolution prepared in 1920 Lenin motivates the necessity of party guidance of the culture and art as “part of the tasks of the proletariat dictatorship.” In 1925, originating from this understanding, the Russian communist party accepts a resolution called “Of the party politics in the sphere of literature.” There we can find the statement that “the guidance in the sphere of literature with all its material and ideological resources belongs entirely to the working class” and this is the main guarantee for the successful execution of the “cultural revolution, which is a premise for the future development of the communist society.” (qtd. in Alexander Dunchev, 6) In this early resolution and other documents we find stated as a basic directions for the development in this sphere the ideologically-aesthetic influence over the writers, formation of the principles of the socialist realism, redirection to the main stream literature towards the present day and its hero. Appointed are the methods of work with the writers who belong to the party and those who do not, the roles and the methods of the critics, the attitudes to the different styles and forms of literature. (According to Alexandur Dunchev)

To the objections to the intrusion of the party in the cultural sphere Lenin answers like this: “Ladies and gentlemen bourgeois and individualists, we should tell you

that your words of absolute freedom are simply hypocritical...The independency of the bourgeois writer, painter, actress is simply concealed (or hypocritically disguised) in accordance to the money case, the inducement, the palimony.” Genuinely free is only the literature, which is “explicitly related to the proletariat” because it will serve “the millions of working people, who are the blossom of the country, its power, its future”, because “not the self-seeking and not the career, but the idea of socialism and the fellow-feeling to the working people will recruit new and new powers in its ranks.”(qtd. in Dunchev, 8-9)

Georgy Ryazhsky’s *The Collective-Farm Team-Leader* (Figure 2.3) is one of the many examples of the approved in the 1930s Social Realism. As already mentioned, the principles of Social Realism are drawn from the traditions of Russian Populist, Marxist and Leninist ideas, though the legislative authority which they acquire are strictly Stalinist. “The theory of Social Realism,” says Toby Clark, “insists that the power to identify and control the direction of this historic progression [the one that leads to the bright future], and therefore to determine the correct representation of reality, is the exclusive property of the Communist Party. To its theorists, the idea that Socialist Realism is old-fashioned in style is irrelevant, for it is founded on four universal principles: *narodnost* (literally people-ness; accessible to popular audiences and reflecting their concerns); *klasovost* (class-ness; expressing class interests); *ideinost* (using topics relating to current issues); and *partiinnost* (party-ness; faithful to the Party’s point of view).” (87)

As already mentioned, despite the four principles, there are numbers of different interpretations of the method. For example, from an anthology on the topic edited

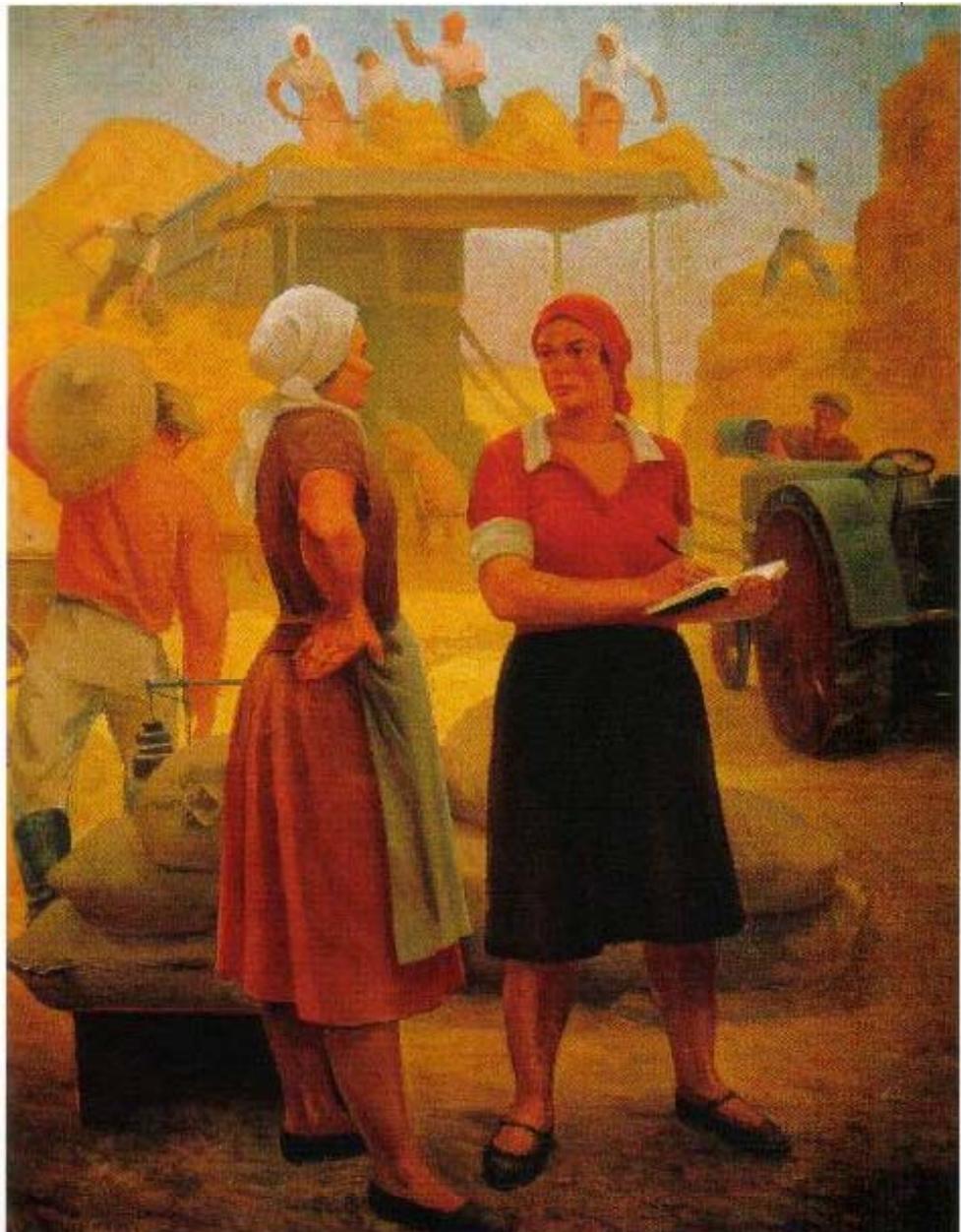


Figure 2.3

Georgy Ryazhsky
The Collective-Farm Team Leader
1932, Oil on Canvas, 170x130cm.
State Tretyakov Gallery

by Evgeny Dobrenko in 1990, Thomas Lahusen classifies the following ones: “a ‘school of historical optimism’ (Dmitry Urnov); a ‘path into the barracks’ (Vyacheslav Vozdvizhensky); a ‘religion in disguise’ (Alexander Gangnus); a ‘realism which penetrated the essence of life during socialism’ (Shamil Umarov); ‘real socialist realism’ in the ‘artistic reflection of the truthfulness of life of the socialist era’ (Victor Vanslov); a ‘Stalinist myth’ (Arseny Gulyga); a ‘purely ideological and political concept’ (Vladimir Gusev); a ‘scientific concept...that one should not attempt to get rid of’ (I. Volkov); the ‘history of a disease’ (Yury Borev); the ‘epics of the victorious Revolution’ and a ‘socialist ideal free of deformations’ (Svetlana Selivanova); and ‘planetarium humanism’ (Vsevolod Surganov).” (22)

Another creation of Stalin’s seems to be the monumentalism found in most artistic creations of that time. Again, according to Clark, “Lenin was opposed to the creation of his own personality cult, and seems to have had a genuine distaste for the elitism and individualism which it would imply.” (94). That is why most of Lenin’s depictions are created after his death and appear to be a way of justifying Stalin’s own status as his successor (see Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

As a conclusion we might say that at the time Bulgaria becomes attached to the Soviet ideology, it finds the state of arts in an already well developed stage of officially approved Social Realism. It does not mean that anything else outside of the confirmed style is illegal. Formally, the artists are free to create in whatever style and form they might wish – but these works are to be kept in private and never shown in public.

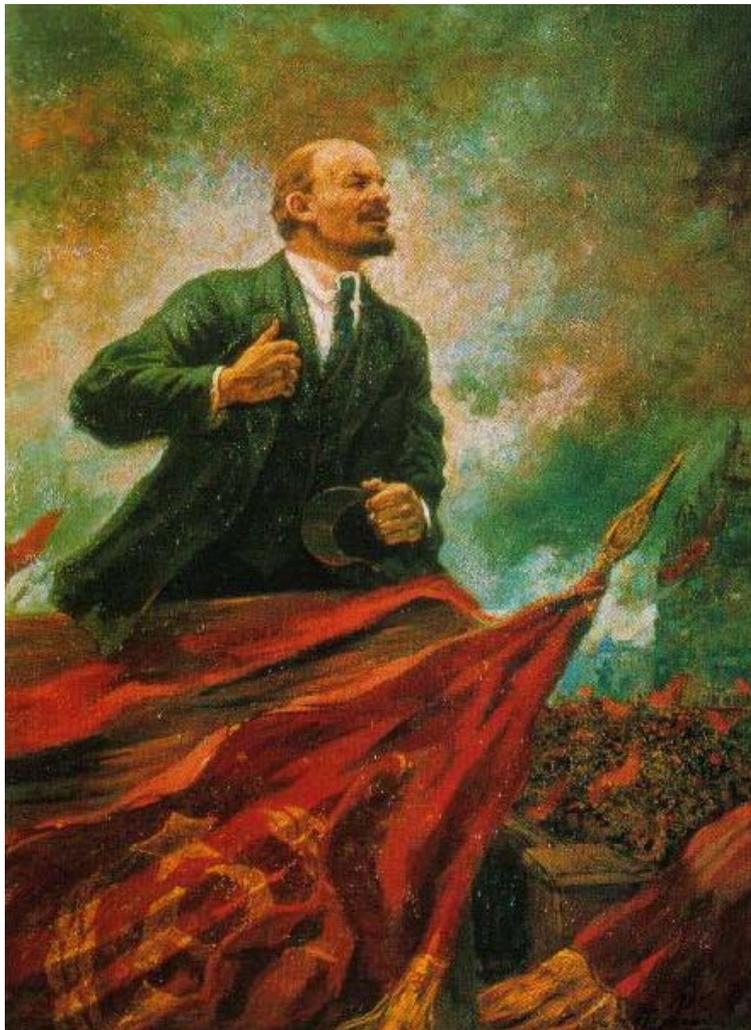


Figure 2.4

Alexander Gerasimov
Lenin on the Rostrum
1930, Oil on canvas,
228x173 cm,
Central Lenin Museum,



Figure 2.5

Alexander Gerasimov
Stalin in Red Square
1941-44
Oil on canvas, 279x184
Place unknown

3 BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN RELATION TO THE STATE AND THE SPHERE OF ART AND CULTURE

3.1 State/Party Relation

To avoid the confusion of the use of the terms ‘Party’, ‘party’, ‘state’, or ‘government’ in this text, an explanation at this stage is necessary. In fact, as we will see, all these terms are interchangeable to a great extent. This phenomenon is a consequence of the parallel structure of the party and the state.

The functions of the state are much more clear than those of the party as the state itself is based on a deep tradition; its task is to make possible the social life. More obscure are the tasks of the party as a duplicate of the state.

According to the doctrine, the party should “lead” the state. The party develops the general directions of the state politics and those of the government in particular. The party sees its goal as the building of socialism and communism. It determines itself as a driving force and an “engine” of the development on the road to this goal, and the state – as the most important “transmission” used by the party for the fulfillment of its ideals. It follows from this functional relation that the party appoints and controls the general task given to the state. In order to be able to execute this ruling over the state, the party creates a structure that duplicates and interacts with every level of the state government. For example, a dean of a given faculty reports the results from an exam session to his direct head-

the rector, but also to the local committee of the party under whose governance he is. Then he will receive a response and direction from both of them, where, if they are at the same level in the hierarchy, a priority is usually given to the representative of the party. This is executed at all levels of the state apparatus.

“The supreme body of the party,” says R. J. Crampton, “was its congress which convened usually every five years; the congress elected the central committee which met in plenum at irregular intervals, and which could make important policy decisions. Those decisions, however, were usually to implement those already taken by the party’s most powerful organism, the Politburo, whose dozen or so members were chosen by the Central Committee. Party control was exercised through a number of mechanisms. In all factories and other places of work and in government units at every level the local party cell, ‘the primary party organization’, played a vital role in the running of the economic enterprise or government unit. Each primary party organization kept two lists; one, the *nomenklatura* list, contained those posts in its area of responsibility which were important enough to be taken only by trustworthy individuals; the second, the cadre list, contained the names of trustworthy individuals; information on all individuals was kept up to date by the informers each primary party organisation recruited. The *nomenklatura* system ensured that anyone who wanted access to a decent job would keep his or her ‘political nose’ clean; this was the base of the party’s social power. For those within the party who carefully towed the party line there was the promise of rewarding jobs together with privileges such as access to better shops, holiday resorts, hospitals, schools and other facilities.” (190-192)

The precise rule that governs the relations between the state and the party is somewhat complicated and incomprehensible for the ‘unprejudiced’ observer. The party apparatus has an advantage to the state apparatus only in general. This relation is not valid for every randomly taken level of the systems. A visualization of this is the following scheme, based on the one developed by Asen Ignatov in his “Psychology of the Communism”:

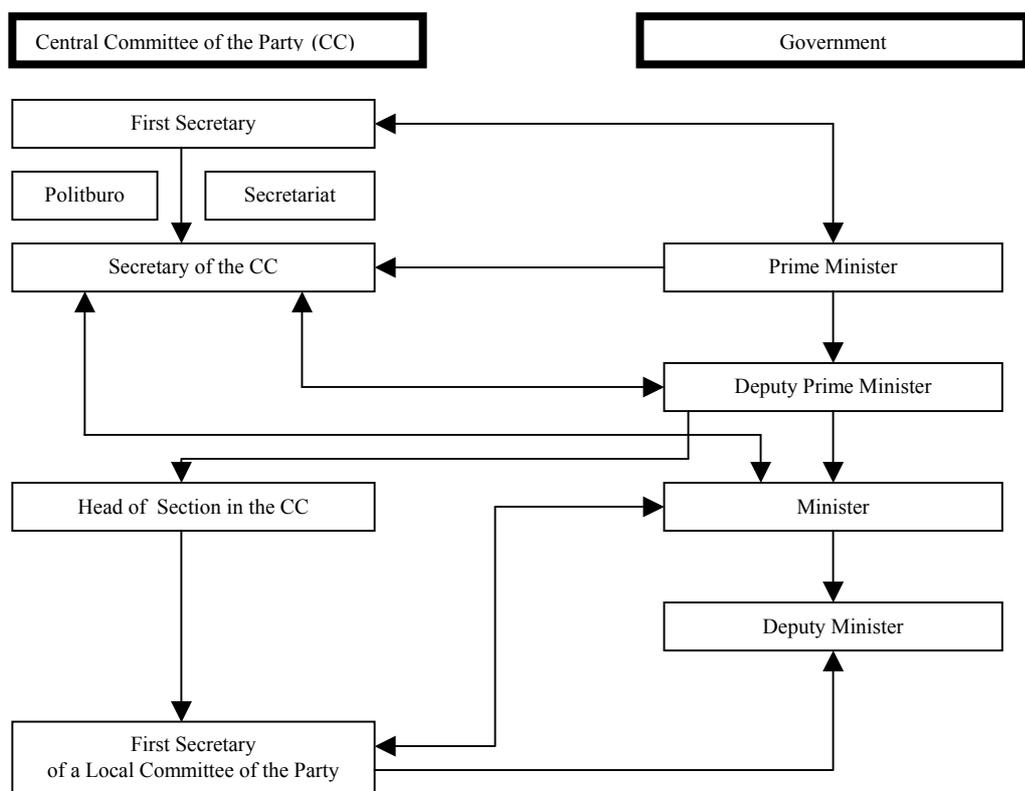


Figure 3.1
Scheme of Party-Government Functional Relationships

The relations are additionally complicated by the fact that the party structure itself is divided: there are the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee (CC), between which, despite the formal advancement of Politburo, the relations

of subordination are not synonymous. The Secretariat, which ‘prepares’ the sessions of Politburo is able, through the First Secretary (who belongs in both organs), to influence over the directions of the formally higher-ranking Politburo.

The scheme shows that in the common hierarchy of the system a Head of Section in CC stands higher than the Minister, and this is because the Head ‘observes’ several Ministers. Similarly, a Secretary of CC stands higher than the Deputy Prime Minister and only when the Deputy Prime Minister is also a member of Politburo (as it is in the uppermost cases but not in all) and the Secretary of CC is not, the Deputy Prime Minister has the higher rank. In addition, in the lower levels of ruling, the formal structure of hierarchy might shift if a person in a governmental position holds such in the party structure as well.

