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Topic:
Jeopardizing Democracy throughout History: Media as Accomplice, Adversary or Amplifier of Populist and Radical Politics

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Editorial

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Populism and populist politics were seen to be on the rise for several years and extreme ideologies as well as radical politics were striving for power in many European democracies and around the globe. With the end of the Trump presidency,[1] with Brexit fulfilled and the right-wing populist FPÖ no longer being a part of the Austrian government, there is also some indication that this constant rise has partly been stalled. Nevertheless, the seed of putting democracies in jeopardy and enforcing divisive politics is still there. During the global Corona pandemic new fronts of populism may be in formation and new movements are set in motion expressing their discontent with the current state of political affairs. Sensationalism, misinformation, rumors and conspiracy myths also in this context and time provide a fuel to populist agitation, which often is circulated or amplified by media in its diverse forms. Public debate and political pundits suggest that there is a link between the proliferation of radical politics, trenches of polarization between political camps and across societies on the one side and contemporary media environments on the other. The hope that media will save democracy and will be sentinel to democratic processes, serve as harbourers of a critical public sphere and deliberative discourse has changed over the last years. Of late the question whether democracy can be saved from the media, and social media in particular has been raised in discussed with increasing concerns (Sunstein, 2001; Swart et al., 2018; de Vries, 2020).

The emphasis on allegedly new phenomena such as fake news (Burkhardt, 2017; Darnton, 2017), echo chambers (Löblich and Venema, 2021), hate speech or digital platforms as drivers of political polarization and as vessels of agitation often neglects that mediated communication has always played a vital role in both safeguarding democracy as well as putting it in jeopardy. Media have been important factors of disseminating collective fear, propaganda

(Baines et al. 2020; Wodak 2015), fostering anti-democratic sentiment and mobilizing for political causes in almost all historical epochs. Their role during wars, political crises and for the rise of populist ideologies or their charismatic leaders has been and still scrutinized by media and communication research (Ribeiro & Schwarzenegger, 2021, forthcoming). Populist politics tend to produce simplistic answers for complex problems (Gerbaudo, 2019). Typically, their rhetoric is anti-elite and advocating for an ingroup (us) which would be threatened or abused by the elites or a perilous outgroup (them). Spreading mistrust against social, cultural or political elites and outgroups is part of communication strategies, which were employed by populists from different political camps and for various ends. These include but are certainly not limited to agitation against vulnerable social groups, religious or ethnic minorities, foreigners, the poor, the disabled, as well as anti-Semitic or misogynist agitation. The anti-elite stance of populist rhetoric also often included antagonizing legacy media and the institution of journalism, in order to discredit information and critical coverage. Rumours, myths, lies and conspiracy theories – all of them have a long history of being used as a pretence to spark public outrage, or moral panic, to motivate uprisings or isolate social groups as scapegoats or fall guys for political gain and hence also require inquiry in historical perspectives.

It is hence the goal of this issue of *medien & zeit* to provide a glimpse on the long history of how media in their many different forms and variations, served as either and amplifier or even accomplice (for reasons of profit, influence, power or ideology), or in the contrary acted as an adversary to populist and radical politics. The goal of this issue hence is to contribute to an understanding of the role media played as potential accomplices or carriers of populist agitation (e.g. in autocratic regimes and in

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[1] On Trump and Media, see Boczkowski and Papacharissi, 2018.

absence of free media or out of commercial crookedness) or as amplifiers of extreme political positions or groups and populist sentiment (e.g. sensationalist and simplistic reporting or excessive coverage for populist tropes). Media and mediated communication can however also act as countering forces and adversaries of radical politics and aim to tame blatant populism or maintain forums for civilized debate (i.e., governance or self-regulation measures that may evolve through time[2]).

The articles assembled in this issue do so not only with respect to a variety of different historical periods and socio-political contexts, but also with regard to geographically and culturally diverse cases across the European continent. This broad spectrum makes visible that depending on the contexts given and the state of democratic development and tradition and in close conjecture with the state of the media system's robustness and vigilance both the threats to democracy and the possibilities of countering them will vary as well – political extremism and what is considered a "radical" position is not an absolute but relative and transient.

This issue of *medien & zeit* originates in the 2019 workshop of the ECREA (European Communication Research and Education Association) Communication History Section in Vienna. This workshop, which went by the same name, was hosted by the Austrian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies (CMC) and invited by Josef Seethaler and Christina Krakovsky. It was the goal of that conference to shed light on populist and radical political communication in a historical perspective and across various political and cultural settings in Europe and beyond. All the contributions to this volume have been originally presented at the conference. Authors were invited to submit a full paper for this issue and all submissions were then subjected to peer review.

From Sweden to Austria, through Hungariam Finland and Switzerland, from post-WWI to the 1990s, from governmental sources to computers through the study of radio, populist communications and military magazines, the authors highlight a diversity of positions, reactions, audiences and shift, may it be through time and space as well as through stakeholders and countries themselves, while also combining a diversity of methodologies. Discourse analysis, automated text analysis, digital mapping also shows the way historians may combine digital humanities and digital history with media studies.

The first article is by **Merja Ellefson** from Umea University in Sweden. Her article explores the ways military magazines remembered and made sense of the Finnish civil war both directly after the 1918-1919 war and during the centennial anniversaries of the declaration of independence and the war in 2017-2018. Combining automated text analysis with discourse analysis, Ellefson uses the peculiar media type of military magazines, as influential memory-makers in public discourse. She compares how the winning and the losing parties of the civil war were constructed a hundred years apart and how far the constellations of friends and foes have transformed or persisted over time.

The second contribution by **Balázs Sipos** from Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, analysis how extreme right propaganda in Hungary turned the Soviet Union into an enemy, then into a friend and back to an enemy during the course of World War II. He suggests that while the propaganda of the Hungarian extreme right movement (Arrow Cross Party) depicted the Soviet Union as the "Jewish-Bolshevik" "they-group" and hence an antithesis to the Christian Hungarian "we-group". After the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Hungarian extreme right held the believe that the Soviet Union would be a friend of Nazi Germany and hence a new image of the former enemy was needed – in fact not just a new one but the complete opposite. The article shows how this was resolved in the media related to the extreme right movement and how this change in tone and image was later corrected and returned to the initial version again. Sipos shows that in extremist propaganda and populist communication not only the absence of truth is a characteristic, which does not hinder the success of communication, but also that replacing the falsehoods spreads with their opposite and changing back again may be acceptable as long as it promises political gain.

Ely Lüthi, from USI Università della Svizzera italiana presents a study on how the Swiss

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[2] See for example Puppis, 2010 ; Pohle and Van Audenhove, 2017, Musiani and Schafer, 2021.

government used media and communication as tools to foster national cohesion and unify the country politically and in terms of identity. Using governmental sources, Lüthi analyses the approach of Switzerland to communication tools and technologies in the service of democracy by comparing the case of radio during World War II and the role of supercomputers in the service of national defense at the end of the 20th century and the role and function the Swiss government attributed to these communication means. Following a political economy of communication approach, it underlines how Switzerland saw in communication the perfect instrument to protect the country, increase national unity and tried to connect the various linguistic regions, attributing it a specific pattern of ideas and values, which remained very similar in different historical times.

The fourth paper by **Simon Ganahl** from the University of Vienna is more of a methodological reflection about practices of mapping as an access and vantage point to historical reconstruction. He describes the project "Campus Medius" which aims to explore and expand the possibilities of digital cartography in cultural and media studies. Ganahl presents the premises of the project and sketches its path from a historical case study on the Austrofacism and fifteen events within twenty-four hours in Vienna on the weekend of May 13 and 14, 1933, including the so called "Turks Deliverance Celebration" ("Türkenbefreiungsfeier") and how this historical case evolved into a mapping platform. The potential insights gained and the affordances of the project are described in his paper.

Besides the evolution of populist politics and their relationship with the media of their respective times, the articles in this special issue also highlight that academic inquiry into this relationship is a shifting and challenging field of observation itself. Theoretical conceptions and normative assumptions about, for instance, the role of journalism for democratic societies, the ideal of the public sphere and deliberation, or the "neutrality" of the media in reporting and forming audiences are sometimes anachronistically applied to past scenarios or dated concepts may be applied to new phenomena. But while we need to be careful when looking back with our contemporary experiences and expectations, historical perspectives also help prevent to fall for hasty accounts of exceptionalism for current phenomena: The media have always amplified radical politics and, similarly, arguments and discourses in favor or against it have already emerged in the past. At the same time, there are of course new possibilities and new forms of amplification thanks to digital media, but the emergence of populism is not a digital phenomenon per se. Also, by academic myths and scholarly narratives some communication practices are normalized while others might be pathologized. Prevalent concepts, eligible methods and accessible sources shape and foster certain understandings of problematic populism or romanticized counter-publics and civic engagement. In this vein it is also important to reflect the scholarly assumptions, concepts and approached and to also discuss and reflect how the past of populist endeavours or the struggle of counter voices can be made transparent, accessible and comprehensible to contemporary audiences, scholars and understandings.

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Whose Nation?

Memories of the 1918 Finnish Civil War in Military Magazines

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Abstract

This article explores the ways military magazines remembered and made sense of the Finnish civil war both directly after the 1918-1919 war and during the centennial anniversaries of the declaration of independence and the war in 2017-2018. Military organizations and their magazines were journalistic and organizational memory-makers. Due to their size and popularity among the winning side, they shaped public opinion and perceptions of the war. The winners' perspective was disseminated through organizational activities, commemorative rituals, and ideological upbringing. Magazines were an important tool in strengthening the feeling of togetherness and common destiny. Although the military interest groups no longer have the same societal impact, it is interesting to see the changes that occur as the winners tell the tale a hundred years apart. In brief, the aim is to examine which issues are highlighted or suppressed, and on which grounds people are seen as friends or foes, i.e., whose Finland appears on the pages of the magazines a hundred years later.

Keywords: Civil war, Finland, mediated memories, anniversary journalism, military magazines, connected concept analysis, discourse theory

The Finnish civil war was fought in spring 1918. The White Army consisted of volunteer White Guardists, conscripts, Jaegers, and Russian trained officers. Some Swedish officers volunteered. When assistance was requested, Germany sent General von Goltz with his troops. Despite many contacts with the Bolsheviks, the Red Guards received little assistance (Jyränki, 2014; Tikka, 2018b). Russia did not want to risk the peace treaty with Germany.

After the war, the White Army reorganized into a conscript army, voluntary auxiliary defense organizations *Suojeluskunnat* (SK) and *Lotta Svärd*, which organizationally separated from SK in 1921. *Suojeluskunnat* has been translated in a number of ways. I prefer "The White Guards", reflecting their earlier origin as order guards (*järjestyskaarti* or *valkokaarti*), and their use of the word "white". The winners spoke of "White Finland" and "the White Idea".

The White Guards and Lotta Svärd were powerful grassroots organizations. By WWII, roughly ten percent of bourgeois society were members. When the ban against Leftists was abolished during WWII, Lotta Svärd doubled its size to ca 240 000 members. Nevala-Nurmi (2006) speaks of bourgeois defense families, with men as Guardists or army officers, and women as Lottas, while the children belonged to the youth organizations. According to Mannheim (1993), generations acquire distinct profiles through their specific shared experiences, memories, and self-thematization discourses. Defense families, however, had no significant generational ideological conflicts. Due to their ideological upbringing, and societal impact Guardists and Lottas were important memory-makers. Their first magazines were founded immediately after the war. While they also contained organizational information, their main purpose was ideological education and preservation of war memories.

Defense organizations were aware of the power of narratives and authoritative storytelling. The media function as social storytellers, and journalists write first drafts of history

(Kitch, 2003, 2006, 2008; Zandberg, 2010). Landsberg's (1995) term prosthetic memory describes mediated forms of knowledge and the media's role in making memory transportable. There is extensive historical research on the civil war, and the military magazines served as historical sources. However, they have not been studied as journalistic memory makers. According to Edy (1999), journalists often use historical analogies, historical contexts, or commemorative stories. The military magazines provided a platform for the war generation to share their experiences and participate in formation of a nationalistic "creation" myth. A century later, their experiences are recirculated in commemorative stories told by others.

Since the present is traced to portions of the past, it is interesting to examine how the civil war is remembered and explained a hundred years apart. The aim is to study which issues are highlighted or suppressed, who is included or excluded, which discourses emerge, and what is Finland.

The Nation as an Imagined and Mnemonic Community

According to Halbwachs (1992), remembering is a shared social, cultural activity. In the process, people's personal memories are bound together, the past is reconstructed, and the interpretation of the facts adapts to the existing beliefs. Since Halbwachs' seminal work, memory studies have become a multifaceted research field. The terminology has diversified, reflecting different approaches to studying memory. Assmann's (et al., 1995) communicative memory and Rigney's (2019) collected memory encompass memories limited in time and scope. Fentress & Wickham (1992; cf. van Dijck, 2004) speak of social memory, a framework through which a group understands and interprets the world.

Cultural memory comprises social memory, material or mediated memory, and mental or cognitive memory. It, thus, has social, material, and mental dimensions, and an individual and collective level (Erll, 2011; Assmann et al., 1995). The past is constructed through media, institutions, and cultural practices. Erll (2010) believes the term modes of memory dissolves the opposition between history and memory. Hence, myth, historiography, and different

histories are modes of memories and ways of referring to the past. According to Schwartz (2019), the past's reality is in the present, making factual knowledge of events less important. Journalistic contextualization of the present and the past is an attempt to explain "how we got here" (Edy, 1999).

Hirsch (2012) speaks of postmemory and how traumatic memories are passed on to the succeeding generations. The Finnish nation has struggled with the past. The civil war generation has passed away, but subsequent generations may be "marked by memory". The hundred-year period marks a historical transformation during which the first-hand experiences of the participants are lost. It also means a loss of collected and communicative memories (cf. Assmann et al., 1995; Rigney, 2019), as the oral passing of lived experiences may never have occurred. Violent conflicts create a spiral of silence powered by fear of remembering, or by fear of isolation resulting from "not acceptable" memories uttered openly (Daniels, 2014; Eberle, 2019; Noelle-Neumann, 1993).

But, what is the "collective" that remembers? A nation typically shares a collective name, a myth of common ancestry, historical memories, culture, a system of ideas, a specific homeland, and a sense of solidarity. Anderson (1995) sees the nation as an imagined community where the feeling of togetherness is created between distant others. Hobsbawm (2012) speaks of the invention of tradition. Smith (1991) sees nation-building as a reconstruction of its ethnic core and integration of its culture with the modern state. A nation-state is thus an imagined and mnemonic community. Hutton (2019, 69) sees it as "a magnet of social allegiance, grand narrative of history".

Finland, however, was a Swedish province until 1809. Then the establishment of the Russian Grand Duchy created a separate self-governed unit. The bourgeois elite's lingua franca continued to be Swedish, while Finnish was associated with the lower classes. Finnish speakers were thus at the margins of the emerging public sphere (cf. Nieminen, 2006; Wolff, 2016). The Finnish language newspaper market only began to grow in the late 19th century. It is, therefore, questionable whether the conditions necessary for creating an imagined community existed before WWI.

The main players of the civil war emerged at the turn of the century. Russification, the empire's attempt to modernize its rule, reached Finland in 1899. Although protests against it led to national mobilization, there were many societal tensions. Wealth and power were unevenly distributed, and the rise of the working class made the old elite nervous (Jyränki, 2014; cf. Wolff, 2016). During the 1905 revolution, the Social Democrats, with the bourgeois nationalists' blessing, organized a general strike and demonstrations. Red and White order guards were used for crowd control. The protest movement demanded universal suffrage and the end of Russification, which were granted in 1906. The Social Democrats won almost forty percent of the seats, and a few women from different parties were also elected. Universal suffrage and the rise of Social Democracy created impossible expectations, as complete parliamentary democracy was not yet possible (Jyränki, 2014).

The outbreak of WWI exacerbated existing tensions. While the war benefited some, most of the population suffered. Portions of the nationalist movement radicalized. In 1915, Germany, seeking to destabilize Russia, agreed to train a group of Finns. These so-called Jaegers later played an important role in the civil war. In 1917, the Provisional Government came to power, and the Russian gendarme and police were ousted from Finland. A power vacuum was created as the state's monopoly of violence crumpled (Roselius, 2009). Who rules the Grand Duchy?

As Finland had neither police nor an army, both political blocks relied on local order guards. When Finns enacted a law giving their parliament supreme power in Finland, the Russians had to call for new elections. The Social Democrats lost, and tensions between the political blocks worsened (Jyränki, 2014). The October Revolution pushed the bourgeois government to declare Finland independent on December 1917. By January 1918, Finns were fighting each other.

The most iconic battle was fought at Tampere, an important industrial city, which fell into White hands in April. The war ended on May 16, 1918. The Whites had issued a shoot-on-the-spot order in February, but both sides used summary executions in military cleansing operations (Tikka, 2018a). As the war ended, field courts gave way to prison camps and treason courts. The White Guards played an important role in sentencing processes by giving evidence, identifying, and arresting Reds (Tikka, 2008a; Roselius, 2009). Several Red leaders escaped to the Soviet Union, while the Social Democrats recanted and remained the largest party.

As Tikka (2018b) points out, the end of WWI had ripple effects, and revolutionary or reactionary paramilitary organizations appeared in many countries. Democratization and the old elites' loss of power led to power struggles between middle-class and working-class organizations. The transformation from agrarian societies to modern industrialized nation-states shattered old loyalties and communities. Nationalism became a way of replacing them and creating a bond between absent others (Anderson, 1995; Smith, 1991; Hobsbawm, 2012). The situation in Finland was thus not exceptional.

Sources

Why study military magazines? The initially weak state apparatus and collapse of policing caused by the Russian empire's implosion strengthened White Guard power, and they played a central role in punishing the Reds (Jyränki, 2014). Since the defense organizations believed in the duty of remembering, they collected memories and organized commemorative events and rituals (Tikka, 2018a; Roselius, 2009; Ellefson, 2016). The magazines became the voice of organizations that were important national symbols and White Finland's organizational core (cf. Siironen, 2012). These organizations were at the heart of the hegemonic mainstream society.

The studied material consists of articles about the civil war in military magazines. The war ended in May 1918, and in June *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti* (White Guardist's Magazine) was founded. The government wanted the army to have its own magazine, and *Sotilasviikkolehti* (Soldier's Weekly) was founded in September. It was replaced by *Suomen Sotilas* (Finland's Soldier) in January 1919. The magazines were weeklies, with a two-column layout and 16 pages per issue. Lotta Svärd used these magazines until 1928 when the Lottas founded their own publication. Lotta pages were established in the 1920s. Thus,

the studied issues have only a few articles written by women.

While the magazines were linked to defense organizations, they relied on subscriptions. Since they were channels for membership information and ideological education, the readership was more extensive than the relatively modest subscription numbers indicate. As many other magazines, they had distinct profiles, niche audiences, and promoted inclusion, and feelings of shared reality and values (cf. Kitsch, 2006).

The White Guards, Lotta Svärd, and their publications were abolished by the peace treaty of 1944. *Suomen Sotilas* still exists as a niche magazine published by *Suomen Mies* (Finland's Man), a company owned by *Maanpuolustuskiltojen liitto* (The Alliance of Voluntary Defense Guilds). Despite *Suomen Sotilas* targeting professional soldiers, it has never been formally owned by the Defense Forces.

Given this study's aim to compare the civil war coverage a hundred years apart, the selected articles were published in 1918-1919 and the centennial anniversaries of the declaration of independence in 2017 and the civil war in 2018. The 2019 issues focused more on later wars and were excluded. In 1918-1919, around 120 articles were published, 60% were in *Suojeluskuntalaisen* lehti, 35% in *Suomen Sotilas*, and only 5% in *Sotilasviikkolehti*. The latter's few articles were excluded, as they offered no new perspectives. The average text length is about 700 words per article and they lack pictures. In 2017-2018 roughly 50 articles were published, but texts are longer and contain many photographs, illustrations, and maps. Since the old texts lack pictures, the visuals are excluded. Some authors in 1918-1919 use initials, some sign with a name. Officers tend to use name and rank. Some of the articles published in 2017-2018 are signed, some are not.

The media participate in constructing shared memories and shaping public discourse and perceptions (Kitch, 2007). Although the military magazines' readership was limited, the defense organizations had the size and prestige to impact national identity and public opinion. They represented mainstream bourgeois society and had close ties to societal elites.

Methods

The national archive has digitized print media to 1929. Articles were collected manually using the archive's OCR reader. During this process, mistakes produced by the reader were corrected. Lemmatization (a lemma is the base form of its inflectional forms) was made with Språkbanken's annotation tool Sparv, supporting Finnish and other languages.

The method is discourse theory combining connected concept analysis with Textometrica, which maps conceptual relationships and discursive themes (Lindgren, 2012; Lundgren, 2014). The texts were uploaded in Textometrica, and a list of stop words (available online) was applied. Then the word frequency list is converted to categories (concepts). The automated text search finds keywords in the material and helps find a common context to form a concept. Words without clear distinctions are coded as one concept (e.g., enemy, Red Guards, or Finns/Finland). The co-occurrence analysis is based on the concepts. The result is a frequency list of co-occurrences, and Textometrica turns the strongest links into a concept map (Lindgren, 2012).

Since automated methods are not free from biases, Textometrica showing general discursive themes not visible by close reading, is combined with discourse theory (cf. Lindgren, 2014; Glasze, 2007). Laclau and Mouffe (2014) see discourse as a field with concepts positioned to each other, or as a system of differential positions called moments. They refer to Saussure's principle of value, stating that all values are relative to each other. Winter Jörgensen & Phillips (2000), using the fishing net as a metaphor, describe moments as the knots holding the net together. The manner in which the moments differ from each other create meaning and specific knots in the net organize other signs. Therefore, identities are relational. Meaning crystallizes around the privileged signs, called nodal points (Winter, Jörgensen & Phillips 2000, 57; Laclau & Mouffe 2014).

By viewing Textometrica's concept map through this lens, we can interpret its network clusters as discourses that can be studied more closely with discourse theory.

Findings

Grammatically, it is possible to squeeze more details into one Finnish sentence than in an English one. Authors in old magazines preferred long, convoluted sentences with many subordinate clauses and adjectives. The style of the new magazines has changed, and the sentences are shorter.

Textometrica shows the main discursive themes, and the node sizes reflect the number of connections of each concept, showing which concepts are central or peripheral. Chains of equivalences show how meaning crystallizes around nodal points. Generally, the stories in *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti* (SK) are more personal and descriptive, whereas *Suomen Sotilas* (SuS) focuses on military issues, such as weaponry and developments on the front.

There are differences between the figures. In figure 1, the chains of equivalences clustering around the largest nodal points show that Finland is defined as White Finland. Since the authors wrote history as it was happening, they focused on groups and people. People, the winners, are seen as the guardians of the Fatherland. As society's stability is believed to depend on people's spiritual strength, ideological education
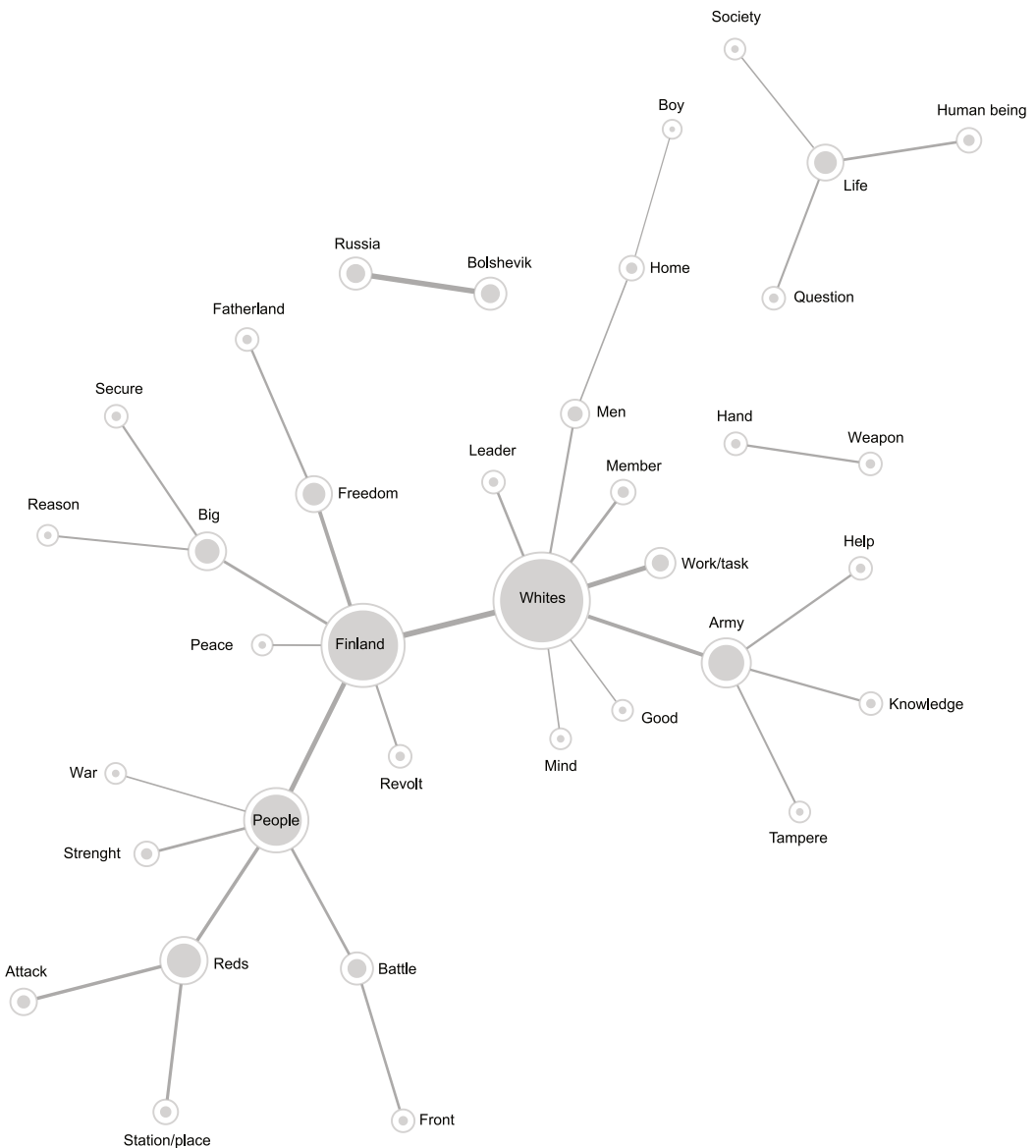
Fig. 1. Co-occurrences in the military magazines 1918-1919 (strongest links)
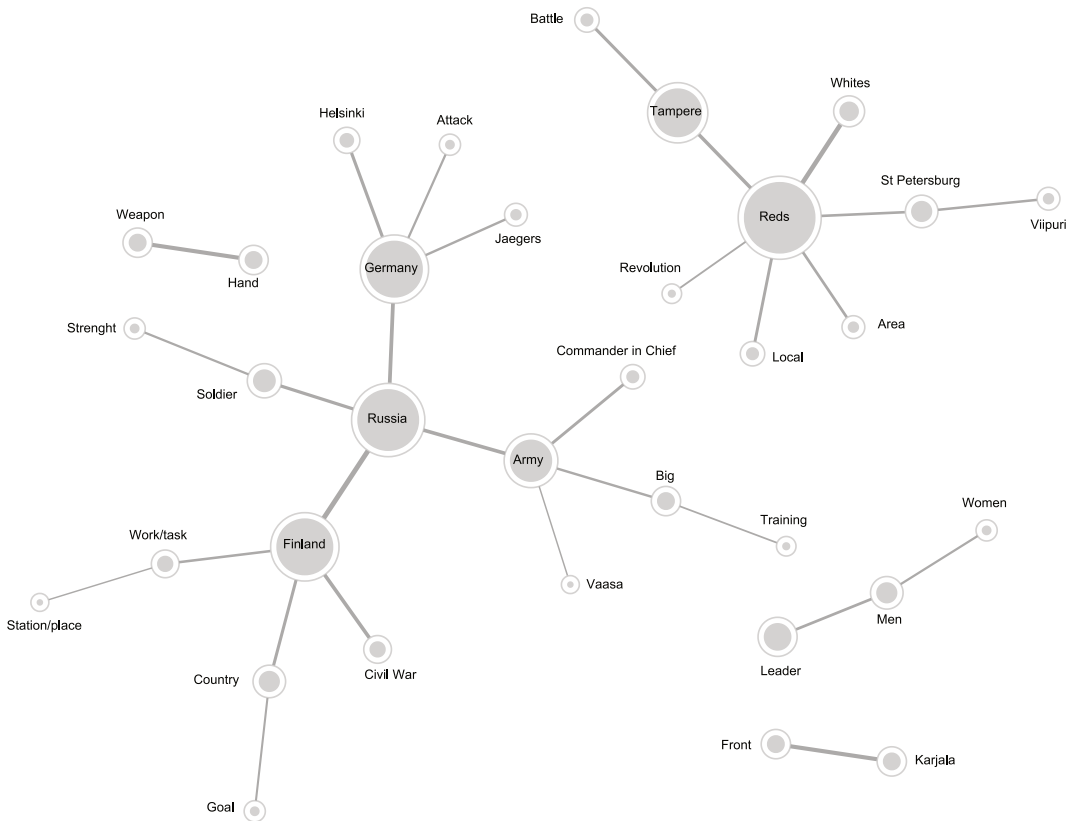
Fig. 2. Co-occurrences in *Suomen Sotilas* 2017-2018 (strongest links)

is requested. These texts do not say much about other countries, e.g., Russia appears mostly with Bolshevism. In figure 2, the main cluster links nodal points "Finland", "Russia", and "Germany". These articles are historiographical. The authors provide backstories to the chains of events, and the focus has moved to abstract actors, the nation-states. Finland is placed in international spheres of interest. For example, General von Goltz's involvement is framed as pulling Finland into the German zone of interest, rather than helping the Whites.

The nodal point "Reds" is more notable in figure 2, as specific articles are dedicated to them. In figure 1, this cluster contains mostly battle descriptions. Both figures have small peripheral clusters, e.g., about weapons, specific battles, and people's or women's roles in the society. National galleries of heroes are usually male (Ellefson, 2016), but in 2018 some articles focus on women. It shows a change in the conception of the nation. The old texts saw the Reds as a dangerous alien element, whereas a century later even the Red women are respectfully presented.

In the next chapters, close reading is provided for the most central themes; the transformation of Whiteness and Redness discourses. Quotes are translated as close to the original as possible. The long sentences typical of the old articles are kept as long as they are understandable in English.

The Whites: The Knights in the Coarse Wool Coats

In figure 1, Whiteness derives its meaning from its antagonism to Redness. The Whites are described as brave, unselfish liberators, and strong in body and spirit. Savior metaphors, such as a drop of water in the desert, are also popular. An example:

> What would have happened if you brave vo-
> lunteers - from Karelian and Savo schoolboy
> heroes to the oldest men with strength of steel
> - had not withstood the unrestrained raids of
> the numerous and brutal enemies, with your
> inexhaustible bravery under the leadership
> of your famous commander-in-chief. If your
> strength hadn't lasted, now the Savo families
> and the people of Karelia would be burned
> and destroyed by the Red Terror. // With your

perseverance, the main front of our struggle for freedom was saved. The whole of Finnish Finland will forever honor you!
(SK 1918, no. 1)

This speech, given by V. S. J. Laamanen, Conservative politician and Guardist, is a good example of the "wordy" linguistic style.

The White fighters are also described as *sarkatakkiritari*, knights in a coarse wool jacket. The jacket symbolizes a humble, honest, god-fearing peasant soldier. Among the civil war generation, this image was linked to J. L. Runeberg's (1848) poems "The Tales of Ensign Stål", describing the Swedish Russian war in 1809. Its first song is the Finnish national anthem, and Lotta organization was named after the poem "Lotta Svärd".

The old texts frequently use archaic expressions with ideological connotations. They are used in different word classes and are difficult to translate into English. The first are derived from the word *siveä*, meaning chaste, modest, virtuous. *Siveellinen* means being virtuous, righteous, pure in thought and action, whereas *sivistynyt* signifies being civilized, educated, and cultivated. The second consists of words based on *valistaa*, to enlighten, educate, inform. They are used in the same manner as the previous one. There are also compound words, such as *sivistystyö* or *valistustyö* (the work to civilize or enlighten someone). These expressions describe the qualities of the Whites and the need for ideological education. An example:

> *During the last spring, the volunteer force supporters saw lot of sincere courage and sacrifice, true love to White Finland. // enough right mind and character that can be developed to keep Finland safe. But, it cannot be done without a lot of work, diligent enlightenment activities, and constant toiling on the road to progress, creating favorable conditions for citizens so that everyone gets to know this country, finds here they enjoy their rights, and also joyfully asks to fulfill their civic duties. While this correct perception is not ubiquitous, it needs to be deepened so that the moral, patriotic, and love of citizens to the state grows and strengthens and becomes the best power of the homeland and the state*
> (SK 1918, no. 3).

Author F. E. Sillanpää (Noble Prize for literature in 1939) explains the difference between "virtuous spirit" and "inner redness":

> *From the perspective of the White Guards' virtuous* (siveellinen) *value, we must examine features that have appeared among the people in the so-called White Finland. It is self-evident that Russian pollution's contagion has not been sharply limited to just one section of the population, the actual Red Guards, and their supporters. Red-Guardedness is not, first and foremost, something outward, or visible. On the contrary, there were many men in the Red Guards, whose inner mentality is not red, and there are undoubtedly many "Whites", whose mental composition is entirely red, but who, as wealthy men, were the most ardent opponents of visible redness.*
> (SK 1918, no. 5)

As the quotes show, the imagined Redness is not merely a political standpoint but a sign of depravity, curable by ideological education. The quotes also show links to the societal elites. Laamanen and Sillanpää were not the only public figures who were members or contributors to the magazines.

In the new commemorative stories, the archaic expressions are no longer used. While belief in the White saviors remains, the picture is more nuanced. For example, the Jaegers may still be heroes, but they are also "many kinds of men, who did not always perform their duties in the best possible way" (SuS 2017, no. 5). The previously forgotten Jaegers with Leftist sympathies and those who volunteered for other reasons than patriotic fervor are remembered. However, use of expressions originally preferred by the Whites, such as "Liberation War" and "the White General" (the commander-in-chief Mannerheim), show the magazine's White roots.

In 1918-1919, there are two types of eye witness accounts. Articles written by officers are formal, impersonal descriptions of troop movements, weaponry, etc. The second type is personal stories, providing vivid accounts of the narrator's hardships during the Red Revolt. Descriptions of the Reds' brutality are at times framed as a proof of White bravery (e.g., despite the danger men were smuggled out to the Whites), and at times as the reason for the narrator's inactivity (i.e., being sensible, not cowardly). These stories

also include descriptions of the White onslaught and the relief felt despite the danger.

Both the old and new magazines pay special attention to the battle of Tampere. The article "Blood-Red Tampere" says:

> One hundred years ago, the fiercest and bloodiest battle in the Nordic countries took place in Tampere. Brother committed it against brother, the Finns vs. the Reds with the Russians' support. The scars of battle and terror are still visible in Tampere. The losers were subjected to ruthless revenge, and the Russians did not escape terror either.
> (SuS 2018, special issue)

In the old texts, the adjective "Red" signified political color. A century later, it is the color of blood. Memory can be a vehicle for assuming responsibility. According to Leccardi (2019, 196),

> "collective reflexivity is important for the shared construction of judgment on the past and evaluating actions in the present and prefiguring those in the future".

Kantola (2014) studied reconciliatory practices during the remembrance of the war in 2008 in Tampere. She found that disclosing hidden memories was encouraged, predatory stereotypes were avoided, and transgenerational victimhood and guilt were addressed. Similar tendencies are found in *Suomen Sotilas* in 2017-2018.