From all these explanations, we might conclude that even when discussing matters of art and culture, it is difficult to distinguish where the directives are coming exactly from – the party or the government – nevertheless, in most cases they appear to be collaborations of them both, or at least approved and coordinated with the respective organs in both structures. Consequently, we might accept in general, that in most cases the terms ‘party’ and ‘state’ – if something else is not specified – are interchangeable and synonymous.

3.2 Party/Art and Culture Relation

Similarly as in the ‘Party/State relation’ case, the party plays an important role in the sphere of art and culture. The Ministry of Culture and the artists unions have

their respective structures within the party itself. “All our steps,” says Pavel Matev in a paper given to the First Congress of Bulgarian Culture in 1967, “we are making under the guidance of the Party. In the new conditions of mobilizing all forces and resources, of extending the democracy, the leadership of the Party increases enormously.” (40) Then he grounds the statement with the need of scientifically developed common national program of the development of culture of socialism; with the task of building a technical basis for socialist culture, for the development and modernization of the means of distribution of culture; with the need of involving the extensive masses in the assimilation of culture and the need for far-reaching communist, patriotic and esthetic education; with the need of developing the political organization of the society; and finally with the complicated international situation in which the Party conveys the historical responsibility of the future of the country.

The artists and intellectuals are given comparatively free will to work and create under the party guidance. There is a debate in the literature of that time whether the conditions given to the artists are actually restrictive or, as the official position argues, are remarkably liberal and democratic. The first position is not present in fact, but is presumed by the arguments against it provided by advocates of the second point of view. Alexander Atanasov for example, in his “Beauty and Partiinost” book provides such arguments: “The bourgeoisie propagandists and revisionists are trying to give an impression that the role of the party and the communist state in the sphere of art is reduced to the level of administrative control over the artistic activities. This of course is fabrication. Lenin was for the party guidance of literature, but not as a rough administration – as ideological

influence.” (311) Then he cites Lunacharski (Russian writer and politician): “Yes, the state should be liberal in the sphere of art to a great degree, but a row of circumstances make this principle, in which the revolutionary power have no doubt, very difficult to apply in real life.” (312) Then Atanasov clarifies the meaning behind this statement with the difficulties in the international situation, the danger of ‘treacherous attack of the imperialists’ and the impossibility for the state to distribute everything produced in the sphere of literature and art.

The distribution of cultural products in fact appears to be one of the most powerful tools for control by the state. By eliminating all market mechanisms in the communist economy, the state remains the only link between art and its audience. In other words, the state has the power to choose which of the cultural products would complete their purpose by meeting the public. “The party guidance of culture,” says Atanasov, “is a complicated and many-sided relationship. Rejecting any involvement in the creative process, it includes in itself, naturally, a right of administration in the sphere of distribution of the cultural values through the respective organs. ” (313) Then he speaks of the need of power in the communist society, which expresses and defends the common interests of artists and consumers, which provides moral and material appraisal of the artistic production and takes care of its distribution. Such power, says Atanasov, could only be the party and the socialist state.

The most representative of the official views in this debate is a statement by Todor Zhivkov – Bulgarian Leader (President and Head of the Party) for almost 35 years – in a letter to the Bulgarian Art Academy:

We, as well as you, are convinced that the Marxism-Leninism, the method of Socialist Realism and the policy of the party in the sphere of art are broad enough to ensure the manifestation and expansion of all genuine national talents in their entire multiplicities and richness, and at the same time – they are ‘narrow’ enough not to allow the smuggling of views and influences foreign to our understanding of the role and the tasks of the art, foreign to the nature of substantial art. (453)

Another aspect of the debate, derived from the supervision by the state over the art sphere, is the question of whether the state and party representatives – who usually are not professionals, are able and competent to judge matters of art. In the case of Atanasov, asking questions defends the party supervisors: “What does it mean to be artistically educated? To have completed high school? Or art academy? To be a doctor of history of art?” (309) Then he says that asking such questions is a sign of elitism, which in its turn contradicts the communist philosophy. Another argument is derived from the art “which is created with intention not to be ‘decipherable’ at all by the public, no matter how educated the public is” (310) – which refers to the way of writing of the new Hegelians. The defense is completed by the argument that a basic education might be sufficient for the working class to be able to express judgments, mostly because they are living people, and that what is art about – the meaning of human life, the fight for freedom and happiness.

In his 1976 book “Current Problems of the Party Guidance of the Art” Alexander Dunchev defines some of the methods of the party guidance. Persuasion, based on Marxist-Leninist approach to the reality is the foundation of all methods. Special importance is given to its total application to every sphere of life supported by the

newest scientific inventions. In the art sphere the party applies its directive function by “scientifically grounded system of forms, methods and tools for education and influence,” by “sociological, pedagogical, psychological and other researches on the process of formation of the new man.” (26) The scientific approach in the party’s activities is combined with the development of the relation with the “working masses,” with “the tutoring and strengthening of the mutual trust and unity among leaders, party, class and nation. This line is followed by the party in its relation to intellectuals, paying special attention and care of their artistic production.” Later in the book Dunchev states: “In fact most artistic initiatives are consequences of the cooperative actions of the union boards (i.e. Union of the Bulgarian Artists) and the boards of the party’s organizations.” (26)

In this respect, an article of interest by Nikola Mirchev – head of the Union of the Bulgarian Artists, written in 1971 where he states: “The general understanding of the party vision of the art cannot, and should not, be exchanged for any private views and attitudes towards given artistic problems. The common line of objective appraisements of the artistic facts and phenomena developed by the Marxist-Leninist aesthetic cannot and should not be exchanged for a subjective, individualistic approach and attitude of whoever.”(4)

Nevertheless, the critics of the second half of the 1950s and beyond are consentaneous that during Stalin’s ruling of Russia, the party guidance has extended itself to a more ‘undesirable’ degree. According to Atanasov again: “The elevation to cult personality created false impressions of the core of the party guidance on literature. It used to acknowledge only one genre of guidance – the

directive monologue, monocratic orders and rough encounters for real and imaginary mistakes. It did not allow friendly dialogue in a party atmosphere between leaders and artists: the experience of some honest artists to initiate such dialogue ended tragically for them ...” (314) And then once again, he explains the difference between Stalin’s regime and the ‘awake’ party leadership of the years following.

4 SOCIALIST REALISM AS METHOD

Both the political leaders and the theoreticians of the socialist culture are well aware of the power of visual representation of ideas. In the first half of the 20th century when a large part of the population is illiterate, the role of art and its applied forms in particular are especially important. Although one of the first reforms in the sphere of culture undertaken by the socialist government is to give opportunity to every citizen to obtain a basic education, the official policy of art development goes in the direction of extending its accessibility to a wider audience. In this way the basic principle of socialism, the principle of freedom and equality, is applied to the sphere of arts from two directions. From one side preparing the audience by providing education and knowledge, and from the other by bringing arts and the masses close to each other. These changes result in the arts, by the implementation of Socialist Realism, as the official artistic method – the ‘new art’, which is meant to ‘belong to the masses’.

The unification of the arts with the mass audience and its technical guidance by the state extends its power as a propaganda tool – a function generally acknowledged and admired. “That is how”, says Pavel Matev (Artist, and Secretary of the Committee of the Culture), “our contemporary art, created on the basis of the method of Socialist Realism and Marxist-Leninist philosophy, appears

to be an important factor in the ideological front, true defender of ideological and esthetical education.” (19) 20 years earlier, in 1947, Georgi Dimitrov, one of the most influential Bulgarian ideologists, in a discussion with the Union of Bulgarian Artists says: “We look at the arts, not only as a mean of acquiring esthetical delights – this of course is necessary, we are not denying it. We are looking at arts in all its varieties mostly as a tool of mobilizing the moral, spiritual and physical forces of our nation and its youth for creativity, for tireless labor, for eternal love of our motherland...” (246)

What makes the method of socialist realism suitable for the purposes assigned to it? Basically, these are the following principles: saturate with facts of socialist character, historical optimism, realistic representation (the images should be immediately recognizable), derived from the real life (corresponding to contemporary reality), bearing positive attitude. In a 1964 book The Socialist Realism Pencho Danchev summarizes: “The artists-realists show the man in his natural and real contours, according to the time, environment, conditions in which he acts and lives.” (7) The man in the socialist realism is usually called ‘positive hero’. “The positive hero in the socialist literature and art has to be a hero of his own time, he has to bare the characteristics of his era, to convey the common ideal of this era. And this era is one of the building of the new socialist society.”(29)

The socialist realism requires the artists to represent the reality in a ‘revolutionary development’. The art, according to this doctrine cannot be separated from the practice – it should show the changes occurring under the socialist regime, paying attention to the historical development of the proletarian ideology. The nation

should be shown as the creator of the new reality. At the same time, the realistic representation should not be indifferent and documentary. It has to convey emotions – revolutionary pathos, bright dreams, heroism, and romanticism. “They are positive characters in the socialist realism,” says Ivan Popivanov, “the beautiful, the bright and awesome in the life is depicted. At the same time the birth of the new communist world could be shown in an inspiring way only if it reveals convincingly its fight with the reactionary, fogeyish, retrograde; if it denounces actively the influence of the old traditions, of the anachronisms in the customs and the minds of certain people.” (72) The ‘certain people’ usually refers to the bourgeois world – the one that should be challenged, the one whose art is said to be formal, lacking ideas.

The term ‘method’ applied to the socialist realism appears in the critical reviews of the 1960s (before it was referred to as a ‘style’). This change is meant to extend the concept by creating space for different styles within the method. “The socialist realism is the method of the contemporary socialist art,” declares Danchev and he formulates an interesting interpretation of the term “method.” He contrasts the idealist and the materialist views, saying that “according to the idealists the method is a sum of rules worked out beforehand in the human brain for a better convenience while studying the reality. It is easy to see that such a statement opens the doors to the subjective arbitrariness, because the views of “convenience,” “practicality,” “rationality” in the research and knowledge might be very different... The Marxism-Leninism gives a scientific statement of the method. According to the Marxism-Leninism that method is correct, which is developed on the basis of the objective laws of the reality. *Here there is no room*

for self-willing.”(5) The last sentence gives us an indication to the notion of the imposed character of this methodology.

Another important feature of the method is the “necessity of a socialist consciousness of the artist, the necessity of a Marxist view on the facts and phenomenon of the life.”(Danchev, 16) It is not well accepted if the artist interprets the life according to his own views and values (if they are different from those stated in the party philosophy), because “The depicting of life ... should not occur intuitively, unconsciously, but on the contrary – absolutely deliberately, based on well mastered socialist positions.”(30)

5 CASE STUDY

“In the conditions of outbreaking collective cultural development the constantly growing cultural needs of our nation set before our illustration serious creative, socio-political and educational tasks. With its immanent characteristics of mass, politically topical fighting art, accessible for the mass audience, able to influence directly, to present the artwork almost in original and in mass circulation, the illustration, together with the other graphic arts outposts the fight of our nation for peace and socialism.

The exceptionally important social place and value of the illustration and its vast educational role require from its creators to seriously reconsider their former work; to review their previous armament of methods and means, and to improve them; to create from their art such a weapon in the ideological front that would prove the unquestionable victory of our nation in the fight for building the socialism in our country.”

(S. Bosilkov and T.Mangov, 3)

5.1 The Newspaper

The choice of a newspaper for this case study is grounded on the idea that the editorial illustration would be one of the most suitable demonstrations of the proposals present in this work. Since the discussed artistic method – the one of socialist realism – is to a great extent about education and mass communication, the choice of almost the only teenager’s newspaper issued during the period of interest, seems to be appropriate. Another justification for the choice of a

teenager's newspaper comes from the following expression of Lenin: "Give me four years to teach the children, and the seed I have sown will never be uprooted." (recited from Richard Mitchell) This expression, which seems to be a rule of nowadays media gives us the idea that if we are in search for certain signs and codes of an ideological system, they would be more distinguishable in the place of their prevalent concentration. Another point of support for this vision we might find expressed by Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) in her belief that the children's literature is "one of the most powerful weapons of the socialist character-education of the growing generation." (in Nadezhda Krupskaya)

From the graph at Appendix B, which shows the circulations of all newspapers existing in the period whose target audience is the 10-16 age group, we can see that during the whole period '1946-1993' and read by average of third of all teenagers, "Septemvriiche" newspaper is generally the most influential. The first issue is published in September 1946, the last in February 1993 (adopting the name "Club 15+" in 1990). The name of the newspaper – "Septemvriiche" means 'child of September' which refers to 9th September 1944 when the communist party comes to power in Bulgaria. The editorial is by the youth section of the party (Youth Union of Dimitrov's Comsomol (Young Communist League)).

The newspaper is printed weekly, and usually consists of four to six pages in A3 size. It is printed on newsprint paper with 15 to 20mm margins at the sides and the bottom, sometimes bigger at the top. Most often, a "Times New Roman" typeface is used for the texts. It is difficult to identify exactly what other typefaces are used

but whenever important for the analysis it will be specified, based on similarities, using the sample at Appendix C.

The choices of illustrations that will be discussed in this work are random, but all are based on the quality of the originals and the possibility they give for satisfying re-reproduction. An effort is made for the equivalent representation of each period. Until the later period (1980s), the newspaper is printed in black and white plus one colour (which varies, but mostly red), that is why most of the reproductions here will be shown in black and white, with the exception of the cases when the color is considered important for the analysis.

5.2 1944-1956

5.2.1 Historical and Political Grounds

On 9th September 1944 the Bulgarian partisans according to some sources, and the army, according to others, break into the war ministry and as a result bring to power the party of Fatherland Front (FF). The FF consists of communists, ‘zvenari’, and agrarians. In the new cabinet formed, the communists hold the key ministries of the Interior and Justice. Although they are dominating the FF, a monolithic, one-party system is not imposed until 1947.

The first steps made by the new government are to take control of the radio and the distribution of the newsprint, while the control over the imported foreign films

and printed media is to be taken by the Allied Control Commission (ACC) – in that case the Soviets.

In 1947, the so-called ‘Dimitrov Constitution’, drafted in USSR, is pushed through the parliament. It declares Bulgaria a ‘People’s Republic’ – a typical Soviet-style system in which all freedoms are promised but the actual power belongs not to the official state organs but to the communist party. “The means of production”, says R. J. Crampton “were to pass into public ownership and the higher ranks of the judiciary were to be subjected to parliamentary control; this in effect was communist control because local party organisations, acting through the local FF comities, had to sanction all parliamentary candidates.” (190) He then explains that in a few months the parties in the FF are acknowledging the leading role of the communist party and accepting the Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology. Still, there are two distinct parties that remain in the FF until 1990. The other one is the Agrarian Party, which has the support of the peasants. However it has a little real power because they are presented only in the state, not in the communist party.

In July 1949 Georgi Dimitrov dies. His successor as head of the party and prime minister is Vûlko Chervenkov – Bulgaria’s ‘little Stalin’. The country is now a firm follower of the Stalinist dogma. And as Crampton says: “Chervenkov sailed in seemingly untroubled water until 3rd March 1953 when Stalin died.” (195)

In 1953, within a few months after Stalin’s death, his successors are calling for a ‘new course’ in Eastern Europe. Sofia soon adapts itself to the new conditions by

undertaking several reforms – in the agricultural sphere, in the economics in general and in its policy towards the Soviet advisors attached to most of the important governmental, political and economical positions – their number is reduced considerably. At the beginning of next year Chervenkov resigns from his post as Party's General Secretary but keeps the position of Prime Minister for two more years. His place is taken by “young, efficient, but self-effacing apparatchik named Todor Zhivkov.” (Crampton, 195)

The new course sets the beginning of series of events in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The most influential being the Khrushchev's (the successor of Stalin) speech to the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956, in which he sharply criticises Stalin's mistakes. With this step Stalin's regime is condemned as a ‘slip-up on the road towards building socialism and communism.’

5.2.2 Visual Representations

Figure 5.1 shows the front page of one of the first issues of “Septemvriiche” newspaper – from 27 November 1946. The head consist of the logo; a slogan; subtitle indicating the editor; and a date, price, and issue tag. The slogan situated at the top of the page reads: “*For the cause of the Fatherland Front – forward in union!*” It is worthy noting that, as we will see later, this slogan changes over the years and is an actual indication of the situation in the political scene.

СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ

ВЕСТНИК НА ДЕТСКАТА И ЮНОШЕСКА ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ "СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ"

ГОДИНА III
БРОЙ
11
ЦЕНА 5 ЛЕВА

27 ноември 1946 г.

ДА БЪДЕМ СТРОИТЕЛИ!

Става студено. Печките бурлят. Поселата в тях горят дърва. Но в градовете хората се топят главно с въглища. Из родината летят влакове. В огнените гърди на локомотивите пламтят въглища. Димят фабрични кумини. За моторите трябва въглища. За електрическото осветление трябва въглища. Въглищата са едно от най-големите природни богатства. Без тях как бихме имали отопление и осветление? Как биха се движили влаковете и фабриките? Страни, които са богати с каменни въглища, са много напреднали в фабричното производство. Защото въглищата са храната на индустрията. В България има няколко каменовъглени мини. Най-голямата е мина Перник. Ония, които

копаят въглищата се казват миньори. Слава на миньорите, слава на тях хора на черния труд!