Women are seldom mentioned in the old texts. White women appear as mothers and fiancés in fictional short stories of young men's inner struggles. They play a negative role by selfishly fueling the man's uncertainties, i.e., making him a coward, instead of telling him to be brave. In a story, signed by a woman, the young man eventually conquers his fears and dies "with a peaceful and determined look in his face" (SK 1919, no. 12-13). Later Lotta texts often repeat this image of blissful heroic death. It is absent in the anniversary articles.

One article discusses gender roles (SK 1918, no. 6). It is not signed, but the author is probably a woman. The author tries to balance between justifying women's advances in society and assuring that this change does not threaten the social order. It also shows the dilemma typical for Lottas, who supported traditional gender roles while consciously encouraging women's societal and political participation (cf. Latva-Äijö, 2004). This author's vacillation between the male hero cult and women's "heroism of everyday life" resembles the ambivalence found in Lottas' later commemorative stories (Ellefson, 2016).

The Reds, and the Skirt Guard

In figure 1, the Reds are a seemingly peripheral nodal point. However, since the war just ended, the redness permeates the whiteness discourse. Polarization and hatred are visible in the vocabulary. The Reds are seen as agitators, evil traitors, hooligans, and a cutthroat horde. They are also described as dirty, cowardly, or prone to murder, mayhem, and bestiality. An example:

> Only a small portion of Bolshevik hooligans have managed to protect their interests. Large hordes only think about the moment. They have no societal program. They live only on instincts, which are destructive, not constructive. They are their leaders' weak-willed pawns, affected by ideological speeches, blood lust, and who knows what else.
> (SuS 1919, no. 21)

The word "Bolshevik" encompasses both Red Guardists and Russians, meaning the Whites no longer distinguish between Russianness as ethnicity and Bolshevism as a political affiliation. The insult *ryssä* and *ryssäläinen* (derived from Swedish ryss, i.e., Russian) are also popular. This imagined Russianness labels redness as a sign of a person's innate corruption rather than ethnicity. As already mentioned, redness is perceived as a disease that should be cured.

Animal metaphors, such as red hound, slithering snake, or *sekasikiö* (inhuman hybrid), serve to dehumanize the enemy, making their elimination acceptable. Today, such language is seen as hate speech and flaming. Ksiazek et al. (2015, 854) define flaming as intentional attacks that

> "incite anger or exasperation through the use of name-calling, character assassination, offensive language, profanity, and/or insulting language."

Frequent exposure to hate speech desensitizes

individuals and makes violence feel acceptable. In Finland, the executed Reds were thrown in anonymous mass graves, while the names of the White heroes were engraved in monuments (Roselius, 2009).

As time passes, modes of memory change. The old articles are based on personal memories and experiences, and many stories are narratives with dialogue and descriptive details. Instead, the commemorative stories are characterized by retelling hardship tales (cf. Kitch, 2008). The White narrative is present, but the integration of new facts and perspectives has transformed it (see figure 2). In 1918-1919, the Reds' battle prowess was mocked, although they were simultaneously depicted as monstrous villains. A century later, we are invited to feel sorry for them. For example, a quote from a Red leader is placed on a prominent place on the page. The quoted leader laments how he had to send Plumber Vainio against Jaeger General Jernström.

The female Red Guardists are an example of collective forgetting and silences. Hakala (2006) found that many Red women never openly shared their experiences. It took the nation almost a century to remember them again. *Suomen Sotilas* (2018) says:

> *There were women in the Red Guards as fighters, nurses, and in a wide range of front-line maintenance work. Already in the spring, the order guards created in 1917 included a large number of women. The People's Delegation initially tried to curb the emergence of women's guards. After the revolution's outbreak, women's guards, mockingly called skirt guards - but often dressed in trousers - were established in several localities from the beginning of February. The women's guards included about 2,000 women, with a background of mostly industrial workers, handmaidens, and maids.*

A quoted male Red Guardist says:

> *Well, send the skirt guard over here then, so the Tampere men get some when their own women get tired. They are so grand that they will entice the men to fight. Give them a Japanese (rifle) on the back.*
> (SuS 2018, special issue)

In 1918-1919, the few remarks on the Red women showed the same type of sexualization and contempt. Armed women in pants were clearly too much to fathom. A century later, we are invited to sympathize with them.

The Whites' atrocities are also acknowledged. A text with the headline "Stained Shield" says:

> *People were arrested based on denunciations. If the victim didn't follow voluntarily, he was shot. Among them were completely innocent people, many of them civilians. At the railway station, 150 people were shot. In Vyborg, at the gate of Hamina, a blood bath was organized. Prisoners were herded to the moat, after which roughly one hundred Whites, among them officers, opened fire*
> (SuS 2017, no. 5)

Leccardi (2019) sees memory as an intermediary for pondering the meaning of responsibility, both historically and personally. Memory, responsibility, and the idea of social continuity are intertwined. Actions produce effects that must be answered in the future. According to Heimo & Peltonen (2003), atrocity tales transform powerlessness into organized hostility and show who is responsible for the suffering. In 1918-1919, only the Reds were culpable, whereas a century later, a writer states: "The bloody uprising and revolution led to the victor's even bloodier revenge after the Reds lost" (SuS 2018, special issue). This issue's last words are:

> *On the White side, the beginning of independence meant discussion about heroism, freedom, Jaegers, and national dreams. On the Red side, the independence meant disappeared relatives, executed fellow fighters, high treason, Tammisaari prison camps. Free Finland began its first year of independence in a difficult political situation.*

This quote is an example of changes in remembering. Although the Whites are still celebrated as saviors, the Reds are part of the common tragedy.

Conclusions

Noelle-Neumann(1993) speaks of a spiral of silence, describing how public opinion depends on who speaks and who is silent. The Whites began gathering memories soon after the war,

but these collections were part of biased war propaganda and myth-making (Roselius 2013). The military magazines participated in this process by turning individual collected memories into organizational and cultural memories. The collective public remembering depended on what White Finland chose to remember, celebrate, or forget. The Leftist organizations existed under the White (national) hegemony, and the defense organizations were an essential part of it.

The Reds had their counter-memories, but their attempts to raise questions of responsibility or disappeared people were systematically stonewalled (Roselius 2009, Jyränki 2014). Violent conflicts create silences, making the disappeared also absent (Daniels 2014). In Finland, the outbreak of WWII forced both sides to cooperate, and the field army was built around the White Guards. As new heroes and sacrifices took precedence, the civil war experiences retreated further into the shadows. Since the country was saved – again – it has been difficult to discuss brutal acts committed by the military.

Hirsch (2012) speaks of postmemory that connects to the past through mediation and imaginative creation and projection. In media memory, it is often difficult to distinguish between the past and present. Although anniversary journalism presents the stories as historical truth, they are mythology, and reporting (Kitch, 2003, 2006; cf. Edy, 1999). In the magazines, the main civil war narrative

was a "how did we get here" story. It is told from the winner's perspective, blending the White discourse into the national discourse. The content, despite many historical facts, centers around feelings of shared reality and memories. The Reds are included, first as the enemy, and a century later as erring fellow countrymen. The initial hatred thus transforms into joint mourning of "our" tragedy and admiration of "our" perseverance.

Kitch (2007) says that nostalgia personalizes the past and blends individual memory into cultural memory. Retelling stories of past hardships make sense of the suffering and confirms the collective identity (Kitch, 2008). The centennial commemorative stories contain some nostalgia, as they seek to create an emotional bond with the distant past by recirculating old photographs, texts, and documents. The recirculated material function as prosthetic memories connecting today's readers to memories they do not have (cf. Landsberg, 1995). The war generation speaks through quotes, and their individual experiences blend into the cultural memory, "our memories". As independence and democratization brought the ethnic majority into power, the (White) Finnish culture and language were integrated with the modern state. In the process, sets of symbols, rituals, and institutions necessary to preserve and transmit memories were created (cf. Smith, 1991; Nieminen, 2006; Rigney, 2019). People were forged into an imagined community, and eventually White Finland became just Finland.

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How to turn an enemy into friend – and vice versa

Pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet extreme right propaganda in Hungary

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Abstract

Studies on the extreme right propaganda about the Second World War and the Soviet Union mostly focus on the anti-Soviet media outlets. These articles, caricatures, books, and movies followed the pattern of *Mein Kampf* and were about the "Jewish-Bolshevik-plutocratic alliance". In general, the propaganda of the Hungarian extreme right movement (Arrow Cross Party) used the same simplistic image. The journalists and politicians created the antitheses of the Christian Hungarian 'we-group' and the 'Jewish-Bolshevik' 'they-group'. But between the August of 1939 and the June of 1941, this situation changed and new patterns were needed. The Hungarian extreme right journalists and politicians knew nothing about the purpose of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and they thought that the Soviet Union would be a friend of Nazi Germany. They tried hard to explain this situation. It was difficult to construct a new image of the former 'Jewish-Bolshevik' enemy. The easiest way was to simply use the very opposites of the former statements. According to the new extreme right propaganda, the Soviet Union became a national socialist (nationalist and racist) state. The aim of this paper is to share the results of the analysis of the extreme right media outlets (their anti-Soviet and pro-Soviet propaganda) and interpret these shifts and the problem of the authenticity of the daily newspaper of the Arrow Cross movement.

Keywords: propaganda, totalitarian discourse, Soviet Union, National Socialism, journalistic culture, Hungarian extreme right movement

This study is about the pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet extreme right propaganda in Hungary between 1938 and 1941. The topic may be of interest because of the oversimplification of the propaganda about the Soviet Union and, even more so because it was changed twice in this short period. Three phases of propaganda can be distinguished and each phase was completely opposing the previous one. First, this extreme right propaganda was anti-Communist and anti-Semitic. It described "Bolsheviks" and Jews as barbarians and – according to the Nazi dichotomy of Mensch versus Unmensch – inhuman (Koselleck, 2006, 275, 278-279, 282). Then, after the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, this propaganda became pro-Soviet, and finally, after the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, it got back to the starting point. The most important vehicle of this propaganda activity was a nationwide daily paper named

Magyarság ("Hungarianness" or "The Hungarians"), which was the official periodical of the largest Hungarian extreme right party, the Nyilaskeresztes Párt ("Arrow Cross Party"). The Arrow Cross Party became the most important opposition party after the general elections of 1939 (28-29 of May), and came to power in October 1944 with German support.

The first chapter briefly describes the political and media historical context of the main topic. The subsequent chapter goes into detail on the pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet extreme right propaganda, while the last part of this study is an explanation dealing with the journalistic culture and propaganda. In this study, the aforementioned newspaper and some of the yearbooks of the Arrow Cross Party are in focus. The analysis of their articles is based on the identification of 'friend-enemy' relation, focusing on the manufacturing of peril.

Political situation in the Horthy Era (1920-1944)

The political regime of the interwar and wartime Hungary can be depicted as a right wing and nationalistic authoritarian one with a multiparty system. This regime between 1920 and 1944 is named after its leader, the governor of Hungary, Miklós Horthy. The reason for the prevalent nationalism (and irredentism) was the Treaty of Trianon signed after the First Word War. The Treaty caused Hungary to lose two-thirds of its territory and roughly three million Hungarians found themselves living in the neighbouring countries and becoming citizens of Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) or Austria. It meant that the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom (without Croatia, which had been a part of it before 1918) was reduced from 282 thousand square kilometres to 93 thousand square kilometres, while its population shrank from 18 million to 7.6 million. The main problem was that the decision-making powers (in fact, France and Great Britain) had ignored the ethnocultural borderlines prevalent in the region and yielded to the demands of the aforementioned neighbouring countries that stood to gain with the new borders. Because of this situation, the Hungarian government tried to find great powers which would have supported Hungary in reacquiring its lost former territories. From the middle of the 1920s, Budapest considered Fascist Italy and later National Socialist Germany as allies, since these two states also wanted to redraw European borders in order to acquire territories.

The Soviet Union did not accept the Versailles Peace Treaties, including the Treaty of Trianon, as the set of agreements was declared the "peace of robbers" by Lenin (Radek, 1934, 202; Lenin, 1920). Furthermore, Bessarabia, which had been part of Russia, was given to Romania in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Notwithstanding the common interest of Hungary and the Soviet Union (i.e. both states claimed territories from Romania), and the Soviet declaration on "robber peace", Hungary did not consider the SU as a possible ally. The most basic reason for this was the irreconcilable ideological confrontation between the right-wing and nationalistic authoritarian regime and the Soviet Union. Additionally, the conservative and extreme right-wing Hungarian political elite had experiences with the nature of a Soviet Republic, as in Hungary there was

a period of "proletarian dictatorship" in 1919, which was followed by the counter-revolution of these conservatives and right-wing extremists, who had their turn to lead the country in the late 1930s. (Hungary established diplomatic relationships with the Soviet Union in 1934, under pressure from Italy.)

As far as the extremists are concerned, although in Hungary racist ideas and demands appeared in the early 1920s (and the first European modern anti-Jewish bill was passed in Hungary in 1920, restricting the number of Jewish students in higher education), the right-wing extremists became more dominant only in the second part of the 1930s. Their groups both within the governing party and in opposition admired National Socialist Germany, not least for its anti-Communism and anti-Semitism. At the same time, between 1938 and 1941, some territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom were reclaimed with German assistance. In the same period (in 1938, 1939 and 1941) three anti-Jewish Laws were passed – the two last ones copied the German Nuremberg Laws (Farkas K., 2010, 166-333; Kovács M., 2016).

Media landscape

After this brief outline of political history, the Hungarian media history of the period is to be addressed.

The Hungarian media system was a hybrid one. Journals, movies, theatres and the Hungarian Radio Corporation were censored in different ways throughout the interwar period and during the war. For example, journals could be launched only if their owners and editors were given licences by the Prime Minister's Press Office, where the political views of the applicants were inspected.

From around 1938–1939, the press system was transformed. First, censorship was introduced over book publications and some of the quarterlies from 1938, and over all type of journals and other publications from the 1st of September 1939. Since before 1939, there had not been a huge nationwide institution of press censorship and there had not been censors who had read newspapers before publishing (in Hungary, approximately 20-22 nationwide and even more regional newspapers were published), it was difficult to build this new organization and to find professional censors. Officials working for different ministries were

required to become censors overnight. But these clerks did not want to work for the press censorship since they had comfortable jobs and they were specialized for example in economic or educational issues (they were not experts of press regulation which was very difficult because constantly changed between 1914 and 1939) and they did not know and could not apply the rules of censorship. It caused innumerable troubles during the Second World War: on one hand, because of the disinterest and lack of practice of the new censors, and, on the other, because of the shifts in Hungarian foreign policy in the first part of the 1940s. The latter means that, although Hungary was the ally of National Socialist Germany, some leaders realized that the "Third Reich" would lose the war, and this deep division within the political elite was reflected in the censorship instructions (this is to be elaborated upon later) (Sipos, 2010).

Second, 25% of the journals were banned in late 1938, mostly liberal or opposition media outlets. (The total number of banned journals was about 410, and 230 of them were "Jewish journals" according to the leader of the "media transition" of 1938-1939.) Third, a chamber of press was established, following the corporatist model: journalists, editors and publishers had to be accredited by the government, and only 6% of the members qualified could be Jews. Nevertheless, the Hungarian press remained diverse and pluralist even after the outbreak of the war: many types of magazines and newspapers were published, from social democratic through liberal and conservative publications to far-right journals. Still, it has to be added that, as the result of government decisions and orders, the proportion and amount of liberal and conservative journals decreased, whereas the proportion and amount of the far-right journals increased from 1938 onwards (Merziger, 2020, 143-145).

Pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet extreme right propaganda

Adverting to the analysis of the extreme right propaganda about the Soviet Union, the starting point of the analysis is December 1938, the month before the date when Hungary declared to join the Anti-Comintern Pact, which originally

was a Japan and German treaty against the Comintern and the Soviet Union. The endpoint of the analysis is June of 1941 when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Articles of *Magyarság* published between these dates and texts of extreme right yearbooks about these years are studied.

The qualitative analysis of these texts is based on the identification of 'friend-enemy' relation. This kind of approach can be useful from our point of view because extreme right propaganda made strict demarcation between friend and enemy: friends belonged to the so-called 'We-group' (or 'in-group') while the imagined and artificially created enemies made up the so-called 'Others-group'. The extreme right propaganda manufactured and maintained this distinction between friend and enemy in order not only to stigmatize and isolate the enemy but to control the whole society through this propaganda technic. It means if somebody did not hate the specific enemy of 'We-group', he or she would make transgression and as a consequence of it he or she would be stigmatized and isolated. At this point it has to be mentioned that according to extreme right propaganda enemy opposed the values of 'We-group' as well as existentially threatened it (Musolff, 2018). According to Carl Schmitt who was one of the theoreticians of the national socialist 'total state' this kind of enmity is the essence of politics. As the *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* on Carl Schmitt defines his theory on politics,

> *"Politics involves [two] groups [...] which will find themselves in a situation of mutual enmity [...] Two groups will find themselves in a situation of mutual enmity if and only if there is a possibility of war and mutual killing between them".*

The enmity is

> *"the ultimate degree of dissociation [which] is the willingness to kill others for the simple reason that they are members of a hostile group".[1]*

The way I see, this definition can be interpreted as the definition of the so-called totalitarian propaganda or totalitarian discourse.

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[1] See https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/schmitt/

The mentioned strict demarcation is the most important feature of the totalitarian discourse (see Musolff, 2018). This is the reason why the main question of this study is whether the texts published by the Hungarian extreme right newspaper and yearbooks about the Soviet Union could be interpreted from the point of view of friend-enemy relation. If the answer is yes, the next question is whether what kind of descriptions can be identified. Were there intermediate categories between the categories of friend and enemy, or not?

Returning to the starting point of the analysis, December 1938, the month before the date when Hungary declared to join the Anti-Comintern Pact, *Magyarság* published only a few articles about the Soviet Union and those were about barbarism, despotism, the uncivilised Bolsheviks and about people in need.[2] This holds true in connection with *Első nyilas évkönyv 1939* ("The First Arrow Cross Calendar of 1939") as well, which was published at the beginning of 1939 and mentioned only the conceptual lawsuits (Fiala, 1939, 80).)[3] After this date, the newspaper started to publish articles about the highly dangerous Soviet Union, which jeopardised the peace of Europe. For example, in January 1939, *Magyarság* reported about bomb attacks in England and in Northern Ireland on the basis of the myth of a Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy. *Magyarság* announced that these violent actions were organized by two Jewish Soviet leaders: the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the UK, Ivan Majsky, and the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov – but the newspaper used their names in a special way, i.e. "Majszki-Maimunidesz" and "Litvinov-Finkelstein" in order to emphasize their Jewish background. The conclusion of this article was as follows: "an invisible power tries to pit peoples against each other so that Jews could become war profiteers" and they could organize "the reign of Moscow".[4] Similar statements were repeated many times. For example, according to an article on the English-French-Soviet diplomatic negotiations, the purpose of the "Jews of Moscow" was that,

instead of the Red Army, English and French soldiers should fight the war against Germany.[5] This means that the relations between Hungary and the SU "were changed" (according to the propaganda), because after January 1939, Moscow "became" more dangerous to the "in-group", those who belonged to "Us", the Christian Hungarians and the Europeans. This alteration can be described by the theory of friend and enemy invented by Carl Schmitt (Schmitt, 1991, 26; Bernasconi, 2000, 179-180). Based on this theory, the representation of the SU can be interpreted in the next way: before Hungary joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, the Soviet Union had been a "far-away" and "exotic" country. It had been neither friend nor enemy. The relation between the two states had not been "political", because, and I repeat some parts of the definition on politics, "Politics involves [two] groups […] which will find themselves in a situation of mutual enmity" and "there is a possibility of war and mutual killing between them" (op cit). But the mention of the "barbaric features" of the SU became useful when Hungary joined the Anti-Comintern Pact. It became the base of the new phase of propaganda when the relations of Hungary with the SU were more politicized and more antagonistic, according to the far-right propaganda. In connection with the Arrow Cross propaganda *before the Anti-Comintern Pact* it is true what Welch states about the national socialist propaganda after 1933 which

> *"managed to appeal to long-standing fears of the German middle classes by portraying the Bolshevik as the barbarian Untermensch (sub-human)."*
> (Welch, 2002, 130)

The Arrow Cross propaganda also could appeal to the fears of its readers (which fears was caused by the abovementioned "proletarian dictatorship" in Hungary in 1919) and presented the barbaric and uncivilised Bolsheviks.

The next phase of propaganda on the Soviet

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[2] For example: A Volga egy részéből tenger lesz (A part of Volga river becomes sea). *Magyarság*, 1938, December 11.
[3] It has to be mentioned that the publishing date of all calendars or yearbooks was the January of the given year in the title and articles were published with or without titles, and could be anonymous or signed.

[4] Kommunisták és háborús uszítók rendezik az írországi és angliai bombamerényleteket (Communists and war instigators commit bombings in Ireland and England). *Magyarság*, 1939, January 24.
[5] Ötszáz szovjet vezetőt és katonatisztet tartóztatott le a Cseka (Cheka arrested 500 Soviet leaders and army officers). *Magyarság*, 1939, August 1.

Union started after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, August 1939 when Germany and its former enemy signed a non-aggression pact about their cooperation and a secret protocol on spheres of influence.

After this political event the propaganda of the Arrow Cross Party turned the Soviet enemy into a friend. The Hungarian extreme right journalists and politicians knew nothing about the German purpose of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and they honestly thought that the Soviet Union would be the friend of Nazi Germany. (At this time, the leader of the Arrow Cross Party, Ferenc Szálasi, and the leader of the illegal Communist Party, Mátyás Rákosi were held captive in the same Hungarian prison and the former one wanted to discuss the possible cooperation with his Communist counterpart. Rákosi wrote in his memoirs: "Szálasi thought if Stalin could make an agreement with Hitler, he should have done the same with me" (Rákosi, 1997, 19).)

According to this new phase of extreme right propaganda, the Soviet regime was similar to National Socialism – in other words, the Soviet Union would transform from a "Bolshevik" state into a National Socialist one. Some journalists emphasized that the SU was implementing a "realistic policy" (which means its interests were more important than its values), it was a strong, antidemocratic and authoritarian state, like Germany or Italy. They underlined that the SU attacked Poland in order to protect the White-Russians, their "race-fellows" and their private properties. This "fact" was considered as "evidence" of the transformation of the Soviet political regime to a national socialist one, and it was suggested that internationalism was replaced with nationalism.[6] Briefly, the Soviet regime was said to have been similar to the German or Italian political system – or to be changing into a national socialist state in the future. For example, according to the *Nyilas évkönyv 1941* ("Arrow Cross Yearbook of 1941"), whereas the SU conveyed Marxist opinions, it

> *"built national and social order. Undoubtedly, increasing the territory and prosperity of*

> *the empire is more important to Russia than the world revolution".*
> (Rajkay, 1941, 33)

Additionally, the journalists frequently called their readers' attention to the fact that the former Jewish party leaders had disappeared. For example, "Litvinov-Finkelstein" was replaced with "Professor Molotov". And what was also emphasized: "Stalin divorced his Jewish wife"[7]. But why was it so important that Jewish people disappeared from the Soviet leadership and from Stalin's milieu? Because, according to *Mein Kampf*, which was well-known in Hungary, the effective propaganda had to choose just one enemy and had to be about only this enemy all the time, so that the audience could grasp and accept the propaganda. In short: it would be hard for the audience to hate many foes at the same time and it is easier for them to focus on one. This theory was the reason for that "Jewish" as an adjective was added to the names of different groups and ideas, such as capitalism, Marxism, bourgeois, Bolsheviks, and so on. Thus, when Bolsheviks had been foes before the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, they had been mentioned, for example, as "Jewish-Bolsheviks". Afterwards, however, they were called in a simple way like "Bolsheviks" or rather "Soviets". At this point, the *Magyarság Évkönyve 1941* ("Yearbook of Hungarianness of 1941") can also be mentioned declaring that the Marxist ("Jewish") Socialism was the same as Social Democracy but not the same as the Soviet Socialism (Rupprecht, 1941, 37-44).

In June 1940, the Soviet Union annexed Bessarabia. It was reckoned as proof of the Soviet irredentism and nationalism ("the Soviets wanted to protect 1 million deported Russian people in Romania").[8] Additionally, the extremists conveyed a kind of community of interest between Hungary and the SU because both states wanted to annex particular territories of Romania. Thus, the former enemy of Hungary became a potential ally.[9] For example, the Arrow Cross newspaper declared: "[…] the hearts of all Hungarians are beating […] the Soviets have sent an ultimatum to Romania"[10].

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[6] Aláírták a német-szovjet megnemtámadási egyezményt (The German-Soviet Non-aggression pact was signed). *Magyarság*, 1939, August 24.

[7] Ribbentrop szerdán Moszkvába érkezik a megnemtámadási szerződés tárgyalásának befejezésére (Ribbentrop arrives on Wednesday to Moscow in order to finish the negotiations of the German-Soviet Non-aggression pact). *Magyarság*, 1939, August 22.

[8] István Bodnár: Besszarábia. *Magyarság*, 1940, June 28.

[9] A vértelen revízió (The Bloodless Revision) (Rupprecht, 1941, 28).

[10] Románia van soron? (Is Romania in line?). *Magyarság*, 1940, June 28.

After November 1940, the international order also was represented in a new, special way. Although the censorship forbade journals from writing about the division of labour in connection with the international relations (Márkus et al., 1975, 81), *Magyarság* could publish articles about the cooperation of Germany, the SU, Italy and Japan. The daily newspaper announced that these states appointed their spheres of interest and all of them accepted Ribbentrop's ideas on the international order.[11] (*Magyarság* published the first articles on the spheres of interest being divided between Germany and the Soviet Union in the August and September of 1939.)[12] The aforementioned "Arrow Cross Yearbook of 1941" detailed the German, Italian and Soviet cooperation and considered the potential role of Hungary. The author wrote the three "great powers" had divided the European "Lebensraum" and wanted to work in close cooperation which would not be successful without cultural relations. Since Hungary laid on the borders of Western and Eastern cultures – the journalist underlined –, it could mediate between Germany and the SU in order to strengthen their cultural cooperation.[13]

In June 1941, when Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the extreme right propaganda got back to the starting point. The first article of *Magyarság* about the invasion emphasized that Germany had started a "new crusade" to protect Europe. Hitler's purpose with the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact had been to preserve the peace and to reduce the influence of "the worst socialism, the Asian socialism, the prophecy of a Talmudist Jew, the red revolution of rats", but "this ill and corrupt regime" was unable to cooperate to keep the peace in Europe.[14] And, according to the *Magyarság évkönyve 1942* (Yearbook of Hungarianness of 1942), which did not mention the fact of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, the SU wanted to attack Europe in order to transform it into a Bolshevik area (as it happened in the Baltic states and what was the Soviet goal in Finland), and Germany had to defend Europe (Mattyasovszky, 1942, 24).

This latest phase of anti-Soviet propaganda

was not a simple return to the phase before the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. After June 1941 the Soviet Union was described as more dangerous country than before August 1939. For example, in the first part of 1939 *Magyarság* had written about "an invisible power" which "tries to pit peoples against each other" and had only alluded to a possible conflict between Germany and others but after June 1941 the newspaper were more concrete and had a vision of a war between the "Bolsheviks" and the Christian Europe which contained Hungary. It means that in 1941 the contrast was more significant between friendly and hostile phases than in 1939 when the enemy was turned into friend. But these changes of tone were not reflected in the media outlets (see below for more details).

The Arrow Cross newspaper included just a few caricatures in 1939, while their amount increased to 90 in 1940 and to 120 in 1941. But the first caricature which depicted the Soviet Union was published only in the June of 1941. The caricature titled "The real lords of Soviet" associated "anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik stereotypes with the Soviet Union" (see the figure) (Tamás, 2008, 110, 116). It was the return as well as the confirmation of the well-known message of the extreme right anti-Soviet propaganda.

Journalistic culture, readers and propaganda

Finally, it is worth considering what a challenge this period must have been for both the journalists and the readers of the daily paper *Magyarság*. The reception of the shifts of propaganda among the readers would be the most interesting part of this current research; however, for a lack of sources, it is still unknown. No available primary source seems to suggest the readers were disappointed by or lost faith in this daily newspaper. Consequently, we can assume that they were satisfied with it. But what could be the reason for this?

We could argue that the phenomenon of "satisfaction" with or the trust in the examined

[11] Molotov Sztálin jelenlétében másfél órás kihallgatáson fogadta Macuokat (Molotov received Matsuoka in an hour and a half of interrogation in the presence of Stalin). *Magyarság*, 1941, March 25.; A japán-orosz szerződés jelentősége (Importance of the Japan-Russian agreement). *Magyarság*, 1941, April 16.
[12] 1939, August 31., September 1., 3., 19., 27.

[13] Eszméket nem lehet elszigetelni! A magyar hivatás a nemzetszocialista Európában (Ideas cannot be isolated! The Hungarian vocation in National Socialist Europe) (Rajkay, 1941, 33).
[14] Kálmán Ráttky R.: Új kereszteshadjárat (New crusade). In. Magyarság, 1941, June 24.

A Szovjet igazi urai

Fig. 1. „The real lords of Soviet"

daily newspaper and the audacity of its journalists can be explained through focusing on the media environment, including the journalistic culture. As far as journalists are concerned, Hungarian media was westernized with high professional standards at the turn of the century and in the first four decades of the 20th century. One of the most important evidences of this state was the professional association of journalists (founded in 1896), members of which were journalists working for different types of journals, i.e. tabloids, dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and liberal, conservative or Christian media outlets. However, Social Democratic and far right journalists did not join the Association of Hungarian Journalists (AHJ). Social Democratic journalists regarded this professional association as a bourgeois one while far-right journalists regarded it as a "Jewish" organization which opposed Christianity. Since these ideological groups of journalists made up about a mere 10% of the Hungarian pressmen and presswomen in the 1920s and in the first part of the 1930s, their opinions about their own journalistic roles (or rather about their respective political missions) did not carry a lot of weight. But, in 1938-1939, as result of the establishment of the Chamber of Press, AHJ lost its importance and the Chamber, which was led by far-right journalists, declared

and spread new political and ideological norms of journalism (Sipos, 2010). These norms were followed by extreme right pressmen who worked for *Magyarság*. To sum up, this change of 1938-1939 was an important reason for audacity or shamelessness in addition to the mission consciousness of propagandist journalists.[15]

As far as the audience is concerned (i.e. their satisfaction with *Magyarság* between 1939 and 1941), it may be taken into account that perhaps some of the media consumers were not able to realise the difference between the false news of popular press and the fake news of extreme right newspapers. In the last decades of the 19th century, the appearance of popular press (mass media) in Hungary had provoked a debate about their cultural level, benefits and harms. Most participants of this debate had agreed that the main features of popular press were sensationalism and exaggeration, which were used in order to grab the attention of readers. (As Evelyn Waugh wrote in his 1938 novel *Scoop*: "News is what a chap who doesn't care much about anything wants to read" (Waugh, 2000, 66).) This "lesson" became a constant element of discourse about popular press in the first decades of the 20th century. For example, the famous and well-known Hungarian writer, Frigyes Karinthy also published in his book titled *That's How You Write* – which was a collection of parodies of novels, short stories and poems – parodies of articles about unbelievable and false events.[16] He could build on and confirm the stereotypes of popular and modern press. To sum up, since some groups of audience got used to the sensationalist press, perhaps they were not bothered about the extreme right propaganda on the Soviet Union and its contradictions.

Conclusion

This study is about the pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet extreme right propaganda in Hungary between 1938 and 1941 and focuses on the friend-enemy relation between the 'We-group' and 'Others-group'. As a result of the analysis four types of articles can be distinguished. According to the first type of articles the Soviet Union was highly dangerous to the Hungarian 'We-group' and

[15] The article titled "A nyugat-európai Litvinov" (The Western European Litvinov) was a response to the liberal conservative daily newspaper, *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation) which labelled *Magyarság* as a Communist periodical

because of its article about the heroism of marshal Vorosilov. *Magyarság*, 1939, September 2.

[16] This book was published many times between 1912 and 1939.

existentially threatened them. These texts were published after June 1941. The second type of articles published between January and August 1939 regarded the SU as a potential peril. The third type of articles described the SU which opposed the values of the 'We-group' but it was a "far-away" country. These texts were published before January 1939. The fourth type of articles emphasised the similarities between the SU and Germany and their would-be cooperation. These texts about the 'friendship' and shared interests of Germany, Italy, Japan and the Soviet Union were published between August 1939 and June 1941.The identification of these types can be interesting because the current descriptions of extreme right propaganda do not mention transitions or intermediate categories between the categories of friend and enemy (Musolff, 2018; Welch, 2002).

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Media and Communication as Swiss Cohesive Forces?

The Role of Radio and Supercomputing in Gluing the Country

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Abstract

This paper presents how the Swiss government used media and communication as tools to foster national cohesion and glue the country in several historical times. In particular, focus of this paper is a precise approach Switzerland has to communication, using as case studies the role of radio during the Second World War and that of supercomputers at the end of the 20th century. Through governmental sources (Federal dispatches and official letters), this paper highlights the role and function the Swiss government attributed to these communication means. Following a political economy of communication approach, it underlines how Switzerland saw in communication the perfect instrument to protect the country, increase national unity and connect the various linguistic regions, attributing it a specific pattern of ideas and values, which remained very similar in different historical times although the global forces surrounding the country saw relevant changes throughout the whole 20th century. In particular, the paper shows how Switzerland responded to Nazi-Fasci propaganda during WWII with objective radio news bulletins and programmes vehiculating Swiss values and cultures, as well as how the establishment of the Swiss National Supercomputing Centre in the 1990s pushed the three linguistic regions to overcome their cultural differences and increase the collaborations among them.

Keywords: Political economy of communication, radio, supercomputing, Switzerland, national cohesion, power forces, governmental regulation, spiritual defence

If media and communication have always been considered important tools for their capacity to, among others, foster connections and relations between people and institutions, it should not be forgotten that the political and economic environments they are located in have a great impact on how they are regulated and managed. These instruments are also channels that can diffuse politically-driven contents able to impact on international relationships, and that can be regulated by governments in accordance to their national ideals. But they can also be means to empower countries, to keep values and cultures alive, as well as to encourage culturally-different regions to increase collaborations and communication among them.

The goal of this paper is to present, through two case studies and following a *political economy of communication* approach, how media and communication have been used in Switzerland as tools to foster national cohesion in different historical times. The case studies show examples of how Switzerland has used these tools to counter foreign dependency and radical political forces, as well as to enhance connections and interrelations between its various linguistic regions throughout the 20th century.

The first case study highlights the way the Swiss government used radio before and during the Second World War as a defence instrument against the raising Nazi-Fascists propaganda.

This study, drawn from my Bachelor thesis, shows how radio has always been considered important in Switzerland as an instrument for national cohesion, highly regulated since 1924 (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924a, 200; 1924b, 399). In 1938, with increasing propaganda coming from neighbouring countries, the Swiss government saw in this medium an ideal mean to defend itself from potential invasions, to connect distant parts of the country and to stay in contact with Swiss citizens living abroad. Broadcasting hours and news bulletins were augmented, and the various channels were requested to work together to contrast this negative propaganda by broadcasting contents vehiculating Swiss culture and values, as well as underlining the country's neutrality (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1017-1020).

The second case study regards the role the *Swiss National Supercomputing Centre* (CSCS) played in the 1990s as an instrument to decrease the country's dependence on foreign scientific researchers and projects as well as to connect geographically- and culturally-distant parts of Switzerland, lowering distances by favouring communication between them. This study, part of a Swiss research project called *Digital Federalism. The early history of SWITCH and CSCS Manno (1985-1995)*[2], highlights through the analyses of several archive materials (mostly Federal dispatches and official letters) how Switzerland saw in supercomputers tools for enhancing exchanges between people, train local researchers, connecting distant parts of the country, as well as involving peripheral regions in highly relevant national research and development projects and, as such, fostering national cohesion (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1986).