През фашистките управления каменовъглените мини у нас не се използват добре. Въглищата се разхищаваха. Днес, при народното управление на Отечествения фронт, въглищата ще се използват за богатото на народа и родината Отечествения фронт ще работи да има в България много фабрики, да има електрическо осветление навсякъде и др. Природните богатства ще бъдат използвани разумно и нашироко. Пред нас стои светло бъдеще. Нека се готвим да бъдем добри строители на новия живот.



Монтаж. ВЛ. КОРЕНЕВ

рудничари

Със наше корави и здрави, и груби ръце
дълбаем, дълбаем, дълбаем
земята —
световното черно сърце.
Безспирно —
и денем
и нощем —
дълбаем, копаем, терзаем. . .
С лопати и с кирки, и с лом,
с барут, и със бомби, и с пръсти —
терзаем, копаем, дълбаем
жестоката,
груба
и черна,
и твърда земя.

И сто — от нашия пот
обилен и черен, и кървав —
ще писнат безбройни фабрични сирени,
ще тътнат юзини
и хладни турбини,
машини ще гръмнат железният марш
на труда...
А с бели и с гордо разветви платна,
и с пурпурно знаме на стройни мачти,
оставили стария свят на неправдите,
на вечното робство, плачът и веригите,
кораби ще плуват към нови земи
през бурни морета и зли океани. . .

Владимир Русалиев

Figure 5.1

Over the logo, which is hand written with capital letters, splitting the slogan in two, is a drawn Bulgarian flag.

The text in the body is positioned in three columns. The first two are one quarter of the page in length and are in the top left hand corner. The third is approximately one third of the page in length and is in the bottom right hand corner. All are in Times New Roman, except for the titles. The grouping of the text in this way refers to the difference in the content. The first one is a short article about the people working in the mines and the importance of their work. Its title, written in slightly extended “Arial”-like characters says: “LETS BE BUILDERS!” The second text is a poem dedicated to the miners. The title “**colliers**” uses a more romantic, similar to “Monotype Corsiva” minuscule. The choice of typefaces in that case successfully follows the mood of the texts. While the first is a “sans serif” type and conveys a more ‘directive’ character, corresponding to the austerity of the text; the second title bears the lyrical vibes of the poem with its ‘relaxed’ style of lettering.

The illustration is a collage by Vladimir Korenev and consists of photographs and drawings. It fills the space diagonally from the bottom left hand corner to the opposite one. At the front plan is a photograph of a man – most probably a miner, wearing working suit, and bearing a lamp and saw. The man is quite old but he stands up straight and looks somewhere far beyond the horizon. In the background, there are scenes from working environments – excavator, factories, curls of smoke, electrical wires etc. By positioning of the man in that particular way and especially his upstanding body and dreamy look, it is implied that he

comes from a working environment. He is full of pride because the rewarding work he does will lead to the “bright future” – as the penultimate sentence of the text states.

The overall structure of the illustration is set to be a didactic example to the readers of, as summarized in the last sentence of the article, what a good builder of the new life is. The whole structure of this issue, the combination of texts and illustration, is dedicated to a call for mobilizing the youth for commitment to the industry of energy and ore-dressing. The article with its explanatory function, the poem that glorifies the civic virtues of the miners, and the illustration with its cross-reference to the ‘bright future’, are all an exemplification of this.

In *Figure 5.2* we can see the front page of the 13 October 1949 issue. It is dedicated to the 70th birthday of Stalin. The reason behind the choice of this topic we could probably find in the already established (see 5.2.1) commitment of Bulgaria to Russia.

At the top of the page, we can find two changes from the previously discussed issue. As a substitute for the Bulgarian flag at the top, there is the flag of the party. At the top left hand corner there is a group of symbols combined in a badge – an open book, the Bulgarian flag, a burning torch – all these tied together by a red tie (symbol of the youth organization of the party for children 10-15/16 years of age.) This combination of symbols conveys the pathos of a country that is moved on by its youth towards a bright, enlightened future (torch – light, courage; flag – country; book – education, enlightenment; red tie – the youth).

СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ

★ ВЕСТНИК НА ДИМИТРОВСКАТА ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ «СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ» ★

13 октомври 1949 г.

Да посрещнем достойно 70 годишнината на ВЕЛИКИЯ СТАЛИН



На 21 декември т. г. Иосиф Висарионович Сталин навършва 70 години. Няма по-велик и по-любим човек в света от Сталин. Името му е знаме на народите. Сталин продължи делото на Ленин и изгради днешното на великия СССР — първата социалистическа държава в света. Идентно има господаря-аспиратора. Там на власт са работниците и трудолюбивите се селили. Сталин е мъдър вожд на Болшевишката партия. Всяка негова дума е изпълнена с правда и се пославя от дела. Затова днес Сталин е всемирният вожд и учител на всички народи.

Нашият народ е безкрайно благодарен на СССР и на великия Сталин за освобождението ни от фашизма и за помощта в строителството на социализма у нас. Цялата страна се готви с трудни похвати да посрещне 70-годишнината на Сталин. Трудният успех ще бъдат най-кубовата награда за великия вожд. Димитровската организация «Септемврийче», рождена на 9 септември, е дълбоко признателна на СССР и великия Сталин. За септемврийчетата са светли заветните думи на другаря Димитров за вечна дружба със СССР. Те се заветва да обичат Съветския съюз така, както обичат своята родина, да обичат великия Сталин.

Как най-добре да изразим тази наша любов и признателност във всенародното чествуване на другаря Сталин? Преди всичко, ду ду аря! Сталин би искал септемврийчетата да бъдат отлични ученици, които той изисва и от съветските пионери. Това е първото и най-важно задължение на всяко септемврийче. Ето защо, още в началото на учебната година, трябва да помислим за по-добър успех. За това могат да се използват кръжкоците и специалните четни събирания, посветени на отдални предмети. Личните прозиви в училището: бистро от час, неспазване на училищния правилник и пр. трябва веднаж завинаги да бъдат премахнати.

Задълго с постоянната работа за висок успех и отлична дисциплина, Димитровската организация «Септемврийче» трябва да участва в манифестации, фанелните шествия, тържествените вечери, отглаговете и др., които ДСМ ще проведе в чест на другаря Сталин.



Но те трябва да поемат и по-определени и близки задължения в чест на Сталиновата годишнина. Така например септемврийчетата трябва да се погрижат повече за училището си — техни общ дом. Да бъде то удобно, красиво подредено и вняти чисто. Необходимо е дружините да поемат задължения за снабдяване на училището с предметите от санитарията, например: за вътрешна уредба — изтривалки, етажери за книги, стойки за учебници, карти и пр.; предмети за уираси — рамки за картини, сански с цветя, абажури за лампи, позитки. Кабинетите по физика, химия и естествена история да бъдат снабдени със събрания от растения, минерали, с прибори и уреди, направени от санитарни ученици по указанията на учителите. Дворовете на училището да се почистват и подредят, да се направят малки градиници и отгори. Тази задача трябва да бъде за всички дружини в страната.

В дните на Сталиновото чествуване, под грижливите ръце на «септемврийчетата», трябва да се пробират и нашите клубове — домовете «Септемврийче». Във всички училища да се подредят ирски вълнове за другари Сталин, стени, вестници и табла, витрини с материали за живота и делото му, за славната съветска пионерска организация. Литературните кръжкоци, кръжкоците на младите художници — нашите кръжкоци да разглеждат и разучават художествени материали за другари Сталин: разкази, стихове, песни. Да се рисуват моменти от живота на великия вожд. След риг: добър подготовка, в четите да се проведат събирания, гатанки да се разнае биографията на др. Сталин.

Да се излъчват всички това, е въпрос на чест за всяка дружина, за всяка чета, за всяко септемврийче. В дните на всенародното Сталиново чествуване, нека помислят нашата безгранична любов към другаря Сталин и към великия СССР. Да изразим нашата готовност да се учим от героичния живот на другаря Сталин; отгладим всецяло на трудещите се, и да вървим все напред и напред, по димитровския път, по великото и непобедимо знаме на Ленин и Сталин.



Започнете изборите за съвета на четите и дружинките

ДА БЪДА ПРИМЕР ЗА ВСИЧКИ!

Другарите еднодушно ме избраха за председател на съвета. Още на събиранията обещах да работя така, че да оправдая доверието им.

Сега мисля, как да разнообразя живота на дружинката. Не бива да се допуснат слабостите от миналата година.

Трябва да внимавам много и да се старая във всичко да бъда първа.

Другарите от цялата дружина ще следат, как се държи председател на съвета. От мене ще се иска да бъда пример за всички.

Аз искам за нашата дружинка да казват: «Всички септемврийчета са добри ученици и добри другари. Съветът на дружинката работи добре».

Здравка Пеева,
поселател на дружинния съвет при дружинка «Славчо Трънски» — София

ДНЕВНИКЪТ — ОГЛЕДАЛО НА ДРУЖИНКАТА

Аз съм секретар на съвета. Дневникът на дружинката ще правя заедно с художника. Купихме голяма тетрадка. Веднага след събирането се събрахме и вписахме първите страници от живота на дружинка «Славчо Трънски». Нашият дневник ще бъде огледало на дружинката.

Предложих на другарите да организираме кореспонденцията със съветските пионери по случай 70-годишнината на великия Сталин. Предложението се прие от всички. Аз ще отговарям не само за писмата до пионерите, но и вълноще за кореспонденцията на нашата дружинка.

Георги Кузманов,
секретар на съвета при XIV прог. — София

ЩАСТЛИВА СЪМ, ЧЕ МЕ ИЗБРАХА ЧЛЕН НА СЪВЕТА!

Щасти съм, че другарите ме избраха за член на съвета — отговорничка за културно-масовата дейност на дружинката.

Септемврийчетата и нашата дружинка особено обичат да четат художествени книги. Така година ще организираме редица колективни четения на най-хубавите книги, като: «Син на работническата класа», «Партийна тайна», «Павлик Морозов» и др. Ще поканим любими наши писатели за литературни четения. Ще се опитаме да организираме до нова година научно събирание. На него най-добрият ни кръжок ще покаже постиженията в своята научна работа. Хубавите филми ще гледаме колективно.

Колко интересна и разнообразна е моята работа! Колко много инициативи нахлуват в главата ми!

Елена Миладинова,
член на съвета на дружинка «Славчо Трънски», София

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Колко интересна и разнообразна е моята работа! Колко много инициативи нахлуват в главата ми!

Елена Миладинова,
член на съвета на дружинка «Славчо Трънски», София

Figure 5.2

The positioning of the badge suggests that the ‘father of the nation’ – the Party – somehow mediates the process of enlightening. This is executed through the replacement of the Bulgarian flag at the top – now it is shifted to a less central position and stays in combination with other signs – and through the context in which the sign is situated.

The body of the page is formally divided into two main parts. The first has Stalin’s portrait as its center, with two columns of text around it, and is framed by a vignette composed of the title and a sequence of scenes from the ‘everyday life’ of the young communists. The title says: “*To meet with dignity the 70th jubilee of the GREAT STALIN.*”

The scenes from the frame are illustrations of the ‘call’ in the text, which says that in honor of Stalin’s celebration young communists should be concerned for their collective home – the school. The text states that they should supply from their own houses note pads, bookshelves, maps, picture frames, pots with flowers. They should prepare by themselves (under the guidance of the teachers) plant collections, tools, and equipments for the chemistry and physics laboratories. The center of the frame, in the middle of its base, appears to be a small, but important symbol. This is a schematic representation of the Kremlin’s tower. Being higher than the rest of the pictures in the frame, it makes a suggestion of the supervising power coming from there.

The total structure of this part of the page (*Figure 5.3*) represents one of the clichés of communist ideology, that the ‘actions of the youth crown the

achievements of the leaders'. If we look at the formal structure itself, we can see that it perfectly duplicates the way that a framed picture looks – Stalin’s portrait in the center; the text as its border; and the children’s activities as its frame or a crown of flowers:



Figure 5.3

The content of the rest of the page appears as a supplement, both textually and visually, to the already discussed part. There are three reader’s letters conjoint under the heading “The Elections for Committees of Detachments and Battalions Have Begun” (detachments and battalions are both subdivisions of the youth organization.) Worthy of note here is the typographic arrangement of the sentence. It is justified, and to achieve this effect, the remaining free space is filled with five-pointed stars – doubtless the most popular communist symbol.

The three letters are by recently elected members of the committees. The first one speaks about how to be a “brilliant student,” which is a statement mentioned in the text in the frame as a wish of Stalin. The second letter tells the readers what initiatives are taken in the writer’s local section for the Jubilee celebration. The

third speaks about the writer's ideas for the enlightening of the people from the section – collective readings. The illustrations attached to the letters represent more or less their content. All depictions of human figures in them represent a vision of an exemplary student, member of the Party – they are all wearing the symbol (red tie) and are concerned with school and Pioneer's organization matters (books, classes, meetings, etc).

In general, we might conclude, that while the first part of the page (the frame) represents a wish, or a 'call' for the pupil's action, the second part (the letters) appears as an example of how this wish might be accomplished in reality.

The "Septemvriiche" issue from 6th September 1950 is, as can be seen from *Figure 5.4*, dedicated to the celebration of the Bulgarian National Day (which 9th September is by then).

The cover page is undoubtedly festive. Here even the price tag is framed with flowers (top right). The illustration is an apotheosis of a communist celebration – demonstration or parade, as it is called. It shows a space – street or square presumably – crowded with children carrying flowers, flags, balloons, slogans, and portraits of the leaders. They are, from left to right: Georgy Dimitrov, Stalin, and Vûlko Chervenkov. All the children in the crowd are Pioneers, as the young members of the Party are called, are easily identifiable by their red ties. The slogans visible in the background are saying: Science/Education, Peace, Socialism.



Figure 5.4

At the head of the page the usual slogan is substituted to one that says: “Long Life to the 9th September! Glory to the Soviet Army-Liberator!” The second exclamation stands for a somehow twisted interpretation of the historical facts (5.2.1), which gains official approval during the regime.

The only text in the body of the page is a poem titled “In Front of the Comrade Chervenkov,” which is a glorification of the customs of the parade. The sense of these parades lies in the paying of homage to the communist leaders and showing dedication to the cause. Usually there is a place, (Georgy Dimitrov’s Mausoleum in Sofia for instance) where the local leaders (the Central Committee in Sofia) would stand to accept the greetings. They would wave to the passing crowd, which is singing hymns, marching or dancing, and cheering.

The overall design of the page conveys an exceptionally holiday type ambiance. Even the appeal to mass celebration is present in a slightly unusual way, in the form of a poem. Nevertheless, the technique of the illustration (collage), which combines the photographs of the leaders with drawings, generates a feeling of ‘bringing back to reality’ and authenticity.

The next issue we will discuss is the 5th March 1953. Its front page (*Figure 5.5*) is different from the previously discussed ones in several ways. There is a lack of illustrations. This is, because the issue is dedicated to a ‘sad’ event – the illness of Stalin. Starting at the top of the page, the first change we notice is the replacement of the slogan. Now it reads: “For the Cause of Dimitrov – the Cause of Lenin and

Stalin, Be Ready!” and there is an explanation of that (in the rectangle at the top right hand corner of the page.) It is curious enough to be worth citing:

The decision taken by the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party about the Dimitrov’s Pioneers Organization *demands* [my italics] from the young ‘Dimitrovists’ to grow:

... Cheerful, sanguine, and certain of their strengths fighters for the great cause of Lenin-Stalin, the cause of Georgi Dimitrov, for the victory of communism.

Another change in the head of the page is the omitting of the symbol (the one with the torch, flag, and open book) that has been present since. This most probably corresponds to the change in the subtitle (under the logo), which in its turn corresponds to a change in the youth organization of the party. The subtitle previously was saying: “Organ of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov’s, Socialist’s, People’s Youth for the ‘Septemvriicheta’ (Children of September)”, while now ‘Septemvriicheta’ is substituted to ‘Pioneers’.



Figure 5.5

The body of the page consists of three texts. The first fills almost half of the page in width and its full length. It is bordered with a black line and is an announcement by the USSR government about Stalin's illness. The other two texts are telegrams to the CC of the Communist Party and the Cabinet of USSR, the top one by V. Chervenkov, the bottom one by the Bulgarian CC and the Cabinet.

Graphically, there is not much material for analyzing here. The grieving effect is achieved by simplicity and cleanness of the design. The choice of sans serif typefaces (straightforward and in bold) for the titles matches the mood and adds a sense of significance.