Although these case studies appear at first sight very different, they have more in common than what it seems: they both represent the use of media and communication tools to foster national cohesion and to glue different Swiss regions which are constantly pushed far away from each other because of cultural and language differences, or because of international forces. Media and communication, in this sense, act as centripetal forces which foster unity and contribute to connect the country. Moreover, given that these two examples describe different

historical times, they allow for a long-term perspective on this phenomenon.

Political economy and Swiss communication

The governmental role in regulating, shaping and guiding media and communication in precise directions is since several decades a widely researched topic. From the description of power relationships between global forces, the best determination of society's communication needs, and the impact of international forces and national politics on media development (Wilkin, 2001, 29-31; Winseck, 2016, 82), *political economy of communication* (PEC) has widely contributed to define and understand "corporate and state power" in regard to media and communication technologies (Mosco, 1996, 19). Highly historical, path-dependent and characterised by its long-term perspective, this approach has been significantly influenced by the birth of "major businesses" in the media sector (Mosco, 1996, 73) as well as by "the importance of [national and international] power capacities" (Comor, 1994, 3), which allow it to stress how "the role of the state, corporations, and media in society" have changed in time (Hardy, 2013, 9).

The organisation of media companies, their economic development, their relationship with the population and the impact of state policies on them are indeed precisely one of PEC's main focuses (Mosco, 1996; Smythe, 1960; Wasko, 2005). Media are so relevant also because of their capacity to "serve […] powerful societal interests" and agendas, to communicate them to the public as well as to share precise related "values, beliefs, and codes of behavior" (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, xi; 1). Although not necessarily in a negative perspective, as has for example been the case with the use of radio, the press and the cinema by totalitarian regimes during the two World Wars (e.g. Sabbatucci & Vidotto, 2019), media and communication tools are built and framed to correspond to these ideals and "political interests" (Freedman, 2008, 1), to "produce mechanisms" in order to reach the goals set, whether these aim to broadcast Nazi-Fascist ideals or "to defend national security" (Freedman, 2008, 24).

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[2] More information on this project can be found at https://search.usi.ch/en/projects/1037/digital-federalism-the-early-history-of-switch-and-cscs-manno-1985-1995.

This is precisely the reason why politics and the historical period they are located in play a decisive role in shaping the directions in which media develop and why these can be significantly different from state to state (Hardy, 2008, 98; Winseck 2016, 82). Different roles and different political visions originate in different interventions and different media regulations, which at the end highly contribute to define and characterise the media and communication system of each state. If the biggest and most relevant form of state intervention in the media system regards the public service broadcasting (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 41-43), private companies and other communication companies rarely escape the pursuit of national interests as well as the cultural and social practices which influence state's behaviours. National interests are precisely what, according to Cesa (1996, 27), builds the "logics" governments are based on and influence the "policy decisions" which, on their turn, "[affect] how communications resources and services are organised" (Hardy, 2013, 177). Therefore, the analysis of media policies, which "considers how, why and in whose interests governments" co-operate in the "decision-making" process (Hardy, 2013, 177), is extremely important and relevant to understand nations' actions. There are a great variety of factors which impact on state's policies and development processes and, as such, according to Hardy (2013, 177-178), each nation can "engage in media policy" in at least three different manners:

> "through creating laws (legislation), applying rules directly or through agencies (regulation), or by using grants or subsidies to assist media provision."

Looking closer at the case studies reported in this paper, this appears even clearer: for example, if we consider Mosco's (1996, 30) definition of PEC's main focus as "the study of the rules governing the connection between individual and institutions", it noticeably recalls the case of radio during the Second World War, as Hardy's (2010, 193) consideration that media regulation also serves as a counterbalancing force to discourage "media from supporting dominant power interests" does. Regulation is therefore considered extremely relevant in media and communication development, shaping how each medium has changed over time together with the content it produces, the messages it sends, and the society more at large. If we look at recent times, it would not be possible to reach what Hardy (2013, 3) calls "[the] promises of digitalisation", i.e. "[distributing] communication power widely through society", without a precise regulation and a clear approach to it, meaning that, if regulation is absent, media are brought to a point where they "cannot satisfactorily serve […] the needs of citizens" (Hardy, 2010, 201).

This is as true now as it has been throughout the whole 20th century when, for example, states were deciding how to allocate space in the (scarce) electromagnetic spectrum or how to best invest in digitalisation. In this sense, radio is a unique case study since it is the first medium "capable of simultaneously reaching an audience of hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of people", which makes it comparatively very different from any other media available before (Ortoleva, 2001, 41-42; 152). Precisely this simultaneity, the ability to narrate events as they occurred (Menduni, 2002) and to distribute the messages potentially to what McLuhan named "the global village" McLuhan, [1964] 2015, 6; 130) which made radio's strength, also created the necessity for strong national and international regulation. This proved even more necessary with the increasing propaganda coming mainly from Nazi Germany from the early 1930s, which revealed how it was possible to "[shape] the development of the psyche" and to turn it to "a totalitarian direction" (Turner, 2013, 2; 38), as well as how it was essential to counter it before it destabilised the "national unity" and the "national character" of the neighbouring states (Turner, 2013, 39-42). The first case study in this paper precisely aims at underlining how the Swiss government regulated and used radio during the Second World War to protect the country and preserve its national cohesion from the threatening international forces of those years, for example by disseminating contents which it thought best determined society's communication needs.

National cohesion through media and communication is indeed the *fil rouge* of this paper and, as such, also represents the main focal point of the second case study i.e., the birth of the *Swiss National Supercomputing Centre* (CSCS). While literature on supercomputers and high-performance computing centres is quite scarce, their political, economic and social

importance cannot be ignored. These machines and the centres they operate in, indeed, are not merely relevant just for their calculations and the scientific advancements these allow, but also for their part as a local, national and international force. The interplay between the role of the state they are located in, the power forces of the main manufacturers (e.g., between U.S. and Japanese companies, see Anchordoguy, 1994; Graham, Snir, & Patters, 2005; Oyanagi, 1999), as well as the academic and industrial fields they collaborate with make them important political, economic and social actors. This is well-shown in the second case study of this paper: the establishment of a national supercomputing centre in Switzerland, indeed, is a very good example of the government's willingness to reduce the country's dependence on other nations in regard to scientific personnel and top-level academic research as well as, at the same time, encourage collaborations between the various linguistic regions and foster national cohesion.

Archives and sources

Primary sources at the basis of this paper are mainly dispatches published by the Swiss government from the early 1920s to the 1990s, as well as archive materials found at the *Swiss Federal Institute of Technology* in Zurich (ETHZ) and the *Swiss National Supercomputing Centre* (CSCS) in Lugano, while secondary sources mostly include literature on radio during the Second World War, newspaper articles reporting on CSCS birth, and CSCS annual reports.

To identify federal dispatches relevant for the first case study, a keyword-based research was conducted: I searched for dispatches that included the words "radio" and/or "spiritual defence" and, based on this, I selected those which were pertinent to my research. Moreover, a research has been conducted on books already published on the topic (e.g., Drack, 2000; Mäusli & Steigmeier, 2006; Mäusli, Steigmeier, & Vallotton, 2012; Pünter, 1971; Ruppen Coutaz, 2002; Stadelmann et al., 1997).

Regarding the second case study, during the visits to the two archives I mainly looked for documents from 1985 to 2000 and, afterwards, I conducted some complementary research online to find information and documents that were missing from the archives, such as certain CSCS annual reports. In this way, I was able

to collect around 8'000 sources (mainly in German, although some were also in French, Italian and English), which included: several project proposals for the building of the centre, estimations and reports on these proposals, personal letters, written exchanges between the various economic and political actors involved, ETHZ and CSCS press releases, specialised magazines on supercomputing, and numerous newspaper articles.

Radio broadcasting and the spiritual defence in Nazi-Fascist times

First experiments with radio broadcasting were conducted in various Swiss cities between 1922 and 1926 and were mainly steered by private owners or small newly-born companies which were autonomously creating and airing their programmes. But the initial enthusiasm for this new medium quickly created the chaos in the Swiss electromagnetic spectrum, with many signals overlapping and broadcasters using several different and incompatible distributing systems, pushing the government to opt for a clear regulatory scheme, which imposed to anyone who wanted to transmit contents through the air to obtain a concession from the state (Drack, 2000; Pünter, 1971; Stadelmann et al., 1997; Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924a, 200).

Switzerland realised already in 1924 how important and relevant to its citizens radio broadcasting could be, as well as how its role in regulating it was crucial. In particular, it understood that giving to private entities the possibility to acquire the control on radio through the purchase of the majority of radio companies' shares would have meant "not being able to represent all the necessary objectivity" radio needed to have (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924b, 399). For this reason, the government decided it would counter this tendency "by acquiring the majority of the share capitals" of these companies, in order to allow already-existing and future radio corporations to pursuit the "general interest" of the country as well as to keep on "developing [their] activities in the interests of the Swiss public life" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924b, 399).

In addition to holding the majority of the share capital of the radio companies, in 1929 the Confederation decided, following the great financial difficulties encountered by these

firms, to intervene by actively contributing to the financing and development of radio (Drack, 2000; Pünter, 1971; Stadelmann et al., 1997; Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1955, 392-394). After evaluating different options and considering the "divergent regional interests as well as international problems" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1955, 392), it decided the best one was to create a national public service company, which was established in 1931 under the name of *Swiss Broadcasting Corporation* (SRG) (Pünter, 1971). The Corporation initially counted three radio stations, one for each of the three main national languages (German, French and Italian), and continued its broadcasting activity undisturbed until 1938, when the hints of the war were very close.

Having signed in 1936, together with 27 other countries, the *Convention Concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace* (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938a, 537), and wanting to preserve its century-long neutrality, Switzerland saw in radio the perfect mean to defend the country from the increasing nationalist propaganda which was coming from neighbouring states (Drack, 2000; Pünter, 1971; Stadelmann et al., 1997; Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1004). Radio was in fact put at the centre of the "national spiritual defence" campaign, in a sort of "educational mission" which still left it "a certain freedom in the choice and presentation of the contents" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938a, 530) at least until the outbreak of the war in September 1939, when SRG's broadcasting concession was temporarily suspended, and radio was put under governmental and military control (Pünter, 1971).

Switzerland requested from its radio programmes to keep their positive mission to "create a spirit of mutual understanding between various populations" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938a, 532), mainly by sharing the history of the country and its functioning as well as its values, culture and neutrality tradition. The government realised, indeed, that it was not possible, and would also have been too dangerous, to counter the Nazi-Fascist propaganda it was receiving from neighbouring countries with an equally negative and aggressive one, but that it was "by upholding [Swiss] values and making propaganda for them in Switzerland and abroad" that it could be successful and that the "true spiritual defence" should have been organised

(Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1010-1011). Among the first measures, the government decided to increase the collaboration between the radio stations of the three major linguistic regions, in order to ensure these would remain united, as well as augmenting the broadcasting hours, which only counted between eight and ten hours per day, compared to up to sixteen in bordering states (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1018). A similar intensifying decision was taken for news bulletins, which were transmitted only twice a day as opposed to the double offered by foreign broadcasters: an intensification was asked not only to better inform people living in Switzerland, but also in the hope to reach other European countries with neutral and objective news which, since broadcasted in three languages (German, French and Italian), could be understood by many people throughout the continent and, as such, represented "a valuable way to make [Swiss] mentality and [Swiss] ideals known" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1018-1019).

The goals of these measures were to create more connections inside the country, to reinforce national cohesion, to intensify the presence of Swiss radio programmes both in Switzerland as well as in Europe, and to increase the quality of these contents, aiming at reaching a "quality superior to the point that listeners seek it out as the most attractive part of each transmission" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1019-1020). Among these programmes there were, starting from 1935, those of the *Swiss Short-Wave Service* (SSWS), which transmitted in several different languages and could be heard worldwide. These contributed to the "spiritual affirmation of the country" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938b, 1018) as well as to the preservation of Swiss culture overseas on the one side by making sure that Swiss citizens living abroad (the members of the so-called "fifth Switzerland") did not forget their home country and lose their *Swissness* plus, on the other, by promoting Swiss culture and values in foreign nations, mainly through cultural programmes and news bulletins (Ruppen Coutaz, 2002, 35, 79). Examples of these programmes can be found in figures 1 and 2.

The SSWS mainly broadcasted programmes such as *The Daily Chronicles*, in which journalists were reporting the main news from both Switzerland and abroad in a factual and neutral way, *The Political and Cultural Chronicles*, offering in-
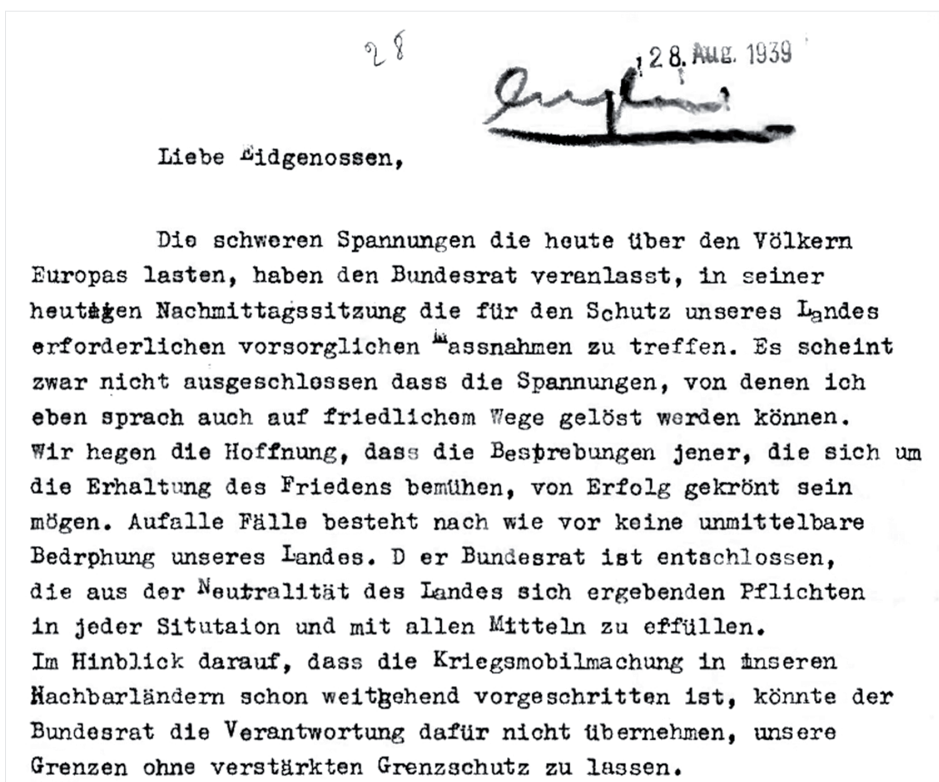
Fig. 1. An excerpt of the *Political and Cultural Chronicles* in German. August 28th, 1939 (swissinfo.ch, 2020a)
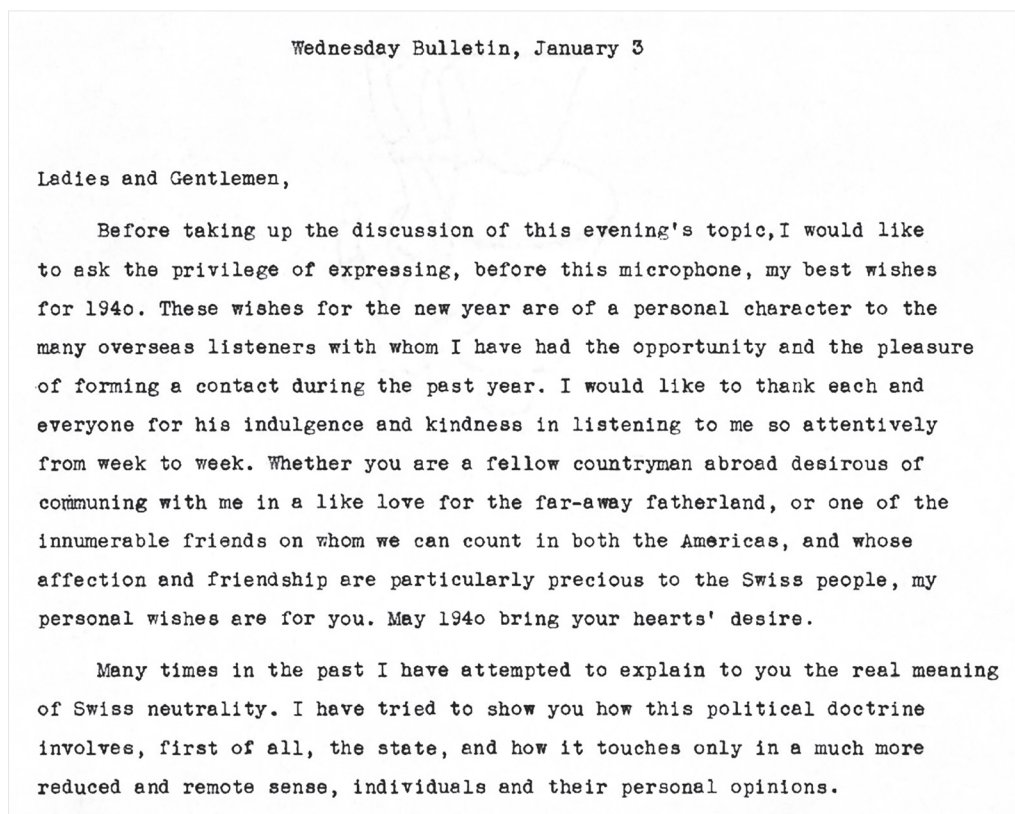

Fig. 2. An excerpt from the *Political and Cultural Chronicles* in English. January 3rd, 1940 (swissinfo.ch, 2020b)

depth reportages on Swiss political, economic and social happenings, as well as programmes proposing Swiss perspectives on current news and events, such as *Swiss Observer* and *The Voice of Switzerland* (swissinfo.ch, 2020c). These programmes were available in the three main Swiss national languages (German, French and Italian), as well as in English, Spanish and Portuguese and, thanks to the short-waves, they reached all continents, therefore being audible and comprehensible to a great number of people worldwide (swissinfo.ch, 2020c).