Similar effect, but by completely different means, is achieved in the next issue of the newspaper; dated 9th March 1953 (*Figure 5.6*)



Figure 5.6

In this issue, the illustration here is predominant; it fills more than two thirds of the page. The design is simple and laconic. Nevertheless, the message is clear: “The Great Soviet Leader has passed away.” Although the text does not say so, all necessary elements that suggest it are present – Stalin’s portrait at the first place; the black curtain, marked with the USSR’s blazon (the Soviet nation is in mourning); the wrapped in black ribbon frame of leaves dominated by a five-pointed star; the olive tree branches (probably as a ‘rest in peace’ expression). Bearing in mind the target age group of the newspaper, what difference the diverse ways of expressing similar ideas might make? Apart from the already mentioned ones, there is another point we might pay attention to. While this issue seems more appropriate for children aged 10-15 with its visual representation of the connotation, the 5th March (*Figure 5.5*) issue raises more questions. Its design and content, we might presuppose, is very similar to any other adult newspaper from that time. One suggestion for the reason behind this might be in another communist formulation: the youth should grow prepared for the fight for communism and should contribute to its development in every possible way; it is the ‘avant-garde of the new society’. In other terms, we might interpret this, a youngster is treated like an adult by the system, even further – it is given hope that it will become a better citizen of the ‘new world’, a better communist.

Another example of the same matter is the 4th March 1954 issue (*Figure 5.7*). Here the reader is informed about the Sixth Congress of the Party. The body of the page consists of a photograph of the presidium of the congress and a text – reportage in the form of an essay. The text is framed by a solemn

БРОЙ 9 (455)
 4 март
 1954
 ЦЕНА 26 СТ.



Деловият президиум на Шестия конгрес на БКП. На първия ред отляво надясно другарите: Нордан Катранджиев, Георги Дамиянов, Антон Югов, Георги Чанков, Вълко Червенков, Райко Дамиянов, Тодор Живков, Милчо Нейчев, Георги Цанков, Димитър Ганев, Димитър Димов, Елчо Стайков. На втория ред: Димитар Стоичков, Сава Дълбогов, Нинко Стефанов, Тодор Звездов, Иван Михайлов, Иван Пашов, Цола Драгойчева, Добри Терзиев, Тодор Прахов, Фердинанд Козовски, Борис Ващаров, Нордан Милев

Шестия конгрес на БКП

Към София, към сърцето на републиката, сега са обрънати очите и на строителите от Москва, и на работниците от Димитровград, и на дърварите от Годоните, и на селяните от орошените равнини. Цяла България гледа към Народния театър „Кръсто Сарафов“. От всеки кът на нашата Титковина прикледат пратениците на героичната партия на българските комунисти.

25 февруари. Тях е в салона на Народния театър. Сцената, цялата в синьо, силно празнично. Силна прожекторна светлина пада над сцената и в него широко се дини огромно червено знаме с образите на Маркс, Енгелс, Ленин и Сталин. Под знамето — портретът на Георги Димитров. Най-отгоре — бойният лозунг: „Пролетарии от всички страни, съединявайте се!“

Избранниците на Партията влизат в конгресната зала. Те носят със себе си вярността на планините, шума на тракторите, песента на заводските машини. Сред тях са видни партизани и държавни дейци, хората на труда от промишлеността и кооперативното село, известни в цялата страна, дейци на науката и културата, офицери от Народната армия. На гърдите им блестят ордени и медали. Това са хора, прославящи родината със своя героизъм в битките срещу монархо-фашизма и със своите трудни подвизи в социалистическото строителство.

Гости на конгреса са пратеници на братските комунистически и работнически партии от Съветския Съюз, Китайската народна република, страните с народа деспотизма и от много капиталистически страни.

Срещните на часовете понасят девет часа. Тържествена тишина. На трибуната застава другарят Георги Дамиянов. Започва Шестият конгрес на Българската комунистическа партия! Делегатите стават и с дълбоко възлание отдават почит на наметта на И. В. Сталин и на Георги Димитров. Почва се наметта и на починалите след Петия конгрес другари: Иван Димитров, Васил Коларов, Благой Иванов, Владимир Понтозов и Стела Благова — членове на ЦК на БКП.

В своята възтържествена реч другарят Георги Дамиянов ярно очертава успехите, които е по-

стигнала нашата страна под ръководството на родната комунистическа партия и при огромната и безкористна помощ на всички освободители вълнени Съветски Съюз.

— Опрена на народа, нашата Партия с увереност гледа към бъдещето и смело води нашата Народна република по пътя на социалистическото строителство.

Завършвайки своята реч, другарят Дамиянов от името на ЦК на БКП приветствува гостите с наше сърдечно: „Добре дошли!“

Делегатите стават. Ръкопляскат. Поздравяват гостите.

По поръчение на Централния комитет другарят Дамиянов обявява Шестия конгрес на Българската комунистическа партия за открит.

Ибира се делови президент и секретариат на Конгреса.

— Другарите от деловия президиум да заемат местата си!

Бурни и продължителни ръкопляскания. Възгласи: „БКП — БКП“ и „Ура“ огласят залата.

След това се избират редакционна комисия и мандатна комисия. Утвърждава се дневният ред на Конгреса.

Председателстващият Георги Дамиянов дава думата на другаря Вълко Червенков. Конгресът посреща поздравията на другаря Вълко Червенков на трибуната с бурни и востихващи ръкопляскания.

С дълбоко внимание слушат делегатите доклада. Другарят Вълко Червенков разглежда международното положение и външната политика на България. Разкрива успехите на нашата социалистическа държава през годините след Петия конгрес на БКП.

— Неповолибимо следвайки всеобемващото учение на Маркс, Енгелс, Ленин, Сталин, верни на заветите на Георги Димитров, напред към нови победи!... — завършва доклада си другарят Червенков.

Вечни делегати стават. Конгресната зала гърми от възторжени възгласи: „БКП — БКП“, „Вечна дружба!“, „Ура!“. Дълго не стихват бурните овации.

Figure 5.7

(with its size and sounding) title: “**The Sixth Congress of BCP**” and by a composition of flags and floral patterns. The letters “BCP” are bigger than the rest and a special effect is used to suggest that they are sparkling – an allusion to the Party as a vehicle of enlightenment. The four flags at the sides are red, with five-pointed stars at the top and, surprisingly, USSR’s. The symbol imprinted on them – a sickle and a hammer – is typically Soviet, since it originates from the unique Russian unity of peasants and workers, who together form the Soviet Russian state. The same symbol is situated in the center of the composition’s base.

The photograph at the top of the page represents ‘the managing presidium of the Sixth Congress’, as the caption says, and then lists them by their names. The illustration of the congress by a photograph comes as a bearer of the truth, the documentary ‘here and now’, which counterweight with its ‘seriousness’ the lyrical pathos of the text. The photograph bears both compositionally and ideologically important features. Looking at the structure, we notice that the portraits at the top appear as a well-balanced completion both of the picture itself and the overall design. In terms of representing ideas, it plays an even more important role. From bottom to top, there are three basic elements: the people from the presidium; above them the portrait of Georgi Dimitrov; and portraits of the Soviet leaders (from left to right: Engels, Marx, Lenin, and Stalin) at the top. There is no need of special interpretation to understand that this structure represents exactly the hierarchy in the system of the dogma.

Nearly a year later, in the “Septemvriiche” issue dated 15th January 1955 (*Figure 5.8*) we notice that a distraction in this system has occurred. By that time, Stalin

септемврийче

БРОЙ 4 (192)
15 ЯНУАРИ
1953 г.
ЦЕНА 20 СТ.

ОРГАН НА ЦЕНТРАЛНИЯ ДСНМ ЗА ПИОНЕРИТЕ



Рис. Г. ДАСКАЛОВ

Частичка от червеното знаме

В едно украинско село живеела съветската пионерка Галя Доценко. През суровите години на Великата отечествена война фашистите не отминали и селото на Галя. Немец се вмъкнал в нейния дом. Галя успяла само да грабне ученическата си чанта и когато срещнала озверения поглед на хитлериста, тя по-силно я притиснала до гърдите си. Кървавите ръце на фашиста затършували из шкафа, сандъка, лавицата. Какво дирел той? Защо така старателно прехвърлял всяка вещ? Галя не помръдвала от мястото си. Войникът забелязъл тревогата в очите ѝ, треперещите пръсти, които до болка стискали чантата, и изведнъж хищно се хвърлил върху беззащитното дете. Дръпнал чантата и проточно я разтвори. На пода заедно с учебниците паднала и алената пионерска връзка.

— Малка комунистка! — заревал немецът и прехвърлял като горящ въглен от ръка в ръка червеното парче плат. Той запратил връзката на пода и бясно започнал да скача върху нея.

— Защо глъчеш пионерската ми връзка? — извикала Галя и с все сила бяснела фашиста.

Немецът се смаял. Как е възможно дете да вдигне ръка срещу въоръжен хитлеров войник! В този миг пионерката измъкнала изпод краката му връзката, изхвърлила из вратата и с все сила полетяла към гората. Около ушите ѝ свистели куршумите, изпратени от вбесения войник.

Две години Галя прекарала в партизанския отряд. И когато през октомври 1943 година Съветската армия освободила родното ѝ село, Галя се върнала в училище с червената пионерска връзка, която през есента на 1941 година измъкнала изпод краката на фашиста.

За пионерката Галя Доценко си спомнихме, когато прочетохме писмото на Радостина Жаскова от село Аврамово. Искаме с всички вас да споделим огорчението си от постъпката на Михаил — съученик на Радостина.

През едно междучасие Михаил извадил из джоба си ваксена кутия. Разтворил я полека. Нещо червено се мръзнало пред очите на заобиколящите го пионери. „Навярно червена боя“ — помислили те. Но Михаил отхлупил съсем капакка ѝ. Всички ахнали — как е могъл да постави пионерската си връзка в кутия и да си прави шеги с нея! Михаил не трепнал от възмутените погледи на другарите си и вместо да завърже връзката на гърдите си, пъхнал я нехайно в джоба.

А само Михаил ли постъпва така? Все още се срещат пионери по улиците, на сбор без пионерска връзка. Забравили я в къщи, измърсели я, загубили я.

За онези пионери, които не уважават пионерската връзка искаме да поговорим.

Червената връзка, завързана на гърдите ви, показва, че вие сте верни синове на безсмъртния Димитров, ургрешни борци на великото дело на Ленин и Сталин. Червен като кръвта на героите е нейният цвят — като кръвта на Володя Дубинин, Шура Чакалин, Митко Палаузов. Къс от червеното знаме е тя — знамето на Комунистическата партия. Нима има по-висока чест от тази да носиш частичка от това велико, всепобедолаващо знаме!

На Булуджа, където
Хаджи Димитър падна,
бе знамето водето
от Дядото — Благоев,
в борбата безпощадна.

През двадесет и трета
народът го повесе
над сивите полета,
селата, градовете
със Ботевата песен.

На падна го в борбата
до славния Девети,
донесо свободата
във дружба неразделна
със братските Съвети.

Наше знаме



Вини се, наше знаме,
Развявай се на воя,
че бъдещето там е,
където ти се веси,
и с теб за мир се борят!

Цвета ти гъмволен
блещи по наше връзки —
от Булуджа запален,
горял до дните наши
в борби свързани, дръзки.

Вини се, наше знаме,
за мир в страня свободна!
Където ти си — там е
и бъдещето наше,
и радостта народа.

НИКОЛА ЛАНКОВ

Figure 5.8

has been dead for almost two years. A certain confusion in the ideological ground can be observed, but the critical changes in the Soviet political scene have not yet taken place. A suggestion for that can be seen in two basic ways from the cover page of this issue. First, there is no change in the slogan above the logo – it still mentions Stalin. Second, the subject of the issue is shifted from topics such as ‘the leaders’ and ‘the Soviets’ (as we encountered before) to a more ‘marginal’ one – the Red Flag.

At the head of the page there are no changes to the previous issues. In the body, there are three basic elements. The first three quarters (from top to bottom) are divided into two vertically. The left side is an illustration representing a Pioneer holding the Pioneer’s flag. The right side is a text titled “Little Part of the Red Flag” and is telling a story about the heroic act of a Ukrainian girl who has rescued her red tie (which ontologically is a piece from the red flag) from a German soldier.

The illustration shows a boy, certainly a Pioneer (with his red tie, white shirt and dark trousers), carrying with dignity the Pioneer’s flag. His face and directed forward look are saying: ‘I am young, but capable and proud to bear this huge responsibility (the flag as a representation of the cause)’. The flag is a combination of local (Bulgarian) and universal symbols. It is red, as a symbolism of the blood that has been spilt by workers of the world in the fight for their emancipation. It is directly inherited from the red banner flown at the Paris Commune. On the flag, there is the emblem of the Bulgarian Pioneer’s organization. It is composed of a flame at the background (symbol of strength and

an enthusiasm for enlightenment); five-pointed star (representation of life and immense energy of the sun from one side, and the single unity of the five continents from the other) with an imprinted portrait of Georgi Dimitrov at the center; and a ribbon with the words “Always Ready!” (the expected reply from the pioneers to the call that stands as a slogan at the top of the page (“For the Cause of Dimitrov – the Cause of Lenin and Stalin, Be Ready!”)).

The third part of the page is a rectangle with slightly darker background than the rest. The text is a poem called “Our Flag” and is divided to two columns by an illustration. The picture represents revolutionists (partisans), vigorous to a battle (they are armed), lead by a soldier carrying ‘The Flag’.

The overall content of this page is similar to the already discussed ones by its lyrical and emotional pathos. We can already notice that no matter what the main topic is, there is often a poem (Figures 5.1, 5.4 and 5.6) or an emotive literary text (Figures 5.2, 5.5 and 5.7). The illustrations are frequently a collage, or combination of photographs and drawings, which might be taken as an intent to represent an often fictional or emotional content in a more realistic or ‘documentary’ way.

5.3 1956-1980s

5.3.1 Historical and Political Grounds

Immediately after February 1956 – when USSR’s Communist Party has its congress and Khrushchev criticizes Stalin’s regime – Bulgaria reacts by congregating a plenum of the CC. This plenum remains in history as the ‘April’s Plenum.’ It reviews the decisions taken by the Soviet Congress, appropriates them at the local level, and as a result denounces Chervenkov's cult of personality.

The upheavals in Europe of 1956, that end with the Hungarian anti-Soviet revolution, do not disturb the Regime in Bulgaria – Zhivkov remains loyal to Khrushchev. What is more, some purges in the party, and especially in the sphere of culture, are executed in order to reassure the Soviet Union that Bulgarian communist would not fall into the heretical behavior of their Hungarian ‘comrades’.

In 1958 the new five year plan is produced and called after the Chinese phrase “The Great Leap Forward.” This ‘Zhivkov’s phantasmagoric plan’ (Crampton, 196) anticipates that by 1962 industrial productivity should be doubled and agricultural productivity tripled. Despite the mass propaganda and the mobilizing of the people to put all their energy for the fulfillment of the plan, in 1962 it is revised and in 1963 totally abandoned.

Nevertheless, when Khrushchev visits Bulgaria in 1962 he makes clear that Zhivkov would be the best choice for the Country's Head. From then on Zhivkov stabilizes his positions to an extent where he remains unaffected even after the removal of his Soviet patron in 1964.

In the early 1960s, Zhivkov liberalizes the policy towards the intellectuals by a decrease in censorship. The situation is comparatively stable and tolerant until 1968 when the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia causes a tightening of the control again. In the political sphere during the 1960s Zhivkov replaces most of the current cadres with young professionals, his daughter Liudmila among them. The majority of these people are frequently moved to different positions, so that they would not be able to gain the necessary power to compete with him.

The 1970s are marked by a gradual reduction of the liberalization of the 1960s. The new Bulgarian constitution approved by the 10th Congress of the Party in 1971, introduces the State Council structure whose role is to oversee the Council of Ministers and exercises supreme executive authority. Zhivkov resigns as Prime Minister in order to become chairman of the State Council – a position equivalent to Head of State. Although he continues with careful balancing and rearrangement of cadres with only occasional purges, in 1977 35,500 party members are dismissed in order to prevent any liberalization that might follow the 1975 'Helsinki Accords'. In September the same year Georgi Markov, a literary man, is poisoned by a shot from an umbrella on Waterloo Bridge in London, his sin being that he had revealed too many details of the life style of Bulgaria's political elite.

The most interesting aspect of the decade, from our point of view, is the appearance of Liudmila Zhivkova (Zhivkov's daughter) on the political and cultural scene. In 1971 she becomes deputy chairperson of the committee for art and culture, in 1975 its head and in 1980 she is given the charge of the politburo commission on science, culture and art. Under her guidance, Bulgaria spends large sums of money collecting art, sponsoring artists and organizing exhibitions. She becomes very popular among the intellectuals by raising discussions on non-materialistic ideas. In 1981, she organizes a spectacular celebration to mark the 1.300 years since the establishment of Bulgaria. This extremely expensive event emerges as an apotheosis of her intent to emphasize the cultural importance and the uniqueness of Bulgarian nation (which gives room to the interpretation that it is different from Russian). In July 1981, she dies aged thirty-nine, leaving the entire nation in deep grief. As Crampton says: "Zhivkova's nationalism had been cultural not ethnic and was a call to celebrate Bulgarian achievements not to discriminate against indigenous minorities; even if she lived a privileged and extremely self-indulgent life, Zhivkova was probably more mourned at her death than any public figure since King Boris." (205)

(Data and interpretations according R.J. Crampton and U.S. Library of Congress Country Study)

5.3.2 Visual Representations

Unfortunately, all issues of "Septemvriiche" from 1956 (the issues from each year are bounded separately) are missing from the archive of the Bulgarian National

Library. That is why we will not be able to follow the changes exactly as they happened. Nevertheless, we can presume most of them by turning our attention to the next year – 1957.