Programmes of this kind continued to neutrally inform people in Switzerland and abroad even after the end of World War II in 1945. On July 20th, 1945, the government decided to give back to the SRG its broadcasting concession, therefore freeing it from its "defence" duties. However, programmes in other languages aimed at international audiences did not stop and continued through radio frequencies until 2004 under the name *Swiss Radio International* (SRI) (see, for example, Mäusli & Steigmeier, 2006; Mäusli, Steigmeier, & Vallotton, 2012). After the crucial role played during the Cold War, SRI had to adapt to the new technological standards and, from the end of the 1990s, it progressively converted itself in a website: *swissinfo.ch* (SWI). Still active nowadays, SWI is SRG's international news portal, which is available in ten languages and aims at informing people abroad (not only Swiss citizens), offering a Swiss vision of the world news, exactly as it did back in 1935 (swissinfo.ch, 2020d)[3].

The bridging force of the Swiss National Supercomputing Centre

Contrarily as it had been during World War II thanks to radio, in the 1980s the three main Swiss linguistic regions had gone back to mostly living a life of their own, with limited communication and very few collaborations between them, which made the national cohesion quite fragile and unstable. The critical situation of the country was not made easier by the increasing delay in the informatics and engineering sectors Switzerland had been accumulating throughout the years. This delay, which was estimated in

10 years compared to other countries, was accompanied by an education level offered in Swiss universities considered as insufficient, particularly in the technical area (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1986, 278-281), and by continuous fights between the language regions for the acquisition of federal funds to improve their educational institutions. The poor condition of Swiss academia as well as that of the relationship between its linguistic regions resulted in several problems, such as the impossibility to fruitfully conduct internationally competitive research activities, the decline of Swiss attractivity in the research and technological sectors, and the dependence of the country on foreign scientists and academic research projects which were driving innovation abroad (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1986).

The Swiss government was therefore pushed to reflect on these issues and to propose valuable solutions, which were presented in a Federal dispatch published on February 11th, 1986 (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1986). Among the measures introduced was the allocation of a consistent amount of national funds to be used for the improvement of the education offer and of its quality, the increased training of Swiss researchers, the creation of an academic network (named SWITCH[4]) to connect all Swiss universities and allow them to share information, and the purchase of a supercomputer. These measures were also meant to reinforce and increment the collaboration and communication among the linguistic regions, in a sort of gluing effort which should have restored the national cohesion to its past prominence.

In particular, supercomputers were put at the centre of this strategy, and the government decided to allocate 40 million Swiss Francs for the acquisition of the most powerful and advanced high-performance computer available on the market. Buying one of these machines meant offering to every Swiss academic and research institution "a real computer service able to manage a decentralised system for a heterogenous usership" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1986, 283), as well as to encourage "the acquisition and diffusion of competences and know-how" in the technological sector (Ceppi, 1991).

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[3] For more information on the *Swiss Short-Wave Service* and a greater overview on its programmes, you can consult its archive here: http://archives.swissinfo.ch/ww2/article.php?&lg=en

[4] For more information on academic network SWITCH, see Daniela Zetti's essay "A new network" (Zetti, forthcoming).

Given its importance on the national balance, it was decided by the government (in the person of Federal Councillor Flavio Cotti), together with the directors of the two federal institutes of technology (Hans Bühlman for ETHZ in Zurich and Bernard Vittoz for EPFL in Lausanne), to create a special working group with the task to choose the most suitable supercomputer and to find the most appropriate location for it; this group was composed by Carl August Zehnder (ETHZ vice-president), Fiorenzo Scaroni (from ETHZ's computing centre), and Fulvio Caccia (a member of the Swiss National Council) (Caccia, 1991).

Regarding the choice of the machine, the most commonly used ones in Europe at that times were those produced by American company CRAY, specialised in parallel computing; CRAY's supercomputers were located, for example, at both the ETHZ and EPFL, as well as at the *High-Performance Computing Centre* (HLRS) in Stuttgart, Germany (Gugerli & Wichum, 2021). Precisely for this reason, the working group decided to look for another kind of supercomputer, in specific a vector one, which would have allowed to conduct a different kind of scientific research compared to those conducted with parallel machines, therefore expanding the research diversity. After some evaluations, the choice fell on Japanese company NEC, more in specific on their SC-3/22 model (Scaroni, 1991, 6).

On the other side, concerning the location, initially both ETHZ and EPFL aimed at receiving the federal fund by hosting this new supercomputer that was about to be bought, a competition which contributed to increase the already-existing tension between the two institutions. This tension was given by several different factors, among which the long-lasting quarrels between these two linguistic regions (German on the one side and French on the other) as well as the run for academic and technical supremacy on both national and international level.

These disputes were so profoundly rooted that they delayed the decision process on where to locate the new supercomputer to the point that it appeared clear to the working group that placing the machine at either ETHZ or EPFL would have threatened the already complicated relationship between the two institutes and those between their corresponding language regions. In order to appease the situation as

well as to promote the creation of new national collaborations, it was decided to establish a new research centre and to position it outside of the German- and French-speaking parts of the country i.e., in the Italian-speaking one, more precisely in Canton Ticino (Denzler, 1989).

However, the necessity to find a building in this area which corresponded to specific technical criteria increased the difficulty of this search: if it had been clear from the very beginning that this building should have been suitable for the importance of the project (ETHZ, 1989a, 4), finding one which ticked all the boxes has been a major challenge. In particular, the building needed to have

> *"large floor areas (3'000 to 5'000 meters); high technical floors; special bays, doors and security measures for the machine room and technical installations; powerful and secure power supply and air-conditioning systems, which are also voluminous",*

but it was also asked to be close to the public transport infrastructure in order to allow "people from all over Switzerland […] to come to the centre easily, even for short meetings" (Caccia, 1991, 2-3).

A public call for proposals allowed to collect 37 project offers, out of which only one corresponded to all the "safety aspects, extension possibilities" (Scaroni, 1989, 2) as well as the technical criteria requested, and could have been rapidly made available to accommodate the new supercomputer (ETHZ, 1989b). Moreover, the choice of this location also included the possibility to "[initiate] further activities in the immediate vicinity of the centre", a condition which, on its side, would have allowed the centre to "promote teaching, research and technology transfer in the third national language" region (ETHZ, 1989a, 6). The Italian-speaking region, and in particular Canton Ticino, indeed did not have at that time any high-education institution nor major research centres; rather, it was a very industrial and rural zone that many young people abandoned in order to study and work in other Cantons or abroad. This region was, *de facto*, the least developed part of the country and, as such, desperately needed intervention and support from the state to advance on both technological and academic levels. The decision on location was therefore positively welcomed also on a political level, since it was deemed as "[taking]

account of regional policy requirements" as well as of "the administration's decentralisation efforts" (Swiss National Council, 1989, 3) and of the area's "great capacity potential" (Nüesch, 1992, 3), therefore allowing "the peripheral region of Ticino" to "[move] closer to the centres of Zurich and Bern" (Swiss National Council, 1989, 3). These efforts also demonstrate the solid willingness to strengthen national cohesion through federalist and decentralist moves involving increased communication as well as collaborations between the various regions.

Named *Centro Svizzero di Calcolo Scientifico* (*Swiss National Supercomputing Centre*, CSCS), the centre was eventually located near the city of Lugano and inaugurated on October 1st, 1992. As an "important academic research institution" (Tessiner Zeitung, 1992), CSCS can undeniably be considered as a great resource and strength for Canton Ticino, through which the region has gained "access to advanced technology" (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1989, 1) and has become "the reference point of all national universities and [federal institutes of technology]" (Pusterla, 1992), therefore also gaining the assurance of "a successful cultural and economic future" (Scheidegger, 1994).

Thanks to its direct connection to "users throughout Switzerland, to existing supercomputers at EPFL and ETHZ and to the computer centres of the other universities" through the academic network SWITCH (Parkel, 1990), CSCS was able to allow access to its computing resources from a distance and, therefore, to attract several different "top-class scientific projects" (CSCS, 2001, 3-4), which have been from the very beginning its main aim. As such, it enhanced collaborations between the various Swiss universities, located in different linguistic regions, therefore contributing to create a bridge between them.

While its initial focus was mostly limited to "physics, chemistry, biology, engineering and environmental studies" (Ceccon, Haldi, & Pasche, 1993), with the years CSCS' computing power opened up to several new disciplines, such as materials science, climate studies, mathematics, atmospheric sciences, earth and environmental sciences, astronomy, fluid

dynamics, nanosciences, biosciences, computer science, geoscience, and life science, although chemistry still remains the main research field, currently occupying 38% of the computing time (CSCS, 1993, 5-7; 1995, 7; 1996, 5; 2008, 41; 2009, 37; 2010, 39; 2012, 9; 2013, 9; 2014, 7; 2020, 7).

This openness also concerned the centre's users, which now also involve the Paul Scherrer Institute in natural and engineering sciences, CERN, the WSL Institute for Snow and Avalanche Research in Davos, Università della Svizzera italiana, the University of Cambridge, and the PRACE Tier-0 Projects (CSCS, 1993, 7; 1996, 5; 2003, 8; 2007, 44; 2010, 18; 2011, 9; 2012, 9; 2018, 9; Reinhard, 1998), as well as MeteoSuisse, "Switzerland's national weather bureau" which has, since the early 2000s, its own supercomputer (currently a Cray CS-Storm) fully dedicated to "digital weather forecasting program" (CSCS, 2001, 12)[5].

The variety of services and users allowed CSCS to become one of the most important computational centres in the world (Top500, 2020) as well as to

> *"play a bridging role […] between the research of higher education institutions and industry, public administration and the academic community as a whole",*

both national between the various linguistic regions as well as internationally (Vitale, 1996), which has been its main aim since its foundation. The national connections and collaborations created by and with CSCS can be seen in figures 3 and 4.

The decentralisation allowed by CSCS also implied that Swiss computational resources were distributed in the whole country and, by providing Swiss researchers with "a single national computer", CSCS was thought to be able to enhance their skills and encourage them to boost the digitalisation process of the country (ETHZ, 1990). The future of the centre has indeed been flourishing also thanks to the "number of [other] projects" the centre brought both on regional and national levels, particularly

[5] As of 1998, the price system for the use of CSCS computational resources was divided in three parts: "one for academic (82 CHF for NEC SX-4, 11 CHF for H-Exemplar and 16 CHF for HP-Cluster per CPU hour), one for public administrations and one for industrial users (250 CHF for SX-4 CPU- hour)" (Maric, 1998). Unfortunately, the current price system is not available to the general public.
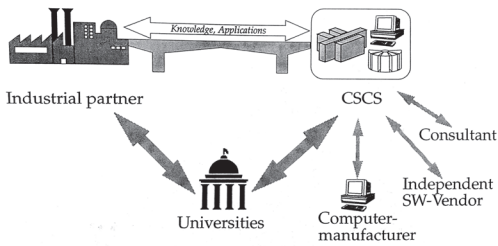
Fig. 3. How does collaboration with CSCS work? – 11.1.1998 (Scheidegger, 1998)
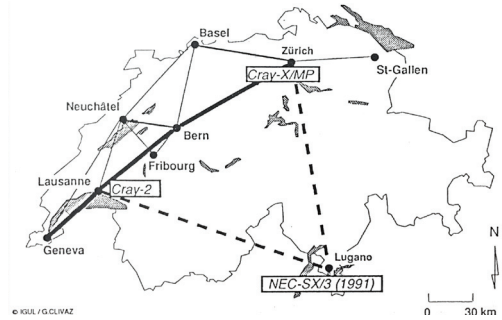

Fig. 4. Computer networking and supercomputing sites in Switzerland, 12.12.1991 (Scaroni, 1991, 65)

in terms of high-education (ETHZ, 1989a, 6). Several relevant projects did in fact see the light also thanks to CSCS presence, among which it is important to cite the establishment in 1996 of the first university in Canton Ticino, *Università della Svizzera italiana*.

Moreover, CSCS contributed to reduce the existing gap between the Italian-speaking part and the German- and French- ones, which was perfectly in accordance with the Swiss federalist attitude aiming at decentralising and spreading scientific institutions and infrastructures as it does with the political, judiciary and legislative powers. For these reasons, CSCS foundation in the Italian-speaking region has also been considered as "an act of solidarity to a promising region for both research and production" (Nüesch, 1992, 3), allowing it to finally be "involved in the academic sphere" (Scaroni, 1991, 1). CSCS was indeed able to "act as a bridge" (CSCS, 2001, 3), connecting research on the academic and industrial levels as well as three different linguistic regions which were before quite distant from each other and did not communicate nor collaborate much. The establishment of the *Swiss National Supercomputing Centre* in the Italian-speaking area of the country also brought back principles such as federalism and the idea of a strong national cohesion built on the co-habitation of and collaboration between several different languages and cultures that in the 1980s-1990s had been lacking for several years. CSCS can therefore be considered as a sort of *public service* which contributed to bring the three main linguistic regions closer together and to increase the collaborations between them. By improving

the academic and research levels of the country, it also contributed to train more Swiss scientists and encouraging the development of Swiss research, therefore diminishing the academic and industrial dependence on other countries[6].

Conclusions: Media and communication as Swiss centripetal forces?

Aim of this paper is to show examples of how media and communication can be used by governments as means to achieve specific goals, presenting as case studies the way how Switzerland used radio during the Second World War and supercomputing in the 1990s in order to, among others, foster national cohesion and glue different linguistic and cultural regions. The role the state played as well as its influence in regulating and shaping them show how powerful they can be for society and how they can serve political agendas.

But media are also powerful when it comes to the pursuit of local, national and international interests, to overcome linguistic and cultural differences in order to serve these interests, to increase "the connection between individual and institutions" (Mosco, 1996, 30), as well as to keep values and cultures alive. These "powerful societal interests" (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, xi) for which media operate highlight how they can be relevant tools to reach specific goals, may these be the increased collaborations between different regions, the fostering of national cohesion or the protection of "national security" (Freedman, 2008, 24).

These aspects are well-shown by the case studies introduced in this paper. On its side, through

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[6] For a more developed reconstruction of the history of the Swiss National Supercomputing Centre, see the paper "*A story*

of friendships and misunderstandings" (Bory, Lüthi, & Balbi, forthcoming).

a precise regulation of radio broadcasting in accordance to the international forces which were surrounding the country before and during the Second World War, Switzerland was able to use this medium in order to fulfill its national interests, to disseminate a positive and neutral image of itself abroad, to spread objective news bulletins and to preserve Swiss culture, values and democracy, as well as to foster national cohesion by acting as a gluing force between its various linguistic regions.

On the other side, supercomputing has been used as a sort of "bridge" (CSCS, 2001, 3) to connect the different regions of the country, as well as to create a link between the academia and the industry on a national level. CSCS establishment has contributed to foster national cohesion through the increase of collaborations and communication among the linguistic regions and various research areas, but also to expand the amount and quality of the services offered in general to the Swiss population (e.g., highly improved weather forecasts). These collaborations, therefore, have also had a great role in fortifying federalist and democratic processes on local and national levels and, as

such, in contributing to foster national cohesion. Both case studies highlight the precise approach Switzerland has to communication, using media and communication as means to uphold and stabilise national cohesion, to counter foreign dependency and radical political forces, as well as to enhance collaborations between the various linguistic regions and their respective actors. It also shows how, for the role they played, radio and supercomputing can be considered as a sort of centripetal and gluing force.

Further research in this sense could focus on other media and historical periods, conduct a long-term analysis on the role of one or more media in Swiss society, study the role radio and supercomputing play now in Switzerland, as well as to expand this kind of research to other countries. Such studies could show whether or not the *spiritual defence* as well as the role of media in fostering national cohesion still exist and in which form as, for example, has been done by Gabriele Balbi, Simone Fari, Giuseppe Richeri and Spartaco Calvo (2014) on the role the telegraph played in Switzerland between 1855 and 1875.

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Mapping Austrofascism and Beyond

Report on the Digital Research Project *Campus Medius*

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Abstract

Campus Medius explores and expands the possibilities of digital cartography in cultural and media studies. In this article, I elaborate on the development of the project from a historical case study to a mapping platform. The first chapter presents the initial version (1.0/2014) of campusmedius. net, an interactive map with a timeline displaying fifteen events within twenty-four hours in Vienna on the weekend of May 13 and 14, 1933. The second part discusses the current version (2.0/2021) of the website that additionally focuses on the main event of this exemplary time-space or chronotope: an Austrofascist "Turks Deliverance Celebration" ("Türkenbefreiungsfeier") in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, which is imparted from a bird's-eye perspective, panoramically, and in street view by five mediators each. The following chapter deals with the technological infrastructure and the data model of *Campus Medius*, which operationalizes the theoretical concepts of the *dispositif* and the actor-network. In conclusion, I outline our plans to establish a digital platform for describing and visualizing media experiences in everyday life.[1]

Keywords: digital mapping, cartography, mediality, media experience, Vienna, 1933, Austrofascism, Turks Deliverance Celebration, dispositif, actor-network

Topography: *Campus Medius* 1.0

The idea for this mapping project originated in my doctoral studies on the media references in the writings of Karl Kraus (1874–1936) and Peter Altenberg (1859–1919), where I investigated a text that Kraus had written in Vienna in 1933: the *Third Walpurgis Night* (Ganahl, 2015, 21–111). In this 300-page essay, the events of a weekend that May are central to its critique of the contemporary political situation, namely the Nazi "seizure of power" in Germany and the Austrian response to these developments. By researching what had happened in Vienna on May 13 and 14, 1933, I soon understood why Kraus had experienced this weekend as a turning point. Consequently, I decided to represent fifteen selected events within twenty-four hours, from Saturday at 2 p.m. to Sunday at 2 p.m., on a digitized map of Vienna from 1933. Supervised

by the media scholar Shannon Mattern, the initial version of the website was developed in collaboration with the software engineers Rory Solomon and Darius Daftary and the designer Mallory Brennan at The New School in New York and launched at campusmedius.net in July 2014.[2]

The selection of the empirical material was also influenced by the concept of the *chronotope*. In the 1930s, Mikhail Bakhtin had written an essay on time-spaces or space-times in literature from antiquity to the Renaissance, which became very important in literary studies after its publication in 1975 (Bakhtin, 1981). His approach inspired me to limit the historical case study to exactly twenty-four hours in Vienna—a temporal and spatial unity that not only emerged in the course of events, but also resembles the most significant chronotope of the Modernist novel. Just think of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Virginia Woolf's *Mrs*

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[2] Shannon Mattern has since published her urban media archaeology, which had a formative influence on *Campus Medius*, in two books (2015/2017).