The 20 April 1957's issue (*Figure 5. 9*) is dedicated to the celebration of the 87th birthday of Lenin. As mentioned before, although the general rejection of the past regime in the USSR, the one under Stalin, Bulgaria still confirms its faithfulness to Russia and its general path of development at that time. “Lenin” as a choice of theme for this issue, strong symbol of the system by itself, appears to be an affirmation of that faithfulness. Another point of support for this is the choice of illustration, a reproduction of the painting (a classical example of Socialist Realism) by N. N. Zhukov (a Russian painter of proven fame), which with its familiarity to the majority of the audience and its famous author leaves no room for doubt.

Another ‘play’ with the notion of authority we may find in the two central texts on this page. The first, in the top right hand corner, is a poem entitled “Lenin” by a famous Bulgarian poet – Nikola Furnadzhiev. The second is the text situated around the illustration with title “Lenin – Beloved, Dear Name”, written by Mladen Isaev, a literary man popular in particular with his works for children and adolescents. Both texts are obviously written especially for the newspaper and this fact raises the question if their commissioning for the issue is a coincidence, or some means of authority was necessary to confirm certain ideas? Both the texts and the illustration of this issue are an interpretation of another cliché of the

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ГОДИНИ
ОТ
РОЖДЕНИЕТО
НА
В. И. ЛЕНИН

ЗА ДЕЛОТО НА СОЦИАЛИЗМА. ЗА ШАСТИЕТО

НА НАШАТА РОДИНА — БЪДИ ГОТОВ!

СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ

ОРГАН НА ЦК НА ДСНМ ЗА ПИОНЕРИТЕ



НИКОЛА ФУРНАДЖИЕВ

ЛЕНИН

Живели осъдно хората,
без правдини, без свобода,
борците гинели в затворите,
и вред ограбван бил труда.

Но Ленин вдъхновил сърцата ни,
към подвиг русите носел,
врастите в ярага те запитали,
откъде си народът смел.

Години Ленинската партия
там чудно шастие гради.

И само там ли? — Следай картата:
напред не е като преди.

И ний с заветите на Ленин
разбожме изравня гнет;
от неговото вдъхновение
е днес народът ни обзет.

Затуй портретите му качиме,
за неговия път вървим,
затуй тъй тичам и обичаме
учителя си най-любим.

МЛАДЕН ИСАЕВ

Ленин-любимо, скъпо име



Владимир Илич Ленин!

Неговото име е безкрайно скъпо и любимо. Верен си на братския руски народ, Ленин е мъдър организатор и вожд на Великата Октомврийска социалистическа революция, основател на първата в света социалистическа държава — СССР.

Ленин силно обичал своята родина, своя народ. Наред с това той дълбоко уважавал и ценил всички други народи на земята. През целия си живот Ленин водил смела революционна борба за освобождението на работниците, селяните и всички хора на труда от капиталистическото иго.

Ленин бил не само гениален мислител и революционер. В целия си личен и обществен живот той бил безкрайно скромна и честен човек. Често пъти водил дълги приятелски разговори с обикновени неграмотни руски работници и селяни, изслушвал търпеливо техните оплаквания, правел всичко да стане техния живот по-лек, по-хубав. Като човек със силно обичашо сърце, Ленин не е могъл спойно да гледа как страдат трудните хора. Колкото по-голяма била обичта му към обикновените хора от народа, толкова по-силна била омразата му към капиталистите, които ограбват труда и радостта на хората. Затова Ленин цял живот се борил да няма капиталисти и грабители, да няма помен от всякаква робство и войни. Ленин мъдро учил работниците как да се борят за ново, справедливо, социалистическо общество. Затова неговото учение е наречено ленинизъм. Това велико учение днес ръководи стотини милиони хора по земята, които искат да живеят без грабители, в мир и братство.

Ръководена от светлото учение на Карл Маркс и Владимир Илич Ленин, поучена от Великата Октомврийска социалистическа революция, Българската комуни-

стическа партия доведе нашия народ до победа. Сега идеите на Ленин ръководят нашия народ в изграждането на социалистическото общество.

За всички български пионери днес името на Владимир Илич Ленин е свещено и най-любимо име. Българските пионери се учат да бъдат истински ленинци в живота си. Те обичат своята родина, както са я обичали Ботев и Левски. Те силно обичат и великата родина на Ленин — Съюза на Съветските социалистически републики.

Тази година най-тържествено

ще бъде празнувана 40-годишнината на Великата Октомврийска социалистическа революция. Целият съветски народ и всички миролюбиви хора по света с голяма радост ще посрещнат светлия октомврийски празник. В същото време народите с гореща благодарност и признателност ще почетат паметта на безсмъртния вдъхновител и организатор на победилата Октомврийска революция — Ленин.

В деня на годишнината от рождението на Ленин, като се прекланят пред делото му, българските пионери от цялото си сърце поздравяват своите братя — съветските пионери.

Нека бъде вечна дружбата между нашата родина България и сълвечето отечество на Ленин — СССР!



Преди две години възтановихте на Первоземия детски дом в Молдавската ССР започнали да отглеждат гълъби. Сега гълъбите са повече от двесте. Дената ще ги подарят на участниците във фестивала.

Други украински пионери, събрали от вашите ръце отпадналия посуджия за построаването на десет нова-трактора. Сега те са в нашия союз.

Много ви благодарим, мили другари, за подаръка. Комсомолците от съхоза обещават да се трудят славно да добият още по-голям урожай с вашите трактори. Желем ви да се учите добре и когато завършите училище, да дойдете при нас на целините.

ИВАН ФАТЯНОВ
секретар на Комсомолската организация в съхоза „Мичурин“ — Кустанайска област

По случай 40-годишнината на Октомврийската революция учениците от Атаманското средно училище — Херсонска област, пишат история на Чонгарския полуостров.

Колхозният свинарник се занала. Първи се притенеха на помощ учениците от Вишневолицкото училище, в Калининградска област. С все сили те удържаха реалта, за да съберат селските бика напугани към свинарника. От вратата заглъзала гъст бял дим. Изплашените свини изскочиха навън и се вкучиха. Димът лютеше, трудно беше да се диша. Но няма никакво нишесте на това! Дената успяха да спасят всички свини.

Младите техници от Одеския дворец на пионерите правят модел на полетен крак, който ще подарят на участниците в VI световен младежки фестивал.

Хрд. Н. И. ЖУКОВ
ВЛАДИМИР ИЛИЧ ЛЕНИН С
ДЕЦА

Figure 5.9

ideology – the representation of the idea that “Lenin is the best friend of the children.”

The major difference from the previously discussed issues is the change in the slogan above the logo. Now it reads: “For the Cause of Socialism, for the Happiness of our Motherland – Be Ready!” The lack of any names listed here (as it was before) might be taken as a sign of lessons learnt previously.

In the 9 October 1957 issue (*Figure 5.10*) seemingly, the content is ‘clean’ from political connotations. The first (upper) part of the page is dedicated to the creation of the first satellite, while the second part places at the reader’s disposal a song for studying.

A more detailed study shows that the illustration displays the Russian satellite as a Pioneer (it has a pioneer’s tie) and its earth communicators are represented in the face of a cheerful Pioneer. The illustration is schematic and clear, as the title (top left hand corner) says: “New Epoch in the History of the Mankind! The Earth’s First Artificial Satellite in on its Way!” and the Pioneers appear to be one of the first witnesses of this important event. The whole structure speaks of the idea that the socialist science is the most progressive one – since the entire planet is involved and benefits from it. In addition to this, the text (top right hand corner) quotes a Soviet scientist who says: “I believe that most of you will be witness to the first journey beyond the earth’s atmosphere...”

НОВА ЕПОХА В ИСТОРИЯТА НА ЧОВЕЧЕСТВОТО! ПЪТУВА ПЪРВИЯТ ИЗКУСТВЕН СПЪТНИК НА ЗЕМЯТА!

Рис. Т. ПИНДАРЕВ и Г. СТАМБОЛИЯНСКИ



Ти лети — смел и дързок — лети!
Отнеси и от нас ти привети
във безкрая, където блести
златен накит от древни планети.

И кажи им: ще тръгнем на път
там, където не стигат мечтите.
Наша стъпка напред ще кънати,
наши песни ще бъдат звездите!

Дързок и дръзки

На 4 октомври 1957 г. в Съветския съюз бе пуснат първият изкуствен спътник на Земята. От този ден той обикаля из вселената — за чест и слава на съветската наука. Неговите два мощни радиопредавателя всеки три секунди излъчват телеграфни сигнали. С тях той сякаш говори: „Аз съм тук! Милавам над вас! Аз съм спътникът на Земята.“

Той се движи около нашата планета със скорост 8 километра в секунда. Обикаля я за 1 час 36 минути и 2 секунди. Има форма на кълбо с диаметър 58 см. Тежи 83,6 кг.

Изкуственият спътник е снабден със специални уреди. С тяхна помощ ще бъдат изследвани плътността, съставът, строежът, и температурата на най-горните пластове на атмосферата, на височина 1000—1500 км. Колко време ще съществува той, засега не се знае. Изчисленията на съветските учени показват, че като надлезе в пълните слоеве на атмосферата, на

височина няколко десетки километра, спътникът ще изгори.

„Аз вярвам, че милионите от вас ще бъдат свидетели на първото задатмосферно пътешествие...“ — каза още през 1933 година големият съветски учен Циолковски. Неговата мечта вече се осъществява. Цялото човечество посрещна с голямо възнеение веста за лансването на изкуствения спътник. Стотници радиостанции приемиха неговите сигнали, милиони хора следят неговия път.

По време на Международната геофизическа година, учениците на Съветския съюз ще дунат още няколко изкуствени спътници на Земята. Те ще бъдат по-големи по размери и тежко и ще извършат по-обширни научни изследвания.

Изкуственият спътник на Земята е нова, голяма победа на съветската наука. Той е дълъг предвестник на пътува във вселената. Хвала и слава на таланта наука, която работи за благо на човечеството!

10 ГОДИНИ ДСНМ

Тези песни са пяли героите млади —
и вне ги пейте, щастливи отряди!..

МЛАДА ГВАРДИЯ

Текст: А. БЕЗИМЕНСКИ

Обработка: Н. ЧАПКИН



Скъпи пионери!

Вне обичате тази песен и често я пейте в училище, на утра, забави и разходки. Тя развирна пред вас картини от мрачното капиталистическо минало, в което нямаше възраст, нито, живехме на младици. Тогавашните управници разеха тази песен и преследваха всеки, който я запееше. Че как нямаше да я мразят и да се страхуват от нея, когато ги спонте осигуриха и бойни си редици извоюваха: през кръва и обривади, победно да лети! Доведоха господството на трудния народ на крилата на младост, устроено днешното напред, а на по-дром по-убавно по-живот!

Ничо, че не се спасяваха; нищо, че избиваха най-бавните и най-смелите борци за свобода. Предвождани от Партията, нищо, че изгубихме само, редиците на нашата млада дружина — избрехме си, усещача, че то щеше да бъде само едно: тези млади стотинци не биха разкаля без смелост, познана, ребе, да се борят, измършваха да бият. С тази песен партизаните победиха врага. И когато животът в младото тяло угасваше, пак се събуждаха поснежените устни на борците, пребити от фашистките палачи.

Млади другари, учете се от героизма на ремисистите, загинали за свободата на нашия народ! Запеи тяхната песен „Млада гвардия“, изпълнявайте с готовност задачите, които Партията и Димитровският съюз на народната младеж ви поставят! Днес тази песен изговори към упорит труд за изграждане на още по-радостен и по-щастлив живот.

РАЙНА СПАСОВА

Напред, другари млади!
В дим и дъжд
през кръва и барикади
победно да лети!
Напред срещу тирани враг
и по-високо бойни стени
нашата младеж
на трудния народ!

По този гуд днес творни
и стели пламък борци.
Във вълна гвардия
на трудния народ.
Почахме мразителни,
вие младостта
не сме готови
следен бой да мрем.
В душата вие лети враг,
и чеди там невоинни враг.
Ний младата сме гвардия
на трудния народ.

Figure 5.10

The second half of the page offers a song to the reader, which is called “Young Guards.” The text beside it encourages the Pioneers to learn and sing this song because it is an expression of the fights of their predecessors against capitalism. The musical notes printed over the text create an impression of frivolousness and joy that balance the serious tone of the song itself and its textual interpretation.

The predominant color on this page is light blue over which even the logo is printed this time. Blue is the background of the illustration; the musical notes printed over the text; the little rectangle at the bottom right hand corner (in which a text says that there will be more songs in the following issues) and the zigzag line that separates the two thematically different parts of the page. Although there is almost equal space given to the two topics, the predominance of the blue color attracts the attention and gives importance to the first theme – as this color is directly associated with it. In this way, even as we saw that the political matters are not totally absent here, the main subject is shifted to a more general theme, the first step to the conquering of the space by man.

Similar to this is the 10 January 1962 issue (*Figure 5.11*). Here, there is almost no reference to the ideological commitment. Besides the logo, there is nothing that might tell us of the political allegiance of the period. The page is composed of 14 caricatures (numbered to facilitate this discussion) integrated under the title “January’s Jest of Troubles and Mistakes.” The ‘troubles and mistakes’ here are general human weaknesses: naivety (1); cunningness, wiliness (2, 7, 9, 12, and 13); laziness (3, 7, 10, and 14); telling lies (4); cowardice, poltroonery (4, 6, and 11). Georgi Anastasov, a famous Bulgarian caricaturist, draws the caricatures,



Figure 5.11

which bear a vivid sense of humor and wit. In general, this issue explores the possibilities of humor in the form of caricatures as a powerful didactical tool.

Regarding the logo, there two general changes. The first is the overall design. While keeping the typeface in which “Septemvriiche” is written similar to the previous design, the size and the background are different, it is now smaller and the coloring is reversed (white on black). The second change is semantic – there is a new sign added, which is the “Georgi Dimitrov” medal which the newspaper has been awarded. It represents a five-pointed star with Dimitrov’s portrait in the center, underlined by two olive branches. This medal is given as award for special contributions to the cause of ‘building the socialism and communism.’

While in this issue laziness is being laughed at, the 14 January 1963 issue (*Figure 5.12*) directly calls for working enthusiasm, diligence, and assiduousness. Corresponding to the mood of the Zhivkov’s five-year plan (it is 1962, when the nation is mobilized for the last endeavor to complete the stated goals) this issue is dedicated to the involvement of the Pioneers in the campaign for the increase in national productivity, especially agricultural.

Three main features on the page are designed to initially attract the reader’s attention. The first is the text at the top left hand corner which, with its impressive size, states: “ In honor of the eighth congress of BCP the Pioneers from Burgas are calling for a new working competition!” The second is in the middle of the page and shows the promises of the Pioneers from Burgas – “to collect 3.000.000

kilograms of scrap for recycling, to breed 1.600.000 chickens, and 1.300.000 rabbits” etc. The third is the sequence of illustrations at the right hand side of the page. They show the imagined results of the competition – the first (at the top) states that with the money from the scrap there will be two bridges and a train station built and the train station will bear the name of the winning team. The second illustration states that with 5.000.000 kilograms of herbs the Pioneers could build their own ship. The third shows the happy children who have built a holiday house with their efforts etc.

Another element, the illustration at the base, interprets the often-exploited proverb at that time: “*Who hasn’t work shouldn’t eat.*” The picture shows a diligent girl, who has presumably grown the chickens and rabbits shown at her feet. She is holding a holiday ticket that could be acquired by stating and fulfilling certain promises (the text says “I, ... would like to go for a holiday, and I promise to complete the following ...”)

Although we might say that the entire issue interprets this proverb in a few slightly different ways, another direct reference to it is the text and its title in particular at the middle of the top of the page. The title reads: “You will live well-deserved in the communism!” In conclusion to this issue we might say that the propaganda methods here explore basic, but powerful didactical tools – the play with the “good and bad” oppositions; the exploring of the feeling of guilt and the “the more effort you put, the more successful you will be” interdependence.