Dalloway, Andrei Bely's *Petersburg*, or—to name another medium—the documentary *Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis* by Walter Ruttmann. In all these artworks from the first third of the twentieth century, one finds the attempt to capture modernity in a very specific time-space: a day in the city (Ganahl, 2017).

The historical chronotope of twenty-four hours in Vienna on May 13 and 14, 1933, is marked by so-called "Turks Deliverance Celebrations" ("Türkenbefreiungsfeiern") held by the Austrian Homeland Protection ("Heimatschutz") in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace and by the NSDAP in the Engelmann Arena. As the 250th anniversary of the city's liberation from the Ottoman siege in mid-September 1683, celebrated in advance for reasons of propaganda, these competing rallies were oriented from the outset on media communication: prepared by the party-political press, partially broadcast live on *Radio Wien*, and captured in newsreels. To create counter-publicity, the Social Democrats published programmatic editorials and organized "freedom celebrations" in the municipal housing projects ("Gemeindebauten"). While the Burgtheater staged the play *Hundred Days*, co-written by Benito Mussolini, several cinemas were screening Fritz Lang's sound feature *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*, a film banned in Germany. In other movie theaters, adherents of National Socialism viewed the documentary *Germany Awakes*, and a group of communists showed Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* and *Turksib* by Viktor Turin. Moreover, the Sunday edition of the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna's most important bourgeois newspaper, printed an essay entitled "Humbug, Bluff, and Ballyhoo" on public relations as practiced by Edward Bernays, a nephew of Sigmund Freud.

On the website, users can discover what was happening simultaneously at different places in Vienna by moving the twenty-four-hour timeline. The interactive map also makes it possible to give a spatial overview of the events. Inspired by the research platform *HyperCities* (Presner et al., 2014), to which *Campus Medius* in general owes a lot, we not only geo-referenced their sites but used an established technique for historical mapping projects known as *rectification*. In our case, a city map of Vienna published by Freytag & Berndt in 1933 was scanned with high resolution at the Austrian National Library, converted into a GeoTIFF file, and rectified to align with the underlying GIS data of OpenStreetMap. This technological procedure discomfited me because of the idea that a digital map represents reality from which a printed map more or less deviates. What actually happens in the process of rectification, though, is a translation between different projections of reality that ought to be traced back to the historical conditions of their emergence (Presner et al., 2014, 110–118). Due to this critique of the cartographical approach, we have striven to question and alienate these standardized representations of time and space in the current version of the project that I will discuss in the second chapter.

By selecting a pin on the map, an *actor-network* of the respective event popped up in the initial release of campusmedius.net. Methodologically, this visualization was derived from actor-network theory, which basically states that it is not a subjective consciousness that decides to act, and then things happen accordingly—in other words, that actions should not be understood as human intentions, but rather as interplays between human and nonhuman actors (Latour, 2005). We styled the actor icons along the lines of the International System of Typographic Picture Education (ISOTYPE), a conceptually universal picture language developed under the direction of the political economist and Austro-Marxist Otto Neurath, a member of the Vienna Circle, from the mid-1920s onwards (Neurath, 1936). In our project, however, ISOTYPE is not regarded as a universal design concept, but rather as a visual vocabulary that is closely related to the historical setting of the case study. In *Campus Medius* 1.0, the colors of the icons designated political backgrounds, with red for socialist and communist, green for Austrofascist, brown for National Socialist, and blue for bourgeois actors. If the user clicked on this actor-network window, a multimedia description of the associated event opened up, featuring photographs, sound recordings, movie clips, archival documents, press articles, etc.

This is, by and large, the first version of campusmedius.net as the website went online in 2014—a kind of digital exhibition. The project's take on the research field of digital humanities has been strongly influenced by the *Digital Humanities Manifesto*, which argues for "the scholar as curator and the curator as scholar" (2009). With every historical document that is digitized, this claim becomes more important. By October 29, 2020, the Austrian National

Library, for example, had made twenty-three million newspaper pages available in *Austrian Newspapers Online* (ANNO): What is such "big data" good for if it is not correlated in meaningful ways? One way is to develop algorithms that help recognize patterns; another way is to curate this cultural heritage in digital monographs. We started with the latter approach, used the preliminary results to translate our theoretical concepts into a data model, and have begun to devise an algorithmic analysis based on the second version of the project that I will present in the following chapter.

Topology: *Campus Medius* 2.0

In the current version of campusmedius.net published in April 2021, which was programmed by Andreas Krimbacher and designed by Susanne Kiesenhofer, the aforementioned overview of the historical chronotope continues to exist in the Topography module, comprising as before the twenty-four-hour timeline and the rectified map of Vienna from 1933. The fifteen events, however, are only marked by ordinary pins as the concept of the actor-network moved to a new module that we call Topology. In this section, we focus on the main event of the selected time-space: the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" held by the Austrian Homeland Protection

in the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace on May 14, 1933, which is imparted from a bird's-eye perspective, panoramically, and in street view by five mediators each. The narrative technique of telling a story from different perspectives is very common in novels, films, and TV serials. In *Campus Medius* 2.0, this approach is deployed to construct ideal-typical interfaces meant to spotlight and denaturalize representations of time and space that have become standardized in digital cartography.

I drew a table that outlines this multi-perspectival account of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" (tab. 1). Conceptually, the scheme is based on a question that has motivated the project from the outset: what is a media experience? Or more precisely, what does it mean to have a media experience in modernity? This line of inquiry derives from Michel Foucault's studies on modern possibilities of experiencing.[3] But can we also conceptualize *mediality* as an experiential field in the Foucauldian sense? What possibilities of having media experiences have opened up in the modern age since about the mid-seventeenth century? The table answers this question with a bold thesis: having a media experience in modern societies essentially means using reason in sovereign signs, capturing life in examining gazes, or speaking up in governed

MEDIATION		MEDIA		TOPOLOGY			INTERFACE	
DEMAND & RESPONSE	MEDIUM	MEDIATOR	SPACE	TIME	VALUE	PERSPECTIVE	NAVIGATION
How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs	leader editorial residence theater reframing	Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg "Undesirable Visit" Schönbrunn Fascism as Tragedy "Anthem Chaos"	limited	infinite	centralized	bird's-eye	zooming
How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes	parade camera montage cinema exposure	March on Vienna Bell & Howell 2709 Perceptual Gymnastics Mabuse's Control Center "Lick Me in the Ass!"	limited	finite	ranked	panorama	panning
How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions	radio statistics marketing welfare cancellation	Mikes, Cables, Transmitters RAVAG Studies "Torches of Freedom" Educating New People "Listener Strike"	unlimited	finite	distributed	street view	tracking

Tab. 1: Table of the three *dispositifs* of mediation implemented at campusmedius.net in the Topology module as a multi-perspectival account of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" ("Türkenbefreiungsfeier") held in Vienna on May 14, 1933.

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[3] As Foucault wrote in retrospect, his studies of modern madness, disease, criminality, and sexuality explored "the historical *a priori* of a possible experience" (Foucault, 2000, 460).

transmissions. These three possibilities of having media experiences—in Foucauldian terms: *dispositifs* of mediation—materialize in heterogeneous *mediators*. For our case study on the "Turks Deliverance Celebration," each mediation is expressed by five selected mediators whose icons are designed along the lines of ISOTYPE and that are associated in specific types of connection, in distinct *topologies*. Are the mediators building territories or spreading in an unlimited space? Do they end sometime or potentially exist infinitely? Is a centralized or an equalized distribution taking place? Etc. The mapping *interfaces* result from these *dispositifs* of mediation, because seeing things from a bird's-eye perspective, panoramically, or in street view entails certain notions of the world, certain ideologies that we aim to elucidate.[4]

So how was the new Topology module implemented on the website? I start with the mediation "How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs," taking the example of the mediator Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, the federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection and initiator of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933. Instead of a timeline, the Topology includes a selector beneath the map where the users can switch between the three mediations. In this case, the mediators are viewed from above and navigated via zooming. The network is centralized, that is, all navigations have to pass a central node: the transcendent bird's-eye view, overarching the earth's surface, which is not only the perspective of god, but also of the sovereign monarch overseeing his or her territory. This world view was very familiar to Starhemberg, who came from an old aristocratic family of the Habsburg Monarchy, which ended together with World War I in 1918. One of his ancestors was Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, the successful military commander of Vienna during the second Ottoman siege of the city in summer 1683.

Led by Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, the Austrian government adopted an authoritarian course in March 1933. His cabinet prevented parliament from working and governed by emergency decree, but it was not clear that spring how things would continue. Supported by Benito Mussolini, Italy's Fascist prime minister, Starhemberg suggested holding a mass rally of the Austrian Home Guards ("Heimwehren") to celebrate the 250th anniversary of Vienna's liberation from the second Ottoman siege, which actually took place in mid-September 1683 (Starhemberg, 1942, 95–117). However, the plan was to give a public signal of Austria as a Fascist sovereign nation earlier in the year, and it worked out: on May 14, 1933, the chancellor swore fidelity to the leader of the Homeland Protection in front of allegedly forty thousand Home Guard members, deployed radially in the Baroque gardens starting from the balcony of Schönbrunn Palace, where Dollfuss and Starhemberg were standing (*Reichspost*, 1933).

In the second mediation, "How to Capture Life: Examining Gazes," the users view and navigate the map panoramically. Its network is ranked, meaning they need to pan from the first to the fifth mediator one after another. The 35 mm movie camera "Bell & Howell 2709," which was launched in 1912 and soon came to be the American standard model, may serve as an exemplary mediator for this interface. I recognized the distinctive camera on the very right of a photograph that shows the Home Guard parade following the rally in Schönbrunn, captured on Mariahilfer Strasse near Vienna's western railway station (Bildarchiv Austria, 1933). On a high-resolution scan of the picture, it was possible to identify the model and to realize that this unique camera had been equipped with an aftermarket motor and apparatus for recording optical sound. The reel was shot for the German version of *Fox Movietone News* and has been preserved in the Filmarchiv Austria (1933).

I have been particularly interested in the question of which kind of film this assemblage was able to shoot, how this specific camera made it possible to capture the movement of the parade. In principle, this upgraded Bell & Howell 2709 reviewed the paramilitary procession not unlike the members of the Austrian government awaiting the march-past at Schwarzenbergplatz in the city center. And the spectators viewing the newsreel in the movie theaters later on, were they not taking up a similar position of examining these moving bodies?

The third mediation, "How to Speak Up: Governed Transmissions," is determined by the mapping interface of the street view. In its

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[4] On interfaces as practices of mediation, see Galloway (2012) and Drucker (2014).

distributed network, the users can navigate by tracking in all directions but are not able to escape this narrow perspective. As a corresponding mediator, I lastly present the technical apparatus that broadcast the speeches held at the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" live on *Radio Wien*. These voices, transformed into electricity by a dynamic or carbon microphone, arrived at the tube amplifier by cable, were relayed from Schönbrunn Palace to the headquarters of the Austrian Radio Verkehrs AG (RAVAG) in the inner city possibly by a shortwave transmitter, but probably via phone lines, and transferred from there in special broadcasting cables to the large transmitter on the Rosenhügel in the southwest of Vienna, as well as to the regional stations in the federal provinces that generated and aired electromagnetic waves at their allocated lengths.

The Social Democrats, who set up about fifty "freedom celebrations" opposing the "Turks Deliverance Celebration," organized a "listener strike" with more than ten thousand cancellations of radio licenses in protest against the live broadcast (*Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 1933). What these people express in their collective letter of cancellation is an aversion to being patronized by the state and a strong will to raise their own voices on the radio. The protest corresponds to the findings of a contemporary study carried out by the Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle, based in Vienna and headed by Paul Lazarsfeld, who later became a major figure in American sociology after his emigration to New York (Mark, 1996). The RAVAG had commissioned this Center of Economic-Psychological Research to run a statistical survey of the tastes of Austrian radio listeners. The innovative aspect of the RAVAG study, conducted in 1931/32, was not only the quantitative measurement of listeners' wishes, but above all the fact that it provided information on the likes and dislikes of various social groups. By correlating radio programs with social data, the final report broke down the mass audience into specific target groups. This is

one beginning of what is called "profiling" today and what might be appreciated or rejected as management of the freedom to communicate.[5]

Data Model and Infrastructure

In the first two parts of this article, I mainly discussed the website's front end, i.e., issues related to the interface. On the other side of the software stack, however, its back end is located; invisible to the users, it is a database in which all the content is stored. What I would like to stress here is that deciding which entities are included in the database and how they are related is a genuinely methodological matter. In order to build a scholarly website, the research approach needs to be operationalized; at least working definitions of the central concepts are necessary. In a project within the field of cultural and media studies, this work definitely cannot not be conducted by software engineers alone, because: "The database is the theory!" (Bauer, 2011). If a website is supposed to match up to the complexities of the theoretical approaches that are guiding cultural and media research, both its back end and its front end must be developed in a truly interdisciplinary dialogue with programmers and designers. Hence, the following paragraphs will deal with the data model on which the Topology module of *Campus Medius* is based (fig. 1).

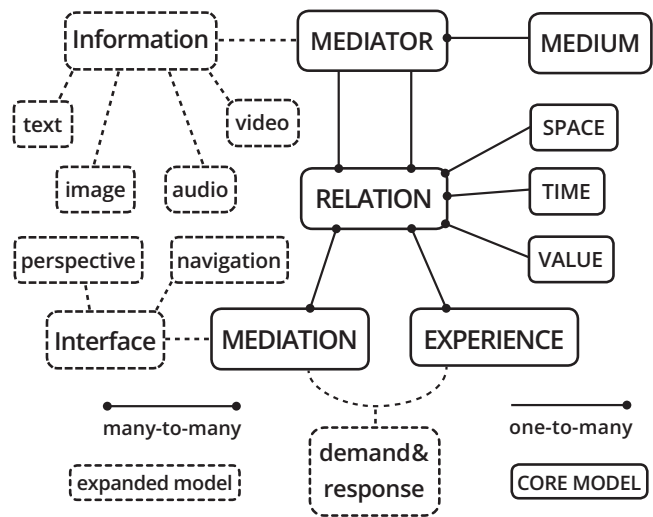I start with the entity at the top of the diagram,

Fig. 1: The data model of the Topology module at campusmedius.net.

[5] On the history of digital profiling, see Koopman (2019) and Bernard (2019).

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the *mediator* as anyone or anything given in an experience that makes a difference in the course of action. In our terminology, a *medium* is none other than a type of mediators: Starhemberg appears on the stage of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" as federal leader of the Austrian Homeland Protection, but ideally aligns himself with leader figures ranging from the Roman Caesars via the Habsburg emperors to the Fascist *Duce*. This is an example of a one-to-many relationship, with one medium constituted from many mediators. It was important for us to attach the attributes *space*, *time*, and *value*—the latter understood in terms of weighing the nodes in a network—to the *relation*, which connects two mediators, and not to the mediator itself.[6] The common practice in digital cartography, however, is to determine where and when an entity occurs, i.e., to set its location (latitude/longitude) and its date and time. Yet this approach would have required a kind of transcendent gaze, an external perspective able to situate mediators in absolute time and space. In order to avoid this "god trick of seeing everything from nowhere" (Haraway, 1988, 581), we have conceptualized space, time, and value relationally, in other words as differences in the network of mediators.[7]

An *experience*, in the sense of our data model, is an individual subset of relations including the attached mediators. And just as in our terminology a medium is a type of mediators, a *mediation* is a pattern of relations (e.g., the centralized topology occurring again and again in the "Turks Deliverance Celebration"). In other words, a regularity of spatial, temporal, and evaluative connections—but what is actually mediated in an experience? This question links to the box at the foot of the data model, which summarizes the major function of the Foucauldian *dispositif*, namely to strategically respond to a social demand.[8] While actor-network accounts focus on concrete empirical

cases in order to precisely describe who or what makes a difference to a course of action, *dispositif* analysis searches for types of connection, for historical patterns of relations that are actualized in the given situation. Let us take the aforementioned example of the protest against the live broadcast of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration": the people who canceled their license wanted to speak up and refused to be influenced or educated from above—a collective demand to which Austrian radio was not ready to respond in 1933. However, counseled by the emigrant Paul Lazarsfeld, his wife Herta Herzog, and his friend Hans Zeisel, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the New York advertising agency McCann-Erickson soon learned how to steer free expression of opinion in specific directions (Lazarsfeld, 1982).

In short, the actor-network and the *dispositif* are the central theoretical concepts that are operationalized in the data model of *Campus Medius* 2.0. Thus far, I have only elaborated on the right-hand part of the diagram, the ontological structure of the database. Its left-hand side, however, shows how the stored data become perceptible to the users. In order to appear on the website, a mediator needs to receive *information*, it literally has to be *informed* by texts, images, audio, or video. The metadata of these multimedia descriptions can be accessed via the quote icon next to each page title and downloaded as linked open data.[9] All content is full-text searchable and available open access under the Creative Commons license CC BY 4.0, apart from the works cited in *Campus Medius*, which are protected by copyright. The typefaces used on the website are open-source fonts, namely Source Sans Pro by Paul D. Hunt and Source Serif Pro by Frank Griesshammer.

Just like a mediator without information, a mediation—in the sense of our data model—stays invisible as long as there is no link to

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[6] The selection of space, time, and value as relational properties is based on Foucault's analysis of power relations, especially his precise description of spatial distributions, temporal orders, and evaluative rankings (Foucault, 1995, 135–228).