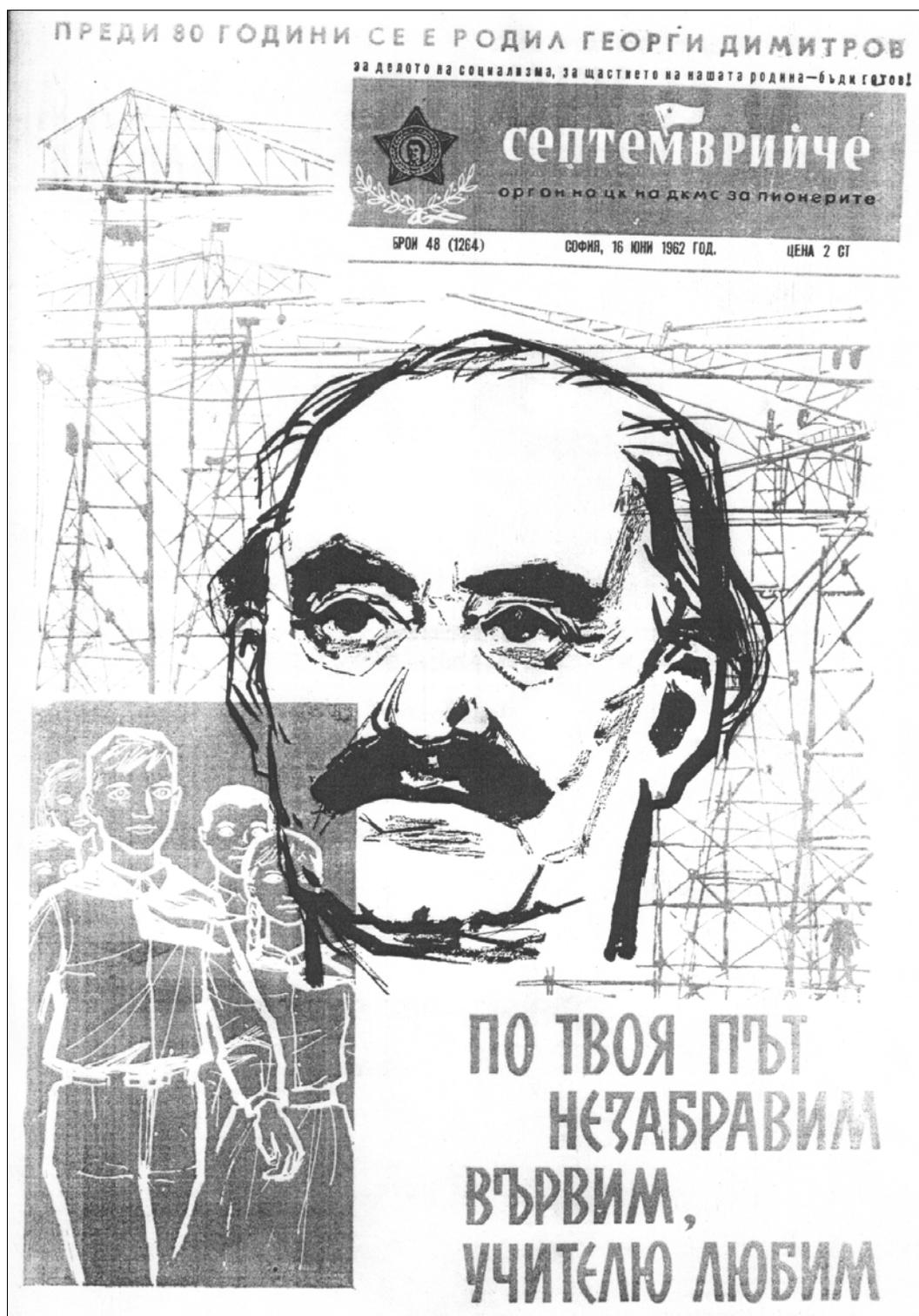


Figure 5.13

The issue from 16 June 1962 (*Figure 5.13*) offers us a more unusual, poster-like composition and graphical solution. The inscription at the top of the page (above the logo) tells us the theme: “80 years ago Georgi Dimitrov was born.” The rest of the page consists of an illustration and a rimmed, slogan-like text that states: “We follow your unforgettable path, beloved teacher.” The illustration is a drawing, which could probably be classified as late Socialist Realism since the level of symbolism is comparatively high. In fact, the sense of abstraction comes from the scaffolding drawn in the background, which unlike the other two elements (the portrait of Georgi Dimitrov and the composition in negative of figures representing Pioneers) has no direct textual explanation. This background creates an impression of fusion in the overall structure and most probably stands for the “building of socialism and communism” idea, which is referred to as the ‘path’ in the slogan. The other two elements are easily recognizable as a direct visualization of the statement in the text.



Figure 5.14

After this artistic ‘digression’, we are brought back to ‘reality’ by the next sequence of three issues from November of the same year. In *Figures 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16* we can see the releases from 6th, 10th and 20th November 1962 respectively, all of which are dedicated to the Eight Congress of the Party, which initially is scheduled for August but postponed until November due to the agricultural crisis. Shortly before this congress, Todor Zhivkov flies to Moscow from where he returns few days later with a confirmation of his positions as the Leader of Bulgaria and the full support of Khrushchev.



Figure 5.15

The content of *Figure 5.14* represents the first day of the congress, *Figure 5.15* Zhivkov’s speech at the congress, and *Figure 5.16* the conclusion of the congress. With the structure of the first two we are already familiar, both of them could be associated with the previously discussed *Figure 5.7*. The similarity is notably in

the content of the texts – their pathos and their genre – a combination of reportage, essay, and fiction. Here are some examples:

From *Figure 5.14*:

It is 9 o'clock. In the washed with light hall the representatives of BCP have taken their places. Coming from all corners of the country, the delegates – the conscience and the honor of our country – are ready to discuss and accept a great plan for the coming, happier days.

From *Figure 5.15*:

Standing behind the high tribune, the comrade Todor Zhivkov speaks, speaks... His eagle's look is directed somewhere far forward. His grey hairs are shining under the radiance of the lights.

“The People's Republic of Bulgaria is not separated from the communism since decades...”

How proudly echo back his words in the spacious hall! The eyes of the delegates and the guests are shining with enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, there are two basic differences: the first is with respect to the design and the second in relation to the semantics. Concerning the design, we can notice that now it becomes more ‘clean’, and with the exception of the photographs and two other simple symbols, there are no further decorations. The Soviet emblem (sickle and hammer) is now placed on a stripe that marks the whole length of the page (*figure 5.14*) and the five-pointed stars in *Figure 5.15* are lying in the background – at the top left hand corner and in the middle of the central text. The second change is naturally determined by the modification of the political situation (there is no portrait of Stalin ‘supervising’ the presidium, there is Zhivkov instead of Chervenkov etc.).

The third issue from this sequence (*Figure 5.16*) does not offer any specificity in compositional respect. It represents fifteen photographs and brief details of the people shown on them are. The mere intent here is to introduce the members of

Politburo to the reader. Nevertheless, this informing function is not articulated in an indifferent manner, on the contrary, there is a definite attitude expressed through the slogan at the top of the page (above the logo): “United Regards to You, Party! Forward with You, Party!”



Figure 5.16

From now on, as we can see from this sequence of three issues, the logo of the newspaper will appear in the two already seen formats. The use of the one or the other is not determined by any specific (identifiable) reasons except compositional.

Almost ten years later, the issue from 27 March 1971 (*Figure 5.17*) offers us a more unusual and complicated compositional solution. Its theme is a fusion of two subtopics, “the coming 10th Congress of the Party” and “the labor.” Concerning the second one, we can find similarities with first issue subject of our discussion (*Figure 5.1*). Here however, the general theme of labor is subordinated to the one

of the coming congress. The importance and the success of the workers are shown in respect of the expected changes (the approval of the new constitution and the new program of the party). Their labor is shown as an agency of progress, as the means through which the country has reached the level that requires new goals to be stated in front of the nation. As the main title says: “From Victory to Victory.”

The illustrations here are not linked to any of the texts but stand for their own implications. The choice of different means of expression – photographs and a woodcut – adds variety and dynamism to the overall composition. The strong sense of realism that the articles (as they are ‘reports’ from different points of the country) and the photographs (as their captions explain who the people on them are, and where the photographs were taken) express is not broken by the presence of the woodcut. On the contrary, with its strong and firm lines, and with its narrative and descriptive character it performs as a support to the impression of realism.

Another change from this issue (among the ones represented here) is in the logo where we can see two new signs that join the previously existent “Medal Georgi Dimitrov.” The first on the left is the Bulgarian state coat of arms and the other is the “Medal of the Socialist Labor” acquired by the newspaper. These symbols will be present and the logo will not undergo further changes until the late 1980s.

The following three figures (*Figures 5.18, 5.19, and 5.20*) will be shown here in order to demonstrate the absence of any substantial changes until the end of this period. Because of their principal similarity with the already discussed issues, we

Обичта ни, Партийо, вземи-пионерски рапорт приеми!

**X БКП
★
КОНГРЕС**

ИВАН ВЪЗОВ
Обич

Обичи до края на сатината и края
Партийо — СЪЩО ТУМЪТ НА НАША
Наша по-широк, по-прекрасен хоризонт
от хоризонта на твоето Програма
Като градите в безкрайния миг
плодни са твоите слова-директиви.

Тръпне страната, за полет готова,
с разума твой — Конституция нова.

Ти претвори и борби, и копнежи,
майчице мой, в сънца и строежи.

С мъдрост закърми, с надежда и сила
млада България, дух извисила.

Днес те целуват просторите сини
и те възпяват сърца и машини...

Ти и в трула ни, тъй както бе в боя,
пак ни предвождаш, Партийо моя.

За делото на социализма,
за щастието на нашата
родина — бийте готови!

СЕПТЕМВРИЧЕ
Орган на ЦК на ДКМС за пионерите

София, 22 април 1971 г. Брой 32 (2184) Цена 2 ст.

Figure 5.18

"Денят се познава от сутринта" — казва нашият народ. Прото на новия ден ние гледаме спокойно и напред и виждаме оная България, която ще израсне под нашите умели и босни ръце...

Здраво сплотени в семейството на социалистическата об-
дост, опрени на дружбата и сътрудничеството с братските
социалистически страни, Народна република България ус-
тавно ще изпълни Програмата на партията за изграждане
на развито социалистическо общество и ще излезе по всички
писти в челната редица на човешкия прогрес...

ТОДОР ЖИВКОВ



Партийо априлска

Партийо априлска, майко моя,
срещам горд
дена запролетен.
От росата цветна на шибоб
пък — завая твоят славец в мен.

Взорът ми от теб усмивна носи,
а сърцето ми —
от теб рубини.
И живея с твоите въпроси,
и ти вървам като роден син.

Мене
— малкия априлец —
в ящи
и в завода твоят глас зове.
Имам като теб един и същи
и приятел, и врагове.

Сбрах в юмрук
дланта си още слаба,
сред труда разбрах и джак, и тржи:
колко славно пътя е до злато,
колко славно днес е да градим.

Колко славно е да бдеш над струя,
над лозница,
цвете
и бразда,
и в нощта сред дъх на тамануша
да заспиш, целунат от звезда...

Партийо априлска, майко моя,
по очите
целуни
и мен —
от росата цветна на шибоб
пък, да пее твоят славец в мен.

НИКОЛАЙ ЗИДАРОВ

На тебе, Партийо любима, букет от пролетни цветя!



ПРОЛЕТ С ЦВЯТ НА ПЛАМЪК

Априлски изгрев буди
шата ни. Априлско
яще греє над нас. Прот-
та е дошла!
Беше пак месец април,
жалендара летописни-
обележаваха 1956 годи-
Историчите ще наре-
т това време нов етап,
вина, през които се про-
де Априлският пленум
партията. Поетите ще
бележат — това е пър-
ят априлски изгрев на
олетния устрем. И ед-
те, и другите ще казват
дината. Защото Април-
вят пленум е мисъл и
яство, слънце и въздух.
говият полъх ни даде
реността да крачим
и възхорете на кому-
има. Той докосна сър-
я ни и понесе като
на река творческото
звонение на нашето
ремие.

ето че отново дойде
нас април. Зелената
инна се е ширнала до
ниските хребети.
ичева лъска е събуди-

ла за живот плодородно-
то поле. Ние крачим по
него щастливи и празни-
чни. Вглеждаме се в ли-
цата на нашите майки и
бащи, братя и сестри, за
да открием извора на рад-
достта им. Наоколо зву-
чат тържествени думи и
рапорти: „Партийо, на
тебе посвещаваме вълно-
весния си труд! В твой
чест ще изгъвем хиляди
метри плат над плана,
ще произведем милиарди
киловатчаса електроен-
ергия, ще надминем до-
сегашните си достиже-
ния!“

Край нас се раждат
полвизи, които народът
ни посвещава на Нацио-
налната партийна конфе-
ренция. Много са пъти-
щата на хората, но те се
сливат в един голям и
светъл път. Той ще отведе
най-достойните в залата,
където заседава партий-
ният форум. До всеки дом
достига гласът на пар-
тията. Децата на Бълга-

рия ще чуят най-мъдрите,
най-верните думи, които
ще станат пътеводи в
техния утрешен ден. И от-
ново ще отдадат своята
синовна благодарност на
партията на българските
комунисти, водена от го-
лемия приятел на Бълга-
рската Пионерия, дълбоко
уважавания творец на а-
прилското обновление дру-
гаря Тодор Живков. Бълга-
рия уверено гледа в
своята бъднина. От висо-
тата на изминалите десе-
тилетия ще обгърне из-
върнения път. Всички ние
— строители на Девнен-
ската низина, монтажни-
ци от Първа атомна, енер-
гетици от „Марица—из-
ток“, хората, търсещи и
преоткриващи света, за
да го направят по-кра-
сив. И знаем, че Нацио-
налната партийна конфе-
ренция ще бъде едно но-
во докосване до сърцата,
отправени към светни ви-
соти и хоризонти.

СВЕТЛОЗАР КАРАДЖОВ



Рисушка: Г. ДЕНЧЕВ

Figure 5.19



УСТРЕМЕНИ КЪМ ВЪРХОВЕТЕ

Априлският вятър гали земята ни топла ласка. Като пролетна река умни радости ни, преляла в хиляди гласове и песни. Нека се вслуша в тях. Партията отново е призовала своите най-добри синове, за да вземе в мъдросте им думи пътя на решения ни ден. Заседават делегатите на Националната партийна конференция. Говорят комунистите от земиковци и Девня, от „Марица-нез-х“ и Нефтохимическия комбинат ай Бургас, работници и механизатори, инженери и творци на художеството, хора с различни професии, но с един устрем и една мисъл — да помогнат на родината в бивши едномесечен полет към бъдещето. Всичко зависи от нас — от силата ни, от размаха на крачките, от измерваема разстоянността между „вчера“ и „днес“... „Трудно е да се обобщат досегашните опити! Да се повиши ролята на доверителните колективи, на партийните обществени организации в усъвършенстване организацията на труда измислено! Нека не скриваме слабостите! Слабостите трябва да преодоляват...“

Ато в многостранна призма се чуват хиляди въпроси, за да ерат най-верния отговор. Причинялата зала откъва гласна първия партиен и държавен водител другаря Тодор Живков, кой ли път чуваме мъдрото му

и спокойно слово! Твърдост и комунистическа увереност има във всяка негова дума. Делегатите с вяло ние слушат доклада му „За усъвършенстване на социалистическата организация на труда и плановете ръководство на икономиката“.

„Човекът е като птиците. Той иска да лети все по-нагоре върху крилето на творческия дух. Но за да лети, трябва да познаваш законите на летенето, да имаш широк размах на крилето и верен поглед към хоризонта. Партията на българските комунисти ни учи как да летим. Нека си спомним докладната записка на другаря Тодор Живков до Политбюро на Централния комитет на партията. Той предлагаше да се усъвършенства плановете ръководство на икономиката, да се подобри социалистическата организация на труда. А това е основният проблем в настоящия етап от развитието на страната ни. Хиляди писма из пратките трудовите хора до Централния комитет, хиляди мнения и предложения дадоха работници, специални листи и учени по повдигнатите въпроси — Как? По какъв начин? С какви средства?... Всеки разбира своята голяма отговорност пред обществото. Така са подем девизът „От високото качество в работата на всеки от нас ще зависи високата ефективност в труда на колектива!“ Колко истина има в тези думи! Така ли рязко се смеа в здрав юм-

ру, ако е силен всеки един неин член. „Ние сме отговорни за утре — за деня“ — казват комунистите — за целия народ на трудод.

„... да стигаме смел, че можем да подем една богата школа, каквато е науката, за превръщане на науката в производителна сила. Съветските постижения в многомашиното обединение са за всички нас висок пример“ — сподели пред националната конференция Лилана Димитрова, лауреат на Димитровска награда и два пъти герой на социалистическия труд.

Говорят комунистите. Гласовете им обхождат родината. Те откъват във всеки дом, във всяко българско сърце. Да чуем техните рапорти: „До деня на партийната конференция 130 хиляди души изпълниха петметалния си план. Хиляди ще влязат в осмата петметалка, преди да настъпи 1980 година!“... „Миньорите от четвър-

ти участък на рудник „Георги Димитров“ — Перник изпълниха до деня на конференцията тригодишния план на петметалката, а в извънработното си време участваха в изграждането на детски, жилищни и културно-битови обекти...“... „Председател Йордан Атanasov от втори прадачен цех на вълноотекстилният комбинат „Георги Димитров“ в Сливен изпълни петметалката си задължително...“

Партията ни зове — „Нужна е пълна мобилизация на силите!“ Тя ни сочи главните задачи за реализиране в живота на стратегическия девиз на петметалката „Ефективност и качество, честство и ефективност“. Ние се гордеем с родната комунистическа партия, която е обединила в редците си нашите бащи и майки, братя и сестри, за да ни даде своята мъдрост, за да ги устремим още по-уверено към върховете на бъдещето.

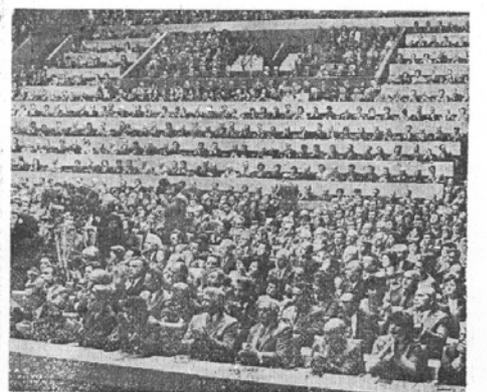


Figure 5.20

will mention here only their themes without going into further details. The 22 April 1971 issue (*Figure 5.18*), is still dedicated to the 10th Congress of the Party. The rhymed in Bulgarian slogan at the top reads: “Take our love Party – accept our Pioneer’s report!” The overall idea of the page is to represent the Pioneer’s commitment to the party. In *Figures 5.19* and *5.20*, we can see two issues from April 1978 when a National Conference of the Party has been held. The first (*5.19*) expresses Pioneer’s commitment and interest in the affairs of the party and its conference, while the second (*5.20*) offers a ‘reportage’ from the conference in a style already familiar from previous issues (*Figures 5.7, 5.14 and 5.15.*)

5.4 1980s –

5.4.1 Historical and Political Grounds

The 1980s in Bulgaria are marked by several economic crises and restructurings but the final results remain the same even if not worse. Politically the first half of the decade is comparatively calm. The minor changes made by Zhivkov do not change the structure and the operations of BCP and the government. The second half however brings greater destabilization especially with the emergence of Mikhail Gorbachev as the Soviet leader in 1985. It introduces qualitatively new stage of the Bulgarian-Soviet relationships. Gorbachev expresses his wish that the parties from the rest of the Eastern Bloc follow the directions the Soviet party has taken but he would rather allow the party leaders to cope with their own situation using their own methods. In this way, Zhivkov loses his greatest support and model to follow. By this time he is 74 years of age and the rumors about who his successor will be are spread. The image of BCP also suffers from the well publicized careerism and corruption amongst it. Its ideological credibility also suffers from the failure of the economical reforms and their clear visibility. The information in the form of films and literature in particular that is made accessible after Zhivkova's reforms in the cultural sphere gives possibility to the Bulgarians to compare themselves with the rest of the world. This raises enormously the expressions of discontent. Dissident groups begin to form around environmental and human rights issues. By 1989 at least nine independent political groups emerge, among them are the following: The Discussion Club for the Support of

Perestroika and Glasnost; the Independent Association for Human Rights in Bulgaria; Ecoglasnost; an independent trade union, Podkrepa (support); and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. At the 1987 Plenum of the Party, Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* are officially accepted as the new line of the party. Subsequently the plenum reduces official state ceremonies, rituals, personal awards, propaganda, and explains that such formalities alienated people.

After seeing the failures of all his reforms and the growing opposition, at the regular plenary meeting on the 10 November 1989, (one day after the fall of the Berlin Wall) Zhivkov resigns as General Secretary and member of Politburo and as a Head of the Country Council. In the following few years the country undergoes quick transformations. The search for perpetrators of the current condition of the country leads to frequent changes of governments and parties of power. Here are the brief facts:

1990 – Three BCP dominated governments are formed and dissolved; round table discussions between BCP and the opposition parties begin to formulate reform legislation. Tent-city demonstrations begin in Sofia and continue throughout the summer. In August, the United Democratic Forces (UDF) leader is chosen as president. In November and December general strikes force the resignation of the government of Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov. An interim coalition government is formed under Dimitur Popov.

1991 – The year begins with the initial phase of economic reform, including price decentralization of some commodities. The redistribution of land to private farmers begins in the spring. In July, new constitution is approved. Filip Dimitrov becomes Prime Minister.

1992 – Liuben Berov takes over from Filip Dimitrov. Parliament restores properties confiscated during the regime to their owners. General strikes take place including the transport network, the ports, and the medical services.

Since the events listed above are part of the recent history they will be left without further comment and we will turn our attention to their visual representation (or the absence of such.)

(Data and interpretations according R.J. Crampton and U.S. Library of Congress Country Study)

5.4.2 Visual Representations



Figure 5.21

The first issue we will discuss in this sequence is from the 22 August 1981. Its front page is dedicated to the 90th Jubilee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. This

topic is already familiar to us, but the illustration here is one of interest. *Figure 5.21* represents it – a lithograph by Dimitur Donev, which covers about one third of the page. Naturally, we can find here the symbols appropriate for the occasion: the letters BCP; the portrait of Dimitur Blagoev (the founder of the communist party in Bulgaria); poppies (symbols of the party); five-pointed stars; sickle and hammer; flags (presumably red); and an allusion to construction works. Out of the ordinary is the way these symbols are combined here. Although the signs are still recognizable, the style is much more abstract, non-narrative, and dynamic. If we compare it to the illustrations from *Figures 5.18* and *5.19* we can notice the qualitative difference between them. In all three of them, the subject matter is “the Party,” but the means of expression are very distinctive. For instance, if we look at the representation of the flag in *Figure 5.18* we can directly say that the communist flag dominates the composition and that this is a communist flag.

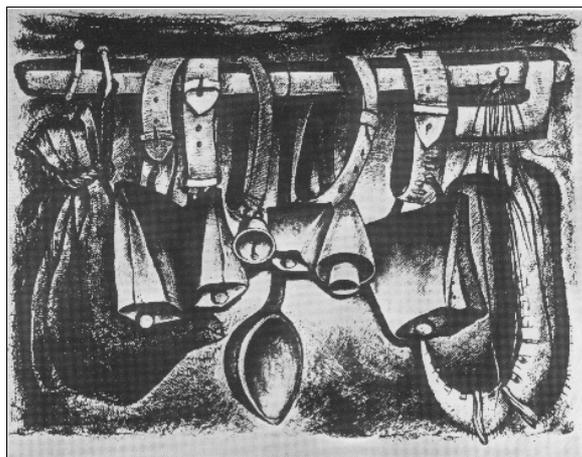


Figure 5.22

Dimitur Donev
Cow Bells, 1967
Lithograph, 37x44cm.

However, in *Figure 5.21* the viewer is meant to know that there should be a flag and to distinguish it as a communist one – in other words, to be prepared to read the symbols. This is an activity which is not included in the perception of the pure Socialist Realism. An alternative comparison might be of interest at this point. In *Figure 5.22* we can see another lithograph by the same artist from an earlier period (1967.) Without building any specific conclusions and deductions, we can become aware of the difference, not precisely in the means of expression but in the subject matter and the way it is elaborated. Is this personal transformation a sign of a more general, social one, or just a singular case?



Figure 5.23

With few exceptions, one of which is the discussed above issue, up to 1989 the style and the content of the newspaper is almost identical as in the previous two periods. An example of this is the edition from 13 March 1985 (*Figure 5.23*.) It announces the death of the Soviet Party and Country Leader Konstantin Chernenko and the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev. The mournful news is

presented somehow ‘incidentally’, in one third of the page and in smaller font, while to the appointment of Gorbachev is dedicated the rest of the page. It is ‘honored’ with a photograph and a congratulation letter from Todor Zhivkov. The five-pointed star placed by the side of the photograph speaks of the commitment of the communist world to Gorbachev’s cause.

Completely different is the case of *Figure 5.24*. It is from the beginning of 1989 (24 January) but we already witness number of transformations. In technological aspect, from about this time the newspaper begins to be released in full color.

Beginning with the logo, we can see that its visual appearance has changed. Now it occupies the whole width of the page and is in a slightly different typeface. The visual representation of the medals is substituted with their listing (it is cut from this reproduction but could be seen in the following ones). The previous slogan “For the Cause of Socialism, for the Happiness of Our Motherland – Be Ready!” now reads “For the Happiness of Our Beloved Motherland – Be Ready!”

The theme of the issue is represented by the title (at the base of the page), which reads “Is it possible to establish our own COMPANY?” In addition, through the photograph, which represents ‘a manager’, who is now not a Pioneer (as all other representations of children we have seen formerly) since he wears a common tie instead of the red one. This subject-matter probably comes as a consequence of the ‘new’ idea of self-management stated in the Party Program of 1987 and further more of the apparent breakdown of the idea behind the socialist economy, in whatever form it might have appeared.

In October 1989 a European environmental conference, Ecoforum, is held in Sofia, which gives a possibility to the Bulgarian human rights defenders and Ekoglasnost to perform their demonstrations and to attract the attention of the world. An artifact from this conference can be seen at *Figure 5.25*. The title says “European Environmental Conference. 16 October-4 November 1989” and is situated in the background of the illustration. As part of it, for the first time in the history of the teenager’s newspaper we can see a real painting made by a child. The overall design of the page is unusual for the scheme used earlier; it also is simple but expressive.



Figure 5.25

Under the title “Plenum of CC of BCP,” the release from 14 November 1989 (*Figure 5.26*) announces the events of 10th of November. It shows a photograph of Petur Mladenov (Zhivkov’s successor), a short biography (under the photograph), the announcement for Zhivkov’s resignation (under the title) and a short appeal from Mladenov (at the top), excerpts of which are worth citing:



Figure 5.26

The conclusion is one: in order to build successfully a genuine socialism, to communicate sufficiently with the civilized countries ... we should build a self-managing civil society, organized in a state with a social system chosen by the free will of the nation. Choice, which once and for all our nation has made.

Let me once again underline: we see the reorganization of Bulgaria only and exclusively in the frames of socialism, in the name of socialism, and on the road of socialism.



Figure 5.27

The purpose of this citation is to mediate our discussion to the next issue, from 26 December 1989 (*Figure 5.27*). The first point of interest, is again the slogan above the logo. Now it says: “For the Cause of the Bulgarian Communist Party, for the Happiness of Our Beloved Motherland – Be Ready!”

The next point of concentration is the illustration on the prevailing space of the page – or more precisely its absence. This case is indicative of how powerful an illustration might be, how it could speak even if it is not present, or because it is not present. The text above the empty space says:

A happy New Year picture was supposed to be placed on this space. However, the bloodshed in Romania, the reports that there are children among the victims give us a reason to leave this space blank. Let this whiteness be an expression of our grief for the innocent victims and for the hope of all Bulgarian children and their parents that the national revolution in Romania will triumph!

Still, there are New Year’s greetings but they are shifted modestly to a less central space, along the left and the bottom borders of the page.

An impressive pencil drawing by Simeon Spiridonov illustrates the issue from the 16 January 1990 (*Figure 5.28*). The gentle and sensual drawing representing an expectant mother evokes various feelings: love, tenderness, delicacy, peace, hope, optimism, wish, anxiety ...combined with its title “Bulgaria, Hope ...” it speaks greatly of the nation in transition and its fears and desires. In a telephone interview conducted especially for this study the artist shares the following story: He was a student in Prague until 1968, when after the events of the Prague’s Spring he has been abandoned from the Academy in accusation of producing ‘decadent’ art. His fault being a wall-painting commissioned by a local bank and executed by him. After his return to Bulgaria he is discarded from the “Printing

2697

За делото на Българската комунистическа партия,
за щастието на нашата скъпа родина — бъди готов!



Носител на ордените „Народна република България“
„9 септември 1944 година“, „Червено знаме на труда“

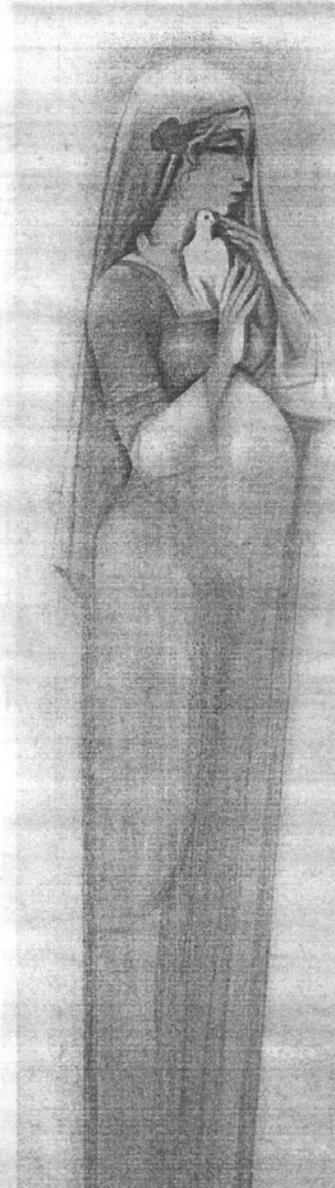
СЕПТЕМВРИЙЧЕ

Орган на ЦК на ДКМС и ЦС на Димитровската пионерска организация „Септемвричче“

Година XLV, брой 3

София, 16 януари 1990 г.

Цена 12 стотинки



Нискоба
Бисметина
„Кирил и
Методий“

ОТКРИТА СРЕЩА-РАЗГОВОР

На 11 януари 1990 година по инициатива на вестник „Септемвричче“ и Централния дворец на пионерите „Георги Димитров“ се състоя открита среща-разговор за обсъждане характера и бъдещето на детската организация в България.

В нея участваха представители на Демократическата партия, Социалдемократическата партия, Социалистическата партия, БЗНС „Никола Петков“, Гражданския форум за защита правата на децата, ЦС на ДПО „Септемвричче“, Независимите български профсъюзи, БСФС, общественици, пионерски ръководители, журналисти.

Участниците в срещата споделиха, че децата на България трябва да израстват като носители на нравствени и естетически ценности и добродетели в духа на демократичните традиции на българския народ.

Общо бе мнението да не се изграждат детски организации към каквато и да е партия, децата да не бъдат използвани за политически борби.

Присъстващите изразиха желание откритата среща-разговор да продължи на 18 януари 1990 година от 17.00 часа в редакцията на вестник „Септемвричче“.

Заявки за участие се приемат на телефон 44-11-56.

СЕГА Е ТАКА – А УТРЕ?

НЕСЪГЛАСИЯ, ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЯ

ДИСКУСИЯ

„ДЕТСТВО“

на вестник „Септемвричче“ и Детска редакция при Българското радио

на стр. 3

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ:

отзива
с писмо на Петър
Павлов на изматку
„Родна просторна“
кино,
театър,
изложби,
разкази,
стихове...

ДА
ПОБЕДИШ
СТРАДАНИЕТО

на стр. 9

ТОЗИ БРОЙ Е ПОСВЕТЕН
НА

МИЛОСЪРДИЕТО

Средствата, както обвихме, ще бъдат внесени в помощ на румънските деца чрез фонд „Милосърдие“ към Българския червен кръст.

БЪЛГАРИЯ, НАДЕЖДА...

рисушка СИМЕОН СПИРИДОНОВ

Figure 5.28

and Publishing House” in Sofia (the union which edits all national periodicals and most of the non-periodical printed materials) as dissident and ‘unsuitable’ to work with. The first professional appearance of Spiridonov dates from the 30th November 1989, when without his permission, a national daily newspaper “Rabotnichesko Delo (Worker’s Affairs)” publishes a reproduction of the wall-painting from Prague. “Seeing this,” says Spiridonov, “the people from Septemvriiche called me with the offer to prepare for them an illustration, which would express the newspaper’s commitment to Democracy. Can you imagine? A children’s newspaper!” exclaims Spiridonov. He accepts the offer for financial reasons. He executes the illustration with the intent to express a wish for peace in the first place. “Because, you know,” he says, “we were frightened. The police were only waiting for the sign that will give them a motive for bloodshed. But we didn’t want this, we were hoping for a ‘gentle revolution.’” Now, looking at his illustration we can understand what thoughts have produced the fragility and strain expressed by it.

Going back to the *Figure 5.28*, a brief look to the titles of the texts (“Open Conversation,” “It is Like This Now – But Tomorrow?” “To Win Over the Pain”, “The Charity” ...) completes the impression of confusion and bewilderment of political and social life in Bulgaria at this time.