[7] The transcendent position is implemented in the Topology of *Campus Medius* as a deliberate, additional mediator of the mediation "How to Use Reason: Sovereign Signs." In the website's database, its number is 0 and its name is "God." The other two mediations are realized immanently, that is, without an external perspective.

[8] In an interview from 1977, Foucault defined the *dispositif*, usually translated into English as "apparatus" or "mechanism," as "a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble [*un ensemble*

résolument hétérogène]" and explicitly as "the network [*le réseau*] that can be established between these elements," comprising "the said as much as the unsaid." He emphasized, however, that he is not so much interested in categorizing the connected entities, for example as discursive or material, but rather in searching for the specific "nature of the connection [*la nature du lien*]." Foucault added that every dispositif "answers an urgent demand [*répondre à une urgence*]" by strategically solving a social problem (Foucault, 1980, 194–195 [trans. modified]).

[9] The metadata include title, URL, abstract, keywords, authors, dates of publication and of last modification, and details on copyright and funding. They are modeled on the vocabulary of Schema.org and encoded in JSON-LD format.

an *interface*, understood here as a mapping perspective (e.g., bird's-eye) and a mode of navigation (e.g., zooming). Hence, these visualizations are not neutral or free of ideology, but themselves part of their respective *dispositif* of mediation. In common with the substructure of campusmedius.net, they were programmed with open-source software: the front end in Angular and Mapbox GL JS, the back end in Django using a PostgreSQL database. The project code is fully documented and freely available at GitHub. We have implemented the website bilingually and responsively, that is, in English and in German, as well as for both desktop and mobile use. It runs on a virtual server provided by the Vienna University Computer Center with all its data archived in the digital repository PHAIDRA.

Mapping Modern Media

In the last part of the article, I will sketch out the long-term plans that we are pursuing for campusmedius.net. We want to develop the website into a digital platform for mapping media experiences. Guided by a virtual assistant, the users may independently select a media experience in their daily lives, precisely describe its heterogeneous components, and map how these mediators are connected with each other. The analytical aim of the platform would be to subject the conceptual premises of the historical case study to a contemporary test: does having a media experience in the (post)modern societies of the twenty-first century still mean using reason in sovereign signs, capturing life in examining gazes, or speaking up in governed transmissions? In the case of the "Turks Deliverance Celebration," these *dispositifs* of mediation arose from an interplay between the empirical material and a Foucauldian theory of modernity.[10] I want to highlight the word *interplay* in the sense of a mutual dialogue here, because no data explain themselves, but it also leads nowhere to obey a theoretical system that degrades them to mere placeholders. However, we are confident that our data model enables us to define media and mediations immanently, so to say from below, by analyzing numerous

mappings of media experiences in order to discover types of mediators and relational patterns that are distinctive of mediality as a (post)modern field of experience.

The idea for this collaborative platform evolved from courses on "Mapping Modern Media," which I have taught at different universities since 2016. Instead of geo-referencing data sets, the students are encouraged to consider mapping as a critical practice by selecting and inquiring into media experiences in their daily lives: Who or what is given in such a course of action? How are these mediators connected with each other? To which demand is the media experience responding? And what might an alternative response be? For these courses, the data model of *Campus Medius* 2.0 had to be translated into a series of practical operations or rather mapping exercises.

1. *Select*: What do you regard as a media experience? Choose a concrete situation, a course of action that plays a role in your everyday life, and give reasons for your choice.
2. *Inventory*: Who or what is given in this media experience and actually makes a difference? Pick five mediators and describe the course of action from these different perspectives.
3. *Visualize*: How are the mediators connected in terms of space, time, and value? Map the spatial, temporal, and evaluative relations of the media experience.
4. *Analyze*: What drives this course of action? To which urgent demand is the media experience responding? Observe and think deeply, then explain its leitmotif.
5. *Critique*: Can you imagine another response to this demand? Which mediators are involved? How are they linked? Create a counter-map showing an alternative mediation.

The exercise starts by selecting a concrete situation in everyday life that could be classified as a media experience and by explaining this choice. In the inventory, step two, the students are asked to define five mediators and to describe the selected course of action from these heterogeneous standpoints. The actual mapping follows in a third step where charts or diagrams are created that visualize the relations between the mediators. I encourage the students

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[10] Foucault did not actually formulate such a theory, but in the lectures on governmentality he summarized his studies on modernity and adjusted his approach. Instead of defining epochal shifts around 1650 and 1800, he conceptualized a

sovereign, a disciplinary, and a liberal regime, which can all be traced from the seventeenth up to the twentieth century (Foucault, 2007a, 87–114).

to explore the connections in terms of space, time, and value, but it is not strictly necessary for all three perspectives to be represented. Steps four and five are intended to be a critique of the analyzed situation: after contemplating to which urgent demand the media experience is responding, identifying its leitmotif, an alternative response or answer should be given in the form of a counter-map.[11] One student of mine chose to look into her habit of watching *Tatort*, for example, a very popular crime series produced and aired by public service broadcasters in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. She asked herself why she views this TV drama almost every Sunday evening and concluded that she mainly appreciates the sense of community, knowing that millions of other viewers see and hear the same program at the same time. Yet if the "sense of community" is the real motive behind this media experience, what alternatives are there to feel in touch with others? Does it have to be a community of people with a similar language and cultural background (as in the case of *Tatort*)? Or could it also be a collective assembling more diverse members?

In conclusion, I will present some works created in these mapping courses. The first example was made by a student from UCLA's Center for Digital Humanities who mapped the movement of the hose in a hookah session with five people sharing a water pipe, which he described as an opportunity to have easygoing conversation. One of his classmates in this course from 2016 constructed a timeline of unboxing an iPhone in an Apple Store, treated like a spiritual rite, and defined two points of no return: the removal of the plastic around the box and of the phone's screen protector. In a class on sound mapping held at the University of Liechtenstein in 2016, one student charted how his daily activity was influenced by pupils playing in a schoolyard near his office. Another participant in this seminar temporally arranged photos in order to visualize how he was woken every morning by a passing train.

At the University of Applied Sciences (FH) in Vorarlberg, Austria, a student of media design drew a timeline of preparing espresso on the stove, a procedure that seemed to organize her morning routine into a phase of personal hygiene while the coffee is brewing, and a phase of calm me-time before the workday begins. One of her classmates in this course from 2017 had a blood sample taken from a peripheral vein and represented this physical intervention in a series of sketches. As she concluded that a need for self-assurance drove this experience, her counter-map showed an examining look in the mirror. The next year, 2018, the design students at the FH Vorarlberg created, for instance, a visual discourse analysis of an advertising brochure, a video documentation of selecting a selfie on the phone, a diagram of walking the dog with a leash, and a visualization of viewing a photographic exhibit.

The following examples spring from a course in 2019, which I again held at the University of Liechtenstein. In this class, a student of architecture dealt with her daily entries in a sketch book. As an alternative approach to her attempt to build a personal archive of architectural forms, she mapped photographs that were taken on study trips. Another participant in this seminar described and visualized the morning shower as a mediation between the privacy of the bed and the public life of work. His counter-map then addressed car driving as a means of commuting from one place to another, but also as a situation where the mind oscillates between concentration and memories or dreams.

The student projects of 2020 were strongly shaped by the changed living situation that arose from the coronavirus pandemic. On the one hand, they were concerned with the digitization of workflows as in the case of an architecture student who observed her fidgeting in videoconferences and represented this „restless energy" in a timeline. On the other hand, there were several attempts to structure the course of the day while staying at home, for example, by meditating, watering plants, or medicating the cat according to a fixed schedule. As stated by the students, the projects mentioned here revolve around communication processes, partly between different humans via technological devices, partly addressed to oneself, to flowers, or to pets.

All in all, these courses and workshops are quite experimental, a kind of laboratory to develop our digital mapping platform that also aims to

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[10] On critique as the "art of not being governed quite this way," see Foucault (2007b, 45 [trans. modified]). On critical cartography and counter-mapping, see Crampton & Krygier (2005) and the inspiring "critical cartography primer" in Kim (2015, 112–145).

serve media education. Analytically, the major challenge is to define a clear methodological procedure without predetermining what counts as a media experience. We want to collaboratively map the *campus medius*, the field of media, whether the course of action be taking a selfie or walking the dog. In spite of this openness regarding content, the results have to be comparable so that a multitude of mappings may disclose media as types of mediators and mediations in the sense of relational patterns.

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Rezensionen

Wolf, Norbert Christian (2018). *Revolution in Wien. Die literarische Intelligenz im politischen Umbruch 1918/19*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 364 Seiten.

Das 20. Jahrhundert war geprägt von zahlreichen sozialen und politischen Umbrüchen. Ein einschneidendes Ereignis für die österreichische Geschichte war sicherlich das Ende der Habsburger-Monarchie und die Ausrufung der Republik nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Der entstandene österreichische Staat war einer, den so eigentlich keiner wollte, der für nicht überlebensfähig, weil viel zu klein, gehalten wurde. Mentale, aber vor allem auch ökonomische Schwierigkeiten lagen in der Luft. Zum einen waren die Industriegebiete Böhmens und die landwirtschaftlichen Teile nun nicht mehr Teil des Staatsgebietes, zum anderen fehlte es an einem verbindenden Nationalbewusstsein. Zusätzlich gab es einen starken Wunsch nach einem Anschluss an Deutschland und es herrschte eine zumindest demokratiekritische, wenn nicht sogar eher antidemokratische Grundstimmung. Diese führte jedoch zu einer sehr produktiven Phase der Intellektuellen, die sich mit dieser Krisensituation auf verschiedene Art und Weise schriftstellerisch auseinandersetzen, wie der Literaturwissenschaftler Norbert Christian Wolf in seiner Abhandlung *Revolution in Wien. Die literarische Intelligenz im politischen Umbruch 1918/19* aufzeigt.

Es gibt bereits zahlreiche Studien, die diese Umbruchszeit, die politischen und sozialen Vorgänge sowie deren Folgen aus diversen Blickwinkeln behandeln. Dabei herrscht weitgehend Einigkeit darüber, dass es sich 1918/19 sehr wohl um eine politische, weniger jedoch um eine soziale Revolution handelte. Auch wenn die Publikationslandschaft zu diesem Themenkomplex sehr umfangreich ist, fehlt es bisher an einer Studie, welche ihren Fokus auf Literaten und Intellektuelle legt – eine Lücke, die der Germanist Norbert Christian Wolf mit seiner Untersuchung nun schließen möchte. Wolfs Studie ist grob in zwei Teile gegliedert: Nach einer kurzen historischen Einführung, wobei hier das Wissen über die politischen Vorgänge zu einem großen Teil bereits vorausgesetzt wird, untersucht Wolf die „Österreichische Revolution der Literaten" in Presse, lebensgeschichtlichen Zeugnissen und Erinnerungen. In diesem Abschnitt stehen vorwiegend Zeitungsartikel, Briefe, Notizen und Tagebucheinträge im Fokus. Dem Autor gelingt es, den damals herrschenden Wissensstand zu rekonstruieren und ermöglicht seinen LeserInnen ein Eintauchen in einen besonderen Abschnitt in der Geschichte Österreichs. Im zweiten Teil stehen die revolutionären Ereignisse im Spiegel der Literatur im Fokus. Hier behandelt er neben Reportagen und Feuilletons auch Erzählungen, Romane, Autobiografien sowie Gedichte. Im Gegensatz zum ersten Teil werden hier auch rückblickende Schilderungen der Revolutionszeit vorgestellt und einer Analyse unterzogen. Hier bezieht er sich auf Hayden Whites Arbeiten zur Poetologie der Geschichtsschreibung wonach diese narrativ ist und deshalb poetologischen Kategorien unterliegt. Wolf schließt sich dieser These an und sieht sie als sehr geeignet für seine literaturwissenschaftliche Annäherung an die Texte rund um die Revolution von 1918.

Wolf unterzieht die ausgewählten Texte einer textnahen und kontextuellen Analyse, bei der er nicht rein chronologisch sondern aspektgeleitet vorgeht, was die einzelnen Kapitelüberschriften unterstreichen. Seine ausgegebene Zielsetzung ist eine erste monografische Darstellung der österreichischen bzw. der Wiener „Gesellschafts-, Kultur-, und Literaturgeschichte der Umbruchsmonate Herbst/Winter 1918/19" (24). Wolf führt gleich zu Beginn eine Besonderheit der Revolution 1918 in Wien ins Feld, wenn er davon spricht, dass sich hier Autoren wie Franz Werfel oder Erwin Egon Kisch in herausgehobener Position an den politischen Aktionen beteiligten, die zum Ende der Monarchie und in der Folge zur Republikgründung geführt haben. Andere wiederum verhielten sich passiver und kommentierten die Vorgänge, wie Robert Musil, Arthur Schnitzler oder Karl Kraus. Im Quellensample sind auch Stimmen vertreten welche die Ereignisse aus zeitlicher Distanz rückblickend kommentierten.

Gerade die Gründung der Roten Garde, an welcher Kisch beteiligt war, und die mit ihr verbundenen politischen Aktionen waren für die weiteren Vorgänge 1918/19 zentral, weshalb sie auch einen großen Stellenwert in Wolfs Abhandlung einnimmt. So rekonstruiert der Wissenschaftler beispielsweise den Ablauf der Grün-

dungsversammlung an Hand von Berichten aus Zeitungen. Dabei wird offensichtlich, wie unterschiedlich die Berichterstattung je nach Ziel bzw. politischer Ausrichtung des jeweiligen publizistischen Organs sein konnte. Nicht zu vergessen ist, dass im Kontext der Roten Garde eine Vielzahl an Texten entstanden ist, welche die Stimmung in der Bevölkerung sowie der literarischen Öffentlichkeit wiedergeben. Auf Grund der gewählten Thematik und des Ziels einer möglichst textnahen Analyse finden sich zahlreiche Zitate, die teilweise fast eine Seite füllen. Dabei lässt der Wissenschaftler die Ausschnitte nie für sich alleine stehen, sondern kommentiert und bettet sie in das Zeitgeschehen ein. U.a. greift er auch bisher gängige Forschungsmeinungen auf und ermöglicht einen Diskurs darüber, in dem er beispielsweise dem Mythos nachgeht, wonach Franz Werfel Gründungsmitglied der Roten Garde gewesen sei. Mit Bezugnahme auf aktuelle Forschungen widerspricht er dieser Behauptung zwar, zeigt aber auch, dass die Quellen und historiografischen Rekonstruktionen zu diesem Thema erheblich differieren.

Abschließend geht Wolf noch der Frage nach, ob es nun eine Wiener Revolutionsliteratur von Rang gab, oder, wie bisher behauptet wurde, eher nicht bzw. wurde die Existenz einer solchen, seiner Meinung nach, verdrängt. Auf diesen letzten Seiten zitiert er Ernst Fischer, einen den besten Kenner des Wiener Expressionismus, dem Wolf in einigen Punkten widerspricht. So sieht er die Klage Fischers, wonach es keinen großen politischen Roman über den Umsturz bzw. die Revolution gäbe, als unbegründet und verweist auf die Vielfalt der vorgestellten literarischen Wiener Revolutionsdarstellungen. Auch dem Gesamtresümee von Fischer, wonach die Revolution keine positive Gestaltung von literarischem Rang erfahren habe, erteilt er eine Absage mit Verweis darauf, dass der Ablauf sowie die Rahmenbedingungen andere waren als beispielsweise in München oder Berlin. Die in Wien entstandenen literarischen Revolutionsdarstellungen folgten anderen poetischen Traditionen, wozu nicht zuletzt die aus Prag stammenden Literaten beitrugen.

Norbert Christian Wolf macht deutlich, was sein Buch leisten kann und was nicht – Fragen nach gesellschaftlichen Implikationen des Neuanfangs wie die Stellung der Frau beispielsweise müssen außen vor blieben. Er definiert von Anfang an einen klaren zeitlichen und thematischen Rahmen, den er auch nicht verlässt. Auch im zweiten Teil, in dem längere literarischen Formen im Fokus stehen, konzentriert er sich rein auf jene Aspekte, die für seine Monografie zentral sind. Die ausgewählten Texte, unabhängig davon, ob es sich um Zeitungsartikel, Essays, Prosa, etc. handelt, zeigen den gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Umbruch aus einer intellektuellen Perspektive. Dabei wird sehr deutlich, wie groß die herrschende Angst und Unsicherheit gerade im Kreis der Intellektuellen zu Beginn der Ersten Republik war.

Das Buch ist in seiner Gesamtheit klar strukturiert, setzt jedoch mehr als ein Grundwissen über die österreichische Geschichte im Gesamten und die Vorgänge 1918/19 im Besonderen voraus, um dem Inhalt folgen zu können. Wolf bemüht sich die komplexen Vorgänge und Zusammenhänge so gut wie möglich aufzuschlüsseln und dem Topos ein Ende zu bereiten, wonach es sich bei der österreichischen Revolution um ein unernstes Schauspiel, eine Farce oder Spielboden der schriftstellerischen Selbstinszenierung gehandelt habe. Er macht an Hand seiner Studien deutlich, dass sich bei näherer Betrachtung der literarischen Revolutionsdarstellungen die allmähliche Herausbildung und Verfestigung des Klischees der österreichischen Revolution als unernste Posse, nachvollziehen lässt. Norbert Christian Wolf hat mit *Revolution in Wien* das erste Mal die revolutionären Vorgänge in Wien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg im Spiegel der Literatur betrachtet und hier einen Meilenstein gesetzt. Mit der gewählten Perspektive, dem wissenschaftlichen Zugang und nicht zuletzt der Vielzahl an Quellen und Literatur gelingt es ihm, seiner LeserInnenschaft einen besonderen Zugang zu dieser Zeit zu ermöglichen. Wenn auch klar für ein wissenschaftliches Publikum verfasst, bietet das Buch sicherlich nicht nur für LiteraturwissenschaftlerInnen, sondern nicht zuletzt auch HistorikerInnen neue Einblicke in einen ganz besonderen, oft romantisierten Teil der österreichischen Geschichte.

Bianca Burger, Wien

Empfehlung