Visual culmination of this highly emotional period for Bulgaria, a period of passions and disillusionments is at *Figure 5.29* from the 13 March 1990 edition. At this point, we could probably leave the strong and effective collage and its title “Politicians, Protect the Children!” to speak for themselves. For the completeness



Figure 5.29

of the analysis, we will mention that the logo here keeps the red flag above it but there is no slogan, no list of awards, and instead of the editor, now we read “National Weekly Paper for Children and Adolescents.”

From the end of March 1990 “Septemvriiche” newspaper is published under the name “Klub 15” (Club 15), the editors are replaced and in February 1993, the last issue is printed. In *Figures 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, 5.33, and 5.34* we can see five examples from this last period.



Figure 5.30

The 5th June 1990 issue (*Figure 5.30*) is for the first time in the history of the newspaper dedicated to football. There is a short article and photographs about the 1990 World Cup. The logo now is completely different. Above it there is still a slogan-like line, which reads: “Club for those who are 15! Club for those who will be 15! Club for those who want to be 15!” In addition, in the rectangle in the top

left hand corner we still read: “National Weekly Newspaper for Children and Adolescents.”



Figure 5.31

The 20 November 1990 issue (*Figure 5.31*) covers few topics, but the main one (specified by the illustration) is “Love” – again a new departure for the newspaper. The photograph, which covers about two thirds of the page, represents a somewhat banal vision of a young urban couple. The text explaining it is titled “Almost Everything About Love.” Another interesting element here is the child-like drawing in the top right hand corner. Its caption reads: “Choki acts as a poltergeist, but insists that he is an alien” and a reference to page seven where the story continues. The third curious element that attracts our attention is a small advertisement (bottom right hand corner) that says: “To the company managers! Advertise in Poland!” and then gives details of how it can be done. This is a rather unusual advertisement to be found in a teenager’s newspaper, but most probably, the editorial board has its own reasons for it.



Роден е черен, а сега е по-бял и от мляко. Всеки път Майкъл Джексън изглежда все по-бял. Американският певец малко се е поизплашил след голямото пигментиране на кожата си, защото много специалисти са на мнение, че подобно нещо може да доведе до ракови заболявания. Но въпреки всичко кожата на Майкъл Джексън на тази снимка е много по-бяла от тази на господина, който се е родил бял, дори с белина да се измие, не би станал по-бял от Майкъл Джексън.

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До неотдавна наркоманията беше проблем, който свързвахме с телевизионните сериали и смолчаците, дръзнали да застанат на пътя на наркоманията. Време е да изключим телевизорите и да се огледаме. Пола и Кравва! Ояхме преждели и оставили не гошите момчета и момичета. Те се боцеха с общи спринцовки, бутула въз се и мислеше, любовта.

Сега всичко е по-различно – спринцовките станаха много, наркотиците – различни, явките се умножиха. София е залита с некачествен хероин, който няма шанс да бъде пласиран в Западна Европа. Никой не знае колко са наркоманите – официално регистрирани са 1800, но ако кажем десетки хиляди, няма да страшим. Наркотиците влизат в София, Варна, Пловдив, Търново и Смолян.

Четете на 2 стр.

Figure 5.33

1992

КЛАСАЦИИ, УСПЕХИ И ПРОВАЛИ

Измислялата 1992 г. бе твърде богата в музикално отношение. Появиха се много нови имена, световните вълчици потвърдиха класата си с нова продукция, а някои от рокиндозаврите триумфално се завърнаха на сцената и в музикошопетете.

В този брой на вестника ви предлагаме набор от няколко годишни класации за 1992 г., които ще ви дадат представа за състоянието на нещата през изминалите 12 месеца. По тях ще можете да се ориентирате и да откриете за себе си някое ново или съвсем непознато име от шоубизнеса. Избрахме нарочно

годишните класации на английското списание "Смаш хитс" тъй като възрастовата граница на неговите читатели е като при читателите на "Клуб 15 плюс" - от 13 до 17 години. Виовете какво харесват и какво не обичат младите англичани и сравнете своите вкусове. Впрочем ще видите, че твърде често едни и същи имена присъстват и при категорията "Най-добър" и при категорията "Най-лош".

Отделно пък ще ви представим някои от победителите и новите имена.

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КЛУБ 15 ПЛЮС

8 февруари 1993 г.

ПЛЮС

Цена 3.00 лв.

ФАНТАЗИИ ЗА ЗЕМНИ НЕЩА

Толкова неща могат да бъдат оползотворени, ако някои измислят как! Вашите по-възрастни приятели и роднини имат възможност за такъв тип изяви в телевизионни предавания, но пък за плонците се говори, че много по-интересно използват датския и юношеския умствен труд...

Опитайте се да се насочите към несъществуващи досега възможности, които предлагат предметите от нашето ежедневие. Вгледайте се по-внимателно в тяхната форма, материя, цвят, предназначение и каквото още се сетите. Опитайте се да "сместите" досегашните им свойства и току-виж - завълк изскочи от храста... Целта на тази задача е да проверим вашата наблюдателност и комбинативност, умението ви от "нещо" да направите нещо!

Очакваме идеи, които биха могли да осигурят втори живот на предметите по-долу сурвини - в каквато и да е форма, а различни обекти на бита, НО... без да се налага тяхното преработване (чрез претопяване, например):

1. Кофички от кислород.
2. Костилки от череша и вишни.
3. Стружилки от подострения молив.

Идеите и проектите изпращайте в желаната от вас форма. Ние ще бъдем почтени посредници и защитници на вашите интереси пред евентуалните купувачи на идеите ви! За най-добрите предложения предлагаме награди.

ЗАЩО ЗЕБРИТЕ СА НА РАЙЕТА?

Уолф Рабхолд, професор по еволюция в Мюнхен, предлага оригинална хипотеза: "Колкото буквално подпулват, акоти ухапва на секомо. Когато са с провиние Африка, раз- вижте (окача) рабала", за да се опитват ухапванията на мухата цецца. Ското на мухата е на секомо раздана в твото на голямо криво напоредца от черки и бели ивици. В остранта жартинд, каквато предствява, името никога не е раздана на ивици, което да става за идане и за това не тале. Колкото по-широки са ивиците на зобрата, толкова по-дала е на ната еволюция. Анимаблата скрива имурава на жиро и за да се набр, прес- тосми, не тале много сиб бовал дане в удре мухата цецца

ИЗВЕСТНО ДО БЕЗОБРАЗИЕ

Здравето е това, което най-много притеснява хипохондрика Майкъл Джексън. Той седи на столче на колава от страх да не донесва бактериите от пода, пълни своите бели дробове с чист кислород в специална камера и дори някои казват, че се къле с минерална вода. Животните са неговото голямо хоби - в своя собствен зоопарк той притежава питон, ама, отровен паук (тарантула) и шимпанзе. Майкъл Джексън обожаваша децата и, както казва неговата сестра Ла Тойя, се страхува малко от жените. Не му се приписват контакти с жени и дори някои смятат, независимо че той го отрича, че не е имал никога сексуална връзка.

Четете на 9 стр.

Figure 5.34

Hits,” does not clarify the matter (there is no text which could be associated with this illustration.)

As we have seen, the period 1990-1993 is distinguishable from the rest (before 1990) by several features. Firstly, there are new topics – football, love, pop music celebrities, narcotics etc. – all of which could not be seen in the previous issues. Secondly, there is the overall composition and arrangement of the articles and their illustrations – in this last period the newspaper tends to combine more than one matter of different character in one issue, even in one illustration. In other words, it is to a great extent thematically unspecified (as it was before.) The logo changes three times during these three years. This is probably is a sign of a search for new identities.

6 CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the overall design of the newspaper changed very slightly before 1989. It keeps the general structure of one central theme per issue supported by an illustration and text, which is often in the form of a poem. The themes are changing from issue to issue; nevertheless, they do not go beyond a certain frame. This frame encloses topics such as ‘The Party’, ‘The Leaders’, and ‘The Labor’ (the labor as the means to the bright future). This topical repetition from one side and the repetition of the visual structure from the other appear to be a strong propaganda tool.

As the subject of this analysis is a children’s (teenager’s) newspaper, we need to pay special attention to the representation of children on its pages. Unlike the representation of the Leaders, or other human figures – represented most often by photographs (*Figures 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.14, 5.15* etc.) – the children are usually shown by drawings (*Figures 5.2, 5.4, 5.8, 5.10, 5.18, 5.19* etc.) These drawings represent an idealized, unified view of a child. The children are always Pioneers – always identified by their ideological affiliation, not by personal specification – they, unlike the Leaders, do not have names and personal distinctiveness. These representations do not aim to show a specific child, but an integrated, romanticized image – an icon. Probably the most representative examples of this feature are *Figures 5.8* and *5.16*. The first shows a ‘close-up’ of a Pioneer with all

necessary elements – red tie, white shirt, strong expression, firm posture – to be recognizable as an icon, not as an individual. The second figure shows photographs of party leaders (Politburo members), each of which bears a caption with the name of the person. The text at the side lists their names again with an additional explanation of their positions. A summarized option of this feature – the distinct methods of representation of the Leaders and the ordinary people (children) – we can see in *Figure 5.4*. The representation of the Leaders (Dimitrov, Stalin, and Chervenkov in this case) is clearly manifested by the large portraits in the center of the page, while the children, although distinctive, remain nameless fragments of the crowd, characterized only by their political affiliation.

Another point of interest is the increasing use of photography as a method of illustration. The reason behind that we can partly see in the already mention above feature. The second reason might be purely technological. The third one we might contribute to the concerns of Socialist Realism. There is no doubt that when a realistic representation is sought, especially for the purposes of editorial illustration [see Chapter 4 and the introduction to Chapter 5], photography remains the most direct and powerful approach.

These features become even more evident when the issues from before 1989 are juxtaposed to those from the period after 1989. The emergence of a number of new topics (love, drugs, crime, aliens, celebrities, pop music (western), football, etc.) in this short period points to the absence of such topics in the previous years. Although still nameless, the children now begin to be represented through photographs. Instead of the unified representation of Pioneers, now we can see

real children expressing various feelings and emotions. Instead of the idealized strength and optimism, now we can see more ‘human’ expressions – such as fear (*Figure 5.29*) and romance (*Figure 5.31*.)

All these modifications suggest, even if we are not aware of the shift in the political scene, of a certain collapse, the collapse of the censorship. Additionally, when we compare the variety of topics covered in a single issue in the period after 1989, we can see that from a strong propaganda tool the newspaper now transforms to a more informational and populist newspaper. Now the content is more diverse. From strictly politico-ideological determination, it now turns to topics of a common, everyday, universal nature.

As a conclusion, we might say that the steady, unchangeable graphical design and the repetition of the topics in the newspaper before 1989 is a consequence of its function as an agency of the Party and the state. Additionally, the changes in its visual and textual appearance after 1989, which are parallel to the shifts in the political scene appear as a confirmation of the close inter-relations between the Party and the state and the sphere of art and culture.

It is been said that Bulgaria even now, after more than ten years since the fall of communism, needs a national reconciling. Reconciling, paraphrasing Umberto Eco, means sympathy and respect for all who, in good faith have been leading their own war. However, to forgive does not mean to forget. We can suppose that

they have been sincere in their beliefs but could we say: “Okay, go back and do it again.”

But who are ‘they?’

If we think about the Bulgarian government before 1989, we could certainly say that it is impossible that it will take the same form in different historical conditions and situations. The answer to this question therefore, is somewhat complicated since it is a result of complex and sometimes untraceable inter-relations.

In this work, I attempted to bring back the memories of the past and to show the visual, and textual, as they are hardly separable in this case, reflections of such inter-relations.

It has been difficult for me, as Bulgarian national, to keep an objective and neutral point of view for the purposes of this study. Nevertheless, where possible, I have given different sides of the arguments and the disputable points without subjectively judging them.

This study, despite its detailed exploration of selected areas, could not be taken as complete and comprehensive without further research and inquires into the various aspects of the subject.

APPENDIX A

Construction is the arrangement of the elements.

Construction is the outlook of our age.

Like every science, art is a branch of mathematics.

Construction is the modern prerequisite of organization and the utilitarian employment of material.

Art that is useless for life should be kept in museums of antiquities.

The time has come for art to be an organic part of life.

Constructively organized life is more than the enchanting and stifling art of magicians.

The future is not going to build monasteries for priests, or for the prophets and clowns of art.

Down with art as showy gem in the dark, grimy lives of the poor!

Down with art as a means of escape for a senseless life!

The art of our age is conscious, organized life, capable of seeing and creating.

The artist of our age is the man able to organize his life, his work and himself.

One has to work for life, not for palaces, churches, cemeteries and museums.

Active work has to be done among the people, for the people, and with the people; down with monasteries, institutions, studios, studies and islands!

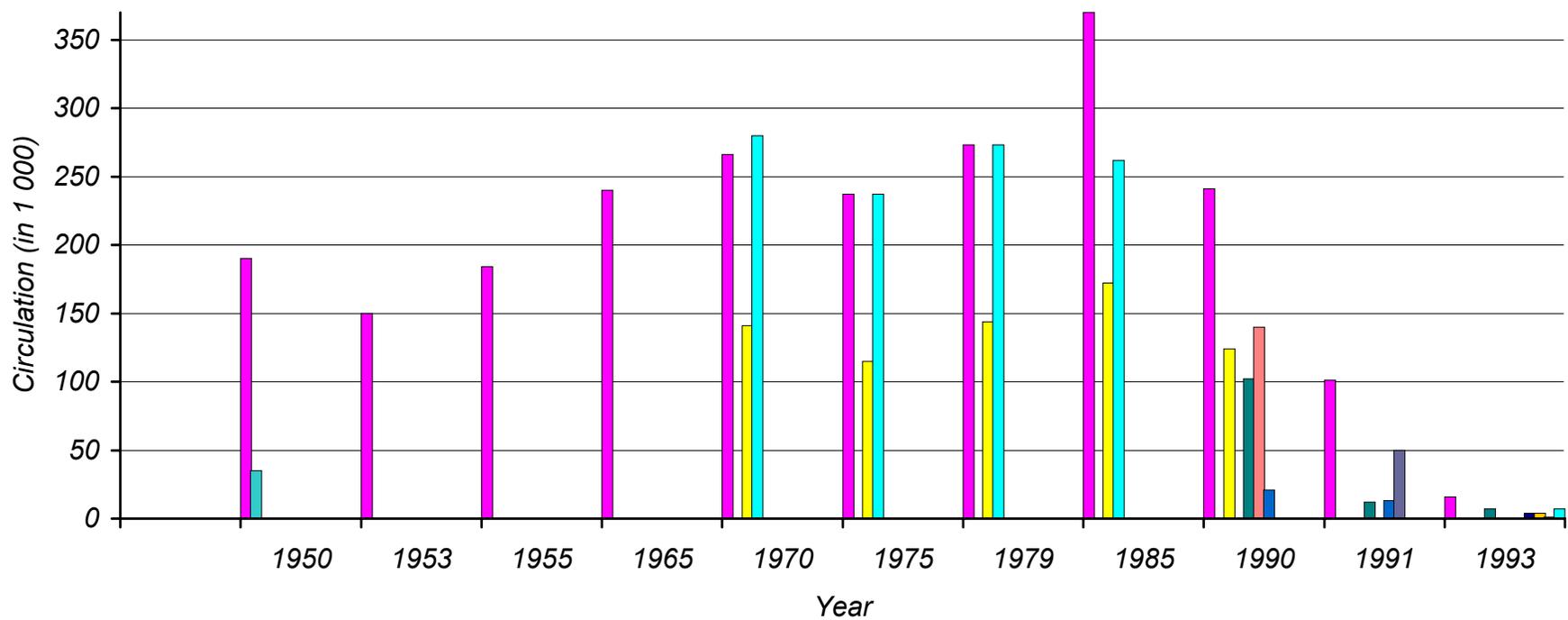
Consciousness, experiment ... function, construction, technology, mathematics – these are the brothers of the art of our age.

Rodchenko, 1921

(The Future is Our Only Goal, 158)

Newspaper's Circulations

APPENDIX B



- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| ■ Septemvriiche | ■ Vyzdyrjatelche | ■ Drugarche | ■ Rodni Prostoni |
| ■ Detski Svjat | ■ Koj si ti | ■ Srednoshkolsko Zname | ■ Venche |
| ■ Gajdarche | ■ Ejko Smeshko | ■ Kljukarche | ■ Paljacho |

APPENDIX C

- **Arial** АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- **Arial Black**
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Arial Narrow АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Arial Unicode MS
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Batang АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Book Antiqua
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Bookman Old Style
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Century АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Century Gothic
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Comic Sans MS
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Courier New
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт

- Garamond АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- **Heattenschweiler АаббВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт**
- **Impact АаббВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт**
- Lucida Console
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Lucida Sans Unicode
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- *Monotype Corsiva АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт*
- MS Mincho АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКк
ЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Sim Sun АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛл
МмНнПпРрСсТт
- Tahoma АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Times New Roman АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт
- Verdana
АаБбВвГгДдЕеЖжЗзИиКкЛлМмНнПпРрСсТт

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